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PREFACE TO VOLUME ONE

The text of this edition follows in the main the edition of 1596, departing from it only where there is a very strong presumption of error. It is based on the early editions in the library of the Tudor and Stuart Club of the Johns Hopkins University, with which have been compared the copies in the Huntington and other libraries. It is the joint work of the special editor of the volume, and of the late Professor Greenlaw and Dr. Heffner and Dr. Strathmann of Johns Hopkins, but the special editor is responsible for the readings finally adopted. The section of the textual notes dealing with the relations of the early quartos is contributed by Heffner and Strathmann, with the exception of the part dealing with the punctuation, which is contributed by the special editor. The variant readings were compiled by the Johns Hopkins group and the special editor, each making an independent examination of all important editions. The critical notes to the text were prepared by the special editor.

The general plan is followed of including the briefer expository material in the commentary, and of reproducing or summarizing the longer studies in appendices. In the interests of uniformity, notes taken from the eighteenth century scholars have been modernized in punctuation and in the use of italics and capitals. To meet the needs of those readers who have not a knowledge of Greek, passages from Greek are given in translation.

Because of its character the preparation of this volume has been made possible only through the courtesy of the many publishers and authors who have granted permission to include copyrighted material. In this connection I wish to make grateful acknowledgment to the following: to the Cambridge University Press, publishers of Miss Winstanley's edition of Spenser and of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*; to the Oxford University Press, publishers of the Kitchin and of the Smith-De Sélincourt editions; to the Macmillan Company, publishers of Percival's edition of Book One, of Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, Butcher and Lang's translation of the *Odyssey*, and Lang, Leaf and Myer's translation of the *Iliad*; to Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, publishers of Dowden's *Transcripts and Studies*; to Edward Arnold and Company, publishers of Professor Renwick's *Edmund Spenser*; to Chatto and Windus, publishers of Professor Grierson's *Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century*; to Henri Didier, publisher of Professor Legouis' *Spenser*; to the Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers of the Cambridge edition of Spenser, edited by Professor Dodge; to Harper and Brothers, publishers of the *English Men of Letters* series; to Longmans Green and Company, publishers of Miss Henley's *Spenser in Ire-*

land; to the University of California Press, publishers of Professor Cory's *Spenser* and Professor Hughes' *Virgil and Spenser*; to the Harvard University Press, publishers of Millican's *Spenser and the Round Table*; to the Johns Hopkins Press, publishers of Greenlaw's *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*; to the Columbia University Press and Professor John S. Harrison for the very special permission to quote several pages from the volume entitled *Platonism in English Poetry*; to the University of Chicago Press and *Modern Philology* for the permission to quote from Dr. De Moss' *The Influence of Aristotle's Politics and Ethics on Spenser*; to Professor E. B. Fowler for permission to quote from *Spenser and the Courts of Love*; and to Mr. A. A. Jack for permission to make full use of his volume on *Chaucer and Spenser*. I very much regret that the publisher's of Morley's *English Writers* were prevented by the terms of their contract from granting permission to include in the appendix on the moral and spiritual allegory Morley's observations on this subject. Fortunately, the original is easily accessible.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge indebtedness to my co-editor and long time friend, Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood, for his careful reading of parts of the manuscript and his many suggestions, and to Dr. Ray Heffner and Dr. Ernest A. Strathmann of the Johns Hopkins University for their coöperation in the large task of preparing the manuscript for the printer, as well as for their weighty contribution to the textual work. I also wish to recognize the services of many members of my *Spenser* seminar through the years, who have rendered invaluable assistance both in the textual and critical work. In particular I desire to mention the assistance of Mr. James Matthew O'Connor in the preparation of the appendix on *Spenser's* relation to the medieval romances, of Mrs. Esther Shepherd in the examination of the *Physiologus*, and of Dr. Dorothy F. Atkinson in the systematic study of *Spenser's* punctuation. The compilation of variants in copies of 1590 and 1596 was made possible by the kind coöperation of the officials of the following libraries: the Chapin, Elizabethan Club (Yale), Folger, Harvard, Huntington, Massachusetts Historical Society, Morgan, Newberry, New York Public, University of Chicago, and Wrenn (University of Texas). I am indebted also to Mr. Francis R. Johnson for checking the copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian. Finally, I wish to express appreciation to my secretary, Mrs. Lois J. Wentworth, who from the first has taken an enthusiastic interest in the preparation of this volume, and to Dr. James G. McManaway, secretary of the research unit at the Johns Hopkins.

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THE FAERIE QVEENE.

Disposed into twelue bookes,

Fashioning

XII. Morall vertues.



LONDON

Printed for VVilliam Ponsonbic.

1 5 9 6.



TO
THE MOST HIGH,
MIGHTIE
And
MAGNIFICENT
EMPRESSE RENOVV-
MED FOR PIETIE, VER-
TVE, AND ALL GRATIOVS
GOVERNMENT ELIZABETH BY
THE GRACE OF GOD QVEENE
OF ENGLAND FRAVNCE AND
IRELAND AND OF VIRGI-
NIA, DEFENDOV R OF THE
FAITH, &c . HER MOST
HVMBLE SERVAVNT
EDMVND SPENSER
DOTH IN ALL HV-
MILITIE DEDI-
CATE, PRE-
SENT
AND CONSECRATE THESE
HIS LABOVRS TO LIVE
VVITH THE ETERNI-
TIE OF HER
FAME.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE

FAERIE QVEENE.

Contayning

THE LEGENDE OF THE
KNIGHT OF THE RED CROSSE,

OR

OF HOLINESSE.



O I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,
As time her taught in lowly Shepheards weeds,
Am now enforst a far vnfitter taske,
For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds,
And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds;
Whose prayes hauing slept in silence long,
Me, all too meane, the sacred Muse arceads
To blazon broad emongst her learned throng:
Fierce warres and faithfull loues shall moralize my song.

i

Helpe then, O holy Virgin chiefe of nine,
Thy weaker Nouice to performe thy will,
Lay forth out of thine cuerlasting scryne
The antique rolles, which there lye hidden still,
Of Faerie knights and fairest *Tanaquill*,
Whom that most noble Briton Prince so long
Sought through the world, and suffered so much ill,
That I must rue his vnderued wrong:
O helpe thou my weake wit, and sharpen my dull tong.

ii

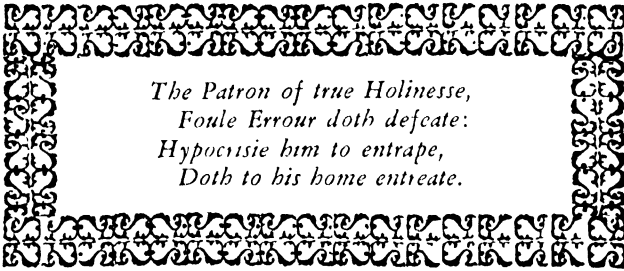
And thou most dreaded impe of highest *Ioue*,
Faire *Venus* sonne, that with thy cruell dart
At that good knight so cunningly didst roue,
That glorious fire it kindled in his hart,
Lay now thy deadly Heben bow apart,
And with thy mother milde come to mine ayde:
Come both, and with you bring triumphant *Mart*,
In loues and gentle iollities arrayd,
After his murtherous spoiles and bloudy rage allayd.

iii

And with them eke, O Goddess heauenly bright,
Mirrour of grace and Maiestie diuine,
Great Lady of the greatest Isle, whose light
Like *Phæbus* lampe throughout the world doth shine,
Shed thy faire beames into my feeble eyne,
And raise my thoughts too humble and too vile,
To thinke of that true glorious type of thine,
The argument of mine afflicted stile:
The which to heare, vouchsafe, O dearest dred a-while.

iv

Cant. I.



A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
 Y cladd in mightie armes and siluer shielde,
 Wherein old dints of deepe wounds did remaine,
 The cruell markes of many' a bloody fielde;
 Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield:
 His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
 As much disdayning to the curbe to yield :
 Full iolly knight he seemd, and faire did sitt,
 As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fitt.

i

But on his brest a bloudie Crosse he bore,
 The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
 For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,
 And dead as liuing euer him ador'd:
 Vpon his shield the like was also scor'd,
 For soueraigne hope, which in his helpe he had:
 Right faithfull true he was in deede and word,
 But of his cheere did seeme too solemne sad;
 Yet nothing did he dread, but euer was ydrad.

ii

Vpon a great aduenture he was bond,
 That greatest *Gloriana* to him gaue,
 That greatest Glorious Qucene of *Faerie* lond,
 To winne him worship, and her grace to haue,
 Which of all earthly things he most did craue;
 And euer as he rode, his hart did earne
 To proue his puissance in battell braue
 Vpon his foe, and his new force to learne;
 Vpon his foe, a Dragon horrible and stearne.

iii

- A louely Ladie rode him faire beside, iv
 Vpon a lowly Asse more white then snow,
 Yet she much whiter, but the same did hide
 Vnder a vele, that wimpled was full low,
 And ouer all a blacke stole she did throw,
 As one that inly mournd: so was she sad,
 And heauie sat vpon her palfrey slow;
 Seemed in heart some hidden care she had,
 And by her in a line a milke white lambe she lad.
- So pure an innocent, as that same lambe, v
 She was in life and euery vertuous lore,
 And by descent from Royall lynage came
 Of ancient Kings and Queenes, that had of yore
 Their scepters stretcht from East to Western shore,
 And all the world in their subiection held;
 Till that infernall feend with foule vpror
 Forwasted all their land, and them expeld:
 Whom to auenge, she had this Knight from far compeld.
- Behind her farre away a Dwarfe did lag, vi
 That lasie seemd in being euer last,
 Or wearied with bearing of her bag
 Of needments at his backe. Thus as they past,
 The day with cloudes was suddeine ouercast,
 And angry *Ioue* an hideous storme of raine
 Did poure into his Lemans lap so fast,
 That euery wight to shrowd it did constrain,
 And this faire couple eke to shroud themselues were fain.
- Enforst to seeke some couert nigh at hand, vii
 A shadie groue not far away they spide,
 That promist ayde the tempest to withstand:
 Whose loftie trees yclad with sommers pride,
 Did spred so broad, that heauens light did hide,
 Not perceable with power of any starre:
 And all within were pathes and alleies wide,
 With footing worne, and leading inward farre:
 Faire harbour that them seemes; so in they entred arre.

viii

And foorth they passe, with pleasure forward led,
Ioying to heare the birdes sweete harmony,
Which therein shrouded from the tempest dred,
Seemd in their song to scorne the cruell sky.
Much can they prayse the trees so straight and hy,
The sayling Pine, the Cedar proud and tall,
The vine-prop Elme, the Poplar neuer dry,
The builder Oake, sole king of forrests all,
The Aspine good for staues, the Cypresse funerall.

ix

The Laurell, meed of mightie Conquerours
And Poets sage, the Firre that weepeth still,
The Willow worne of forlorne Paramours,
The Eugh obedient to the benders will,
The Birch for shaftes, the Sallow for the mill,
The Mirrhe sweete bleeding in the bitter wound,
The warlike Beech, the Ash for nothing ill,
The fruitfull Oliue, and the Platane round,
The caruer Holme, the Maple seeldom inward sound.

x

Led with delight, they thus beguile the way,
Vntill the blustering storme is ouerblowne;
When weening to returne, whence they did stray,
They cannot finde that path, which first was showne,
But wander too and fro in wayes vnknowne,
Furthest from end then, when they neereest weene,
That makes them doubt, their wits be not their owne:
So many pathes, so many turnings seene,
That which of them to take, in diuerse doubt they been.

xi

At last resolving forward still to fare,
Till that some end they finde or in or out,
That path they take, that beaten seemd most bare,
And like to lead the labyrinth about;
Which when by tract they hunted had throughout,
At length it brought them to a hollow caue,
Amid the thickest woods. The Champion stout
Eftsoones dismounted from his courser braue,
And to the Dwarfe a while his needlesse spere he gaue.

Be well aware, quoth then that Ladie milde, xii
 Least suddaine mischiefe ye too rash prouoke:
 The danger hid, the place vnknowne and wilde,
 Breedes dreadfull doubts: Oft fire is without smoke,
 And perill without show: therefore your stroke
 Sir knight with-hold, till further triall made.
 Ah Ladie (said he) shame were to reuoke
 The forward footing for an hidden shade:
 Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade.

Yea but (quoth she) the perill of this place xiii
 I better wot then you, though now too late
 To wish you backe returne with foule disgrace,
 Yet wisdomes warnes, whilst foot is in the gate,
 To stay the steppe, ere forced to retrate.
 This is the wandring wood, this *Errorrs den*,
 A monster vile, whom God and man does hate:
 Therefore I read beware. Fly fly (quoth then
 The fearefull Dwarfe:) this is no place for liuing men.

But full of fire and greedy hardiment, xiv
 The youthfull knight could not for ought be staide,
 But forth vnto the darksome hole he went,
 And looked in: his glistring armor made
 A litle glooming light, much like a shade,
 By which he saw the vgly monster plaine,
 Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide,
 But th'other halfe did womans shape retaine,
 Most lothsom, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdain.

And as she lay vpon the durtie ground, xv
 Her huge long taile her den all ouerspred,
 Yet was in knots and many boughtes vpwound,
 Pointed with mortall sting. Of her there bred
 A thousand yong ones, which she dayly fed,
 Sucking vpon her poisonous dugs, eachone
 Of sundry shapes, yet all ill fauored:
 Soone as that vncouth light vpon them shone,
 Into her mouth they crept, and suddain all were gone.

Their dam vpstart, out of her den effraide,
And rushed forth, hurling her hideous taile
About her cursed head, whose folds displaid
Were stretcht now forth at length without entraile.
She lookt about, and seeing one in mayle
Armed to point, sought backe to turne againe;
For light she hated as the deadly bale,
Ay wont in desert darknesse to remaine,
Where plaine none might her see, nor she see any plaine.

xvi

Which when the valiant Elfe perceiu'd, he leapt
As Lyon fierce vpon the flying pray,
And with his trenchand blade her boldly kept
From turning backe, and forced her to stay:
Therewith enrag'd she loudly gan to bray,
And turning fierce, her speckled taile aduaunst,
Threatning her angry sting, him to dismay:
Who nought aghast, his mightie hand enhaunst:
The stroke down from her head vnto her shoulder glaunst.

xvii

Much daunted with that dint, her sence was dazd,
Yet kindling rage, her selfe she gathered round,
And all attonce her beastly body raizd
With doubled forces high aboue the ground:
Tho wrapping vp her wrethed sterne arownd,
Lept fierce vpon his shield, and her huge traine
All suddenly about his body wound,
That hand or foot to stirre he stroue in vaine:
God helpe the man so wrapt in *Errours* endlesse traine.

xviii

His Lady sad to see his sore constraint,
Cride out, Now now Sir knight, shew what ye bee,
Add faith vnto your force, and be not faint:
Strangle her, else she sure will strangle thee.
That when he heard, in great perplexitie,
His gall did grate for griefe and high disdaine,
And knitting all his force got one hand free,
Wherewith he grypt her gorge with so great paine,
That soone to loose her wicked bands did her constraîne.

xix

Therewith she spewd out of her filthy maw xx
 A floud of poyson horrible and blacke,
 Full of great lumpes of flesh and gobbets raw,
 Which stunck so vildly, that it forst him slacke
 His grasping hold, and from her turne him backe:
 Her vomit full of bookes and papers was,
 With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke,
 And creeping sought way in the weedy gras:
 Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has.

As when old father *Nilus* gins to swell xxi
 With timely pride about the *Aegyptian* vale,
 His fattie waues do fertile slime outwell,
 And ouerflow each plaine and lowly dale:
 But when his later spring gins to auale,
 Huge heapes of mudd he leaues, wherein there breed
 Ten thousand kindes of creatures, partly male
 And partly female of his fruitfull seed;
 Such vgly monstrous shapes elsewhere may no man reed.

The same so sore annoyed has the knight, xxii
 That welnigh choked with the deadly stinke,
 His forces faile, ne can no longer fight.
 Whose corage when the feend perceiu'd to shrink,
 She poured forth out of her hellish sinke
 Her fruitfull cursed spawne of serpents small,
 Deformed monsters, fowle, and blacke as inke,
 Which swarming all about his legs did crall,
 And him encombred sore, but could not hurt at all.

As gentle Shepheard in sweete euen-tide, xxiii
 When ruddy *Phæbus* gins to welke in west,
 High on an hill, his flocke to vewen wide,
 Markes which do byte their hasty supper best;
 A cloud of combrous gnattes do him molest,
 All striuing to infixe their feeble stings,
 That from their noyance he no where can rest,
 But with his clownish hands their tender wings
 He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings.

Thus ill bestedd, and fearefull more of shame,
Then of the certaine perill he stood in,
Halfe furious vnto his foe he came,
Resolv'd in minde all suddenly to win,
Or soone to lose, before he once would lin;
And strooke at her with more then manly force,
That from her body full of filthie sin
He raft her hatefull head without remorse;
A streame of cole black bloud forth gushed from her corse.

xxiv

Her scattred brood, soone as their Parent deare
They saw so rudely falling to the ground,
Groning full deadly, all with troublous feare,
Gathred themselues about her body round,
Weening their wonted entrance to haue found
At her wide mouth: but being there withstood
They flocked all about her bleeding wound,
And sucked vp their dying mothers blood,
Making her death their life, and eke her hurt their good.

xxv

That detestable sight him much amazde,
To see th'vnkindly Impes of heauen accurst,
Deuoure their dam; on whom while so he gazd,
Hauing all satisfide their bloody thirst,
Their bellies swolne he saw with fulnesse burst,
And bowels gushing forth: well worthy end
Of such as drunke her life, the which them nurst;
Now needeth him no lenger labour spend,
His foes haue slaine themselues, with whom he should contend.

xxvi

His Ladie seeing all, that chaunst, from farre
Approcht in hast to greet his victorie,
And said, Faire knight, borne vnder happy starre,
Who see your vanquisht foes before you lye:
Well worthy be you of that Armorie,
Wherein ye haue great glory wonne this day,
And prou'd your strength on a strong enimie,
Your first aduenture: many such I pray,
And henceforth euer wish, that like succeed it may.

xxvii

Then mounted he vpon his Steede againe,
 And with the Lady backward sought to wend;
 That path he kept, which beaten was most plaine,
 Ne cuer would to any by-way bend,
 But still did follow one vnto the end,
 The which at last out of the wood them brought.
 So forward on his way (with God to frend)
 He passed forth, and new aduenture sought;
 Long way he trauelled, before he heard of ought.

xxviii

At length they chaunst to meet vpon the way
 An aged Sire, in long blacke weedes yclad,
 His fecte all bare, his beard all hoarie gray,
 And by his belt his booke he hanging had;
 Sober he seemde, and very sagely sad,
 And to the ground his eyes were lowly bent,
 Simple in shew, and voyde of malice bad,
 And all the way he prayed, as he went,
 And often knockt his brest, as one that did repent.

xxix

He faire the knight saluted, louting low,
 Who faire him quited, as that courteous was:
 And after asked him, if he did know
 Of straunge aduentures, which abroad did pas.
 Ah my deare Sonne (quoth he) how should, alas,
 Silly old man, that liues in hidden cell,
 Bidding his beades all day for his trespass,
 Tydings of warre and worldly trouble tell?
 With holy father sits not with such things to mell.

xxx

But if of daunger which hereby doth dwell,
 And homebred euill ye desire to heare,
 Of a straunge man I can you tidings tell,
 That wasteth all this countrey farre and neare.
 Of such (said he) I chiefly do inquire,
 And shall you well reward to shew the place,
 In which that wicked wight his dayes doth weare:
 For to all knighthood it is foule disgrace,
 That such a cursed creature liues so long a space.

xxxi

Far hence (quoth he) in wastfull wildernesse
His dwelling is, by which no liuing wight
May euer passe, but thorough great distresse.
Now (sayd the Lady) draweth toward night,
And well I wote, that of your later fight
Ye all forwearied be: for what so strong,
But wanting rest will also want of might?
The Sunne that measures heauen all day long,
At night doth baite his steedes the *Ocean* waues emong.

xxxii

Then with the Sunne take Sir, your timely rest,
And with new day new worke at once begin:
Vntroubled night they say giues counsell best.
Right well Sir knight ye haue aduised bin,
(Quoth then that aged man;) the way to win
Is wisely to aduise: now day is spent;
Therefore with me ye may take vp your In
For this same night. The knight was well content:
So with that godly father to his home they went.

xxxiii

A little lowly Hermitage it was,
Downe in a dale, hard by a forests side,
Far from resort of people, that did pas
In trauell to and froe: a little wyde
There was an holy Chappell edifyde,
Wherein the Hermite dewly wont to say
His holy things each morne and euentide:
Thereby a Christall streame did gently play,
Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway.

xxxiv

Arriued there, the little house they fill,
Ne looke for entertainment, where none was:
Rest is their feast, and all things at their will;
The noblest mind the best contentment has.
With faire discourse the euening so they pas:
For that old man of pleasing wordes had store,
And well could file his tongue as smooth as glas;
He told of Saintes and Popes, and euermore
He strowd an *Aue-Mary* after and before.

xxxv

The drouping Night thus creepeth on them fast,
 And the sad humour loading their eye liddes,
 As messenger of *Morpheus* on them cast
 Sweet slombring deaw, the which to sleepe them biddes.
 Vnto their lodgings then his gwestes he riddes:
 Where when all drownd in deadly sleepe he findes,
 He to his study goes, and there amidde
 His Magick bookes and artes of sundry kindes,
 He seekes out mighty charmes, to trouble sleepy mindes.

xxxvi

Then choosing out few wordes most horrible,
 (Let none them read) thereof did verses frame,
 With which and other spelles like terrible,
 He bad awake blacke *Plutoes* griesly Dame,
 And cursed heauen, and spake reprochfull shame
 Of highest God, the Lord of life and light;
 A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name
 Great *Gorgon*, Prince of darknesse and dead night,
 At which *Cocytus* quakes, and *Styx* is put to flight.

xxxvii

And forth he cald out of deepe darknesse dred
 Legions of Sprights, the which like little flyes
 Fluttring about his euer damned hed,
 A-waite whereto their seruice he applyes,
 To aide his friends, or fray his enimies:
 Of those he chose out two, the falsest twoo,
 And fittest for to forge true-seeming lyes;
 The one of them he gaue a message too,
 The other by him selfe staide other worke to doo.

xxxviii

He making speedy way through spersed ayre,
 And through the world of waters wide and deepe,
 To *Morpheus* house doth hastily repaire.
 Amid the bowels of the earth full steepe,
 And low, where dawning day doth neuer peepe,
 His dwelling is; there *Tethys* his wet bed
 Doth euer wash, and *Cynthia* still doth steepe
 In siluer deaw his euer-drouping hed,
 Whiles sad Night ouer him her mantle black doth spred.

xxxix

Whose double gates he findeth locked fast,
The one faire fram'd of burnisht Yuory,
The other all with siluer ouercast;
And wakefull dogges before them farre do lye,
Watching to banish Care their enemy,
Who oft is wont to trouble gentle Sleepe.
By them the Sprite doth passe in quietly,
And vnto *Morpheus* comes, whom drowned deepe
In drowsie fit he findes: of nothing he takes keepe.

xl

And more, to lulle him in his slumber soft,
A trickling streame from high rocke tumbling downe
And euer-drizling raine vpon the loft,
Mixt with a murmuring winde, much like the sowne
Of swarming Bees, did cast him in a swowne:
No other noyse, nor peoples troublous cries,
As still are wont t'annoy the walled towne,
Might there be heard: but carelesse Quiet lyes,
Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enemyes.

xli

The messenger approaching to him spake,
But his wast wordes returnd to him in vaine:
So sound he slept, that nought mought him awake.
Then rudely he him thrust, and pusht with paine,
Whereat he gan to stretch: but he againe
Shooke him so hard, that forced him to speake.
As one then in a dreame, whose dryer braine
Is tost with troubled sights and fancies weake,
He mumbled soft, but would not all his silence breake.

xlii

The Sprite then gan more boldly him to wake,
And threatned vnto him the dreaded name
Of *Hecate*: whereat he gan to quake,
And lifting vp his lumpish head, with blame
Halfe angry asked him, for what he came.
Hither (quoth he) me *Archimago* sent,
He that the stubborne Sprites can wisely tame,
He bids thee to him send for his intent
A fit false dreame, that can delude the sleepers sent.

xliii

The God obeyde, and calling forth straight way
 A diuerse dreame out of his prison darke,
 Deliuered it to him, and downe did lay
 His heauie head, deuoid of carefull carke,
 Whose sences all were straight benumbd and starke.
 He backe returning by the Yuorie dore,
 Remounted vp as light as chearefull Larke,
 And on his litle winges the dreame he bore
 In hast vnto his Lord, where he him left afore.

xliv

Who all this while with charmes and hidden artes,
 Had made a Lady of that other Spright,
 And fram'd of liquid ayre her tender partes
 So liuely, and so like in all mens sight,
 That weaker sence it could haue raiisht quight:
 The maker selfe for all his wondrous witt,
 Was nigh beguiled with so goodly sight:
 Her all in white he clad, and ouer it
 Cast a blacke stole, most like to seeme for *Vna* fit.

xlv

Now when that ydle dreame was to him brought,
 Vnto that Elfin knight he bad him fly,
 Where he slept soundly void of euill thought,
 And with false shewes abuse his fantasy,
 In sort as he him schooled priuily:
 And that new creature borne without her dew,
 Full of the makers guile, with vsage sly
 He taught to imitate that Lady trew,
 Whose semblance she did carrie vnder feigned hew.

xlvi

Thus well instructed, to their worke they hast,
 And comming where the knight in slomber lay,
 The one vpon his hardy head him plast,
 And made him dreame of loues and lustfull play,
 That nigh his manly hart did melt away,
 Bathed in wanton blis and wicked ioy:
 Then seemed him his Lady by him lay,
 And to him playnd, how that false winged boy,
 Her chast hart had subdewd, to learne Dame pleasures toy.

xlvii

And she her selfe of beautie soueraigne Queene,
 Faire *Venus* seemde vnto his bed to bring
 Her, whom he waking euermore did weene,
 To be the chastest flowre, that ay did spring
 On earthly braunch, the daughter of a king,
 Now a loose Leman to vile seruice bound:
 And eke the *Graces* seemed all to sing,
Hymen iō Hymen, dauncing all around,
 Whilst freshest *Flora* her with Yuie girlond crownd.

xlvi

In this great passion of vnwonted lust,
 Or wonted feare of doing ought amis,
 He started vp, as seeming to mistrust
 Some secret ill, or hidden foe of his:
 Lo there before his face his Lady is,
 Vnder blake stole hyding her bayted hooke,
 And as halfe blushing offred him to kis,
 With gentle blandishment and louely looke,
 Most like that virgin true, which for her knight him took.

xlix

All cleane dismayd to see so vncouth sight,
 And halfe enraged at her shamelesse guise,
 He thought haue slaine her in his fierce despight:
 But hasty heat tempring with sufferance wise,
 He stayde his hand, and gan himselfe aduise
 To proue his sense, and tempt her faigned truth.
 Wringing her hands in wemens pitteous wise,
 Tho can she weepe, to stirre vp gentle ruth,
 Both for her noble bloud, and for her tender youth.

l

And said, Ah Sir, my liege Lord and my loue,
 Shall I accuse the hidden cruell fate,
 And mightie causes wrought in heauen aboue,
 Or the blind God, that doth me thus amate,
 For hoped loue to winne me certaine hate?
 Yet thus perforce he bids me do, or die.
 Die is my dew: yet rew my wretched state
 You, whom my hard auenging destinie
 Hath made iudge of my life or death indifferently.

li

Your owne deare sake forst me at first to leaue
 My Fathers kingdome, There she stopt with teares;
 Her swollen hart her speach seemd to bereaue,
 And then againe begun, My weaker yeares
 Captiu'd to fortune and frayle worldly feares,
 Fly to your faith for succour and sure ayde:
 Let me not dye in languor and long teares.
 Why Dame (quoth he) what hath ye thus dismayd?
 What frayes ye, that were wont to comfort me affrayd?

lii

Loue of your selfe, she said, and deare constraint
 Lets me not sleepe, but wast the wearie night
 In secret anguish and vn pittied plaint,
 Whiles you in carelesse sleepe are drowned quight.
 Her doubtfull words made that redoubted knight
 Suspect her truth: yet since no vntruth he knew,
 Her fawning loue with foule disdainefull spight
 He would not shend, but said, Deare dame I rew,
 That for my sake vnknowne such grieve vnto you grew.

liii

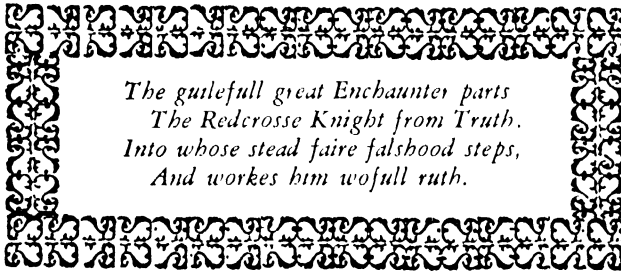
Assure your selfe, it fell not all to ground;
 For all so deare as life is to my hart,
 I deeme your loue, and hold me to you bound;
 Ne let vaine feares procure your needlesse smart,
 Where cause is none, but to your rest depart.
 Not all content, yet seemd she to appease
 Her mournefull plaintes, beguiled of her art,
 And fed with words, that could not chuse but please,
 So slyding softly forth, she turnd as to her ease.

liv

Long after lay he musing at her mood,
 Much grieu'd to thinke that gentle Dame so light,
 For whose defence he was to shed his blood.
 At last dull wearinesse of former fight
 Hauing yrockt a sleepe his irkesome spright,
 That troublous dreame gan freshly tosse his braine,
 With bowres, and beds, and Ladies deare delight:
 But when he saw his labour all was vaine,
 With that misformed spright he backe returnd againe.

lv

Cant. II.



BY this the Northerne wagoner had set
His seuenfold teme behind the stedfast starre,
That was in Ocean waues yet neuer wet,
But firme is fixt, and sendeth light from farre
To all, that in the wide deepe wandring arre:
And chearefull Chaunticlere with his note shrill
Had warned once, that *Phæbus* fiery carre
In hast was climbing vp the Easterne hill,
Full enuious that night so long his roome did fill.

i

When those accursed messengers of hell,
That feigning dreame, and that faire-forged Spright
Came to their wicked maister, and gan tell
Their bootelesse paines, and ill succeeding night:
Who all in rage to see his skilfull might
Deluded so, gan threaten hellish paine
And sad *Proserpines* wrath, them to affright.
But when he saw his threatning was but vaine,
He cast about, and searcht his balefull bookes againe.

ii

Eftsoones he tooke that miscreated faire,
And that false other Spright, on whom he spred
A seeming body of the subtile aire,
Like a young Squire, in loues and lusty-hed
His wanton dayes that euer loosely led,
Without regard of armes and dreaded fight:
Those two he tooke, and in a secret bed,
Couered with darknesse and misdeeming night,
Them both together laid, to ioy in vaine delight.

iii

Forthwith he runnes with feigned faithfull hast
 Vnto his guest, who after troublous sights
 And dreames, gan now to take more sound repast,
 Whom suddenly he wakes with fearefull frights,
 As one aghast with feends or damned sprights,
 And to him cals, Rise rise vnhappy Swaine,
 That here wex old in sleepe, whiles wicked wights
 Haue knit themselues in *Venus* shamefull chaine;
 Come see, where your false Lady doth her honour staine.

iv

All in amaze he suddenly vp start
 With sword in hand, and with the old man went;
 Who soone him brought into a secret part,
 Where that false couple were full closely ment
 In wanton lust and lewd embracement:
 Which when he saw, he burnt with gealous fire,
 The eye of reason was with rage yblent,
 And would haue slaine them in his furious ire,
 But hardly was restrained of that aged sire.

v

Returning to his bed in torment great,
 And bitter anguish of his guiltie sight,
 He could not rest, but did his stout heart eat,
 And wast his inward gall with deepe despight,
 Yrkesome of life, and too long lingring night.
 At last faire *Hesperus* in highest skie
 Had spent his lampe, and brought forth dawning light,
 Then vp he rose, and clad him hastily;
 The Dwarfe him brought his steed: so both away do fly.

vi

Now when the rosy-fingred Morning faire,
 Weary of aged *Tithones* saffron bed,
 Had spred her purple robe through dewy aire,
 And the high hils *Titan* discovered,
 The royall virgin shooke off drowsy-hed,
 And rising forth out of her baser bowre,
 Lookt for her knight, who far away was fled,
 And for her Dwarfe, that wont to wait each houre;
 Then gan she waile and weepe, to see that woefull stowe.

vii

And after him she rode with so much speede
 As her slow beast could make; but all in vaine:
 For him so far had borne his light-foot steede,
 Pricked with wrath and fiery fierce disdainē,
 That him to follow was but fruitlesse paine;
 Yet she her weary limbes would neuer rest,
 But euery hill and dale, each wood and plaine
 Did search, sore griued in her gentle brest,
 He so vngently left her, whom she loued best.

viii

But subtill *Archimago*, when his guests
 He saw diuided into double parts,
 And *Vna* wandring in woods and forrests,
 Th'end of his drift, he praised his diuelish arts,
 That had such might ouer true meaning harts;
 Yet rests not so, but other meanes doth make,
 How he may worke vnto her further smarts:
 For her he hated as the hissing snake,
 And in her many troubles did most pleasure take.

ix

He then deuise himselfe how to disguise;
 For by his mightie science he could take
 As many formes and shapes in seeming wise,
 As euer *Proteus* to himselfe could make:
 Sometime a fowle, sometime a fish in lake,
 Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell,
 That of himselfe he oft for feare would quake,
 And oft would flie away. O who can tell
 The hidden power of herbes, and might of Magicke spell?

x

But now seemde best, the person to put on
 Of that good knight, his late beguiled guest:
 In mighty armes he was yclad anon,
 And siluer shield: vpon his coward brest
 A bloudy crosse, and on his crauen crest
 A bouch of haire discoloured diuersly:
 Full iolly knight he seemde, and well addrest,
 And when he sate vpon his courser free,
Saint George himself ye would haue deemed him to be.

xi

But he the knight, whose semblaunt he did beare,
 The true *Saint George* was wandred far away,
 Still flying from his thoughts and gealous feare;
 Will was his guide, and grieve led him astray.
 At last him chaunst to meete vpon the way
 A faithlesse Sarazin all arm'd to point,
 In whose great shield was writ with letters gay
Sans foy: full large of limbe and euery ioint
 He was, and cared not for God or man a point.

xii

He had a faire companion of his way,
 A goodly Lady clad in scarlot red,
 Purpled with gold and pearle of rich assay,
 And like a *Persian* mitre on her hed
 She wore, with crownes and owches garnished,
 The which her lauish louers to her gaue;
 Her wanton palfrey all was ouerspred
 With tinsell trappings, wouen like a waue,
 Whose bridle rung with golden bells and bosses braue.

xiii

With faire disport and courting dalliaunce
 She intertaine her louer all the way:
 But when she saw the knight his speare aduaunce,
 She soone left off her mirth and wanton play,
 And bad her knight addresse him to the fray:
 His foe was nigh at hand. He prickt with pride
 And hope to winne his Ladies heart that day,
 Forth spurred fast: adowne his coursers side
 The red blood trickling staid the way, as he did ride.

xiv

The knight of the *Redcrosse* when him he spide,
 Spurring so hote with rage dispiteous,
 Gan fairely couch his speare, and towards ride:
 Soone meete they both, both fell and furious,
 That daunted with their forces hideous,
 Their steeds do stagger, and amazed stand,
 And eke themselues too rudely rigorous,
 Astonied with the stroke of their owne hand,
 Do backe rebut, and each to other yeeldeth land.

xv

As when two rams stird with ambitious pride,
Fight for the rule of the rich fleeced flocke,
Their horned fronts so fierce on either side
Do meete, that with the terrour of the shooke
Astonied both, stand sencelesse as a blocke,
Forgetfull of the hanging victory:
So stood these twaine, vnmoued as a rocke,
Both staring fierce, and holding idely
The broken reliques of their former cruelty.

xvi

The *Sarazin* sore daunted with the buffe
Snatcheth his sword, and fiercely to him flies;
Who well it wards, and quyteth cuff with cuff:
Each others equall puissaunce enuies,
And through their iron sides with cruell spies
Does seeke to perce: repining courage yields
No foote to foe. The flashing fier flies
As from a forge out of their burning shields,
And streames of purple bloud new dies the verdant fields.

xvii

Curse on that Crosse (quoth then the *Sarazin*)
That keepes thy body from the bitter fit;
Dead long ygoe I wote thou haddest bin,
Had not that charme from thee forwarned it:
But yet I warne thee now assured sitt,
And hide thy head. Therewith vpon his crest
With rigour so outrageous he smitt,
That a large share it hewd out of the rest,
And glauncing downe his shield, from blame him fairely blest.

xviii

Who thereat wondrous wroth, the sleeping spark
Of natue vertue gan eftsoones reuiue,
And at his haughtie helmet making mark,
So hugely stroke, that it the steele did riue,
And cleft his head. He tumbling downe aliue,
With bloody mouth his mother earth did kis,
Greeting his graue: his grudging ghost did striue
With the fraile flesh; at last it flitted is,
Whither the soules do fly of men, that liue amis.

xix

The Lady when she saw her champion fall,
 Like the old ruines of a broken towre,
 Staid not to waile his woefull funerall,
 But from him fled away with all her powre;
 Who after her as hastily gan scowre,
 Bidding the Dwarfe with him to bring away
 The *Sarazins* shield, signe of the conqueroure.
 Her soone he ouertooke, and bad to stay,
 For present cause was none of dread her to dismay.

xx

She turning backe with ruefull countenaunce,
 Cride, Mercy mercy Sir vouchsafe to show
 On silly Dame, subiect to hard mischaunce,
 And to your mighty will. Her humblesse low
 In so ritch weedes and seeming glorious show,
 Did much emmoue his stout heroïcke heart,
 And said, Deare dame, your suddein ouerthrow
 Much rueth me; but now put feare apart,
 And tell, both who ye be, and who that tooke your part.

xxi

Melting in teares, then gan she thus lament;
 The wretched woman, whom vnhappy howre
 Hath now made thrall to your commandement,
 Before that angry heauens list to lowre,
 And fortune false betraide me to your powre,
 Was, (O what now auaieth that I was!)
 Borne the sole daughter of an Emperour,
 He that the wide West vnder his rule has,
 And high hath set his throne, where *Tiberis* doth pas.

xxii

He in the first flowre of my freshest age,
 Betrothed me vnto the onely haire
 Of a most mighty king, most rich and sage;
 Was neuer Prince so faithfull and so faire,
 Was neuer Prince so meeke and debonaire;
 But ere my hoped day of spousall shone,
 My dearest Lord fell from high honours staire,
 Into the hands of his accursed fone,
 And cruelly was slaine, that shall I euer mone.

xxiii

His blessed body spoild of liuely breath,
Was afterward, I know not how, conuaid
And fro me hid: of whose most innocent death
When tidings came to me vnhappy maid,
O how great sorrow my sad soule assaid.
Then forth I went his woefull corse to find,
And many yeares throughout the world I straid,
A virgin widow, whose deepe wounded mind
With loue, long time did languish as the stricken hind.

xxiv

At last it chaunced this proud *Sarazin*,
To meete me wandring, who perforce me led
With him away, but yet could neuer win
The Fort, that Ladies hold in soueraigne dread.
There lies he now with foule dishonour dead,
Who whiles he liu'de, was called proud *Sans foy*,
The eldest of three brethren, all three bred
Of one bad sire, whose youngest is *Sans ioy*,
And twixt them both was borne the bloody bold *Sans loy*.

xxv

In this sad plight, friendlesse, vnfortunate,
Now miserable I *Fidessa* dwell,
Crauing of you in pittie of my state,
To do none ill, if please ye not do well.
He in great passion all this while did dwell,
More busying his quicke eyes, her face to view,
Then his dull eares, to heare what she did tell;
And said, Faire Lady hart of flint would rew
The vnderued woes and sorrowes, which ye shew.

xxvi

Henceforth in safe assuraunce may ye rest,
Hauing both found a new friend you to aid,
And lost an old foe, that did you molest:
Better new friend then an old foe is said.
With chaunge of cheare the seeming simple maid
Let fall her eyen, as shamefast to the earth,
And yeelding soft, in that she nought gain-said,
So forth they rode, he feining seemely merth,
And she coy lookes: so dainty they say maketh derth.

xxvii

Long time they thus together traueiled,
 Till weary of their way, they came at last,
 Where grew two goodly trees, that faire did spread
 Their armes abroad, with gray mosse ouercast,
 And their greene leaues trembling with euery blast,
 Made a calme shadow far in compasse round:
 The fearefull Shepheard often there aghast
 Vnder them neuer sat, ne wont there sound
 His mery oaten pipe, but shund th'vn lucky ground.

xxviii

But this good knight soone as he them can spie,
 For the coole shade him thither hastily got:
 For golden *Phæbus* now ymounted hie,
 From fiery wheelles of his faire chariot
 Hurl'd his beame so scorching cruell hot,
 That liuing creature mote it not abide;
 And his new Lady it endured not.
 There they alight, in hope themselues to hide
 From the fierce heat, and rest their weary limbs a tide.

xxix

Faire seemely pleasaunce each to other makes,
 With goodly purposes there as they sit:
 And in his fals'd fancy he her takes
 To be the fairest wight, that liued yit;
 Which to expresse, he bends his gentle wit,
 And thinking of those braunches greene to frame
 A girlond for her dainty forehead fit,
 He pluckt a bough; out of whose rift there came
 Small drops of gory blood, that trickled downe the same.

xxx

Therewith a piteous yelling voyce was heard,
 Crying, O spare with guilty hands to teare
 My tender sides in this rough rynd embard,
 But fly, ah fly far hence away, for feare
 Least to you hap, that happened to me heare,
 And to this wretched Lady, my deare loue,
 O too deare loue, loue bought with death too deare.
 Astond he stood, and vp his haire did houe,
 And with that suddein horror could no member moue.

xxxi

- At last whenas the dreadfull passion xxxii
 Was ouerpast, and manhood well awake,
 Yet musing at the straunge occasion,
 And doubting much his sence, he thus bespake;
 What voyce of damned Ghost from *Limbo* lake,
 Or guilefull spright wandring in empty aire,
 Both which fraile men do oftentimes mistake,
 Sends to my doubtfull eares these speaches rare,
 And ruefull plaints, me bidding guiltlesse bloud to spare?
- Then groning deepe, Nor damned Ghost, (quoth he,) xxxiii
 Nor guilefull sprite to thee these wordes doth speake,
 But once a man *Fradubio*, now a tree,
 Wretched man, wretched tree; whose nature weake,
 A cruell witch her cursed will to wreake,
 Hath thus transformd, and plast in open plaines,
 Where *Boreas* doth blow full bitter bleake,
 And scorching Sunne does dry my secret vaines:
 For though a tree I seeme, yet cold and heat me paines.
- Say on *Fradubio* then, or man, or tree, xxxiv
 Quoth then the knight, by whose mischieuous arts
 Art thou misshaped thus, as now I see?
 He oft finds med'cine, who his grieffe imparts;
 But double griefs afflict concealing harts,
 As raging flames who striueth to suppress.
 The author then (said he) of all my smarts,
 Is one *Duessa* a false sorccresse,
 That many errant knights hath brought to wretchednesse.
- In prime of youthly yeares, when corage hot xxxv
 The fire of loue and ioy of cheualree
 First kindled in my brest, it was my lot
 To loue this gentle Lady, whom ye see,
 Now not a Lady, but a seeming tree;
 With whom as once I rode accompanyde,
 Me chaunced of a knight encountred bee,
 That had a like faire Lady by his syde,
 Like a faire Lady, but did fowle *Duessa* hyde.

Whose forged beauty he did take in hand,
 All other Dames to haue exceeded farre;
 I in defence of mine did likewise stand,
 Mine, that did then shine as the Morning starre:
 So both to battell fierce arraunged arre,
 In which his harder fortune was to fall
 Vnder my speare: such is the dye of warre:
 His Lady left as a prise martiall,
 Did yield her comely person, to be at my call.

xxxvi

So doubly lou'd of Ladies vnlike faire,
 Th'one seeming such, the other such indeede,
 One day in doubt I cast for to compare,
 Whether in beauties glorie did exceede;
 A Rosy girlond was the victors meede:
 Both seemde to win, and both seemde won to bee,
 So hard the discord was to be agreede.
Faelissa was as faire, as faire mote bee,
 And euer false *Duess*a seemde as faire as shee.

xxxvii

The wicked witch now seeing all this while
 The doubtfull ballaunce equally to sway,
 What not by right, she cast to win by guile,
 And by her hellish science raisd streight way
 A foggy mist, that ouercast the day,
 And a dull blast, that breathing on her face,
 Dimmed her former beauties shining ray,
 And with foule vgly forme did her disgrace:
 Then was she faire alone, when none was faire in place.

xxxviii

Then cride she out, Fye, fye, deformed wight,
 Whose borrowed beautie now appeareth plaine
 To haue before bewitched all mens sight;
 O leaue her soone, or let her soone be slaine.
 Her loathly visage viewing with disdain,
 Eftsoones I thought her such, as she me told,
 And would haue kild her; but with faigned paine,
 The false witch did my wrathfull hand with-hold;
 So left her, where she now is turnd to treen mould.

xxxix

Thens forth I tooke *Duess*a for my Dame,
And in the witch vnweeting ioyd long time,
Ne euer wist, but that she was the same,
Till on a day (that day is euery Prime,
When Witches wont do penance for their crime)
I chaunst to see her in her proper hew,
Bathing her selfe in origane and thyme:
A filthy foule old woman I did vew,
That euer to haue toucht her, I did deadly rew.

xl

Her neather partes misshapen, monstrous,
Were hidd in water, that I could not see,
But they did seeme more foule and hideous,
Then womans shape man would beleue to bee.
Thens forth from her most beastly companie
I gan refraine, in minde to slip away,
Soone as appeard safe oportunitie:
For danger great, if not assur'd decay
I saw before mine eyes, if I were knowne to stray.

xli

The diuelish hag by chaunges of my cheare
Perceiu'd my thought, and drownd in sleepe night,
With wicked herbes and ointments did besmeare
My bodie all, through charmes and magicke might,
That all my senses were bereaued quight:
Then brought she me into this desert waste,
And by my wretched louers side me pight,
Where now enclosd in wooden wals full faste,
Banisht from liuing wights, our wearie dayes we waste.

xlii

But how long time, said then the Elfin knight,
Are you in this misformed house to dwell?
We may not chaunge (quoth he) this euil plight,
Till we be bathed in a liuing well;
That is the terme prescribed by the spell.
O how, said he, mote I that well out find,
That may restore you to your wonted well?
Time and suffised fates to former kynd
Shall vs restore, none else from hence may vs vybynd.

xliii

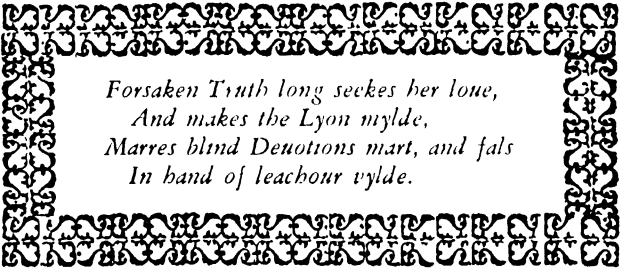
The false *Duessa*, now *Fidessa* hight,
Heard how in vaine *Fradubio* did lament,
And knew well all was true. But the good knight
Full of sad feare and ghastly dreriment,
When all this speech the liuing tree had spent,
The bleeding bough did thrust into the ground,
That from the bloud he might be innocent,
And with fresh clay did close the wooden wound:
Then turning to his Lady, dead with feare her found.

xliiv

Her seeming dead he found with feigned feare,
As all vnweeting of that well she knew,
And paynd himselfe with busie care to reare
Her out of carelesse swowne. Her eylids blew
And dimmed sight with pale and deadly hew
At last she vp gan lift: with trembling cheare
Her vp he tooke, too simple and too trew,
And oft her kist. At length all passed feare,
He set her on her steede, and forward forth did beare.

xlv

Cant. III.



*Forsaken Truth long seekes her loue,
And makes the Lyon mylde,
Marres blind Deuotions mart, and fals
In hand of leachour vyld.*

Nought is there vnder heau'ns wide hollownesse,
That moues more deare compassion of mind,
Then beautie brought t'vnworthy wretchednesse
Through enuies snares or fortunes freakes vnkind:
I, whether lately through her brightnesse blind,
Or through allcageance and fast fealtie,
Which I do owe vnto all woman kind,
Feele my heart perst with so great agonie,
When such I see, that all for pittie I could die.

i

And now it is empassioned so deepe,
For fairest *Vnaes* sake, of whom I sing,
That my fraile eyes these lines with teares do steepe,
To thinke how she through guilefull handeling,
Though true as touch, though daughter of a king,
Though faire as euer liuing wight was faire,
Though nor in word nor deede ill meriting,
Is from her knight diuorced in despaire
And her due loues deriu'd to that vile witches share.

ii

Yet she most faithfull Ladie all this while
Forsaken, wofull, solitarie mayd
Farre from all peoples prease, as in exile,
In wilderness and wastfull deserts strayd,
To seeke her knight; who subtilly betrayd
Through that late vision, which th'Enchaunter wrought,
Had her abandond. She of nought affrayd,
Through woods and wastnesse wide him daily sought;
Yet wished tydings none of him vnto her brought.

iii

One day nigh wearie of the yrkesome way,
 From her vnhastie beast she did alight,
 And on the grasse her daintie limbes did lay
 In secret shadow, farre from all mens sight:
 From her faire head her fillet she vndight,
 And laid her stole aside. Her angels face
 As the great eye of heauen shyned bright,
 And made a sunshine in the shadie place;
 Did neuer mortall eye behold such heavenly grace.

iv

It fortun'd out of the thickest wood
 A ramping Lyon rushed suddainly,
 Hunting full greedie after saluage blood;
 Soone as the royall virgin he did spy,
 With gaping mouth at her ran greedily,
 To haue attonce deuour'd her tender corse:
 But to the pray when as he drew more ny,
 His bloudie rage asswaged with remorse,
 And with the sight amazd, forgot his furious forse.

v

In stead thereof he kist her wearie feet,
 And lickt her lilly hands with fawning tong,
 As he her wronged innocence did weet.
 O how can beautie maister the most strong,
 And simple truth subdue auenging wrong?
 Whose yeelded pride and proud submission,
 Still dreading death, when she had marked long,
 Her hart gan melt in great compassion,
 And drizling teares did shed for pure affection.

vi

The Lyon Lord of euery beast in field,
 Quoth she, his princely puissance doth abate,
 And mightie proud to humble weake does yield,
 Forgetfull of the hungry rage, which late
 Him prickt, in pittie of my sad estate:
 But he my Lyon, and my noble Lord,
 How does he find in cruell hart to hate
 Her that him lou'd, and euer most adord,
 As the God of my life? why hath he me abhord?

vii

Redounding teares did choke th'end of her plaint,
Which softly ecchoed from the neighbour wood;
And sad to see her sorrowfull constraint
The kingly beast vpon her gazing stood;
With pittie calmd, downe fell his angry mood.
At last in close hart shutting vp her paine,
Arose the virgin borne of heauenly brood,
And to her snowy Palfrey got againe,
To seeke her strayed Champion, if she might attaine.

viii

The Lyon would not leaue her desolate,
But with her went along, as a strong gard
Of her chast person, and a faithfull mate
Of her sad troubles and misfortunes hard:
Still when she slept, he kept both watch and ward,
And when she wakt, he waited diligent,
With humble seruice to her will prepard:
From her faire eyes he tooke commaundement,
And euer by her lookes conceiued her intent.

ix

Long she thus traueiled through deserts wyde,
By which she thought her wandring knight shold pas,
Yet neuer shew of liuing wight espyde;
Till that at length she found the troden gras,
In which the tract of peoples footing was,
Vnder the steepe foot of a mountaine hore;
The same she followes, till at last she has
A damzell spyde slow footing her before,
That on her shoulders sad a pot of water bore.

x

To whom approching she to her gan call,
To weet, if dwelling place were nigh at hand;
But the rude wench her answer'd nought at all,
She could not heare, nor speake, nor vnderstand;
Till seeing by her side the Lyon stand,
With suddaine feare her pitcher downe she threw,
And fled away: for neuer in that land
Face of faire Ladie she before did vew,
And that dread Lyons looke her cast in deadly hew.

xi

Full fast she fled, ne euer lookt behynd, xii

As if her life vpon the wager lay,
 And home she came, whereas her mother blynd
 Sate in eternall night: nought could she say,
 But suddaine catching hold, did her dismay
 With quaking hands, and other signes of feare:
 Who full of ghastly fright and cold affray,
 Gan shut the dore. By this arriued there
 Dame *Vna*, wearie Dame, and entrance did requere.

Which when none yeelded, her vnruely Page xiii

With his rude clawes the wicket open rent,
 And let her in; where of his cruell rage
 Nigh dead with feare, and faint astonishment,
 She found them both in darkesome corner pent;
 Where that old woman day and night did pray
 Vpon her beades deuoutly penitent;
 Nine hundred *Pater nosters* euery day,
 And thrise nine hundred *Aues* she was wont to say.

And to augment her painefull pennance more, xiv

Thrise euery weeke in ashes she did sit,
 And next her wrinkled skin rough sackcloth wore,
 And thrise three times did fast from any bit:
 But now for feare her beads she did forget.
 Whose needlesse dread for to remoue away,
 Faire *Vna* framed words and count'nance fit:
 Which hardly doen, at length she gan them pray,
 That in their cotage small, that night she rest her may.

The day is spent, and commeth drowsie night, xv

When euery creature shrowded is in sleepe;
 Sad *Vna* downe her laies in wearie plight,
 And at her feet the Lyon watch doth keepe:
 In stead of rest, she does lament, and weepe
 For the late losse of her deare loued knight,
 And sighes, and grones, and euermore does steepe
 Her tender brest in bitter teares all night,
 All night she thinks too long, and often lookes for light.

hen *Aldeboran* was mounted hie
 e the shynie *Cassiopeias* chaire,
 all in deadly sleepe did drowned lie,
 snocked at the dore, and in would fare;
 nocked fast, and often curst, and sware,
 readie entrance was not at his call:
 n his backe a heauy load he bare
 ghtly stelths and pillage seuerall,
 he had got abroad by purchase criminall.

xvi

to weete a stout and sturdie thiefe,
 t to robbe Churches of their ornaments,
 poore mens boxes of their due reliefe,
 h giuen was to them for good intents;
 holy Saints of their rich vestiments
 id disrobe, when all men carelesse slept,
 spoild the Priests of their habiliments,
 es none the holy things in safety kept;
 e by cunning sleights in at the window crept.

xvii

that he by right or wrong could find,
 this house he brought, and did bestow
 the daughter of this woman blind,
 a daughter of *Corceca* slow,
 whom he whoredome vsd, that few did know,
 fed her fat with feast of offerings,
 plentie, which in all the land did grow;
 oared he to giue her gold and rings:
 w he to her brought part of his stolen things.

xviii

ng the dore with rage and threats he bet,
 f those fearefull women none durst rize,
 yon frayed them, him in to let:
 ould no longer stay him to aduize,
 pen breakes the dore in furious wize,
 entering is; when that disdainfull beast
 intring fierce, him suddaine doth surprize,
 seizing cruell clawes on trembling brest,
 his Lordly foot him proudly hath suppress.

xix

- Him booteth not resist, nor succour call, xx
His bleeding hart is in the vengers hand,
Who streight him rent in thousand peeces small,
And quite dismembred hath: the thirstie land
Drunke vp his life; his corse left on the strand.
His fearefull friends weare out the wofull night,
Ne dare to weepe, nor seeme to vnderstand
The heauie hap, which on them is alight,
Affraid, least to themselues the like mishappen might.
- Now when broad day the world discouered has, xxi
Vp *Vna* rose, vp rose the Lyon eke,
And on their former iourney forward pas,
In wayes vnknowne, her wandring knight to seeke,
With paines farre passing that long wandring *Greece*,
That for his loue refused deitie;
Such were the labours of this Lady meeke,
Still seeking him, that from her still did flie,
Then furthest from her hope, when most she weened nie.
- Soone as she parted thence, the fearefull twaine, xxii
That blind old woman and her daughter deare
Came forth, and finding *Kirkrapine* there slaine,
For anguish great they gan to rend their heare,
And beat their brests, and naked flesh to teare.
And when they both had wept and wayld their fill,
Then forth they ranne like two amazed deare,
Halfe mad through malice, and reuenging will,
To follow her, that was the causer of their ill.
- Whom ouertaking, they gan loudly bray, xxiii
With hollow howling, and lamenting cry,
Shamefully at her rayling all the way,
And her accusing of dishonesty,
That was the flowre of faith and chastity;
And still amidst her rayling, she did pray,
That plagues, and mischiefs, and long misery
Might fall on her, and follow all the way,
And that in endlesse error she might euer stray.

But when she saw her prayers nought preuaile,
She backe returned with some labour lost;
And in the way as she did weepe and waile,
A knight her met in mighty armes embost,
Yet knight was not for all his bragging bost,
But subtill *Archimag*, that *Vna* sought
By traynes into new troubles to haue tost:
Of that old woman tydings he besought,
If that of such a Ladie she could tellen ought.

xxiv

Therewith she gan her passion to renew,
And cry, and curse, and raile, and rend her heare,
Saying, that harlot she too lately knew,
That causd her shed so many a bitter teare,
And so forth told the story of her feare:
Much seemed he to mone her haplesse chaunce,
And after for that Ladie did inquire;
Which being taught, he forward gan aduaunce
His faire enchaunted steed, and eke his charmed launce.

xxv

Ere long he came, where *Vna* traueild slow,
And that wilde Champion wayting her besyde:
Whom seeing such, for dread he durst not show
Himselfe too nigh at hand, but turned wyde
Vnto an hill; from whence when she him spyde,
By his like seeming shield, her knight by name
She weend it was, and towards him gan ryde:
Approching nigh, she wist it was the same,
And with faire fearefull humblesse towards him shee came.

xxvi

And weeping said, Ah my long lacked Lord,
Where haue ye bene thus long out of my sight?
Much feared I to haue bene quite abhord,
Or ought haue done, that ye displeasen might,
That should as death vnto my deare hart light:
For since mine eye your ioyous sight did mis,
My chearefull day is turnd to chearelesse night,
And eke my night of death the shadow is;
But welcome now my light, and shining lampe of blis.

xxvii

He thereto meeting said, My dearest Dame,
 Farre be it from your thought, and fro my will,
 To thinke that knighthood I so much should shame,
 As you to leaue, that haue me loued still,
 And chose in Faery court of meere goodwill,
 Where noblest knights were to be found on earth:
 The earth shall sooner leaue her kindly skill
 To bring forth fruit, and make eternall derth,
 Then I leaue you, my lief, yborne of heauenly berth.

xxviii

And sooth to say, why I left you so long,
 Was for to seeke aduenture in strange place,
 Where *Archimago* said a felon strong
 To many knights did daily worke disgrace;
 But knight he now shall neuer more deface:
 Good cause of mine excuse; that mote ye please
 Well to accept, and euermore embrace
 My faithfull seruice, that by land and seas
 Haue vowd you to defend, now then your plaint appease.

xxix

His louely words her seemd due recompence
 Of all her passed paines: one louing howre
 For many yeares of sorrow can dispence:
 A dram of sweet is worth a pound of sowre:
 She has forgot, how many a wofull stowre
 For him she late endur'd; she speakes no more
 Of past: true is, that true loue hath no powre
 To looken backe; his eyes be fixt before.
 Before her stands her knight, for whom she toyld so sore.

xxx

Much like, as when the beaten marinere,
 That long hath wandred in the *Ocean* wide,
 Oft soust in swelling *Tethys* saltish teare,
 And long time hauing tand his tawney hide
 With blustering breath of heauen, that none can bide,
 And scorching flames of fierce *Orions* hound,
 Soone as the port from farre he has espide,
 His chearefull whistle merrily doth sound,
 And *Nereus* crownes with cups; his mates him pledg around.

xxxi

Such ioy made *Vna*, when her knight she found;
 And eke th'enchauter ioyous seemd no lesse,
 Then the glad marchant, that does vew from ground
 His ship farre come from watrie wilderness,
 He hurles out vowes, and *Neptune* oft doth blesse:
 So forth they past, and all the way they spent
 Discoursing of her dreadfull late distresse,
 In which he askt her, what the Lyon ment:
 Who told her all that fell in iourney as she went.

xxxii

They had not ridden farre, when they might see
 One pricking towards them with hastie heat,
 Full strongly armd, and on a courser free,
 That through his fiercnesse fomed all with sweat,
 And the sharpe yron did for anger eat,
 When his hot ryder spurd his chauffed side;
 His looke was sterne, and seemed still to threat
 Cruell reuenge, which he in hart did hyde,
 And on his shield *Sans loy* in bloudie lines was dyde.

xxxiii

When nigh he drew vnto this gentle payre
 And saw the Red-crosse, which the knight did beare,
 He burnt in fire, and gan eftsoones prepare
 Himselfe to battell with his couched speare.
 Loth was that other, and did faint through feare,
 To taste th'vntryed dint of deadly steele;
 But yet his Lady did so well him cheare,
 That hope of new good hap he gan to feele;
 So bent his speare, and spurnd his horse with yron heele.

xxxiv

But that proud Paynim forward came so fierce,
 And full of wrath, that with his sharp-head speare
 Through vainely crossed shield he quite did pierce,
 And had his staggering steede not shrunke for feare,
 Through shield and bodie eke he should him beare:
 Yet so great was the puissance of his push,
 That from his saddle quite he did him beare:
 He tomling rudely downe to ground did rush,
 And from his gored wound a well of bloud did gush.

xxxv

Dismounting lightly from his loftie steed, xxxvi
 He to him lept, in mind to reauē his life,
 And proudly said, Lo there the worthie meed
 Of him, that slew *Sansfoy* with bloudie knife;
 Henceforth his ghost freed from repining strife,
 In peace may passen ouer *Lethe* lake,
 When morning altars purgd with enemies life,
 The blacke infernall *Furies* doen aslake:
 Life from *Sansfoy* thou tookst, *Sansloy* shall from thee take.

Therewith in haste his helmet gan vnlace, xxxvii
 Till *Vna* cride, O hold that heauie hand,
 Deare Sir, what euer that thou be in place:
 Enough is, that thy foe doth vanquisht stand
 Now at thy mercy: Mercie not withstand:
 For he is one the truest knight aliue,
 Though conquered now he lie on lowly land,
 And whilst him fortune fauourd, faire did thriue
 In bloudie field: therefore of life him not depriue.

Her piteous words might not abate his rage, xxxviii
 But rudely rending vp his helmet, would
 Haue slaine him straight: but when he sees his age,
 And hoarie head of *Archimago* old,
 His hastie hand he doth amazed hold,
 And halfe ashamed, wondred at the sight:
 For that old man well knew he, though vntold,
 In charmes and magicke to haue wondrous might,
 Ne euer wont in field, ne in round lists to fight:

And said, Why *Archimago*, lucklesse syre, xxxix
 What doe I see? what hard mishap is this,
 That hath thee hither brought to taste mine yre?
 Or thine the fault, or mine the error is,
 In stead of foe to wound my friend amis?
 He answered nought, but in a traunce still lay,
 And on those guilefull dazed eyes of his
 The cloud of death did sit. Which doen away,
 He left him lying so, ne would no lenger stay.

But to the virgin comes, who all this while
Amased stands, her selfe so mockt to see
By him, who has the guerdon of his guile,
For so misfeigning her true knight to bee:
Yet is she now in more perplexitie,
Left in the hand of that same Paynim bold,
From whom her booteth not at all to flie;
Who by her cleanly garment catching hold,
Her from her Palfrey pluckt, her visage to behold.

xl

But her fierce seruant full of kingly awe
And high disdaine, whenas his soueraine Dame
So rudely handled by her foe he sawe,
With gaping iawes full greedy at him came,
And ramping on his shield, did weenc the same
Haue reft away with his sharpe rending clawes:
But he was stout, and lust did now inflame
His corage more, that from his griping pawes
He hath his shield redeem'd, and foorth his swerd he drawes.

xli

O then too weake and feeble was the forse
Of saluage beast, his puissance to withstand:
For he was strong, and of so mightie corse,
As euer wielded speare in warlike hand,
And feates of armes did wisely vnderstand.
Eftsoones he perced through his chaufed chest
With thrilling point of deadly yron brand,
And launcht his Lordly hart: with death opprest
He roar'd aloud, whiles life forsooke his stubborne brest.

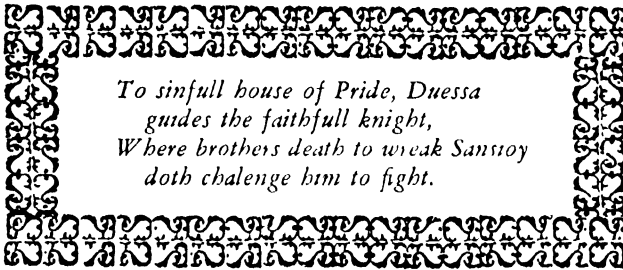
xlii

Who now is left to keepe the forlorne maid
From raging spoile of lawlesse victors will?
Her faithfull gard remou'd, her hope dismaid,
Her selfe a yeelded pray to saue or spill.
He now Lord of the field, his pride to fill,
With foule reproches, and disdainfull spight
Her vildly entertaines, and will or nill,
Beares her away vpon his courser light:
Her prayers nought preuaile, his rage is more of might.

xliii

And all the way, with great lamenting paine,
And piteous plaints she filleth his dull eares,
That stony hart could riuen haue in twaine,
And all the way she wets with flowing teares:
But he enrag'd with rancor, nothing heares.
Her seruile beast yet would not leaue her so,
But followes her farre off, ne ought he feares,
To be partaker of her wandring woe,
More mild in beastly kind, then that her beastly foe.

Cant. IIII.



Y¹oung knight, what euer that dost armes professe,
And through long labours hunttest after fame,
Beware of fraud, beware of ficklenesse,
In choice, and change of thy deare loued Dame,
Least thou of her beleue too lightly blame,
And rash misweening doe thy hart remoue:
For vnto knight there is no greater shame,
Then lightnesse and inconstancie in loue;
That doth this *Redcrosse* knights ensample plainly proue.

Who after that he had faire *Vna* lorne, ii
Through light misdeeming of her loialtie,
And false *Duessa* in her sted had borne,
Called *Fidess'*, and so supposd to bee;
Long with her traueild, till at last they see
A goodly building, brauely garnished,
The house of mightie Prince it seemd to bee:
And towards it a broad high way that led,
All bare through peoples feet, which thither traueiled.

Great troupes of people traueild thitherward iii
Both day and night, of each degree and place,
But few returned, hauing scaped hard,
With balefull beggerie, or foule disgrace,
Which euer after in most wretched case,
Like loathsome lazars, by the hedges lay.
Thither *Duessa* bad him bend his pace:
For she is wearie of the toilesome way,
And also nigh consumed is the lingring day.

A stately Pallace built of squared bricke, iv
 Which cunningly was without mortar laid,
 Whose wals were high, but nothing strong, nor thick,
 And golden foile all ouer them displaid,
 That purest skye with brightnesse they dismaid:
 High lifted vp were many loftie towres,
 And goodly galleries farre ouer laid,
 Full of faire windowes, and delightfull bowres;
 And on the top a Diall told the timely howres.

It was a goodly heape for to behould, v
 And spake the praises of the workmans wit;
 But full great pittie, that so faire a mould
 Did on so weake foundation euer sit:
 For on a sandie hill, that still did flit,
 And fall away, it mounted was full hie,
 That euery breath of heauen shaken it:
 And all the hinder parts, that few could spie,
 Were ruinous and old, but painted cunningly.

Arriued there they passed in forth right; vi
 For still to all the gates stood open wide,
 Yet charge of them was to a Porter hight
 Cald *Maluenù*, who entrance none denide:
 Thence to the hall, which was on euery side
 With rich array and costly arras dight:
 Infinite sorts of people did abide
 There waiting long, to win the wished sight
 Of her, that was the Lady of that Pallace bright.

By them they passe, all gazing on them round, vii
 And to the Presence mount; whose glorious vew
 Their frayle amazed senses did confound:
 In liuing Princes court none euer knew
 Such endlesse riches, and so sumptuous shew;
 Ne *Persia* selfe, the nourse of pompous pride
 Like euer saw. And there a noble crew
 Of Lordes and Ladies stood on euery side,
 Which with their presence faire, the place much beautifide.

High about all a cloth of State was spread,
And a rich throne, as bright as sunny day,
On which there sate most braue embellished
With royall robes and gorgeous array,
A mayden Queene, that shone as *Titans* ray,
In glistring gold, and peerelesse pretious stone:
Yet her bright blazing beautie did assay
To dim the brightnesse of her glorious throne,
As enuying her selfe, that too exceeding shone.

viii

Exceeding shone, like *Phæbus* fairest childe,
That did presume his fathers fire wayne,
And flaming mouthes of steedes vnwonted wilde
Through highest heauen with weaker hand to rayne;
Proud of such glory and aduancement vaine,
While flashing beames do daze his feeble eyen,
He leaues the welkin way most beaten plaine,
And rapt with whirling wheels, inflames the skyen,
With fire not made to burne, but fairely for to shyne.

ix

So proud she shyned in her Princely state,
Looking to heauen; for earth she did disdayne,
And sitting high; for lowly she did hate:
Lo vnderneath her scornfull feete, was layne
A dreadfull Dragon with an hideous trayne,
And in her hand she held a mirrhour bright,
Wherein her face she often vewed fayne,
And in her selfe-lou'd semblance tooke delight;
For she was wondrous faire, as any liuing wight.

x

Of griesly *Pluto* she the daughter was,
And sad *Proserpina* the Queene of hell;
Yet did she thinke her pearelesse worth to pas
That parentage, with pride so did she swell,
And thundring *Ioue*, that high in heauen doth dwell,
And wield the world, she claymed for her syre,
Or if that any else did *Ioue* excell:
For to the highest she did still aspyre,
Or if ought higher were then that, did it desyre.

xi

And proud *Lucifera* men did her call,
 That made her selfe a Queene, and crownd to be,
 Yet rightfull kingdome she had none at all,
 Ne heritage of natiue soueraintie,
 But did vsurpe with wrong and tyrannie
 Vpon the scepter, which she now did hold:
 Ne ruld her Realme with lawes, but pollicie,
 And strong aduizement of six wisards old,
 That with their counsels bad her kingdome did vphold.

xii

Soone as the Elfin knight in presence came,
 And false *Duessa* seeming Lady faire,
 A gentle Husher, *Vanitie* by name
 Made rowme, and passage for them did prepaire:
 So goodly brought them to the lowest staire
 Of her high throne, where they on humble knee
 Making obeysance, did the cause declare,
 Why they were come, her royall state to see,
 To proue the wide report of her great Maiestee.

xiii

With loftie eyes, halfe loth to looke so low,
 She thanked them in her disdainefull wise,
 Ne other grace vouchsafed them to show
 Of Princesse worthy, scarce them bad arise.
 Her Lordes and Ladies all this while deuise
 Themselues to setten forth to straungers sight:
 Some frounce their curled haire in courtly guise,
 Some prancke their ruffes, and others trimly dight
 Their gay attire: each others greater pride does spight.

xiv

Goodly they all that knight do entertaine,
 Right glad with him to haue increast their crew:
 But to *Duess'* each one himselfe did paine
 All kindnesse and faire courtesie to shew;
 For in that court whylome her well they knew:
 Yet the stout Faerie mongst the middest crowd
 Thought all their glorie vaine in knightly vew,
 And that great Princesse too exceeding prowd,
 That to strange knight no better countenance allowd.

xv

Suddein vpriseth from her stately place

xvi

The royall Dame, and for her coche doth call:

All hurtlen forth, and she with Princely pace,

As faire *Aurora* in her purple pall,

Out of the East the dawning day doth call:

So forth she comes: her brightnesse brode doth blaze;

The heapes of people thronging in the hall,

Do ride each other, vpon her to gaze:

Her glorious glitterand light doth all mens eyes amaze.

So forth she comes, and to her coche does clyme,

xvii

Adorned all with gold, and girlonds gay,

That seemd as fresh as *Flora* in her prime,

And stroue to match, in royall rich array,

Great *Iuno*s golden chaire, the which they say

The Gods stand gazing on, when she does ride

To *Ioues* high house through heauens bras-paued way

Drawne of faire Pecoocks, that excell in pride,

And full of *Argus* eyes their tailes dispredden wide.

But this was drawne of six vnequall beasts,

xviii

On which her six sage Counsellours did ryde,

Taught to obay their bestiall beheasts,

With like conditions to their kinds applyde:

Of which the first, that all the rest did guyde,

Was sluggish *Idlenesse* the nourse of sin;

Vpon a slouthfull Asse he chose to ryde,

Arayd in habit blacke, and amis thin,

Like to an holy Monck, the seruice to begin.

And in his hand his Portesse still he bare,

xix

That much was worne, but therein little red,

For of deuotion he had little care,

Still drownd in sleepe, and most of his dayes ded;

Scarse could he once vphold his heauie hed,

To looken, whether it were night or day:

May seeme the wayne was very euill led,

When such an one had guiding of the way,

That knew not, whether right he went, or else astray.

From worldly cares himselfe he did esloyne,
 And greatly shunned manly exercise,
 From euery worke he chalenged essoyne,
 For contemplation sake: yet otherwise,
 His life he led in lawlesse riotise;
 By which he grew to grievous malady;
 For in his lustlesse limbs through euill guise
 A shaking feuer raignd continually:
 Such one was *Idlennesse*, first of this company.

xx

And by his side rode loathsome *Gluttony*,
 Deformed creature, on a filthie swyne,
 His belly was vp-blowne with luxury,
 And eke with fatnesse swollen were his cyne,
 And like a Crane his necke was long and fyne,
 With which he swallowd vp excessiue feast,
 For want whereof poore people oft did pyne;
 And all the way, most like a brutish beast,
 He spued vp his gorge, that all did him deteast.

xxi

In greene vine leaues he was right fitly clad;
 For other clothes he could not weare for heat,
 And on his head an yuie girland had,
 From vnder which fast trickled downe the sweat:
 Still as he rode, he somewhat still did eat,
 And in his hand did beare a bouzing can,
 Of which he supt so oft, that on his scat
 His dronken corse he scarce vpholden can,
 In shape and life more like a monster, then a man.

xxii

Vnfit he was for any worldly thing,
 And eke vnhabie once to stirre or go,
 Not meet to be of counsell to a king,
 Whose mind in meat and drinke was drowned so,
 That from his friend he seldome knew his fo:
 Full of diseases was his carcas blew,
 And a dry dropsie through his flesh did flow,
 Which by misdiet daily greater grew:
 Such one was *Gluttony*, the second of that crew.

xxiii

And next to him rode lustfull *Lechery*,
Vpon a bearded Goat, whose rugged haire,
And whally eyes (the signe of gelosy,)
Was like the person selfe, whom he did beare:
Who rough, and blacke, and filthy did appeare,
Vnseemely man to please faire Ladies eye;
Yet he of Ladies oft was loued deare,
When fairer faces were bid standen by:
O who does know the bent of womens fantasy?

xxiv

In a greene gowne he clothed was full faire,
Which vnderneath did hide his filthinesse,
And in his hand a burning hart he bare,
Full of vaine follies, and new fanglenesse:
For he was false, and fraught with ficklenesse,
And learned had to loue with secret lookes,
And well could daunce, and sing with ruefulness,
And fortunes tell, and read in louing bookes,
And thousand other wayes, to bait his fleshly hookes.

xxv

Inconstant man, that loued all he saw,
And lusted after all, that he did loue,
Ne would his looser life be tide to law,
But ioyd weake wemens hearts to tempt, and proue
If from their loyall loues he might them moue;
Which lewdnesse fild him with reprochfull paine
Of that fowle euill, which all men reprove,
That rots the marrow, and consumes the braine:
Such one was *Lecherie*, the third of all this traine.

xxvi

And greedy *Auarice* by him did ride,
Vpon a Camell loaden all with gold;
Two iron coffers hong on either side,
With precious mettall full, as they might hold,
And in his lap an heape of coine he told;
For of his wicked pelfe his God he made,
And vnto hell him selfe for money sold;
Accursed vsurie was all his trade,
And right and wrong ylike in equall ballaunce waide.

xxvii

His life was nigh vnto deaths doore yplast,
 And thred-bare cote, and cobled shoes he ware,
 Ne scarce good morsell all his life did tast,
 But both from backe and belly still did spare,
 To fill his bags, and richesse to compare;
 Yet chylde ne kinsman liuing had he none
 To leaue them to; but thorough daily care
 To get, and nightly feare to lose his owne,
 He led a wretched life vnto him selfe vnknowne.

xxviii

Most wretched wight, whom nothing might suffise,
 Whose greedy lust did lacke in greatest store,
 Whose need had end, but no end couetise,
 Whose wealth was want, whose plenty made him pore,
 Who had enough, yet wished euer more;
 A vile disease, and eke in foote and hand
 A grieuous gout tormented him full sore,
 That well he could not touch, nor go, nor stand:
 Such one was *Auarice*, the fourth of this faire band.

xxix

And next to him malicious *Enuie* rode,
 Vpon a rauinous wolfe, and still did chaw
 Betweene his cankred teeth a venemous tode,
 That all the poison ran about his chaw;
 But inwardly he chawed his owne maw
 At neighbours wealth, that made him euer sad;
 For death it was, when any good he saw,
 And wept, that cause of weeping none he had,
 But when he heard of harme, he waxed wondrous glad.

xxx

All in a kirtle of discoloured say
 He clothed was, ypainted full of eyes;
 And in his bosome secretly there lay
 An hatefull Snake, the which his taile vptyes
 In many folds, and mortall sting implyes.
 Still as he rode, he gnasht his teeth, to see
 Those heapes of gold with griple Couetyse,
 And grudged at the great felicitie
 Of proud *Lucifera*, and his owne companie.

xxxi

He hated all good workes and vertuous deeds,
And him no lesse, that any like did vse,
And who with gracious bread the hungry feeds,
His almes for want of faith he doth accuse;
So euery good to bad he doth abuse:
And eke the verse of famous Poets witt
He does backebite, and spightfull poison spues
From leprous mouth on all, that euer writt:
Such one vile *Enuie* was, that fiftē in row did sitt.

xxxii

And him beside rides fierce reuenging *Wrath*,
Vpon a Lion, loth for to be led;
And in his hand a burning brond he hath,
The which he brandisheth about his hed;
His eyes did hurle forth sparkles fiery red,
And stared sterne on all, that him beheld,
As ashes pale of hew and seeming ded;
And on his dagger still his hand he held,
Trembling through hasty rage, when choler in him sweld.

xxxiii

His ruffin raiment all was stained with blood,
Which he had spilt, and all to rags yrent,
Through vnaduized rashnesse woxen wood;
For of his hands he had no gouernement,
Ne car'd for bloud in his auengement:
But when the furious fit was ouerpast,
His cruell facts he often would repent;
Yet wilfull man he neuer would forecast,
How many mischieues should ensue his heedlesse hast.

xxxiv

Full many mischiefes follow cruell *Wrath*;
Abhorred bloudshed, and tumultuous strife,
Vnmanly murder, and vnthrifty scath,
Bitter despight, with rancours rusty knife,
And fretting grieve the enemy of life;
All these, and many euils moe haunt ire,
The swelling Splene, and Frenzy raging rife,
The shaking Palsey, and Saint *Fraunces* fire:
Such one was *Wrath*, the last of this vngodly tire.

xxxv

And after all, vpon the wagon beame xxxvi
 Rode *Sathan*, with a smarting whip in hand,
 With which he forward lasht the laesie teme,
 So oft as *Slowth* still in the mire did stand.
 Huge routs of people did about them band,
 Showing for ioy, and still before their way
 A foggy mist had couered all the land;
 And vnderneath their feet, all scattered lay
 Dead sculs and bones of men, whose life had gone astray.

So forth they marchen in this goodly sort, xxxvii
 To take the solace of the open aire,
 And in fresh flowring fields themselues to sport;
 Emongst the rest rode that false Lady faire,
 The fowle *Dnessa*, next vnto the chaire
 Of proud *Lucifera*, as one of the traine:
 But that good knight would not so nigh repaire,
 Him selfe estraunging from their ioyauce vaine,
 Whose fellowship seemd far vnfit for warlike swaine.

So hauing solaced themselues a space xxxviii
 With pleasaunce of the breathing fields yfed,
 They backe returned to the Princely Place;
 Whereas an errant knight in armes yceled,
 And heathnish shield, wherein with letters red
 Was writ *Sans ioy*, they new arriued find:
 Enflam'd with fury and fiers hardy-hed,
 He seemd in hart to harbour thoughts vnkind,
 And nourish bloody vengeance in his bitter mind.

Who when the shamed shield of slaine *Sans foy* xxxix
 He spide with that same Faery champions page,
 Bewraying him, that did of late destroy
 His eldest brother, burning all with rage
 He to him leapt, and that same enuious gage
 Of victors glory from him snatcht away:
 But th'Elfin knight, which ought that warlike wage,
 Disdained to loose the meed he wonne in fray,
 And him rencountring fierce, reskewd the noble pray.

Therewith they gan to hurtlen greedily,
 Redoubted battaile ready to darrayne,
 And clash their shields, and shake their swords on hy,
 That with their sturre they troubled all the traine;
 Till that great Queene vpon eternall paine
 Of high displeasure, that ensewen might,
 Commaunded them their fury to refraine,
 And if that either to that shield had right,
 In equall lists they should the morrow next it fight.

xl

Ah dearest Dame, (quoth then the Paynim bold,)
 Pardon the errour of enraged wight,
 Whom great grieve made forget the raines to hold
 Of reasons rule, to see this recreant knight,
 No knight, but treachour full of false despight
 And shamefull treason, who through guile hath slayn
 The prowest knight, that euer field did fight,
 Euen stout *Sans foy* (O who can then refrayn?)
 Whose shield he beares renuerst, the more to heape disdayn.

xli

And to augment the glorie of his guile,
 His dearest loue the faire *Fidessa* loe
 Is there possessed of the traytour vile,
 Who reapes the haruest sownen by his foe,
 Sownen in bloody field, and bought with woe:
 That brothers hand shall dearly well requight
 So be, O Queene, you equall fauour showe.
 Him litle answerd th'angry Elfin knight;
 He neuer meant with words, but swords to plead his right.

xlii

But threw his gauntlet as a sacred pledge,
 His cause in combat the next day to try:
 So been they parted both, with harts on edge,
 To be aueng'd each on his enemy.
 That night they pas in ioy and iollity,
 Feasting and courting both in bowre and hall;
 For Steward was excessiue *Gluttonie*,
 That of his plenty poured forth to all;
 Which doen, the Chamberlain *Slouth* did to rest them call.

xliii

Now whenas darkesome night had all displayd
 Her coleblacke curtein ouer brightest skye,
 The warlike youthes on dayntie couches layd,
 Did chace away sweet sleepe from sluggish eye,
 To muse on meanes of hoped victory.
 But whenas *Morpheus* had with leaden mace
 Arrested all that courtly company,
 Vp-rose *Duess*a from her resting place,
 And to the Paynims lodging comes with silent pace.

xliv

Whom broad awake she finds, in troublous fit,
 Forecasting, how his foe he might annoy,
 And him amoues with speaches seeming fit:
 Ah deare *Sans ioy*, next dearest to *Sans foy*,
 Cause of my new griefe, cause of my new ioy,
 Ioyous, to see his ymage in mine eye,
 And greeu'd, to thinke how foe did him destroy,
 That was the flowre of grace and cheualrye;
 Lo his *Fidessa* to thy secret faith I flye.

xlv

With gentle wordes he can her fairely greet,
 And bad say on the secret of her hart.
 Then sighing soft, I learne that litle sweet
 Oft tempred is (quoth she) with muchell smart:
 For since my brest was launcht with louely dart
 Of deare *Sansfoy*, I neuer ioyed howre,
 But in eternall woes my weaker hart
 Haue wasted, louing him with all my powre,
 And for his sake haue felt full many an heauie stowre.

xlvi

At last when perils all I weened past,
 And hop'd to reape the crop of all my care,
 Into new woes vnweeting I was cast,
 By this false faytor, who vnworthy ware
 His worthy shield, whom he with guilefull snare
 Entrapped slew, and brought to shamefull graue.
 Me silly maid away with him he bare,
 And euer since hath kept in darksome caue,
 For that I would not yeeld, that to *Sans-foy* I gaue.

xlvii

But since faire Sunne hath sperst that lowring clowd,
 And to my loathed life now shewes some light,
 Vnder your beames I will me safely shrowd,
 From dreaded storme of his disdainfull spight:
 To you th'inheritance belongs by right
 Of brothers prayse, to you eke longs his loue.
 Let not his loue, let not his restlesse spright
 Be vnreueng'd, that calles to you aboue
 From wandring *Stygian* shores, where it doth endlesse moue.

xlvi

Thereto said he, Faire Dame be nought dismaid
 For sorrowes past; their griefe is with them gone:
 Ne yet of present perill be affraid;
 For needlesse feare did neuer vantage none,
 And helplesse hap it booteth not to mone.
 Dead is *Sans-foy*, his vitall paines are past,
 Though greeued ghost for vengeance deepe do grone:
 He liues, that shall him pay his dewties last,
 And guiltie Elfin bloud shall sacrifice in hast.

xlix

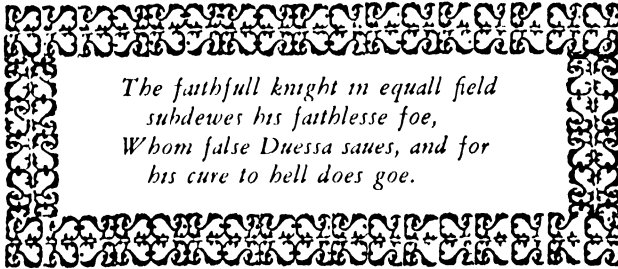
O but I feare the fickle freakes (quoth shee)
 Of fortune false, and oddes of armes in field.
 Why dame (quoth he) what oddes can euer bee,
 Where both do fight alike, to win or yield?
 Yea but (quoth she) he beares a charmed shield,
 And eke enchaunted armes, that none can perce,
 Ne none can wound the man, that does them wield.
 Charmd or enchaunted (answerd he then ferce)
 I no whit reck, ne you the like need to reherce.

l

But faire *Fidessa*, sithens fortunes guile,
 Or enimies powre hath now captiued you,
 Returne from whence ye came, and rest a while
 Till morrow next, that I the Elfe subdew,
 And with *Sans-foyes* dead dowry you endew.
 Ay me, that is a double death (she said)
 With proud foes sight my sorrow to renew:
 Where euer yet I be, my secret aid
 Shall follow you. So passing forth she him obaid.

li

Cant. V.



THE noble hart, that harbours vertuous thought,
And is with child of glorious great intent,
Can neuer rest, vntill it forth haue brought
Th'eternall brood of glorie excellent:
Such restlesse passion did all night torment
The flaming corage of that Faery knight,
Deuizing, how that doughtie tournament
With greatest honour he atchieuen might;
Still did he wake, and still did watch for dawning light.

i

At last the golden Orientall gate
Of greatest heauen gan to open faire,
And *Phaebus* fresh, as bridegrome to his mate,
Came dauncing forth, shaking his deawie haire:
And hurl'd his glistring beames through gloomy aire.
Which when the wakeful Elfe perceiu'd, streight way
He started vp, and did him selfe prepaire,
In sun-bright armes, and battailous array:
For with that Pagan proud he combat will that day.

ii

And forth he comes into the commune hall,
Where earely waite him many a gazing eye,
To weet what end to straunger knights may fall.
There many Minstrales maken melody,
To driue away the dull melancholy,
And many Bardes, that to the trembling chord
Can tune their timely voyces cunningly,
And many Chroniclers, that can record
Old loues, and warres for Ladies doen by many a Lord.

iii

Soone after comes the cruell Sarazin,
In wouen maile all armed warily,
And sternly lookes at him, who not a pin
Does care for looke of liuing creatures eye.
They bring them wines of *Greece* and *Araby*,
And daintie spices fetcht from furthest *Ynd*,
To kindle heat of corage priuily:
And in the wine a solemne oth they bynd
T'obserue the sacred lawes of armes, that are assynd.

iv

At last forth comes that far renowned Queene,
With royall pomp and Princely maiestie;
She is ybrought vnto a paled greene,
And placed vnder stately canapee,
The warlike feates of both those knights to see.
On th'other side in all mens open vew
Duessa placed is, and on a tree
Sans-foy his shield is hangd with bloudy hew:
Both those the lawrell girlonds to the victor dew.

v

A shrilling trompet sownded from on hye,
And vnto battaill bad them selues addresse:
Their shining shieldes about their wrestes they tye,
And burning blades about their heads do blesse,
The instruments of wrath and heauinesse:
With greedy force each other doth assayle,
And strike so fiercely, that they do impresse
Deepe dinted furrowes in the battred mayle;
The yron walles to ward their blowes are weake and fraile.

vi

The Sarazin was stout, and wondrous strong,
And heaped blowes like yron hammers great:
For after bloud and vengeance he did long.
The knight was fiers, and full of youthly heat,
And doubled strokes, like dreaded thunders threat:
For all for prayse and honour he did fight.
Both stricken strike, and beaten both do beat,
That from their shields forth flyeth firie light,
And helmets hewen deepe, shew marks of eithers might.

vii

So th'one for wrong, the other striues for right:
 As when a Gryfon seized of his pray,
 A Dragon fiers encountreth in his flight,
 Through widest ayre making his ydle way,
 That would his rightfull rauine rend away:
 With hideous horroure both together smight,
 And souce so sore, that they the heauens affray:
 The wise Southsayer seeing so sad sight,
 Th'amazed vulgar tels of warres and mortall fight.

viii

So th'one for wrong, the other striues for right,
 And each to deadly shame would driue his foe:
 The cruell steele so greedily doth bight
 In tender flesh, that streames of bloud down flow,
 With which the armes, that earst so bright did show,
 Into a pure vermillion now are dyde:
 Great ruth in all the gazers harts did grow,
 Seeing the gored woundes to gape so wyde,
 That victory they dare not wish to either side.

ix

At last the Paynim chaunst to cast his eye,
 His suddein eye, flaming with wrathfull fyre,
 Vpon his brothers shield, which hong thereby:
 Therewith redoubled was his raging yre,
 And said, Ah wretched sonne of wofull syre,
 Doest thou sit wayling by black *Stygian* lake,
 Whilest here thy shield is hangd for victors hyre,
 And sluggish german doest thy forces slake,
 To after-send his foe, that him may ouertake?

x

Goe caytiue Elfe, him quickly ouertake,
 And soone redeeme from his long wandring woe;
 Goe guiltie ghost, to him my message make,
 That I his shield haue quit from dying foe.
 Therewith vpon his crest he stroke him so,
 That twise he reeled, readie twise to fall;
 End of the doubtfull battell deemed tho
 The lookers on, and lowd to him gan call
 The false *Duessa* Thine the shield and I and all

xi

Soone as the Faerie heard his Ladie speake,
Out of his swowning dreame he gan awake,
And quickning faith, that earst was woxen weake,
The creeping deadly cold away did shake:
Tho mou'd with wrath, and shame, and Ladies sake,
Of all attonce he cast auengd to bee,
And with so'exceeding furie at him strake,
That forced him to stoupe vpon his knee;
Had he not stouped so, he should haue clouen bee.

xii

And to him said, Goe now proud Miscreant,
Thy selfe thy message doe to german deare,
Alone he wandring thee too long doth want:
Goe say, his foe thy shield with his doth beare.
Therewith his heauie hand he high gan reare,
Him to haue slaine; when loe a darkesome clowd
Vpon him fell: he no where doth appeare,
But vanisht is. The Elfe him cals alowd,
But answer none receiues: the darknes him does shrowd.

xiii

In haste *Duess*a from her place arose,
And to him running said, O prowest knight,
That euer Ladie to her loue did chose,
Let now abate the terror of your might,
And quench the flame of furious despight,
And bloudie vengeance; lo th'infernall powres
Couering your foe with cloud of deadly night,
Haue borne him hence to *Plutoes* balefull bowres.
The conquest yours, I yours, the shield, and glory yours.

xiv

Not all so satisfide, with greedie eye
He sought all round about, his thirstie blade
To bath in bloud of faithlesse enemy;
Who all that while lay hid in secret shade:
He standes amazed, how he thence should fade.
At last the trumpets, Triumph sound on hie,
And running Heralds humble homage made,
Greeting him goodly with new victorie,
And to him brought the shield, the cause of enmitie.

xv

Wherewith he goeth to that soueraine Queene,
 And falling her before on lowly knee,
 To her makes present of his seruice seene:
 Which she accepts, with thanks, and goodly gree,
 Greatly aduauncing his gay cheualree.
 So marcheth home, and by her takes the knight,
 Whom all the people follow with great glee,
 Shouting, and clapping all their hands on hight,
 That all the aire it fils, and flyes to heauen bright.

xvi

Home is he brought, and laid in sumptuous bed:

xvii

Where many skilfull leaches him abide,
 To salue his hurts, that yet still freshly bled.
 In wine and oyle they wash his woundes wide,
 And softly can embalme on euery side.
 And all the while, most heauenly melody
 About the bed sweet musicke did diuide,
 Him to beguile of grieve and agony:
 And all the while *Duessa* wept full bitterly.

As when a wearie traueller that strays

xviii

By muddy shore of broad seuen-mouthed *Nile*,
 Vnweeting of the perillous wandring wayes,
 Doth meet a cruell craftie Crocodile,
 Which in false grieve hyding his harmefull guile,
 Doth weepe full sore, and sheddeth tender teares:
 The foolish man, that pitties all this while
 His mournefull plight, is swallowd vp vnwares,
 Forgetfull of his owne, that mindes anothers cares.

So wept *Duessa* vntill euentide,

xix

That shyning lampes in *Iones* high house were light:
 Then forth she rose, ne lenger would abide,
 But comes vnto the place, where th'Hethen knight
 In slombring swownd nigh voyd of vitall spright,
 Lay couer'd with inchaunted cloud all day:
 Whom when she found, as she him left in plight,
 To wayle his woefull case she would not stay,
 But to the easterne coast of heauen makes speedy way.

Where griesly *Night*, with visage deadly sad,
That *Phæbus* chearefull face durst neuer vew,
And in a foule blacke pitchie mantle clad,
She findes forth comming from her darkesome mew,
Where she all day did hide her hated hew.
Before the dore her yron charet stood,
Alreadie harnesssed for iourney new;
And coleblacke steedes yborne of hellish brood,
That on their rustie bits did champ, as they were wood.

xx

Who when she saw *Duessa* sunny bright,
Adorn'd with gold and iewels shining cleare,
She greatly grew amazed at the sight,
And th'vnacquainted light began to feare:
For neuer did such brightnesse there appeare,
And would haue backe retyred to her caue,
Vntill the witches speech she gan to heare,
Saying, Yet O thou dreaded Dame, I craue
Abide, till I haue told the message, which I haue.

xxi

She stayd, and foorth *Duessa* gan proceede,
O thou most auncient Grandmother of all,
More old then *Ioue*, whom thou at first didst breede,
Or that great house of Gods cælestiall,
Which wast begot in *Dæmogorgons* hall,
And sawst the secrets of the world vnmade,
Why suffredst thou thy Nephewes deare to fall
With Elfin sword, most shamefully betrade?
Lo where the stout *Sansioy* doth sleepe in deadly shade.

xxii

And him before, I saw with bitter eyes
The bold *Sansfoy* shrinke vnderneath his speare;
And now the pray of fowles in field he lyes,
Nor wayld of friends, nor laid on groning beare,
That whylome was to me too dearely deare.
O what of Gods then boots it to be borne,
If old *Aueugles* sonnes so euill heare?
Or who shall not great *Nightes* children scorne,
When two of three her Nephewes are so fowle forlorne?

xxiii

Vp then, vp dreary Dame, of darknesse Queene,
 Go gather vp the reliques of thy race,
 Or else goe them auenge, and let be seene,
 That dreaded *Night* in brightest day hath place,
 And can the children of faire light deface.
 Her feeling speeches some compassion moued
 In hart, and chaunge in that great mothers face:
 Yet pittie in her hart was neuer proued
 Till then: for euermore she hated, neuer loued.

xxiv

And said, Deare daughter rightly may I rew
 The fall of famous children borne of mee,
 And good successes, which their foes ensew:
 But who can turne the streame of destinee,
 Or breake the chayne of strong necessitee,
 Which fast is tyde to *Ioues* eternall seat?
 The sonnes of Day he fauoureth, I see,
 And by my ruines thinkes to make them great:
 To make one great by others losse, is bad excheat.

xxv

Yet shall they not escape so freely all;
 For some shall pay the price of others guilt:
 And he the man that made *Sansfoy* to fall,
 Shall with his owne bloud price that he hath spilt.
 But what art thou, that telst of Nephews kilt?
 I that do seeme not I, *Duessa* am,
 (Quoth she) how euer now in garments gilt,
 And gorgeous gold arayd I to thee came;
Duessa I, the daughter of Deceipt and Shame.

xxvi

Then bowing downe her aged backe, she kist
 The wicked witch, saying; In that faire face
 The false resemblance of Deceipt, I wist
 Did closely lurke; yet so true-seeming grace
 It carried, that I scarce in darkesome place
 Could it discerne, though I the mother bee
 Of falshood, and root of *Duessaes* race.
 O welcome child, whom I haue longd to see,
 And now haue seene vnwares. Lo now I go with thee.

xxvii

Then to her yron wagon she betakes,
And with her beares the fowle welfauourd witch:
Through mirkesome aire her readie way she makes.
Her twyfold Teme, of which two blacke as pitch,
And two were browne, yet each to each vnlich,
Did softly swim away, ne euer stampe,
Vnlesse she chaunst their stubborne mouths to twitch;
Then foming tarre, their bridles they would champe,
And trampling the fine element, would fiercely rampe.

xxviii

So well they sped, that they be come at length
Vnto the place, whereas the Paynim lay,
Deuoid of outward sense, and natiue strength,
Couerd with charmed cloud from vew of day,
And sight of men, since his late luckelesse fray.
His cruell wounds with cruddy bloud congealed,
They binden vp so wisely, as they may,
And handle softly, till they can be healed:
So lay him in her charet, close in night concealed.

xxix

And all the while she stood vpon the ground,
The wakefull dogs did neuer cease to bay,
As giuing warning of th'vnwonted sound,
With which her yron wheelles did them affray,
And her darke griesly looke them much dismay;
The messenger of death, the ghastly Owle
With drearie shriekes did also her bewray;
And hungry Wolues continually did howle,
At her abhorred face, so filthy and so fowle.

xxx

Thence turning backe in silence soft they stole,
And brought the heauie corse with easie pace
To yawning gulfe of deepe *Auernus* hole.
By that same hole an entrance darke and bace
With smoake and sulphure hiding all the place,
Descends to hell: there creature neuer past,
That backe returned without heauenly grace;
But dreadfull *Furies*, which their chaines haue brast,
And damned sprights sent forth to make ill men aghast.

xxxi

By that same way the direfull dames doe driue
 Their mournfull charet, fild with rusty blood,
 And downe to *Plutoes* house are come biliue:
 Which passing through, on euery side them stood
 The trembling ghosts with sad amazed mood,
 Chattring their yron teeth, and staring wide
 With stonie eyes; and all the hellish brood
 Of feends infernall flockt on euery side,
 To gaze on earthly wight, that with the Night durst ride.

xxxii

They pas the bitter waues of *Acheron*,
 Where many soules sit wailing woefully,
 And come to fiery flood of *Phlegeton*,
 Whereas the damned ghosts in torments fry,
 And with sharpe shrilling shriekes doe bootlesse cry,
 Cursing high *Ioue*, the which them thither sent.
 The house of endlesse paine is built thereby,
 In which ten thousand sorts of punishment
 The cursed creatures doe eternally torment.

xxxiii

Before the threshold dreadfull *Cerberus*
 His three deformed heads did lay along,
 Curled with thousand adders venomous,
 And lilled forth his bloudie flaming tong:
 At them he gan to reare his bristles strong,
 And felly gnarre, vntill dayes enemy
 Did him appease; then downe his taile he hong
 And suffered them to passen quietly:
 For she in hell and heauen had power equally.

xxxiv

There was *Ixion* turned on a wheele,
 For daring tempt the Queene of heauen to sin;
 And *Sisyphus* an huge round stone did reele
 Against an hill, ne might from labour lin;
 There thirstie *Tantalus* hong by the chin;
 And *Tityus* fed a vulture on his maw;
Typhæus ioyns were stretched on a gin,
Theseus condemned to endlesse slouth by law,
 And fifty sisters water in leake vessels draw.

xxxv

They all beholding worldly wights in place,
Leaue off their worke, vnmindfull of their smart,
To gaze on them; who forth by them doe pace,
Till they be come vnto the furthest part:
Where was a Caue ywrought by wondrous art,
Deepe, darke, vneasie, dolefull, comfortlesse,
In which sad *Æsculapius* farre a part
Emprisond was in chaines remedillesse,
For that *Hippolytus* rent corse he did redresse.

xxxvi

Hippolytus a iolly huntsman was,
That wont in charet chace the foming Bore;
He all his Peeres in beautie did surpas,
But Ladies loue as losse of time forbore:
His wanton stepdame loued him the more,
But when she saw her offred sweets refused
Her loue she turnd to hate, and him before
His father fierce of treason false accused,
And with her gealous termes his open cares abused.

xxxvii

Who all in rage his Sea-god syre besought,
Some cursed vengeance on his sonne to cast:
From surging gulf two monsters straight were brought,
With dread whereof his chasing steedes aghast,
Both charet swift and huntsman ouercast.
His goodly corps on ragged cliffs yrent,
Was quite dismembred, and his members chast
Scattered on euery mountaine, as he went,
That of *Hippolytus* was left no moniment.

xxxviii

His cruell stepdame seeing what was donne,
Her wicked dayes with wretched knife did end,
In death auowing th'innocence of her sonne.
Which hearing his rash Syre, began to rend
His haire, and hastie tongue, that did offend:
Tho gathering vp the relicks of his smart
By *Dianes* meanes, who was *Hippolyts* frend,
Them brought to *Æsculape*, that by his art
Did heale them all againe, and ioyned euery part.

xxxix

Such wondrous science in mans wit to raine xl

When *Ioue* auizd, that could the dead reuiue,
 And fates expired could renew againe,
 Of endlesse life he might him not depriue,
 But vnto hell did thrust him downe alieue,
 With flashing thunderbolt ywounded sore:
 Where long remaining, he did alwaies striue
 Himselfe with salues to health for to restore,
 And slake the heavenly fire, that raged euermore.

There auncient Night arriuing, did alight xli

From her nigh wearie waine, and in her armes
 To *Æsculapius* brought the wounded knight:
 Whom hauing softly disarayd of armes,
 Tho gan to him discouer all his harmes,
 Beseeching him with prayer, and with praise,
 If either salues, or oyles, or herbes, or charmes
 A fordonne wight from dore of death mote raise,
 He would at her request prolong her nephews daies.

Ah Dame (quoth he) thou temptest me in vaine, xlii

To dare the thing, which daily yet I rew,
 And the old cause of my continued paine
 With like attempt to like end to renew.
 Is not enough, that thrust from heauen dew
 Here endlesse penance for one fault I pay,
 But that redoubled crime with vengeance new
 Thou biddest me to eeke? Can Night defray
 The wrath of thundring *Ioue*, that rules both night and day?

Not so (quoth she) but sith that heauens king xliii

From hope of heauen hath thee excluded quight,
 Why fearest thou, that canst not hope for thing,
 And fearest not, that more thee hurten might,
 Now in the powre of euerlasting Night?
 Goe to then, O thou farre renowned sonne
 Of great *Apollo*, shew thy famous might
 In medicine, that else hath to thee wonne
 Great paines, and greater praise, both neuer to be donne.

Her words preuaild: And then the learned leach
 His cunning hand gan to his wounds to lay,
 And all things else, the which his art did teach:
 Which hauing seene, from thence arose away
 The mother of dread darknesse, and let stay
Aeneas sonne there in the leaches cure,
 And backe returning tooke her wonted way,
 To runne her timely race, whilst *Phæbus* pure
 In westerne waues his wearie wagon did recure.

xliv

The false *Duessa* leauing noyous Night,
 Returnd to stately pallace of dame Pride;
 Where when she came, she found the Faery knight
 Departed thence, albe his woundes wide
 Not throughly heald, vnreadie were to ride.
 Good cause he had to hasten thence away;
 For on a day his wary Dwarfe had spide,
 Where in a dongeon deepe huge numbers lay
 Of caytiue wretched thrals, that wayled night and day.

xlv

A ruefull sight, as could be seene with cie;
 Of whom he learned had in secret wise
 The hidden cause of their captiuitie,
 How mortgaging their liues to *Conetise*,
 Through wastfull Pride, and wanton Riotise,
 They were by law of that proud Tyrannesse
 Proukt with *Wrath*, and *Enuies* false surmise,
 Condemned to that Dongeon mercillesse,
 Where they should liue in woe, and die in wretchednesse.

xlvi

There was that great proud king of *Babylon*,
 That would compell all nations to adore,
 And him as onely God to call vpon,
 Till through celestiallyl doome throwne out of dore,
 Into an Oxe he was transform'd of yore:
 There also was king *Cræsus*, that enhaunst
 His heart too high through his great riches store;
 And proud *Antiochus*, the which aduaunst
 His cursed hand gainst God, and on his altars daunst.

xlvii

And them long time before, great *Nimrod* was,
 That first the world with sword and fire warrayd;
 And after him old *Ninus* farre did pas
 In princely pompe, of all the world obayd;
 There also was that mightie Monarch layd
 Low vnder all, yet aboue all in pride,
 That name of natiue syre did fowle vpbrayd,
 And would as *Ammons* sonne be magnifide,
 Till scornd of God and man a shamefull death he dide.

xlviii

All these together in one heape were throwne,
 Like carkases of beasts in butchers stall.
 And in another corner wide were strowne
 The antique ruines of the *Romaines* fall:
 Great *Romulus* the Grandsyre of them all,
 Proud *Tarquin*, and too lordly *Lentulus*,
 Stout *Scipio*, and stubborne *Hanniball*,
 Ambitious *Sylla*, and sterne *Marius*,
 High *Cæsar*, great *Pompey*, and fierce *Antonius*.

xlix

Amongst these mighty men were wemen mixt,
 Proud wemen, vaine, forgetfull of their yoke:
 The bold *Semiramis*, whose sides transfixt
 With sonnes owne blade, her fowle reproches spoke;
 Faire *Sthenobæa*, that her selfe did choke
 With wilfull cord, for wanting of her will;
 High minded *Cleopatra*, that with stroke
 Of Aspes sting her selfe did stoutly kill:
 And thousands moc the like, that did that dongeon fill.

l

Besides the endlesse routs of wretched thralls,
 Which thither were assembled day by day,
 From all the world after their wofull falles,
 Through wicked pride, and wasted wealthes decay.
 But most of all, which in that Dongeon lay
 Fell from high Princes courts, or Ladies bowres,
 Where they in idle pompe, or wanton play,
 Consumed had their goods, and thriftlesse howres,
 And lastly throwne themselues into these heauy stowres.

li

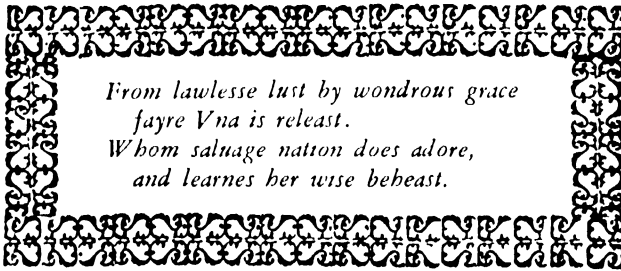
Whose case when as the carefull Dwarfe had tould,
And made ensample of their mournefull sight
Vnto his maister, he no lenger would
There dwell in perill of like painefull plight,
But early rose, and ere that dawning light
Discouered had the world to heauen wyde,
He by a priuie Posterne tooke his flight,
That of no enuious eyes he mote be spyde:
For doubtlesse death ensewd, if any him descryde.

lii

Scarse could he footing find in that fowle way,
For many corses, like a great Lay-stall
Of mured men which therein strowed lay,
Without remorse, or decent funerall:
Which all through that great Princesse pride did fall
And came to shamefull end. And them beside
Forth ryding vnderneath the castell wall,
A donghill of dead carkases he spide,
The dreadfull spectacle of that sad house of *Pride*.

liii

Cant. VI.



AS when a ship, that flies faire vnder saile,
 An hidden rocke escaped hath vnwares,
 That lay in waite her wrack for to bewaile,
 The Marriner yet halfe amazed stares
 At perill past, and yet in doubt ne dares
 To ioy at his foole-happie ouersight:
 So doubly is distrest twixt ioy and cares
 The dreadlesse courage of this Elfin knight,
 Hauing escapt so sad ensamples in his sight.

i

Yet sad he was that his too hastie speed
 The faire *Duess'* had forst him leaue behind;
 And yet more sad, that *Vna* his deare dreed
 Her truth had staine with treason so vnkind;
 Yet crime in her could neuer creature find,
 But for his loue, and for her owne selfe sake,
 She wandred had from one to other *Ynd*,
 Him for to seeke, ne euer would forsake,
 Till her vnwares the fierce *Sansloy* did ouertake.

ii

Who after *Archimagoes* fowle defeat,
 Led her away into a forrest wilde,
 And turning wrathfull fire to lustfull heat,
 With beastly sin thought her to haue defilde,
 And made the vassall of his pleasures wilde.
 Yet first he cast by treatie, and by traynes,
 Her to perswade, that stubborne fort to yilde:
 For greater conquest of hard loue he gaynes,
 That workes it to his will, then he that it constraines.

iii

With fawning wordes he courted her a while,
And looking louely, and oft sighing sore,
Her constant hart did tempt with diuerse guile:
But wordes, and lookes, and sighes she did abhore,
As rocke of Diamond stedfast euermore.
Yet for to feed his fyrie lustfull eye,
He snatcht the vele, that hong her face before;
Then gan her beautie shine, as brightest skye,
And burnt his beastly hart t'efforce her chastitye.

iv

So when he saw his flatt'ring arts to fayle,
And subtile engines bet from batteree,
With greedy force he gan the fort assayle,
Whereof he weend possessed soone to bee,
And win rich spoile of ransackt chastetee.
Ah heauens, that do this hideous act behold,
And heauenly virgin thus outraged see,
How can ye vengeance iust so long withhold,
And hurle not flashing flames vpon that Paynim bold?

v

The pitteous maiden carefull comfortlesse,
Does throw out thrilling shriekes, and shrieking cries,
The last vaine helpe of womens great distresse,
And with loud plaints importuneth the skyes,
That molten starres do drop like weeping eyes;
And *Phæbus* flying so most shamefull sight,
His blushing face in foggy cloud implies,
And hides for shame. What wit of mortall wight
Can now devise to quit a thrall from such a plight?

vi

Eternall prouidence exceeding thought,
Where none appeares can make her selfe a way:
A wondrous way it for this Lady wrought,
From Lyons clawes to pluck the griped pray.
Her shrill outcries and shriekes so loud did bray,
That all the woodes and forestes did resownd;
A troupe of *Faunes* and *Satyres* far away
Within the wood were dauncing in a rownd,
Whiles old *Sylvanus* slept in shady arber sownd.

vii

Who when they heard that pittious strained voice,
 In hast forsooke their rurall meriment,
 And ran towards the far rebownded noyce,
 To weet, what wight so loudly did lament.
 Vnto the place they come incontinent:
 Whom when the raging Sarazin espide,
 A rude, misshapen, monstrous rablement,
 Whose like he neuer saw, he durst not bide,
 But got his ready steed, and fast away gan ride.

viii

The wyld woodgods arriued in the place,
 There find the virgin dolefull desolate,
 With ruffled rayments, and faire blubbred face,
 As her outrageous foe had left her late,
 And trembling yet through feare of former hate;
 All stand amazed at so vncouth sight,
 And gin to pittie her vnhappie state,
 All stand astonied at her beautie bright,
 In their rude eyes vnworthie of so wofull plight.

ix

She more amaz'd, in double dread doth dwell;
 And euery tender part for feare does shake:
 As when a greedie Wolfe through hunger fell
 A seely Lambe farre from the flocke does take,
 Of whom he meanes his bloudie feast to make,
 A Lyon spyes fast running towards him,
 The innocent pray in hast he does forsake,
 Which quit from death yet quakes in euery lim
 With chaunge of feare, to see the Lyon looke so grim.

x

Such fearefull fit assaid her trembling hart,
 Ne word to speake, ne ioynt to moue she had:
 The saluage nation feele her secret smart,
 And read her sorrow in her count'nance sad;
 Their frowning foreheads with rough hornes yclad,
 And rusticke horror all a side doe lay,
 And gently grenning, shew a semblance glad
 To comfort her, and feare to put away,
 Their backward bent knees teach her humbly to obay.

xi

The doubtfull Damzell dare not yet commit
Her single person to their barbarous truth,
But still twixt feare and hope amazd does sit,
Late learnd what harme to hastie trust ensu'th:
They in compassion of her tender youth,
And wonder of her beautie soueraine,
Are wonne with pittie and vnwonted ruth,
And all prostrate vpon the lowly plaine,
Do kisse her feete, and fawne on her with count'nance faine.

xii

Their harts she ghesseth by their humble guise,
And yieldees her to extremitie of time;
So from the ground she fearelesse doth arise,
And walketh forth without suspect of crime:
They all as glad, as birdes of ioyous Prime,
Thence lead her forth, about her dauncing round,
Shouting, and singing all a shepheards ryme,
And with greene braunches strowing all the ground,
Do worship her, as Queene, with oliue girlond croud.

xiii

And all the way their merry pipes they sound,
That all the woods with doubled Eccho ring,
And with their horned feet do weare the ground,
Leaping like wanton kids in pleasant Spring.
So towards old *Syluanus* they her bring;
Who with the noyse awaked, commeth out,
To weet the cause, his weake steps gouerning,
And aged limbs on Cypresse stadle stout,
And with an yuie twyne his wast is girt about.

xiv

Far off he wonders, what them makes so glad,
Or *Bacchus* merry fruit they did inuent,
Or *Cybeles* franticke rites haue made them mad;
They drawing nigh, vnto their God present
That flowre of faith and beautie excellent.
The God himselfe vewing that mirrhour rare,
Stood long amazd, and burnt in his intent;
His owne faire *Dryope* now he thinkes not faire,
And *Pholoe* fowle, when her to this he doth compaire.

xv

The woodborne people fall before her flat, xvi
 And worship her as Goddesses of the wood;
 And old *Sylvanus* selfe bethinkes not, what
 To thinke of wight so faire, but gazing stood,
 In doubt to deeme her borne of earthly brood;
 Sometimes Dame *Venus* selfe he seemes to see,
 But *Venus* neuer had so sober mood;
 Sometimes *Diana* he her takes to bee,
 But misseth bow, and shaftes, and buskins to her knee.

By vew of her he ginneth to reuiue xvii
 His ancient loue, and dearest *Cyparisse*,
 And calles to mind his pourtraiture alieu,
 How faire he was, and yet not faire to this,
 And how he slew with glauncing dart amisse
 A gentle Hynd, the which the louely boy
 Did loue as life, aboue all worldly blisse;
 For grieve whereof the lad n'ould after ioy,
 But pynd away in anguish and selfe-wild annoy.

The wooddy Nymphes, faire *Hamadryades* xviii
 Her to behold do thither runne apace,
 And all the troupe of light-foot *Naiades*,
 Flocke all about to see her louely face:
 But when they vewed haue her heauenly grace,
 They enuie her in their malicious mind,
 And fly away for feare of fowle disgrace:
 But all the *Satyres* scorne their woody kind,
 And henceforth nothing faire, but her on earth they find.

Glad of such lucke, the luckelesse lucky maid, xix
 Did her content to please their feeble eyes,
 And long time with that saluage people staid,
 To gather breath in many miseries.
 During which time her gentle wit she plyes,
 To teach them truth, which worshipht her in vaine,
 And made her th'Image of Idolatryes;
 But when their bootlesse zeale she did restraine
 From her own worship, they her Asse would worship fayn.

It fortun'd a noble warlike knight

xx

By iust occasion to that forrest came,
To seeke his kindred, and the lignage right,
From whence he tooke his well deserued name:
He had in armes abroad wonne muchell fame,
And fild far landes with glorie of his might,
Plaine, faithfull, true, and enemy of shame,
And euer lou'd to fight for Ladies right,
But in vaine glorious frayes he litle did delight.

A Satyres sonne yborne in forrest wyld,

xxi

By straunge aduventure as it did betyde,
And there begotten of a Lady myld,
Faire *Thyamis* the daughter of *Labryde*,
That was in sacred bands of wedlocke tyde
To *Therion*, a loose vnruly swayne;
Who had more ioy to raunge the forrest wyde,
And chase the saluage beast with busie payne,
Then serue his Ladies loue, and wast in pleasures vayne.

The forlorne mayd did with loues longing burne,

xxii

And could not lacke her louers company,
But to the wood she goes, to serue her turne,
And seeke her spouse, that from her still does fly,
And followes other game and venery:
A Satyre chaunst her wandring for to find,
And kindling coles of lust in brutish eye,
The loyall links of wedlocke did vnbind,
And made her person thrall vnto his beastly kind.

So long in secret cabin there he held

xxiii

Her captiue to his sensuall desire,
Till that with timely fruit her belly sweld,
And bore a boy vnto that saluage sire:
Then home he suffred her for to retire,
For ransome leauing him the late borne childe;
Whom till to ryper yeares he gan aspire,
He noursl'd vp in life and manners wilde,
Emongst wild beasts and woods, from lawes of men exile.

For all he taught the tender ymp, was but
 To banish cowardize and bastard feare;
 His trembling hand he would him force to put
 Vpon the Lyon and the rugged Beare,
 And from the she Beares teats her whelps to teare;
 And cke wyld roring Bulls he would him make
 To tame, and ryde their backes not made to beare;
 And the Robuckes in flight to ouertake,
 That euery beast for feare of him did fly and quake.

xxiv

Thereby so fearelesse, and so fell he grew,
 That his owne sire and maister of his guise
 Did often tremble at his horrid vew,
 And oft for dread of hurt would him aduise,
 The angry beasts not rashly to despise,
 Nor too much to prouoke; for he would learne
 The Lyon stoup to him in lowly wise,
 (A lesson hard) and make the Libbard sterne
 Leaue roaring, when in rage he for reuenge did earne.

xxv

And for to make his powre approued more,
 Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell;
 The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore,
 The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell;
 The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell;
 And them constraine in equall teme to draw.
 Such ioy he had, their stubborne harts to quell,
 And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw,
 That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law.

xxvi

His louing mother came vpon a day
 Vnto the woods, to see her little sonne;
 And chaunst vnwares to meet him in the way,
 After his sportes, and cruell pastime donne,
 When after him a Lyonesse did runne,
 That roaring all with rage, did lowd requere
 Her children deare, whom he away had wonne:
 The Lyon whelpes she saw how he did beare,
 And lull in rugged armes, withouten childish feare.

xxvii

The fearefull Dame all quaked at the sight,
And turning backe, gan fast to fly away,
Vntill with loue reuokt from vaine affright,
She hardly yet perswaded was to stay,
And then to him these womanish words gan say;
Ah *Satyrane*, my dearling, and my ioy,
For loue of me leaue off this dreadfull play;
To dally thus with death, is no fit toy,
Go find some other play-fellowes, mine own sweet boy.

xxviii

In these and like delights of bloudy game
He trayned was, till ryper yeares he raught,
And there abode, whilst any beast of name
Walkt in that forest, whom he had not taught
To feare his force: and then his courage haught
Desird of forreine foemen to be knowne,
And far abroad for straunge aduentures sought:
In which his might was neuer ouerthrowne,
But through all Faery lond his famous worth was blown.

xxix

Yet euermore it was his manner faire,
After long labours and aduentures spent,
Vnto those natiue woods for to repaire,
To see his sire and ofspring auncient.
And now he thither came for like intent;
Where he vnwares the fairest *Vna* found,
Straunge Lady, in so straunge habiliment,
Teaching the Satyres, which her sat around,
Trew sacred lore, which from her sweet lips did redound.

xxx

He wondred at her wisdom heauenly rare,
Whose like in womens wit he neuer knew;
And when her curteous deeds he did compare,
Gan her admire, and her sad sorrowes rew,
Blaming of Fortune, which such troubles threw,
And ioyd to make prooffe of her crueltie
On gentle Dame, so hurtlesse, and so trew:
Thenceforth he kept her goodly company,
And learnd her discipline of faith and veritie.

xxxi

But she all vowd vnto the *Redcrosse* knight, xxxii
 His wandring perill closely did lament,
 Ne in this new acquaintaunce could delight,
 But her deare heart with anguish did torment,
 And all her wit in secret counsels spent,
 How to escape. At last in priuie wise
 To *Satyrane* she shewed her intent;
 Who glad to gain such fauour, gan devise,
 How with that pensiue Maid he best might thence arise.

So on a day when Satyres all were gone, xxxiii
 To do their seruice to *Syluanus* old,
 The gentle virgin left behind alone
 He led away with courage stout and bold.
 Too late it was, to Satyres to be told,
 Or euer hope recouer her againe:
 In vaine he seekes that hauing cannot hold.
 So fast he carried her with carefull paine,
 That they the woods are past, and come now to the plaine.

The better part now of the lingring day, xxxiv
 They traueild had, when as they farre espide
 A wearie wight forwandring by the way,
 And towards him they gan in hast to ride,
 To weet of newes, that did abroad betide,
 Or tydings of her knight of the *Redcrosse*.
 But he them spying, gan to turne aside,
 For feare as seemd, or for some feigned losse;
 More greedy they of newes, fast towards him do crosse.

A silly man, in simple weedes forworne, xxxv
 And soild with dust of the long dried way;
 His sandales were with toilesome trauell torne,
 And face all tand with scorching sunny ray,
 As he had traueild many a sommers day,
 Through boyling sands of *Arabie* and *Ynde*;
 And in his hand a *Iacobs* staffe, to stay
 His wearie limbes vpon: and eke behind,
 His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind.

- The knight approching nigh, of him inquerd xxxvi
Tydings of warre, and of aduentures new;
But warres, nor new aduentures none he herd.
Then *Vna* gan to aske, if ought he knew,
Or heard abroad of that her champion trew,
That in his armour bare a croslet red.
Aye me, Deare dame (quoth he) well may I rew
To tell the sad sight, which mine eies haue red:
These eyes did see that knight both liuing and eke ded.
- That cruell word her tender hart so thrild, xxxvii
That suddein cold did runne through euery vaine,
And stony horroure all her sences fild
With dying fit, that downe she fell for paine.
The knight her lightly reared vp againe,
And comforted with curteous kind reliefe:
Then wonne from death, she bad him tellen plaine
The further processe of her hidden grieve;
The lesser pangs can beare, who hath endur'd the chiefe.
- Then gan the Pilgrim thus, I chaunst this day, xxxviii
This fatall day, that shall I euer rew,
To see two knights in trauell on my way
(A sory sight) arraung'd in battell new,
Both breathing vengeance, both of wrathfull hew:
My fearefull flesh did tremble at their strife,
To see their blades so greedily imbrew,
That drunke with bloud, yet thirsted after life:
What more? the *Redcrosse* knight was slaine with Paynim knife.
- Ah dearest Lord (quoth she) how might that bee, xxxix
And he the stoutest knight, that euer wonne?
Ah dearest dame (quoth he) how might I see
The thing, that might not be, and yet was donne?
Where is (said *Satyrane*) that Paynims sonne,
That him of life, and vs of ioy hath reft?
Not far away (quoth he) he hence doth wonne
Foreby a fountaine, where I late him left
Washing his bloody wounds, that through the steele were cleft.

Therewith the knight thence marched forth in hast, xl
 Whiles *Vna* with huge heauinesse opprest,
 Could not for sorrow follow him so fast;
 And soone he came, as he the place had ghest,
 Whereas that *Pagan* proud him selfe did rest,
 In secret shadow by a fountaine side:
 Euen he it was, that earst would haue suppress
 Faire *Vna*: whom when *Satyrane* espide,
 With fowle reprochfull words he boldly him defide.

And said, Arise thou cursed Miscraunt, xli
 That hast with knightlesse guile and trecherous train
 Faire knighthood fowly shamed, and doest vaunt
 That good knight of the *Redcrosse* to haue slain:
 Arise, and with like treason now maintain
 Thy guilty wrong, or else thee guilty yield.
 The Sarazin this hearing, rose amain,
 And catching vp in hast his three square shield,
 And shining helmet, soone him buckled to the field.

And drawing nigh him said, Ah misborne Elfe, xlii
 In euill houre thy foes thee hither sent,
 Anothers wrongs to wreake vpon thy selfe:
 Yet ill thou blamest me, for hauing blent
 My name with guile and traiterous intent;
 That *Redcrosse* knight, perdie, I neuer slew,
 But had he beene, where earst his armes were lent,
 Th'enchaunter vaine his errour should not rew:
 But thou his errour shalt, I hope now prouen trew.

Therewith they gan, both furious and fell, xliii
 To thunder blowes, and fiersly to assaile
 Each other, bent his enemy to quell,
 That with their force they perst both plate and maile,
 And made wide furrowes in their fleshs fraile,
 That it would pittie any liuing cie.
 Large floods of bloud adowne their sides did raile;
 But floods of bloud could not them satisfie:
 Both hungred after death: both chose to win, or die.

So long they fight, and fell reuenge pursue,
That fainting each, themselues to breathen let,
And oft refreshed, battell oft renue:
As when two Bores with rancling malice met,
Their gory sides fresh bleeding fiercely fret,
Til breathlesse both them selues aside retire,
Where foming wrath, their cruell tuskes they whet,
And trample th'earth, the whiles they may respire;
Then backe to fight againe, new breathed and entire.

xliv

So fiersly, when these knights had breathed once,
They gan to fight returne, increasing more
Their puissant force, and cruell rage attonce,
With heaped strokes more hugely, then before,
That with their drerie wounds and bloody gore
They both deformed, scarsely could be known.
By this sad *Vna* fraught with anguish sore,
Led with their noise, which through the aire was thrown,
Arriu'd, where they in erth their fruitles bloud had sown.

xlv

Whom all so soone as that proud Sarazin
Espide, he gan reuiue the memory
Of his lewd lusts, and late attempted sin,
And left the doubtfull battell hastily,
To catch her, newly offred to his cie:
But *Satyrane* with strokes him turning, staid,
And sternely bad him other businesse plie,
Then hunt the steps of pure vnspotted Maid:
Wherewith he all enrag'd, these bitter speaches said.

xlvi

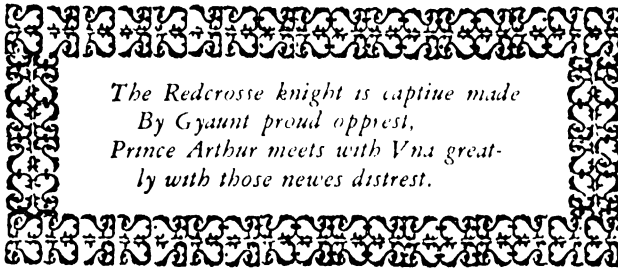
O foolish faeries sonne, what furie mad
Hath thee incenst, to hast thy dolefull fate?
Were it not better, I that Lady had,
Then that thou hadst repented it too late?
Most sencelesse man he, that himselfe doth hate,
To loue another. Lo then for thine ayd
Here take thy louers token on thy pate.
So they to fight; the whiles the royall Mayd
Fled farre away, of that proud Paynim sore afraid.

xlvii

But that false *Pilgrim*, which that leasing told,
Being in deed old *Archimage*, did stay
In secret shadow, all this to behold,
And much reioyced in their bloudy fray:
But when he saw the Damsell passe away
He left his stond, and her pursewd apace,
In hope to bring her to her last decay.
But for to tell her lamentable cace,
And eke this battels end, will need another place.

xlviiii

Cant. VII.



WHat man so wise, what earthly wit so ware,
 As to descry the crafty cunning traine,
 By which deceit doth maske in visour faire,
 And cast her colours dyed deepe in graine,
 To seeme like Truth, whose shape she well can faine,
 And fitting gestures to her purpose frame,
 The guiltlesse man with guile to entertaine?
 Great maistresse of her art was that false Dame,
 The false *Duessa*, cloked with *Fidessaes* name.

Who when returning from the dreery *Night*,
 She fownd not in that perilous house of *Pryde*,
 Where she had left, the noble *Redcrosse* knight,
 Her hoped pray; she would no lenger bide,
 But forth she went, to seeke him far and wide.
 Ere long she fownd, whereas he wearie sate,
 To rest him selfe, foreby a fountaine side,
 Disarmed all of yron-coted Plate,
 And by his side his steed the grassy forage ate.

He feedes vpon the cooling shade, and bayes
 His sweatie forehead in the breathing wind,
 Which through the trembling leaues full gently plays
 Wherein the cherefull birds of sundry kind
 Do chaunt sweet musick, to delight his mind:
 The Witch approching gan him fairely greet,
 And with reproch of carelesnesse vnkind
 Vpbrayd, for leauing her in place vnmeet,
 With fowle words tempring faire, soure gall with hony sweet.

i

ii

iii

Vnkindnesse past, they gan of solace treat, iv
 And bathe in pleasaunce of the ioyous shade,
 Which shielded them against the boyling heat,
 And with greene boughes decking a gloomy glade,
 About the fountaine like a girlond made;
 Whose bubbling waue did euer freshly well,
 Ne euer would through feruent sommer fade:
 The sacred Nymph, which therein wont to dwell,
 Was out of *Dianes* fauour, as it then befell.

The cause was this: one day when *Phæbe* fayre v
 With all her band was following the chace,
 This Nymph, quite tyr'd with heat of scorching ayre
 Sat downe to rest in middest of the race:
 The goddesse wroth gan fowly her disgrace,
 And bad the waters, which from her did flow,
 Be such as she her selfe was then in place.
 Thenceforth her waters waxed dull and slow,
 And all that drunke thereof, did faint and feeble grow.

Hereof this gentle knight vnweeting was, vi
 And lying downe vpon the sandie graile,
 Drunke of the streame, as cleare as cristall glas;
 Eftsoones his manly forces gan to faile,
 And mightie strong was turnd to feeble fraile.
 His chaunged powres at first them selues not felt,
 Till crudled cold his corage gan assaile,
 And chearefull bloud in faintnesse chill did melt,
 Which like a feuer fit through all his body swelt.

Yet goodly court he made still to his Dame, vii
 Poured out in loosnesse on the grassy grownd,
 Both carelesse of his health, and of his fame:
 Till at the last he heard a dreadfull sownd,
 Which through the wood loud bellowing, did rebownd,
 That all the earth for terrour seemd to shake,
 And trees did tremble. Th'Elfe therewith astownd,
 Vpstarted lightly from his looser make,
 And his vnready weapons gan in hand to take.

But ere he could his armour on him dight,
Or get his shield, his monstrous enemy
With sturdie steps came stalking in his sight,
An hideous Geant horrible and hye,
That with his talnesse seemd to threat the skye,
The ground eke groned vnder him for dreed;
His liuing like saw neuer liuing eye,
Ne durst behold: his stature did exceed
The hight of three the tallest sonnes of mortall seed.

viii

The greatest Earth his vncouth mother was,
And blustering *Æolus* his boasted sire,
Who with his breath, which through the world doth pas,
Her hollow womb did secretly inspire,
And fild her hidden caues with stormie yre,
That she conceiu'd; and trebling the dew time,
In which the wombes of women do expire,
Brought forth this monstrous masse of earthly slime,
Puft vp with emptie wind, and fild with sinfull crime.

ix

So growen great through arrogant delight
Of th'high descent, whereof he was yborne,
And through presumption of his matchlesse might,
All other powres and knighthood he did scorne.
Such now he marcheth to this man forlorne,
And left to losse: his stalking steps are stayde
Vpon a snaggy Oke, which he had torne
Out of his mothers bowelles, and it made
His mortall mace, wherewith his foemen he dismayde.

x

That when the knight he spide, he gan aduance
With huge force and insupportable mayne,
And towards him with dreadfull fury prounce;
Who haplesse, and eke hopelesse, all in vaine
Did to him pace, sad battaile to darrayne,
Disarmd, disgrast, and inwardly dismayde,
And eke so faint in eucry ioynt and vaine,
Through that fraile fountaine, which him feeble made,
That scarcely could he weeld his bootlesse single blade.

xi

The Geaunt strooke so maynly mercilesse, xii
That could haue ouerthrowne a stony towre,
And were not heauenly grace, that him did blesse,
He had beene pouldred all, as thin as flowre:
But he was wary of that deadly stowre,
And lightly lept from vnderneath the blow:
Yet so exceeding was the villeins powre,
That with the wind it did him ouerthrow,
And all his sences stound, that still he lay full low.

As when that diuelish yron Engin wrought xiii
In deepest Hell, and framd by *Furies* skill,
With windy Nitre and quick Sulphur fraught,
And ramd with bullet round, ordaind to kill,
Conceiueth fire, the heauens it doth fill
With thundring noyse, and all the ayre doth choke,
That none can breath, nor see, nor heare at will,
Through smouldry cloud of duskish stincking smoke,
That th'onely breath him daunts, who hath escapt the stroke.

So daunted when the Geaunt saw the knight, xiv
His heaue hand he heaued vp on hye,
And him to dust thought to haue battred quight,
Vntill *Duessa* loud to him gan crye;
O great *Orgoglio*, greatest vnder skye,
O hold thy mortall hand for Ladies sake,
Hold for my sake, and do him not to dye,
But vanquisht thine eternall bondsclaue make,
And me thy worthy meed vnto thy Leman take.

He hearkned, and did stay from further harmes, xv
To gayne so goodly guerdon, as she spake:
So willingly she came into his armes,
Who her as willingly to grace did take,
And was possessed of his new found make.
Then vp he tooke the slombred sencelesse corse,
And ere he could out of his swowne awake,
Him to his castle brought with hastie forse,
And in a Dongeon deepe him threw without remorse.

From that day forth *Duess*a was his deare,
 And highly honourd in his haughtie eye,
 He gaue her gold and purple pall to weare,
 And triple crowne set on her head full hye,
 And her endowd with royall inaiestye:
 Then for to make her dreaded more of men,
 And peoples harts with awfull terrour tye,
 A monstrous beast ybred in filthy fen
 He chose, which he had kept long time in darksome den.

xvi

Such one it was, as that renoumed Snake
 Which great *Alcides* in *Stremona* slew,
 Lor ⁊ fostred in the filth of *Lerna* lake,
 With many heads out budding euer new,
 Did bree him endlesse labour to subdew:
 But this same Monster much more vgly was;
 For seuen great heads out of his body grew,
 An yron brest, and backe of scaly bras,
 And all embrewd in bloud, his eyes did shine as glas.

xvii

His tayle was stretched out in wondrous length,
 That to the house of heauenly gods it raught,
 And with extorted powre, and borrow'd strength,
 The euer-burning lamps from thence it brought,
 And proudly threw to ground, as things of nought;
 And vnderneath his filthy feet did tread
 The sacred things, and holy heasts foretaught.
 Vpon this dreadfull Beast with seuenfold head
 He set the false *Duess*a, for more aw and dread.

xviii

The wofull Dwarfe, which saw his maisters fall,
 Whiles he had keeping of his grasing steed,
 And valiant knight become a caytiue thrall,
 When all was past, tooke vp his forlorne weed,
 His mightie armour, missing most at need;
 His siluer shield, now idle maisterlesse;
 His poynant speare, that many made to bleed,
 The ruefull moniments of heauinesse,
 And with them all departes, to tell his great distresse.

xix

He had not trauaild long, when on the way xx

He wofull Ladie, wofull *Vna* met,
 Fast flying from the Paynims greedy pray,
 Whilest *Satyrane* him from pursuit did let:
 Who when her eyes she on the Dwarfe had set,
 And saw the signes, that deadly tydings spake,
 She fell to ground for sorrowfull regret,
 And liuely breath her sad brest did forsake,
 Yet might her pitteous hart be seene to pant and quake.

The messenger of so vnhappy newes, xxi

Would faine haue dyde: dead was his hart within,
 Yet outwardly some little comfort shewes:
 At last recouering hart, he does begin
 To rub her temples, and to chaufe her chin,
 And euery tender part does tosse and turne:
 So hardly he the flitted life does win,
 Vnto her natiue prison to retourne:

Then gins her grieved ghost thus to lament and mourne.

Ye dreary instruments of dolefull sight, xxii

That doe this deadly spectacle behold,
 Why do ye lenger feed on loathed light,
 Or liking find to gaze on earthly mould,
 Sith cruell fates the carefull threeds vnfold,
 The which my life and loue together tyde?
 Now let the stony dart of senselesse cold
 Perce to my hart, and pas through euery side,
 And let eternall night so sad sight fro me hide.

O lightsome day, the lampe of highest *Ioue*, xxiii

First made by him, mens wandring wayes to guyde,
 When darkenesse he in deepest dongeon droue,
 Henceforth thy hated face for euer hyde,
 And shut vp heauens windowes shyning wyde:
 For earthly sight can nought but sorrow breed,
 And late repentance, which shall long abyde.
 Mine eyes no more on vanitie shall feed,
 But seeled vp with death, shall haue their deadly meed.

Then downe againe she fell vnto the ground;
 But he her quickly reared vp againe:
 Thrise did she sinke adowne in deadly swownd,
 And thrise he her reviu'd with busie paine:
 At last when life recouer'd had the raine,
 And ouer-wrestled his strong enemy,
 With foltring tong, and trembling euery vaine,
 Tell on (quoth she) the wofull Tragedie,
 The which these reliques sad present vnto mine eie.

xxiv

Tempestuous fortune hath spent all her spight,
 And thrilling sorrow throwne his vtmost dart;
 Thy sad tongue cannot tell more heauy plight,
 Then that I feele, and harbour in mine hart:
 Who hath endur'd the whole, can beare each part.
 If death it be, it is not the first wound,
 That launched hath my brest with bleeding smart.
 Begin, and end the bitter balefull stound;
 If lesse, then that I feare, more fauour I haue found.

xxv

Then gan the Dwarfe the whole discourse declare,
 The subtill traines of *Archimago* old;
 The wanton loues of false *Fidessa* faire,
 Bought with the bloud of vanquisht Paynim bold:
 The wretched payre transform'd to treen mould;
 The house of Pride, and perils round about;
 The combat, which he with *Sansloy* did hould;
 The lucklesse conflict with the Gyant stout,
 Wherein captiu'd, of life or death he stood in doubt.

xxvi

She heard with patience all vnto the end,
 And stroue to maister sorrowfull assay,
 Which greater grew, the more she did contend,
 And almost rent her tender hart in tway;
 And loue fresh coles vnto her fire did lay:
 For greater loue, the greater is the losse.
 Was neuer Ladie loued dearer day,
 Then she did loue the knight of the *Redcrosse*;
 For whose deare sake so many troubles her did tosse.

xxvii

At last when feruent sorrow slaked was,
 She vp arose, resoluing him to find
 A liue or dead: and forward forth doth pas,
 All as the Dwarfe the way to her assynd:
 And euermore in constant carefull mind
 She fed her wound with fresh renewed bale;
 Long tost with stormes, and bet with bitter wind,
 High ouer hils, and low adowne the dale,
 She wandred many a wood, and measurd many a vale.

xxviii

At last she chaunced by good hap to meet
 A goodly knight, faire marching by the way
 Together with his Squire, arayed meet:
 His glitterand armour shined farre away,
 Like glauncing light of *Phæbus* brightest ray;
 From top to toe no place appeared bare,
 That deadly dint of steele endanger may:
 Athwart his brest a bauldrick braue he ware,
 That shynd, like twinkling stars, with stons most pretious rare.

xxix

And in the midst thereof one pretious stone
 Of wondrous worth, and eke of wondrous mights,
 Shapt like a Ladies head, exceeding shone,
 Like *Hesperus* emongst the lesser lights,
 And stroue for to amaze the weaker sights;
 Thereby his mortall blade full comely hong
 In yuory sheath, ycaru'd with curious slights;
 Whose hilts were burnisht gold, and handle strong
 Of mother pearle, and buckled with a golden tong.

xxx

His haughtie helmet, horrid all with gold,
 Both glorious brightnesse, and great terrour bred;
 For all the crest a Dragon did enfold
 With greedie pawes, and ouer all did spred
 His golden wings: his dreadfull hideous hed
 Close couched on the beuer, seem'd to throw
 From flaming mouth bright sparkles fierie red,
 That suddeine horror to faint harts did show;
 And scaly tayle was stretcht adowne his backe full low.

xxxi

Vpon the top of all his loftie crest,
A bunch of haire discolourd diuersly,
With sprinckled pearle, and gold full richly drest,
Did shake, and seem'd to daunce for iollity,
Like to an Almond tree ymounted hye
On top of greene *Selinis* all alone,
With blossomes braue bedecked daintily;
Whose tender locks do tremble euery one
At euery little breath, that vnder heauen is blowne.

xxxii

His warlike shield all closely couer'd was,
Ne might of mortall eye be euer seene;
Not made of steele, nor of enduring bras,
Such earthly mettals soone consumed bene:
But all of Diamond perfect pure and cleene
It framed was, one massie entire mould,
Hewen out of Adamant rocke with engines keene,
That point of speare it neuer percen could,
Ne dint of direfull sword diuide the substance would.

xxxiii

The same to wight he neuer wont disclose,
But when as monsters huge he would dismay,
Or daunt vnequall armies of his foes,
Or when the flying heauens he would affray;
For so exceeding shone his glistring ray,
That *Phæbus* golden face it did attaint,
As when a cloud his beames doth ouer-lay;
And siluer *Cynthia* waxed pale and faint,
As when her face is staynd with magicke arts constraint.

xxxiv

No magicke arts hereof had any might,
Nor bloudie wordes of bold Enchaunters call,
But all that was not such, as seemd in sight,
Before that shield did fade, and suddeine fall:
And when him list the raskall routes appall,
Men into stones therewith he could transmew,
And stones to dust, and dust to nought at all;
And when him list the prouder lookes subdew,
He would them gazing blind, or turne to other hew.

xxxv

Ne let it seeme, that credence this exceeds,
 For he that made the same, was knowne right well
 To haue done much more admirable deedes.
 It *Merlin* was, which whylome did excell
 All liuing wightes in might of magicke spell:
 Both shield, and sword, and armour all he wrought
 For this young Prince, when first to armes he fell;
 But when he dyde, the Faerie Queene it brought
 To Faerie lond, where yet it may be seene, if sought.

xxxvi

A gentle youth, his dearly loued Squire
 His speare of heben wood behind him bare,
 Whose harmefull head, thrice heated in the fire,
 Had riuen many a brest with pikehead square;
 A goodly person, and could menage faire
 His stubborne steed with curbed canon bit,
 Who vnder him did trample as the aire,
 And chauft, that any on his backe should sit;
 The yron rowels into frothy fome he bit.

xxxvii

When as this knight nigh to the Ladie drew,
 With louely court he gan her entertaine;
 But when he heard her answeres loth, he knew
 Some secret sorrow did her heart distraine:
 Which to allay, and calme her storming paine,
 Faire feeling words he wisely gan display,
 And for her humour fitting purpose faine,
 To tempt the cause it selfe for to bewray;
 Wherewith emmou'd, these bleeding words she gan to say.

xxxviii

What worlds delight, or ioy of liuing speach
 Can heart, so plung'd in sea of sorrowes deepe,
 And heaped with so huge misfortunes, reach?
 The carefull cold beginneth for to creepe,
 And in my heart his yron arrow steepe,
 Soone as I thinke vpon my bitter bale:
 Such helplesse harmes yts better hidden keepe,
 Then rip vp griefe, where it may not auaille,
 My last left comfort is, my woes to weepe and waile.

xxxix

Ah Ladie deare, quoth then the gentle knight,
Well may I weene, your griefe is wondrous great;
For wondrous great griefe groneth in my spright,
Whiles thus I heare you of your sorrowes treat.
But wofull Ladie let me you intrete,
For to vnfold the anguish of your hart:
Mishaps are maistred by aduice discrete,
And counsell mittigates the greatest smart;
Found neuer helpe, who neuer would his hurts impart.

xi

O but (quoth she) great griefe will not be tould,
And can more easily be thought, then said.
Right so; (quoth he) but he, that neuer would,
Could neuer: will to might giues greatest aid.
But griefe (quoth she) does greater grow displaid,
If then it find not helpe, and breedes despaire.
Despaire breedes not (quoth he) where faith is staid.
No faith so fast (quoth she) but flesh does paire.
Flesh may empaire (quoth he) but reason can repaire.

xli

His goodly reason, and well guided speach
So deepe did settle in her gracious thought,
That her perswaded to disclose the breach,
Which loue and fortune in her heart had wrought,
And said; Faire Sir, I hope good hap hath brought
You to inquire the secrets of my griefe,
Or that your wisdom will direct my thought,
Or that your prowesse can me yield reliefe:
Then heare the storie sad, which I shall tell you brieve.

xlii

The forlorne Maiden, whom your eyes haue scene
The laughing stocke of fortunes mockeries,
Am th'only daughter of a King and Queene,
Whose parents deare, whilest equall destinies
Did runne about, and their felicities
The fauourable heauens did not enuy,
Did spread their rule through all the territories,
Which *Phison* and *Euphrates* floweth by,
And *Gebons* golden waues doe wash continually.

xliii

Till that their cruell cursed enemy,
 An huge great Dragon horrible in sight,
 Bred in the loathly lakes of *Tartary*,
 With murtherous rauine, and deuouring might
 Their kingdome spoild, and countrey wasted quight:
 Themselues, for feare into his iawes to fall,
 He forst to castle strong to take their flight,
 Where fast embard in mightie brasen wall,
 He has them now foure yeres besiegd to make them thrall.

xliv

Full many knights aduenturous and stout
 Haue enterprizd that Monster to subdew;
 From euey coast that heauen walks about,
 Haue thither come the noble Martiall crew,
 That famous hard atchieuements still pursew,
 Yet neuer any could that girlond win,
 But all still shronke, and still he greater grew:
 All they for want of faith, or guilt of sin,
 The pitteous pray of his fierce crueltie haue bin.

xlv

At last yledd with farre reported praise,
 Which flying fame throughout the world had spred,
 Of doughtie knights, whom Faery land did raise,
 That noble order hight of Maidenhed,
 Forthwith to court of *Gloriane* I sped,
 Of *Gloriane* great Queene of glory bright,
 Whose kingdomes seat *Cleopolis* is red,
 There to obtaine some such redoubted knight,
 That Parents deare from tyrants powre deliuer might.

xlvi

It was my chance (my chance was faire and good)
 There for to find a fresh vnproued knight,
 Whose manly hands imbrew'd in guiltie blood
 Had neuer bene, ne euer by his might
 Had throwne to ground the vnregarded right:
 Yet of his prowesse prooffe he since hath made
 (I witnesse am) in many a cruell fight;
 The groning ghosts of many one dismaide
 Haue felt the bitter dint of his auenging blade.

xlvii

xlviii

And ye the forlorne reliques of his powre,
His byting sword, and his deuouring speare,
Which haue endured many a dreadfull stowre,
Can speake his prowesse, that did earst you beare,
And well could rule: now he hath left you heare,
To be the record of his ruefull losse,
And of my dolefull disauenturous deare:
O heauie record of the good *Redcrosse*,
Where haue you left your Lord, that could so well you tosse?

xlix

Well hoped I, and faire beginnings had,
That he my captiue langour should redeeme,
Till all vnweeting, an Enchaunter bad
His sence abusd, and made him to misdecme
My loyalty, not such as it did seeme;
That rather death desire, then such despight.
Be iudge ye heauens, that all things right esteeme,
How I him lou'd, and loue with all my might,
So thought I eke of him, and thinke I thought aright.

l

Thenceforth me desolate he quite forsooke,
To wander, where wilde fortune would me lead,
And other bywaies he himselfe betooke,
Where neuer foot of liuing wight did tread,
That brought not backe the balefull body dead;
In which him chaunced false *Duessa* meete,
Mine onely foe, mine onely deadly dread,
Who with her witchcraft and misseeming sweete,
Inueigled him to follow her desires vnmeete.

li

At last by subtile sleights she him betraid
Vnto his foe, a Gyant huge and tall,
Who him disarmed, dissolute, dismaid,
Vnwares surprised, and with mightie mall
The monster mercilesse him made to fall,
Whose fall did neuer foe before behold;
And now in darkesome dungeon, wretched thrall,
Remedilesse, for aie he doth him hold;
This is my cause of griefe, more great, then may be told.

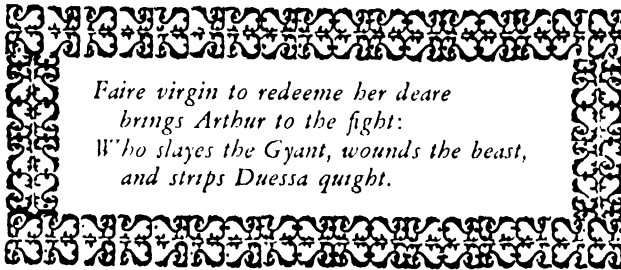
Ere she had ended all, she gan to faint:

lii

But he her comforted and faire bespake,
Certes, Madame, ye haue great cause of plaint,
That stoutest heart, I weene, could cause to quake.
But be of cheare, and comfort to you take:
For till I haue acquit your captiue knight,
Assure your selfe, I will you not forsake.

His chearefull words reuiu'd her chearelesse spright,
So forth they went, the Dwarfe them guiding euer right.

Cant. VIII.



AY me, how many perils doe enfold i
 The righteous man, to make him daily fall?
 Were not, that heauenly grace doth him vphold,
 And stedfast truth acquite him out of all.
 Her loue is firme, her care continuall,
 So oft as he through his owne foolish pride,
 Or weaknesse is to sinfull bands made thrall:
 Else should this *Redcrosse* knight in bands haue dyde,
 For whose deliuerance she this Prince doth thither guide.

They sadly traueild thus, vntill they came ii
 Nigh to a castle builded strong and hie:
 Then cryde the Dwarfe, lo yonder is the same,
 In which my Lord my liege doth lucklesse lie,
 Thrall to that Gyants hatefull tyrannie:
 Therefore, deare Sir, your mightie powres assay.
 The noble knight alighted by and by
 From loftie steede, and bad the Ladie stay,
 To see what end of fight should him befall that day.

So with the Squire, th'admirer of his might, iii
 He marched forth towards that castle wall;
 Whose gates he found fast shut, ne liuing wight
 To ward the same, nor answere commers call.
 Then tooke that Squire an horne of bugle small,
 Which hong adowne his side in twisted gold,
 And tassels gay. Wyde wonders ouer all
 Of that same hornes great vertues weren told,
 Which had approued bene in vses manifold.

Was neuer wight, that heard that shrilling sound,
 But trembling feare did feele in euery vaine;
 Three miles it might be easie heard around,
 And Ecchoes three answerd it selfe againe:
 No false enchauntment, nor deceitfull traine
 Might once abide the terror of that blast,
 But presently was voide and wholly vaine:
 No gate so strong, no locke so firme and fast,
 But with that percing noise flew open quite, or brast.

iv

The same before the Geants gate he blew,
 That all the castle quaked from the ground,
 And euery dore of freewill open flew.
 The Gyant selfe dismaied with that sownd,
 Where he with his *Duessu* dalliance fownd,
 In hast came rushing forth from inner bowre,
 With staring countenance sterne, as one astownd,
 And staggering steps, to weet, what suddein stowre,
 Had wrought that horror strange, and dar'd his dreaded powre.

v

And after him the proud *Duessu* came,
 High mounted on her manyheaded beast,
 And euery head with fyrie tongue did flame,
 And euery head was crowned on his creast,
 And bloudie mouthed with late cruell feast.
 That when the knight beheld, his mightie shild
 Vpon his manly arme he soone addrest,
 And at him fiercely flew, with courage fild,
 And eger greedinesse through euery member thrild.

vi

Therewith the Gyant buckled him to fight,
 Inflam'd with scornefull wrath and high disdaine,
 And lifting vp his dreadfull club on hight,
 All arm'd with ragged snubbes and knottie graine,
 Him thought at first encounter to haue slaine.
 But wise and warie was that noble Pere,
 And lightly leaping from so monstrous maine,
 Did faire auoide the violence him nere;
 It booted nought, to thinke, such thunderbolts to beare.

vii

Ne shame he thought to shunne so hideous might:

viii

The idle stroke, enforcing furious way,
Missing the marke of his misaymed sight
Did fall to ground, and with his heauie sway
So deeply dinted in the driuen clay,
That three yardes deepe a furrow vp did throw:
The sad earth wounded with so sore assay,

Did grone full grievous vnderneath the blow,
And trembling with strange feare, did like an earthquake show.

As when almightie *Ioue* in wrathfull mood,

ix

To wreake the guilt of mortall sins is bent,
Hurles forth his thundring dart with deadly food,
Enrold in flames, and smouldring dreriment,
Through riuen cloudes and molten firmament;
The fierce threeforked engin making way,
Both loftie towres and highest trees hath rent,
And all that might his angrie passage stay,

And shooting in the earth, casts vp a mount of clay.

His boystrous club, so buried in the ground,

x

He could not rearen vp againe so light,
But that the knight him at auantage found,
And whiles he stroue his combred clubbe to quight
Out of the earth, with blade all burning bright
He smote off his left arme, which like a blocke
Did fall to ground, depriu'd of natiue might;

Large streames of bloud out of the truncked stocke
Forth gushed, like fresh water streame from riuen rocke.

Dismaied with so desperate deadly wound,

xi

And eke impatient of vnwonted paine,
He loudly brayd with beastly yelling sound,
That all the fields rebellowed againe;
As great a noyse, as when in Cymbrian plaine
An heard of Bulles, whom kindly rage doth sting,
Do for the milkie mothers want complaine,
And fill the fields with troublous bellowing,

The neighbour woods around with hollow murmur ring.

- That when his deare *Duessa* heard, and saw xii
The euill stownd, that daungerd her estate,
Vnto his aide she hastily did draw
Her dreadfull beast, who swolne with bloud of late
Came ramping forth with proud presumptuous gate,
And threatned all his heads like flaming brands.
But him the Squire made quickly to retrate,
Encountring fierce with single sword in hand,
And twixt him and his Lord did like a bulwarke stand.
- The proud *Duessa* full of wrathfull spight, xiii
And fierce disdaine, to be affronted so,
Enforst her purple beast with all her might
That stop out of the way to ouerthroe,
Scorning the let of so vnequall foe:
But nathemore would that courageous swayne
To her yeeld passage, gainst his Lord to goe,
But with outrageous strokes did him restraine,
And with his bodie bard the way atwixt them twaine.
- Then tooke the angrie witch her golden cup, xiv
Which still she bore, replete with magick artes;
Death and despayre did many thereof sup,
And secret poyson through their inner parts,
Th'eternall bale of heauie wounded harts;
Which after charmes and some enchauntments said,
She lightly sprinkled on his weaker parts;
Therewith his sturdie courage soone was quayd,
And all his senses were with suddeine dread dismayd.
- So downe he fell before the cruell beast, xv
Who on his necke his bloudie clawes did seize,
That life nigh crusht out of his panting brest:
No powre he had to stirre, nor will to rize.
That when the carefull knight gan well auise,
He lightly left the foe, with whom he fought,
And to the beast gan turne his enterprise;
For wondrous anguish in his hart it wrought,
To see his loued Squire into such thraldome brought.

And high aduauncing his bloud-thirstie blade,
Stroke one of those deformed heads so sore,
That of his puissance proud ensample made;
His monstrous scalpe downe to his teeth it tore,
And that misformed shape mis-shaped more:
A sea of bloud gusht from the gaping wound,
That her gay garments staynd with filthy gore,
And ouerflowed all the field around;
That ouer shoes in bloud he waded on the ground.

xvi

Thereat he roared for exceeding paine,
That to haue heard, great horror would haue bred,
And scourging th'emptie ayre with his long traine,
Through great impatience of his griued hed
His gorgeous ryder from her loftie sted
Would haue cast downe, and trod in durtie myre,
Had not the Gyant soone her succoured;
Who all enrag'd with smart and franticke yre,
Came hurtling in full fierce, and forst the knight retyre.

xvii

The force, which wont in two to be disperst,
In one alone left hand he now vnites,
Which is through rage more strong then both were erst;
With which his hideous club aloft he dites,
And at his foe with furious rigour smites,
That strongest Oake might seeme to ouerthrow:
The stroke vpon his shield so heauie lites,
That to the ground it doubleth him full low:
What mortall wight could euer beare so monstrous blow?

xviii

And in his fall his shield, that couered was,
Did loose his vele by chaunce, and open flew:
The light whereof, that heauens light did pas,
Such blazing brightnesse through the aier threw,
That eye mote not the same endure to vew.
Which when the Gyaunt spyde with staring eye,
He downe let fall his arme, and soft withdrew
His weapon huge, that heaued was on hye
For to haue slaine the man, that on the ground did lye.

xix

And eke the fruitfull-headed beast, amaz'd xx
 At flashing beames of that sunshiny shield,
 Became starke blind, and all his senses daz'd,
 That downe he tumbled on the durtie field,
 And seem'd himselfe as conquered to yield.
 Whom when his maistresse proud perceiu'd to fall,
 Whiles yet his feeble feet for faintnesse reeld,
 Vnto the Gyant loudly she gan call,
 O helpe *Orgoglio*, helpe, or else we perish all.

At her so pitteous cry was much amouu'd, xxi
 Her champion stout, and for to ayde his frend,
 Againe his wonted angry weapon proou'd:
 But all in vaine: for he has read his end
 In that bright shield, and all their forces spend
 Themselues in vaine: for since that glauncing sight,
 He hath no powre to hurt, nor to defend;
 As where th'Almighties lightning brond does light,
 It dimmes the dazed eyen, and daunts the senses quight.

Whom when the Prince, to battell new addrest, xxii
 And threatning high his dreadfull stroke did see,
 His sparkling blade about his head he blest,
 And smote off quite his right leg by the knee,
 That downe he tombled; as an aged tree,
 High growing on the top of rocky clift,
 Whose hartstrings with keene steele nigh hewen be,
 The mightie trunck halfe rent, with ragged rift
 Doth roll adowne the rocks, and fall with fearefull drift.

Or as a Castle reared high and round, xxiii
 By subtile engins and malicious slight
 Is vndermined from the lowest ground,
 And her foundation forst, and feebled quight,
 At last downe falles, and with her heaped hight
 Her hastie ruine does more heauie make,
 And yields it selfe vnto the victours might;
 Such was this Gyaunts fall, that seemd to shake
 The stedfast globe of earth, as it for feare did quake.

The knight then lightly leaping to the pray,
With mortall steele him smot againe so sore,
That headlesse his vnweldy bodie lay,
All wallowd in his owne fowle bloody gore,
Which flowed from his wounds in wondrous store.
But soone as breath out of his breast did pas,
That huge great body, which the Gyaunt bore,
Was vanisht quite, and of that monstrous mas
Was nothing left, but like an emptie bladder was.

xxiv

Whose grievous fall, when false *Duessa* spide,
Her golden cup she cast vnto the ground,
And crowned mitre rudely threw aside;
Such percing griefe her stubborne hart did wound,
That she could not endure that dolefull stound,
But leauing all behind her, fled away:
The light-foot Squire her quickly turnd around,
And by hard meanes enforcing her to stay,
So brought vnto his Lord, as his deserued pray.

xxv

The royall Virgin, which beheld from farre,
In pensiuie plight, and sad perplexitie,
The whole atchieuement of this doubtfull warre,
Came running fast to greet his victorie,
With sober gladnesse, and myld modestie,
And with sweet ioyous cheare him thus bespake;
Faire braunch of noblesse, flowre of cheualrie,
That with your worth the world amazed make,
How shall I quite the paines, ye suffer for my sake?

xxvi

And you fresh bud of vertue springing fast,
Whom these sad eyes saw nigh vnto deaths dore,
What hath poore Virgin for such perill past,
Wherewith you to reward? Accept therefore
My simple selfe, and seruice euermore;
And he that high does sit, and all things see
With equall eyes, their merites to restore,
Behold what ye this day haue done for mee,
And what I cannot quite, requite with vsuree.

xxvii

But sith the heauens, and your faire handeling
 Haue made you maister of the field this day,
 Your fortune maister eke with gouerning,
 And well begun end all so well, I pray,
 Ne let that wicked woman scape away;
 For she it is, that did my Lord bethrall,
 My dearest Lord, and deepe in dongeon lay,
 Where he his better dayes hath wasted all.
 O heare, how piteous he to you for ayd does call.

xxviii

Forthwith he gaue in charge vnto his Squire,
 That scarlot whore to keepeen carefully;
 Whiles he himselve with greedie great desire
 Into the Castle entred forcibly,
 Where liuing creature none he did espye;
 Then gan he lowdly through the house to call:
 But no man car'd to answeere to his crye.
 There raignd a solemne silence ouer all,
 Nor voice was heard, nor wight was seene in bowre or hall.

xxix

At last with creeping crooked pace forth came
 An old old man, with beard as white as snow,
 That on a staffe his feeble steps did frame,
 And guide his wearie gate both too and fro:
 For his eye sight him failed long ygo,
 And on his arme a bounch of keyes he bore,
 The which vnused rust did ouergrow:
 Those were the keyes of euery inner dore,
 But he could not them vse, but kept them still in store.

xxx

But very vncouth sight was to behold,
 How he did fashion his vntoward pace,
 For as he forward moou'd his footing old,
 So backward still was turnd his wrinckled face,
 Vnlike to men, who euer as they trace,
 Both feet and face one way are wont to lead.
 This was the auncient keeper of that place,
 And foster father of the Gyant dead;
 His name *Ignaro* did his nature right aread.

xxxi

His reuerend haire and holy grautie

xxxii

The knight much honord, as beseemed well,
And gently askt, where all the people bee,
Which in that stately building wont to dwell.
Who answerd him full soft, he could not tell.
Againe he askt, where that same knight was layd,
Whom great *Orgoglio* with his puissaunce fell
Had made his caytiue thrall; againe he sayde,
He could not tell: ne euer other answere made.

Then asked he, which way he in might pas:

xxxiii

He could not tell, againe he answered.
Thereat the curteous knight displeased was,
And said, Old sire, it seemes thou hast not red
How ill it sits with that same siluer hed
In vaine to mocke, or mockt in vaine to bee:
But if thou be, as thou art pourtrahed
With natures pen, in ages graue degree,
Aread in grauer wise, what I demaund of thee.

His answere likewise was, he could not tell.

xxxiv

Whose sencelesse speach, and doted ignorance
When as the noble Prince had marked well,
He ghest his nature by his countenance,
And calmd his wrath with goodly temperance.
Then to him stepping, from his arme did reach
Those keyes, and made himselfe free enterance.
Each dore he opened without any breach;
There was no barre to stop, nor foe him to empeach.

There all within full rich arayd he found,

xxxv

With royall arras and resplendent gold,
And did with store of euery thing abound,
That greatest Princes presence might behold.
But all the floore (too filthy to be told)
With bloud of guiltlesse babes, and innocents trew,
Which there were slaine, as sheepe out of the fold,
Defiled was, that dreadfull was to vew,
And sacred ashes ouer it was strowed new.

- And there beside of marble stone was built xxxvi
 An Altare, caru'd with cunning imagery,
 On which true Christians bloud was often spilt,
 And holy Martyrs often doen to dye,
 With cruell malice and strong tyranny:
 Whose blessed sprites from vnderneath the stone
 To God for vengeance cryde continually,
 And with great grieve were often heard to grone,
 That hardest heart would bleede, to heare their piteous mone.
- Through euery rowme he sought, and euery bowr, xxxvii
 But no where could he find that wofull thrall:
 At last he came vnto an yron doore,
 That fast was lockt, but key found not at all
 Emongst that bounch, to open it withall;
 But in the same a little grate was pight,
 Through which he sent his voyce, and lowd did call
 With all his powre, to weet, if liuing wight
 Were housed therewithin, whom he enlargen might.
- Therewith an hollow, dreary, murmuring voyce xxxviii
 These piteous plaints and dolours did resound;
 O who is that, which brings me happy choyce
 Of death, that here lye dying euery stound,
 Yet liue perforce in balefull darkenesse bound?
 For now three Moones haue changed thrice their hew,
 And haue beene thrice hid vnderneath the ground,
 Since I the heauens chearefull face did vew:
 O welcome thou, that doest of death bring tydings trew.
- Which when that Champion heard, with percing point xxxix
 Of pittie deare his hart was thrilled sore,
 And trembling horror ran through euery ioynt,
 For ruth of gentle knight so fowle forlore:
 Which shaking off, he rent that yron dore,
 With furious force, and indignation fell;
 Where entred in, his foot could find no flore,
 But all a deepe descent, as darke as hell,
 That breathed euer forth a filthie banefull smell.

But neither darkenesse fowle, nor filthy bands,
Nor noyous smell his purpose could withhold,
(Entire affection hateth nicer hands)
But that with constant zeale, and courage bold,
After long paines and labours manifold,
He found the meanes that Prisoner vp to reare;
Whose feeble thighes, vnhabable to vphold
His pined corse, him scarce to light could beare,
A ruefull spectacle of death and ghastly dreere.

xi

His sad dull eyes deepe sunck in hollow pits,
Could not endure th'vnwonted sunne to view;
His bare thin cheekes for want of better bits,
And empty sides deceiued of their dew,
Could make a stony hart his hap to rew;
His rawbone armes, whose mighty brawned bowrs
Were wont to riue steele plates, and helmets hew,
Were cleane consum'd, and all his vitall powres
Decayd, and all his flesh shronk vp like withered flowres.

xli

Whom when his Lady saw, to him she ran
With hasty ioy: to see him made her glad,
And sad to view his visage pale and wan,
Who earst in flowres of freshest youth was clad.
Tho when her well of teares she wasted had,
She said, Ah dearest Lord, what euill starre
On you hath fround, and pourd his influence bad,
That of your selfe ye thus berobbed arre,
And this misseeming hew your manly looks doth marre?

xlii

But welcome now my Lord, in wele or woe,
Whose presence I haue lackt too long a day;
And fie on Fortune mine auowed foe,
Whose wrathfull wreakes them selues do now alay.
And for these wrongs shall treble penaunce pay
Of treble good: good growes of euils priefe.
The chearelesse man, whom sorrow did dismay,
Had no delight to treaten of his grieve;
His long endured famine needed more reliefe.

xliii

Faire Lady, then said that victorious knight,
 The things, that grieuous were to do, or beare,
 Them to renew, I wote, breeds no delight;
 Best musicke breeds delight in loathing eare:
 But th'onely good, that growes of passed feare,
 Is to be wise, and ware of like agein.
 This dayes ensample hath this lesson deare
 Deepe written in my heart with yron pen,
 That blisse may not abide in state of mortall men.

xlii

Henceforth sir knight, take to you wonted strength,
 And maister these mishaps with patient might;
 Loe where your foe lyes stretcht in monstrous length,
 And loe that wicked woman in your sight,
 The roote of all your care, and wretched plight,
 Now in your powre, to let her liue, or dye.
 To do her dye (quoth *Vna*) were despight,
 And shame t'auenge so weake an enemy;
 But spoile her of her scarlot robe, and let her fly.

xliii

So as she bad, that witch they disaraid,
 And robd of royall robes, and purple pall,
 And ornaments that richly were displaid;
 Ne spared they to strip her naked all.
 Then when they had despoild her tire and call,
 Such as she was, their eyes might her behold,
 That her misshaped parts did them appall,
 A loathly, wrinckled hag, ill fauoured, old,
 Whose secret filth good manners biddeth not be told.

xliv

Her craftie head was altogether bald,
 And as in hate of honorable eld,
 Was ouergrowne with scurfe and filthy scald;
 Her teeth out of her rotten gummes were feld,
 And her sowre breath abhominably smeld;
 Her dried dugs, like bladders lacking wind,
 Hong downe, and filthy matter from them weld;
 Her wrizled skin as rough, as maple rind,
 So scabby was, that would haue loathd all womankind.

xlv

xlvi

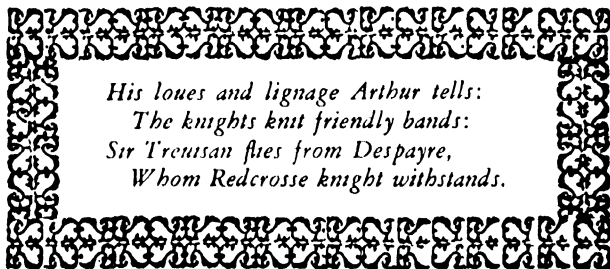
Her neather parts, the shame of all her kind,
My chaster Muse for shame doth blush to write;
But at her rompe she growing had behind
A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight;
And eke her feete most monstrous were in sight;
For one of them was like an Eagles claw,
With griping talaunts armd to greedy fight,
The other like a Beares vneuen paw:
More vgly shape yet neuer liuing creature saw.

xlix

Which when the knights beheld, amazd they were,
And wondred at so fowle deformed wight.
Such then (said *Vna*) 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.
Thus when they had the witch disrobed quight,
And all her filthy feature open showne,
They let her goe at will, and wander wayes vnknowne.

l

She flying fast from heauens hated face,
And from the world that her discovered wide,
Fled to the wastfull wildernesses apace,
From liuing eyes her open shame to hide,
And lurkt in rocks and caues long vnespide.
But that faire crew of knights, and *Vna* faire
Did in that castle afterwards abide,
To rest them selues, and weary powres repaire,
Where store they found of all, that dainty was and rare.

Cant. IX.

O Goodly golden chaine, wherewith yfere
The vertues linked are in louely wize:
And noble minds of yore allyed were,
In braue poursuit of cheualrous emprise,
That none did others safety despize,
Nor aid enuy to him, in need that stands,
But friendly each did others prayse deuize,
How to aduaunce with fauourable hands,
As this good Prince redeemed the *Redcrosse* knight from bands.

i

Who when their powres empaired through labour long,
With dew repast they had recured well,
And that weake captiue wight now wexed strong,
Them list no lenger there at leasure dwell,
But forward fare, as their aduentures fell,
But ere they parted, *Vna* faire besought
That straunger knight his name and nation tell;
Least so great good, as he for her had wrought,
Should die vnknown, and buried be in thanklesse thought.

ii

Faire virgin (said the Prince) ye me require
A thing without the compas of my wit:
For both the lignage and the certain Sire,
From which I sprong, from me are hidden yit.
For all so soone as life did me admit
Into this world, and shewed heauens light,
From mothers pap I taken was vnfit:
And streight deliuered to a Faery knight,
To be vpbrought in gentle thewes and martiall might.

iii

Vnto old *Timon* he me brought byliue,
Old *Timon*, who in youthly yeares hath beene
In warlike feates th'expertest man aliue,
And is the wisest now on earth I weene;
His dwelling is low in a valley greene,
Vnder the foot of *Rauran* mossy hore,
From whence the riuer *Dee* as siluer cleene
His tombling billowes rolls with gentle rore:
There all my dayes he traird me vp in vertuous lore.

iv

Thither the great Magicien *Merlin* came,
As was his vse, ofttimes to visit me:
For he had charge my discipline to frame,
And Tutours nouriture to ouersee.
Him oft and oft I askt in priuitie,
Of what loines and what lignage I did spring:
Whose aunswere bad me still assured bee,
That I was sonne and heire vnto a king,
As time in her iust terme the truth to light should bring.

v

Well worthy impe, said then the Lady gent,
And Pupill fit for such a Tutours hand.
But what aduenture, or what high intent
Hath brought you hither into Faery land,
Aread Prince *Arthur*, crowne of Martiall band?
Full hard it is (quoth he) to read aright
The course of heauenly cause, or vnderstand
The secret meaning of th'eternall might,
That rules mens wayes, and rules the thoughts of liuing wight.

vi

For whither he through fatall deepe foresight
Me hither sent, for cause to me vnghest,
Or that fresh bleeding wound, which day and night
Whilome doth rangle in my riuen brest,
With forced fury following his behest,
Me hither brought by wayes yet neuer found,
You to haue helpt I hold my selfe yet blest.
Ah curteous knight (quoth she) what secret wound
Could euer find, to grieue the gentlest hart on ground?

vii

Deare Dame (quoth he) you sleeping sparkes awake,
 Which troubled once, into huge flames will grow,
 Ne euer will their feruent fury slake,
 Till liuing moysture into smoke do flow,
 And wasted life do lye in ashes low.
 Yet sithens silence lesseneth not my fire,
 But told it flames, and hidden it does glow,
 I will reuele, what ye so much desire:
 Ah Loue, lay downe thy bow, the whiles I may respire.

viii

It was in freshest flowre of youthly yeares,
 When courage first does creepe in manly chest,
 Then first the coale of kindly heat appears
 To kindle loue in euery liuing brest;
 But me had warnd old *Timons* wise behest,
 Those creeping flames by reason to subdew,
 Before their rage grew to so great vnrest,
 As miserable louers vse to rew,
 Which still wex old in woe, whiles woe still wexeth new.

ix

That idle name of loue, and louers life,
 As losse of time, and vertues enemy
 I euer scornd, and ioyd to stirre vp strife,
 In midst of their mournfull Tragedy,
 Ay wont to laugh, when them I heard to cry,
 And blow the fire, which them to ashes brent:
 Their God himselfe, grieu'd at my libertie,
 Shot many a dart at me with fiers intent,
 But I them warded all with wary gouernment.

x

But all in vaine: no fort can be so strong,
 Ne fleshly brest can armed be so sound,
 But will at last be wonne with battrie long,
 Or vnawares at disauantage found;
 Nothing is sure, that growes on earthly ground:
 And who most trustes in arme of fleshly might,
 And boasts, in beauties chaine not to be bound,
 Doth soonest fall in disauentrous fight,
 And yeeldes his caytiue neck to victours most despight.

xi

Ensampl make of him your haplesse ioy,
And of my selfe now mated, as ye see;
Whose prouder vaunt that proud auenging boy
Did soone pluck downe, and curbd my libertie.
For on a day prickt forth with iollitie
Of looser life, and heat of hardiment,
Raunging the forest wide on courser free,
The fields, the floods, the heauens with one consent
Did seeme to laugh on me, and fauour mine intent.

xii

For-wearied with my sports, I did alight
From loftie steed, and downe to sleepe me layd;
The verdant gras my couch did goodly dight,
And pillow was my helmet faire displayd:
Whiles euery sence the humour sweet embayd,
And slombring soft my hart did steale away,
Me seemed, by my side a royall Mayd
Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay:
So faire a creature yet saw neuer sunny day.

xiii

Most goodly glee and louely blandishment
She to me made, and bad me loue her deare,
For dearly sure her loue was to me bent,
As when iust time expired should appeare.
But whether dreames delude, or true it were,
Was neuer hart so raiisht with delight,
Ne liuing man like words did euer heare,
As she to me deliuered all that night;
And at her parting said, She Queene of Faeries hight.

xiv

When I awoke, and found her place deuoyd,
And nought but pressed gras, where she had lyen,
I sorrowed all so much, as earst I ioyd,
And washed all her place with watry eyen.
From that day forth I lou'd that face diuine;
From that day forth I cast in carefull mind,
To seeke her out with labour, and long tyne,
And neuer vow to rest, till her I find,
Nine monethes I seeke in vaine yet ni'll that vow vnbind.

xv

Thus as he spake, his visage wexed pale, xvi
 And chaunge of hew great passion did bewray;
 Yet still he stroue to cloke his inward bale,
 And hide the smoke, that did his fire display,
 Till gentle *Vna* thus to him gan say;
 O happy Queene of Faeries, that hast found
 Mongst many, one that with his prowesse may
 Defend thine honour, and thy foes confound:
 True Loues are often sown, but seldom grow on ground.

Thine, O then, said the gentle *Redcrosse* knight, xvii
 Next to that Ladies loue, shalbe the place,
 O fairest virgin, full of heauenly light,
 Whose wondrous faith, exceeding earthly race,
 Was firmest fixt in mine extremest case.
 And you, my Lord, the Patrone of my life,
 Of that great Queene may well gaine worthy grace:
 For onely worthy you through prowes priefe
 Yf liuing man mote worthy be, to be her lief.

So diuersly discoursing of their loues, xviii
 The golden Sunne his glistring head gan shew,
 And sad remembraunce now the Prince amoues,
 With fresh desire his voyage to pursew:
 Als *Vna* earnd her traueill to renew.
 Then those two knights, fast friendship for to bynd,
 And loue establish each to other trew,
 Gaue goodly gifts, the signes of gratefull mynd,
 And eke as pledges firme, right hands together ioyned.

Prince *Arthur* gaue a boxe of Diamond sure, xix
 Embowd with gold and gorgeous ornament,
 Wherein were closd few drops of liquor pure,
 Of wondrous worth, and vertue excellent,
 That any wound could heale incontinent:
 Which to requite, the *Redcrosse* knight him gaue
 A booke, wherein his Saueours testament
 Was writ with golden letters rich and braue;
 A worke of wondrous grace, and able soules to saue.

Thus beene they parted, *Arthur* on his way
 To seeke his loue, and th'other for to fight
 With *Vnaes* foe, that all her realme did pray.
 But she now weighing the decayed plight,
 And shrunken synewes of her chosen knight,
 Would not a while her forward course pursew,
 Ne bring him forth in face of dreadfull fight,
 Till he recouered had his former hew:
 For him to be yet weake and wearie well she knew.

xx

So as they traueild, lo they gan espy
 An armed knight towards them gallop fast,
 That seemed from some feared foe to fly,
 Or other griesly thing, that him agast.
 Still as he fled, his eye was backward cast,
 As if his feare still followed him behind;
 Als flew his steed, as he his bands had brast,
 And with his winged heeles did tread the wind,
 As he had been a fole of *Pegasus* his kind.

xxi

Nigh as he drew, they might perceiue his head
 To be vnarmd, and curld vncombed heares
 Vpstaring stiffe, dismayd with vncouth dread;
 Nor drop of bloud in all his face appeares
 Nor life in limbe: and to increase his feares,
 In fowle reproch of knighthoods faire degree,
 About his neck an hempen rope he weares,
 That with his glistring armes does ill agree;
 But he of rope or armes has now no memoree.

xxii

The *Redcrosse* knight toward him crossed fast,
 To weet, what mister wight was so dismayd:
 There him he finds all sencelesse and aghast,
 That of him selfe he seemd to be afayd;
 Whom hardly he from flying forward stayd,
 Till he these wordes to him deliuer might;
 Sir knight, aread who hath ye thus arayd,
 And eke from whom make ye this hasty flight:
 For neuer knight I saw in such misseeming plight.

xxiii

He answerd nought at all, but adding new xxiv
 Feare to his first amazment, staring wide
 With stony eyes, and hartlesse hollow hew,
 Astonisht stood, as one that had aspid
 Infernall furies, with their chaines vntide.
 Him yet againe, and yet againe bespake
 The gentle knight; who nought to him replide,
 But trembling euery ioynt did inly quake,
 And foltring tongue at last these words seemd forth to shake.

For Gods deare loue, Sir knight, do me not stay; xxv
 For loe he comes, he comes fast after mee.
 Eft looking backe would faine haue runne away;
 But he him forst to stay, and tellen free
 The secret cause of his perplexitie:
 Yet nathemore by his bold hartie speach,
 Could his bloud-frozen hart emboldned bee,
 But through his boldnesse rather feare did reach,
 Yet forst, at last he made through silence suddein breach.

And am I now in safetie sure (quoth he) xxvi
 From him, that would haue forced me to dye?
 And is the point of death now turnd fro mee,
 That I may tell this haplesse history?
 Feare nought: (quoth he) no daunger now is nye.
 Then shall I you recount a ruefull cace,
 (Said he) the which with this vnlucky eye
 I late beheld, and had not greater grace
 Me reft from it, had bene partaker of the place.

I lately chaunst (Would I had neuer chaunst) xxvii
 With a faire knight to keepen companee,
 Sir *Terwin* hight, that well himselfe aduauunst
 In all affaires, and was both bold and free,
 But not so happie as mote happie bee:
 He lou'd, as was his lot, a Ladie gent,
 That him againe lou'd in the least degree:
 For she was proud, and of too high intent,
 And ioyd to see her louer languish and lament.

From whom returning sad and comfortlesse,
As on the way together we did fare,
We met that villen (God from him me blesse)
That cursed wight, from whom I scapt whyleare,
A man of hell, that cald himselfe *Despaire*:
Who first vs greets, and after faire areedes
Of tydings strange, and of aduentures rare:
So creeping close, as Snake in hidden weedes,
Inquireth of our states, and of our knightly deedes.

xxviii

Which when he knew, and felt our feeble harts
Emboist with bale, and bitter byting griefe,
Which loue had launched with his deadly darts,
With wounding words and termes of foule reprieue,
He pluckt from vs all hope of due reliefe,
That earst vs held in loue of lingring life;
Then hopelesse hartlesse, gan the cunning thiefe
Perswade vs die, to stint all further strife:
To me he lent this rope, to him a rustie knife.

xxix

With which sad instrument of hastie death,
That wofull louer, loathing lenger light,
A wide way made to let forth liuing breath.
But I more fearefull, or more luckie wight,
Dismayd with that deformed dismall sight,
Fled fast away, halfe dead with dying feare:
Ne yet assur'd of life by you, Sir knight,
Whose like infirmitie like chaunce may beare:
But God you neuer let his charmed speeches heare.

xxx

How may a man (said he) with idle speach
Be wonne, to spoyle the Castle of his health?
I wote (quoth he) whom triall late did teach,
That like would not for all this worldes wealth:
His subtill tongue, like dropping honny, mealt'h
Into the hart, and searcheth euery vaine,
That ere one be aware, by secret stealth
His powre is reft, and weaknesse doth remaine.
O neuer Sir desire to try his guilefull traine.

xxxi

Certes (said he) hence shall I neuer rest, xxxii
 Till I that treachours art haue heard and tride;
 And you Sir knight, whose name mote I request,
 Of grace do me vnto his cabin guide.
 I that hight *Treuisan* (quoth he) will ride
 Against my liking backe, to doe you grace:
 But nor for gold nor glee will I abide
 By you, when ye arriue in that same place;
 For leuer had I die, then see his deadly face.

Ere long they come, where that same wicked wight xxxiii
 His dwelling has, low in an hollow caue,
 Farre vnderneath a craggie clift ypight,
 Darke, dolefull, drearie, like a greedie graue,
 That still for carrion carcasses doth craue:
 On top whereof aye dwelt the ghastly Owle,
 Shrieking his balefull note, which euer draue
 Farre from that haunt all other chearefull fowle;
 And all about it wandring ghostes did waile and howle.

And all about old stockes and stubs of trees, xxxiv
 Whereon nor fruit, nor leafe was euer seene,
 Did hang vpon the ragged rocky knees;
 On which had many wretches hanged beene,
 Whose carcasses were scattered on the greene,
 And throwne about the cliffs. Arriued there,
 That bare-head knight for dread and dolefull teene,
 Would faine haue fled, ne durst approchen neare,
 But th'other forst him stay, and comforted in feare.

That darkesome caue they enter, where they find xxxv
 That cursed man, low sitting on the ground,
 Musing full sadly in his sullein mind;
 His griesie lockes, long growen, and vnbound,
 Disordred hong about his shoulders round,
 And hid his face; through which his hollow eyne
 Lookt deadly dull, and stared as astound;
 His raw-bone cheekes through penurie and pine,
 Were shronke into his iawes, as he did neuer dine.

His garment nought but many ragged clouts,
With thornes together pind and patched was,
The which his naked sides he wrapt about;
And him beside there lay vpon the gras
A drearie corse, whose life away did pas,
All wallowd in his owne yet luke-warme blood,
That from his wound yet welled fresh alas;
In which a rustie knife fast fixed stood,
And made an open passage for the gushing flood.

xxxvi

Which piteous spectacle, approuing trew
The wofull tale that *Trenisan* had told,
When as the gentle *Redcrosse* knight did vew,
With firie zeale he burnt in courage bold,
Him to auenge, before his bloud were cold,
And to the villein said, Thou damned wight,
The author of this fact, we here behold,
What iustice can but iudge against thee right,
With thine owne bloud to price his bloud, here shed in sight.

xxxvii

What franticke fit (quoth he) hath thus distraught
Thee, foolish man, so rash a doome to giue?
What iustice euer other iudgement taught,
But he should die, who merites not to liue?
None else to death this man despayring driue,
But his owne guiltie mind deseruing death.
Is then vniust to each his due to giue?
Or let him die, that loatheth liuing breath?
Or let him die at ease, that liueth here vneath?

xxxviii

Who trauels by the wearie wandring way,
To come vnto his wished home in haste,
And meetes a flood, that doth his passage stay,
Is not great grace to helpe him ouer past,
Or free his feet, that in the myre sticke fast?
Most enuious man, that grieues at neighbours good,
And fond, that ioyest in the woe thou hast,
Why wilt not let him passe, that long hath stood
Vpon the banke, yet wilt thy selfe not passe the flood?

xxxix

He there does now enioy eternall rest xl

And happie ease, which thou doest want and craue,
And further from it daily wanderest:
What if some litle paine the passage haue,
That makes fraile flesh to feare the bitter waue?
Is not short paine well borne, that brings long ease,
And layes the soule to sleepe in quiet graue?

Sleepe after toyle, port after stormie seas,
Ease after warre, death after life does greatly please.

The knight much wondred at his suddeine wit, xli

And said, The terme of life is limited,
Ne may a man prolong, nor shorten it;
The souldier may not moue from watchfull sted,
Nor leaue his stand, vntill his Captaine bed.
Who life did limit by almightie doome,
(Quoth he) knowes best the termes established;
And he, that points the Centonell his roome,

Doth license him depart at sound of morning droome.

Is not his deed, what euer thing is donne, xlii

In heauen and earth? did not he all create
To die againe? all ends that was begonne.
Their times in his eternall booke of fate
Are written sure, and haue their certaine date.
Who then can striue with strong necessitie,
That holds the world in his still chaunging state,
Or shunne the death ordaynd by destinie?

When houre of death is come, let none aske whence, nor why.

The lenger life, I wote the greater sin, xliii

The greater sin, the greater punishment:
All those great battels, which thou boasts to win,
Through strife, and bloud-shed, and auengement,
Now praysd, hereafter deare thou shalt repent:
For life must life, and bloud must bloud repay.
Is not enough thy euill life forespent?

For he, that once hath missed the right way,
The further he doth goe, the further he doth stray.

Then do no further goe, no further stray,
 But here lie downe, and to thy rest betake,
 Th'ill to preuent, that life ensewen may.
 For what hath life, that may it loued make,
 And giues not rather cause it to forsake?
 Feare, sicknesse, age, losse, labour, sorrow, strife,
 Paine, hunger, cold, that makes the hart to quake;
 And euer fickle fortune rageth rife,
 All which, and thousands mo do make a loathsome life.

xliv

Thou wretched man, of death hast greatest need,
 If in true ballance thou wilt weigh thy state:
 For neuer knight, that dared warlike deede,
 More lucklesse disauentures did amate:
 Witnesse the dongeon deepe, wherein of late
 Thy life shut vp, for death so oft did call;
 And though good lucke prolonged hath thy date,
 Yet death then, would the like mishaps forestall,
 Into the which hereafter thou maiest happen fall.

xlv

Why then doest thou, O man of sin, desire
 To draw thy dayes forth to their last degree?
 Is not the measure of thy sinfull hire
 High heaped vp with huge iniquitie,
 Against the day of wrath, to burden thee?
 Is not enough, that to this Ladie milde
 Thou falsed hast thy faith with periurie,
 And sold thy selfe to serue *Duessa* vilde,
 With whom in all abuse thou hast thy selfe defilde?

xlvi

Is not he iust, that all this doth behold
 From highest heauen, and beares an equall eye?
 Shall he thy sins vp in his knowledge fold,
 And guiltie be of thine impietie?
 Is not his law, Let euery sinner die:
 Die shall all flesh? what then must needs be donne,
 Is it not better to doe willinglie,
 Then linger, till the glasse be all out ronne?
 Death is the end of woes: die soone, O faeries sonne.

xlvii

The knight was much enmoued with his speach,
 That as a sword's point through his hart did perse,
 And in his conscience made a secret breach,
 Well knowing true all, that he did reherse,
 And to his fresh remembrance did reuerse
 The vgly vew of his deformed crimes,
 That all his manly powres it did disperse,
 As he were charmed with inchaunted rimes,
 That oftentimes he quakt, and fainted oftentimes.

xlvi

In which amazement, when the Miscreant
 Perceiued him to wauer weake and fraile,
 Whiles trembling horror did his conscience dant,
 And hellish anguish did his soule assaile,
 To driue him to despaire, and quite to quaille,
 He shew'd him painted in a table plaine,
 The damned ghosts, that doe in torments waile,
 And thousand feends that doe them endlesse paine
 With fire and brimstone, which for euer shall remaine.

xlix

The sight whereof so thoroughly him dismaid,
 That nought but death before his eyes he saw,
 And euer burning wrath before him laid,
 By righteous sentence of th'Almighties law:
 Then gan the villein him to ouercrow,
 And brought vnto him swords, ropes, poison, fire,
 And all that might him to perdition draw;
 And bad him choose, what death he would desire:
 For death was due to him, that had prouokt Gods ire.

l

But when as none of them he saw him take,
 He to him raught a dagger sharpe and keene,
 And gaue it him in hand: his hand did quake,
 And tremble like a leafe of Aspin greene,
 And troubled bloud through his pale face was seene
 To come, and goe with tydings from the hart,
 As it a running messenger had beene.
 At last resolu'd to worke his finall smart,
 He lifted vp his hand, that backe againe did start.

li

Which when as *Vna* saw, through euey vaine
The crudled cold ran to her well of life,
As in a swowne: but soone reliu'd againe,
Out of his hand she snatcht the cursed knife,
And threw it to the ground, enraged rife,
And to him said, Fie, fie, faint harted knight,
What meanest thou by this reprochfull strife?
Is this the battell, which thou vauntst to fight
With that fire-mouthed Dragon, horrible and bright?

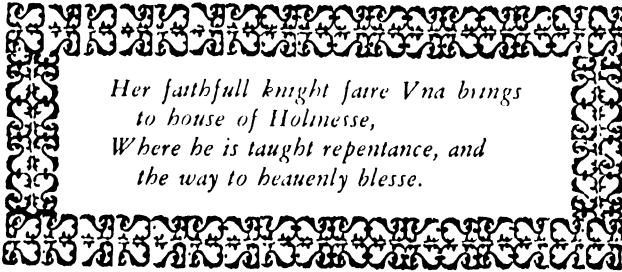
lii

Come, come away, fraile, feeble, fleshly wight,
Ne let vaine words bewitch thy manly hart,
Ne diuelish thoughts dismay thy constant spright.
In heauenly mercies hast thou not a part?
Why shouldst thou then despeire, that chosen art?
Where iustice growes, there grows eke greater grace,
The which doth quench the brond of hellish smart,
And that accurst hand-writing doth deface.
Arise, Sir knight arise, and leaue this cursed place.

liii

So vp he rose, and thence amounted streight.
Which when the carle beheld, and saw his guest
Would safe depart, for all his subtill sleight,
He chose an halter from among the rest,
And with it hung himselfe, vnbid vnblest.
But death he could not worke himselfe thereby;
For thousand times he so himselfe had drest,
Yet nathesle it could not doe him die,
Till he should die his last, that is eternally.

liv

Cant. X.

WHAT man is he, that boasts of fleshly might,
And vaine assurance of mortality,
Which all so soone, as it doth come to fight,
Against spirituall foes, yeelds by and by,
Or from the field most cowardly doth fly?
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,
That thorough grace hath gained victory.
If any strength we haue, it is to ill,
But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will.

i

By that, which lately hapned, *Vna* saw,
That this her knight was feeble, and too faint;
And all his sinews woxen weake and raw,
Through long enprisonment, and hard constraint,
Which he endured in his late restraint,
That yet he was vnfit for bloudie fight:
Therefore to cherish him with diets daint,
She cast to bring him, where he chearen might,
Till he recouered had his late decayed plight.

ii

There was an auntient house not farre away,
Renowmd throughout the world for sacred lore,
And pure vnspotted life: so well they say
It gouerned was, and guided euermore,
Through wisdom of a matrone graue and hore;
Whose onely ioy was to relieue the needes
Of wretched soules, and helpe the helpelesse pore:
All night she spent in bidding of her bedes,
And all the day in doing good and godly deedes.

iii

Dame *Cælia* men did her call, as thought
From heauen to come, or thither to arise,
The mother of three daughters, well vpbrought
In goodly thewes, and godly exercise:
The eldest two most sober, chast, and wise,
Fidelia and *Speranza* virgins were,
Though spoused, yet wanting wedlocks solemnize;
But faire *Charissa* to a louely fere
Was lincked, and by him had many pledges dere.

iv

Arriued there, the dore they find fast lockt;
For it was warely watched night and day,
For feare of many foes: but when they knockt,
The Porter opened vnto them streight way:
He was an aged syre, all hory gray,
With lookes full lowly cast, and gate full slow,
Wont on a staffe his feeble steps to stay,
Hight *Humiltá*. They passe in stouping low;
For streight and narrow was the way, which he did show.

v

Each goodly thing is hardest to begin,
But entred in a spacious court they see,
Both plaine, and pleasant to be walked in,
Where them does meete a francklin faire and free,
And entertaines with comely courteous glee,
His name was *Zelee*, that him right well became,
For in his speeches and behauour hee
Did labour liuely to expresse the same,
And gladly did them guide, till to the Hall they came.

vi

There fairely them receiues a gentle Squire,
Of milde demeanure, and rare courtesie,
Right cleanly clad in comely sad attire;
In word and deede that shew'd great modestie,
And knew his good to all of each degree,
Hight *Reuerence*. He them with speches meet
Does faire entreat; no courting nicetic,
But simple truc, and eke vnfained sweet,
As might become a Squire so great persons to greet.

vii

And afterwards them to his Dame he leades,
 That aged Dame, the Ladie of the place:
 Who all this while was busie at her beades:
 Which doen, she vp arose with seemely grace,
 And toward them full matronely did pace.
 Where when that fairest *Vna* she beheld,
 Whom well she knew to spring from heavenly race,
 Her hart with ioy vnwonted inly sweld,
 As feeling wondrous comfort in her weaker eld.

viii

And her embracing said, O happie earth,
 Whereon thy innocent feet doe euer tread,
 Most vertuous virgin borne of heavenly berth,
 That to redeeme thy woefull parents head,
 From tyrans rage, and euer-dying dread,
 Hast wandred through the world now long a day;
 Yet ceasest not thy wearie soles to lead,
 What grace hath thee now hither brought this way?
 Or doen thy feeble feet vnweeting hither stray?

ix

Strange thing it is an errant knight to see
 Here in this place, or any other wight,
 That hither turnes his steps. So few there bee,
 That chose the narrow path, or seeke the right:
 All keepe the broad high way, and take delight
 With many rather for to go astray,
 And be partakers of their euill plight,
 Then with a few to walke the rightest way;
 O foolish men, why haste ye to your owne decay?

x

Thy selfe to see, and tyred limbs to rest,
 O matrone sage (quoth she) I hither came,
 And this good knight his way with me address,
 Led with thy prayes and broad-blazed fame,
 That vp to heauen is blowne. The auncient Dame,
 Him goodly greeted in her modest guise,
 And entertaynd them both, as best became,
 With all the court'sies, that she could deuise,
 Ne wanted ought, to shew her bounteous or wise.

xi

Thus as they gan of sundry things deuise,
Loe two most goodly virgins came in place,
Ylinked arme in arme in louely wise,
With countenance demure, and modest grace,
They numbred euen steps and equall pace:
Of which the eldest, that *Fidelia* hight,
Like sunny beames threw from her Christall face,
That could haue dazd the rash beholders sight,
And round about her head did shine like heaucens light.

xii

She was araied all in lilly white,
And in her right hand bore a cup of gold,
With wine and water fild vp to the hight,
In which a Serpent did himselfe enfold,
That horreur made to all, that did behold;
But she no whit did chaunge her constant mood:
And in her other hand she fast did hold
A booke, that was both signd and seald with blood,
Wherein darke things were writ, hard to be vnderstood.

xiii

Her younger sister, that *Speranza* hight,
Was clad in blew, that her beseeemed well;
Not all so chearefull seemed she of sight,
As was her sister; whether dread did dwell,
Or anguish in her hart, is hard to tell:
Vpon her arme a siluer anchor lay,
Whereon she leaned cuer, as befell:
And euer vp to heauen, as she did pray,
Her stedfast eyes were bent, ne swarued other way.

xiv

They seeing *Vna*, towards her gan wend,
Who them encounters with like courtesie;
Many kind speeches they betwene them spend,
And greatly ioy each other well to see:
Then to the knight with shamefast modestie
They turne themselues, at *Vnaes* meeke request,
And him salute with well beseeeming glee;
Who faire them quites, as him beseeemed best,
And goodly gan discourse of many a noble gest.

xv

Then *Vna* thus; But she your sister deare,
 The deare *Charissa* where is she become?
 Or wants she health, or busie is elsewhere?
 Ah no, said they, but forth she may not come:
 For she of late is lightned of her wombe,
 And hath encreast the world with one sonne more,
 That her to see should be but troublesome.
 Indeede (quoth she) that should her trouble sore,
 But thank't be God, and her encrease so euermore.

xvi

Then said the aged *Cælia*, Deare dame,
 And you good Sir, I wote that of your toyle,
 And labours long, through which ye hither came,
 Ye both forwearied be: therefore a while
 I read you rest, and to your bowres recoyle.
 Then called she a Groome, that forth him led
 Into a goodly lodge, and gan despoile
 Of puissant armes, and laid in easie bed;
 His name was meeke *Obedience* rightfully ared.

xvii

Now when their wearie limbes with kindly rest,
 And bodies were refresht with due repast,
 Faire *Vna* gan *Fidelia* faire request,
 To haue her knight into her schoolehouse plaste,
 That of her heauenly learning he might taste,
 And heare the wisdom of her words diuine.
 She graunted, and that knight so much agraste,
 That she him taught celestiall discipline,
 And opened his dull eyes, that light mote in them shine.

xviii

And that her sacred Booke, with bloud ywrit,
 That none could read, except she did them teach,
 She vnto him disclosed euery whit,
 And heauenly documents thereout did preach,
 That weaker wit of man could neuer reach,
 Of God, of grace, of iustice, of free will,
 That wonder was to heare her goodly speach:
 For she was able, with her words to kill,
 And raise againe to life the hart, that she did thrill.

xix

And when she list poure out her larger spright, xx
She would commaund the hastie Sunne to stay,
Or backward turne his course from heauens hight;
Sometimes great hostes of men she could dismay;
Dry-shod to passe, she parts the floods in tway;
And eke huge mountaines from their natiue seat
She would commaund, themselues to beare away,
And throw in raging sea with roaring threat.

Almightie God her gaue such powre, and puissance great.

The faithfull knight now grew in litle space, xxi
By hearing her, and by her sisters lore,
To such perfection of all heauenly grace,
That wretched world he gan for to abhore,
And mortall life gan loath, as thing forlore,
Greue'd with remembrance of his wicked wayes,
And prickt with anguish of his sinnes so sore,
That he desirde to end his wretched dayes:

So much the dart of sinfull guilt the soule dismayes.

But wise *Speranza* gaue him comfort sweet, xxii
And taught him how to take assured hold
Vpon her siluer anchor, as was meet;
Else had his sinnes so great, and manifold
Made him forget all that *Fidelia* told.
In this distressed doubtfull agonie,
When him his dearest *Vna* did behold,
Disdeining life, desiring leaue to die,
She found her selfe assayld with great perplexitie.

And came to *Cœlia* to declare her smart, xxiii
'Who well acquainted with that commune plight,
Which sinfull horror workes in wounded hart,
Her wisely comforted all that she might,
With goodly counsell and aduisement right;
And streightway sent with carefull diligence,
To fetch a Leach, the which had great insight
In that disease of griued conscience,
And well could cure the same; His name was *Patience*.

Who comming to that soule-diseased knight,
 Could hardly him intreat, to tell his grieve:
 Which knowne, and all that noyd his heauie spright
 Well searcht, eftsoones he gan apply reliefe
 Of salues and med'cines, which had passing priefe,
 And thereto added words of wondrous might:
 By which to ease he him recured brieve,
 And much asswag'd the passion of his plight,
 That he his paine endur'd, as seeming now more light.

xxiv

But yet the cause and root of all his ill,
 Inward corruption, and infected sin,
 Not purg'd nor heald, behind remained still,
 And festring sore did rankle yet within,
 Close creeping twixt the marrow and the skin.
 Which to extirpe, he laid him priuily
 Downe in a darkesome lowly place farre in,
 Whereas he meant his corrosiues to apply,
 And with streight diet tame his stubborne malady.

xxv

In ashes and sackcloth he did array
 His daintie corse, proud humors to abate,
 And dieted with fasting every day,
 The swelling of his wounds to mitigate,
 And made him pray both earely and eke late:
 And euer as superfluous flesh did rot
Amendment readie still at hand did wayt,
 To pluck it out with pincers firie whot,
 That soone in him was left no one corrupted iot.

xxvi

And bitter *Penance* with an yron whip,
 Was wont him once to disple every day:
 And sharpe *Remorse* his hart did pricke and nip,
 That drops of bloud thence like a well did play;
 And sad *Repentance* vsed to embay,
 His bodie in salt water smarting sore,
 The filthy blots of sinne to wash away.
 So in short space they did to health restore
 The man that would not liue, but earst lay at deathes dore.

xxvii

In which his torment often was so great,
 That like a Lyon he would cry and rore,
 And rend his flesh, and his owne synewes eat.
 His owne deare *Vna* hearing euermore
 His ruefull shriekes and gronings, often tore
 Her guiltlesse garments, and her golden heare,
 For pittie of his paine and anguish sore;
 Yet all with patience wisely she did beare;
 For well she wist, his crime could else be neuer cleare.

xxviii

Whom thus recouer'd by wise Patience,
 And trew *Repentance* they to *Vna* brought:
 Who ioyous of his cured conscience,
 Him dearely kist, and fairely eke besought
 Himselfe to chearish, and consuming thought
 To put away out of his carefull brest.
 By this *Charissa*, late in child-bed brought,
 Was woxen strong, and left her fruitfull nest;
 To her faire *Vna* brought this vnacquainted guest.

xxix

She was a woman in her freshest age,
 Of wondrous beauty, and of bountie rare,
 With goodly grace and comely personage,
 That was on earth not easie to compare;
 Full of great loue, but *Cupids* wanton snare
 As hell she hated, chaste in worke and will;
 Her necke and breasts were euer open bare,
 That ay thereof her babes might sucke their fill;
 The rest was all in yellow robes arayed still.

xxx

A multitude of babes about her hong,
 Playing their sports, that ioyd her to behold,
 Whom still she fed, whiles they were weake and young,
 But thrust them forth still, as they waxed old:
 And on her head she wore a tyre of gold,
 Adorn'd with gemmes and owches wondrous faire,
 Whose passing price vneath was to be told;
 And by her side there sate a gentle paire
 Of turtle doves, she sitting in an yuorie chaire.

xxxi

The knight and *Vna* entring, faire her greet,
 And bid her ioy of that her happie brood;
 Who them requites with court'sies seeming meet,
 And entertaines with friendly chearefull mood.
 Then *Vna* her besought, to be so good,
 As in her vertuous rules to schoole her knight,
 Now after all his torment well withstood,
 In that sad house of *Penaunce*, where his spright
 Had past the paines of hell, and long enduring night.

xxxii

She was right ioyous of her iust request,
 And taking by the hand that Faeries sonne,
 Gan him instruct in euerie good behest,
 Of loue, and righteousness, and well to donne,
 And wrath, and hatred warely to shonne,
 That drew on men Gods hatred, and his wrath,
 And many soules in dolours had fordonne:
 In which when him she well instructed hath,
 From thence to heauen she teacheth him the ready path.

xxxiii

Wherein his weaker wandring steps to guide,
 An auncient matrone she to her does call,
 Whose sober lookes her wisdom well describe:
 Her name was *Mercie*, well knowne ouer all,
 To be both gracious, and eke liberall:
 To whom the carefull charge of him she gaue,
 To lead aright, that he should neuer fall
 In all his wayes through this wide worldes waue,
 That Mercy in the end his righteous soule might saue.

xxxiv

The godly Matrone by the hand him beares
 Forth from her presence, by a narrow way,
 Scattred with bushy thornes, and ragged breares,
 Which still before him she remou'd away,
 That nothing might his ready passage stay:
 And euer when his feet encombred were,
 Or gan to shrink, or from the right to stray,
 She held him fast, and firmly did vpbeare,
 As carefull Nourse her child from falling oft does reare.

xxxv

Eftsoones vnto an holy Hospitall,

xxxvi

That was fore by the way, she did him bring,

In which seuen Bead-men that had vowed all

Their life to seruice of high heauens king

Did spend their dayes in doing godly thing:

Their gates to all were open euermore,

That by the wearie way were trauciling,

And one sate wayting euer them before,

To call in commers-by, that needy were and pore.

The first of them that eldest was, and best,

xxxvii

Of all the house had charge and gouernement,

As Guardian and Steward of the rest:

His office was to giue entertainment

And lodging, vnto all that came, and went:

Not vnto such, as could him feast againe,

And double quite, for that he on them spent,

But such, as want of harbour did constraine:

Those for Gods sake his dewty was to entertaine.

The second was as Almner of the place,

xxxviii

His office was, the hungry for to feed,

And thirsty giue to drinke, a worke of grace:

He feard not once him selfe to be in need,

Ne car'd to hoord for those, whom he did breede:

The grace of God he layd vp still in store,

Which as a stocke he left vnto his seede;

He had enough, what need him care for more?

And had he lesse, yet some he would giue to the pore.

The third had of their wardrobe custodie,

xxxix

In which were not rich tyres, nor garments gay,

The plumes of pride, and wings of vanitie,

But clothes meet to keepe keene could away,

And naked nature seemely to aray;

With which bare wretched wights he dayly clad,

The images of God in earthly clay;

And if that no spare cloths to giue he had,

His owne coate he would cut, and it distribute glad.

- The fourth appointed by his office was, xl
 Poore prisoners to relieue with gracious ayd,
 And captiues to redeeme with price of bras,
 From Turkes and Sarazins, which them had stayd;
 And though they faultie were, yet well he wayd,
 That God to vs forgiueth euery howre
 Much more then that, why they in bands were layd,
 And he that harrowd hell with heauie stowre,
 The faultie soules from thence brought to his heauenly bowre.
- The fift had charge sicke persons to attend, xli
 And comfort those, in point of death which lay;
 For them most needeth comfort in the end,
 When sin, and hell, and death do most dismay
 The feeble soule departing hence away.
 All is but lost, that liuing we bestow,
 If not well ended at our dying day.
 O man haue mind of that last bitter throw;
 For as the tree does fall, so lyes it euer low.
- The sixt had charge of them now being dead, xlii
 In seemely sort their corses to engraue,
 And deck with dainty flowres their bridall bed,
 That to their heauenly spouse both sweet and braue
 They might appeare, when he their soules shall saue.
 The wondrous workemanship of Gods owne mould,
 Whose face he made, all beasts to feare, and gaue
 All in his hand, euen dead we honour should.
 Ah dearest God me graunt, I dead be not defould.
- The seuenth now after death and buriall done, xliii
 Had charge the tender Orphans of the dead
 And widowes ayd, least they should be vndone:
 In face of iudgement he their right would plead,
 Ne ought the powre of mighty men did dread
 In their defence, nor would for gold or fee
 Be wonne their rightfull causes downe to tread:
 And when they stood in most necessitee,
 He did supply their want, and gaue them euer free.

There when the Elfin knight arriued was,
The first and chieftest of the seuen, whose care
Was guests to welcome, towards him did pas:
Where seeing *Mercie*, that his steps vp bare,
And alwayes led, to her with reuerence rare
He humbly louted in meeke lowlinesse,
And seemely welcome for her did prepare:
For of their order she was Patronesse,
Albe Charissa were their chieftest founderesse.

xliv

There she awhile him stayes, him selfe to rest,
That to the rest more able he might bee:
During which time, in euery good behest
And godly worke of Almes and charitee
She him instructed with great industree;
Shortly therein so perfect he became,
That from the first vnto the last degree,
His mortall life he learned had to frame
In holy righteousness, without rebuke or blame.

xlv

Thence forward by that painfull way they pas,
Forth to an hill, that was both steepe and hy;
On top whereof a sacred chappell was,
And eke a litle Hermitage thereby,
Wherein an aged holy man did lye,
That day and night said his deuotion,
Ne other worldly busines did apply;
His name was heauenly *Contemplation*;
Of God and goodnesse was his meditation.

xlvi

Great grace that old man to him giuen had;
For God he often saw from heauens hight,
All were his earthly eyen both blunt and bad,
And through great age had lost their kindly sight,
Yet wondrous quick and persant was his spright,
As Eagles eye, that can behold the Sunne:
That hill they scale with all their powre and might,
That his frayle thighes nigh wearie and fordonne
Gan faile, but by her helpe the top at last he wonne.

xlvii

There they do finde that godly aged Sire,
 With snowy lockes adowne his shoulders shed,
 As hoarie frost with spangles doth attire
 The mossy braunches of an Oke halfe ded.
 Each bone might through his body well be red,
 And euery sinew seene through his long fast:
 For nought he car'd his carcas long vnfed;
 His mind was full of spirituall repast,
 And pyn'd his flesh, to keepe his body low and chast.

xlviiii

Who when these two approching he aspide,
 At their first presence grew agrieued sore,
 That forst him lay his heauenly thoughts aside;
 And had he not that Dame respected more,
 Whom highly he did reuerence and adore,
 He would not once haue moued for the knight.
 They him saluted standing far afore;
 Who well them greeting, humbly did requight,
 And asked, to what end they clomb that tedious height.

xlix

What end (quoth she) should cause vs take such paine,
 But that same end, which euery liuing wight
 Should make his marke, high heauen to attaine?
 Is not from hence the way, that leadeth right
 To that most glorious house, that glistreth bright
 With burning starres, and euerliuing fire,
 Whereof the keyes are to thy hand behight
 By wise *Fidelia*? she doth thee require,
 To shew it to this knight, according his desire.

l

Thrise happy man, said then the father graue,
 Whose staggering steps thy steady hand doth lead,
 And shewes the way, his sinfull soule to saue.
 Who better can the way to heauen aread,
 Then thou thy selfe, that was both borne and bred
 In heauenly throne, where thousand Angels shine?
 Thou doest the prayers of the righteous sead
 Present before the maiestie diuine,
 And his auenging wrath to clemencie incline.

li

Yet since thou bidst, thy pleasure shalbe donne.
Then come thou man of earth, and see the way,
That neuer yet was seene of Faeries sonne,
That neuer leads the trauciler astray,
But after labours long, and sad delay,
Brings them to ioyous rest and endlesse blis.
But first thou must a season fast and pray,
Till from her bands the spright assoiled is,
And haue her strength recur'd from fraile infirmitis.

lii

That done, he leads him to the highest Mount;
Such one, as that same mighty man of God,
That bloud-red billowes like a walled front
On either side disparted with his rod,
Till that his army dry-foot through them yod,
Dwelt fortie dayes vpon; where writ in stone
With bloody letters by the hand of God,
The bitter doome of death and balefull mone
He did receiue, whiles flashing fire about him shone.

liii

Or like that sacred hill, whose head full hie,
Adornd with fruitfull Oliues all arownd,
Is, as it were for endlesse memory
Of that deare Lord, who oft thereon was fownd,
For euer with a flowring girlond crownd:
Or like that pleasaunt Mount, that is for ay
Through famous Poets verse each where renownd,
On which the thrise three learned Ladies play
Their heauenly notes, and make full many a louely lay.

liv

From thence, far off he vnto him did shew
A litle path, that was both steepe and long,
Which to a goodly Citie led his vew;
Whose wals and towres were builded high and strong
Of perle and precious stone, that earthly tong
Cannot describe, nor wit of man can tell;
Too high a ditty for my simple song;
The Citie of the great king hight it well,
Wherein eternall peace and happinesse doth dwell.

lv

As he thereon stood gazing, he might see
 The blessed Angels to and fro descend
 From highest heauen, in gladsome companee,
 And with great ioy into that Citie wend,
 As commonly as friend does with his frend.
 Whereat he wondred much, and gan enquire,
 What stately building durst so high extend
 Her loftie towres vnto the starry sphere,
 And what vnknown nation there empeopled were.

lvi

Faire knight (quoth he) *Hierusalem* that is,
 The new *Hierusalem*, that God has built
 For those to dwell in, that are chosen his,
 His chosen people purg'd from sinfull guilt,
 With pretious bloud, which cruelly was spilt
 On cursed tree, of that vnspotted lam,
 That for the sinnes of all the world was kilt:
 Now are they Saints all in that Citie sam,
 More deare vnto their God, then younglings to their dam.

lvii

Till now, said then the knight, I weened well,
 That great *Cleopolis*, where I haue beene,
 In which that fairest *Faerie Queene* doth dwell,
 The fairest Citie was, that might be seene;
 And that bright towre all built of christall cleene,
Panthea, seemd the brightest thing, that was:
 But now by prooffe all otherwise I weene;
 For this great Citie that does far surpas,
 And this bright Angels towre quite dims that towre of glas.

lviii

Most trew, then said the holy aged man;
 Yet is *Cleopolis* for earthly frame,
 The fairest peece, that eye beholden can:
 And well beseemes all knights of noble name,
 That couet in th'immortall booke of fame
 To be eternized, that same to haunt,
 And doen their seruice to that soueraigne Dame,
 That glorie does to them for guerdon graunt:
 For she is heauenly borne, and heauen may iustly vaunt.

lix

And thou faire ymp, sprong out from English race,
 How euer now accompted Elfin sonne,
 Well worthy doest thy seruice for her grace,
 To aide a virgin desolate foredonne.
 But when thou famous victorie hast wonne,
 And high emongst all knights hast hong thy shield,
 Thenceforth the suit of earthly conquest shonne,
 And wash thy hands from guilt of bloody field:
 For bloud can nought but sin, and wars but sorrowes yield;

lx

Then seeke this path, that I to thee presage,
 Which after all to heauen shall thee send;
 Then peaceably thy painefull pilgrimage
 To yonder same *Hierusalem* do bend,
 Where is for thee ordaind a blessed end:
 For thou emongst those Saints, whom thou doest see,
 Shalt be a Saint, and thine owne nations frend
 And Patrone: thou Saint *George* shalt called bee,
 Saint *George* of mery England, the signe of victoree.

lxi

Vnworthy wretch (quoth he) of so great grace,
 How dare I thinke such glory to attaine?
 These that haue it attained, were in like cace
 (Quoth he) as wretched, and liu'd in like paine.
 But deeds of armes must I at last be faine,
 And Ladies loue to leaue so dearely bought?
 What need of armes, where peace doth ay remaine,
 (Said he) and batailles none are to be fought?
 As for loose loues are vaine, and vanish into nought.

lxii

O let me not (quoth he) then turne againe
 Backe to the world, whose ioyes so fruitlesse are;
 But let me here for aye in peace remaine,
 Or streight way on that last long voyage fare,
 That nothing may my present hope empare.
 That may not be (said he) ne maist thou yit
 Forgo that royall maides bequeathed care,
 Who did her cause into thy hand commit,
 Till from her cursed foe thou haue her freely quit.

lxiii

Then shall I soone, (quoth he) so God me grace,
 Abet that virgins cause disconsolate,
 And shortly backe returne vnto this place,
 To walke this way in Pilgrims poore estate.
 But now aread, old father, why of late
 Didst thou behight me borne of English blood,
 Whom all a Faeries sonne doen nominate?
 That word shall I (said he) auouchen good,
 Sith to thee is vnknowne the cradle of thy brood.

lxiv

For well I wote, thou springst from ancient race
 Of *Saxon* kings, that haue with mightie hand
 And many bloudie battailes fought in place
 High reard their royall throne in *Britane* land,
 And vanquisht them, vnable to withstand:
 From thence a Faerie thee vnweeting reft,
 There as thou slepst in tender swadling band,
 And her base Elfin brood there for thee left.
 Such men do Chaungelings call, so chaungd by Faeries theft.

lxv

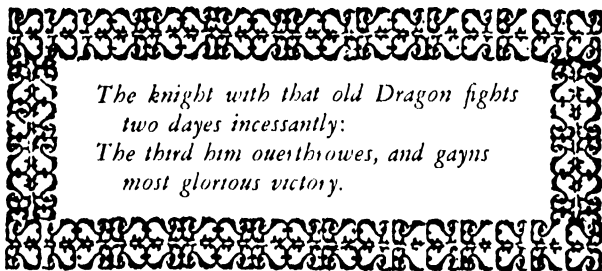
Thence she thee brought into this Faerie lond,
 And in an heaped furrow did thee hyde,
 Where thee a Ploughman all vnweeting fond,
 As he his toylesome tyme that way did guyde,
 And brought thee vp in ploughmans state to byde,
 Whereof *Georgos* he thee gaue to name;
 Till prickt with courage, and thy forces pryde,
 To Faery court thou cam'st to seeke for fame,
 And proue thy puissaunt armes, as seemes thee best became.

lxvi

O holy Sire (quoth he) how shall I quight
 The many fauours I with thee haue found,
 That hast my name and nation red aright,
 And taught the way that does to heauen bound?
 This said, adowne he looked to the ground,
 To haue returnd, but dazed where his eyne,
 Through passing brightnesse, which did quite confound
 His feeble sence, and too exceeding shyne.
 So darke are earthly things compar'd to things diuine.

lxvii

At last whenas himselfe he gan to find,
To *Vna* back he cast him to retire;
Who him awaited still with pensiue mind.
Great thanks and goodly meed to that good syre,
He thence departing gaue for his paines hyre.
So came to *Vna*, who him ioyd to see,
And after litle rest, gan him desire,
Of her aduenture mindfull for to bee.
So leaue they take of *Cælia*, and her daughters three.

Cant. XI.

High time now gan it wex for *Vna* faire,
To thinke of those her captiue Parents deare,
And their forwasted kingdome to repaire:
Whereto whenas they now approched neare,
With hartie words her knight she gan to cheare,
And in her modest manner thus bespake;
Deare knight, as deare, as euer knight was deare,
That all these sorrowes suffer for my sake,
High heauen behold the tedious toyle, ye for me take.

i

Now are we come vnto my natiue soyle,
And to the place, where all our perils dwell;
Here haunts that feend, and does his dayly spoyle,
Therefore henceforth be at your keeping well,
And euer ready for your foeman fell.
The sparke of noble courage now awake,
And striue your excellent selfe to excell;
That shall ye euermore renowned make,
Aboue all knights on earth, that batteill vndertake.

ii

And pointing forth, lo yonder is (said she)
The brasen towre in which my parents deare
For dread of that huge feend emprisond be,
Whom I from far see on the walles appeare,
Whose sight my feeble soule doth greatly cheare:
And on the top of all I do espye
The watchman wayting tydings glad to heare,
That O my parents might I happily
Vnto you bring, to ease you of your misery.

iii

With that they heard a roaring hideous sound,
 That all the ayre with terrour filled wide,
 And seemd vneath to shake the stedfast ground.
 Eftsoones that dreadfull Dragon they espide,
 Where stretcht he lay vpon the sunny side
 Of a great hill, himselfe like a great hill.
 But all so soone, as he from far descride
 Those glistring armes, that heauen with light did fill,
 He rousd himselfe full blith, and hastned them vntill.

iv

Then bad the knight his Lady yede aloofe,
 And to an hill her selfe with draw aside,
 From whence she might behold that battailles proof
 And eke be safe from daunger far descryde:
 She him obayd, and turnd a little wyde.
 Now O thou sacred Muse, most learned Dame,
 Faire ympe of *Phœbus*, and his aged bride,
 The Nourse of time, and euerlasting fame,
 That warlike hands ennoblest with immortall name;

v

O gently come into my feeble brest,
 Come gently, but not with that mighty rage,
 Wherewith the martiall troupes thou doest infest,
 And harts of great Heroës doest enrage,
 That nought their kindled courage may aswage,
 Soone as thy dreadfull trompe begins to sownd;
 The God of warre with his fiers equipage
 Thou doest awake, sleepe neuer he so sownd,
 And scared nations doest with horreur sterne astownd.

vi

Faire Goddess lay that furious fit aside,
 Till I of warres and bloody *Mars* do sing,
 And Briton fields with Sarazin bloud bedyde,
 Twixt that great faery Queene and Paynim king,
 That with their horreur heauen and earth did ring,
 A worke of labour long, and endlesse prayse:
 But now a while let downe that haughtie string,
 And to my tunes thy second tenor rayse,
 That I this man of God his godly armes may blaze.

vii

By this the dreadfull Beast drew nigh to hand,
 Halfe flying, and halfe footing in his hast,
 That with his largenesse measured much land,
 And made wide shadow vnder his huge wast;
 As mountaine doth the valley ouercast.
 Approching nigh, he reared high afore
 His body monstrous, horrible, and vast,
 Which to increase his wondrous greatnesse more,
 Was swolne with wrath, and poyson, and with bloody gore.

viii

And ouer, all with brasen scales was armd,
 Like plated coate of steele, so couched neare,
 That nought mote perce, ne might his corse be harmd
 With dint of sword, nor push of pointed speare;
 Which as an Eagle, seeing pray appeare,
 His aery plumes doth rouze, full rudely dight,
 So shaked he, that horror was to heare,
 For as the clashing of an Armour bright,
 Such noyse his rouzed scales did send vnto the knight.

ix

His flaggy wings when forth he did display,
 Were like two sayles, in which the hollow wynd
 Is gathered full, and worketh speedy way:
 And eke the pennes, that did his pineons bynd,
 Were like mayne-yards, with flying canuas lynd,
 With which whenas him list the ayre to beat,
 And there by force vnwonted passage find,
 The cloudes before him fled for terrour great,
 And all the heauens stood still amazed with his threat.

x

His huge long tayle wound vp in hundred foldes,
 Does ouerspred his long bras-scaly backe,
 Whose wreathed boughts when euer he vnfoldes,
 And thicke entangled knots adown does slacke,
 Bespotted as with shields of red and blacke,
 It sweepeth all the land behind him farre,
 And of three furlongs does but litle lacke;
 And at the point two stings in-fixed arre,
 Both deadly sharpe, that sharpest steele exceeden farre.

xi

- But stings and sharpest steele did far exceed xii
The sharpnesse of his cruell rending claws;
Dead was it sure, as sure as death in deed,
What euer thing does touch his rauinous pawes,
Or what within his reach he euer drawes.
But his most hideous head my tounge to tell,
Does tremble: for his deepe deuouring iawes
Wide gaped, like the griesly mouth of hell,
Through which into his darke abisse all rauin fell.
- And that more wondrous was, in either iaw xiii
Three ranckes of yron teeth enraunged were,
In which yet trickling bloud and gobbets raw
Of late deuoured bodies did appeare,
That sight thereof bred cold congealed feare:
Which to increase, and all atonce to kill,
A cloud of smothering smoke and sulphur seare
Out of his stinking gorge forth steemed still,
That all the ayre about with smoke and stench did fill.
- His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shields, xiv
Did burne with wrath, and sparkled liuing fyre;
As two broad Beacons, set in open fields,
Send forth their flames farre off to euery shyre,
And warning giue, that enemies conspyre,
With fire and sword the region to inuade;
So flam'd his eyne with rage and rancorous yre:
But farre within, as in a hollow glade,
Those glaring lampes were set, that made a dreadfull shade.
- So dreadfully he towards him did pas, xv
Forelifting vp aloft his speckled brest,
And often bounding on the brused gras,
As for great ioyance of his newcome guest.
Eftsoones he gan aduance his haughtie crest,
As chauffed Bore his bristles doth vpreare,
And shoke his scales to battell readie drest;
That made the *Redcrosse* knight nigh quake for feare,
As bidding bold defiance to his foeman neare.

The knight gan fairely couch his steadie speare, xvi
And fiercely ran at him with rigorous might:
The pointed steele arriuing rudely theare,
His harder hide would neither perce, nor bight,
But glauncing by forth passed forward right;
Yet sore amoued with so puissant push,
The wrathfull beast about him turned light,
And him so rudely passing by, did brush
With his long tayle, that horse and man to ground did rush.

Both horse and man vp lightly rose againe, xvii
And fresh encounter towards him addrest:
But th'idle stroke yet backe recoyld in vaine,
And found no place his deadly point to rest.
Exceeding rage enflam'd the furious beast,
To be auenged of so great despight;
For neuer felt his imperceable brest
So wondrous force, from hand of liuing wight;
Yet had he prou'd the powre of many a puissant knight.

Then with his wauiing wings displayed wyde, xviii
Himselfe vp high he lifted from the ground,
And with strong flight did forcibly diuide
The yielding aire, which nigh too feeble found
Her flitting partes, and element vnsound,
To beare so great a weight: he cutting way
With his broad sayles, about him soared round:
At last low stouping with vnweldie sway,
Snatcht vp both horse and man, to beare them quite away.

Long he them bore aboue the subiect plaine, xix
So farre as Ewghen bow a shaft may send,
Till struggling strong did him at last constraîne,
To let them downe before his flightes end:
As hagarde hauke presuming to contend
With hardie fowle, aboue his hable might,
His wearie pounces all in vaine doth spend,
To trusse the pray too heauie for his flight;
Which comming downe to ground, does free it selfe by flight.

He so disseized of his gryping grosse,
The knight his thrillant speare againe assayd
In his bras-plated body to embosse,
And three mens strength vnto the stroke he layd;
Wherewith the stiffe beame quaked, as affrayd,
And glauncing from his scaly necke, did glyde
Close vnder his left wing, then broad displayd.
The percing steele there wrought a wound full wyde,
That with the vncouth smart the Monster lowdly cryde.

xx

He cryde, as raging seas are wont to rore,
When wintry storme his wrathfull wreck does threat,
The rolling billowes beat the ragged shore,
As they the earth would shoulder from her seat,
And greedie gulfe does gape, as he would eat
His neighbour element in his reuenge:
Then gin the blustering brethren boldly threat,
To moue the world from off his stedfast henge,
And boystrous battell make, each other to auenge.

xxi

The steely head stucke fast still in his flesh,
Till with his cruell clawes he snatcht the wood,
And quite a sunder broke. Forth flowed fresh
A gushing riuer of blacke goarie blood,
That drowned all the land, whereon he stood;
The streame thereof would driue a water-mill.
Trebly augmented was his furious mood
With bitter sense of his deepe rooted ill,
That flames of fire he threw forth from his large nosethrill.

xxii

His hideous taylor then hurled he about,
And therewith all enwrapt the nimble thyes
Of his froth-fomy steed, whose courage stout
Striuing to loose the knot, that fast him tyes,
Himselfe in straighter bandes too rash implyes,
That to the ground he is perforce constraynd
To throw his rider: who can quickly ryse
From off the earth, with durty bloud distaynd,
For that reprochfull fall right fowly he disdaynd.

xxiii

And fiercely tooke his trenchand blade in hand, xxiv
With which he stroke so furious and so fell,
That nothing seemd the puissance could withstand:
Vpon his crest the hardned yron fell,
But his more hardned crest was armd so well,
That deeper dint therein it would not make;
Yet so extremely did the buffe him quell,
That from thenceforth he shund the like to take,
But when he saw them come, he did them still forsake.

The knight was wrath to see his stroke beguylde, xxv
And smote againe with more outrageous might;
But backe againe the sparckling steele recoyld,
And left not any marke, where it did light;
As if in Adamant rocke it had bene pight.
The beast impatient of his smarting wound,
And of so fierce and forcible despight,
Thought with his wings to stye aboue the ground;
But his late wounded wing vnseruiceable found.

Then full of grieve and anguish vehement, xxvi
He lowdly brayd, that like was neuer heard,
And from his wide deuouring ouen sent
A flake of fire, that flashing in his beard,
Him all amazd, and almost made affeard:
The scorching flame sore swinged all his face,
And through his armour all his bodie seard,
That he could not endure so cruell cace,
But thought his armes to leaue, and helmet to vnlace.

Not that great Champion of the antique world, xxvii
Whom famous Poetes verse so much doth vaunt,
And hath for twelue huge labours high extold,
So many furies and sharpe fits did haunt,
When him the poysoned garment did enchaunt
With *Centaures* bloud, and bloudie verses charm'd,
As did this knight twelue thousand dolours daunt,
Whom fyrie steele now burnt, that earst him arm'd,
That erst him goodly arm'd, now most of all him harm'd.

Faint, wearie, sore, emboyled, grieved, brent
 With heat, toyle, wounds, armes, smart, and inward fire
 That neuer man such mischiefes did torment;
 Death better were, death did he oft desire,
 But death will neuer come, when needes require.
 Whom so dismayd when that his foe beheld,
 He cast to suffer him no more respire,
 But gan his sturdie sterne about to weld,
 And him so strongly stroke, that to the ground him feld.

xxviii

It fortun'd (as faire it then befell)
 Behind his backe vnweeting, where he stood,
 Of auncient time there was a springing well,
 From which fast trickled forth a siluer flood,
 Full of great vertues, and for med'cine good.
 Whylome, before that cursed Dragon got
 That happie land, and all with innocent blood
 Defyld those sacred waues, it rightly hot
The well of life, ne yet his vertues had forgot.

xxix

For vnto life the dead it could restore,
 And guilt of sinfull crimes cleane wash away,
 Those that with sicknesse were infected sore,
 It could recure, and aged long decay
 Renew, as one were borne that very day.
 Both *Silo* this, and *Iordan* did excell,
 And th'English *Bath*, and eke the german *Span*,
 Ne can *Cephise*, nor *Hebrus* match this well:
 Into the same the knight backe ouerthrowen, fell.

xxx

Now gan the golden *Phæbus* for to steepe
 His fierie face in billowes of the west,
 And his faint steedes watred in Occan deepe,
 Whiles from their iournall labours they did rest,
 When that infernall Monster, hauing kest
 His wearie foe into that liuing well,
 Can high aduance his broad discoloured brest,
 Aboue his wonted pitch, with countenance fell,
 And clapt his yron wings, as victor he did dwell.

xxxi

Which when his pensieve Ladie saw from farre,
 Great woe and sorrow did her soule assay,
 As weening that the sad end of the warre,
 And gan to highest God entirely pray,
 That feared chance from her to turne away;
 With folded hands and knees full lowly bent
 All night she watcht, ne once adowne would lay
 Her daintie limbs in her sad dreriment,
 But praying still did wake, and waking did lament.

xxxii

The morrow next gan early to appeare,
 That *Titan* rose to runne his daily race;
 But early ere the morrow next gan reare
 Out of the sea faire *Titans* deawy face,
 Vp rose the gentle virgin from her place,
 And looked all about, if she might spy
 Her loued knight to moue his manly pace:
 For she had great doubt of his safety,
 Since late she saw him fall before his enemy.

xxxiii

At last she saw, where he vpstarted braue
 Out of the well, wherein he drenched lay;
 As Eagle fresh out of the Ocean waue,
 Where he hath left his plumes all hoary gray,
 And deckt himselfe with feathers youthly gay,
 Like Eyas hauke vp mounts vnto the skies,
 His newly budded pineons to assay,
 And marueiles at himselfe, still as he flies:
 So new this new-borne knight to battell new did rise.

xxxiv

Whom when the damned feend so fresh did spy,
 No wonder if he wondred at the sight,
 And doubted, whether his late enemy
 It were, or other new supplied knight.
 He, now to proue his late renewed might,
 High brandishing his bright deaw-burning blade,
 Vpon his crested scalpe so sore did smite,
 That to the scull a yawning wound it made:
 The deadly dint his dulled senses all dismaid.

xxxv

I wote not, whether the reuenging steele
Were hardned with that holy water dew,
Wherein he fell, or sharper edge did feele,
Or his baptized hands now greater grew;
Or other secret vertue did ensew;
Else neuer could the force of fleshly arme,
Ne molten mettall in his bloud embrew:
For till that stownd could neuer wight him harme,
By subtilty, nor slight, nor might, nor mighty charme.

xxxvi

The cruell wound enraged him so sore,
That loud he yelded for exceeding paine;
As hundred ramping Lyons seem'd to rore,
Whom rauinous hunger did thereto constraine:
Then gan he tosse aloft his stretched traine,
And therewith scourge the buxome aire so sore,
That to his force to yeelden it was faine;
Ne ought his sturdie strokes might stand afore,
That high trees ouerthrew, and rocks in peeces tore.

xxxvii

The same aduauncing high aboue his head,
With sharpe intended sting so rude him smot,
That to the earth him droue, as stricken dead,
Ne liuing wight would haue him life behot:
The mortall sting his angry needle shot
Quite through his shield, and in his shoulder seasd,
Where fast it stucke, ne would there out be got:
The grieve thereof him wondrous sore diseasd,
Ne might his ranckling paine with patience be appeasd.

xxxviii

But yet more mindfull of his honour deare,
Then of the grievous smart, which him did wring,
From loathed soile he can him lightly reare,
And stroue to loose the farre infixed sting:
Which when in vaine he tryde with struggeling,
Inflam'd with wrath, his raging blade he heft,
And strooke so strongly, that the knotty string
Of his huge taile he quite a sunder cleft,
Fieue ioynts thereof he hewd, and but the stump him left.

xxxix

Hart cannot thinke, what outrage, and what cries, xl
With foule enfouldred smoake and flashing fire,
The hell-bred beast threw forth vnto the skyes,
That all was couered with darknesse dire:
Then fraught with rancour, and engorged ire,
He cast at once him to auenge for all,
And gathering vp himselfe out of the mire,
With his vneuen wings did fiercely fall,
Vpon his sunne-bright shield, and gript it fast withall.

Much was the man encombred with his hold, xli
In feare to lose his weapon in his paw,
Ne wist yet, how his talants to vnfold;
Nor harder was from *Cerberus* greedie iaw
To plucke a bone, then from his cruell claw
To reauce by strength the griped gage away:
Thrise he assayd it from his foot to draw,
And thrise in vaine to draw it did assay,
It booted nought to thinke, to robbe him of his pray.

Tho when he saw no power might preuaile, xlii
His trustie sword he cald to his last aid,
Wherewith he fiercely did his foe assaile,
And double blowes about him stoutly laid,
That glauncing fire out of the yron plaid;
As sparckles from the Anduile vse to fly,
When heauie hammers on the wedge are swaid;
Therewith at last he forst him to vnty
One of his grasping feete, him to defend thereby.

The other foot, fast fixed on his shield, xliii
Whenas no strength, nor stroks mote him constraine
To loose, ne yet the warlike pledge to yield,
He smot thereat with all his might and maine,
That nought so wondrous puissance might sustaine;
Vpon the ioynt the lucky steele did light,
And made such way, that hewd it quite in twaine;
The paw yet missed not his minisht might,
But hong still on the shield, as it at first was pight.

- For grieve thereof, and diuelish despight, xliv
From his infernall founace forth he threw
Huge flames, that dimmed all the heauens light,
Enrold in duskish smoke and brimstone blew;
As burning *Aetna* from his boyling stew
Doth belch out flames, and rockes in peeces broke,
And ragged ribs of mountaines molten new,
Enwrapt in coleblacke clouds and filthy smoke,
That all the land with stench, and heauen with horror choke.
- The heate whereof, and harmefull pestilence xlv
So sore him noyd, that forst him to retire
A little backward for his best defence,
To saue his bodie from the scorching fire,
Which he from hellish entrailes did expire.
It chaunst (eternall God that chaunce did guide)
As he recoyled backward, in the mire
His nigh forwearied feeble feet did slide,
And downe he fell, with dread of shame sore terrifide.
- There grew a goodly tree him faire beside, xlvi
Loaden with fruit and apples rosie red,
As they in pure vermilion had beene dide,
Whereof great vertues ouer all were red:
For happie life to all, which thereon fed,
And life eke euerlasting did befall:
Great God it planted in that blessed sted
With his almightie hand, and did it call
The tree of life, the crime of our first fathers fall.
- In all the world like was not to be found, xlvii
Saue in that soile, where all good things did grow,
And freely sprong out of the fruitfull ground,
As incorrupted Nature did them sow,
Till that dread Dragon all did ouerthrow.
Another like faire tree eke grew thereby,
Whereof who so did eat, eftsoones did know
Both good and ill: O mornefull memory:
That tree through one mans fault hath doen vs all to dy.

From that first tree forth flowd, as from a well,
 A trickling streame of Balme, most soueraine
 And daintie deare, which on the ground still fell,
 And ouerflowed all the fertill plaine,
 As it had deawed bene with timely raine:
 Life and long health that gracious ointment gaue,
 And deadly woundes could heale, and reare again
 The senselesse corse appointed for the graue.
 Into that same he fell: which did from death him saue.

xlviii

For nigh thereto the euer damned beast
 Durst not approach, for he was deadly made,
 And all that life preserued, did detest:
 Yet he it oft aduentur'd to inuade.
 By this the drouping day-light gan to fade,
 And yeeld his roome to sad succeeding night,
 Who with her sable mantle gan to shade
 The face of earth, and wayes of liuing wight,
 And high her burning torch set vp in heauen bright.

xlix

When gentle *Vna* saw the second fall
 Of her deare knight, who wearie of long fight,
 And faint through losse of bloud, mou'd not at all,
 But lay as in a dreame of deepe delight,
 Besmeard with pretious Balme, whose vertuous might
 Did heale his wounds, and scorching heat alay,
 Againe she stricken was with sore affright,
 And for his safetie gan deuoutly pray;
 And watch the noyous night, and wait for ioyous day.

l

The ioyous day gan early to appeare,
 And faire *Aurora* from the deawy bed
 Of aged *Tithone* gan her selfe to reare,
 With rosie cheekes, for shame as blushing red;
 Her golden lockes for haste were loosely shed
 About her eares, when *Vna* her did marke
 Clymbe to her charet, all with flowers spred,
 From heauen high to chase the chearelesse darke;
 With merry note her loud salutes the mounting larke.

li

Then freshly vp arose the doughtie knight,
All healed of his hurts and woundes wide,
And did himselfe to battell readie dight;
Whose early foe awaiting him beside
To haue deuour'd, so soone as day he spyde,
When now he saw himselfe so freshly reare,
As if late fight had nought him damnifyde,
He woxe dismayd, and gan his fate to feare;
Nathlesse with wonted rage he him aduanced neare.

lii

And in his first encounter, gaping wide,
He thought attonce him to haue swallowd quight,
And rusht vpon him with outrageous pride;
Who him r'encountring fierce, as hauke in flight,
Perforce rebutted backe. The weapon bright
Taking aduantage of his open iaw,
Ran through his mouth with so importune might,
That deepe emperst his darksome hollow maw,
And back retyrd, his life bloud forth with all did draw.

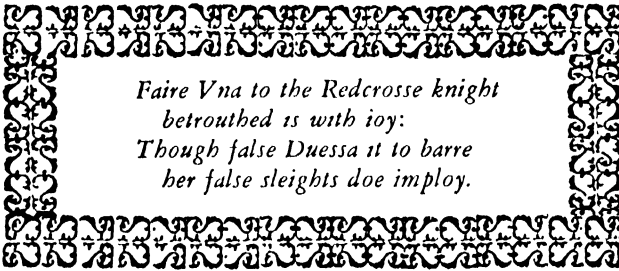
liii

So downe he fell, and forth his life did breath,
That vanisht into smoke and cloudes swift;
So downe he fell, that th'earth him vnderneath
Did grone, as feeble so great load to lift;
So downe he fell, as an huge rockie clift,
Whose false foundation waues haue washt away,
With dreadfull poyse is from the mayneland rift,
And rolling downe, great *Neptune* doth dismay;
So downe he fell, and like an heaped mountaine lay.

liv

The knight himselfe euen trembled at his fall,
So huge and horrible a masse it seem'd;
And his deare Ladie, that beheld it all,
Durst not approach for dread, which she misdeem'd,
But yet at last, when as the direfull feend
She saw not stirre, off-shaking vaine affright,
She nigher drew, and saw that ioyous end:
Then God she praysd, and thank't her faithfull knight,
That had atchieu'd so great a conquest by his might.

lv

Cant. XII.

BEhold I see the hauen nigh at hand,
To which I meane my wearie course to bend;
Vere the maine shete, and beare vp with the land,
The which afore is fairely to be kend,
And seemeth safe from stormes, that may offend;
There this faire virgin wearie of her way
Must landed be, now at her iourneyes end:
There eke my feeble barke a while may stay,
Till merry wind and weather call her thence away.

i

Scarsely had *Phæbus* in the glooming East
Yet harnessed his fire-footed teeme,
Ne reard aboue the earth his flaming creast,
When the last deadly smoke aloft did steeme,
That signe of last outbreathed life did seeme,
Vnto the watchman on the castle wall;
Who thereby dead that balefull Beast did deeme,
And to his Lord and Ladie lowd gan call,
To tell, how he had seene the Dragons fatall fall.

ii

Vprose with hastie ioy, and feeble speed
That aged Sire, the Lord of all that land,
And looked forth, to weet, if true indeede
Those tydings were, as he did vnderstand,
Which whenas true by tryall he out fond,
He bad to open wyde his brazen gate,
Which long time had bene shut, and out of hond
Proclaymed ioy and peace through all his state;
For dead now was their foe, which them forrayed late.

iii

Then gan triumphant Trompets sound on hie,
That sent to heauen the ecchoed report
Of their new ioy, and happie victorie
Gainst him, that had them long opprest with tort,
And fast imprisoned in sieged fort.
Then all the people, as in solemne feast,
To him assembled with one full consort,
Reioycing at the fall of that great beast,
From whose eternall bondage now they were releast.

iv

Forth came that auncient Lord and aged Queene,
Arayd in antique robes downe to the ground,
And sad habiliments right well beseene;
A noble crew about them waited round
Of sage and sober Peres, all grauely gownd;
Whom farre before did march a goodly band
Of tall young men, all hable armes to sownd,
But now they laurell braunches bore in hand;
Glad signe of victorie and peace in all their land.

v

Vnto that doughtie Conquerour they came,
And him before themselues prostrating low,
Their Lord and Patrone loud did him proclame,
And at his feet their laurell boughes did throw.
Soone after them all dauncing on a row
The comely virgins came, with girlands dight,
As fresh as flowres in meadow greene do grow,
When morning deaw vpon their leaues doth light:
And in their hands sweet Timbrels all vpheld on hight.

vi

And them before, the fry of children young
Their wanton sports and childish mirth did play,
And to the Maydens sounding tymbrels sung
In well attuned notes, a ioyous lay,
And made delightfull musicke all the way,
Vntill they came, where that faire virgin stood;
As faire *Diana* in fresh sommers day,
Beholds her Nymphes, enraung'd in shadie wood,
Some wrestle, some do run, some bathe in christall flood.

vii

viii

So she beheld those maydens meriment
 With chearefull vew; who when to her they came,
 Themselues to ground with gracious humblesse bent,
 And her ador'd by honorable name,
 Lifting to heauen her euerlasting fame:
 Then on her head they set a girland greene,
 And crowned her twixt earnest and twixt game;
 Who in her selfe-resemblance well beseene,
 Did seeme such, as she was, a goodly maiden Queene.

ix

And after, all the raskall many ran,
 Heaped together in rude rablement,
 To see the face of that victorious man:
 Whom all admired, as from heauen sent,
 And gazd vpon with gaping wonderment.
 But when they came, where that dead Dragon lay,
 Stretcht on the ground in monstrous large extent,
 The sight with idle feare did them dismay,
 Ne durst approach him nigh, to touch, or once assay.

x

Some feard, and fled; some feard and well it faynd;
 One that would wiser seeme, then all the rest,
 Warnd him not touch, for yet perhaps remaynd
 Some lingring life within his hollow brest,
 Or in his wombe might lurke some hidden nest
 Of many Dragonets, his fruitfull seed;
 Another said, that in his eyes did rest
 Yet sparckling fire, and bad thereof take heed;
 Another said, he saw him moue his eyes indeed.

xi

One mother, when as her foolehardie chylde
 Did come too neare, and with his talants play,
 Halfe dead through feare, her litle babe reuyld,
 And to her gossips gan in counsell say;
 How can I tell, but that his talants may
 Yet scratch my sonne, or rend his tender hand?
 So diuersly themselues in vaine they fray;
 Whiles some more bold, to measure him nigh stand,
 To proue how many acres he did spread of land.

Thus flocked all the folke him round about,
The whiles that hoarie king, with all his traine,
Being arriued, where that champion stout
After his foes defeasance did remaine,
Him goodly greetes, and faire does entertaine,
With princely gifts of yuorie and gold,
And thousand thanks him yeelds for all his paine.
Then when his daughter deare he does behold,
Her dearely doth imbrace, and kisseth manifold.

xii

And after to his Pallace he them brings,
With shaumes, and trompets, and with Clarions sweet;
And all the way the ioyous people sings,
And with their garments strowes the paued street:
Whence mounting vp, they find purueyance meet
Of all, that royall Princes court became,
And all the floore was vnderneath their feet
Bespred with costly scarlot of great name,
On which they lowly sit, and fitting purpose frame.

xiii

What needs me tell their feast and goodly guize,
In which was nothing riotous nor vaine?
What needs of daintie dishes to deuize,
Of comely seruices, or courtly trayne?
My narrow leaues cannot in them containe
The large discourse of royall Princes state.
Yet was their manner then but bare and plaine:
For th'antique world excesse and pride did hate;
Such proud luxurious pompe is swollen vp but late.

xiv

Then when with meates and drinkes of euery kinde
Their feruent appetites they quenched had,
That auncient Lord gan fit occasion finde,
Of straunge aduentures, and of perils sad,
Which in his trauell him befallen had,
For to demanda of his renowmed guest:
Who then with vtt'rance graue, and count'nance sad,
From point to point, as is before exprest,
Discourst his voyage long, according his request.

xv

Great pleasure mixt with pittifull regard, xvi
 That godly King and Queene did passionate,
 Whiles they his pittifull aduentures heard,
 That oft they did lament his lucklesse state,
 And often blame the too importune fate,
 That heapd on him so many wrathfull wreakes:
 For neuer gentle knight, as he of late,
 So tossed was in fortunes cruell freakes;
 And all the while salt teares bedewd the hearers cheeks.

Then said the royall Pere in sober wise; xvii
 Deare Sonne, great beene the euils, which ye bore
 From first to last in your late enterprise,
 That I note, whether prayse, or pitty more:
 For neuer liuing man, I weene, so sore
 In sea of deadly daungers was distrest;
 But since now safe ye seised haue the shore,
 And well arriued are, (high God be blest)
 Let vs deuize of ease and euerlasting rest.

Ah dearest Lord, said then that doughty knight, xviii
 Of ease or rest I may not yet deuize;
 For by the faith, which I to armes haue plight,
 I bounden am streight after this emprize,
 As that your daughter can ye well aduize,
 Backe to returne to that great Faerie Queene,
 And her to serue six yeares in warlike wize,
 Gainst that proud Paynim king, that workes her teene:
 Therefore I ought craue pardon, till I there haue beene.

Vnhappie falles that hard necessitie, xix
 (Quoth he) the troubler of my happie peace,
 And vowed foe of my felicitie;
 Ne I against the same can iustly preace:
 But since that band ye cannot now release,
 Nor doen vndo; (for vowes may not be vaine)
 Soone as the terme of those six yeares shall cease,
 Ye then shall hither backe returne againe,
 The marriage to accomplish vovd betwixt you twain.

Which for my part I couet to performe,
In sort as through the world I did proclame,
That who so kild that monster most deforme,
And him in hardy battaile ouercame,
Should haue mine onely daughter to his Dame,
And of my kingdome heire apparaunt bee:
Therefore since now to thee pertaines the same,
By dew desert of noble cheualrec,
Both daughter and eke kingdome, lo I yield to thee.

xx

Then forth he called that his daughter faire,
The fairest *Vn'* his onely daughter dcare,
His onely daughter, and his onely heyre;
Who forth proceeding with sad sober cheare,
As bright as doth the morning starre appeare
Out of the East, with flaming lockes bedight,
To tell that dawning day is drawing neare,
And to the world does bring long wished light;
So faire and fresh that Lady shewd her selfe in sight.

xxi

So faire and fresh, as freshest flowre in May;
For she had layd her mournfull stole aside,
And widow-like sad wimple throwne away,
Wherewith her heauenly beautie she did hide,
Whiles on her wearie iourney she did ride;
And on her now a garment she did weare,
All lilly white, withoutten spot, or pride,
That seemd like silke and siluer wouen neare,
But neither silke nor siluer therein did appeare.

xxii

The blazing brightnesse of her beauties beame,
And glorious light of her sunshyny face
To tell, were as to striue against the streame.
My ragged rimes are all too rude and bace,
Her heauenly lineaments for to enchace.
Ne wonder; for her owne deare loued knight,
All were she dayly with himselfe in place,
Did wonder much at her celestiall sight:
Oft had he seene her faire, but neuer so faire dight.

xxiii

So fairely dight, when she in presence came,
 She to her Sire made humble reuerence,
 And bowed low, that her right well became,
 And added grace vnto her excellence:
 Who with great wisdom, and graue eloquence
 Thus gan to say. But eare he thus had said,
 With flying speede, and seeming great pretence,
 Came running in, much like a man dismaid,
 A Messenger with letters, which his message said.

xxiv

All in the open hall amazed stood,
 At suddainnesse of that vnwarie sight,
 And wondred at his breathlesse hastie mood.
 But he for nought would stay his passage right,
 Till fast before the king he did alight;
 Where falling flat, great humblesse he did make,
 And kist the ground, whereon his foot was pight;
 Then to his hands that writ he did betake,
 Which he disclosing, red thus, as the paper spake.

xxv

To thee, most mighty king of *Eden* faire,
 Her greeting sends in these sad lines address,
 The wofull daughter, and forsaken heire
 Of that great Emperour of all the West;
 And bids thee be aduized for the best,
 Ere thou thy daughter linck in holy band
 Of wedlocke to that new vnknownen guest:
 For he already plighted his right hand
 Vnto another loue, and to another land.

xxvi

To me sad mayd, or rather widow sad,
 He was affiaunced long time before,
 And sacred pledges he both gaue, and had,
 False erraunt knight, infamous, and forswore:
 Witnesse the burning Altars, which he swore,
 And guiltie heauens of his bold periury,
 Which though he hath polluted oft of yore,
 Yet I to them for iudgement iust do fly,
 And them coniure t'auenge this shamefull iniury.

xxvii

Therefore since mine he is, or free or bond,
 Or false or trew, or liuing or else dead,
 Withhold, O soueraine Prince, your hasty hond
 From knitting league with him, I you aread;
 Ne weene my right with strength adowne to tread,
 Through weakenesse of my widowhed, or woe:
 For truth is strong, her rightfull cause to plead,
 And shall find friends, if need requireth soe.
 So bids thee well to fare, Thy neither friend, nor foe,

xxviii

Fidessa.

When he these bitter byting words had red,
 The tydings straunge did him abashed make,
 That still he sate long time astonished
 As in great muse, ne word to creature spake.
 At last his solemne silence thus he brake,
 With doubtfull eyes fast fixed on his guest;
 Redoubted knight, that for mine onely sake
 Thy life and honour late aduenturest,
 Let nought be hid from me, that ought to be exprest.

xxix

What meane these bloody vowes, and idle threats,
 Throwne out from womanish impatient mind?
 What heauens? what altars? what enraged heates
 Here heaped vp with termes of loue vnkind,
 My conscience cleare with guilty bands would bind?
 High God be witnesse, that I guiltlesse ame.
 But if your selfe, Sir knight, ye faultie find,
 Or wrapped be in loues of former Dame,
 With crime do not it couer, but disclose the same.

xxx

To whom the *Redcrosse* knight this answere sent,
 My Lord, my King, be nought hereat dismayd,
 Till well ye wote by graue intendiment,
 What woman, and wherefore doth me vpbrayd
 With breach of loue, and loyalty betrayd.
 It was in my mishaps, as hitherward
 I lately traueild, that vnwares I strayd
 Out of my way, through perils straunge and hard;
 That day should faile me, ere I had them all declard.

xxxi

There did I find, or rather I was found xxxii
 Of this false woman, that *Fidessa* hight,
Fidessa hight the falsest Dame on ground,
 Most false *Duess*a, royall richly dight,
 That easie was t' inuegle weaker sight:
 Who by her wicked arts, and wylie skill,
 Too false and strong for earthly skill or might,
 Vnwares me wrought vnto her wicked will,
 And to my foe betrayd, when least I feared ill.

Then stepped forth the goodly royall Mayd, xxxiii
 And on the ground her selfe prostrating low,
 With sober countenance thus to him sayd;
 O pardon me, my soueraigne Lord, to show
 The secret treasons, which of late I know
 To haue bene wrought by that false sorceresse.
 She onely she it is, that earst did throw
 This gentle knight into so great distresse,
 That death him did awaite in dayly wretchednesse.

And now it seemes, that she suborned hath xxxiv
 This craftie messenger with letters vaine,
 To worke new woe and improuided scath,
 By breaking of the band betwixt vs twaine;
 Wherein she vsed hath the practicke paine
 Of this false footman, clokt with simplenesse,
 Whom if ye please for to discouer plaine,
 Ye shall him *Archimago* find, I ghesse,
 The falsest man aliue; who tries shall find no lesse.

The king was greatly moued at her speach, xxxv
 And all with suddein indignation fraight,
 Bad on that Messenger rude hands to reach.
 Eftsoones the Gard, which on his state did wait,
 Attacht that faitor false, and bound him strait:
 Who seeming sorely chauffed at his band,
 As chained Beare, whom cruell dogs do bait,
 With idle force did faine them to withstand,
 And often semblaunce made to scape out of their hand.

But they him layd full low in dungeon deepe,
And bound him hand and foote with yron chains.
And with continuall watch did warely keepe;
Who then would thinke, that by his subtile trains
He could escape fowle death or deadly paines?
Thus when that Princes wrath was pacifide,
He gan renew the late forbidden banes,
And to the knight his daughter deare he tyde,
With sacred rites and vowes for euer to abyde.

xxxvi

His owne two hands the holy knots did knit,
That none but death for euer can deuide;
His owne two hands, for such a turne most fit,
The housling fire did kindle and prouide,
And holy water thereon sprinckled wide;
At which the bushy Teade a groome did light,
And sacred lampe in secret chamber hide,
Where it should not be quenched day nor night,
For feare of euill fates, but burnen euer bright.

xxxvii

Then gan they sprinckle all the posts with wine,
And made great feast to solemnize that day;
They all perfumde with frankencense diuine,
And precious odours fetcht from far away,
That all the house did sweat with great aray:
And all the while sweete Musicke did apply
Her curious skill, the warbling notes to play,
To driue away the dull Melancholy;
The whiles one sung a song of loue and iollity.

xxxviii

During the which there was an heauenly noise
Heard sound through all the Pallace pleasantly,
Like as it had bene many an Angels voice,
Singing before th'eternall maiesty,
In their trinall triplicities on hye;
Yet wist no creature, whence that heauenly sweet
Proceeded, yet eachone felt secretly
Himselfe thereby reft of his sences meet,
And rauished with rare impression in his sprite.

xxxix

Great ioy was made that day of young and old, xl
 And solemne feast proclaimd throughout the land,
 That their exceeding merth may not be told:
 Suffice it heare by signes to vnderstand
 The vsuall ioyes at knitting of loues band.
 Thrise happy man the knight himselfe did hold,
 Possessed of his Ladies hart and hand,
 And cuer, when his eye did her behold,
 His heart did seeme to melt in pleasures manifold.

Her ioyous presence and sweet company xli
 In full content he there did long enioy,
 Ne wicked enuie, ne vile gealosy
 His deare delights were able to annoy:
 Yet swimming in that sea of blisfull ioy,
 He nought forgot, how he whilome had sworne,
 In case he could that monstrous beast destroy,
 Vnto his Farie Queene backe to returne:
 The which he shortly did, and *Vna* left to mourne.

Now strike your sailes ye iolly Mariners, xlii
 For we be come vnto a quiet rode,
 Where we must land some of our passengers,
 And light this wearie vessell of her lode.
 Here she a while may make her safe abode,
 Till she repaired haue her tackles spent,
 And wants supplide. And then againe abroad
 On the long voyage whereto she is bent:
 Well may she speede and fairely finish her intent.

FINIS LIB. I.



A

Letter of the Authors expounding his

*whole intention in the course of this worke: which
for that it giueth great light to the Reader, for
the better vnderstanding is hereunto
annexed.*

*To the Right noble, and Valorous, Sir Walter Raleigh knight,
Lo. Wardein of the Stanneryes, and her Maiesties liefetenaunt
of the County of Cornewayll.*

Sir knowing how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed, and this booke of mine, which I haue entituled the Faery Queene, being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit, I haue thought good aswell for auoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof, (being so by you commanded,) to discouer vnto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course therof I haue fashioned, without expressing of any particular purposes or by-accidents therein occasioned. The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline: Which for that I conceiued shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historicall fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, then for profite of the ensample: I chose the historie of king Arthure, as most fitte for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many mens former workes, and also furthest from the daunger of enuy, and suspition of present time. In which I haue followed all the antique Poets historicall, first Homere, who in the Persons of Agamemnon and Vlysses hath ensampled a good gouernour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis: then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of Aeneas: after him Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando: and lately Tasso disseuered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely that part which they in Philosophy call Ethice, or vertues of a priuate man, coloured in his Rinaldo: The other named Politice in his Godfredo. By ensample of which excellent Poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a braue knight, perfected in the twelue priuate morall vertues, as Aristotle hath deuised, the which is

the purpose of these first twelue bookes: which if I finde to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encoraged, to frame the other part of politticke vertues in his person, after that hee came to be king. To some I know this Methode will seeme displeasaunt, which had rather haue good discipline deliuered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they vse, then thus cloudily enwrapped in Allegoricall deuises. But such, me seeme, should be satisfide with the vse of these dayes, seeing all things accounted by their showes, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightfull and pleasing to commune sence. For this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one in the exquisite depth of his iudgement, formed a Commune welth such as it should be, but the other in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a gouernement such as might best be: So much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule. So haue I laboured to doe in the person of Arthure: whome I conceiue after his long education by Timon, to whom he was by Merlin deliuered to be brought vp, so soone as he was borne of the Lady Igrayne, to haue seene in a dream or vision the Faery Queen, with whose excellent beauty rauished, he awaking resolved to seeke her out, and so being by Merlin armed, and by Timon thoroughly instructed, he went to seeke her forth in Faerye land. In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceiue the most excellent and glorious person of our soueraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery land. And yet in some places els, I doe otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull Lady, this latter part in some places I doe express in Belphæbe, fashioning her name according to your owne excellent concept of Cynthia, (Phæbe and Cynthia being both names of Diana.) So in the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth magnificence in particular, which vertue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke. But of the xii. other vertues, I make xii. other knights the patrones, for the more variety of the history: Of which these three bookes contain three. The first of the knight of the Redcrosse, in whome I expresse Holynes: The seconde of Sir Guyon, in whome I sette forth Temperaunce: The third of Britomartis a Lady knight, in whome I picture Chastity. But because the beginning of the whole worke seemeth abrupte and as depending vpon other antecedents, it needs that ye know the occasion of these three knights seuerall aduentures. For the Methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly

as they were donne, accounting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the middest, euen where it most concerneth him, and there recourſing to the thinges forepaſte, and diuining of thinges to come, maketh a pleaſing Analysis of all. The beginning therefore of my hiſtory, if it were to be told by an Hiſtoriographer, ſhould be the twelfth booke, which is the laſt, where I deuise that the Faery Queene kept her Annuall feaſte xii. dayes, vppon which xii. ſeueral dayes, the occaſions of the xii. ſeueral aduentures hapned, which being vndertaken by xii. ſeueral knights, are in theſe xii books ſeuerally handled and diſcourſed. The firſt was this. In the beginning of the feaſt, there preſented him ſelfe a tall clowniſhe younge man, who falling before the Queen of Faries deſired a boone (as the manner then was) which during that feaſt ſhe might not reſuſe: which was that hee might haue the atchieuement of any aduenture, which during that feaſte ſhould happen, that being graunted, he reſted him on the floore, vnfitte through his ruſticity for a better place. \Soone after entred a faire Ladye in mourning weedes, riding on a white Aſſe, with a dwarfe behind her leading a warlike ſteed, that bore the Armes of a knight, and his ſpeare in the dwarfes hand. Shee falling before the Queene of Faeries, complayned that her father and mother an ancient King and Queene, had bene by an huge dragon many years ſhut vp in a braſen Caſtle, who thence ſuffred them not to yſſew: and therefore beſought the Faery Queene to aſſygne her ſome one of her knights to take on him that explot. Preſently that clowniſh perſon vſtaring, deſired that aduenture: whereat the Queene much wondering, and the Lady much gainesaying, yet he earneſtly importuned his deſire. In the end the Lady told him that vnleſſe that armour which ſhe brought, would ſerue him (that is the armour of a Chriſtian man ſpecified by Saint Paul v. Ephes.) that he could not ſucceed in that enterpriſe, which being forthwith put vpon him with dewe furnitures thereunto, he ſeemed the goodlieſt man in al that company, and was well liked of the Lady. And eſteſoones taking on him knighthood, and mounting on that ſtraunge Courſer, he went forth with her on that aduenture: where beginneth the firſt booke, vz.

A gentle knight was pricking on the playne. &c.

The ſecond day ther came in a Palmer bearing an Infant with bloody hands, whoſe Parents he complained to haue bene ſlayn by an Enchauntereſſe called Acrasia: and therfore craued of the Faery Queene, to appoint him ſome knight, to perſorme that aduenture, which being aſſigned to Sir Guyon, he preſently went forth with that ſame Palmer: which is the beginning of the ſecond booke and the whole ſubiect thereof. The third day there came in, a Groome who complained before the Faery

Queene, that a vile Enchaunter called Busirane had in hand a most faire Lady called Amoretta, whom he kept in most grieuous torment, because she would not yield him the pleasure of her body. Whereupon Sir Scudamour the louer of that Lady presently tooke on him that aduenture. But being unable to performe it by reason of the hard Enchauntments, after long sorrow, in the end met with Britomartis, who succoured him, and reskewed his loue.

But by occasion hereof, many other aduentures are intermedled, but rather as Accidents, then intendments. As the loue of Britomart, the ouerthrow of Marinell, the misery of Florimell, the vertuousnes of Belphæbe, the lasciuiousnes of Hellenora, and many the like.

Thus much Sir, I haue briefly ouerronne to direct your vnderstanding to the wel-head of the History, that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handfull gripe al the discourse, which otherwise may happily seeme tedious and confused. So humbly crauing the continuance of your honorable fauour towards me, and th' eternall establishment of your happines, I humbly take leaue.

23. Ianuary. 1589.

Yours most humbly affectionate.

Ed. Spenser.

COMMENTARY

Guide references are to stanza and line.

It has been deemed unnecessary to furnish cross-references to the various interpretations of the allegory contained in the appendices.

Notes not otherwise assigned are by the Editor. Editorial comment upon notes is either included in square brackets or designated EDITOR.

In quotations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the translations of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and of Butcher and Lang have been followed.

Editions, books, and periodicals frequently cited will be referred to under the following abbreviations:

EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS

HUGHES.	Works of Spenser, ed. John Hughes. 1715.
JORTIN.	Remarks on Spenser's Poems [by John Jortin]. 1734.
WARTON.	Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, by Thomas Warton. 2nd ed., 1762. [1st ed., 1754.]
UPTON.	Spenser's Faerie Queene, ed. John Upton. 1758.
CHURCH.	The Faerie Queene, ed. Ralph Church. 1758.
TODD.	Works of Spenser, ed. H. J. Todd. 1805.
HUNT.	Imagination and Fancy, by Leigh Hunt. 1891. [1st ed., 1844.]
COLLIER.	Works of Spenser, ed. J. P. Collier. 1862.
KITCHIN.	Faery Queene, Book I, ed. G. W. Kitchin. 1895. [1st ed., 1867.]
PERCIVAL.	Faerie Queene, Book I, ed. H. M. Percival. 1905 [1st ed., 1893.]
WALTHER.	Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene, by Marie Walther. c. 1895.
SAWTELLE.	Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology, by A. E. Sawtelle. 1896.
HEISE.	Die Gleichnisse in Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene und ihre Vorbilder, by Wilhelm Heise. 1902.
RIEDNER.	Spensers Belesenheit. 1 Theil: Die Bibel und das klassische Altertum, by Wilhelm Riedner. 1908.
ROSENTHAL.	Spensers Verhaeltniss zu Chaucer, by Bruno Rosenthal 1911.
WINSTANLEY.	Faerie Queene, Book I, ed. Lilian Winstanley 1915.
CORY.	Spenser: A Critical Study, by H. E. Cory. 1917.
JACK.	Commentary on the Poetry of Chaucer and Spenser, by A. A. Jack. 1920.
CARPENTER.	Reference Guide to Spenser, by F. I. Carpenter. 1923.
LOTSPEICH.	Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser, by Henry G. Lotspeich. 1932.

For references to authors not in this list, consult the Bibliography.

PERIODICALS

Abbreviation	Title
<i>Engl. St.</i>	Englische Studien
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>NQ</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology

POEMS

<i>Aen.</i>	Aeneid
<i>F. Q.</i>	Faerie Queene
<i>Ger. Lib.</i>	Gerusalemme Liberata
<i>Il.</i>	Iliad
<i>Inf.</i>	Inferno
<i>Met.</i>	Metamorphoses
<i>Od.</i>	Odyssey
<i>Orl. Fur.</i>	Orlando Furioso
<i>Orl. Inn.</i>	Orlando Innamorato
<i>P. L.</i>	Paradise Lost
<i>P. R.</i>	Paradise Regained
<i>Par.</i>	Paradiso
<i>Purg.</i>	Purgatorio
<i>Sh. Cal.</i>	Shepherdes Calender
<i>Theb.</i>	Thebais

PROEM

i. UPTON. Spenser opens his poem, and addresses his reader, after the manner of Virgil; if those are Virgil's verses prefixed to the *Aeneid*. He seems to have thought them, if not genuine, yet deserving his imitation; and of the same opinion seems Milton, who thus begins his *Paradise Regained*. . . . Sandys, who translated the first book of Virgil, plainly imitates our poet:

Lo I, who whilom softly-warbling plaid
On oaten reeds—

✓ PERCIVAL. Imitated also by Browne in the opening of his *Brit. Pastorals*. Spenser, like Virgil, passed from pastoral to epic poetry.

CARPENTER (p. 247) cites a parody of these lines in *Pasquils Palinodia*, 1619:

Loe, I, the man whose Muse whilome did play
A horne-pipe both to Country and the City
And now againe enjoyn'd to sing or say,
And tung my crowde unto another ditty.
To comfort Moone-fac'd Cuckolds that were sad
My Muse before was all in hornes yclad;
But now she marcheth forth, and on her backe
She weares a Corslet of old Sherry Sacke.

[Quoted from Collier, *Bibliographical Account* 3. 156]

i. 1-2. Cf. *Sh. Cal.*, Dec. 115-6:

And I, that whilome wont to frame my pype,
Vnto the shifting of the shepherdes foote:

3-5. UPTON. Who enforst him? The Muse, whose sacred raptures and dictates he must necessarily follow *ἑθεος καὶ κατεχόμενος*, as Plato in *Io* expresses it? or his friend Sir Philip Sidney, whose request was a command and an *enforcement*? One of Sir Philip Sidney's learning and character could easily prevail on so free a genius as Spenser's, to try his talents in Epick poetry, and to celebrate either directly or in some covert manner, their renowned queen, and her no less renowned courtiers: and to this gentle enforcement allude the verses prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* by his friend W. L.:

So Spenser was by Sidney's speeches wonne
To blaze her fame—

Having thus changed his oaten pipe for the trumpet's sterner strain, he purposes to sing of "Knights and ladies gentle deeds." This is expressed after Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* 1. 1):

Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese, io canto.

ii. 1. PERCIVAL. The first instance of Spenser's lax use of classical mythology. The "virgin" is Clio, the muse of history, whose name stands first in the list of the Nine Muses given by Hesiod, *Theogony* 77. . . . In compliment to Queen Elizabeth, Spenser means to call it a history when he invokes Clio. He

calls her the "greater muse" in 7. 7. 1., although in Hesiod, *Theognis* 79, Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, whom Spenser should have invoked, is the "chief of them all." Clio is invoked by name in 3. 3. 4. to trace the descent of Elizabeth from Britomart; but when he proceeds to matters of Greek mythology Spenser changes his muse and exclaims "O Clio! lend Calliope thy quill": 7. 6. 37. [Cf. Appendix, "The Muse of the Faerie Queene."]

ii. 5. WARTON (1. 58). Tanaquill, or Gloriana, i. e. Elizabeth. See 2. 10. 76.

WINSTANLEY. "Caia Tanaquill" was really an Etruscan, the wife of Tarquin Priscus; she is cited both by Ascham and Vives as the type of a noble queen.

iii. SAWTELLE. Spenser is at variance with himself regarding the parentage of Cupid. In *Colin Clout* 801 he represents him as born of Venus, but without a father since Venus was of both sexes (a classical conception, for which see Servius, *Aen.* 2. 632). Compare also *F. Q.* 4. 10. 41. On the other hand, in *F. Q.* 1. Proem 3 Spenser declares Cupid to be the son of Jove and of Venus. This would make Jove both the father and grandfather of Cupid, as in Virgil's *Ciris* 134, a passage to be explained in the light of Euripides, *Hippolytus* 534.

LOTSPEICH. Spenser may be following Boccaccio (11. 5), who speaks of Amor, son of Jove and Venus.

iii. 5. JORTIN. Tibullus, addressing himself to Cupid, 2. 1. 81:

Sancte, veni dapibus festis; sed pone sagittas,
Et procul ardentem hinc procul abde faces.

Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 1:

Bellice, depositis clypeo paullisper et hasta,
Mars, ades; et nitidas casside solve comas

Claudian, *Praef. to Invective against Rufinus* 2:

Fertur et indomitus tandem post praelia Mavors
Lassa per Odrysias fundere membra nives;
Oblitusque sui, posita clementior hasta,
Pieriis aures pacificare modis.

PERCIVAL. Cupid is said to carry an "ebony" bow, to distinguish him from the other archer-god, Apollo "of the silver bow." The epithet "deadly" refers to the poisonous properties formerly ascribed to ebony.

A. S. COOK (*MLN* 22. 208). Probably recollected in Ben Jonson's *Hymn to Diana*: "Lay thy bow of pearl apart."

7. UPTON. So the Italians, "Marte," Mars the god of war, and so too our old poets: Fairfax, *Godfrey of Bulloigne* 2. 89:

Thou proud despiser of inconstant Marte.

Chaucer, *Knights Tale* 2023:

Nought was forgett the infortune of Mart.

And Lydgate, *Of the Trojan War*, book 2. [1246]:

For aye of Mart doubtous is the cure.

TODD. This formulary has been elegantly transplanted, by Spenser's poetical son, into his *Allegro*:

Haste thee, Nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful Jollity,
Quips, etc.

8. LOTSPEICH. Here and at *Mui*. 369-373 Spenser follows *Met.* 4. 176-189.

iv. 5. WINSTANLEY. Another piece of Platonic imagery: the sight of beauty exalts the soul and lends it wings so that the soul becomes raised to an altogether higher and nobler world (*Phaedrus*).

CANTO I

CORY (pp. 85-6). One feels the unfaltering conviction of the first book not only in the coherence of the main strands of allegory, but in the swiftness of its movement. We are given a brief but vivid picture of the hero, stately with his silver shield, on his great charger. We get but a glimpse of Una, whose radiant face we shall not see until the poet, with a master-stroke of dramatic fitness, allows her to be seen without her dark veil when alone and in anguish she rests from her wanderings under a paternal tree where her beauty makes "a sunshine in the shady place," and again when Sansloy (Lawlessness) tears off her veil and is stirred to wild lust by the loveliness of Truth. With the characters briefly outlined, Spenser pours out his adventures with extraordinary ease and copious directness. In a moment we are in the mazelike wood. In another moment the Red Cross Knight faces the monster Errour in her darksome cave. The description of the fight is given with a graphic freshness that often failed the poet later. The mingled fear and rancor of the monster and her desperate leap upon the knight's shield at the climax have uncanny reality. The loathsome details, enhanced by the fine simile of the Nile, are strangely, almost perversely touched by a sublimity that strongly appealed to Edmund Burke. In another moment the victor and his lady are out of the wood and meet the wizard Archimago who, in the guise of a hermit, leads them to a harborage which Spenser describes in an exquisite stanza with something like a child's ignorance or forgetfulness of evil, in subtle dramatic harmony here, with the psychological situation of his hero and heroine. Then comes the false dream in the form of Una, at Archimago's conjuration, to tempt the sleeping knight to sensual abandon. All these incidents, with copious but never tumultuous swiftness, in one little canto.

JACK (p. 181). The world-famous and school-famous opening, enticing with all the indefiniteness of romance . . . and rich with the contrasts—the knight and the lady, red, white and black—on which the whole book relies for its effects, is beyond critical appraisal. The knight of strait ways, journeying in a limitless forest, mazy with paths and shrouded with every tree, to meet his sudden test in Error's den, the first adventure being with a monster—something huge with

vague supernaturalism about it—all this, with its concluding in the trickling peace of Morpheus Cave, is forever unsurpassable, the whole atmosphere of Romance enchained with five hundred lines.

i-ii. The poet identifies this obvious armor in the *Letter of the Authors*, "the armour of a Christian man specified by St. Paul" (Ephesians 6, 11-7). Graund Amour in Hawes's *The Passetyme of Pleasure* and Youth in *The Exemple of Vertu* wear the same armour, and in each instance allusion is made to Ephesians. See Appendix, p. 146.

i. 1. UPTON. That expression "pricking on the plaine" means always riding in career by pricking or spurring the horse: but I must acknowledge this interpretation carries with it no small inaccuracies; for the lady, who attends upon a slow ass, "rides him fair beside" Shall we apologize for our poet as for painters, who usually draw their knights in full career, notwithstanding any subsequent improprieties? or shall we look for another explanation? shall we say that "pricking on the plaine" means no more than riding on the plain, without any reference to the manner, whether slow or fast? or rather shall we assign some other meaning to the passage, as it stands here? "Pricking" then may suggest the same idea in our knight's action as that of the horseman recorded by Varius in Macrobius (6. 2) where the verses are not altogether printed according to the following reading of them:

Quem non ille sinit lentae moderator habenae
Qua velit ire, sed angusto prius orbe coercens
Insultare docet campis, fingitque morando.

What adds some degree of plausibility to this notion is, that the knight is described curbing in his horse at the same time that he thus pricks along, to which curb the generous animal unwillingly submits,

His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
As much disdayning to the curbe to yield.

In this sense then (which more literally suits with the sober lady and her slow beast) "pricking on the plaine" means here the knight's spurring his horse to bring him to order, to teach him proudly to pace on the plain.

2. CHURCH. Hardyng, from Nennius, says in his *Chronicle*, printed in 1543, that when Joseph of Arimathea converted Arviragus, he

gave hym then a shield of silver white,
A crosse endlong and overthwart full perfecte:
These armes were used through all Britain
For a common signe eche manne to know his nacioun
From enemies; which now we call certain
Saint Georges armes.

3. UPTON. Those old dints have been made by the fiery darts of the wicked, and this panoply has been worn by every Christian man in every age. . . . These too were the arms which Michael wore when he routed the great dragon, that dragon figuratively which our knight is going to attack (Revelation 12. 9).

- i. 6. A. S. COOK (*MLN* 22. 208) cites *Aen.* 4. 135:

Stat sonipes, ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.

He discusses exhaustively the use of the word "chide."

ii. WALTHER. Cf. the description of Galahad's shield in *Morte d'Arthur* 624. 11: "Anon a monke ledde hym behynde an aluter where the shelde henge as whyte as ony snowe, but in the myddes was a reed crosse."

1. TODD. It may be curious to observe that in *Certayne Statutes and Ordenaunces of Warre, made by Kyng Henry the VIII* (R. Pynson, 1513) is the following order respecting the red cross: "For them that bere nat a bonde, or a crosse of Seynt George. Also that every man goynge in ostrynge or batayle, of what estate condycyon or nacyon he be, of ye kynges partie and hoste, except he be a busshop or offycer of armes, bere a crosse of seynt George, suffysaunt and large, upon the payne that if he be wounded or slayne in the defaute therof he that so woundeth or sleeth hym shall bere noo payne therfore. And if he for any cause passe the bondes of the felde that then he bere openly a crosse of seynt George with his capitaynes conysaunce, upon payne to be emprysoned and punysshed at the Kynges wyll."

4. CHURCH. The first and second editions give the line thus:

And dead as living ever him ador'd.

The editions of 1609, 1611, and of Hughes, include "as living" in a parenthesis; the edition of 1751, between two commas. Either stopping greatly alters the sense. Spenser, I think, would have pointed the line as we have given it [And dead, as living ever, him ador'd] He plainly alludes to Revelation 1. 18: "I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore."

TODD. I have admitted Mr. Church's judicious punctuation into the text. Upton, it should be observed, includes "as living" between two commas; Tonson's edition of 1758, in a parenthesis. Later editions follow Upton

EDITOR. Morris and Hales follow Upton; Percival follows Church; and Dodge, the original reading. The point cannot be settled authoritatively, but I strongly favor Upton's interpretation. The poet has focused attention upon the knight and is emphasizing his devotion; the subsequent history of the knight shows that, despite his mistakes, essentially he was ever loyal. Moreover the flow of the line favors a pause after "living," and this was recognized in the editions of 1609 and 1611. If Spenser had intended "ever" to modify "living" would he not have written "ever-living," which is less cacophonous than "living ever"?

5. PERCIVAL. The shield of St. George bears a "Cross Gules upon a field Argent," i. e. a red cross upon a silver shield. The origin of this is seen in *The Birth of St. George* (Percy's *Reliques* 3. 3):

And on his little body stamp
Three wondrous marks were seen.
A blood-red cross was on his arm;
A dragon on his breast;
A little garter all of gold
Was round his leg exprest.

iii. For analogues in the romances to the grand adventure of the Red Cross Knight, see Appendix: "Gareth and the Legend of the Fair Unknown," "Morte d'Arthur," "Perlesvaus and the History of the Holy Grail," and "The Passetyme of Pleasure."

iv. See Appendix, "The Character of Una."

1-4. WINSTANLEY (p. lxi). It is notable that when we see Una first her face is veiled even from her chosen knight (i. e. as Plato puts it, the truth is seen but dimly), Truth cannot be perceived in all her perfection by the man who is still unpurified.

E. P. WHIPPLE (*Atlantic Monthly* 21. 402). Hallam says that the image conjured up by the description of Una riding

Upon a lowly ass more white than snow,
But she much whiter,

is a hideous image; but it is evident he does not follow the thought of the poet, who, rapidly passing from snow as a material fact to snow as an emblem of innocence, intends to say that the white purity of Una's soul, shining in her face and transfiguring its expression, cannot be expressed by the purest material symbol. The image of a woman's face, ghastly and ghostly white, passed before Hallam's eye; we may be sure that no such uncomely image was in Spenser's mind.

9. J. B. FLETCHER (SP 14. 164). The *Faerie Queene* is packed with emblematic imagery. It is the least successfully managed. At the very outset we see the Lady Una leading a Lamb in leash. Illustrated, it would form an emblem of Innocence led by Truth. But, on the literal side, for Una to drag that poor Lamb along with her on her long quest would be an outrage.

v. 3. KITCHIN. An allusion to Isaiah 49. 23. Spenser's meaning is that Una, Truth, or the Reformed Church, derives her lineage from the Church Universal, not from the Papacy.

vi. 1-4. KITCHIN. The dwarfe is probably intended to represent common sense, or common prudence of humble life. "Such an one as might be attendant on Truth—cautious, nay timid, yet not afraid—feeble, but faithful, and in all his dangers devoted to his Lady and his Lord." (*Blackwood's Mag.*, Nov. 1834.)

7. JORTIN cites Lucretius 1. 251:

percreunt imbres, ubi eos pater Aether
In gremium matris Terrae praecepitavit.

and *Georgics* 2. 325:

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbris Aether
Conjugis in gremium laetae descendit.

RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 193). The metaphor is common in the Latin poets, e. g. *Pervigilium Veneris* 60:

In sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis.

vii. 6. WARTON (2. 121-2). It was an antient superstition, that stars had a malign influence on trees. Hence Milton in *Arcades*:

Under the shady roof
Of branching elm star-proof.

And in the same poem:

And heal the harme of thwarting thunder blue,
Or what the cross dire-looking planet smites.

Where "dire-looking" is from the astrological term, "malign aspect."

UPTON. Literally almost from Statius, *Theb.* 10. 85:

nulli penetrabilis astro
Lucus iners.

PERCIVAL. In the allegory, however, the influence meant is a benign one.

viii-ix. JORTIN. Ovid, *Met.* 10. 90-104:

Non Chaonis abfuit arbos,
Non nemus Heliadum, non frontibus esculus altis,
Non tiliae molles, nec fagus, et innuba laurus.
Et coryli fragiles, et fraxinus utilis hastis,
Enodisque abies, curvataque glandibus ilex,
Et platanus genialis, acerque coloribus impar,
Amnicolaeque simul salices, et aquatica lotos,
Perpetuoque virens buxus, tenuesque myricae,
Et bicolor myrtus, et baccis caerulea tinus:
Vos quoque flexipedes hederæ venistis, et una
Pampineæ vites, et amictæ vitibus ulmi:
Ornique, et piccæ, pomoque onerata rubenti
Arbutus, et lentæ, victoris præmia, palme:
Et succincta comas, hirsutaque vertice pinus;
Adfuit huic turbæ, metas imitata, cupressus.

Seneca, *Oedipus* 566-575:

Cupressus altis exserens silvis caput
Virente semper alligat trunco nemus;
Curvosque tendit quercus et putres situ
Annosa ramos: hujus abruptis latus
Edax vetustas: illa jam fessa cadens
Radice, fulta pendet abliena trabe.
Amara baccas laurus; et tiliæ leves;
Et Paphia myrtus; et per immensum mare
Motura remos alnus; et Phocho obvia
Enode Zephyris pinus opponens latus.

Lucan, *Pharsalia* 3. 440-443:

Procumbunt orni, nodosa inpellitur ilex,
Silvaque Dodones, et fluctibus aptior alnus,
Et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus:
Tunc primum posuere comas.

Statius, *Theb.* 6. 98-106:

cadit ardua fagus,
Chanionumque nemus, brumaque inlaesa cupressus:
Procumbunt piccæ, flammis alimenta supremis,

Ornique, iliceaeque trabes, metuendaque succo
 Taxus, et infandos belli potura cruores
 Fraxinus, atque situ non expugnabile robur.
 Hinc audax abies, et odoro vulnere pinus
 Scinditur, acclinant intonsa cacumina terrae
 Alnus amica fretis, nec inhospita vitibus ulmus.

Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae* 2. 107-111:

Apta fretis abies, bellis accommoda cornus,
 Quercus amica Jovi, tumulos tectura cupressus,
 Ilex plena favis, venturi praescia laurus:
 Fluctuat hic denso crispata cacumine buxus,
 Hic ederae serpunt, hic pampinus induit ulmos.

WARTON (l. 137-8). Spenser, in this before us, seems more immediately to have had his favorite Chaucer in his eye; he has, however, much improved upon the brevity and simplicity of our antient bard [*The Parlement of Foules* 176-182]:

The builder oake, and eek the hardie asshe,
 The pillar elme, the coffir unto caraine,
 The boxe pipe-tree, holme to whips lasshe,
 The sailing firre, the cipres death to plaine,
 The shooter ewe, the aspe for shaftes plaine,
 The olive of peace, and eke the dronken vine,
 The victor palme, the laurer to divine.

In Chaucer's *Complaint of the Blacke Knight* we meet with another description of trees, from which Spenser seems also to have collected and added one or two circumstances:

The mirre also that weepeth ever' of kinde;
 The cedris hie, as upright as a line.

Spenser, perhaps, in this minute and particular enumeration of various trees, has incurred less censure than some of the Roman authors mentioned above. In some of those, indeed, such a description will be found superfluous and impertinent; but, upon this occasion, it is highly consistent, and indeed expedient, that the poet should dwell, for some time, on the beauty of this grove, in describing its variety of trees, as that circumstance tends to draw the red-cross knight and his companions farther and farther into the shade, 'till at length they are imperceptibly invited to the cave of error, which stood in the thickest part of it. This description is so far from being puerile, or ill-placed, that it serves to improve and illustrate the allegory. But notwithstanding this may be affirmed in commendation of Spenser, I am apt to think, that the impropriety of introducing such a description, would not have appeared a sufficient reason to our poet for not admitting it.

HALLAM (*Literature of Europe* 2. 5. 58). A similar objection [neglect of reference to the truth of nature] lies to the stanza enumerating as many kinds of trees as the poet could call to mind. . . . Every one knows that a natural forest never contains such a variety of species; nor indeed could such a medley as Spenser, treading in the steps of Ovid, has brought together from all soils and climates, exist long if planted by the hand of man.

GILFILLAN (3. viii). We beg leave to prefer the poet's instinct to the dictates of his critics. Spenser knew very well that he was writing, not an inventory or catalogue, but describing a piece of dream scenery; writing, not as a wood-forester, but as a poet. In dreams no man is a pre-Raphaelite. He gets, indeed, the bare materials of his visions from nature, but he wields them at the will, or rather under the control, of his own imagination. The structures which arise before his view are not his altogether, nor nature's altogether, but created between them in the might of that peculiar inspiration which comes in sleep.

SKEAT (*Complete Works of Chaucer* 1. 511-2) on *Parlement of Foules* cites other tree passages from *Roman de la Rose* 1338-1368; Boccaccio, *Teseide* 11. 22-4; Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 3. 73; Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 179.

PERCIVAL. Hallam objected to this medley of trees from all soils and climates, as against what we see in nature; but what is a loss in this respect is a gain in the allegory, which wants to point out, through the medley, that the ways and means of error are manifold, confusing.

LANE COOPER (*The Classical Weekly* 22. 166). The editions of Ovid I have consulted do not suggest that there was a Greek original of his "tree-list," or even that we should compare his descriptions with those given by Theophrastus; yet here (as elsewhere) Ovid probably had a source, in the writings of the Alexandrian age, and ultimately, one might guess, in a comedy of the Middle period, unless the list goes back to prehistoric antiquity. Such lists, like the "points" of a horse, are very ancient. But we must not get out of our depth. Let me note the list of trees in the *Culex* 123-145, and that by Robert Chester in *Love's Martyr*, or *Rosalyn's Complaint*, 1601 (ed. A. B. Grosart, *New Shakespeare Society*, Series 8, Miscellanies, No. 2, 95-6). Chester has thirty-five items: oak, vine, rose-tree, pine, hawthorn, Christ's-thorn, rose-mary, tamarisk, willow, almond, holly, cork, gooseberry, olive, filbert, barberry, mastic, Judas-tree, ash, maple, sycamore, pomegranate, apricot, juniper, turpentine, quince, pear, medlar, fig, orange, lemon, nutmeg, plum, citron, myrtle.

No doubt there are a great many other instances of this Ovidian device. I will close with a fairly modern example from Cowper, *The Task* 1. 307-320.

ix. 3. TODD. This circumstance is the subject of several old English ballads. See Percy's *Reliques of Anc. Poetry* (vol. 1. B. 2. S. 8, and vol. 3. B. 1. S. 9). I will add a stanza from another, little known, which occurs in *The Muses Garden for Delights*, 1610. An aged lover addresses a "forsaken one":

Thy wearing willow doth imply,
That thou art happier far than I;
For once thou wert where thou wouldst be
Though now thou wear'st the willow tree.
O willow, willow, &c.

4. UPTON. Cf. *Georgics* 2. 448:

Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus.

6. UPTON. I shall offer the reader two interpretations of this verse: First, the myrrhe that affords its odorous gums, which surgeons use in dressing of wounds. The second, the myrrhe that distils a sweet gum from its wounded

bark; or, as Milton expresses it, "weeps odorous gums and balms." Thus Ovid, *Met.* 10. 500, who relates the fable of Myrrha and of her transformation,

Flet tamen, et tepidae manent ex arbore guttae.

Hence Chaucer, in the *Complaint of the Blacke Knight* 66,

So bitter teris wept nat, as I finde,
The woful Myrrhe through the barke and rinde.

And Fairfax, in his admirable version of Tasso 3. 76. though in this place he keeps not his eye strictly on his original,

The Myrrhe that her foule sin doth still deplore.

PERCIVAL. Cf. Matthew 27. 34; Mark 15. 23; Proverbs 7. 17; and Canticles, *passim*.

xi. 9. CHURCH. The spear was never used but on horseback, see 2. 3. 3; except in cases of necessity, as in 2. 8. 34 and 36.

xii. 3-5. UPTON. Cf. Horace (Book 2, Ode 1):

Periculosae plenum opus aleae
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Subpositos cineri doloso.

7-9. H. H. BIANCHARD (Dissert. in Harvard Library) suggests possible reminiscence of a passage in the *Orlando Innamorato* (3. 7. 10-16). Ruggiero, Gradasso and Brandimarte, together with Fiordelisa, enter the enchanted forest of the naiads, beneath the River of Laughter, a conventional list of trees is given, and Fiordelisa, in order to encourage her companions, makes a pronouncement somewhat like that of the Red Cross Knight:

Ma Fiordelisa, tra gli incanti adusa,
Non abbiate, dicea, di ciò paura;
A ogni periglio e loco, ove si vada,
Il brando e la virtù sa far la strada.

Smontate de gli arcioni e, con le spade
Tagliando i tronchi, fatevi sentiero;
E, se ben sorge alcuna novitate,
Non vi turbate punto nel pensiero;
Vince ogni cosa l'animositate,
Ma condurla con senno è di mestiero

UPTON. Cf. *Comus* [373-5].

xiii. 6-7. UPTON was the first to note that this monster is imitated from Hesiod's account of the monster Echidna, dwelling in a den, under a hollow rock far from both gods and men, *Theogony* 5. 301. He perceives a further, though more doubtful, indebtedness to Dante's description of Geryon, or Fraud (*Inf.* 17. 1-12).

TODD. Romance delights in the exhibition of these heterogeneous personages. Thus Melusine (*Histoire de Melusine*, Troyes, 1625) is painted: "Quand Raymondin eut veu Melusine qui estoit en la cuue jusques au nombril en

figure de femme et peignoit ses cheveux, et du nombril en bas en figure de la queue d'un serpent grosse comme une quaque à haranc & fort longue."

xiv. 5. LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy*, p. 114). Spenser is very fond of this effect, and has repeatedly painted it. I am not aware that anybody noticed it before him. It is evidently the original of the passage in Milton:

Where glowing embers through the room
Teach light to counterfeit a gloom.

Observe the pause at the words "looked in."

xiv. 7-xv. 4. UPTON. This our poet very finely takes from Revel. 9. 7, where the locusts are described with human faces, the hair of women, with tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails. The allegory will appear from the following passage, Prov. 23. 32: "It goeth down sweetly, but at the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

xv. 9. WARTON (2. 122). This circumstance is not purely the poet's invention. It is reported of adders by many naturalists.

TODD. The circumstance, as Mr. Warton observes, is not the poet's invention; it being reported of adders by many naturalists. The painting of Milton, I should add, is somewhat similar, where he describes the barking hell-hounds about the middle of Sin, as creeping, if aught disturbed their noise, into her womb, and kennelling there. The brood of sin are represented in an old publication, consisting of nine quarto plates without date, to each of which six verses are subjoined, as numerous little serpents creeping from the parent's belly; and the publication is entitled *The Ages of Sin, or Sinnes Birth and Growth*. . . . But Milton, as I have mentioned in a note on *P. L.* 2. 650, is indebted to P. Fletcher, rather than to Spenser.

xvii. 2. UPTON. The knight intercepts the retreat of Errour into her den. Our poet translates Homer, *Il.* 5. 297; 10. 485:

Ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπύρονσε, tanquam leo irruit.

TODD criticises Upton's note. The phrase is not perhaps uncommon in romance. Thus, in *Bevis of Hampton*:

When Bevis heard that treason,
Vp he leapt like a lyon.

6. UPTON. "Her speckled taile": So this monster is described by Dante (*Inf.* 17):

Lo dosso, e'l petto, et amendue le coste
Dipinte havea di nodi et di rotelle

The metaphor is plain, *spotted*, infamous, scandalous, etc.

Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas.

(Hor. 4. 5. 22.)

WINSTANLEY. Cf. Milton, *Nativity Hymn*:

And speckled Vanity
Will sicken soon and die,
And leprous Sin will melt from earthly mould.

xix. 3. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. 2 Peter 1. 5.

xx. JORTIN. Our Poet paints very strong here, as he does also in this book, 8. 47 and 48, where he describes Duessa. Longinus would have blam'd him for it.

UPTON. Our poet's allusion in this stanza is to Revelation 16. 13, where unclean spirits come out of the mouth of Errour and imposture. . . . "Her vomit full of books and papers was": meaning sophistical and polemical divinity; cabalistical and scholastical learning, etc. [See Warton's note to 4. 30.]

xxi. JORTIN. Again 3. 6. 8:

So after Nilus' inundation
Infinite shapes of creatures men do find,
Informed in the mud, on which the sun hath shin'd.

Ovid, *Met.* l. 422-433:

Sic ubi deseruit madidos septemfluvius agros
Nilus et antiquo sua flumina reddidit alveo,
Aetheroque recens exarsit sidere limus,
Plurima cultores versis animalia glaebis
Inveniunt, et in his quaedam modo coetpa sub ipsum
Nascendi spatium, quaedam imperfecta suisque
Trunca vident numeris, et eodem in corpore saepe
Altera pars vivit, rudis est pars altera tellus.
[Quippe ubi temperiem sumpsere umorque calorque,
Concipiunt, et ab his oriuntur cuncta duobus
Cumque sit ignis aquae pugnax, vapor umidus omnes
Res creat, et discors concordia fetibus apta est.]

Theophrastus, *Fragmentum* 174. 8: "It is said that in Egypt those enormous two-legged mice are produced, and that while they are also provided with front feet, they use them not for locomotion but as hands, in fact that they travel by leaping."

Plutarch, *Symposium* 2, question 3: "But even till this time the earth produces some perfect and organized animals, as mice in Egypt," etc.

Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 7. 16: "Perfecta autem in exordio fieri potuisse testimonio sunt nunc quoque non pauca animantia, quae de terra et imbre perfecta nascuntur: ut in Aegypto mures, et aliis in locis ranae, serpentesque," etc.

Meta, *Chorographia* 1. 2: "Nilus . . . adeo efficacibus aquis ad generandum, ut . . . glebis etiam infundat animas, ex ipsaque humo vitalia effingat," etc.

Aelianus, *De Animalium Natura* 6. 41.

Spenser rightly calls the Nile "Father." "Pater" is an appellation common to all rivers, but more particularly to the Nile, as Broukhusius has observed on Tibullus 1. 8. 23, and many more before him.

UPTON remarks that Spenser here plainly alludes to the etymology which the Greek scholiasts give to the Nile, and cites Eustathius, Nonnus, and Heliodorus to that effect. For Spenser's expression "gins to avale" he finds an antecedent in Dante, *Inf.* 31:

Vengon di là, ove'l Nilo s'avvalla.

As to the strange fertility of the soil, he observes that "Historians as well as poets relate, and both on equal credit, that after the inundation of the Nile, various kinds

of creatures are bred, by an equivocal generation, from the mud and heat of the sun."

C. W. LEMMI (*MLN* 41. 236-8). Heliodorus, in the ninth book of his *Ethiopics*, has the following passage:

The Egyptians deify the Nile, making him one of their principal gods, and equalling him to heaven; because they say that without clouds or rain he annually waters and fertilizes their fields. This is the opinion of the vulgar. They consider it a proof of his divinity that, the union of moist and dry being the principal cause of animal life, he supplies the former, the earth the latter quality (admitting the existence also of other elements).

This passage has been given as the source of the stanza. Were it so, we should have to consider Spenser's monster-spawning Nile-mud as chiefly the creation of his own fancy. Here is no clear assertion of spontaneous generation; nor is there any mention of the slime of the Nile.

In the thirteenth book of *Batman uppon Bartholome*, we find the following, quoted verbatim from Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae*:

Nilus was famous for the vertue of the water thereof which overflowing the country of Aegipt made ye ground wonderfull fertill many yeares after; so that without labouring ye earth brought forth abundance of sundry graines and plants delectable and profitable. Also beastes of sundry kindes without other forme of generation.

This, assuredly, is more to the purpose. But here again there is no mention of slime: it is the earth, not the "huge heapes of mudd he leaves," that we are told about. Besides, as we shall presently see, the passage in Diodorus Siculus is incomparably more striking and picturesque; and the scholarly poet was quite as likely to be familiar with the *Historical Library* as with *Batman* or *Cooper*.

Mela, in the ninth chapter of the first book of his *De Situ Orbis*, has a passage that certainly does not lack in vividness; indeed, it is probably derived from that in Diodorus. The passage runs as follows:

Overflowing in summer, it irrigates the soil, and nourishes it with waters so efficacious in generating that the river swarms with fish and produces huge beasts such as the hippopotamus and the crocodile. It infuses life into the fields also, and fashions living creatures out of the earth. That such is the case is evident; for where the flood lay and then withdrew one may behold in the soaked fields animals that, not yet perfect but rather in the act of receiving life, appear partly formed and partly still of earth.

Here indeed we have a striking resemblance, but we shall presently feel convinced, I think, that not Mela but his original was uppermost in Spenser's mind when the lines we are discussing were penned.

No one who reads the first book of the *Historical Library* is likely to forget it, for in it there occur descriptions of truly biblical power. In the seventh chapter, Diodorus, discussing the theories of the philosophers as to the origin of life upon earth, describes with graphic vividness what took place according to believers in spontaneous generation. He pictures the moist, soft land, newly withdrawn from the waters of the sea, swelling and as it were fermenting in the hot sunshine; till at length it breaks out into welts, and germinating in these, teems with multitudinous and varied life:

So the moisture of the earth was warmed into fruitfulness; and during the night the germs drew nourishment from the moist and fog in the air; and in the daytime they were brought to a solid consistency by the heat of the sun. At length, when the foetuses had reached maturity, the membranes inclosing them being now burnt up by the heat and broken, there came forth all kinds of animals.

The Egyptians, he tells us, attributed this awe-inspiring peculiarity of their native land to their river, permeated with the life-giving warmth of the sun:

And indeed, they say that in our own times also, all over the irrigated Egyptian fields, you may perceive in the late waters creatures that have sprung from them. When the river recedes, you may behold, wherever first the sun dries the slime, animals—some perfect, some half-formed and still attached to the earth of the clod—hardening into solid consistency.

Surely that "late waters," found in none of the other possible sources, is echoed in Spenser's "when his later spring gins to auale." Here, too, we have the slime, and "the mud on which the Sunne hath shynd"; here the clods which may well have suggested those "huge heapes of mudd" in Canto I. If I am right, Spenser substituted his "partly male and partly female" for the "some perfect, some half-formed" of our passage. I believe, too, that the substitution was suggested to him by Lucretius; and I am confirmed in this belief by the further persuasion that he intended to describe the "loathly frogs and toades" as hermaphrodites,—an epithet of cruel aptness when aimed, as it probably was here, at skirted priests. Our passage does not account for the last line of the stanza in Canto I; but in the same chapter Diodorus, referring to the Egyptian mice, says as follows: "While no such creatures are produced from the soil anywhere else, in Egypt alone, contrary to what usually happens, you behold little animals thus generated"

This statement, occurring as it does in the *Historical Library* alone, is, it seems to me, an added proof that Spenser had read the descriptions which I have been discussing.

W. P. CUMMINGS (*MLN* 45. 166-7). Mr. Lemmi's article on monster-spawning Nile-mud passages in the *Faerie Queene* attempts to show that their origin lay in Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library*. In his review of classical authors who had written on the subject he omits mention of Ovid. But Spenser follows passages in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* more closely than in Diodorus Siculus, Lucretius, or any of the other writers cited by Mr. Lemmi. There are three passages in Spenser which make use of the autochthonous and abiogenetic theory of the origin of life (only the first two are mentioned by Mr. Lemmi): *F. Q.* 1. 1. 21, 3. 6. 8. 3-9, and 7. 7. 18.

Three passages in Ovid develop the same idea. In *Met.* 1. 416-437, Ovid tells how the earth spontaneously generates the fertile seeds of life in the slime when the seven-mouthed Nile has receded from the drenched fields and returned to its former bed. The farmers, as they turn over the lumps of earth, find innumerable forms of life (cf. Spenser's "Infinite shapes of creatures," 3. 6. 8. 8), both the ancient shapes and creatures new and strange. *Met.* 15. 362-4 describes how, when dead bodies by lapse of time or by the liquefying power of heat have become thoroughly putrid, tiny animals are bred in them. And in *Met.* 15. 375-8, Ovid says that the slimy mud contains seeds that produce green frogs, without legs at first; but it soon gives them legs adapted to swimming.

The similarity of ideas in the passages of two authors needs but few comments. . . .

Mr. Lemmi says, "Surely that 'late waters,' found in none other of the possible sources, is echoed in Spenser's 'when his later spring gins to avale.'" Ovid's "diluvio . . . recenti" (1. 434) is not only a possible source, but also is closer to "later spring" (= flood) than Diodorus Siculus' ἐν τοῖς ὑψίμοις τῶν ἰδοάτων. Again, the slime, the "mud on which the sunne hath shynd," and the "huge heapes of mud," which are mentioned as showing the closeness of indebtedness to Diodorus Siculus, are found in Ovid.

The stanza in which are found the lines

Out of their decay and mortall crime
We daily see new creatures to arize. (7 7 18. 5-6)

refers, apparently, to the second passage quoted from Ovid. The idea of "new creatures" arising from the bodies of dead animals occurs in none of the passages cited by Mr. Lemmi or in other possible sources which I have examined; and, incidentally, it occurs in Mutabilitie's speech, which is permeated with Ovidian allusions before and after this stanza. This is irrefragable evidence that Spenser used Ovid for his ideas of abiogenesis, whatever other authors he also knew and used.

Great father he of generation
Is rightly cald, th'authour of life and light;
And his faire sister for creation
Minist'reth matter fit, which tempred right
With heat and humour, breeds the living wight. (3. 6. 9. 1-4)

point more certainly to *Met.* 1. 430-43, "For when moisture and heat (umor calorque) unite, life is conceived, and from these two sources all living things spring," than to the passage suggested in Aristotle's *Generation of Animals* (1. 2).

Finally, if a source for the "loathly frogs and toades" need be found, it is rather in a reference to the origin of frogs quoted in the last extract from Ovid than in Diodorus Siculus' account of mice appearing from the slime.

EDITOR. My colleague, Mr. J. D. Giuntori, has called to my attention the following passage from Giulio Landi, *La Vita di Cleopatra* (Venice, 1551) 4, recto and verso:

Molti altri Laghi, & Paduli fa il Nilo, per la sue inondationi, con le quali la natura ha supplito à la secchezza di quella Regione, doue non pioue mai, ò di raro; & nondimeno, per il lauorio de la terra, di pioggia gli Egitti non hano bisogno; perciò che il Nilo, ogni anno da mezzo Maggio, infin à mezzo Agosto cresce tanto, che fuori del suo letto uscendo, d' ogni banda la terra per due buone giornate bagna, et ingrassa, di così fatta maniera, che de la acqua piouana, & di letame lo Egitto non ha mestiero. . . . sopra essi anchora còduce un' fango tato grasso, & atto à la procreatione, che ritornato il fiume, nel suo solito & còsucto corso, ueggònsi in quella morbida, et facile materia per la calda uirtu del Sole animali di uarie sorti, senza altro seme generati; ma nò anchora à l'intiera perfettione, et uera sua forma ridotti.

xxiii. UPTON. Vida in his art of poetry (2. 282) allows you to take your images from small and little things; he has no quarrel with you for comparing your heros to ants and bees; but gnattes or flies offend him mightily. The truth is that both Vida and Scaliger wrongly thought to raise Virgil on the ruins of

Homer. I think a fly or a gnatt is as good in comparison or illustration as an ant: out poet thinks so, I am certain, and his simile here is very picturesque. Compare this with that below in 2. 9. 16; 6. 1. 24; 6. 11. 48. See likewise Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 14, 109. These similes are after the cast of Homer: *Il.* 2, 469; 16. 641; 17. 570. . . . These images from common life give variety to a poem, and a kind of relief to the reader, who is called off from the terrible and more glaring images.

EDITOR. It is to be noted that Spenser works out the details of his figure quite independently of his predecessors.

WINSTANLEY. This stanza forms one of the most realistic images in Spenser; no feature in Irish life seems to have impressed him more than the clouds of gnats which arose in the bogs of that country, and especially in the great Bog of Allen. There are many references to them in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

MARGARET E. NICOLSON (*SP* 21. 391). With such subtle art are passages like this woven into the poem that they are not always easy to distinguish from conventional description of rural scenes. This, however, seems to owe a large debt to Spenser's direct observation.

xxvi. 6. UPTON. These nurslings of Errour are a type of Judas, Acts 1. 18: "He burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."

xxvii 3. RIEDNER. Cf. Statius, *Silvae* 3. 4. 63: "O sidere dextro edite."

xxix. WARTON (1. 198-9) first noted the similarity of this passage to that in the *Orlando Furioso* (2. 12-3) where Angelica, fleeing from the warring Sacripante and Rinaldo, meets a hermit of like appearance and character. As Archimago, using his magic books, summoned evil spirits to deceive the Red Cross Knight, so this hermit, armed with a like book, conjured spirits to deceive Angelica, Sacripante, and Rinaldo.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199) further suggests that "perhaps more striking reference would be to Tasso's *Rinaldo* 1. 31, where Malagigi appears as a venerable old man."

H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 199) observes that whereas Ariosto, in common with Spenser mentions the hermit's beard and his seeming piety, Tasso, like Spenser, emphasizes the hermit's age and his downcast gaze, and pictures him as traveling on foot.

EDITOR. While Spenser may have had these passages in mind, one must not forget that the aged sire is a commonplace of the romances.

xxx. 1. TODD observes that "louting low" seems to have been a proverbial expression, frequently used in the sense of "servilely bowing" in Chaucer, Skelton and Spenser, cites the gloss to Gawain Douglas' *Virgil* and quotes the following from the tale of Sir Cauline in Percy's *Reliques*:

Sir, quoth the dwarffe, and louted lowe,
Behold that hend Soldain.

He notes that Milton has transferred the hypocritical salutation of Archimago to Satan, *P. L.* 3. 736: "Bowling low" to Uriel whom he had deceived. Again, *P. R.* 4. 497:

He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray dissimulation, etc.

4. PERCIVAL. The knight taking Archimago to be a pilgrim asks him the question usually asked in those days of pilgrims, who may be said to have served the purpose of our modern foreign news agencies. See the description of the Palmer in *Piers Plouman* 5. 423 ff., and the Palmer's account of his travels in Heywood's *Four P's*.

xxxiii. 3. UPTON cites similar expressions in other tongues: French, "La nuit donne conseil"; Italian, "La notte e madre di pensieri"; Greek, 'Εν νυκτι βούλη.

xxxiv. LEIGH HUNT (p. 71). The modulation of this charming stanza is exquisite. . . . Mark the variety of the pauses, of the accentuation of the syllables, and of the intonation of the vowels; all closing in that exquisite last line, as soft and continuous as the water it describes. The repetition of the words "little" and "holy" add to the sacred snugness of the abode. We are to fancy the little tenement on the skirts of a forest, that is to say, within, but not deeply within, the trees; the chapel is near it, but not close to it, more embowered; and the rivulet may be supposed to circuit both chapel and hermitage, running partly under the trees between mossy and flowery banks, for hermits were great cullers of simples; and though Archimago was a false hermit, we are to suppose him living in a true hermitage. It is one of those pictures which remain for ever in the memory; and the succeeding stanza is worthy of it.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199) notes a faint similarity to *Orl. Fur.* 41. 57.

9. JORTIN observes that "sacri fontes" occur frequently in ancient poets and that heads of rivers and fountains had temples and altars erected to them, and other divine honors paid them.

xxxv. 1. 2. LEIGH HUNT (p. 72). Not literally the "house," but the apartment as a specimen of the house; for we see by what follows that the hermitage must have contained at least four rooms; one in which the knight and the lady were introduced, two more for their bed-chambers, and a fourth for the magician's study.

"Entertainment" is here used in the restricted sense of treatment as regards food and accommodation; according to the old inscription over inn-doors — "Entertainment for man and horse."

4. LEIGH HUNT (p. 72). This is one of Spenser's many noble sentiments expressed in as noble single lines, as if made to be recorded in the copy-books of full grown memories.

7. UPTON remarks that "file his tongue" is a Gallicism, "avoir la langue bien aflê," and cites instances of its use from Gower and Chaucer.

xxxvi. 1. UPTON. Morpheus, according to the more modern poets, is the god of sleep, and so characterized in Chaucer, whom our poet plainly had before him, as well as Ovid, when he wrote that beautiful description of Morpheus' house, which we shall presently see. Notwithstanding Spenser is so fettered with rhyme, his verses are wonderfully picturesque, both the images and the expression corresponding each to the other. Milton seems to have imitated this passage in *P. L.* (4. 614):

And the timely dew of sleep
Now falling with soft slumbrous weight, inclines
Our eyelids.

In *Il Penseroso* he says "the dewy-feathered sleep." This messenger of Morpheus pours his slumberous dew on their eye-lids. "Sic a pictoribus Somnus similatur ut liquidum somnium ex cornu super dormientes videatur effundere," says the Scholium on Statius, *Theb.* 6. 27. Cf. *Theb.* 2. 144. Morpheus may here be supposed pouring his slumberous dew either from his horn, which he usually carried with him, or to sprinkle it from off a bough, which he usually bore dipt in the oblivious Lethe (cf. *Aen.* 5. 854), or from his dewy-feathered wings he might scatter his sweet slumbering dew.

LOTSPEICH adds *Theb.* 5. 199; 10. 111.

xxxvii. 2. LEIGH HUNT (p. 73) "Let none them read." As if we could! And yet while we smile at the impossibility, we delight in this solemn injunction of the Poet's, so child-like, and full of the imaginative sense of the truth of what he is saying.

7. PERCIVAL. "A bold bad man." What strong feeling must have prompted Shakespeare to transfer this epithet from Archimago to Cardinal Wolsey! See *Henry VIII* 2. 2. 44.

EDITOR The phrase is found only once in Shakespeare's plays, and there is strong probability that the scene in which it occurs was not from Shakespeare's pen. E. H. C. Oliphant (*The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Yale U. Press, 1927, p. 313) assigns *Henry VIII* 2. 2. 44 to Fletcher and Massinger and cites (pp 305-314) numerous authorities who deny the scene to Shakespeare. Maurice Chelli (*Etude sur la collaboration de Massinger avec Fletcher et son groupe*, Paris, 1926, p. 69) gives the scene to Fletcher, and E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare* 1. 496) sees "no reason to dissent." The phrase, then, may safely be regarded as un-Shakespearian. It seems, in fact, to have become a commonplace after the publication of the *Faerie Queene*. C. K. Pooler (*King Henry VIII*, Arden Shakespeare edition, 1915) cites its use by Beaumont and Fletcher in *Loyal Subject* 4. 5. 91 (this play, now attributed solely to Fletcher, was licensed by Sir George Buc on November 16, 1618), and by Massinger in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* 4. 1. 160 (probably produced about December, 1625). Since in *The Loyal Subject* and *A New Way* the expression was presumably used merely because of its alliterative force, it may well be questioned whether the author of *Henry VIII* 2. 2. 44 was deliberately echoing the *Faerie Queene*. Certainly the facts make it highly improbable that, on the basis of *Henry VIII* 2. 2. 44, the Jacobeans identified Spenser's Archimago with Wolsey - Note based on information supplied by J. G. McManaway

8-9. JORTIN. They give the name of Daemogorgon to that terrible nameless deity of whom Lucan and Statius speak, when they introduce Magicians threatening the Infernal Gods. Statius, *Theb.* 4. 514-6:

Scimus enim et quicquid dici, noscique timetis,
Et turbare Hecaten, ni te, Thymbraee, vererer,
Et triplicis mundi summum quem scire nefastum

Lucan, *Pharsalia* 6. 744-9:

Paretis? an ille
Compellendus erit, quo nunquam terra vocato
Non concussa tremit; qui Gorgona cernit apertam,
Verberibusque suis trepidam castigat Erinny;
Indespecta tenet vobis qui Tartara; cujus
Vos estis superi; Stygias qui pejerat undas.

Demogorgon is a name which perhaps was unknown in the time of Lucan and Statius. However, it is to be found in Lactantius the scholiast of Statius on *Theb.* 4. 516: "Dicit deum Demogorgona summum." It is also to be found in Hyginus, page 11: "Ex Demogorgone et Terra, Python, draco divinus," if the place be not corrupted. See Munker.

UPTON. Great Gorgon, or, as Spenser calls him (1. 5. 22; 4. 2. 47) Demogorgon, is the prince and head of all the gentile deities, according to Boccace. This tremendous deity is mentioned in Boyardo (*Orl. Inn.* 2. 13):

Io voglio che me giuri
Per lo Demogorgone—
Sopra ogni fata è quel Demogorgone.

If the reader will turn to Boccace, he will find that Demogorgon stands there the first and father of the gods; he will see too that Boccace took the name and hint from Lactantius, a scholiast on Statius, who does not name this "terribilis deus," as Boccace calls him, this dreaded name, "quem scire nefastum," at the mentioning of which name "Cocytus quakes and Styx is put to flight." . . . Lucan's verses (*Pharsalia* 6. 744-6) perhaps gave the hint [quoted]. So that Demogorgon is the Demon, "qui Gorgona cernit apertam," or the Demon of the Gorgons. Tiresias likewise in Statius (*Theb.* 4. 514-18) conceals, but threatens this dreaded, this inutterable name [quoted]. . . .

The inchanter Ismeno in Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* 12. 10) threatens the spirits with the dreaded name of Demogorgon. The whole passage of Tasso is an imitation of Lucan and Statius:

E sò con lingua anch' io di sangue lorda
Quel nome proferir grande e temuto;
A cui nè Dite mai ritrorsa, ò sorda,
Nè trascurato in ubbidir fu Pluto.

LOTSFICH. The history of this divinity prior to Spenser can only be indicated. The starting-point is Plato's *Δημιουργός* (*Rep.* 530A, *Timaeus* 40C). Lactantius' note on this line [*Theb.* 4. 516] is crucial: "Dicit autem deum *δημιουργόν*" (so Teubner text). On the name in question, two MSS here read "demoirgon"; two others read "demogorgon." It is the latter form with which the poets have conjured. From a MS variant it becomes in Boccaccio (1. 1) the name of the primal deity. He is "the greatest majesty of shadows," the grandfather of all the gods and heroes; he lives in the bowels of the earth, surrounded by cloud and vapor (cf. 4. 2. 47). He is the creator of all things. Caves are associated with him "apud rusticos," and people are afraid to utter his name. Citing Lucan 6. 744, Boccaccio identifies him with the "Gorgon" there invoked (cf. 1. 1. 37). Boccaccio's etymology of the name relates it to *δαίμων* (*daemon*) and

γεωργός: he is the daemon of the earth. Spenser's conception of Daemogorgon is essentially the same as Boccaccio's. In addition, he shows more specific indebtedness in suggesting, by spelling, Boccaccio's etymology of the name, and in the identification made by both of Daemogorgon with Lucan's Gorgon.

xxxviii. 2. TODD. So, in the old French Morality, entitled *The Assumption*, 1527:

Ung grand tas de dyables plus drus
Que mouchérons en l'air volans.

Fairfax (13. 11) adopts the phrase of Spenser:

Legions of devils by thousands thither come.

See also Milton's *Comus* 5. 604, *P. R.* 4. 629.

LEIGH HUNT (p. 74). Flies are old embodiments of evil spirits;—Anacreon forbids us to call them incarnations, in reminding us that insects are fleshless and bloodless, ἀναιμόσαρα. Beelzebub signifies the Lord of Flies.

xxxix-xli. JORTIN. This description is very elegant, as Mr. Hughes has observed. We may compare it with Ovid, *Met.* 11. 592 ff. and Statius, *Theb.* 10. 84 ff. Ovid, whom Spenser imitates:

Est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu,
Mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni:
Quo numquam radiis oriens, mediusve, cadensve
Phoebus adire potest. Nebulae caligine mixtae
Exhalantur humo, dubiaeque crepuscula lucis.
Non vigil ales ibi cristati cantibus oris
Evocat Auroram . . .
Non fera, non pecudes, non moti flamine rami,
Humanaeve sonum reddunt convicia linguae.
Muta quies habitat. Saxo tamen exit ab imo
Rivus aquae Lethes: per quem cum murmure labens
Invitat somnos crepitantibus unda lapillis, etc.

Statius:

Stat super occiduae nebulosa cubilia Noctis
Aethiopasque alios, nulli penetrabilis astro
Lucus iners, subterque cavis grave rupibus antrum
It vacuum in montem, qua desidis atria Somni
Securumque larem segnis Natura locavit. . . .
Otia vestibulo, pressisque Silentia pennis
Muta sedent, abiguntque truces a culmine ventos,
Et ramos errare vetant, et murmura demunt
Alitibus. Non hic pelagi, licet omnia clament
Litora, non illic coeli fragor. Ipse profundis
Vallibus effugiens speluncae proximus amnis
Saxa inter, scopulosque tacet. etc.

Statius admits of no kind of noise; Ovid of none but that which a murmuring stream makes. Spenser has very justly introduced the "trickling stream," "ever-drizzling rain," and "murmuring wind." . . . His "murmuring wind, much like the sound of swarming bees," seems to be from Virgil, *Eclogues* 1. 54-6:

Hinc tibi, quae semper vicino ab limite sepes,
 Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti,
 Saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro.

We may observe that Spenser makes Morpheus the God of Sleep, whereas in Ovid, Morpheus is one of the Somnia, one of the children of Somnus: but he thought, I suppose, that Morpheus was a name that would make a better figure in English poetry than Sleep, or Somnus, or Hypnus, or Onirus.

UPTON. This infernal imp arrives at the house of Morpheus. Now here Spenser acts as a scholar and a poet should act, which is to see what others have said on the same subject, and then to imitate what best suits his subject. When Juno wanted to lull the thunderer to repose, and to withdraw him from assisting the Trojans, she is thus described (*Il.* 14. 264-7):

She speeds to Lemnos o'er the rowling deep
 And seeks the cave of Death's half-brother Sleep.
 Sweet pleasing Sleep (Saturnia thus began)
 Who spreadst thy empire o'er each God and man.

As Spenser had no intent to characterize the Lemnians as sluggards, he places the house of Morpheus amid the bowels of the earth. In the *Odyssey* Homer places the region of dreams at the ends of the earth, among the Cimmerians (11. 13-18):

When lo! we reach'd old ocean's utmost bounds—
 There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
 The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
 The Sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
 When radiant he advances, or retreats.

Ovid has translated this passage of Homer in *Met.* 11. 592, and so has Valerius Flaccus 3. 398, and Statius, *Theb.* 10. 84. And likewise Ariosto 14. 102. . . . Let me add the dream of Chaucer [*Book of the Duchesse* 136. ff. and *House of Fame* 1. 69 ff.].

A. S. COOK (*MLN* 5. 9-21) gives in full an English version of the passages hitherto noted and adds a similar descriptive episode from Poliziano (*La Giostra* 2. 22-25), tracing the *House of Sleep* tradition in reverse order from Spenser to Homer. The article is too long for quotation, but is readily available to the student.

EDITOR. Spenser was doubtless familiar with the descriptions in Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Chaucer, and Ariosto, and may have been familiar with *La Giostra*. With characteristic imaginative independence, however, he moulds the story afresh in accordance with the distinguishing qualities of his own genius, compressing or adding details at will. Thus his description of the location is easily the most colorful and picturesque. The double gates are suggested by Homer and Virgil, who explain the office of each. For the gate of horn Spenser has substituted the gate with silver overcast, and he has added the felicitous detail of the guardian dogs. He saw fit to disregard the allegorical significance of the gates, possibly for the reason suggested by Upton, and to employ them purely for pictorial and decorative effect. The murmuring stream is found with little variation in Ovid, Statius, and Chaucer, but the soothing sound of the rain and the simile of the bees are Spenser's own additions. For Statius' allegorical group, Quiet,

Oblivion, Ease, and Silence, mute warders of the gates, and Ariosto's grotesque group, Ease and Sloth, corpulent and gross, seated on either side of Sleep, Oblivion chasing every comer away from the gate, and Silence scouting about in felt shoes, Spenser merely gives as an equivalent:

but carelesse Quiet lyes
Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enemies.

At first glance a lost opportunity for a poet sensitive to the picturesque, but Ariosto's grotesques would have been out of harmony with the mood of Spenser's passage

xxxix. 2. LEIGH HUNT (pp. 74-5). How complete a sense of the ocean under one of its aspects! Spenser had often been at sea, and his pictures of it, or in connection with it, are frequent and fine accordingly, superior perhaps to those of any other English poet, Milton certainly, except in that one famous imaginative passage in which he describes a fleet at a distance as seeming to "hang in the clouds" And Shakespeare throws himself wonderfully into a storm at sea, as if he had been in the thick of it; though it is not known that he ever quitted the land. But nobody talks so much about the sea, or its inhabitants, or its voyagers, as Spenser. He was well acquainted with the Irish Channel. Coleridge observes (*ut sup.*), that "one of Spenser's arts is that of alliteration, which he uses with great effect in doubling the impression of an image." The verse above noticed is a beautiful example.

3. LEIGH HUNT (pp. 75-6). Spenser's earth is not the Homeric earth, a circular flat, or disc, studded with mountains, and encompassed with the "ocean stream." Neither is it in all cases a globe. We must take his cosmography as we find it, and as he wants it; that is to say, poetically, and according to the feeling required by the matter in hand. In the present instance, we are to suppose a precipitous country striking gloomily and far downwards to a cavernous sea-shore, in which the bed of Morpheus is placed, the ends of its curtains dipping and fluctuating in the water, which reaches it from underground. The door is towards a flat on the land-side, with dogs lying "far before it"; and the moonbeams reach it, though the sun never does. The passage is imitated from Ovid [*Met.* 2. 592], but with wonderful concentration, and superior *home* appeal to the imagination. Ovid will have no dogs, nor any sound at all but that of Lethe rippling over its pebbles. Spenser has dogs, but afar off, and a lulling sound overhead of wind and rain. These are the sounds that men delight to hear in the intervals of their own sleep.

xl. 1-3. JORTIN. One is of horn, and the other of ivory, say Homer (*Od.* 19. 563) and Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 893).

1-3. UPTON. "Hear my dream," says Socrates in Plato's *Charmides*, "whether it comes from the gate of horn, or from the gate of ivory." The poets suppose two gates of Sleep, the one of horn, from which true dreams proceed, the other of ivory, which sends forth false dreams (*Od.* 19. 562; *Aen.* 6. 894). But Spenser very judiciously varies from these poets, for he supposes the wicked Archimago not to have access to truth in any shape, much less to those dreams which may be said to come from the throne of Jupiter, but to those only which fill

the imagination with vain and distracting images. The gates of horn may be imagined to send forth true dreams, from its transparency and simplicity; the gates of ivory, silver, etc. from its gaudy appearance, to send fallacious dreams.

xli. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 166). Often, indeed, the auditory image is reinforced by onomatopoeia.

1-5. UPTON. Thus Chaucer (*Book of the Duchesse* 160-2) expresses himself in his description of the house of Morpheus, "the god of slepe," as he names him:

Save that there werein a fewewelless
Came running fro the clyffes adowne
That made a dedly slepinge sowne.

Observe here "sowne," which is Spenser's word, though altered in some editions. Ital. "suono," Lat. "sonus."

8. UPTON. "Quiet" as a person, and thus it should have been printed in Ovid, *Met.* 11. 602: *Muta Quies habitat*. Spenser's epithet is much prettier. Thus Statius in the same description, *Theb.* 10. 89:

Limen opaca Quies, et pigra Oblivia servant.

"Secura quies" is Virgil's epithet. Quies was worshipped as a goddess and had her temple near Rome. Ariosto has placed in his Casa del Sonno, described in canto 14, the imaginary beings, Otio, Pigritia, Oblio, Silentio.

TODD cites *Il Penseroso* 45.

xlii. JORTIN quotes Ovid, *Met.* 11. 617-621, and Statius, *Theb.* 10. 121-8.

7. DODGE. It was believed that what made old folk sleep lightly and little was deficiency of moisture in the brain. That is the reason given by Boccaccio in his *Ameto* for the wakefulness of the old husband of Agapas. Any condition of light, troubled sleep, disturbed by dreams, seems to have been ascribed to deficiency of moisture.

xlili. 2-3. SAWTELLE. Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 247) declares that the power of Hecate extends over both heaven and hell.

LOTSPEICH. *Natalis Comes* (3. 15) describes her as the daughter of Night, by some identified with Proserpina with whom she shares many characteristics and powers. Among other things, she is patron of magic and the black arts of potions and poisons. Also, she is goddess of dreams, "phantasmata . . . quae solebant vocare Hecataea, eaque in varias formas se convertabant."

xliv. 2. UPTON. A dream that would occasion diversity and distraction, or from the Italian "sogno diverso," a frightful, hideous dream:

Cerbero fiera crudele e diversa (*Inf.* 6).
Comincia un grido orribile e diverso (*Orl. Inn.* 1. 4 66).
Stava quel mostro crudele e diverso (*Ibid.* 1. 6. 74).

xlv. See note to 2. 3.

3-5. WARTON (2. 123-4). Thus a false Florimel is made of snow, animated with a spright (3. 8. 5). Pope observes that our author drew the idea of his false Florimel, from that passage in the *Iliad*, where Apollo raises a phantom in the shape

of Aeneas (*Il.* 5), and from the fictitious Turnus of Virgil (*Aen.* 10. 637). But he probably borrowed it more immediately from romance, in which magicians are frequently feigned to dress up some wicked spirit with a counterfeit similitude, to facilitate their purposes of deception. Thus, in the *Seven Champions* (2. 8), "The magician caused by his art, a spirit in the likeness of a lady, of a marvellous and fair beauty, to look through an iron grate, who seemed to lean her faire face upon her white hand very pensively, and distilled from her crystal eyes great abundance of tears, etc."

This is a capital machine of romance, and has accordingly been often applied by Cervantes, with infinite humour. The firm belief, that his inveterate persecutor the magician, changed the appearance of every object of his adventures, is the ground-work of all Don Quixote's absurdities. Even Sancho detects this foible of his deluded master, and palms an awkward country wench upon him for his angelic Dulcinea. It is remarkable, there is scarce a humorous circumstance in that inimitable piece of burlesque, but what is founded on this notion.

UPTON adds *Il.* 5. 449-450, and *Ger. Lib.* 7. 99-100.

9. WARTON (2. 124). Our author's residence in Ireland furnished him with the name of *Una* or Oonah. Lloyd (*Archæol.*) observes that it is there a common name of a woman. Spenser might at the same time intend to denote, by *Una*, singular and unparalleled excellence.

HENLEY (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 127). Dr. Grosart is convinced that Spenser got the name *Una* in Ireland. Perhaps he did. He may have heard during that first visit, of the *Una* who was queen of the fairies of Ormond, and the double meaning would have appealed to that love of the covert allusion that characterized the Elizabethans.

C. B. MILLICAN (*Spenser and the Table Round*, p. 83). It is of interest that [Richard] Harvey (in *Philadelphus, or a Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History*, 1593, p. 32) compliments Elizabeth by alluding to *The Faerie Queene*:

Yet infinite be that time, which is predestinated for the name of *Brute* and his *Brutans*, cuerlasting be that honor which is due to the branches of such a Tree as groweth without withering, is strong without decay, and may best serue euen for the *Phenix* of all men, and *Vna* of all the women in the earth.

xlvi. 3. UPTON cites *Il.* 2. 20.

6. TODD. "Bathed in wanton blis." This was a common phrase in poetry both before and after the time of Spenser, as I have shown in a note on Milton's *Comus*, 5. 812. Perhaps Spenser here remembered the precise expression, which he uses, in *The Hist. of Promos and Cassandra*, 1578 (Part 1, 1. 2):

The rushing youthes that bathe in wanton blisse.

xlvi. 8. This Hymenæal salutation was probably suggested by the *Īo Hymen Hymenoe* of Catullus's *Epithalamium* (41). Cf. Sawtelle, p. 67; also Spenser's *Epithalamion* 140.

9. Cf. the note on *Flora* by E. K. in the gloss of the *March Eclogue*.

liv. 1. UPTON. Cf. 1 Samuel 3. 19: "And Samuel grew, and the Lord was with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground."

CANTO II

CORY (pp. 86-7). The second canto is equally swift and equally coherent. We pass from the false hermitage to the wonderful cave of Morpheus and back again. We fly from Una with the Red Cross Knight half believing with him that we have seen the lady in the embrace of a wanton squire, despite the poet's assurance that we are gazing at the creatures of the enchanter. We are swept on to the sudden duel of the Red Cross Knight and Sansfoy (Faithlessness); the winning of the fair witch Duessa. We are startled by the tree that bleeds and by the story that it is Fradubio (Doubt), enchanted by that same treacherous witch. We get a vague, sinister, and horrible glimpse of Duessa in her own true guise, a little naked hag with her deformities half hidden in the water. And if we remember our Virgil and our Ariosto we feel that these incidents are none the less Spenser's, from whom they flow with such marvelous swiftness and richer appropriateness. Here, truly, one feels the intoxication and the truth of Taine's transport.

A character appears, . . . then an action, then a landscape, then a succession of actions, characters, landscapes, producing, completing, arranging themselves by instinctive development, as when in a dream we behold a train of figures which, without any outward compulsion, display and group themselves before our eyes. This fount of living and changing forms is inexhaustible in Spenser; he is always imaging; it is his specialty. He has but to close his eyes, and apparitions arise; they abound in him, crowd, overflow; in vain he pours them forth; they continually float up, more copious and more dense. Many times, following the inexhaustible stream, I have thought of the vapors which rise incessantly from the sea, ascend, sparkle, commingle their golden and snowy scrolls, while underneath them new mists arise, and others again beneath, and the splendid procession never grows dim or ceases.

1. JACK (pp. 182-3). We may take occasion to notice in this first book Spenser's constant habit of beginning each new canto with a general reflection, statement, or exclamation. This canto opens with a verse describing scenery; at the beginning of the next we are told that Beauty in distress moves compassion. We start Canto 4 with an admonition to youthful chivalry to beware of fraud, in the opening of Canto 5 there is the noble statement about unresting energy of the noble heart; it being evidently the poet's original purpose to mark the beginning of each new canto, and by the momentary break in the sense to separate it from the last. [See note to 3. 1.]

i. 1-2. TODD. The "northerne wagoner" is Boötes, one of the constellations; his "sevenfold teme" are the seven stars in the tail and hinder part of the Greater Bear, and vulgarly called "Charles's wain"; and the "stedfast starre" is the Pole-star.—Note based on CHURCH.

i. 1-4. LOWELL (*Prose Works* 4. 331). The generous indefiniteness, which treats an hour more or less as of no account, is in keeping with that sense of endless leisures which it is one chief merit of the poem to suggest.

iii. WARTON (1. 199). This illusion . . . seems to be imitated from the

deceptions carried on in the enchanted castle of Atlanta (*Orl. Fur.* 12), where many of the guests are imposed upon by false representations of the persons of their friends or mistresses; and more particularly from that passage where Orlando, after having been deluded with the appearance of a counterfeit Angelica, is made to hear her cry out for his assistance, as if some ruffian was insulting and ravishing her, etc.

EDITOR. At best the similarity is very general.

iv. 6-7. UPTON. The Magician having decked out one phantom like to Una, now forms another like a young Squire: these visionary idols he puts to bed together, and then awakens the red-crosse knight, and tells him that he "here waxes old"—how this can be spoken with any degree of propriety I can't determine—the sense leads him to say, that "he lies alone," whilst two wicked creatures are in bed *together*.

There is no writer that has so many latin idioms in his poem as Spenser; some of these I shall point out to the reader, many more I shall leave to his own finding out: for 'tis tedious and irksome to dwell on subjects, that require only to be now and then properly hinted at; and some compliment is to be paid to the reader's understanding. The passage now before us, seems to require this sense, namely, that the knight sleeps *alone* without a bed-fellow, whilst Una has got one and lies *warm*. "Frigidus" in latin means to be alone, to "wax cold" for want of company. So the chaste Penelope uses this word, when she writes to her absent lord,

Non ego deserto jacuissem frigida lecto.

i. e. I should not have "waxed cold," by lying alone. So again in the *Art of Love* .

Tempus erit, quo tu, quae nunc excludis amantes,
Frigida deserta nocte jacebis anus.

Which Jonson thus translates in his *Epicene, or Silent Woman*: "She that now excludes her lovers, may live to lie a forsaken beldame in a frozen bed"

Other poets too have the sane expression. . . . I could bring more instances, if I pleased, but the reader must guess, that I believe Spenser's original reading was,

Rise, rise, unhappy swaine,
That here wax cold in sleepe. . . .

vi. 6-7. LOTSPEICH. Hesperus or Vesper is both the morning and the evening star. At 1. 2. 6 he is the morning star, herald of "dawning light"; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5. 419-420.

vii. For note on Spenser's treatment of Aurora, see 11. 51. The "purple" robe is seemingly carried over from the "purpureae Aurorae" of Ovid (*Met.* 3. 184) and other Latin poets. The "saffron" bed is probably suggested by Homer's "Saffron-mantled Dawn" (see note to 2. 6. 6-7, above) —Note based upon SAWTELLE.

4. UPTON. This is Virgilian (*Aen.* 4. 119):

Ubi primos crastinus ortus
Extulerit Titan, radiisque retexerit orbem.

There are none of Virgil's translators that have so faithfully expressed his meaning as Spenser.

ix. 8. The same simile occurs in the *Shep. Cal.* Jan. 65, and WARTON observes the influence of Horace, *Odes* 1. 8. 9, where the poet, expostulating with a damsel, Lydia, for spoiling by her charms a youth, Sybaris, once distinguished in manly sports, asks why the youth now shuns the gymnasium more warily than the deadly snake: "Cur olivum | Sanguine viperino | Cautius vitat."

x. Proteus' ability to assume various disguises is suggested by *Od.* 4. 384 ff. and *Georgics* 4. 387 ff—note based on SAWTELLE. LOTSPEICH quotes Natalis Comes 8. 8: "Alii crediderunt per magicas artes Proteum in prae dictas formas se mutasse."

7. TODD. Cf. *F. Q.* 3. 12. 12 Collins has admirably adapted this "fear of self" in his impressive *Ode on the Passions*:

First Fear his hand, its skill to try,
Amid the chords bewilder'd laid,
And back recoil'd, he knew not why,
Ever at the sound himself had made.

xi. 1. UPTON. This is a Latinism: Personam induere.

xii. 8. TODD. This is the Paynim of the old Romance. See also *F. Q.* 2. 11. 20; 3. 1. 17; 3. 3. 53. So in the ancient tale of *Sir Canline* (*Percy's Reliques*):

That knight he is a foul paynim,
And large of limb and bone.

Milton, who in his youth read romances with delight, caught this characteristical expression and applied it to the king of Basan in Psalm 136. 69: "Large-limb'd Og he did subdue."

PERCIVAL cites in addition Argantes in Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* 19. 11).

xiii. UPTON. Let this gorgeous lady, in scarlet red, be set in opposition to Una; unity, christian truth, and humility. This goodly lady, for so she seemed, is Duessa, doubleness, falsehood, and the scarlet whore in the Revelation. . . . Her Persian mitre, he says, was garnished with crowns and owches, which "her lavish lovers gave," i. e. the Roman emperors, the Gothic kings, her devotees, etc—Constantine in particular. I cannot help observing, that at the coronation of the Pope, two cardinal deacons take off his mitre and place on his head the tiara, which is a high-raised cap, encircled with three crowns and ornamented with jewels;—"with crowns and owches garnished" This tiara or triple crown emblematically, they say, represents his three-fold authority, *viz* high priest, judge, and legislator of all christians. The reader may think I refine too much, if I imagine that Spenser alludes to this three-fold assumed character of the Pope: when he (in describing, Orgoglio, the Man of Sin, who takes Duessa for his leman, and compleats the picture of the scarlet whore) thus describes him,

His stature did exceed
The hight of three the tallest sonnes of mortal seed. (1. 7. 8)

But however as I am got now in the midst of mystery, I cannot help transcribing a note from Scaliger on Revelation 17. 5: "And upon her head was a name written Mystery." "Fcu Monsieur de Montmorency estant à Rome du temps qu'on parloit librement et du S. Petre et du S. Siege, apprit d'homme digne de foy, qu'à la verite le tiare pontifical avoit escrit au frontal en lettres d'or Mysterium: et que depuis le tiare ayant este refaict par Jules, au lieu de Mysterium il y auroit mis son nom et lettres de diamantes Julius Pontifex Maximus."

4. **PERCIVAL.** Herodotus (1. 195) mentions the mitre as the head-dress of the Babylonians, and (1. 132) the tiara as that of the Persians when they solemnly worship their gods. The mitre . . . was a sign of effeminacy and lasciviousness (*Aen.* 4. 216), and the tiara, of Pagan worship. Spenser means to joint both attributes here.

9. **TODD** It was the fashion to hang bells on the bridles, as Warton has observed in his History of English Poetry 1. 164. To his illustrations may be added the prologue of Chaucer's *Nonne Preestes Tale*, the romance of *Roberte the Deyll*, and the old ballad of *Thomas the Rhymer*.

xvii 4-6 **UPTON.** The meaning is, each envies the other's equal valour, and each does seek with cruel eyes (sortitus fortunam oculis) to pierce through the other's sides, which are armed with iron. He seems plainly to have Homer in view, where Achilles is described brandishing his deadly dart against Hector, *Il.* 22. 320. Or Virgil's expression, *Aen.* 11. 748 Or his description of Aeneas shaking his mortal spear, and marking out "with cruel spies" the destined wound, *Aen.* 12. 919 See also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 46. 118

COLLIER. Upton's reference to Ariosto has little or no application, for it is there only said that the two contending knights endeavored with their swords to discover 'dove il ferro era più raro' of their armour

xviii 9. **UPTON** The shield (and 'tis well known what shield he bears) preserved him, like some amulet or charm, which were carried about as blessings and securities against harm and injury The same expression is in *F. Q.* 4. 6. 13. 4.

CHURCH. Acquitted him of having given but an indifferent blow.

TODD. Preserved, or kept him from danger. So, in *The Ant and the Nightingale*, 1601.

KITCHIN quotes Church, and continues. But surely Spenser connects this "him" with the following "who"; so that it is the Red Cross Knight who is "blest from blame," whatever it may mean Perhaps it means that the Paynim's sword fairly delivered the Red Cross Knight from blame, blemish, harm,—did not wound him at all. This sense of the verb "to bless" occurs also in such phrases as "God from him me bless."

WHITNEY. One cannot fail to notice the importance of the outward symbols of faith in this contest. The charmed shield with its red cross alone stands between the Knight and defeat.

To secure Upton's meaning, C. J. **FLETCHER** (*NQ* Ser. 7, 8 186) would place the comma after "down," making the word an adverb instead of a

preposition. In reply C. E. D. (p. 478) cites the analogy of *F. Q.* 4. 6. 13. 4, previously noted by Upton and Todd. Fletcher's rejoinder (*Ser.* 7, 9. 55-6) attempts a strained grammatical interpretation of *F. Q.* 4. 6. 13. 4, and reiterates an acceptance of Upton's explanation. Unaware of the previous discussion, H. LITLEDALE (*The Academy*, 45. 310) suggested independently Fletcher's change in punctuation, and was answered promptly by C. E. DOBLE (p. 350).

EDITOR. Although the meaning is evidently not unmistakable, with the passage as it stands Kitchin's interpretation is most probable, particularly in the light of *F. Q.* 4. 6. 13. 4.

xx. 1-2. See note on 8. 23, where this simile appears in more elaborate form.

xxii. 7. PERCIVAL. This is that formal or external Unity of the Romish Church in doctrine and authority, formulated by the Council of Trent, and meant by Spenser to be contrasted with the essential Unity of Truth as set forth in *Una*.

xxiv. 6-9. JORTIN. From Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 68.

xxv. The suggestion for the three brothers may have come from the *Libeaus Desconus*; see Appendix, pp. 394-5.

6-9. CHARLES F. FLEMING (*NQ Ser.* 12, 4. 71). In *The Faerie Queene* these three names should be pronounced in such a way as to make them appear true knights, and not enemies of the soul. The champion of goodness is called St. George, and the pagan knights masquerade as St. Loy, St. Foy, and St. Joy. If they carried names that revealed their evil character, their power of misleading the soul would be greatly reduced. Does not evil always come to men in the guise of good? Does not Satan appear as an angel of light? Does not Antichrist figure as a deceptive copy of the Savior of men?

When Spenser wrote, "Sans" was in common use as an English word. From the thirteenth century to the seventeenth it was variously spelt: saun, san, sam, saunz, saunt, sain, saing, sanz, and sans. The spelling seems to indicate that it was commonly pronounced "San," and not in the modern French manner.

The word "Saint" has gone through a like variety of pronunciation and of spelling—the Holy Grail being spoken of as San Grail, and the Sanctus bell being called Sans bell, Sawns bell, and Sauncebell. Terminal letters are very apt to be carelessly dealt with, especially if the syllable is unaccented. It is only with extreme care that the last letter in "Saint" can be made audible; and St. George would be pronounced, as it still is, "San George," the first syllable in Spenser being always unaccented.

The poet writes with such enthusiasm of the courage and knightly skill of the three brothers that you would be moved to lament their downfall, if he did not tell you that their names mean Lawless, Faithless, and Joyless; for the allegory represents the conflict of goodness, not against openly declared wrong, but against fraud and pretence.

EDWARD BENSLEY (*NQ Ser.* 12, 4. 226). It is argued that "these three names should be pronounced in such a way as to make them appear true knights, and not enemies of the soul . . . the pagan knights masquerade as St. Loy, St. Foy, and St. Joy. If they carried names that revealed their evil character, their

power of misleading the soul would be greatly reduced." Apart from any question of pronunciation it may be observed that each of these pagan knights has his name inscribed on his shield. Besides, though we may demand that a simile should go on all fours, such a millipede as an allegory is bound to have many of its legs out of joint. And imaginative literature has long enjoyed a licence in the coining of proper names that shall be appropriate to the character. We accept Littlewit and Pinchwife and Backbite; and, as Dickens says of Capt. Murderer in the nurse's story of his childhood, "his warning name would seem to have awakened no general prejudice against him."

xxvii. 9. UPTON. Proverb: "Quae rara, chara."

DODGE. Apparently a proverb = fastidiousness brings scarcity, poverty; turned by play on words to mean, coyness makes dearness, preciousness.

xxviii. 5. PERCIVAL. "Trembling" is appropriate to the leaves of a tree that is meant for Doubt.

xxx ff. WARTON (2. 128). Thus in the *Seven Champions*, Eglantine, the king's daughter of Thessaly, is transformed into a mulberry-tree: of the fruit of which St. Dennis eats, and afterwards hears a voice from the tree. This fiction is originally from the classical story of Polidorus.

UPTON. I believe that the reader need not be put in mind that this wonderful tale—so well adapted to the genius of romance—is taken from Virgil (*Aen.* 3. 20 ff.), where Acneas, plucking a bough of myrtle, sees from the rift drops of blood trickling down. But were I to render into Latin verse the following of Spenser, "O spare with guilty hands" etc., this from Ovid (*Met.* 2. 362) might very easily be borrowed:

Parce precor; nostrum laniatur in arbore corpus.

'Tis no wonder that Ariosto—who is an allegorical and a moral writer, as well as a romance writer—should copy this tale from Virgil. Ruggiero having tied his winged horse to a myrtle tree, the ghost, which was therein lodged by enchantment, speaks to him, and tells him he was formerly a knight, but by the witchcraft of Alcina he was transformed into a tree, and that others were changed into various beasts and other forms, the true image of the man being lost through sensuality (*Orl. Fur.* 6. 26 ff.). See Ovid, *Met.* 8. 761; Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 13. 41-2. Cf. Dante, *Inf.* 13.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES (*Virgil and Spenser*, 2. 3. 368). Spenser's only reproduction of a Virgilian legend as an unbroken whole is Redcross's adventure with the tree that bleeds and speaks to him with a human voice. Here, however, he was following Ariosto's account of Rogero's adventure with the laurel tree, which proves to be Astolpho metamorphosed by Alcina (*Orl. Fur.* 6), and the correspondence between the English and the Italian is closer than that between the English and the Latin. Spenser tells the story almost as briefly as does Virgil [stanzas quoted]. Comparison with Virgil (3. 27-42) shows several points of identity which Ariosto's version of the story does not explain.

Nam, quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos
Vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae

Et terram tabo maculant. Mihi frigidus horror
 Membra quatit, gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.
 Rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen
 Insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis:
 Ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis.
 Multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis
 Gravidumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis,
 Rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.
 Tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu
 Adgredior genibusque adversae obluctor arenae—
 Eloquar, an sileam? — gemitus lacrimabilis imo
 Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad auris:
 Quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto;
 Parce pias scelerare manus.

Virgil's phrases, "parce pias scelerare manus" and "mihi frigidus horror", have no counterpart in the Italian and they are clearly reflected in the English. Rajna has pointed out (*Fonti*, pp. 169-170) that Ariosto took the incident from the *Filocolo* of Boccaccio and that possibly there were other intermediaries between him and Virgil. In the *Orlando Furioso* it is treated as a marvellous metamorphosis which, while it points no moral, yet adorns the tale. Spenser reinvested it with Virgil's atmosphere of moral earnestness. We may suppose that Ariosto's example was responsible for the appearance of the story at all in *The Faerie Queene*, and we can see that his treatment of it was vividly in Spenser's memory as he wrote, but we may surmise that Spenser was haunted by boyhood recollections of Aeneas' shocking discovery of the murdered Polydorus.

E. GREENIAW (*The Province of Literary History*, pp. 115-7). The chief point to observe is that not a single element in Spenser's story is original with him. The one point that the commentators have missed, the uncanny trees, shunned by shepherds, is matter of folklore, and may very well have been associated in Spenser's mind with some legend about such a place that he knew in the spot where it grew, in England or Ireland.

Yet the total effect is profoundly original. Spenser here, as so many times elsewhere in his work, has created a new myth. It is not a literary mosaic, like so many Elizabethan sonnets, composed merely of elements taken from this source and that, or like the conventional and bizarre combinations that we are familiar with in the metrical romances. What has happened is that Spenser has drawn upon his experience in reading to construct a new tale, profoundly original in its total effect, in which this experience is transposed into a new spiritual reality. It is an example of his allegory at its best. For the story is not a warning sent by some higher power; even Fradubio's advice to Redcrosse to fly the unlucky place is not to be interpreted as Spenser's true purpose in the story. It is not like the appearance of the Good and Evil Angels in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, contending for the possession of the hero's soul. It is not like the appearance of the angel after the ordeal of Guyon in Spenser's second book, proof of the watchful care of Providence. Redcrosse, spiritually blind, meets with an experience which he fails to interpret. Since he is spiritually blind, he is unaware of its meaning, and leaves the place only to plunge into ruin. It is allegory within the main allegory of the story of Redcrosse. It is of universal application, its purpose being to show how

we often fail through the spiritual blindness which prevents us from being aware of the meaning of what happens to us. The method is singularly anticipatory of the method of Hawthorne, who loves to dwell on the significances that escape us through our blindness.

EDITOR. The wounding of the tree, the manner in which its blood stains the ground, and the horror of the spectator is suggested by Virgil, and perhaps Tasso, but the transformation of a man into a tree by a sorceress, and the warning of another who is in like danger are borrowed from Ariosto. Also the revelation to Fradubio of the real ugliness of Duessa was suggested, it would seem, by the like revelation of Alcina to Ruggiero (*Orl. Fur.* 7. 72-3), though Spenser was to make more detailed use of this suggestion in the final discomfiture of Duessa. This Fradubio episode illustrates that complete independence with which Spenser uses suggestions, for whereas Alcina merely discarded Astolfo when she tired of him, Duessa first makes her rival, Fraelissa, appear deformed in the eyes of Fradubio, and then when Fradubio, in turn, sees her in her own native ugliness, vents her malice by changing him into a tree to stand beside his discarded lady. Ariosto's suggestion was enough to furnish Spenser with a refined allegorical episode.

xxxi. 8-9. UPTON Cf. *Il.* 24. 359 and *Aen.* 2. 774.

xl UPTON. This vulgar notion of the annual penance of witches may be illustrated from Bodinus, from whom Scot has the following translation in *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, 90:

In Livonia yearly, about the end of December, a certain knave or devil warneth all the witches in the country to come to a certain place; if they fail, the devil cometh and whippeth them with an iron rod, so as the print of his lashes remain upon their bodies for ever. The captain leadeth the way through a great pool of water; many millions of witches swim after; they are no sooner passed through the water, but they are all transformed into wolves, and fly upon and devour both men, women and cattle. After twelve days they return through the same water, and so receive human shape again.

The reader at his leisure may consult the story of the beautiful youth Ziliante and the witch Morgana (sister of Alcina) in Boiardo, *Orl. Inn.* 2. 12-3. In Ariosto the fairy Manto who gave name to Mantua (*Virg.* 10. 199) says the fairies were changed every seventh day into snakes (43. 98):

Ch' ogni settimo giorno ognuna è certa,
Che la sua forma in biscia si converta.

And Milton (*P. L.* 10. 572), having mentioned the change of the devils into serpents, adds

Thus were they plagued
And worn with famine, long, and ceaseless hiss,
'Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd,
Yearly enjoin'd (some say) to undergo
This annual humbling certain number'd days.
To dash their pride, and joy, for man seduc'd.

This vulgar notion seems to have taken its first rise from the stories told of the periodical punishments, as well as of the respites, of the infernal spirits. Cf. *P. L.*

2. 597. The Christian poet Prudentius mentions respites and renewals again of punishments. Or it might have taken its rise from the revolutions of the soul, from its purgatorial state to human life, and back again in endless revolutions: an Egyptian doctrine, mentioned in Plato's *Phaedo*, and finely introduced in Virgil's 6th *Aeneid*, and by our poet in his episode of the gardens of Adonis.

4. UPTON. "Prime" is used by Spenser in different significations; here, for the spring, or beginning of the year; or, it may mean the prime of the moon, at the first appearing of the new moon, called "the Prime"; and this explanation has reference to Hecate, who is the same as the moon, and presides over witchcraft.

6. PERCIVAL. So the Count of Lusignan, Melusine's husband, discovers his wife using an enchanted bath to regain her proper shape, *Romans of Partenay* 2801 ff.

7. TODD. For this "filthy foule old woman," in the more minute description which the poet gives of her (1. 8. 47), is described with a "scabby skin," and origane, or bastard marjoram, is more especially mentioned as a cure for such unseemly disorders: "Organie healeth scabs, itchings, and scurvinesse, being used in bathes." Gerarde's *Herball* (1597), p. 542. Thyme is deemed of similar virtue with organie, in Langland's *Garden of Health* (1633), p. 453

xli. 1-2. UPTON. So Fraud, of which Duessa is a type, is imaged by Dante swimming in the river Styx, and concealing her mishapen, monstrous, neather parts. Compare this likewise with 1. 8. 46, where the scarlet whore is stript of her false ornaments. See likewise the odious picture of Alcina, when Ruggiero views her (i. e. false pleasure) with the eye of reason, *Orl. Fur.* 7.

xlili. UPTON. They could not change their evil plight, till baptised with the water of regeneration, and become *new* creatures. "Living water" is the spirit and grace of God: "till we be bathed in a living well." John 4. 10: "He would have given thee living water"; Jeremiah 2. 13: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters"; Revelation 22. 1: "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life." In the scripture language refreshing streams and living waters mean the grace of God.—Fradubio says that time and the fates, satisfied with their punishment, shall restore them to their former natures, "to former kynd."—Our knight is unassisted with Una, and must leave the adventure unperformed. This restoration to their former natures of Fradubio and Fraelissa would have been completed in some of the subsequent books had the poet lived to have finished his poem, and such kind of metamorphosis and restoration are to be found frequently, not in Ovid only, but in romance writers. So Astolfo was transformed into a myrtle by the witch Alcina, and restored by the sage Melissa. And in the romance called the *Seven Champions*, St. Dennis of France recovered a daughter of the King of Thessaly, who by enchantment had been changed into a mulberry tree.—The transformed Fradubio means one who dwells in doubt and wavering and who wants faith "fra dubio"; Fraelissa is one of a weak and frail nature, "fralezza." And who are so perpetually liable to fraud and imposture as those of frail and wavering minds?

TODD. Wierus (*De Praestigiis Daemonum*, Basil, 1583, p. 269), in a chapter "De phantastica transformatione hominum in bestias," relates from Wil-

liam of Malmesbury a ludicrous metamorphosis of a young man whose restoration to his proper shape could be effected only by bathing in water.

xliv. 6. UPTON. For the like reason Aeneas performs the just obsequies to Polydorus, which in some measure he had violated.

CANTO III

CORY (pp. 87-8). The story turns to Una. Only here do we first come to know her in a series of tender stanzas which are unmatched for their plenilune loveliness.

Nought is there under heav'ns wide hollownesse,
That moves more deare compassion of mind,
Then beautie brought t'unworthie wretchednesse.

Let us listen to a poet on "the poet's poet." Says Francis Thompson:

The mournful sweetness of those lines is insurpassable; and they are quintessential Spenser. . . . Wherein lies their power? The language is so utterly plain that an uninspired poet would have fallen upon baldness. Yet Spenser is a mine of diction (as was remarked to us by a poet who had worked in that mine). But here he had no need for his gorgeous opulence of diction: a few commonest words, and the spell was worked. It is all a matter of relation: the words take life from each other, and become an organism, as with Coleridge. And it is a matter of music; an integral element in the magic of the passage, of its sound. In this necromancy, by which the most elementary words, entering into a secret relation of sense and sound, acquire occult property, Spenser is a master.

Spenser's women, especially Una, have inspired some of the most eloquent passages in English criticism. It is most epical and most appropriate that a lion should be the comrade of Una. Her chief beauty lies in the perfect solution of the strength and the tenderness in her. As Professor Dowden has it:

Throughout Spenser's poem, although Una is so young, so tender, so mild, while the knight is stout and bold, there is a certain protectiveness on her part towards him; yet this is united in such a way with gentle, fervid loyalty and trust that it seems to imply no consciousness of superiority.

No wonder that Wordsworth did not hesitate to compare Una even with Desdemona:

Two will I mention, dearer than the rest —
The gentle lady married to the Moor;
And heavenly Una with her milk-white lamb.

Never does Spenser strike a more poignant note than in the final scene of this canto where Sansloy slays the lion and bears off the maiden with ferocious ecstasy.

i. UPTON. Spenser usually begins his canto with some moral reflection, agreeable to his subject; so did the two Italian poets before him, Berni in the *Orlando Innamorato*, and Ariosto in the *Orlando Furioso*. [See note to 2. 1.]

iii. LEIGH HUNT (p. 103). Coleridge quotes this stanza as "a good instance of what he means" in the following remarks in his *Lectures*: "As char-

acteristic of Spenser, I would call your particular attention in the first place to the indescribable sweetness and fluent projections of his verse, very clearly distinguishable from the deeper and more inwoven harmonies of Shakespeare and Milton." Good, however, as the stanza is, and beautiful the second line, it does not appear to me so happy an instance of what Coleridge speaks of as many which he might have selected.

iv. 7. UPTON. "Mundi oculus" (*Met.* 4. 228).

v ff. WARTON (2. 129). It is the doctrine of romance that a lion will offer no injury to a true virgin. Two lions, after this manner, fawn upon Sabra, in the *Seven Champions*, at which, says St. George, "Now, Sabra, I have by this sufficiently proved thy true virginity: for it is the nature of a lion, be he never so furious, not to harme the unspotted virgin, but humbly to lay his bristled head upon a maiden's lap."

TODD. The same circumstances are related of Josian in the romance of *Sir Bevis of Hampton*.

v. UPTON. This defender of the Faith and of Una (the lion) suggests England, or the English king, for Kingdoms are imaged by their arms or ensigns; or what if the allegory points more minutely to King Henry VIII, to whom this title was first given, and who opened a way for a thorough reformation of the church? [For detailed discussion of the lion motif in romance, and specific analogies in *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hamtoun*, *Morte d'Arthur*, and *Perlesvaus*, see Appendix, pp. 396-8, 400.]

vii. 9. UPTON. Psalm 42. 10: "I made my prayer unto the God of my life." But applied as in Cicero (*Orat.* 2 *sect.* 4): "Princeps P. Lentulus, parens ac deus nostrae vitae, fortunae," etc.

LEIGH HUNT (p. 103).

As the god of my life?

Pray let not the reader consent to read this first half of the line in any manner less marked and peremptory. It is a striking instance of the beauty of that "acceleration and retardation of true verse" which Coleridge speaks of. There is to be a hurry on the words "as the," and a passionate emphasis and passing stop on the word "god"; and so of the next three words.

x. 8-9. UPTON. Our poet paints according to the simplicity of ancient customs and manners, and his painting is therefore the more natural and pleasing. See Genesis 24. 15, 45: "Rebecca came out with her pitcher upon her shoulder." So likewise the woman of Samaria, John 4. 7. And the very same natural picture we have in Homer, *Od.* 10. 105: "And without the town they fell in with a damsel drawing water." When Ulysses drew near to the city of the Phaeacians, he sees a maid (so Minerva appeared) with a pitcher of water in her hand, *Od.* 7. 20.

9. CHURCH. "Sad" shoulders are "heavy" shoulders. This expression is parallel to "heavy trees," 3. 6. 42. So Milton, *P. L.* 8. 162: "He from the east his flaming road begin," where, as Mr. Richardson observes, the poet elegantly applies to the road what belongs to the sun.

xi. 7-8. WARTON (2. 13-4). After having told us that, seeing the lion stand by her, she fled away for fear, he adds that this was because she had never seen a lady before, which certainly was no reason why she should fly from the lion. What our author intended to express here was that at seeing the lion, and so beautiful a lady, an object never seen before in that country, she was affrighted, and fled.

xvi-xxii. See Appendix, "The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man," p. 414.

xvi. 1-2 LOTSPEICH. In a passage which Spenser used for the Nereids, Natalis Comes (8. 6, p. 835) tells of Cassiopeia's arrogance in setting her own beauty above that of the nymphs, in punishment for which her daughter Andromeda was exposed to a sea monster and she herself was placed among the stars.

xviii. UPTON. Forsaken Truth takes up her lodging with blind Devotion: whom our poet calls *Corceca*, i. e. Cui caecum est cor: in allusion to what the apostle writes, Rom. 1. 21: "Whose foolish heart was darkened." Ephes. 4. 18: "Whose understanding is darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through ignorance that is in her, because of the blindness of her heart." As 'twas owing to blind devotion that Abbies, monkeries, etc. were built and endowed, hence *Abessa* is the daughter of *Corceca*: which daughter is enriched with the spoil of the laborious and simple.—The poet adds, "Wont to robbe churches," meaning that the church itself was robbed of its tythes to enrich these superstitious houses. This *Kirkrapine* or church-robber, was destroyed by the lyon, Una's defender, that is by our English king, The defender of the faith. See below St. 43.

xviii 6. UPTON. The poet seems to hint that the same corruption was now in the Church of Christ as in the Jewish church in the times of old Eli, whose sons debauched the women (I Samuel 2. 22) and made themselves "fat with the chiefest of all the offerings (verse 29)."

xx. 2. UPTON. His bleeding heart is in the "pawes" of the lion, which revenged her cause. In Spanish the forefeet of beasts are called "manos." And Cicero (*Nat. Deor.* 2. 47), speaking of the proboscis of the elephant, says "Manus etiam data elephantis." But what is nearer to our purpose, Lucian calls the forefoot of the lion ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξία. I might mention too Dante (*Inf.* 6), in his description of Cerberus,

E'l ventre largo, e unghiate le mani.

And Daniel 6. 27: "Who hath delivered Daniel from the 'power' of the lions." Heb. "hand."

EDITOR. It is doubtful if Spenser uses the word in any literal sense.

xxi. 2. UPTON. Spenser imitates Chaucer (*Knight's Tale* 2275):

Uprose the Sunne, and uprose Emely.

Dryden, who has put this tale into modern versification, has kept all the words of Chaucer, as well knowing no alteration of his could better them.

5-6. UPTON. Ulysses, "that for his love (Penelope) refused deitie (Calypso)," or deitie may be interpreted immortality; and this latter interpretation I think the true one, for so Chaucer (*Romaunt of the Rose* 5656) uses the word, and Chaucer's authority is very great in interpreting Spenser:

Pythagoras himself rehearses—
 That whan thou goest thy body fro,
 Fre in the ayre thou shalt upgo,
 And levin all humanite,
 And purely live in diete.

xxii. 5-6. PERCIVAL. This is what happened at an Irish wake; Holinshed 6. 67; whence the proverb, "To weep Irish."

xxxii. UPTON. "And Nereus crownes with cups" The expression is somewhat hard; perhaps he means "And does honour to Nereus by pouring out libations to him." He seems to have had that passage of Virgil (*Aeneid* 3 525-6) in view where Anchises, upon seeing Italy, takes a bowl, and crowning it with flowrets, fills it with wine and makes his libation by pouring it into the sea:

Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
 Induit, implevitque mero; divosque vocavit.

Aen. 5. 775-6:

Stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
 Porricit in fluctus, ac vina liquentia fundit.

Valerius Flaccus 2:

Tum pelago vina invergens dux talibus infit.

If this expression is hard, "And Nereus crownes with cups," what shall we say of that just above where he calls the seas "the teares of Tethys." The misfortune is that *teare* jingles and hitches in rhyme. Wicked rhymes to mislead so excellent a poet! 'Tis true that the Pythagoreans, to express the impurity of the sea, called it "the tears of Saturn" (as Plutarch informs us in *Isis and Osiris*), but this by no means will vindicate our poet's expression, nor can mythology or allegory be tortured to vindicate it; nothing can be its plea but jingling rhyme. By the "scorching flames of Orions hound" he means the dog-star "Canis aestifer" (*Georgics* 2. 353): Κίων Ὀρίωνος, Orion's hound (*Il.* 22. 26).

CHURCH. Spenser, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* 5, calls him [Orion's hound] "the hot Syrian dog." Perhaps we should read: "And Nereus crownes his cups." That is, he offers a libation to Nereus.

SAWTELLE cites Hyginus, *Poeticon Astronomicon* 2 for "Orions hound."

E. KOEPEL notes the similarity to Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 3. 4.

RIEDNER notes further similarities in Homer (*Od.* 23. 233-8) and Statius (*Theb.* 2. 193).

OLIVER ELTON (*Modern Studies* 69-71). Spenser freely uses all the decorations of Italian heroic verse, including the deliberate simile. There are more than 150 such similes in the *Faerie Queene*. What he borrowed, adapted, or serenely translated from *Orlando Furioso* and *Gerusalemme Liberata*, the dredging of Upton and other editors of the last century may help to show. It is not much out of the whole mass of Spenser's imagery, and his use of it only shows how long the mediæval notion lasted that all matter of the imagination was owned in common. But he learnt from Ariosto and Tasso, what he could not learn from the ancient

hexameter epics, how to fill the spaces of a stanza, which are already ruled and distributed more or less clearly by the metre. Spenser's verse, a more involved one than the *ottava rima*, has its natural rise, and its pause in the middle, and the crash or climax comes either in the alexandrine or just before. In making a set comparison, he either allots a whole verse to it, or poises the opening quatrain or six lines, which contain the image, against the remainder, which contain the thing compared. The Italians oftener give their entire stanza, which is one line shorter than Spenser's, to the image. Here are two typical arrangements of the same figure. The possible original from Tasso (*Ger. Lib. 3. 4*) may be given first. Even as the Christian army beholds Jerusalem:—

Così di naviganti audace stuolo
 Che mova a ricercar estranio lido,
 E in mar dubbioso e sotto ignoto polo
 Provi l' onde fallaci e 'l vento infido,
 S' alfin discopre il desiato suolo,
 Il saluta da lunge in lieto grido
 E l' uno al altro il mostra; e in tanto obblia
 La noia e 'l mal della passata via.

Now Spenser [xxxi quoted].

All the life of this image is in the latter lines; but Spenser is indistinct by the side of Tasso, who sees the men on deck pointing out the holy city to one another. Yet he disposes the matter in the same way, through a complete verse. Elsewhere (*F. Q. 6. 11. 44*) the simile is panelled in the last four lines:—

But when as Calidore was comen in,
 And gan aloud for Pastorell to call,
 Knowing his voice, although not heard long sin,
 She sudden was revived therewithall,
 And wondrous joy felt in her spirits thrall:
 Like him that being long in tempest tost
 ✓ Looking each hour into deathes mouth to fall,
 At length espyes at hand the happie cost,
 On which he safety hopes that carst feard to be lost.

xxxiv. 3. TODD. Mr. Upton thinks that the poet might have written, more accurately, "He burnt in ire," as in Virgil (*Aen. 12. 946*):

Furiis accensus et ira
 Terribilis.

And in Ariosto (*Orl. Fur. 26. 132*):

E tutta ardendo di disdegno e d'ira.

But I must observe that the language of romance is not always regulated by philosophical precision.

9. UPTON. Literally from *Aen. 11. 714*: "Quadrupedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat."

xxxvi. 4-8. UPTON. "With bloody knife." This word would not now find a place in poetry, tho' our old poets used it in the same sense as *ξίφος*, from which original it is plainly derived. What he says presently after, that Sansfoy may now

pass in peace over Lethe, as this victim is paid to his manes, is from ancient superstition. Hence Aeneas killed Turnus, tho' he begged his life; and still more cruel, that the ghost of Pallas might be freed from repining strife, takes several prisoners alive, to purge with the life of enemies the mourning altars of his friend: *Aen.* 10. 519, "Inferias quos immolet umbris." And thus Achilles acted in Homer.

xxxvii. 1. UPTON. 'Tis frequently mentioned in romance writers that when the conquered falls, the conqueror unlaces the helmet of his adversary and then cuts his throat. See 2. 8. 17, 52; Berni, *Orl. Inn.* 1. 3. 72; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 5. 89.

xxxviii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199) notes the parallel to Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* 4. 27), where Bradamante spares the gray hairs and wrinkled visage of the magician, Atlantes.

PERCIVAL. This was the custom. Sir Gareth strikes down the Red Knight and "unlaced his helme for to have slaine him," *Morte d'Arthur* 1. 134; so in 3. 8, Sir Bors treats Sir Bromell.

xli. 2. TODD. The "alto sdegno" of the Italians, as Mr. Thyer long since observed. Perhaps few remarkable phrases are more frequent than this, in ancient English poetry. Spenser had already adopted it 1. 1. 19. Harington thus translates his original *Orl. Fur.* 14. 40. But Spenser is followed by Sylvester, *Du Bartas* (1621), p. 1129; by Milton, *P. L.* 1. 98; and by Fletcher, *Purple Island* (1633), 12. 64.

9. UPTON. I must detain the reader a moment to consider a beauty which might otherwise escape him, and that is the mixture of tenses which Spenser often introduces to give variety, and to paint more circumstantially. This I call the Virgilian mixture of tenses, of the present with the present-perfect, as Dr. Clarke calls it, in his notes on Homer.

xlili. UPTON. The poet leaves Una in the highest distress: and returns to her again, 1. 6. 2. Her defender is slain, and she is in the hands of "lawlesse lust." See what has been said already in the notes on St. 9. and on St. 18. This "defender of the faith," I think naturally leads us (as kingdoms and kings are imaged by their arms) to England or our English kings. Una is forsaken by her proper protector, and takes up in her unsettled state, with the lion. Christian Truth was in a very unsettled state during the reigns of K. Henry VIII, and of K. Edward VI. But after their death she was entirely in the will and power of the "lawlesse victor." And for whom is her redemption reserved? For the prince, who fights under the auspices of the Fairy Queen.—Does not the allegory all appear plain? and is not this delightful poem "one continued allegory," with historical allusions to his own country?

CANTO IV

CORY (pp. 88-89). The fourth canto contains one of those famous set-pieces in *The Faerie Queene* that have been thrown into unjust prominence: unjust because, though they are quite as wonderful as their admirers have claimed, though they are easily detachable, yet they are thought by the superficial reader to stand out like an unusually bold and perfect section of relief in a frieze which for the most part has been worn by the storms and the centuries to a venerable but

confused and monotonous ruin. The adventures of the Red Cross Knight at the House of Pride are incomparable in their way and perfect when extracted. But they are also absolutely organic, and they cast no shadow over most of the surrounding episodes. Kent, the illustrator of Birch's edition of *The Faerie Queene* (1751), crowded the great pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins into a small picture which is a libel on Spenser's description, giving it an appearance of faults that it does not have. One feels that Aubrey de Vere must have had some such picture as Kent's before his eyes or in his mind when he so uncritically attacked the procession. "Christopher North" may set us right with his shrewd and enthusiastic defense.

The Set-out would seem somewhat grotesque on the road from London to Brighton, and would sorely puzzle the tollmen. Even on canvass 'twould look not a little queer. Painting, perhaps, should have little or nothing to do with such subjects "for her power is limited," and so is her canvass. But poetry may do what she will—for her works, in words, are for the imagination—the senses are soon reconciled to whatever she orders them to see—for it all seems, whether near or afar off, to have an existence in nature. Or if the *esse* be too much for our faith, it is satisfied with the *posse*, of which these strangenesses are supposed the shadow. We hardly know how it is with us on conceiving this procession of Pride moving along the royal road of Spenser's stanzas. Sometimes we seem to see all the animals, distinguishable each by his proper attributes, and as distinguishable the riders—Car and Queen. Oftener not—but at one moment Slowth, perhaps, on his ass—at another Wrath on his lion—then Satan sole sitting on the beam—now a confusion of images—monstrous but full of meaning—at once beasts absolute and emblematical—and sometimes we suspect we have but abstract Ideas of Qualities and Vices. By such visionary alternations of thought and its objects, the whole moral mind is moved along with the image, and there is no end to the feelings of the one—to the others flight.

If I venture to compare the effect of the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins to that of a circus-parade as seen by a child many will think me perverse or dully prosaic. Yet I believe that on such an analogy we may best appreciate this procession unparalleled as it is in all literature for barbaric opulence. To a child's vision a circus-parade is at once gorgeous and delightfully tawdry, terrific and grotesque. So assuredly is the chariot of Lady Pride drawn by those outlandish beasts lurching along in anarchical company.

Arg. 1. UPTON. Our poet intended that the Arguments prefixed to each book should be metre, but humbled down to the lowest prose, we must therefore read thus:

To sinfull Hous of Pryde Duess-
a guydes the faithfull Knight

So Horace (*Odes* 4. 2.):

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari, I-
ule, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pennis.

Again, 2. 3 *Arg.*:

Vaine Braggadochio getting Guy-
ons horse is made the scorn.

Again, 3. 1. *Arg.*:

Duessaes traines, and Malecast-
a's champions are defaced.

Again, 3. 8. *Arg.*:

The witch creates a snowy La-
dy like to Florimell.

iv ff. UPTON. With the description of this house of Pride, the reader at his leisure may compare the house of Alcina, in *Orl. Fur.* 6. 59, and the house of Fame in Chaucer.

ROSENTHAL. Upton leaves it to the reader's choice to compare this castle with that of Alcina in Ariosto (6. 59), or with the House of Fame in Chaucer. As a matter of fact, Spenser is clearly influenced by both passages. The high walls gleaming like gold, is almost identical with the passage in Ariosto. As to the sand hill upon which Spenser's castle stands, there is a plausible reminiscence of Matthew 7. 26; but the corresponding comparison with the *Orlando Furioso* (6. 59) bespeaks an error on Upton's part, for Ariosto makes no mention of a sand hill. But one can well agree with Upton that Spenser may have had in mind the "feble foundement" of the blocks of ice upon which the House of Fame stands in Chaucer (1130). But the similarity in this work of Chaucer's is still greater: In front the House of Pride appears to gleam like gold, but

all the hinder partes, that few could spie,
Were ruinous and old, but painted cunningly.

Similarly the names chiseled in the ice on the north side of the House of Fame proclaim the renown of great men, but upon the south side one beholds a picture of destruction. The sun has melted away the inscriptions, making them illegible, and so has destroyed the fame of these names (1136 ff.). Further in each poem there is a dame, and indeed an allegorical figure, the inmate of the castle, and the essential qualities which each personifies, Fame and Pride, are closely related. It is not uncommon in allegory, and in itself argues little, that Fame and Pride also have great retinues and that each is pictured as seated in her palace, but in view of the great similarity elsewhere may not also these two points concerning these characters rest upon the direct influence of Chaucer, especially as Nature in the *Parliament of Foules* also may have exerted a kind of parallel influence upon Spenser. [For full discussion of *Lucifera* and the House of Pride as related to the Courts of Love tradition, see Appendix, pp. 404-7. For the analogous experience of Libeaus Desconus subjected to the spell of a sorceress for twelve months, see Appendix, p. 393.]

iv. 5. UPTON. So Statius, in the description of the house of Mars, *Theb.* 7. 45:

Laeditur adversum Phoebi jubar, ipsaque sedem
Lux timet, et dirus contristat sidera fulgor.

v. UPTON. In allusion to the fool, who built his house upon the sand, Matthew 7. 26. To this house of Pride there is a "broad high way," for what path is more frequented? Beside the path of pride is the path of destruction, and the scripture tells us that "broad is the way that leadeth thither."

vi. 3-4. The porter is a common figure in Courts of Love.

6. TODD. An allusion to the custom of furnishing state-apartments, prevalent in the age of Elizabeth, with tapestry hangings, or arras, so called from Arras, a city in the Netherlands, famous for the manufacture of tapestry. See *F. Q.* 3. 1. 34. Spenser calls it "royall arras," *F. Q.* 1. 8. 35. See also Skelton, *Poems*, ed 1736, p. 205. And Milton distinguishes the "tapestry halls in courts of princes," *Com.* 5. 324. We are told, in the *Mem. of Ancient Chivalry*, p. 275, that "the chambers of princes were hung with green silk at top, and at bottom with tapestry unto the door." Harrison, the coadjutor of Holinshed, informs the reader, that "the walles of our (rich men's) houses on the inner sides be either hanged with tapestry, arras-work, or painted cloths, etc."

vii. 6. UPTON. I would not pass it over that our poet in his description of the palace of Pride has his eye on the Persian pomp, and on their magnificent Kings, called "the king" by way of eminence. And I believe likewise he had in mind the Persian princess in Heliodorus 7. 347. Whoever was admitted into the presence of the great king must needs make his adoration and servile prostrations (Stanza 13: "They on humble knee making obeysance"). The Persian monarch was attended by seven great officers of state, after the destruction of Smerdis the Mage. See Herodotus 3. So in Scripture: (Ezra 7. 14) "Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king and of his seven counsellours"; (Esther 1. 14) "The seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom." Thus too Lucifera is attended (Stanza 12):

of six wizards old,
That with their counsells bad her Kingdom did uphold,

and Satan (Stanza 36), who seems Lord President of the Council, makes up the number seven. I believe myself that beside this historical allusion, there is another to the seven deadly sins, as the schoolmen call them; and 'tis by no means foreign to Spenser's manner to blend historical and moral, or religious allusions and allegories.

But let us return to this Persian princess Lucifera. We have seen the servile adorations paid to her, and have seen likewise her counsellours, with their president; let us now admire the pomp and pride of her procession, which is all Persian. Xenophon describes the majestic pomp of Cyrus, when he marched in procession from his palace; Herodotus gives the same magnificent account of Xerxes; Arran and Curtius of Darius. Nor do historians forget the magnificence of the royal chariot, which our poet describes in stanzas 16 and 17.

PERCIVAL. The Persia of the days of Atossa (Herodotus 3 and 7; Aeschylus, *Persae*) or of Vashti (Esther 1; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 11. 6), or, in fiction, of Arsace, a princess who, like Lucifera, joins splendour to pride and an evil life (Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 7. 2).

viii 7-9 PERCIVAL. Spenser endows the very inanimate objects of Pride's palace with one or other of the deadly sins.

ix. 1. UPTON. 'Tis a very elegant figure which our poet here uses, to correct himself with a repetition of the same words. He had compared Pride to Titan or

to the Sun; correcting himself he adds, or rather this emblem of the world's vanity is to be compared to Phaeton, the Sun's false representative.

Exceeding shone:
Exceeding shone, like Phæbus fayrest childe.

He uses the same figure in other places, 1. 2. 44 and 45; 2. 12. 53; 3. 2. 16 and 17.

TUCKER BROOKE (*MLN* 37. 225). Only relatively seldom does Spenser employ the strict Vergilian form of repetition, echoing the last word or two of the alexandrine at the opening of the next line: e. g. (1. 4. 8-9):

As enuying her selfe, that too exceeding shone.
Exceeding shone, like Phæbus fairest childe.

I count in the entire *Fairy Queen* fourteen other examples of this form of stanza connection. (The others in the first book are: 11. 20-21, 50-51; 12. 23-24.)

xi. 8-9. UPTON. So the original, and father, of Pride,

Lifted up so high
I 'sdein'd subjection, and thought one step higher
Would set me highest. (P. L. 4. 49.)

xiv. 1. TODD. See Proverbs 30. 13: "There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes!"

7-9. UPTON. Spenser looks askew on the Court Ladies: his poem is to be considered always with more than one meaning.

TODD. The poet evidently points at the fashions of his own times. "Frouncing" seems to have been adopted from the French "froncer," to plait, fold, etc. The Dutch word "fronsen" also signifies a plait. It appears, however, from Drayton, to have had a further meaning. See his *Mus. Elys. Nymph*. 2:

With dressing, braiding, frowncing, flowering,
All your jewels on me pouring.

Indeed a variety of "frizzles and furls in curls and rings apart" was the fashion both of ladies and gentlemen about this period. See Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (1621) 456, and Lyllie's *Midas* (1592) Act 3, Scene 2. The "pranking" the enormous "ruff," generally worn at the same time also, was common to both sexes. Thus Sylvester, p. 311:

To starch mustachoes, and to prankin print,
And curl the lock with favours braided in't.

And thus we may suppose Perdita decorated in the fashion of the day when, on having changed her shepherdess's garb for "unusual weeds," she tells Florizel (*Winter's Tale*):

you have obscur'd
With a swain's wearing; and me, poor lowly maid,
Most goddess-like prank'd up.

The gay attire of the age is minutely noticed by Spenser's contemporary, Warner, in his *Albions England* (1596) 220, where the female fashions are termed "new-fangles"; where we are told that formerly "they wore shooes of ease, now, of

an inch-broad, corked hye"; formerly "black Karsie stockings," now "silk of youthful'st dye"; formerly "garters of lystes, but now of silk, some edged deepe with gold"; and he adds:

but heard you nam'd,
Till now of late, Busks, Perrewigs, Maskes, Plumes of Feathers fram'd,
Supporters, Pooters, Fardingales above the loynes to waire,
That be she near so bombe-thin, yet she crosse-like seems foure-squaire?

Then, describing the attiring their heads, he concludes:

Some, (grosser pride than which, think I, no passed age might shame,)
By art abusing nature, heads of antick't hayre doe frame.

See also Barnabie Rich's *Faults and Nothing but Faults* (1605) p. 23. Of the ladies: "What newfangled attires for the heades, what flaring fashions in their garments, what alteration in their ruffles. Their frizled haire, their wanton eie, etc., are all the vaunt errors of adulterie."

xvi. In Hawes's *The Exemple of Vertu*, Pride is an old lady seated in a castle on an elephant's back; see Appendix, p. 416.

3. TODD. All rush forth, push forward. The word "hurtle," in the sense of encountering with violence, often occurs, as Mr. Upton has observed, in the *Hist. of Prince Arthur*; as in P. 1. ch. 28. "They drew out their swords, and hurtled together with violence." So Chaucer, describing a tournament, *Kn. Tale*, 1759.

And he him hurtlyth with his horse adoun.

Skinner considers "hurtle" as derived from "hurl"; or perhaps from the old French "heurteler" for "heurler," to push, or hit violently against. But the translators of our old romances probably adopted the word from the Italian "urtare"; as it is a common phrase, in that language, for "rushing on" the enemy, "urtare contro i nemici." Wickliffe, in his translation of Acts 27. 41, writes thus: "They hurtliden the scip"; which later translators render, "they thrust in"; and the last, "they ran aground." See "urgere" in Latin, and Dante, *Inf.* 26. 45.

Caduto sarei giù senza esser' urto.

"Hurtling" is used in its legitimate sense of "encountering," by Shakespeare, in *As you like it*; but he has also applied to it the signification of sound, resulting, as we must suppose, from the clashing of arms, in *Jul. Caesar*: "The noise of battle hurtled in the air"; which Gray has transferred to the noise, made by a shower of arrows in the air, *Od.* 7. 4. This word "hurtlen" is converted, by the folio of 1609, into "hurlen," and is followed by all subsequent edd. till that of 1751 in quarto. The corruption is rectified also by Church, Upton, and in Tonson's edit. of 1758.

4. SAWTELLE. The adjective "purpurea" is frequently used by the Latin poets to describe Aurora, but the different shades indicated by that word merge into one another like the colors of the dawning East: it may mean "purple" or "red" or "violet" or even "blackish." Thus, in *Met.* 3. 184, we read of "purpureae Aurorae."

6. UPTON. "So forth she comes." There is a dignity in the expression, as well as in the pause of the verse.

xvii ff. For WILSON's spirited defense of the artistic and mythological propriety of Spenser's treatment of Pride and her attendants, see Appendix, p. 317.

xviii ff. HUGHES (*Spenser's Works* 1. lxxiii). The reader may observe, that the six counsellors which attend Pride in her progress, and ride on the beasts which draw her chariot, are plac'd in that order in which the vices they represent, naturally produce and follow each other.

EDITOR. Spenser's primary concern in the arrangement of the procession was to secure the maximum of grotesque pictorial effect. Whereas in Gower's procession the sins ride in single file, Spenser arranges six of them in pairs, Idleness and Gluttony, Lechery and Avarice, and Envy and Wrath riding side by side. But each couple is a jangling, discordant, incongruous team. The beasts themselves—at least the first four—give a painfully asymmetrical effect: the ass and the hog, matched together, and behind them the goat and the camel. There is no plane upon which the eye can rest. This impression is further emphasized by the absurd gaits of the beasts: the ass, constantly miring in his sluggish tracks, and the hog trotting by his side; the goat jerking and jumping about, and the camel undulating along beside him with his easy, awkward stride. Nor do the riders sit well upon their beasts, for Idleness is ever shaken with fever yet nodding with sleep, and sodden Gluttony is ever vomiting and lurching. Nor do they attempt to guide the beasts, for each in his own way is too busy, Gluttony, for example, clutching his bouzing can, Avarice telling over the coins in his lap, and Wrath with one hand on his dagger and with the other flourishing his burning brand. Equally incongruous are the liveries, the black gown and hood of Idleness contrasting with the vine leaves and ivy garland of Gluttony, the green gown of Lechery with the thread-bare coat and cobbled shoes that only half conceal the gouty limbs of Avarice, and the varicolored say, painted full of eyes, of Envy with the blood-stained rags of Wrath. Moreover, if Idleness and Gluttony are examples of the playful grotesque, there is a transition through Lechery—black, filthy, and syphilitic—and Avarice—ashen and aged—to the terrible grotesque in Envy, snake in bosom, chewing at the toad whose poison runs about his chaw, and Wrath, trembling and pale, his eyes sparkling with red rage. [For earlier descriptions of the Seven Deadly Sins see the following divisions of the Appendix: "The Mirour de l'Omme," "The Courts of Love Poems," "The Passetyme of Pleasure and the Exemple of Vertu."]

xviii. 2. UPTON. The moral allegory hints at the seven deadly sins, as they are called. The chief of all is Pride. She with her six sage counsellours make up the number. See the *Parson's Tale*, (or rather Sermon) in Chaucer (ed. Urry, p. 197).

2. PERCIVAL. Spenser has in view the Persian court again; Ezra 7. 14: "Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors"; Esther 1. 14: "The seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat first in the kingdom."

3-4. DODGE. The beasts were taught to obey the counsellor's beast-like orders, which were accommodated ("applyde"), by reason of like qualities, to the beasts' natures ("kindes"): i. e. each counsellor was of like nature to the beast that he rode.

6. UPTON. He calls Idleness "the nourse of sin," and so Chaucer in the *Second Nommes Prologue*: "The minister and norice unto vices." He is pictured as an idle monk, arayed in a black gown and amis; in his hand he has his portesse. "Scarce could he once uphold his heavy head." So Chaucer in the character of the monk:

He was a lord full fat, and in gode point;
His eyin stepe and rolling in his hed,
That stemid as a furneis of led.

8. TODD. "Amis," Fr. And thus, in the Roman ritual, "Graiis amictus," whence Mr. Warton deduces the "amice gray" of Milton, *P. R.* 4. 427. I have shown, in a note on that passage, that gray amis was anciently the dress of the Lord Mayor of London, and of those knights who had served that office. The amises of the monks appear to have been also decorated with fur: "These myters, typptes, furred amyses, and shauen crownes." *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe*, 12mo. Zurik, 1543, p. 8. b.

xx. 3. TODD. "Essoyne": excuse. This is a law phrase. See Cowell's Law Dict. Art. "Essoinc." Our old poets set the example to Spenser of applying this legal expression: Thus Gower, *Confess. Amant.*:

But yet, for strength of matrimonie,
He might make none essonie
That he ne might algates plie
To go to bed of company.

And Chaucer, *The Parson's Tale* (ed. Urry, p. 192). "He," speaking of Christ, "shall make a general congregacion, where as no man may be absent; for certes there awayleth none essoyn ne excusation."

xxi. UPTON. Gluttony is one of the seven deadly sins, and here introduced as a person, resembling the old drunken god Silenus.

"His belly was upblowne with luxury." Virgil [*Ecl.* 6. 15]: "Inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho."

"And on his head an yvie girland had." Virgil [16] supposes this girland just fallen off, whilst he slept: "Serta procul tantum capiti delapsa jacebant." The "bouzing can," likewise, is his never failing companion [17]: "Et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa."

Of which he supt so oft, that on his seat
His dronken corse he scarce upholden can.

This is exactly old Silenus' picture in Ovid (*Met.* 4. 26-7):

Quique senex ferula titubantes ebrius artus
Sustinet et pando non fortiter haeret [asello].

Excepting that he here rides "on a filthie swine," a fit emblem of his hoggish

qualities, and his uncleanness, and of his frequent relapsing into his vices, like the sow that is washed, which goes again to wallow in the mire, 2 Peter 2. 22. And as Spenser never loses sight of the Scripture in all this first book, so likewise is that very picturesque image taken from the psalmist, "And eke with fatnesse swollen were his eyne": Psalm 73. 7 — "Their eyes stand out with fatnesse." But the image which follows, "And like a crane his necke was long —," is from the account which Aristotle in his *Ethicks* [3. 10] has given of one Philoxenus, who wished that he had the neck of a crane, "ut qui tactu maximam capiebat voluptatem."

5. DODGE. Alciati so represents Gluttony in his 90th emblem.

J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 155-7). Thomas Campbell called Spenser "The Rubens of the Poets." . . . Undoubtedly, Campbell seems justified when we see Gluttony riding among the Seven Deadly Sins on a "filthy swine," "his belly upblown with luxury," his eyes "with fatness swollen," in green vine leaves clad,

For other clothes he could not wear for heat,

with ivy garlanded,

From under which fast trickled down the sweat,

still eating as he rode, and from his "houzing can" sipping so often that on his seat

His dronken corse he scarce upholden can.

Rubens not only might have painted the subject, but almost has painted it in his "Triumph of Bacchus" in the Gallery of the Uffizi in Florence. . . . But the likeness itself is in what is called the literary side of painting, or if you will — the illustrative side. . . . (Even here there are differences — Spenser's Gluttony differs from Rubens's Bacchus in having, in spite of his corpulence, a neck "long and fyne" "like a crane." Spenser got the detail from the Emblem books — Apparently a long neck was given to Gluttony on the idea that delicacies might so be longer enjoyed in the swallowing.) In the technic of painting itself, apart from theme and composition, Spenser's manner is far from Rubens's or Veronese's as possible. Rubens's figures move in an atmosphere reeking with color of a thousand shades and tints. His living landscape is full of liquid sunshine, in which his figures themselves are embedded, — lumpish masses of color with hazy, vanishing outlines, as we should see them on a shimmering summer noon. Spenser gives no suggestion of color beyond the streak of green of the vine leaves garlanding his symbolic monster, — and they too are symbolic. On the other hand, we can see his Gluttony's very shape and action. We get effects a draftsman or sculptor might give. The color — if there is color — is laid on afterwards, — as a child might color an engraving in a picturebook. To see Spenser's picture as he saw it we must go not to such atmospheric colorists as Rubens or Veronese, but to, say, Mantegna's copperplate engravings with their plastic effects of pure line.

xxii. 6. TODD. A drinking can. "Buyzen," to bouse. Sewel's Dutch and Engl. Dict. 1691. See also Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. in which "Boire" is translated "To drinke, bouse, bib, swill, &c." I know not why Minsheu should have writ-

ten the following article in his *Guide into Tongues*, edit. 1627. No. 1686-2. "A bowser, bouser, or bourser of a colledge." For bourser or bursar, the college-treasurer, is evidently derived from Fr. "bourse," a purse. And what analogy is there between the derivatives "buyzen" and "bourse"? Perhaps "bouser" might be the corrupt way of pronouncing "bourser." I prefer rescuing the bursars, however, from any association whatever with bousers.

xxiii. 7. UPTON. I should have endeavoured to explain, rather than correct, this passage, did not I know very well, how Spenser loves to imitate classical epithets,

Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops.

Beside, "a dry dropsie" is a tympany, which cannot "flow through his flesh": the ambiguity of the expression is not taken away, by explaining "dry" to signify causing of drought. I can hardly doubt therefore but our poet wrote,

And a *dire* dropsie through his flesh did flow.

WARTON (2. 75-6). But it is plain, that "dry Dropsie" is the species of the Dropsy so called, the dry Dropsy or Tympanites; which Spenser has inaccurately confounded with the other species of the Dropsy, and which may not improperly be said to flow through the flesh; not considering the inconsistency of making a dry thing flow. As to Mr. Upton's correction "dire," I cannot perceive how "dire" could be easily mistaken by the compositors for "dry." Mr. Upton might, with equal propriety, have objected to the following words, "*dry Drops.*"

And with *dry drops* congealed in her eye. 2. 1. 49.

. . . By "dry Dropsie," may not the poet also mean, a Dropsie which is the *cause* of thirst?

xxiv. 3. COLLIER. The poet seems to refer to the suspicious and rolling eyes of jealousy: when the eyes are rolled the white is much shown; and a horse with a "whall" eye is a horse with a white eye, or an eye in which the white greatly predominates.

xxiv-xxv. UPTON. "After Glotonie cometh Lecherie, for these two sinnes ben so nigh cosins that oft time thei wol not depart": Chaucer in the *Parson's Tale*. Spenser is beholden to our old bard for a part of this picture. He is "rough and black," and "in a greene gowne":

And there beside, within a bay windowe
Stood one in grene ful large of bredth and length;
His berd was black as fethers of a crow;
His name was Lust. (*Court of Love* 1058-61)

Notwithstanding he was so "unseemly a man to please, yet he was loved of ladies," says Spenser: and what wonder, if all women should love those who love all women? [Lechery, in Hawes's *The Exemple of Vertu*, is a fair lady riding on a goat; see Appendix, p. 416.]

xxvii-xxix. UPTON. Thus described in *Pierce Plowman* [B Text: 5. 188-191]:

And then came Covetis, can I him not discrive,
 So hugerly and hollowe, so sternely he loked;
 He was bittlebrowed, and baberlypped also,
 Wyth two blered eyen.

A more full description the reader may see in the *Romance of the Rose* 180, where is described both Covetise and Avarice. That expression, "Whose plenty made him poor," is from Ovid, *Met.* 3. 466: "Inopem me copia fecit."

xxx-xxxii. JORTIN. This is from Ovid, *Met.* 2. 760 [765] ff.:

Videt intus edentem
 Vipereas carnes, vitiorum alimenta suorum,
 Invidiam: visaque oculos avertit. At illa
 Surgit humo pigra: passuque incedit inertī . . .
 Utque deam vidit formaque armisque decoram,
 Ingemuit: vultumque ima ad suspiria duxit. . . .
 Risus abest; nisi quem visi movere dolores.
 Nec fruitur somno, vigilacibus excita curis:
 Sed videt ingratos, intabescitque videndo,
 Successus hominum: carpitque et carpitur una. . . .
 Vixque tenet lacrimas; quia nil lacrimabile cernit.

WARTON (1. 69-71). Ovid (*Met.* 2. 760). He feigns that Envy was found eating the flesh of vipers, a fiction not much unlike Spenser's picture. But our author has heightened this circumstance to a most disgusting degree, for he adds that the poison ran about his jaw. This is perhaps one of the most loathsome images which Spenser has given us, though he paints very strongly (1. 1. 20). . . . As also in the discovery of Duessa (1. 8. 47-8). He is likewise very indelicate where he speaks of Serena's wounds:

For now her wounds corruption 'gan to breed.

And to forbear disagreeable citations, see 7. 7. 31 and 7. 7. 40. The truth is, the strength of our author's imagination could not be suppressed on any subject; and, in some measure, it is owing to the fulness of his stanza and the reiteration of his rhymes that he describes these offensive objects so minutely.

But to return to his Envy. This personage is again introduced (5. 12. 29) chewing a snake, of which a most beautiful use is made (stanza 39). . . . It may be objected that Spenser drew the thought of Envy throwing her snake at Arthegall from Alecto's attack upon Amata (*Aen.* 7. 346):

Huic Dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem
 Conjicit, inque sinus praecordia ad intima condit.

But Spenser's application of this thought is surely a stronger effort of invention than the thought itself. The rancour, both of Envy and of her snake, could not have been expressed by more significant strokes. Although the snake was her constant food, yet she was tempted to part with her only sustenance, while she could render it an instrument of injuring another; and although the snake, by being thus constantly fed upon, was nearly dead, "some life," as he finely says, "remaining secretly," yet its natural malignity enabled it to bite with violence.

UPTON. Let us read the courtly Sydney's description of Envy, or the envious man: "Whose eyes could not looke right upon any happy man, nor cares beare the burthen of any bodies praise; contrary to the natures of all other plagues, plagued with others well being; making happinesse the ground of his unhappiness, and good news the argument of his sorrow: in summ, a man whose favour no man could winne, but by being miserable" [*Arcadia* 2]. Chaucer, in the *Romance of the Rose* [248-50], after characterising Avarice, describes

Envy that never laugh
But if she either sawe or herde
Some grete mischaunce.

Ovid (*Met.* 2. 796) says very prettily, according to his usual elegance, of this female hag (for in Latin the word is feminine): "Vixque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit" Spenser has given his verse the same Ovidian turn: "And wept that cause of weeping none he had." Ovid says Envy was found chewing vipers; Spenser, "And still did chaw a venomous toad," for toads and frogs are said to swell with envy, according to the fable to which Horace alludes, 2 *Satires* 3. 314.

Let us see the dress of Envy:

All in a Kirtle of discoloured say
He clothed was, ypainted full of eyes.

Pierce Plowman [B Text: 5. 61-63] describing Envy:

And was as pale as a pellet, in the palsey he semed,
And clothed with caurymaury, I can it not describe;
In kyrtel and curtepy, and a knife by his side.

Envy is likewise of the male gender in Chaucer's *Court of Love* [1255-7]. His garment is here "ypainted full of eyes," and Virgil paints the monster Fame full of eyes and cares and tongues.

Malicious and envious persons are said to carry snakes in their bosom: Hesiod, *Theogony* 601: "Who had a cold snake in your artful breast."

xxxii. 7. PERCIVAL. "Hast thou backbyted thy neghbores?" is to be the priest's inquiry at the confessional under the head of Envy: *Instructions for Parish Priests* 1241.

xxxiii-xxxv. UPTON. The philosophers define wrath, "Libido ulciscendi." (See Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 3. 5; 4. 9; and Diogenes Laertius 7. 114) To this Spenser alludes when he says of Wrath, "Ne card for blood in his avengement" His picture is that of the wrathful man in Seneca, *De Ira* 1. 1: "Flagrant et micant oculi, metus ore toto rubor, exaestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine; labia quatuntur."

And 2 35:

Non est ullius affectus facies turbator. . . . Tumescunt venae, concutitur crebro spiritu pectus, rapida vocis eruptio colla distendit; tunc artus trepidi, inquietae manus, totius corporis fluctuatio. . . . Talem nobis Iram figuremus, flamma lumina ardentia . . . tela manu utraque quatientem. . . . Vel, si videtur, sit qualis apud vates nostros est:

Sanguineum quatiens dextra Bellona flagellum,
Aut scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla.

'Tis impossible for the reader, I should think, not to see here the plain imitations of our poet, both as to the look, dress, and attitude. Let us add *Pierce Plowman* [B Text: 5. 134]: "Now awaketh Wrath with two white eien"; and Chaucer in the *Romaunt of the Rose* 147-155.

WINSTANLEY. The description of Wrath borrows many of its attributes from the misfortunes of Mars as described in the *Knight's Tale* (1997-2012).

xxxvi. 6-7. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 158). Spenser is as a rule, insensitive to atmospheric effects. He does rarely suggest something of the kind, as when after describing Lucifera and her evil train, he adds:

and still before their way
A foggy mist had covered all the land.

Even this mist is, of course, symbolic.

xl-xliv. B. ROSENTHAL calls attention to certain similarities between this encounter of the Red Cross Knight and Sansjoy and the encounter between Palamon and Arcite in the *Knights Tale*. In each narrative two deadly foes contend, with the possession of a lady at stake, and in each the combatants are interrupted by a person in authority and required to appear in a formal engagement. Moreover the complaint of Sansjoy to Lucifera parallels the complaint of Palamon to Theseus, and the scornful silence of the Red Cross Knight, the silence of Arcite. The verse

Redoubted bataille ready to darrayne (40. 2)

seems reminiscent of the verse

The bataille to darreyne, as I you tolde (2097),

as first noted by Todd, and the verse

Uprose Duessa from her resting place (44. 8)

reminiscent of the verse

Up roos the soune, and up roos Emelye (2273).

A further parallelism that might have been noted is that between Theseus and his court going forth of a bright morning to hunt and Lucifera and her train going forth to play in the fresh flowering fields.

xliv. 6. SAWTELLE. The leaden mace of Morpheus may have been suggested to our poet by the Lethe-drenched branch which the god of sleep shakes over the head of Palinurus (*Aen.* 5. 584), or perhaps by Hermes' soporific wand (*Od.* 5. 47; *Aen.* 4. 244).

LOTSPEICH. Cf. *Aen.* 5. 854; Silius Italicus 10. 354-356.

l. 5. TODD. Sansjoy here alludes to the laws of the Duello, which enacted the following oath: "I do swear, that I have not upon me, nor any of the arms I shall use, words, charms, or enchantments, etc." See Cockburn's *History of Duels*, p. 115, and my note on Milton's *Samson Agonistes* 1134. The same laws guarded also against "odds of arms," to which Sansjoy likewise refers. See the chapters "De la electione de l'arme" and two following in the *Duello*, Book 4, Venice, 1521.

CANTO V

i. 1-4. LOWELL (*Prose Works* 4. 333). Spenser's mind always demands large elbowroom. His thoughts are never pithily expressed, but with a stately and sonorous proclamation, as if under the open sky, that seems to be very noble. . . .

Th' eternal brood of glorie excellent.

One's very soul seems to dilate with that last verse.

EDITOR. A noble expression of the Renaissance faith in the active life. It is thoroughly in the spirit of Castiglione's *The Courtier*. (See Appendix, "The Passetyme of Pleasure and the Exemple of Vertu," p. 417.)

2. UPTON. This is expressed after Plato's manner, in allusion to the innate and intellectual powers in the soul, full of entity and of substantial forms, which by proper institution knows how to unfold itself, and, as it were, conceives, and brings forth out of its intellectual womb. . . . Spenser seems particularly to have the following passage in view (*Symposium*, p. 206): "All men conceive, both physically and spiritually, and whenever a certain age is reached the nature within us desires to give birth."

EDITOR. For further consideration of the same general idea, see also *Theaetetus* 149 ff, cited by Upton, *Phaedrus* 251 A ff, and *Timaetus* 91 A.

ii. 1-5. A. DYCE (*Works of George Peele*, 2 vols., 1828, 1. 286) quotes these lines as a parallel to the following passage from *David and Bethsabe*:

As when the sun attir'd in glistering robe,
Comes dancing from his oriental gate,
And bridegroom-like hurls through the gloomy air
His radiant beams, such doth king David show,
Crown'd with the honour of his enemies' town, . . .

The passage is cited by J. C. SMITH (*The Faerie Queene*, 1909, 1. xi) as evidence of the circulation of the *Faerie Queene* before its publication. Cf. also notes to 7. 32. 5-9; 7. 43. 8-9; 8. 11. 5.

J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 163). Like Botticelli also is the Elizabethan's power of suggesting action and movement, such as the gorgeous procession of the Dawn. . . . Distinct again is the picture at the bridal of Una and her knight [12. 6. 5-9].

3. JORTIN. Psalm 19. 5: "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun; which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoyceth as a giant to run his course."

WARTON (2. 125). Spenser, as Dr. Jortin observes, plainly alluded to this text in the Psalms. . . . But our author has strangely inverted the circumstances. The Psalmist alludes to the Jewish custom of the bridegroom being conducted from his chamber at midnight, with solemn pomp, and preceded by a numerous train of torches. This is the illustration of the admirable Dr. Jackson, a theologian in the reign of James I, and without it the comparison is of no force

or propriety. The idea which our author would convey is, that Phoebus came forth fresh and vigorous as a bridegroom, repairing to his bride.

4. PERCIVAL. Ennius (in Cicero) speaks of "Apollo crinitus"; cf. Tibullus 2. 3. 29; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 34. 19.

5. UPTON. I should not have thought of changing "hurls" into "hurld," had not Spenser so ordered it among the Errata printed at the end of his first edition. He says "hurld," because the beams of the Sun are his darts, which he "hurls"; or arrowes which he "shoots" forth: So Prudentius, 2. hymn.

Caligo terrae scinditur
Percussa Solis Spiculo.

And from Prudentius, Milton, 6. 15.

—From before her [the Morn] vanished Night
Shot through with orient beames.

8. UPTON. "Sun-bright." 'Tis a happy epithet.

TODD. The epithet is certainly, as Mr. Upton has observed, a very happy one. But I doubt whether Spenser may be pronounced the original framer of it. In Greene's *Arcadia* (1589) it is thus employed: "Sunnebright Venus." Fairfax, Milton, and Henry More, all ardent admirers of Spenser, have adopted this compound.

iii. 4-9. TODD. Spenser has here intermixed the minstrels with the bards. The minstrels, says Dr. Percy, seem to have been the genuine successors of the ancient bards, who under different names were admired and revered, from the earliest ages, among the people of Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the North. . . . The chroniclers here mentioned may be also understood as rhymers. For thus Spenser, in his *View of the State of Ireland*: "I do herein rely upon these bards or Irish chroniclers." This stanza presents us with a picture of the stately gaiety of the feudal times, and of the ancient establishments in the houses of our gentry.

PERCIVAL. Spenser here makes an arbitrary division of labour among minstrels, bards and chroniclers: in reality the three are the same. Drayton, *Polyolbion* 1, describes the functions of the bard or poet-prophet, like the Roman "Vates"; so Sidney, *Apology for Poetry*.

7. UPTON. "Can tune," i. e. did tune, or knew how to tune; "timely," according to proper time and measure; "cunningly," as artists. Let the reader here observe the disposition, and order of things: the procession, the ratification of the oath, the combat, the breaking off of the combat by supernatural interposition; then the scene changes to the infernal regions, where Duessa goes for the cure of the wounded Sarazin.

iv. 5-9. UPTON. Spenser mentions "spiced wines," as agreeable to the eastern manners: "I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine" (Song of Solomon 8. 2.). . . . The ratification of the oath by wine is agreeable to the custom mentioned in Homer, *Il.* 3. 270, 295. And the whole ceremony is according to the laws of arms, and established customs in romance writers: the procession; the

champ clos, or lists; the royal canopy for the queen; the shield hanged up for the conqueror, and Duessa in open view, the conqueror's meed likewise. See Du Cange in "Duello." And first they swear to observe the sacred law of arms: this oath the reader may see in Spelman, *Gloss* v. "Campus," and Wachter, *Gloss. Germ.* v. "Acht." Shakespeare in the combat of Bolingbroke and Mowbray mentions this oath:

K. Rich.: Marshall, demand of yonder champion
The cause of his arrival here in arms;
Ask him his name, and orderly proceed
To swear him in the justice of his cause.

Sydney alludes to it in the mock combat between Clinias and Dametas: "and taking the oath of those champions that they came without guile or witchcraft, set them at wonted distance, one from the other. Then the trumpet sounding," etc.

PERCIVAL. In the *Squier of Low Degree* is mentioned the "wyne of Greke," and Holinshed, (1. 281) includes "Grecian" among his thirty kinds of wines of "strength and valure": e. g. hippocras and malmsey. "Araby." Spenser perhaps means this generally for the Orient, referring to the wines of Antioch and Lebanon (Hosea 14. 7). Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 6. 32) mentions only the palm-wine of Arabia proper.

"spices." For this custom see 3. 1. 42; Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women* 1110; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 7. 23; *William of Palerne* 4324 ff. In the *Squier of Low Degree* these spiced wines are called "despice and piment."

"privily." In their breasts.

v. UPTON. "Both those," i. e. Duessa and the shield, were the lawrell girlands dew to the victor. 'Tis very hard; scarce any tortured figures of rhetoric can allow this, to call Duessa and the shield of Sansfoy "lawrell girlands." But let us add the connective particle . . . and then how easy all will appear?

TODD. Mr. Upton would read, "Both those, and th' lawrell girlands to the victor dew." But surely "Duessa" and "Sansfoy his shield" are the laurel garlands, that is, the rewards to be given to the conqueror. . . . It may be urged, as another objection to Mr. Upton's alteration, that Spenser never cuts off the vowel in *the* before a consonant.

vi. 1. UPTON. The knights began to encounter at the third sounding of the trumpet:

E al terzo suon mette la lancia in resta (*Orl. Fur.* 5. 88).

In imitation of this custom of thrice sounding before they engaged in the lists, the playhouses introduced their three several soundings before the actors entered the stage, which custom is now changed into playing of pieces of musick thrice before the curtain draws up.

3. UPTON. The Italian romance writers call this "imbracciare: *Orl. Innam.* 1. 17. 63; 2. 7. 6; 2. 20. 49.

PERCIVAL. So Sir Guyon (2. 3. 1): "And many-folded shield he bound about his wrest."

vii. 2. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199) notes the simile used to describe the combat

between Sacripante and Rinaldo (*Orl. Fur.* 2. 8. 4-8) but concludes, "hardly an imitation."

5. UPTON. And he doubled strokes like the threatenings of dreaded thunder, i. e. he doubled his strokes like thunder-strokes. "Ingeminans ictus," Virgil 5. 457.

PERCIVAL. The dentals form an echo of the sound to the sense.

6. PERCIVAL. Note the fine contrast of motives: the knight battles through sheer animal spirits (1. 4) and for love of glory, with which he has been infected by his residence in the house of Pride; the Paynim, for deadly revenge; and yet the former wins, since his cause is righteous.

EDITOR. The knight did not need to be "infected" with youthful heat and the desire for praise and honor; these noble qualities were inherently his.

7. PERCIVAL. Quintilian's figure of speech, polyptoton.

viii. 2. CHURCH. "As when a fiers dragon encountreth a gryfon seized of his pray, (and) in his flight making his ydle way through widest ayre, that (i. e. which dragon) would," etc. The Red Cross Knight is here compared to the gryfon.

PERCIVAL. This fabulous animal is mentioned by Herodotus (3. 116), and distinguished by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 10. 70) from the Pegasus or winged horse, by the possession of erect ears and a hooked bill. . . . Dante created an allegory out of the Gryphon (*Purg.* 29. 104), and Ariosto his Hippogriff (*Orl. Fur.* 4. 17).

EDITOR. The griffin of medieval romance is thus described by Maundeville (29): "In that land er many griffons . . . thai hafe the schappe of ane egle before, and behind the schappe of a lyoun." See Chaucer, *Knights Tale* 1275.

ix. 4. CHURCH. Milton plainly copied from hence (*P. L.* 6. 332):

A stream of nectarous humour issuing flow'd
Sanguine . . .
And all his armour stain'd ere while so bright.

x. As first noted by WARTON (2. 131), this passage is clearly reminiscent of the closing episode of the *Aen.* (12. 940-9):

Et jam jamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
Cooperat, infelix humero cum apparuit alto
Balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
Straverat atque humeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
Ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris
Exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
Terribilis: Tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
Eripiare mihi?

xi. 2. UPTON. He was to wander, and waile by black Stygian lake, till his manes were expiated; and so below, st. 13. 3.

3. UPTON. Seems taken from what Pyrrhus said to old Priam [*Aen.* 2. 547-8]:

Referes ergo haec et nuncius ibis
Pelidae genitori.

xiii-xv. JORTIN cites *Il.* 3. 380, and UPTON adds *Il.* 5. 345 and *Aen.* 5. 810, in which the gods rescue their favorites by throwing a cloud about them. H. H. BIANCHARD (*SP* 12. 199) sees a further and more immediate analogue in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (7. 43 ff.) where the enchantress Armida rescues Rambaldo from Tancred by protecting darkness. In each case the poet introduces the episode of the intervening darkness with the same expression of surprise, Spenser's "when lo" (13. 6) seemingly suggested by Tasso's "Quando ecco" (7. 44. 5).

xiii. 3. UPTON notes the influence of *Aen.* 10. 600, where Aeneas, having already killed Lucagus, slays his brother Liger with the words: "et fratrem ne desere frater."

6-9. UPTON. Duessa, like Homer's gods, flings a darksome cloud between the two combatants, and thus rescues her knight. See *Il.* 3. 380 [cited also by JORTIN] and 5. 345. By the same kind of interposition Neptune saved Aeneas, *Il.* 20. 321.

xv. 1. UPTON. So Virgil (*Aen.* 12. 466):

solum densa in caligine Turnum
Vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit.

So Menelaus missing his prey, *Il.* 3. 449.

xvi. 4. UPTON. Italian, "prendi in grado."

PERCIVAL. Chaucer has "receyve in gre"; Skelton, "taken en gre"; Fairfax, "accept in gree". O. Fr. "gré, gret"; and the expression, "en gré prendre."

xvii. 4. UPTON. The remedy here mentioned is according to Scripture (Luke 10. 34): "But a certain Samaritaine . . . went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine"

xviii. EDITOR. False tears were not ascribed to the crocodile in the original *Physiologus* but came in with later adaptations. Lauchert (*Geschichte des Physiologus*, p. 305) finds this characteristic as belonging to the crocodile in a Latin manuscript of the late twelfth century: "Hic dum invenit hominem si poterit cum vincere, comedit. Post et semper plorat eum." For the use of this story in the French Bestiaries see Lauchert's note (p. 146) on the Bestiary of Guillaume de Normandie. In some of the bestiaries the false tears were attributed to the Harpy.

The simile of the crocodile tears has been much employed. Lauchert (*Engl. St.* 14. 201) gives instances of its employment by Lyly and other sixteenth century writers.

xix ff. HUGHES (*Spenser's Works* 1. lxx-lxxii). There is one episode in this book which I cannot but particularly admire; I mean that in the fifth canto, where Duessa the witch seeks the assistance of Night, to convey the body of the wounded pagan to be cured by Aesculapius in the regions below. The author here rises above himself, and is got into a track of imitating the antients, different from the greatest part of his poem. The speech in which Duessa addresses Night is wonderfully great, and stained with that impious flattery, which is the character of False-

hood, who is the speaker. . . . As Duessa came away hastily on this expedition, and forgot to put off the shape of Truth, which she had assum'd a little before, Night does not know her: this circumstance, and the discovery afterwards, when she owns her for her daughter, are finely emblematical. The images of horror are raised in a very masterly manner; Night takes the witch into her chariot; and being arriv'd where the body lay, they alight. . . . They steal away the body, and carry it down thro the cave Avernus, to the realms of Pluto. What strength of painting is there in the following lines [32. 4-9]. . . . Longinus commending a description in Euripides of Phaeton's journey thro the heavens, in which the turnings and windings are mark'd out in a very lively manner, says, that the soul of the poet seems to mount the chariot with him, and to share all his dangers. The reader will find himself in a like manner transported throughout this whole episode; which shews that it has in it the force and spirit of the most sublime poetry.

xix. 9. UPTON. As Phoebus sunk in the west, night opposite rose in the east. Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 250) :

Vertitur interea caelum, et ruit oceano nox.

xx-xliv. UPTON. Let us stay a little and contemplate this venerable old matron, who makes no inconsiderable figure in this canto. She is "clad in a dark pitchy mantle." . . . Musaeus names Night Κυνόπεπλος, and Euripides in *Ione* v. 1150 μελάμπепλος, i. e. sable-vested, as Milton (2. 691) translates it:

with him (Chaos) enthron'd
Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign.

She rides in a chariot drawn by "cole-black steeds" (Silius Italicus, *Punica* 15. 284) :

Donec Nox atro circumdata corpus amictu
Nigrantes invexit equos.

Shakespeare (*Midsummer Nights Dream* 3. 2. 379) supposes dragons to draw her carr:

For Night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast.

Virgil gives Night a pair of horses (*Aen.* 5. 721) :

Et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat.

But Tibullus is more liberal, and says, like Spenser, that she rode in a chariot drawn by four horses (3. 4. 17) :

Jam Nox aethereum nigris emensa quadrigis
Mundum, caeruleis [caerulco] laverat amne rotas.

And as the nights are different, so are the horses described (St. 29) :

Her twyfold teme, of which two black as pitch,
And two were brown, yet each to each unlich.

Night drives her own horses in Spenser, but other poets make Sleep her charioteer Statius (*Theb.* 2. 59) :

Sopor obvius illi
Noctis agebat equos.

Claudianus (*De Bello Gildonico* 213):

Humentes jam Noctis equos, letheaque Somnus
Fraena regens, tacito volvebat sidera cursu.

Having viewed her dress and equipage, concerning which the poets and painters cannot entirely agree, let us now consider her genealogy. She is "the most ancient grandmother of all, more old than Jove" (st. 22), and (st. 42) she is named "ancient Night." Aratus 5. 408: 'Ἀρχαίη Νύξ. So Milton (*P. L.* 2. 894): "Eldest Night"; *P. L.* 2. 962: "Night eldest of things"; and twice afterwards he calls her "Ancient Night." According to Hesiod, Night is the offspring of Chaos. Orpheus calls her the mother of the Gods; and Meleager in his Epigram thus,

Dear Night, mother of all the gods, I beseech this one favor.

Παμμήτρεα is, according to Spenser's expression, "ancient grandmother of all." So Homer, Νύξ μήτρεα Θεῶν. . . . The power and dignity of Night we find recognized in st. 34:

For she in hell and heaven had power equally.

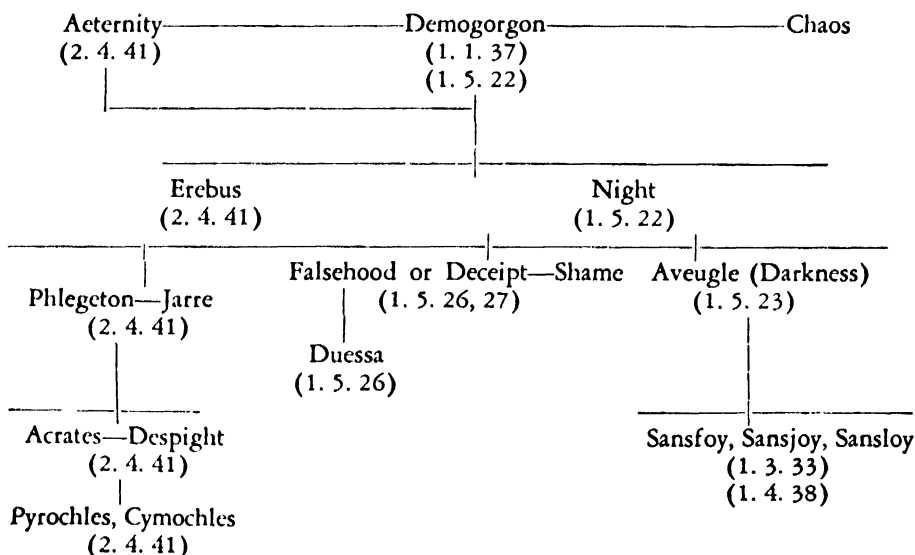
Like Hecate, whose three-fold power was acknowledged as Luna, Diana, and Proserpina. Virgil (*Aen.* 4. 511):

Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

(*Aen.* 6. 247):

Voce vocans Hecate, caeloque Ereboque potentem.

Her children, which are very numerous, may be seen in Hesiod, Cicero (*De Natura Deorum* 3), Hyginus, and other mythologists. But because Spenser from Boccace and others has made a particular kind of mythology, and has taken and altered what suits his own object, I think it will be of no small use to the readers of Spenser to draw up his plan:



C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8 275). Cf. Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae* 3. 12: "The above mentioned plagues (deceit, fraud, envy, strife, obstinacy, wretchedness, etc.) are said to have been born of her because ignorance and malignity, which are the night of the mind, are the parents and nurses of all the calamities which afflict humanity."

LOTSPEICH. From *Met.* 14. 403-5, where Arce summons Night to her aid, may have come a suggestion for introducing her here as a helper to Duessa; but it seems likely that a large share of the material is from Natalis Comes (3. 12). Spenser's Night is "the most ancient grand-mother of all . . . begot in Demogorgon's hall," which is Chaos. Natalis says, "She is called most ancient because she was born of Chaos, for she lived before the world was digested into order (cf. 22. 6). Therefore rightly Orpheus in his hymns calls her the mother of gods and men (cf. 22. 2-3)." In accord with this she is wife of Erebus (2. 4. 41; 3. 4. 55 . . .). She is "mother of falsehood" and so of Duessa (5. 27); cf. *Theog.* 224; Boccaccio 1. 21, and Natalis 3. 12, p. 229, where Deceit or Fraud is a child of Night. 1. 5. 20 also gives the fullest description of Night's physical appearance. Here Spenser follows Natalis Comes' order: the black mantle (which appears also at 1. 11. 49; 7. 7. 44; *Epith.* 321, and in Euripides, *Ion* 1150, quoted by Natalis); the chariot (cf. *Aen.* 5. 721, quoted by Natalis); the horses. . . . The natural and habitual home of Night is Hades, which, for Spenser, is in a general way identified with Chaos.

xx. 4. TODD. "Mew." Place of confinement. So, in Chaucer, speaking of Love (*Romaunt of the Rose* 4778):

For to escape out of his mewe.

See Gloss. Urry's *Chaucer*, where we are informed that "mew was a kind of cage where hawks were wintered or kept when they 'mued,' or changed their feathers; whence those great stables, belonging to Whitehall, took denomination: that place having been anciently full of 'mues,' where the King's hawks were kept" See also Chaucer (*Prolog* 351):

Ful many a fatt pertriche had he in mewe.

Thus, from being applied to hawks in a particular sense, it descended to signify cage in general, or prison.

6-9. WARTON (1. 75). What Spenser says of the horses of Night, in all probability, tempted Milton's fancy to go further and to give them names. See *In Quint. Novemb.* 151 ff.

xxi. 1. UPTON. Duessa makes so much hast for the sake of her Sarazin that she acts quite contrary to all courtlike decorum and the established rules of good breeding, thus to appear in her masquerading dress before a person of such a dignity as Auncient Night. But though this may be contrary to the decorum of a court, yet it is agreeable to the decorum of poetry. This hast and this forgetfulness shews her ardent love and zeal for the cause in which she is engaged.

xxi. 4. TODD. The *unusual* light. So, in *The Lepanto of James the sixth, King of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1591) 632:

Yet all these unacquainted roares,
The feareful threatning sound,
Joynd with the groning murmuring howles,
The courage could not wound.

EDITOR. Spenser is very fond of Rembrandtesque chiaroscuro; cf. the Red Cross Knight in Error's den, Guyon in the cave of Mammon, 2. 7. 42. 1-2, etc.

xxii. 2. JORTIN. Here Night is made to be the mother of the gods. In his *Hymn to Love* and in *Colin Clout's come home again*, Love is described as the maker of the world; for both which Spenser had the authority of ancient cosmogonists. See Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* 120, 248, 488. In Homer [*Il.* 14. 259-263], Jupiter pays great respect to Night. Jupiter would have destroyed me, says Somnus, "if Night had not saved me, Night, that subdues both gods and men. To her I came as a suppliant in my flight, and he ceased from pursuing, wrathful as he was, for he was in awe of doing aught displeasing to swift Night."

3. UPTON. Night may be said to have the breeding of Jupiter, because he was secreted and hid in darkness from the search of his father Saturn, who otherwise had devoured him.

5. WARTON (1. 75). That is, in Chaos, who is the parent of Night, according to Hesiod, *Theogony* 123.

6. UPTON. "Secrets of the World." τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς φύσεως, *Arcana naturae*. Milton has the same expression, *P. L.* 2. 891:

Before their eyes in sudden view appear
The secrets of the hoarie deep.

2. 972:

The secrets of your realm.

10. 478:

Night and Chaos, jealous of their secrets.

So likewise 5. 569:

How last unfold
The secrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal?

Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 267):

Sit numine vestro
Pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

EDITOR. In connection with this line should be studied the cosmogony and the creative theory elaborated in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*, and the studies bearing upon these cantos in the papers by Professor Greenlaw entitled: "Spenser and Lucretius," *SP* 17; "Spenser's Influence upon *Paradise Lost*," *SP* 17; "Some Ancient Religious Cults in Spenser," *SP* 20.

7. UPTON. "Thy nephewes." Thy grandchildren, as "nepotes" is used in the Latin language.

xxiii. 3. UPTON. Cf. *Il.* 1. 4; Deuteronomy 28. 26; 1 Samuel 17. 46.

4. UPTON. Cf. *Il.* 22. 386; *Od.* 11. 53; *Aen.* 11. 372.

6. UPTON. This is an exclamation that gods and demygods and goddesses often make: Virgil, *Georgics* 4. 322:

Quid me praeclara stirpe deorum
Invisum fatis genuisti?

And thus Juturna laments (*Aen.* 12. 879):

Quo vitam dedit aeternam? Cur mortis adempta est
Conditio?

7. UPTON. "So evill heare." Have so bad a name and character. 'Tis a Greek and Latin idiom of speech.

8-9. UPTON. *I. e.* "When two of her three grandchildren" 'Tis a kind of synchysis or confusion of diction.

xxv. EDITOR. Cf. the accusation of Jove by Mutability, 7. 7. 15-6.

5. UPTON. This is that golden chain mentioned in Homer, *Il.* 8. 19. The eternal concatenation of causes and effects. 'Tis the chain in Milton that links the universe to heaven.

xxvi. 9. UPTON. According to the genealogy which I have drawn up, Ducessa is granddaughter to Auncient Night. [See genealogical table in note to stanza 20.]

xxvii. 6-7. WARTON (1. 175) cites Hesiod, *Theogony* 224:

Destroying night brought forth Falsehood.

xxx. JORTIN. He has here applied to Night what the ancient poets say of Hecate. Theocritus 2. 12-3, 35-6; Apollonius 3.

2. UPTON. This alludes to an old superstitious belief that dogs are quick-sighted and quick-scented at the approach of gods or goddesses. Cf. *Od.* 16. 176.

xxxi. 1-6. JORTIN first noted that this passage is reminiscent of Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 237-242, in which the poet describes the descent of Aeneas into Hades:

Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon.

6-7. JORTIN Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 128-131:

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci quos aequus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,
Dis geniti potuere.

UPTON. The Sibyl informs Aeneas that the descent into hell **was easy**, but to reascend was the difficulty: 'twas true however that a few had this privilege, a few of *heavenly grace* (*Aen.* 6. 129-131).

Shall we acquiesce in this interpretation, or consider it further, as an allusion to

those creatures that have back returned by Heavenly Grace, being redeemed by Christ, who descended into hell and preached unto the spirits in prison (1 Peter 3. 19). We must not lose sight of the scripture throughout this whole first book, for our knight is the Christian hero, and Una Christian truth.

xxxii. UPTON. The reader at his leisure may compare Ovid's description of Orpheus' descent into hell (*Met.* 10), or of Juno's, who came to solicit one of the Furies to punish Athamas (*Met.* 4. 449). For I believe that Spenser in these descriptions consulted both Ovid and Virgil.

xxxiii. 1. SAWTELLE. Cf. *Aen.* 6. 295.

LOTSPEICH. Natalis Comes 3. 1, discusses the connection of Acheron with woe and wailing and twice calls the waters "insuavissima."

3-4. UPTON. The descriptions of the rivers in hell are taken from Plato's *Phaedo* and from Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 551 ff., and imitated by Milton [*P. L.*] 2. 574.

7. UPTON. 'Tis plain Spenser had Virgil in view, *Aen.* 6. 648-9:

Sub rupe sinistra/moenia lata videt

This "house of pain" is called in Plato's *Gorgias* "the prison of punishment." . . . Milton (*P. L.* 2. 823) likewise uses Spenser's words, "The house of pain."

xxxiv. JORTIN. From Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 417-423:

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
Personat adverso recubans inmanis in antro.
Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
Corripit objectam, atque inmania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro.

The last line is also taken from Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 247:

Hecaten caeloque creboque potentem.

According to Hesiod (*Theogony* 770), Cerberus was very civil to all who came in, but would not let them go out again. [UPTON cites also Horace, *Odes* 3. 2.]

UPTON. How does Night appease Cerberus? Like the Sibyl in Virgil?

Melle soporatum medicatis frugibus offam
Objiciit.

Or like Virgil in Dante (*Inf.* 6):

E'l duca mio distese le sue spanne
Prese la terra, e con piene le pugna,
La gitto dentro alle bramose canne.

Or does Night appease Cerberus by making him to recognize her power and dignity? . . . Hecate, whose three-fold power, as Luna, Diana, and Proserpine, was equally acknowledged. So Cerberus recognized the office of Mercury (Horace, *Carmina* 3. 11. 15-20):

Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
 Janitor aulae
 Cerberus: quamvis furiale centum
 Muniant angues caput ejus, atque
 Spiritus teter, saniesque manet
 Ore trilingui.

Spenser seemed to have this passage of Horace before his eyes.

This image of Cerberus' hanging down his tail, seems taken from Horace, *Odes* 2. 19, where Bacchus descends into hell:

Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
 Cornu decorum, leniter atterens
 Caudam; et recedentis trilingui
 Ore pedes tetigitque crura.

COLLIER. Upton makes it a doubt how Night appeased Cerberus, and cites Virgil and Dante, which really have no other application than as they relate to descents into hell. The only passage of real similarity is that produced by Jortin.

xxxv. The tortures enumerated in this stanza follow, in the main, the familiar passages in *Od.* 11. 582 ff., *Met.* 4. 458 ff. and 10. 41 ff., and *Aen.* 6. 601 ff.

1-2. UPTON. From Tibullus (1. 3. 73):

Illic Junonem tentare Ixionis ausi
 Versantur celeri noxia membra rota.

5. UPTON. Was up to the chin in water, as Homer describes him, *Od.* 11. 582.

7-8. UPTON. Spenser's account of him [Typhoeus] differs from them all, as far as I can find. He was stricken with thunder by Jupiter, and laid under the island Inarmine (as Virgil is pleased to write Homer's "Εν Ἀρίμοις), but in this and in the following verse he had Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 617-19) in view:

Radiisque rotarum
 Destricti pendent; sedet, aeternumque sedebit
 Infelix Theseus.

SAWTELLE. The nearest approach to this in the classics is the statement of Antoninus Liberalis that, after Typhoeus had been given over to Vulcan under Actna, that god placed his anvils upon his neck.

LOTSPEICH. The idea that he lies with "his joints stretched on a gin" seems to be Spenser's own.

9. UPTON. The last verse of this stanza mentions the punishment of the daughters of Danaus (*Met.* 4. 46, Hyginus, *Fab.* 168): he uses a round number; one of his daughters saved her husband and was exempted from the punishment inflicted on the rest.

xxxvi. 7-8. UPTON. As poets seldom agree in their fabulous histories, so our

poet differs, I think, from all in saying that Aesculapius was emprisoned "remediesse," for he was made a god. Lucian introduces him and Hercules scolding for priority of place, and Celsus says he was numbered among the gods for adding lustre to an art before rude.

xxxviii. JORTIN. The ancient authors who relate this story, say that it was one monster, not two, that Neptune sent against Hippolytus. So say Euripides, Ovid, Seneca, Hyginus, Servius, Plutarch and others. It is not unlikely that our poet had Virgil in view, *Aen.* 7. 780:

Juvenem monstribus pavidi effudere marinis.

If Spenser took his two monsters from this passage, he had not sufficient authority for it. "Monstra" in Virgil may mean, first, a noise like thunder, and then a very high sea, which landed a monster; all which "monstra" frightened the horses of Hippolytus. Or Virgil might use "monstribus" for "monstro," as he has elsewhere.

UPTON. Let us see how Sir W. Raleigh in his history of the world (p. 367) tells this tale: "Neptune sent out his sea-calves (see Natal. Com. 2. 8) as Hippolytus passed by the sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the coach over, he was by being entangled therein, torne in pieces, which miserable and undeserved destinie, when Phedra had heard of, she strangled herself. After which it is fained that Diana intreated Aesculapius to set Hippolytus his pieces together, and to restore him to life; which done because he was chaste, she led him with her into Italie to accompany her in hunting."

4. HUGHES and UPTON alter to "chafing," and quote in support thereof *Aen.* 8. 767: "turbati equi," *Met.* 15. 517: "Turbantur equi," and *Fasti* 739: "Turbantur quadrupes." TODD remarks: The alteration, however ingenious, is not perhaps necessary. His "chacing steeds" are the steeds with which he had been accustomed to hunt; and we are to observe in the next line a continuation of this meaning, the "huntsman overcast." Spenser, I may add, has poetical authority for "chacing steeds." See Claudian, *De Nupt. Hon. et Mar.* 5: "Non illi venator equus—"

xxxix. JORTIN. From Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 765 ff. What Spenser says of Aesculapius endeavouring to heal the wounds of Hippolytus is his own, I believe, and is finely imagined. He says Phaedra killed her self with wretched knife, in which I think he is mistaken: the ancients say she hanged her self. Observe this expression:

began to rend
His hair, and hasty tongue.

Did he rend his tongue? No, but the passage must be supplied thus—"began to rend his hair, and (to blame, to curse) his tongue," etc. If any one censures this expression of Spenser's, he must condemn all the ancients, in whose writings this sort of ellipsis is frequent.

4. WARTON (1. 71). Theseus did not rend his tongue on this occasion. Dr. Jortin is willing to excuse our author for this mistake, by supposing an elleipsis, viz.: "He began to rend his hair, and (to blame or curse) his tongue." Spenser is

indeed full of elleipses, yet he has seldom been guilty of one so hard as this. I should therefore think that this passage ought not to be referred to our author's elleipses, but to that fault which he so often commits, the misrepresentation of ancient story. Besides, the words "that did offend," joined with "hasty tongue," seem to be given by the poet as an express reason why he rent it.

EDITOR. In its solicitous concern for strict adherence to classical mythology, this note is typical of the orthodox eighteenth century.

UPTON. Another instance of Spenser's departing from strictly adhering to the old mythology. . . . The reader may compare—if he has any mind to see how the story differs—the Hippolytus of Euripides. Cf. also *Fæsti* 6. 7-15, *Met.* 15. 497, *Aen.* 7. 769.

COLLIER. Spenser does not say that Aesculapius endeavoured to heal the wounds of Hippolytus, but that at the instance of Diana he "did heale them all againe"; it was his own injuries, inflicted by Jove's thunderbolt, that Aesculapius endeavoured to heal. Todd and others have, nevertheless, quoted Jortin's note, as if it were really a correct piece of criticism.

xlili. 5. UPTON. Due to him not only as a demigod and son of Apollo, but likewise on account of his medicinal science, for superior science raised the ancients to be gods.

9. SAWTELLE. When, according to *Il.* 15. 187 ff., the universe was partitioned among the three sons of Saturn, Jupiter was allotted "the wide heaven, in clear air and clouds." Hence Spenser calls him the ruler of day and night.

xlili. 6-7. SAWTELLE. Many ancient writers agree in making Apollo the father of Aesculapius by Coronis, as, for instance, Pindar (*Pythian* 3), Euripides (*Alceſtis*, Prol.), Hyginus (*Fables* 202), Ovid (*Met.* 2. 9).

4-5. UPTON. This passage, I believe, has been hitherto misunderstood, if I can conjecture from the pointing in all the editions. As I have pointed it, "his woundes wide not throughly heald" is put absolute, and the pronoun "he" omitted according to Spenser's usual manner: the construction is "Albeit (his wide wounds being not thoroughly heald) he were unready to ride."

EDITOR. Upton's interpretation is highly improbable; "woundes" is the logical subject of the verb.

xlvi. EDITOR. Note that these "wretched thralls" are all punished for pride or some other of the seven deadly sins. Thus does the poet relate this passage, rich in classical examples, to the central theme of the canto.

xlvi-l. PERCIVAL. This list was suggested by that in Chaucer's *Monkes Tale*. This tale was in imitation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Illuſtrium Virorum*. Similar lists are given in Lydgate, *Falls of Princes*, and Sackville, *Mirror of Magistrates*. Of those named by Spenser, many occur in Chaucer, and one—Nebuchadnezzar—in Gower, *Confessio Amantis* 1, which treats of pride.

xlvi. 1-5. PERCIVAL. Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel 3, where he commands his

subjects to worship the golden image he sets up in Dura, which was, however, not his own, as Spenser implies, but that of the Assyrian god Bel-Merodach.

WINSTANLEY (p. lii). In the account of Pride there is one curious detail which seems to be due to Gower. Spenser gives Nebuchadnezzar among the victims of Pride and says that he was *transformed* into an ox; this is not in accordance with the Bible which only says that he ate grass like an ox—a very different thing—but it is in accord with Gower who gives Nebuchadnezzar as an example of Vain Glory and says that he was transformed into an ox for punishment (*Confessio Amantis* 1. 5).

6-7. RIEDNER. Cf. Herodotus, 1. 26. 33, Horace, *Epistolae* 1. 11. 2 and Ovid, *Tristia* 3. 42.

8-9. JORTIN. From Maccabees 1. 1.

xlvi. 5-9. LOTSPEICH. Spenser's use of Alexander here as a type of fallen pride points to influence from Boccaccio's version of the story, 13. 71. Boccaccio speaks of the "stultitia vetus" by which the famous ancients gloried in imagining themselves sons of gods. Alexander spread the story that he was born of the union of Olympias with Jove. . . . "Not content with the multiplicity of titles which fortune, favoring his audacity, had added to his splendor, he sought by fraud to have Jove as his father and to this end suborned the priests of Libyan Ammon."

1. 5-6. JORTIN. *Quaere*. Whether any ancient writer says that Sthenoboea hanged her self. Hyginus says she killed her self without mentioning how. We learn from Aristophanes that she poisoned her self.

RIEDNER gives in support of Spenser's version of Sthenoboea's death a citation from Heinrich Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* (1732), to the effect that "Antea (Sthenoboea) seized a cord and therewith took her life," though Riedner was not able to discover the classical authority for the statement.

liii. E. P. WHIPPLE (*Atlantic Monthly* 21. 402). The beauty of material objects never obscures to him the transcendent beauty of holiness. In his Bowers of Bliss and his Houses of Pride he surprises even voluptuaries by the luxuriousness of his descriptions, and dazzles even the arrogant by the towering bravery of his style; but his Bowers of Bliss repose on caverns of bale, and the glories of his House of Pride are built over human carcasses.

liii. 2. TODD. "lay-stall." A place to lay dung or rubbish in. In the neighbourhood of Gray's-Inn lane there was once a receptacle of this kind; upon which, houses having been since built, it is now called "Laystall" street.

9. PERCIVAL. Contrast this spectacle that offers itself to the knight on leaving the house of Pride with that which met his view when he entered it. The change has been wrought by Common Sense (of which the knight had taken leave when he entered this house) that opens his eyes at last to the true nature of the sin of pride (stanzas 45, 52).

CANTO VI

- i. HEISE (p. 148) recognizes a possible obligation to Dante, *Inf.* 1. 22-7:

E come quei che, con lena affannata,
Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,
Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata,
Così l'animo mio, che ancor fuggiva,
Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo
Che non lasciò giammai persona viva.

3. UPTON. Poetry animates everything; like the lyre of Orpheus, she gives rocks design and choice.

iii-v. EDITOR. The effort of Sansloy to seduce Una by wiles, and to force her by violence, is strongly reminiscent of Odorico's assault upon Isabella. The episode in the *Orl. Fur.* (13. 26-8) is much more vivid and realistic, and marks, as Professor Dodge observes (*PMLA* 12. 199), a "very characteristic difference of treatment." Just as Una was saved at the critical moment by the band of Satyrs, so Isabella by the arrival of the band of outlaws.

vi. 5-8. UPTON. These strong figurative expressions are agreeable to the manner of the Jews, who describing times of distress and fear say the stars melt and drop down from the skies, and the sun hides its light. Matthew 24. 29; Joel 2. 10; Ezekiel 32. 7; Isaiah 13. 10. So likewise when any atrocious villany is perpetrated the stars and sun are said to withdraw their light: *Othello* 5. 2. 2; *Macbeth* 1. 4. 50; Virgil (*Georgics* 1. 466):

Ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam,
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,
Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.

TODD. Poetry often describes the sympathy of the sun, the stars, etc. on extraordinary occasions. Thus, when Marino's Jealousy is painted sallying out into the world, the following circumstances occur in the heavens (*L'Adone* 12. 29):

Poria col ciglio instupidir Natura,
Inhorridire il bel pianeta eterno,
Intorbidar le stelle, e gli elementi—

Thus also Milton (*P. L.* 10. 687):

At that tasted fruit
The sun, as from Thyescan banquet, turn'd
His course intended—

Milton, when a youth, appears to have been struck with the passage in Spenser before us, for in his beautiful *Ode on the Nativity* he has thus described the sun:

The stars, with deep amaze,
Stand fix'd in stedfast gaze—
The sun himself withheld his wonted speed,
And hid his head for shame.

vii-xix. UPTON remarks that these satyrs allegorized are ignorant Christians. [This interpretation has been generally accepted.]

PERCIVAL. Spenser's "salvage people" are meant for ignorant Christians. The charge of idolatry was early brought against the primitive Christians by Jews and Mahomedans on the ground that they worshipped images and pictures. It was revived by Julian the Apostate. St. Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine, by her discovery of the true cross, and John of Damascus by his defence of image-worship, gave a countenance to idolatrous practices among ignorant members of the Church. In England itself, in the *Laws of King Alfred*, the second commandment—against idolatry—is omitted, and another substituted. [For Spence's strictures upon the propriety of the allegory and John Wilson's defence of it, see Appendix, pp. 363, 370-1]

vii. 1-2. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 275). Cf. Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae* 10, De faunis: "The ancients, in order to encourage integrity in those who held office, imagined the fauns and Sylvanus as tutelary deities who watched over those who worked in field or forest; for nothing can happen, even in field or forest, without the knowledge of God, and no honest worker is neglected by Him."

1. UPTON. "Exceeding thought," i. e., which passeth all understanding. Philippians 4. 7.

4. UPTON. 2 Timothy 4. 17; Psalms 22. 21.

8. TODD. "rownd." The name of a dance. So Comus's crew "beat the ground in a light fantastick round." The shaggy Sylvens are always represented as fond of dancing. See again 3. 10. 44-45. In "A briefe Discourse of the true, but neglected, vse of charact'ring the degrees, etc. in musicke" by Thomas Ravenscroft, Bachelor of Musicke, 4^{to}, 1614, are given, both in poetry and musick, the Fayries Daunce, the Satyres Daunce, the Urchins Daunce, the Elves Daunce. From "The Satyres Daunce" an extract may here perhaps be thought not inapposite:

Round a, round a, keep your ring,
To the glorious sunne we sing,
Hoe! hoe!
He that weares the flaming rayes,
And the imperiall crowne of bayes,
Him with shoutes and songs we praise.

viii. 6-9. PERCIVAL. Spenser here gives a fine moral turn to mythology. The fauns and satyrs were a source of terror to rustics: Theocritus 13. 44; Ovid, *Heroides* 4. 50. Sansloy, who has intrepidly faced and slain a raging lion, yet flies from these harmless people.

x. 3-9. EDITOR. This picture might be borrowed in great part from the *Il.* 11. 474-482:

And the Trojans beset him like tawny jackals from the hills round a wounded horned stag, that a man hath smitten with an arrow from the bow-string, and the stag hath fled from him by speed of foot, as long as the blood is warm and his limbs are strong, but when the swift arrow hath overcome him, then do the raven-

ing jackals rend him in the hills, in a dark wood, and then god leadeth a murderous lion thither, and the jackals flee before him, but he rendeth them.

The two similes do not agree, however, in the progress of events, for Ajax does not appear as a new enemy but as a rescuer. Odysseus is freed, while Una fears a new danger.

In other poets the picture as a whole does not occur. Certain single features only can be pointed out. So the first line has counterparts in *Aen.* 9. 565-6:

Quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum
Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus.

Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 11. 20:

Come lupo talor piccolo agnello,
O l'aquila portar nell'ugna torta
Suole o colombo o simile altro augello.

Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore* 21. 37-41:

L'altro fratel come questo ha ueduto,
Si scaglia a Ulivier di furia acceso,
E abbracciallo, e portanel di peso
Come farebbe il lupo un pecorino.

Boiardo, *Orl. Inn.* 1. 23. 12-3:

Via ne'l portava e stimavalo tanto
Quanto fa il lupo la vil pecorella.

The last line, which treats of the fear of the freed lamb, as noted by Upton, has a parallel in Ovid, *Met.* 6. 527-530:

Illa tremit, velut agna pavens, quae saucia cani
Ore excussa lupi nondum sibi tuta videtur;
Utque columba suo malefactis sanguine plumis
Horret adhuc, avidosque timet, quibus haeserat, ungues.

Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women* 2318-2322:

Right as the lamb, that of the wolf is biten,
Or as the colver, that of the egle is smiten,
And is out of his clawes forth escaped,
Yet hit is afered and awhaped
Lest hit be hent eft-sones . . .

—Note based on HEISE.

xi. 9. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 158). Like many of the earlier Renaissance painters, Spenser fills in descriptive details scrupulously and over-scrupulously. He is careful not to make his Satyrs kneel in worship of fair Una. Physiologically, they cannot kneel, but they

Their backward bent knees teach her humbly to obey.

xiii-xiv. HAZLITT (*Collected Works* 5. 11). As there are certain sounds that excite certain movements, and the song and the dance go together, so there are, no doubt, certain thoughts that lead to certain tones of voice, or modulations of sound,

and change "the words of Mercury into the songs of Apollo." There is a striking instance of this adaptation of the movement of sound and rhythm to the subject, in Spenser's description of the Satyrs accompanying Una to the cave of Sylvanus.

EDITOR. This description of the dance of the satyrs is influenced by classical pastoralism and by the English folk dances, especially those connected with the May-day festival. The popular dances were either rounds, or processions, or a combination of the two; the dance here described is of the last type.

xiv. JORTIN quotes Ovid, *Met.* 10. 130; and Virgil, *Georgics* 1. 20:

Et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum.

Where see Servius.

5-9. WARTON (1. 72). I do not remember that Sylvanus is anywhere described as infirm with old age. Neither would the young cypress-tree which he carried in his hand, a sapling, or small plant torn up by the roots, have served for this purpose.

PERCIVAL. This departure from Greek mythology in representing Sylvanus as *infirm*, is insignificant. The feeble steps and crutch of Sylvanus are symbols of bodily debility joined, however, with the sensuousness of youth (stanzas 16, 17), typified by the ivy round his waist, his is a grey head over a young heart; an animal old age without spiritualizing wisdom.

SAWTELLE. The ancients represent him as advanced in years (see *Georgics* 2. 494), . . . Ovid (*Met.* 14. 639) says he was "suis semper juvenilior annis."

LOTSPEICH cites Horace, *Carm.* 3. 29. 22-3 on line 9.

xv. 3. SAWTELLE. "Cybeles franticke rites" Ovid (*Fasti* 4. 201 ff.) explains their origin by saying that when Rhea brought forth Jove in Crete, in order to conceal his cries from Saturn, who made a practice of devouring his children, the Curetes and the Corybantes beat shields and rattled empty helmets; and that the clash of the cymbals and other noises which attended the worship of the goddess in later times were survivals of the din on that occasion.

LOTSPEICH adds Lucretius 2. 618 f.; Strabo 469, 567; and Natalis Comes (9. 5, p. 955), who says that the Corybantes in their rites imitate madness and fury and "are called Corybantes because they throw their heads about like madmen."

8. SAWTELLE. This nymph, here mentioned as the wife of Silvanus, is evidently the same as the one of *Aen.* 10. 551, who is said to be the wife of Faunus,

Tarquitus exsultans contra fulgentibus armis
Silvicolae Fauno Dryope quem nympha creatar.

This discrepancy is to be accounted for by the similarity between the rustic divinities, Silvanus and Faunus—a similarity which often led to their identification by the classical authors.

9. SAWTELLE. Pholoe is here alluded to as a nymph beloved by Silvanus. The name belongs primarily to a mountain in Arcadia which was frequented by

Pan (*Fasti* 2. 273), and, according to classic usage, might be transferred to an Oread, or nymph inhabiting the mountain. In making her the beloved of Silvanus, Spenser is only carrying out the frequent classical identifications of the rustic divinities, Silvanus and Pan.

LOTSPEICH cites Statius, *Silv.* 2. 3. 8-11, where Pholoe is a nymph loved by Pan.

xvi. EDITOR. The effect of Una's presence upon the "woodborne people" illustrates the power of chaste beauty even over savages, an idea that was most agreeable to both Spenser and Milton. For Harrison's full discussion of this point, see Appendix, p. 503.

xvii. SAWTELLE. The details of the story of Cyparissus, as here cited, correspond to those of Ovid's version (*Met.* 10. 120 ff.), with this difference: while, with Spenser, it is Silvanus who loves the youth, according to Ovid it is Apollo.

LOTSPEICH. In associating Cyparissus with Silvanus, Spenser is probably following Natalis Comes or Boccaccio. N. C. 5. 10 says, "The story is that Cyparissus was loved by Silvanus, wherefore he was changed into the tree of the same name, and Silvanus is said always to carry a branch of it in his hands," and quotes *Geo.* 1. 20. Bocc.'s account (13. 17) has what may be verbal parallels to Spenser: "Sylvanus, sylvarum deus Cyparissum amavit, qui, cum haberet *mensuetissimam cervam*, eamque *summe diligeret*, illam Sylvanus inadvertenter occidit, quamobrem Cyparissus summe colens mortuus est, Sylvanus autem illum in arborem sui nominis vertit."

xix. 1. PERCIVAL. Cf. the frequent use of such contradictory expressions in the letters and speeches of knights and ladies in romance, and the parody of them in the signature of Olivia as "The Fortunate-Unhappy," *Twelfth Night* 2. 5. 172. [A more direct parallel to Olivia's signature is the close of "Fidessa's" letter, 12. 28.]

9. TODD. Alluding to the objection made against the ancient Christians, that they worshipped an ass.

PERCIVAL. Spenser alludes (1) to the Feast of the Ass, in commemoration of the flight into Egypt (Matthew, 2. 14), in which a maiden seated on an ass was carried in procession to the church; after the service, "the priest instead of the benediction brayed three times, and the congregation answered by a general *hee-hawing*" (Chambers, *Book of Days* 1. 113): or (2) to Mid-Lent ceremonies observed in his own days: from the circumstance of Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Matthew, 21.) arose a popular custom of drawing in pageant a wooden ass to the door of the church, on Palm Sunday, before which the parson prostrated himself, while the people strewed branches of trees and palm leaves upon the ground. (Brand, *Pop. Antiq.* 1. 124). Such abuses of Christian worship are traceable to Pagan rites: Aristophanes, *Frogs* 159, "ass leading the mysteries," and Phaedrus's fable based on this. The blind homage of the fauns sees no difference between the substance and the symbol—between Una and her image, nor between essence and the accompanying accident—Una and her ass.

xx ff. UPTON. If I have the right clew to this poem, Spenser seems to have in view some historical allusion. Who then is Sir Satyrane in this "continued allegory"? Some knight perhaps belonging to the court of the Faery Queen; and the character given of Sir John Perrot exactly suits to his type, Sir Satyrane. He was thought to have been a son of King Henry VIII, which explains stanzas 21-22. Queen Elizabeth made him Lord Deputy of Ireland; and his behaviour like that of Sir Satyrane was always rough and honest: his breeding had but little of the courtier. And as he knew not what was ill in himself, so he never suspected it in others: *Esse quam videri bonus malebat*. See 3. 7. 29. [See Appendix, pp. 464-5, 469-470.]

JOHN WILSON (*Blackwood's Magazine* 37. 54). Sir Satyrane, we opine, typifies Natural Heroic Activity, as subsidiary to the Moral Virtues. He is a good Knight, but a savage, and not a Moral or leading Champion. Perhaps this idea is a key to Una's present predicament, taken in a large historical sense. Heavenly Truth, after her conflict with the corruptions of Rome, and the violence of the Saracens, falls back for her support upon the strength and simplicity of savage life, and the natural religion of the woods. Their noble earnestness of character makes them bow their ears to the words of Una. Still she is in danger from the natural violences of rough life, till a native genius prevailing among them—Sir Satyrane—Heroic Activity—freeing her from his own kindred, that is, counteracting by his influence lust, &c., becomes her natural ally.

HAZITT (*Collected Works* 5. 41-2). In reading these descriptions, one can hardly avoid being reminded of Rubens' allegorical pictures; but the account of Satyrane taming the lion's whelps and lugging the bear's cubs along in his arms while yet an infant, whom his mother so naturally advises to "go seek some other play-fellows," has even more of this high picturesque character. Nobody but Rubens could have painted the fancy of Spenser; and he could not have given the sentiment, the airy dream that hovers over it!

HINLEY (p. 221). Passing on to the third and later cycle (of Irish lore)—that of Finn or Fionn, the warrior son of Cumhal (Coole), it is to be noted that it is the one that he would have known best, for some of the place-names round the district where the poet settled still enshrine an affectionate remembrance of its chief personages and incidents. Finn was nurtured in the wilds of Slieve Bloom, and later in the Galtees, having to be kept hidden from his father's enemies. He is visited at the age of six by his mother, who composes and sings for him a lullaby. A writer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Rev. J. J. O'Carroll in no. 11—Dec., 1880—in a series of articles on the Ossianic tales) suggests a parallel with the visit of Satyrane's mother to her son in the wood. The circumstances are similar, but while the babyhood of Finn gives rise to the tender addition of the mother's lullaby, young Satyrane is older, and already skilled in war-like arts.

SAURAT (*Literature and the Occult Tradition*, pp. 31-2). Strange to say, it is a sixteenth-century poet, overflowing with recollections of classical paganism, who has, after Wagner, best depicted this dubious union of man with beast. Spenser, in his Sir Satyrane, gives us a strange compound of human and animal nature, a mixture to which he adds, besides, certain attributes of the Nature divinities. Son of a satyr and brought up in the woods, he has definitely

allied himself with the animals, and yet he is noble and upright. Half beast himself, of "beastly kind," he is the lord of wild animals:

That every beast for fear of him did fly and quake.

C. G. OSGOOD (MLN 46. 506-7). Satyrane is also a very actual person. A natural son, bred in the hardships of the backwoods, a boy of courage, independence, resourcefulness, he has good instincts, among them a yearning towards a larger, more civilized world. He is unromantic, matter of fact. His first meeting with a good and beautiful woman stirs no romantic sentiment, no idealism, but an instinctive respect. From her he learns faith and verity, or rather she awakens in him these virtues which are doubtless indigenous; and his native kindness, hitherto obscured by his rough life, is quickened into warm and active sympathy with her in her troubles. Though he mingles henceforth with men of the higher world, he keeps all his tenderness for his rough old father and the wild home of his boyhood. His simple natural qualities he retains—he is always blunt in speech, forthright in action, a man of good staying powers, an able fighter, averse to unnecessary brawl. His virtues are solid but ordinary. Utterly without idealism, he roars with laughter like a Babbitt when the Squire of Dames tells it as his experience that the only chaste woman *he* ever saw was a poor country girl; and Satyrane grins broadly at Malbecco's hopeless effort to curb the wayward roivings of his young wife Hellenore. He views women with the superficial eye of *l'homme sensuel moyen*, and like most men, is unable to distinguish false Florimell from true. He loves and serves no one woman; yet he behaves himself, still retaining a sort of reverence for higher things which he cannot understand or precisely evaluate. Thus he moves on his even, ordinary, respectable, and highly useful way through the fairy world, exactly as such men do in ours.

EDITOR. This interesting episode of the parentage and training of Satyrane is clearly reminiscent of the fairy lore. A being from the other world becomes enamored of a mortal, begets a child, and then trains the child to distinguish himself in heroic emprise, until all Fairy land is ringing with his exploits. The mortal parent from time to time comes to visit her offspring, and is amazed at his conduct and fearful for his safety. The union of a mortal with a fairy, the domestic attraction which brings the mortal back to the fairy country, and the training of a young knight for distinction in arms are the commonplaces of the fairy-mortal tradition. Moreover, as in this legendary material, the ordinary moral considerations are ignored, and the young knight is not the victim of a bad inheritance. The fairy lore, then, explains an episode which would otherwise seem a moral anomaly in an allegory of holiness.

xxi. PERCIVAL summarizes the traditional interpretation of these characters as follows: Thyamis (Greek *θυμός*, passion) is the impersonation of Animal Passion, and daughter of Labryde (Greek *λάβρος*, turbulent, greedy), representing the lower Appetites, and a fit parent for Thyamis. Therion (Greek *θήριον*, wild beast) is a wild beast of a man, an Adonis or Thammuz without his beauty, neglecting his wife, who falls into the clutches of a satyr. Cf. John Wilson (*Blackwood's Magazine* 37. 54) for the original suggestion.

xxii. 5. WARTON suggests that "venery" may here be used in a punning sense.

xxiv. JORTIN. Copied from what Statius says of Achilles, *Achill.* 1. 159, where Thetis went to see her son:

Ille aderat multo sudore et pulvere major . . .
foetam Pholoes sub rupem leacnam
Perculerat ferro, vacuisque reliquerat antris
Ipsam, sed catulos apportat, et incitat unguis.

2. 388. Achilles gives an account how Chiron had educated him:

Mox ire per avia secum
Lustra gradu majore trahens, visisque docebat
Arridere feris . . .
Nunquam ille imbelles Ossaca per avia lynces
Sectari, aut timidos passus me cuspidē damas
Sternere, sed tristes turbare cubilibus ursas,
Fulminosque sues, et sicubi maxima tigris,
Aut seducta jugis foetae spelunca leacnae.

UPTON. The education of young Sir Satyrane is like the education which Boiardo and Ariosto tell us was given to the young Ruggiero by his uncle Altante. See *Orl. Inn.* 3. 5. 35-37 and *Orl. Fur.* 7. 57. So Chiron likewise educated the young Achilles. But why does he make him tame wild bulls, "and ryde their backes not made to beare"? This was a strange kind of education, to inure the youth to warlike exercises, and to make them expert in their games called *Ταυροκαθάψια*, a martial kind of game, usual at Thessaly, and by Caesar brought to Rome. In the tenth book of Heliodorus you will find that Theagenes both tamed and rode on the back of a wild bull; which breaking loose from the sacrifice he first pursues on horseback, then quitting his horse, he leaped on the bull's neck, and after sufficiently taming and tiring him, he turned him on his back with his legs sprawling in the air. [*Ταυροκαθάψια* is a bullfight, of which several records are extant—*Corpus Inscriptionum* (ed. by Böckh) 3212, 4157—, but I can find no classical evidence for the statement that youth rode upon the backs of bulls as a preparation for such games.]

xxx. 8-9. PERCIVAL. This allegorizes the spread of the Reformation from the universities to the rural districts; though, more strictly interpreted, it should be the imparting of divine truth to the unregenerate natured man. [The episode may permit so specific an historical application, though one must not lose sight of the fact that Una stands for more than mere theological truth; she combines Christian and Platonic idealism. Cf. Appendix, "The Platonic Element," pp. 501-5.]

xxxiii-xlviii. EDITOR. The Una-Satyrane-Sansloy-Archimago episode here narrated is adapted from episodes in the first and second cantos of the *Orl. Fur.*, and is the one instance of actual borrowing of plot from Ariosto to be found in Book One. As Una wanders in quest of her knight under the conduct of Sir Satyrane, so Angelica has entrusted herself to Sacripante, and as Satyrane engages Sansloy, so Sacripante engages Rinaldo. Moreover as Archimago deceives Una and Satyrane in order that he may separate Una from her escort and satisfy his own desires—"in hope to bring her to her last decay"—so the hermit sends Rinaldo and Sacripante hurrying off to Paris by the false report that Orlando had kidnapped Angelica, and at the same time uses witchcraft to deport Angelica to a desert island where he

may enjoy her. As noted above, Ariosto contrives these episodes with inimitable mockery of the machinery of chivalry, while Spenser works with grave concern for the moral values of his story. It is, as Professor Dodge remarks, a shining example of Spenser's "complete imaginative independence." For Dodge's complete comment, see Appendix, p. 419.

xxxv. 7. UPTON. So called because they used such in their pilgrimages to St. Jacob's or St. James's shrine.

xxxviii. 8. UPTON. Cf. Deuteronomy 32. 42: "I will make mine arrows drunk with blood," and Jeremiah 46. 10: "The sword shall be made drunk with their blood."

xxxix. EDITOR. This quick interchange of question and answer is somewhat reminiscent of the French type of popular poem known as the *débat*. Shakespeare uses it in the interchange between Juliet and Paris, *Romeo and Juliet* 4. 1. 18 ff., and it was affected by the Elizabethan sonneteers. Cf. "Transition Song Collections," *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. 2. Another precedent is the stichomythia of Greek tragedy.

xli. 8. TODD. The triangular shield is said to be of very high antiquity, and to have been introduced into this country. See Holmes's *Academy of Armory* (1680), p. 6, more especially the paragraphs numbered V and VI and the corresponding engravings. This shield was most commonly used by Norsemen.

EDITOR. The triangular shield was the prevailing type in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and was so familiar through effigies and the like that Spenser must have recognized it as the shield of chivalry. The top was straight, with the sides usually, though not always, slightly curved. Planché (*A Cyclopaedia of Costume* 1. 455-6) thus describes it: "At that period (twelfth-fourteenth centuries) also the shield, from being flat, was more or less bent round so as to be almost in some examples semi-cylindrical. It gradually became shorter, assuming a heart-shape, and, being made straight at the top, it arrived at the well-known form to which English antiquarians have given the name of 'heater,' not only as may be seen in numberless sepulchral effigies and paintings of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but of which two most interesting original examples have by good fortune been preserved for us in the shields of those mirrors of chivalry, Edward the Black Prince and King Henry V. Respecting Prince Edward's shield, Bolton in his *Elements of Armories* (1610) writes as follows:

The sayd victorious Prince's tomb is in the goodly cathedral church erected to the honor of Christ in Canterburie. There, beside his quilted coat armour, with halfe sleeves, tabard fashion, and his triangular shield, both of them painted with the royal arms as of our King's, and differenced with silver labels, hangs this kind of pavis or target, curiously—for those times—embost and painted."

xlili. 7-9. DODGE. "Had the knight been with his arms, Archimago, who foolishly bore them, would not now be regretting the mistake he made in venturing to fight me. Your own experience, I hope, will soon confirm his mistake." The last line is obscured by the word play of "errour" and "proven true."

xliv. 4-9. UPTON. This same comparison the poet has introduced in 4. 4. 29.

But he seems to have borrowed it from Chaucer, where he describes the combat between Palamon and Arcite [*Knights Tale* 1658-60]:

As wilde bores gan they to fight and smite,
That frothen whyte as fome for ire wode;
Up to the ancle fought they in ther blode.

HEISE (p. 105) cites several spirited passages in which the angry boar at bay, set upon by men or dogs, whets his tusks: *Il.* 13. 471-80; Statius, *Theb.* 2. 530-5; and Boiardo, *Orl. Inn.* 1. 19. 45-52.

xlvi. 8-9. UPTON. The poet soon returns to Una and her lamentable case, but no mention is made of Satyrane till 3. 7. 28, where he attacks the monster that pursued Florimel. This is plainly an omission, if not a forgetfulness. Our poet in imitation of Boiardo and Ariosto often leaves his subject very abruptly; and complicates it in such a manner, as seeming rather too perplexing to the reader, if he does not diligently attend to the breaking off of the story and to the connexion of it again. But I cannot vindicate thus entirely leaving the reader at a loss to guess "this battles end," when he tells us too that it will "need another place."

CANTO VII

C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 7. 220-223) finds in Trissino's *L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti* 4. 611 ff. a marked parallelism to the betrayal of the Red Crosse Knight into the power of Giant Pride, the destruction of the giant by Prince Arthur, the discovery of the imprisoned knight, and the stripping of Duessa. In the Italian epic *Ligridonia*, an enchantress, "with a trumped-up story of suffered injustice lures a knight excessive in his pride to a castle where he is made prisoner. Before the castle there presently takes place a combat in which a knight bearing heavenly arms participates in the defeat of a haughty opponent backed by two giants. As they enter the castle, the victors meet the old portress, who does not know that there are prisoners within, and take her keys from her." *Ligridonia*, in turn, is finally captured, and had certain instructions been carried out would have been stripped and forced to display her foulness.

iii. 1. UPTON. So Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 339:

Quid puer Ascanius? superatne, et vescitur auras?

So the ancient books read, and not "aura": and does he feed upon the vital air? Again 22. 3: "Why do ye longer feed on loathed light?"

v. UPTON. This metamorphosis is exactly after the Ovidian strain; and the wonderful effects of this water are agreeable to what natural philosophers relate of some streams. See what the commentators have cited on Ovid, *Met.* 15. 317. . . . A fountain of like nature is mentioned in Tasso, 14. 74.

KITCHIN cites *Met.* 4. 285 ff.

[Spenser apparently invents the myth in this stanza.]

vii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 199). Cf. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 1. 59. 72. [In the passage cited, the converse of Sacripante and Angelica is interrupted, first by the

noise attending the arrival of Bradamante (*Orl. Fur.* 1. 59), and later by the arrival of Rinaldo's horse, Bayardo, but actual indebtedness is doubtful.]

5. RIEDNER. Cf. Horace, *Carmina* 1. 1. 36: "Sublimi feriam sidera vertice."

ix. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 275-6). Cf. Natalis Comes, *Mythologiae* 6. 21:

The giants were said to have been the offspring of the sky and the earth . . . because those who are made of grosser matter are hardly ever moderate or the friends of justice: for grosser beings are prone to sensual pleasures and anger. . . . They were those, then, who were rash, cruel, and audacious; who thought nothing worthy of honor unless it pleased them; who were audacious enough to think of dragging Jove from heaven. As for myself, I should judge them to stand for nothing more than rash men, dominated by desire and impulse, who despise all gods and would destroy religion: for religion is always contrary to temerity and depravity.

1-2. UPTON. Hesiod [*Theogony* 149] says the giants were born of Heaven and Earth, and calls this brood *ὑπερήβια τέκνα*, Hyginus, nearer still to our purpose, "Ex Aethere et Terra, Superbia," which answers to this giant's name, Orgoglio. Ital "Orgoglio," Gall. "Orgueil," the etymology of which, according to Menage is, *ἀργάω*, tumeo, Orgalium, Orgolium, orgueil. And to this etymology Spenser seems to allude when he says, "Puft up with winde"; and likewise by so elegantly departing from the ancient mythologists, who make Pride the offspring of Heaven and Earth: for Aether in Hyginus is Heaven. Whether Spenser interprets Hyginus, and the mythologists right, is not now the question; 'tis sufficient if he has applied them to his purpose; and has acted the poet, not the servile imitator

2. EDITOR. "Blustering" may have been suggested by the adjective "furentibus," applied by Virgil to the winds which Aeolus restrains (1. 50-54).

Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans
Nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,
Aeoliam venit.

xii. 4. MARGARET E. NICOLSON (*SP* 21. 393). The type of realism containing homely touches introduced by a mere word or two occurs frequently both in the Minor Poems and in the *Faerie Queene*.

xiii. UPTON. He calls a gun "that divelish engin," the expression he had from Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* 11. 23): "La machina infernal." So in canto 9. 91:

O maladetto, O abominoso ordigno,
Che fabricato nel tartaro fondo
Fosti per man di Belzebù maligno,
[Che ruinar per te disegnò il mondo,
All' Inferno, onde uscisti, ti rassigno.]

xvi. JORTIN. His description of Duessa magnificently arrayed, clothed in purple, having a cup in her hand, sitting on a dragon who had seven heads, and who threw down the stars with his tail, is taken from the Apocalypse, 12 and 17. [For the conflicting views of Warton and Wilson as to the propriety of identifying

Duessa with the Scarlet Whore of the Apocalypse in this and succeeding stanzas, see Appendix, pp. 368-370.]

5. UPTON cites Revelation 18. 7: "She saith in her heart, I sit a queen."

xvii. 1-3 UPTON. Strymon is a city and a river in Thrace, and sometimes used for Thrace itself: 'tis usual for Spenser, as well as other writers, to use proper names in the oblique cases. Now as Thrace was remarkable for its seditions, and sacred to the ravaging god of war, the Hydra, fostered in Lerne (the proper emblem of sedition), might well be said to have made its abode in Thrace. "Strymonis impia stagna," Statius, *Theb.* 9. 435.

xviii. UPTON. *Revelation* 12. 3-4: "Behold a great red dragon having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth." . . . He has plainly likewise Daniel (7. 7) in view: "After this, I saw—a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it."

2 RIEDNER (p. 29). Spenser's "house of heavenly gods" is Homer's Ὀλύμπια δώματα (*Il.* 1. 18).

xxi. 2. UPTON cites 1 Samuel 25. 37: "His heart died within him, and he became as a stone."

xxii. 7-9. CHARLES CRAWFORD (*NQ* Ser. 9, 7. 204) notes a parallel in *Tam-burlaine* 5. 2.

Then let the stony dart of senseless cold
Pierce through the centre of my wither'd heart,
And make a passage for my loathed life.

xxiii. 1-5. CHARLES CRAWFORD (*NQ* Ser. 9, 7. 204) cites in *Selimus* 1804-8 an address to Night fitted exactly to the structure of these lines.

Bajazet: Night! thou most ancient grandmother of all,
First made by Jove, for rest and quiet sleep,
When cheerful day is gone from th' earth's wide hall;
Henceforth thy mantle in black Lethe steep,
And clothe the world in darkness infernal.

3. UPTON. He seems to have in view Manilius, *Astronomica* 1. 126:

Mundumque enixa nitentem,
Fugit in infernas Caligo pulsa tenebras.

xxix-xxxvi. UPTON. This is the first time that the Briton prince makes his appearance, and that his image might well be impressed on the reader's mind he is described at large, and takes up nine whole stanzas. Sublimity and grandeur require room to shew themselves and to expatiate at large. And this is exactly after the manner of the great Grecian master, who often paints his heroes at full length. See likewise the magnificent figure he makes! for he is Magnificence itself. He is attended with a squire, like the knights in romance writers: not so the Christian knight; he and Una have only a dwarf betwixt them to carry their needments.

Prince Arthur's armour was made by the sage Merlin. The bauldrick or belt was the usual ornament of heroes, Virgil (*Aen.* 9. 359): "Aurea bullis cingula." . . . But among the precious stones which ornamented the belt, there was one in the midst "shapt like a ladies head," meaning the Fairy Queen, by whom every one knows who is represented. Spenser departs from Jeffry of Monmouth, and the more romance history of Prince Arthur, and indeed from all the stories of our old English writers, in many of the circumstances relating to this British prince, that he might make a hero for his poem, and not a poem for his hero. They tell you that his shield was named Pridwen, his sword Caliburn or Excalibur (Spenser, *Mordure*), and his spear Roan. They say likewise that on Arthur's shield was painted the image of the Virgin Mary.

H. MAYNADIER (*The Arthur of the English Poets*, p. 266). This prince is both like and unlike Geoffrey's or Chretien's or Malory's king. The precious stone, shaped like a lady's head, in the midst of his baldric is perhaps a reminiscence of the image of the Virgin on Arthur's shield or banner, in the chronicles. (Cf. Dr. Sebastian Evans' *Translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, London, 1904, p. 232. "Upon his shoulders, moreover, did he bear the shield that was named Priwen, wherein upon the inner side, was painted the image of Holy Mary, Mother of God, that many a time and oft did call her back unto his memory.") The dragon, on his golden helmet, is manifestly reminiscent of a similar dragon in Geoffrey's account. The sword, however, which Spenser gives Arthur—by name, as we learn later, *Morddure* (2. 8. 21)—is different from Excalibur, in that it will not harm its owner. And his shield is unlike any that Arthur ever had before. (Rather does it resemble the shield of Atlante, which Ariosto describes, *Orl. Fur.* 2. 55 and 56, with an added power like that of the Gorgon's head.) It is not beyond Merlin's powers, however, to have fashioned such a shield.

xxix. EDITOR. In the *Letter of the Authors* Spenser identifies Arthur in general with Magnificence, and many passages in the text make it clear that the Christian counterpart of this Aristotelian virtue is Heavenly Grace (c g 8 1 1-3). It is customary to identify Arthur with Leicester, though it is clearly straining the allegory of Book One to make this specific identification.

xxx. 3-5. HEISE (p. 142) notes that the surpassing brightness of Hesperus is mentioned in the *Il.* 22. 317-8, and twice in Statius: *Silvae* 2. 6. 37 and *Theb.* 6. 578-582. The last passage is the most detailed:

Sic ubi tranquillo perlucet sidera ponto
Vibraturque fretis caeli stellantis imago,
Omnia clara nitent, sed clarior omnia supra
Hesperos exercet radios, quantusque per altum
Aethera, caeruleis tantus monstratur in undis.

xxxi. JORTIN. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 785-8:

Cui triplici crinita juba galca alta Chimaeram
Sustinet, Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis.
Tam magis illa fremens, et tristibus effera flammis,
Quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.

xxxi. UPTON. This is according to Jeffry of Monmouth (9. 4), who tells

us Prince Arthur wore a helmet of gold, and on the crest was the figure of a dragon. This agreement of our poet in some circumstances with history, gives a kind of veracity to his fairy tale. . . . Spenser's expressions are worth dwelling on: "horrid with gold" is very poetical:

Ipsè dehinc auro squalentem alboque orichalco
Circumdat loricam humeris. (Virgil 12. 87.)

Inalza d'oro squallido squamosè
Le creste, e'l capo— (Tasso 15. 48.)

Per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum.
(Virgil 10. 314.)
Permistoque asperat auro. (Silius Ital. 5.)

. . . Spenser had Virgil or Tasso (9. 25) in view, where he describes the Soldan's helmet:

Porta il Soldan sù l' elmo horrido, e grande
Serpe, che si dilunga, e'l collo snoda,
Sù le zampe s'inalza, e l' ali spande,
E piega in arco la forcuta coda.
Par che tre lingue vibri, e che fuor mande
Livida spuma, e che 'l suo fischio s' oda.
Ed hor, ch' arde la pugna, anch' ei s' infiamma
Nel moto, e fumo versa insieme, e fiamma.

And Tasso plainly copies Virgil (*Aen.* 7. 785).

xxxii 5-9. UPTON. "Selinis" should rather be "Selinus," "Palmosa Selinus" (Virgil 3. 705), a town in Cilicia, so named. But Spenser seldom takes a proper name without altering it. The simile of the almond tree is exceeding elegant, and much after the cast of that admired image in Homer (*Il.* 17. 51). He says:

Her tender locks do tremble every one
At everie little breath, that under heavn is blowne.

TODD. I was surprised, says Mr. Steevens, "to find this much and justly celebrated simile inserted almost word for word in Marlowe's tragedy of *Tamburlaine*. The earliest edition of the *Faerie Queene* was published in 1590, and *Tamburlaine* had been represented in or before the year 1588, as appears from the preface to *Perimedes the Blacksmith*, by Robert Greene. The first copy, however, that I meet with, is in 1590, and the next in 1593." (Shakespeare, vol. 9, p. 90. ed 1793.)

There is, however, little reason, I think, to suppose Spenser the plagiarist. Spenser had finished this part of the *Faerie Queene* before the acting of *Tamburlaine*; the second book of this poem is absolutely quoted in a little volume entitled *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, by Abraham Fraunce, which was entered on the stationer's books June 11, 1588. See Sign. E. 3 where a part of 2. 4. 35 is accurately cited. Spenser's poem, we may suppose, had been handed about in manuscript; Marlowe perhaps had seen it, and, like Bayes, entered this admirable simile into his *book of drama common-places*; and, by leaving out a few words, or putting in others of his own, the business was done! I subjoin the simile, as cited by Mr. Steevens, from the blustering *Tamburlaine* (4096-4101):

Like to an almond-tree ymounted high
 Upon the lofty and celestial mount
 Of ever-green Selinis, quantly deck'd
 With bloom more bright than Erycina's brows;
 Whose tender blossoms tremble every one
 At every little breath from heaven is blown.

DYCE (*The Works of Marlowe*, p. 66, col. 2. N.) agrees with Todd. SCHOENICH (*Der Litterarische Einfluss Spensers auf Marlowe*) also agrees, and cites other passages in Marlowe which show probable indebtedness to Spenser; see pp. 7-9, 57-60, 86, 102. Cf. note to 7. 43. 8-9.

xxxiii-xxxvi. JORTIN. In his description of this shield, he seems to have had in view the Aegis of Jupiter and Minerva, *Il.* 17. 593 ff. See also Valerius Flaccus 6. 396 et seq. What he says of frightening the heavens, etc., is in the style of Statius, *Theb.* 7. 45-6:

Laeditur adversum Phoebi jubar, ipsaque sedem
 Lux timet, et dirus contristat sidera fulgor.

And *Theb.* 6. 65-6:

Qualis Bistonius clipeus Mavortis in arvis
 Luce mala Pangaea ferit, solemque refulgens
 Territat.

When he says that Prince Arthur was too brave to make use of his shield uncovered, unless upon extraordinary occasions, he seems to have had Perseus in view. Ovid, *Met.* 5. 177:

Verum ubi virtutem turbac succumbere vidit,
 Auxilium, Perseus, quoniam sic cogitis ipsi,
 Dixit, ab hoste petam: vultus avertite vestros,
 Si quis amicus adest! et Gorgonis extulit ora.

WARTON (1. 200) was the first to observe that this is the shield of Atlanta (*Orl. Fur.* 2. 55-6):

Io 'l vidi, io 'l so; né m'assicuro ancora
 Di dirlo altrui; che questa meraviglia
 Al falso più ch'al ver si rassimiglia.
 D'un bel drappo di seta e'va coperto
 Lo scudo in braccio il cavalier celeste.
 Come avesse, non so, tanto sofferto
 Di tenerlo nascosto in quella veste;
 Ch' immantinente che lo mostra aperto,
 Forza è, che 'l mira, abbarbagliato reste,
 E cada come corpo morto cade,
 E venga al Negromante in potestade.
 Splende lo scudo a guisa di piropo,
 E luce altra non è tanto lucente.
 Cadere in terra allo splendor fu d'uopo,
 Con gli occhi abbacinati e senza mente.
 Perdei da lungi anch'io li sensi, e dopo
 Gran spazio mi riebbi finalmente;
 Né più i guerrier, né più vidi quel Nano,
 Ma voto il campo, e scuro il monte e il piano.

UPTON. This warlike shield is the same as the magical shield of Atlant, which came afterwards into the possession of Ruggiero; 'twas always kept covered unless upon very extraordinary occasions. See Ariosto 22. 81, 82. The translator of Ariosto says 'tis imaged from the story of Medusa's head. One would think that Homer was the father of romance writers. This shield seems imaged from the aegis of Jupiter, filled with the dreadful figures of Horror and Flight, which Minerva the goddess of wisdom usually bore, (*Od.* 17. 330, *Il.* 5). 'Tis imaged likewise from the shield which Minerva gave to Perseus, when she sent him to attack the Gorgon. See Ovid, *Met.* 4. 782.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 188). Spenser has added a number of qualities to this [the shield of Atlante], it cannot be said felicitously.

W. J. B. PIENAAR (*MP* 26. 65). What, then, is the meaning of the magic shield? For the idea of the shield Upton refers us in two MS. notes to the Gorgon shield of Perseus and the "magicall shield" described in *Orl. Fur.* 2. 55. These were probably literary precedents that Spenser did not forget, but we believe the real prototype of Arthur's shield to be that of Ephesians 6. 16. Arthur's shield, in fact, is, like St. George's, a shield of faith, and with a characteristic mixture of pagan and Christian imagery Spenser has imbued the classical story with Christian meaning. "Above all, taking the shield of Faith wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the *wicked*" runs the text, and standard commentators gloss the original as equivalent to "wicked one" — a meaning consistent with Spenser's Soldan, Duessa's Beast, and the "cursed feend" of hellish race under the Altar (5. 11. 20). In these fights there is clear indication of vast impersonal and supernatural forces to be overcome. . . . In these instances Spenser means to body forth the most fundamental Christian teaching which reduces everything in the last resort to faith. . . . That Spenser makes faith operate in the greatest contests only means that he wishes to teach that men finally achieve victory over sin, evil, and doubt by faith alone.

ROSEMOND TUVE (*PMLA* 44. 710) finds one strand of the antecedent history of this shield in the French *Auberon*, "that strange thirteenth century prologue to *Huon of Bordeaux*": "This same *Auberon* has more than one familiar figure. There is the giant Orgueilleus, incited by Satan to steal Auberon's famous hauberk, get possession of the castle of Dunostre and mew up there the daughter of Guilemer until Huon shall deliver her. This dazzling white hauberk, which was a chastity test, and at the same time rendered its wearer invulnerable, was originally the property of Brunchaut (*Aub.* 1067), who was queen of the faerye (*Aub.* 663). We are not quite told, as of Arthur's shield, that

the Faerie Queene it brought
To Faerie lond, where yet it may be seene, if sought,

yet it *is* this same 'good harnays,' Oberon's gift from Brunchaut which is delivered over to Huon with his realme and dygnite, after which they 'taryed styll in the fayrey, and shal do unto the day of Iugemente.'"

xxxix-xlii. PERCIVAL. Stanzas 39-42 finely describe the workings of Una's mind: from indifference to sympathy through hopeless grief (st. 39), Arthur's

speech rouses her, and she eagerly argues with him the point: "Can I hope for relief?" (st. 41). It is only when she feels convinced of this, that she confides to Arthur the story of her griefs (sts. 43 ff.). How different is Una's reserve from Duessa's forwardness in pouring out her tale, with exaggerations and falsehoods! (2. 22. ff.).

xliii. 8-9. UPTON. Pison is one of the rivers of Paradise, Genesis 2. 11. "The name of the second river is Gihon": verse 13. "And the fourth river is Euphrates": verse 14. He omits the name of one of the rivers, and spells, according to his custom, scarce any according to modern or the usual spelling. Should he not rather have said?

Which Gehon and Euphrates floweth by,
And Phisons golden waves . . .

In allusion to Genesis 2. 11-12. But Spenser seems to have been determined by the iteration of the letters: "Gehons golden waves." This description of Paradise, and the mention just after of the Old Serpent, "bred in the lakes of Tartary," i. e. Tartarus, hell—"da le Tartaree grotte" (Ariosto 31. 86), "le Tartaree porte" (Tasso 4. 11)—makes the allegory very plain.

PERCIVAL. Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* 5. 1, reproduces Spenser; cf. also Mandeville, *Voiage* 30. This land was the residence of man when Truth dwelt in him.

xliv. 3. WARTON (2. 34). The poet should not have used Tartary here for Tartarus, as it might be so easily mistaken for the country of that name. He has committed the same fault in *Virgils Gnat*, st. 68:

Lastly the squalid lakes of Tartarie.

TODD. Dr. Jortin has made the same objection. See his *Remarks on Spenser*, p. 147. But let us attend to the unnoticed use of the word in *Virgils Gnat*, st. 56:

the burning waves of Phlegeton, . . .
And deep-dig'd vaults, and Tartar covered
With bloody night—

Here "Tartary" is converted, by the omission of the last letter, into "Tartar." And thus Shakespeare, *Henry V* 2. 2:

If that same daemon, that hath gull'd thee thus,
Should with his lion gait walk the whole world,
He might return to vasty *Tartar* back,
And tell the legions—

So that "Tartary" or "Tartar" was probably the common word for hell in the age of Spenser and Shakespeare. I may confirm my observation by Nash's ridiculous address to the devil in his *Pierce Pennilesse*, 1595: "To the high and mightie Prince of darknesse, Donsell dell Lucifer, King of Acheron, Stix, and Phlegeton; Duke of *Tartary*; Marquesse of Cocytus, and Lord high Regent of Lymbo, etc."

9. UPTON. The poet elegantly uses a round number; the allusion is to Revelation 11. 2: "For it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months." See too Revelation 12. 6: "And the woman (Una) fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three score days." And 12. 14: "And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle (divine power and strength assisting her in her persecuted state), that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place: where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time (i. e. three years and a half, or 1260 days), from the face of The Serpent (the old dragon, under whose persecution both Una and her parents now are) "

PERCIVAL. The four thousand years that (according to the *Short Chronology* of Jerome), elapsed between the entry of Sin into the world through man's transgression, and its atonement by the death of Christ.

EDITOR. In view of the frequent reminiscences of the Book of Revelation in the closing cantos of Book One, Upton's interpretation is the more probable.

xlvi. 4. PERCIVAL (elaborating upon Upton's note). The Most Noble Order of the Garter, instituted by Edward III., but whose institution Spenser, with courtly flattery, ascribes to the Maiden Queen. The oval and the pendent to the collar both contain a figure of St. George piercing the dragon. Elizabeth, as sovereign, was, of course, the head of the order.

7. UPTON. Cleopolis in the moral allegory is the city of glory; in the historical, the city of Queen Elizabeth.

WHITMAN. Spenser's name for historic London.

xlvi. 1-2. UPTON. This apostrophe of Una to the knight's sword and spear is not without its elegance and pathos. "His biting sword" is from Horace, *Odes* 4. 6. 9-10:

Ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
Pinus—

His devouring speare, from Scripture: "My sword shall devour flesh," Deuteronomy 32. 42. [Warton and Todd, however, observe that "biting" is frequently applied to a sword, as in Chaucer.]

xlix. 7. UPTON. Take notice above, stanza 48, how Una apostrophizes her beloved Red-Crosse Knight's sword and spear. Here, detesting the thought that her honour should be misdeemed, she apostrophizes the heavens. This is exactly after the manner, and indeed seems an imitation of Virgil 2. 431, where Aeneas makes a solemn protestation of his loyalty to the cause of Troy:

Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,
Testor in occasu vestro nec tela nec ulla
Vitavisse vices Danaum—

CANTO VIII

i. 1-2. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. Romans 7. 21.

iii-iv. WARTON (1. 201-2). This horn, with its miraculous effects, is borrowed from that which Logestylla presents to Astolfo. . . . I wonder Spenser should have made so little use of this horn. He has not scrupled to introduce the shield above-mentioned, though as manifestly borrowed from Ariosto, upon various occasions.

UPTON. This enchanted horn is taken from the horn of Roland, mentioned by Turpin in his history of Charles the Great. . . . Hence the Italian poets, Boiardo and Ariosto, have given their knights this horn (Berni 1. 24 22):

Bianco era il corno, e di ricco lavoro,
Miracolosamente fabbricato
Di smalto colorito, e di fin' oro
Da ogni capo, e'n mezzo era legato,
E veramente valeva un tesoro,
Di tante ricche pietre era adornato.
Com' io dissi, lo porta la donzella,
In vista graziosa, e molto bella.

Ibid. (27):

Il corno per incanto è fabbricato

Hence Ariosto took the hint both of the book and the horn which Astolfo, the English Duke, received from Logistilla (*Orl. Fur.* 15. 14).

d'orribil suono un corno,
Che fa fuggir' ogn'un, che l'ode intorno.

Logistilla represents reason; the horn, whose sound bred terrour, represented justice, which breeds terrour in all misdoers, and drives them out of the country. But the horn which this gentle squire carries with him represents not only justice, but rather (Romans 10. 18) "The word of truth, the word of God, whose sound goeth into all the earth." [This is tantamount to calling it the "horn of salvation," and it is generally so interpreted.]

v. 5. TODD. It is Duessa's chamber which the poet here intends . . . "Bower," however, is often used in Spenser for any apartment. The expression "bower and hall," which occurs in the 29th stanza of this canto, is also frequent in the *Faerie Queene*, and appears to have been adopted from the metrical romances.

viii. 2-6. TODD. Such is the unavailing blow of the giant, levelled at Grande Amoure, from which, as we have just seen, he leapt aside

so that the stroke withall
In the grounde lighted, beside a stone wall,
Thre fote and more; and anon then I
Did lepe vnto him, strikyng full quickly.

ix. UPTON. Longinus would have written a whole chapter on the boldness and sublimity of the thoughts and terrible images of this similitude. . . . Compare this simile with that in 4. 6. 14.

PERCIVAL. It was suggested by Homer, *Il.* 14. 414 ff., where it refers to the blow with which Ajax laid Hector prostrate.

HEISE observes that the first lines of this simile, in which Spenser speaks of the rage and anger of Jupiter over the misdeeds of mortals, remind one of Homer: Homer, however, does not speak of the lightning, but of the rainstorm. *Il.* 16. 384-392. Like many of the other similes noted by Heise, the resemblance is far fetched.

xi. 5. UPTON. The poet says "Cymbrian plaine," using a particular and local epithet for a general one, meaning any plain where pastures are, and where herds are fed, as in the Cymbrian pastures. So 2. 9. 16: "the fennes of Alan," meaning any large fens. This manner of using local and particular epithets for general epithets seems to please Horace: e. g. "trabe Cypria" (1. 1); "mare Creticum" (1. 26); "Mauris anguibus" (3. 10).

PERCIVAL. Perhaps the Tauric Chersonese (the modern Crimea), once inhabited by the Cimmerii (Herodotus 4. 12), a nomadic race, who dwelt in the steppes between the Tanais and the Borysthenes. The name of the strait, the Cimmerian *Bosporus* (Ox-ford), and of the tribe, Tauri, and their pastoral habits, would probably be sufficient warrant for Spenser to place herds of bulls in this country. The Cimbri are a distinct tribe, who lived in the Cimbric Chersonese, the modern Jutland; they were not a pastoral people, but pirates. Marlowe, 2 *Tamburlaine* 4. 2, reproduces this.

6. JORTIN. "Bulls" for "calves" is a catachresis, as the rhetoricians call it. "Kindly" rage is *φυσική*, "according to nature." Spenser often uses the word so.

CHURCH. The rage and roaring of the wounded giant is compared, not to the lowing of calves occasioned by hunger, but to the rage and bellowing of bulls who are "stung" for want of the "milky mothers," i. e. the females. Cf. 2. 12. 39. Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, p. 44, seems to have copied from Spenser:

Stung with the kindly rage of loves impatient fire.

See "Kindly rages," 4. 10. 45, and "kindly flame," 4. Proem. 2.

UPTON. I would read "Doc for *their* milky," i. e. for the want of their milky mothers. . . . "An heard of bulls." This is not intended for a specific name. So in Psalm 69. 31: "A bullock that has horns and hoofs." See too 6. 12. 30. All the kind of herd cattle in the west of England they call "bullocks," whether calves, oxen, etc.

EDITOR. Church doubtless offers the correct interpretation.

xii. 4. UPTON. In allusion to Revelation 17. 6: "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints."

xiv. 1. UPTON. Cf. Revelation 17. 4: "And the woman . . . having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication."

xviii. 2. COLLIER. That is, in the one hand which alone was left to him; not his left hand, but his hand left.

8. UPTON. This is very literally, as well as elegantly, expressed from Virgil, *Aen.* 11. 644:

Latos huic hasta per armos
Acta tremit, duplicatque virum transfixa dolore.

xix. DODGE. Cf. *Orl. Fur.* 22. 84-6. [As the brightness of Arthur's shield prostrates Orgoglio and the beast, so Rogero's shield, unexpectedly revealed, prostrates two of the knights who attempted to carry out the unjust demands of Pinabello.]

xxii. 3. UPTON. Cf. *Aen.* 19. 441: "Rotat ensem fulmineum."

5-9. JORTIN. To the fall of the Giant, may be joined the description of the Dragon's fall, 1. 11. 54. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 16. 482-4; Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 612 [626-628]; Val. Flaccus 6. 383-5; Statius, *Theb.* 7. 744-9, 9. 532-6, 551-6.

UPTON. [Of] the two similes which follow, the one of an aged tree nigh-hewen with keene steel and rolling adown the broken rocks, might have been imitated from Virgil 2. 626; Tasso 9. 39; Catullus, *Epithalamium Peler et Thetidis* 105; *Il.* 13. 389; Horace, *Odes* 4. 6.

EDITOR. Heise adds *Il.* 14. 414-7, 17. 53-8; *Aen.* 5. 448-9; *Met.* 10. 372-3; Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 9. 39-43; Chaucer, *Troilus* 2. 1380-4. Most of these are rather remote analogues. The passage from the *Aen.* 2. 626-631 is the most pertinent, and the one which Spenser most likely had in mind:

Ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
Cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
Eruere agricolae certatim; ille usque minatur
Et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
Vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
Congemuit traxitque jugis avulsa ruinam.

xxiii. UPTON. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 9. 554-6:

ruit haud alio quam celsa fragore
Turris, ubi innumeros penitus quassata per ictus
Labitur, effractamque aperit victoribus urbem.

xxv. PERCIVAL. In the Puritan song, "O noble Festus" (Percy's *Folio Manuscripts* 3. 272), the hero performs the same exploits as Arthur; he fights the great red dragon, makes the woman of Babylon cast down her cup of abomination, plucks off three of the heads of her beast, and like the Redcross Knight in canto 9, falls into despair.

xxvi. 7. Cf. *Prothalamion* 150:

Faire branch of Honor, flower of Chivalrie.

xxvii. 1. CHURCH. Addressing herself to the squire.

3-9. JORTIN. So Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 604 [600-605]:

Grates persolvere dignas
Non opis est nostrae . . .
Dii tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
Usquam iustitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti
Praemia digna ferant.

But it is not to be supposed he took it from Virgil, the thought being very common and obvious.

xxix. 6-9. WARTON (2. 38-9). This affecting image of silence and solitude occurs again, after Britomart had surveyed the rich furniture in Busirane's house (3. 11. 53):

But more she marvail'd, that no footings trace,
Nor wight appear'd, but wasteful emptinesse,
And solemne silence over all that place.

This is finely expressed: but the circumstance is common in romance. Thus when Sir Thopas enters the land of Fairie (3310):

Wherein he sought both north and south,
And oft he spirid [whistled] with his mouth,
In many a forest wild;
But in that countre was there none,
Ne neither wife ne childe.

But more appositely in the old metrical romance of *Syr Degore*:

He went aboute, and gan to calle
Bothe in the courte and eke in the halle;
Neither for love, nor yet for awe,
Living man there none he sawe.

9. On "bowre or hall" see note to 8. 5. 5.

xxx. 2. PERCIVAL. The old man is Ignorance, foster-father of Orgoglio: the pride of the Church had been nursed by the ignorance of the laity. Ignaro here is closely related to Corceca in 3. 18, mother of Superstition: Ephesians 4. 18: "Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart."

xxxi. 3-4. UPTON. This picture seems plainly taken from the following description of the punishment which is allotted in hell to soothsayers and augurs, etc., by Dante (*Inf.* 20):

Com' el viso mi scese in lor pui basso,
Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto
Chiascun dal mento al principio del casso:
Che dalle reni era tornato 'l volto,
E indietro venir li convenia,
Perchè 'l veder dinanzi era lor tolto.

This punishment in Dante is proper for these hypocrites, who professed seeing forward, and they now see only backward. But this porter is neither conjurer nor soothsayer; he is ignorantly wrong-headed: his name bespeaks his nature, and he is the foster-father of Orgoglio: i. e. Ignorance is the foster-father of Pride. The very turn of the verses, as well as the answers of this old man, are highly characteristic of his manner and nature.

EDITOR. This picture was too common in symbolic art to need reference to Dante.

xxxv-lv. JOHN WILSON ("Legend of the Red-Cross Knight," *Blackwood's*

Magazine 38. 65-6). There is not in all the Faery Queen a more perfect passage—not in all poetry. Spenser's style is said to be diffuse. So is the style of a river when it chooses to become a lake without a sufficient reason for such change of character. It keeps a look-out how the land lies, and adapts its career to circumstances—all its way down from source to sea. There you see it shooting straight as an arrow—here you might mistake it for a mighty serpent uncoiling in the sun—there you almost wonder why it is mute—till you gaze again and are ashamed of yourself for having expected voice from one so still and deep—and here you see the old tops of trees swinging in the storm, but hear not the branches creak because of the thunder of the cataract. Just so with Spenser. One hour you see him—that is his poetry—carelessly diffused in the sunshine and enjoying the spirit of beauty, in which he lies enveloped as in a veil of dreams—another he winds away lucidly along flowery banks with a sweeter and yet sweeter song, as he nears the bowers on the borders of Paradise—now as if subdued by a sudden shadow, his brightness grows a glimmer, and the glimmer a gloom—and wondering what noise it is you hear, you catch a sight through the mist of white tumbling waves, and recoil in alarm from a monstrous sea.

xxxv. WALTHER cites *Morte d'Arthur* 707. 15 ff., in which Percival finds the graves of maidens in the castle where his sister was killed. See Appendix, p. 399

xxxvi. JORTIN. From the Apocalypse 6. 9: "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth."

6-7. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. Luke 18. 7.

xl-xli. 1-2. TODD. Perhaps Dante's ghost of Forese might here occur to the poet's mind (*Purg.* 23):

Negli occhi era ciascuna oscura, e cava,
Pallida nella faccia, e tanto scema,
Che dall' ossa la pelle s' informava.

M. M. GRAY (*RES* 6. 423-4) notes the similarity of this description to a passage in the *View of the State of Ireland* in which Spenser describes what he had seen in the late wars in Munster: "Ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that *any stony heart would have rued the same*. Out of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth *upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them*. They looked *like anatomies of death*, they *spoke like ghosts crying out of graves*, they did eat the dead carrion happy when they could find them; yea, one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves."

"This passage," continues Gray, "was ostensibly written to support the policy of frightfulness, but one feels the poet has forgotten his purpose; he is visualising a scene that filled him with horror and pity and haunted his imagination for years, he is recalling the spectres of misery and starvation, the people who in the vividness of the first impression inspired the picture of the Red Cross Knight in the dungeon in Book I. Is it not easier to believe that that picture was drawn in Ireland at the time of the Munster Rebellion than that it was a picture drawn from the poet's

imagination in England, which, by a curious coincidence, forestalled exactly what Spenser was about to see in Ireland, so that years afterwards he used almost the very same words and descriptive touches to picture the reality?"

8. TODD. So Psalm 31. 14: "I am clean forgotten, as a dead man out of mind."

xlili-xliv. WARTON (2. 19). It is unnatural, that the red-crosse knight should be so suddenly reconciled to Una, after he had forsaken her, for her supposed infidelity and impurity. The poet should certainly first have brought about an *eclaircissement* between them.

UPTON. The reader cannot help taking notice of the strict silence of our Christian knight all this while, and how agreeable this is to the rules of decorum: he had no just apology to make, and therefore he makes none.

PERCIVAL. A less consummate artist would have broken the charm of the situation by making the knight break his silence here: he does not speak till 9 17. Warton fails to see this when he wishes for an "*eclaircissement* between them" before reconciliation! Upton rightly says "he had no just apology to make and therefore makes none." On the other hand, Duessa's falsehood to him, resulting in his three month's captivity, could have left no doubt of Una's innocence in his mind.

xliv. 7-9. PERCIVAL. The lesson is meant for the Red Cross Knight, but with what charming delicacy does Arthur, the magnanimous, speak of it as a lesson for himself!

8. JORTIN cites Job 19. 24: "O that my words were now written! that they were graven with an iron pen!"

xlvi-xlviii. WARTON (1. 204-5). Duessa, who just before appeared young and beautiful, divested of her rich apparel is discovered to be a loathsome old woman. She is a copy of Ariosto's Alcina, who having long engaged the affections of Rogero, by the counterfeited charms of youth and beauty, is at last, by the virtue of his ring, found to be old and ugly. These circumstances of Duessa's discovery, are literally translated from the Italian poet.

EDITOR. The Italian (*Orl. Fur.* 7. 71-3) reads as follows:

Come fanciullo che maturo frutto
Ripone, e poi si scorda ove è riposto,
E dopo molti giorni è ricondotto
Là dove trova a caso il suo deposto;
Si meraviglia di vederlo tutto
Putrido e guasto, e non come fu posto;
E dove amarlo e caro aver solia,
L'odia, sprezza, n'ha schivo e getta via;

Così Ruggier, poi che Melissa fece
Ch' a riveder se ne tornò la fata
Con quell' anello, innanzi a cui non lece,
Quando s' ha in dito, usare opra incantata,
Ritruova, contra ogni sua stima, invece
Della bella che dianzi avea lasciata,
Donna sì laida, che la terra tutta
Nè la più vecchia avea, nè la più brutta.

Pallido, cresco e macilento avea
 Alcina il viso, il crin raro e canuto:
 Sua statura a sei palmi non giungea,
 Ogni dente di bocca era caduto;
 Che più d' Ecuba e più della Cuma,
 Ed avea più d' ogn' altra mai vivuto,
 Ma sì l' arti usa al nostro tempo ignote,
 Che bella e giovanetta parer puote.

Spenser's picture is far superior as a grotesque. See Warton's note to 4 30.

LOWELL (*North American Review* 120. 372). Many of his personages we can still identify, and all of them once were as easily recognizable as those of *Mademoiselle de Scudéry*. This no doubt added greatly to the immediate piquancy of the allusions. The interest they would excite may be inferred from the fact that King James, in 1596, wished to have the author prosecuted and punished for his indecent handling of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, under the name of Duessa. . . . Had the poet lived longer, he might have verified his friend Raleigh's saying, that "whosoever in writing modern history shall follow truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth." The passage is one of the very few disgusting ones in the *Faery Queen*. . . . He did this, no doubt, to pleasure his mistress, Mary's rival; and this gives us a measure of the brutal coarseness of contemporary manners. It becomes only the more marvellous that the fine flower of his genius could have transmuted the juices of such a soul into the purity and sweetness which are its own peculiar properties.

xlvi. 2. UPTON. As odium signifies not only hatred, but what is the object of hate and aversion, so I interpret hate in this passage, viz., such as would cause aversion in old age otherwise claiming reverence and honour.

xlvi. 3-9. UPTON. "A foxes taile," alluding to her craftiness and cowardice, for a fox is timorous unless where he preys with safety. The eagle and bear shew her rapacious and ravenous disposition. "And his feet were as the feet of a bear," Revelation 13. 2. Compare this picture here with that in *Orlando Furioso* 26. 31, where Superstition is characterized as ignorant, ravenous, cruel and cunning.

1. UPTON. The allegory is plain from Revelation 17. 16. "These shall hate the whore (Duessa) and shall make her desolate (make her fly to the wilderness), and naked." Thus we are come to an end of this beautiful allegory. See what pains the common enemy of mankind takes to separate holiness from truth: as soon as this point is gained, falsehood attaches herself to holiness, and no adventure succeeds. Our christian knight stands amazed at the plucking of a bough, and seeing it stream with blood; he stands amazed, and performs nothing, for holiness unassisted with truth and reason is soon lost in amazement and silly wonderment. He is then conducted to the palace of foolish pride, from which with difficulty escaping, he sets himself down to rest at the lake of idleness, and drinks of those sluggish waters, by which he is rendered feeble; grows unmindful of his militant state here upon earth; lays aside his christian armour; and soon is reduced to a slavish and miserable condition. The *Man of Sin*, who has taken holiness captive, decks out falsehood with gold and pearls, and arrays her in purple and scarlet. This is the Spiritual Babylon; the spiritual wickedness in high places. And who now

shall redeem holiness thus enthralled? for whom is the victory reserved? for the British prince. As I consider this poem to be a moral allegory with historical allusions, so here methinks (in the lesser view and historical allusion) he intends a complement to the Earl of Leicester and Sir W. Raleigh, both which so eminently distinguished themselves in the Protestant cause, and in pulling down the papal power in England.

CANTO IX

i. 1-2. UPTON. This is the golden chain mentioned in Homer and Milton that joins heaven and earth, and as there is a sympathy between things of like nature in the natural world, so in the mental and higher order of nature there is union of mind with mind. . . . Cf. Chaucer (*Knights Tale* 2990):

The first movir of the causis above,
Whan that he first made the fair chaine of love,
Grcte was th' effect, and hie was his entent,
Wele wist he, and what thereof he ment:
For with that faire chaine of Love he bond,
The fire, the aire, the water, and the lond.

Compare Boetius, *Consol. Philosoph.* 2. met. ult. and 3. met. 2; compare likewise Chaucer's *Troil. and Cres.* 3. 1750, where he plainly translates Boetius; and see 4. 10. 34-5.

ii-vi. WARTON (2. 19). Arthur and Una have been hitherto represented as entire strangers to each other, and it does not appear how Una became acquainted with the name of this new knight.

UPTON. That Una knew the name which this knight was known by in Fairy land, is plain from stanza 6 just below. But fairy knights often concealed their real names, and took feigned names. Good manners therefore made her ask, before she addressed him. Una knew not whether Prince Arthur was his real or assumed name, nor does he in his answer resolve this doubt.

PERCIVAL. There is here [6. 5] no inconsistency with stanza 2. 7. The famous name of Merlin was enough to give her the information she had there sought.

WALTHER notes *Morte d'Arthur* 100. 4, in which Arthur questions Sir Ector and Sir Ulfius as to his unknown ancestry.

iv. 1. UPTON. I have often observed that Spenser varies his names from history, mythology, or romance, agreeable to his own scheme; and here, by saying that Arthur was nurtured by Timon, allegorically he means that he was brought up in the ways of *honour*, for so his tutor's name signifies. In the romance history of Prince Arthur (1. 3) Uther Pendragon by the counsel of Merlin delivers the young prince to be nurtured by Sir Ector.—"Unto old Timon he me brought." "He" agrees with the principal substantive in stanza 3, viz, "the certain sire from which I sprong," namely, Uter Pendragon. The "fary Knight" there mentioned (3. 8) is, according to Spenser, Timon; according to the historie of P. Arthur, Sir Ector. Let us hear our poet's own account in his letter to Sir W. R.: "Arthur was a long while under the education of Timon, to whom he was by

Merlin delivered to be brought up, so soone as he was borne of the lady Igrayne; during which time he saw in a vision the Faery Queen, with whose excellent beautie ravished, he resolved to seeke her out; and so being by Merlin armed and by Timon thoroughly instructed, he went to seek her forth in Faery Land." This does not entirely agree with Spenser's account in the poem, where 'tis not Merlin that delivers him to be educated by old Timon, the fairy knight, but "he," the sire from whom P. Arthur sprung. To reconcile Spenser with himself, we must interpret "by Merlin delivered" *delivered by the counsel of Merlin*. . . . Prince Arthur says "Merlin had charge his discipline to frame." This is according to the history of P. Arthur and Jeff. of Monmouth. And hence Ariosto (23. 9) says that Arthur undertook no enterprize without the counsel of Merlin:

Artur, ch' impresa ancor senza consiglio
Del profeta Merlin non fece mai.

It might here likewise be proper to mention that according to Jeffry of Monmouth (8. 19) and the history of Prince Arthur (1. 1-2) Uther Pendragon was transformed by the magician Merlin into the shape of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall, and thus enjoyed his wife, the fair Igera—or Igrayne, as Spenser calls her and as she is called in the history of Prince Arthur—, from whom was born Arthur. But this romance story—as most of them are borrowed from ancient fables—is the fable, with a little alteration, of Jupiter and Alcmena.

EDITOR. "He" probably is not explained by an antecedent in the preceding stanza but by a succedent in the following stanza, that is, Merlin. This practice is to be found elsewhere in the poem. The "faery knight" of stanza 3 presumably is Timon; otherwise the child was delivered to a certain knight "to be upbrought in gentle thewes and martiall might," and this knight, instead of assuming the task, unloaded it on to still another knight.

5-8. TODD cites the illustration to Drayton's *Polyolbion* 10. 14, which reads as follows:

In the first declining State of the British Empire (to explaine the Author in this of Merlin) Vortigern, by aduice of his Magicians, after diuers vnfortunat successes in warre, resolved to erect a strong Fort in Snowdon hils (not far from Conwey's head in the edge of Merioneth) which might be as his last and surest Refuge, against the increasing power of the English. Masons were appointed, and the worke begun; but what they built in the day, was alwayes swallowed vp in the earth next night. The King askes counsell of his Magicians, touching this prodigie: they aduise that he must finde out a childe which had no father, and with his blood sprinkle the stones and mortar, and that then the Castle would stand as on a firme foundation. Search was made, and in Caer-Merdhin (as you haue it to the V. Song) was Merlin Ambrose found: he, being hither brought to the King, slighted that pretended skill of those Magicians as palliated ignorance; and with confidence of a more knowing spirit, vndertakes to shew the true cause of that amazing ruine of the stone-worke; tels them that in the earth was a great water, which could endure continuance of no heauy superstruction. The workmen digged to discover the truth, and found it so. He then beseeches the King to cause them make further inquisition, and affirms, that in the bottome of it were two sleeeping Dragons: which proued so likewise, the one white, the other red; the white he interpreted for the Saxons the red for the Britons: and vpon this euent here in Dinas Emrys,

as they call it, began he those prophecies to Vortigern, which are common in the British storie. Hence questionles was that Fiction of the Muses best pupil, the noble Spenser, in supposing Merlin vsually to visit his old Timon, whose dwelling he places

—low in a valley greene
Vnder the foot of *Rauran* mossie hore . . .
From whence the Riuer *Dee* as siluer cleene
His tumbling billows rols with gentle rore.

For this Rauran-Vaur hill is there by in Merioneth: but obserue with-all, the difference of the Merlins, Ambrose, and Syluester, which is before to the IV. Song; and permit it, only as Poeticall that he makes K. Arthur and this Merlin of one time.

E. GREENLAW (*Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*, pp. 205-7) quotes Selden's note with the following comment: "Todd quotes this, in abbreviated form, but apparently no editor gets the distinction between the two Merlins."

C. B. MILICAN (*Spenser and the Table Round*, pp 145-6). Patriotic Spenser, who saw the fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy in "twise foure hundredth years," turned his poetic eyes towards Merionethshire, an ancestral seat of the Pennynydd Tudors. There in North Wales, in one of two shires that "cam last into the power of ye *Englishmē*" and "the most roughest, and sharpest of al *VVales*, hauynge in it most highest Mountaynes" (*The Breviary of Britayne*, 1573, ff. 65v, 65),

Vnder the foot of *Rauran* mossy hore,
From whence the riuer *Dee* as siluer cleene
His tombling billowes rolls with gentle rore---

there near the ancient dividing line of "the *Saxon*, and *Welsh*" (the same, f. 70v), a line, according to Lhuyd, still "accompted at this day one of ye auncient bonds, sauing yt in certein places, both ye people & the welsh tongue haue inroched more into England" (the same, f. 13v)—there near "a place called *Caergay*, which was the house of *Gay*, *Arthurs* foster brother" (Humphrey Lhuyd's version of Sir John Prince's "Description of Cambria," in Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, sig. A. v.)—there among the birches Merlin delivered Prince Arthur to be brought up in all the gentle thews and martial might of knighthood. There, in the poet's alembic, Gloriana, England's Tudor Faery Queen "who came from *Arthurs* rase and lyne" (Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales*, 1587, sig. D3), found the Briton prince asleep and wooed him back to the Faeryland which was Elizabethan England. Maurice Kyffin's clarion call was answered:

Ye Bryttish Poets, Repeat in Royall Song,
(*VVith waigbtie words, vsde in King Arthurs dares*)
Tb' Imperiall Stock, from whence your Queene hath sprong;
Enstall in verse your Princesse lasting prayes.
(*The Blessednes of Brytaine*, 1587, sig. [B4].)

6-9. EDITOR. An interesting blending of classical and Christian determinism, of destiny and foreordination. Later in the canto the poet works over the problem of free-will and necessity in the speech put into the mouth of Despair.

viii. 4. PERCIVAL. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 3. 2. 2.: "Empedocles

was present at the cutting up of one that died of love; 'his heart was conbust, his liver smoky, his lungs dried up.' As the heat consumes the water, so doth love dry up his radical moisture."

ix. 5. See editor's note to 9. 4. 1.

xi. 1-4. HEISE (p. 147) observes that Chaucer (*Wife of Bath's Prologue* 252-264) speaks in a similar manner of the castle of Chastity, which at last falls before attacks on every side:

She may no whyle in chastitce abyde,
That is assailed up-on ech a syde. . . .
Thou seyst, men may not kepe a castel-wal;
It may so longe assailed been over-al.

xiii-xv LUCY A. PATON (p. 29). It is almost a commonplace in romantic tradition that with the name of a great hero there should be connected the story of a fairy retention. Cuchulinn, Oisín, Merlin and Ogier, all come under the sway of a fairy mistress, and the idea that there was an original theme which we know only through a transformed version, allotting to Arthur's share an amorous sojourn in fairyland, receives a limited support by analogy with the experiences of other heroes. (Some such lingering tradition Spenser may have had before him. He describes Arthur after a day spent in "ranging the forest wide on courser free," alighting from his horse and being overcome with sleep as he stretches himself out wearily on the grass at the foot of a tree. Whether he dreamed or whether it were true he could not tell, but it seemed to him that a beautiful maiden appeared to him and bade him love her, remained at his side, and "at her parting said she Queen of Fairies high." Ever after Arthur sought her eagerly.)

WINSTANLEY. Arthur's love-story, as he himself narrates it, is plainly derived from the poem of *Sir Thopas*. It is curious to observe that the tale which Chaucer selects as a fitting subject for burlesque should be treated with entire seriousness by Spenser. *Sir Thopas* relates how that good knight rides out into the wood in search of adventures; he lies down to rest and dreams that an elf-queen comes to him as his love and, when he awakes, he rides on in search of her.

GREENLAW (*SP* 15. 115). This incident requires very little explanation, since it introduces the well-known fairy mistress theme. A *fee* is enamored of a young knight, appears to him in a vision or while he is resting after an adventure, and offers him her love. Usually they are at once united. The lover is warned not to tell any one about his *amie*, or some other prohibition is put upon him. If he disobeys, as is often the case, his *amie* disappears and he searches for her, often without success, for a long time. The fairy mistress aids her lover in war, and becomes his protectress. Familiar illustrations of the theme are the stories of Thomas Rhymer, of Ogier, of Lanval, etc. Morgain the Fay often figures in such episodes; she is not only amorous but also possesses certain characteristics of the Irish war goddess, the Morrigan. The Lady of the Lake instructs her lovers in the arts of war. Both Morgain and the Lady of the Lake are powerful *fees* who are connected with Arthur in various stories.

EDITOR. Spenser was of course familiar with *Sir Thopas*, but that he derived Arthur's love-story from it is highly improbable. Both poets were familiar

with a rich body of traditional material, in which the Celtic fairy-princess, surpassingly beautiful, frank, ardent, and naïvely determined in sexual matters, seeks the love of a mortal, and gives herself to him with abandon. Temporary separation causes the mortal the most intense mental suffering. This tradition, so foreign to the Aryan mind, is plainly a survival from a very early culture. That Spenser without compunction assigns this experience to his greatest hero, Prince Arthur, is evidence of his eclecticism as an artist. For discussion of the tradition, with rich bibliographical notes, see Tom Peete Cross, "Celtic Elements in *Lanval* and *Graelent*," *MP* 12. 585-644.

xvi. 6-9. PERCIVAL. The nearest approach to blame of the Red Crosse Knight that Una has ever uttered. What words of well-merited reproach could be more gentle, more forgetful of self?

xviii. 8. UPTON. Our knights do not part without mutual presents, and this is agreeable to Homer: Diomed and Glaucus, Ajax and Hector, part not without gifts, though engaged in different interests.

xix. EDITOR. The Testament presented to Arthur by the Red Cross Knight may have been suggested by the book, able to preserve from evil, which Logistilla presented to Astolfo (*Orl. Fur.* 15. 13). This is the more likely as Logistilla also presented the horn, which Spenser adopted and construed to mean the saving power of God's word:

E per schivar che non sia più ridotto
Per arte maga, onde non possa uscire,
Un bello ed util libro gli avea dato,
Che per suo amore avesse ognora a lato

This parallel seems hitherto to have escaped notice.

3. UPTON. That the red-crosse knight had occasion for such a present may be seen by turning to 1. 5. 45. See likewise 1. 7 [9?]. 31. This "pretious liquor" is mentioned in 4. 8. 20. And these kind of enchanted balsoms and liquors are frequently to be met with in romance writers. In imitation of these *Don Quixote* endeavours to get the balsam of Fierabras, which cures all wounds (*Don Quixote* 2. 2. and 3. 3). The Christian knight gives Prince Arthur the New Testament, and he too—if, with historical allusion, the Earl of Leicester is shadowed in this allegorical poem—had need of such a present, or his character is belied.

xxi-liv. WARTON (2. 53-6). Spenser particularly excels in painting affright, confusion, and astonishment. . . . Experience proves, that we paint best, what we have felt most. Spenser's whole life seems to have consisted of disappointments and distress. These miseries, the warmth of his imagination, and, what was its consequence, his sensibility of temper, contributed to render doubly severe. Unmerited and unpitied indigence ever struggles hardest with true genius; and a refined taste, for the same reasons that it enhances the pleasures of life, adds uncommon torture to the anxieties of that state, "in which," says an incomparable moralist, "Every virtue is obscured, and in which no conduct can avoid reproach; a state in

which chearfulness is insensibility, and dejection sullenness; of which the hardships are without honour, and the labors without reward."

WARTON (*History of English Poetry* 3. 262-3). The most poetical passage of Higgins's performance in this collection [*The Mirrour for Magistrates*, as enlarged by John Higgins] is in his Legend of Queen Cordila, or Cordelia, King Lear's youngest daughter. Being imprisoned in a dungeon, and "cought on strawe," she sees amid the darkness of the night a "griesly ghost" approach,

Eke nearer still with stealing steps shee drewe:
Shee was of colour pale and deadly hewe.

Her garment was figured with various sorts of imprisonment, and pictures of violent and premature death.

Her clothes resembled thousand kinds of thrall,
And pictures plaine of hastened deathes withall.

Cordelia, in extreme terror, asks:

What wight art thou, a foe or fawning frend?
If Death thou art, I pray thee make an end—
But th'art not Death! Art thou some fury sent
My woefull corps with paynes more to torment?

With that she spake:

I am thy frend Despayre. . . .
Now if thou art to dye no whit afrayde,
Here shalt thou choose of instruments, beholde,
Shall rid thy restlesse life.

Despair, then, throwing her robe aside, shews Cordelia a thousand instruments of death, knives, sharp swordes, and ponyards, "all bedyde with bloode and poysons." She presents the sword with which queen Dido slew herself.

Lo! here the blade that Dido of Carthage hight—

Cordelia takes this sword, "but doubtfull yet to dye." Despair then represents to her the state and power which she enjoyed in France, her troops of attendants, and the pleasures of the court she had left. She then points out her present melancholy condition and dreary situation.

She shewde me all the dongeon where I sate,
The dankish walles, the darkes, and bade me smell
And byde the savour if I like it well.

Cordelia gropes for the sword, or "fatall knife," in the dark, which Despair places in her hand.

Despayre to ayde my senceless limmes was glad,
And gave the blade: to end my woces she bad.

At length Cordelia's sight fails her so that she can see only Despair, who exhorts her to strike:

And by her elbowe Death for me did watch.

Despair at last gives the blow. The temptation of the Red-crosse Knight by Despair

in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* seems to have been copied, yet with high improvements, from this scene. These stanzas of Spenser bear a strong resemblance to what I have cited from Cordelia's legend. . . . The three first books of the *Faerie Queene* were published in 1590. Higgins's Legend of Cordelia in 1587.

UPTON. 'Tis worth while to pause a little, and to see the order in which the adventures follow each other. Our Christian hero cannot but be conscious of his misbehaviour, in having suffered his reason to have been deluded by phantoms and vain apparitions, in suspecting the ever-faithful Una, and in following the scarlet whore. How naturally after this is the adventure of Despair! "Desperatio" is defined by Cicero (*Tusc. Disput.* 4. 8): "Aegritudo sine ulla rerum expectatione meliorum." . . . The Despair here pictured is that of "a carnal man, lacking the spirit of Christ, and having before his eyes the sentence of God's predestination, and a most dangerous downfall, being thrust by the devil into desperation." Whether Spenser took the hint—for great wits take hints from lesser things oftentimes—from the history of Queen Cordelia, King Lear's daughter, related in the *Mirror of Magistrates*, where Despair appears to Cordelia and advises her to put an end to her wretched life, I cannot myself determine, but thus I am certain of, he has nobly improved upon an indifferent poem.

TODD. The three first books of the *Faerie Queene*, however, were probably written before 1590. The second book certainly was. See the note on the fine simile of the almond tree (1. 7. 32), in which I have supposed the poem to have been handed about in manuscript. It is not therefore easy to pronounce whether Spenser or Higgins be the copyist. To Mr. Warton's observation on a passage in Skelton's rare comedy of *Magnificence* (*Hist. of Eng. Poetry* 2) we may readily subscribe: "Magnificence is seized and robbed by Adversyte, by whom he is given up a prisoner to Povertie. He is next delivered to Despare and Mischeffe, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife, to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when Good Hope and Redresse appear, etc. It is not impossible that Despare offering the knife and halter might give a distant hint to Spenser." I may add that the French poet, Du Bartas, introduces Despair into his poem entitled *The Furies*, equipped with various instruments of death. See Sylvester's translation (ed 1621), p 215:

mad Despaire
That bears about her burning coales and cords,
Asps, poysons, pistols, halters, knives, and swords.

EDITOR. Warton and Todd were both ignorant of the fact that the legend of Cordelia appears in the 1574 and 1575 editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, with seventeen of Higgins's additional poems

AIKIN. The allegory of Despair in the first book may be placed at the head of all such fictions, as well for just conception and skilful management, as for unrivalled strength of description. It seems impossible by the medium of words to call up visual images in the mind with more force and distinctness, than is done in the pictures of the knight flying from Despair, of Despair himself in his cave, and of the red cross knight receiving the dagger from his hands.

AUBREY DE VERE (*Grosart* 1. 290-1). The allegory of "Despair" is too well known to need comment; but it can never be too much praised. It

proves that narrative poetry may, in the hand of a great master, fully reach the *intensity* of the drama, and carry to the same height those emotions of pity and terror through which to purify the soul was, according to Aristotle, the main function of tragedy. Spenser could at will brace his idyllic strain till it became palpably the prelude of that fierce and fair Elizabethan drama destined so soon to follow it.

CARPENTER (*MLN* 12. 258, 266). Among the sins which solicit mankind there is one which profoundly affected the Mediaeval imagination, the sin against the Holy Ghost, the sin of sins, in that it tempted to self-destruction and thereby shut off every hope of repentance and salvation. This sin was the sin of Despair, "*homicida animae*, the murderer of the soul, as Austin terms it, a fearful passion, wherein the party oppressed thinks he can get no ease but by death and is fully resolved to offer violence unto himself" (Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Pt. iii, sect. iv, Member ii, subsection 2. The last six subsections of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, that strange cartulary of the Mediaeval mind engrossed by the hands of a seventeenth century clerk, are taken up with a dissertation upon the sin of Despair, wherein the opinions of Zanchius, Musculus, Mersennus, Erasmus, and other doctors and theologians are copiously cited.)

Despair is the forerunner of self-destruction. In Mediaeval thought, Despair and Suicide are habitually associated. Despair is the despair of God's mercy: Burton paraphrases the Mediaeval conception of it in these words:

The terrible meditation of hell-fire and eternal punishment much torments a sinful silly soul. What's a thousand years to eternity? Ubi moeror, ubi fletus, ubi dolor sempiternus? Mors sine morte, finis sine fine. What shall this unspeakable fire be that burns forever, innumerable infinite millions of years, in omne aevum, in aeternum. O eternity!

The figure of Despair, "a female figure thrusting a dagger into her throat, and tearing her long hair—inscribed '*Desperatio mortis crudelis*,'" has been described by Ruskin, "By Giotto she is represented as a woman hanging herself, a fiend coming for her soul." In Dante the wood of the suicides is in the second circle of the *Inferno*. The two hounds which there pursue and rend the victims are frequently interpreted as standing for Poverty and Despair. And of course Despair, or the Abandonment of Hope, is the very condition of entrance into Hell: "*Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate*." Adopted in continental literature and art as a favorite motive and symbol, can we trace the Vision of Despair similarly in English literature?

Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* affords us exactly the transition we want from Mediaeval theology to English poetry. In his treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins in the course of his sermon on Penitence the worthy Parson enlarges upon the incidents of "accidie" (sullen discontent,—punished in the fifth circle of Dante's *Inferno*):

"Now cometh wanhope, that is despeir of the mercy of God, that cometh sometye of too muche outrageous sorrow, and sometime of too muche drede, imagininge that he hath doon so muche sinne that it wol nat availen him though he wolde repenten him and forsake sinne, thurgh which despeir or drede he abandoneth all his herte to every maner synne, as seith Saint Augustin. Which dampnable sin, if that it continue unto his ende, it is cleped sinning in the Holy Gost. . . . Certes, ther is noon so horrible sinne of man that it ne may in his

lyf be destroyed by penitence, thurgh vertu of the passion and of the deth of Crist. Alas! what nedeth man thanne to been despoired, sith that his mercy so redy is and large? Axe and have."

Personifications of despair are common in other Middle English poets. In Lydgate's *Assembly of the Gods* (Act 2, Scene 4, of Dr. Trigg's edition), Despair is represented as meeting Vice. "Wanhope" appears again in Langland's *Piers Plowman*, C Passus xx, 291, as despair of the mercy of God. . . .

Spenser, it is probable, drew the main hints for this episode, especially for the poetical argument on self-destruction, from Higgins's version of the *Legend of Queene Cordila* in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1574. In Higgins's version of course we miss the shaping and life-giving imagination of the artist. Cordelia, in accordance with the easy canon of Mediaeval poetry, relates her own death. To her, imprisoned by her wicked sisters, Despair, a female figure, appears in a dream, and offers instruments of riddance from her wretched state. Cordelia takes the knife, but still doubtfully:

So still I lay in study with myself at bate and strife,
What thing were best of both these deep extremes untried;
Good Hope all reasons of Despair denied,
And she again replied to prove it best
To die, for still in life my woes increast.

Until finally Cordelia yields to Despair. In Higgins's treatment the argument is merely suggested, and is not generalized as with Spenser, but remains *ad hominem*. It is a soliloquy and is not dramatically objectified. Moreover, the sufferings which are suggested as arguments for despair and suicide are not spiritual sufferings, as with the Red Cross Knight, but purely material sufferings, the loss of liberty, of riches, and of power.

CARPENTER (pp. 257 ff.) traces the influence of Spenser's Despair on Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island* 12. 32 ff.; Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory and Triumph* 2. 23 ff.; Henry More, *Song of the Soul* 1. 3; *The Return from Parnassus* 3. 11. 1460-6; *O noble Festus*, a poem in Percy's Folio MSS. 3. 272; Satyr 11 of Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt* or *Satyrickall Essayes* (Spenser Soc. Pub. 1871); *Paradise Lost* 10 1012 ff., in the debate over suicide between Adam and Eve; notes the similarity to Bunyan's *Despair*; and hears distant reverberations in later poets down to Tennyson's *The Two Voices*. [More's indebtedness was first noted by Todd, and Milton's by Upton.]

CORY (pp. 99-103). We may well agree with "Christopher North" and Upton, whom he quotes, "that such a picture of a desponding, terrified, poor creature, in the utmost agonies of fright and despair was never drawn so lively by any poet or painter." The abrupt and violent course of action is then as abruptly and violently damned by a suspense as the Red Cross Knight questions Trevisan. . . . What is the fearful apparition which has so unmanned him? We listen eagerly as Trevisan tells the story of his meeting with Despayre and of the suicide of Sir Terwin. Then the narrative movement breaks through the obstruction and flows, not with its first velocity, but with the easy rapidity of a swollen current that makes the gazer dizzy. . . . Nothing could show better the poet's confident skill than the sequel in which he dares to transcribe the very words of this squalid and terrible Portent. Among the many imitators of this

scene most of the Spenserians contented themselves, like Giles Fletcher, with following the description closely but discreetly avoiding speech. Sir Joseph Beaumont, in his *Psyche*, is the only Spenserian I remember who attempted after the master to put words into the mouth of Despayre; and he failed hopelessly. Spenser's achievement is a masterpiece of sophistical argument. The Red Cross Knight leaps forward with furious denunciation. Despayre seems at first to shrink and mildly reproves the hero in a craftily general discourse on the futility of life. Gradually the demon turns to a praise of that "eternal rest" of which Spenser himself, from his youth to the days of his fragments on *Mutabilitie*, wrote with such eloquence. But Spenser did not believe in the coward's rest or a pale inaction after death as described with such cunning persuasion by Despayre alluding to Sir Terwin's state. . . . To Spenser, as we shall see, the life after death was rather an eternal quest, within all-hail of peace, but ever restless in noble achievement and self-development. The Red Cross Knight, however, is half convinced and wonders at Despayre's "suddeine wit." Just at this point he loses himself. The fiend goes on with sinister subtlety to justify his own acts before God, to talk of the inevitability of death and the brevity and irony of life with a music that almost stills the heart-beat. Thus the cunning demon steals gradually from his defensive attitude until, with a sudden and appalling directness as though he had leaped from a cowering posture to full height, he denounces his own accuser. . . . As "Christopher North" says, "No Atheist he, indeed, but an orthodox divine." Only Una, strong and tender, saves the hero from the knife pressed into his trembling hand. . . .

LEGOUIS (p. 214). Le monstre Désespoir qui s'adresse à un homme de la Renaissance pour le pousser au suicide n'ignore pas sa double nature et dirige son argumentation vers chacun des éléments qui la constituent. Il parle avec une force égale au chrétien et au païen qui sont en son interlocuteur. Tantôt il emploie la langue des sirènes et tantôt celle des calvinistes. Pour pousser Croix Rouge à se tuer, tantôt il lui représente la mort comme le grand repos au terme des agitations de la vie, et tantôt il le précipite vers elle par l'horrible conscience des péchés commis. Encore n'est-ce pas un discours en deux points que le sien; les deux argumentations s'enchevêtrent presque stance par stance et à aucun moment ne s'aperçoivent qu'elles viennent de pôles opposés. Quand Hamlet songe au suicide dans son fameux monologue, il n'a aucune pensée religieuse; il ne sait pas s'il existe une autre vie et c'est pur dégoût de l'existence qui l'inspire. Lui-même il est vrai aura dans une autre scène l'idée qu'il ne doit pas tuer Claudius en état de grâce mais dans son péché pour l'envoyer sûrement dans l'enfer. Il se contredira d'une scène à l'autre, mais Spenser le fait d'une stance à l'autre, comme pour montrer que les deux pensées inconciliables vivent chez le même homme dans le même instant.

Désespoir fascine Croix Rouge par la perspective de l'éternel sommeil et en même temps, comme l'abîme attire à lui un grimpeur las, par la peinture des horreurs de l'enfer. Il le pousse à la fois vers la mort comme vers un port désirable et comme vers une punition méritée.

M. Y. HUGHES (*PMLA* 41. 556-7). Burton's study of the varieties of defective love toward God ends with "such desperate persons as are too distrustful of his mercies" and to them he devoted the five last sections of his book.

Theirs is a specific form of melancholy. . . . Its main causes are weakness of faith, guilty consciences and the devil, "but the greatest harm of all proceeds from those thundering ministers, a most frequent cause of this malady, [who] make all their auditors desperate. 'These bitter potions (saith Erasmus) are still in their mouths, nothing but gall and horror, and a mad noise, they make all their auditors desperate: many are wounded by this means, and they commonly that were most devout and precise, have been formerly presumptuous and certain of their salvation.'"

Through all of these predisposing causes of despair, a bad conscience, weakness of faith following spiritual confidence, and the preachments of a fiend with a mouth full of bitter—though very poetical preachments, the Redcross Knight passes as the last step in his experience of loss of faith and he displays all of the symptoms that grieved intelligent Christians from Erasmus to Burton in that age of religious excitement. Despair sows his seed in an eloquent appeal. [9. 48 quoted.] The thought of this stanza was a familiar commonplace and elsewhere Burton traces a strand of its history. . . . "the longer he had lived," he writes of a boy whose death was untimely, "the worse he would have been; *et quo vita longior* (Ambrose thinks) *culpa numerosior*, more sinful, more to answer he would have had."

Despair understood the evil hypnosis that he was practicing upon Redcross. [9. 49 quoted.] Burton knew these symptoms only too well and his strange treatise ends with their description. A most intolerable pain and grief of heart, he tells us, "scizeth on" the victims of religious melancholy. "To their thinking they are already damned, they suffer the pains of hell, and more than possibly can be expressed they smell brimstone, talk familiarly with devils, hear and see chimæras, prodigious uncouth shapes, bears, owls, antiques, black dogs, fiends, hideous outcries, fearful noises, shrieks, lamentable complaints, they are possessed, through impatience they roar and howl, curse, blaspheme, deny God, call his power in question, abjure religion, and are still ready to do violence unto themselves, by hanging, drowning, &c."

Spenser's Despair urges hanging upon Redcross as the readiest mode of suicide, but has a laboratory of all the tools of self-slaughter at hand. For this disease of the soul Burton knew only one sovereign remedy: "His mercy is a panacea, a balsam for the afflicted soul, a sovereign medicine, an alexipharmacum for all sins, a charm for the devil." And in an eloquent passage he "confers the debt and the payment; Christ and Adam, sin, and the cure of it, the disease and the medicine." Una works Redcross's cure by the same charm and dissolves away all his doubts by a single sentence.

M. M. GRAY (RES 6. 426-8). One of Spenser's great gifts as a poet was his pictorial imagination; experiences that made an impression on him his imagination reproduced in wonderful word pictures; hence the visions of material loveliness; hence also his response to the suffering he had witnessed (in the Irish rebellions) is not a lyric cry of pain, not an eloquent burst of indignation, but that strange vision of a gaunt and hollow-eyed spectre that haunts the *Faerie Queene* and finds its supreme expression in the figure of Despair. This response need not have been explicit to his reason, yet it gives an assurance that the poet was not indifferent to the drama of suffering that was played before his eyes. His

creative imagination seizes upon what the poet really feels, not what he says he feels, and draws on his new experiences for the Allegory of Despair. So that this allegory, one of the finest passages in the poem, is a great poet's reaction to contemporary events; and it is the kind of reaction to be looked for in a great poet; not a mere occasional poem, but a great imaginative creation. And there is a strange appropriateness in giving to Despair the face and form of a starving kerne, one of a race of whom it was said, even in Spenser's day, "they say it is the fatal destiny of that land that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good will prosper or take effect." Here is the picture [sts. 33-36 quoted].

Such sights must often have met the eyes of those who made war on "a flying enemy ever hiding himself in woods and bogs," an enemy best harried in winter, according to Spenser, when "the ground is cold and wet, which used to be his bedding, the air is sharp and bitter to blow through his naked sides and legs." The Allegory of Despair is how the poet reacted to these sights. And if we link the vision to its source, we are tempted to say that the moving quality of Despair's appeal owes something to its bitter reality [st. 44 quoted]. To suggest that this famous allegory owes much to the tragic strife in Ireland is, of course, to go against the conventional assumption that the First Book was written in England, but that assumption rests on no available proof, and those who make it do not deny that Spenser may have made additions and alterations before it was published. If the allegory of Despair be studied in the light of this suggestion, I believe it will be accepted as the response of Spenser's imagination to the scenes he had witnessed, just in the same way that we say *The Tempest* is the response of Shakespeare's imagination to the voyages and discoveries of the Elizabethan sea-men.

H. GOLDER (*JEGP* 30. 361-4). Ever since man learned to discriminate between two species of immortality, one happy for the chosen and the other miserable for the rejected of God, his spiritual peace has been disturbed by uncertainty and discomfort. The absence of any indisputable sign to determine "whether a man be in a state of grace or in a state of damnation" has engendered, among devout Christians of all centuries, a restless introspection, kept the soul on tenterhooks, and, in dark moments or for whole lifetimes of gloom, provoked an acute form of melancholia. The writings of the early Fathers eloquently testify to the existence of this malady in their day; throughout the history of the mediæval church witnesses are not wanting to prove the continuance of the disease. The *desperatio* of Aquinas and the *wanhope* of the *Cursor Mundi* were living words in the vocabularies of those who, in the days of the united church, ministered to spiritual health. But it remained for Protestantism, the doctrines of Calvin and Zwingli, the abolition of indulgences, pardons, and auricular confession, the increased emphasis on election and reprobation, to bring the trouble to its most violent stage. No religious topic was more engrossing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than this "murderer of the soul," Despair.

On this topic the writings of the English Puritans were voluminous. The ministers, alarmed at their success in undermining presumption by stressing the uncertainty of grace, prescribed many a "Physicke, to cure the most dangerous Disease of Desperation" (The title of an important treatise by W. Willimat, London, 2nd ed., 1605) among the afflicted of their flocks. Timothy Bright, approaching the subject from the medical viewpoint, devoted his *Treatise of Melancholy*

largely to Despair; and Burton, the last part of whose *Anatomie* discusses desperation with erudition and sympathy, quoted from hundreds of writers who had handled the theme in his own and the previous century. From these writings the modern reader gains an impression of the disease which is lurid enough. Burton calls it ". . . an epitome of hell, an extract, a quintessence, a compound, a mixture of all feral maladies, tyrannical tortures, plagues, and perplexities. . . ." In contemporary collections of horrible examples, such as Simon Goulart's *Admirable and Memorable Histories Containing the Wonders of our Time*, Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgements*, and Clarke's *Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners*, one reads of desperate Christians experiencing visions of terror by night and hallucinations by day, screaming and rending themselves in frenzy, and dying either from prolonged agony of spirit or by their own hands. Of suicides arising principally from this cause, William Gouge wrote in 1637: "I suppose, that scarce an age since the beginning of the world hath afforded more examples of this desperate inhumanity, than our present age, and that in all sorts of people, Clergie, Laity, Learned, unlearned, Noble, meane, Rich, poore, Free, bond, male, Female, young and old."

It was inevitable that concern over a disease so serious and so prevalent should express itself not only in sermons, tracts, and medical works, but also in formal literature. The theme of Despair is at the basis of episodes in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, Woodes' *Conflict of Conscience*, Du Bartas' *Furies*, Greene's *Looking Glasses for London and England*, Massinger's *Renegado*, Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, and many works of the 17th-century Spenserians. It is the theme of the episode in the first book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* which centers in the "man of hell, that calls himselfe Despaire." It furnishes a background for Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* which must be understood in order to comprehend the full significance of the tragedy. It provides, in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, one of Satan's most powerful motives in rejecting a reconciliation with Heaven, and, when "conscience wakes despair that slumbered," is the dominant strain in his magnificent address to the sun. And in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* Despair is presented not only as a slough, an iron cage, a fiery dart of Satan, and a dark valley, but principally as a giant around whom is built one of the most famous episodes in the allegory.

The tendency among critics who have dealt with the works of literature in which this theme plays so fundamental a part has been to regard the basic similarity between them as an evidence of mutual dependence. We hear, therefore, that Spenser's Cave of Despair issued from the previous work of Skelton, Higgins, and Du Bartas, that Milton had Marlowe's *Faustus* in mind as he wrote Satan's great apostrophe, and that Bunyan availed himself liberally of a hypothetical familiarity with the *Faerie Queene* in conceiving his Giant Despair. Undoubtedly there is truth in some of these contentions, but hardly the whole truth. That can reveal itself only when the background of Spenser, Marlowe, Milton, Bunyan, and a dozen other poets, dramatists, and allegorists is widened to include the great mass of religious and medical discussion which had Despair as its theme. The literary treatments of the subject are the sublimated essences floating on the surface of the discussion; the molten mass beneath, crude, more difficult for us today to perceive, was the ephemeral from which the eternal was formed, and the primary bond of relationship between the works of art that issued from it.

[John Hoole in his English edition of Tasso's *Rinaldo* (1792) and later Koepel and Blanchard, call attention to the general similarity of this episode to the experience of Rinaldo, (*Rinaldo* 11. 48 ff.), who, crossed in love and banished from the court of Charlemagne, wanders into the *Valle del Dolore*, where he meets a man who personifies the spirit of the place, and is delivered by the help of an unknown knight.]

EDITOR. The arguments of Despair are self-contradictory. In stanza 42 he argues that one cannot strive with necessity or shun the death ordained by destiny. If so, death comes at the appointed time, and it is inconsistent to urge the Red Cross Knight to seek to hasten it. Despair himself discovers that one cannot interrupt the appointed order when he vainly seeks to take his own life in the concluding stanza. Again, in stanza 40 he argues that eternall ease and happy rest succeed death, but in stanza 49 he pictures the inevitable and enduring torments of hell. Did the poet appreciate these contradictions and introduce them designedly?

The arguments of Una are in line with those employed by the contemporary divines in their efforts to correct religious despondency, and conform to the current theology. Una reasons with the knight not to despair because he is chosen, and the implication is that he could not have taken his own life and that Una was the divine instrument for preventing it.

xxi-xxii. PERCIVAL. Cf. the picture of Feare in 3 12. 12, and of Dread in Sackville, Induction 34.

TODD (note to 2. 6. 50. 1). In *Le Pelerinage de vie humaine*, impr. par Anthoyne Verard, 4to. Paris, a passage occurs relating to despair, which is particularly observable as to sentiment and expression, and applies to the illustration of both circumstances in Spenser: "Commēt la veille paresse frappa si grāt coup le pelerin de sa coignee que a terre labbatit. Et puis se menassa de lui mettre au coul 'la corde du *bourreau denfer*' nommee et appelee 'la corde du *desesperacion*.'" (Sign. n. ult. Ch. xvi.) Compare Sir Trevisan wearing an hempen rope, given him by Despair.

xxiv. 1. UPTON. "He answered not at all." "Vox faucibus haeret," Virg. 3. 48. I think such a picture of a desponding, terrified poor creature, in the utmost agonies of fright and despair, was never drawn so lively by any poet or painter. Homer's picture of Dolon, standing astonished, his teeth chattering, his colour fled, is very agreeable to Dolon's situation (10. 374): "And Dolon stood still, in great dread and trembling, and the teeth chattered in his mouth, and he was green with fear." Observe the breaks and pauses in these verses of Homer; the very measure seems frightened. . . . But in Spenser, the artful combination and force of the words, nay the very letters, all together, make such a picture that, had I a Raphael's pencil, this story, with this point of time, I would endeavour to represent, with the dwelling of Despair seen at a proper distance.

xxv. UPTON. This speech, with the frequent repetitions, plainly shows a hurried and disturbed mind. The same observation might be made on stanza 28, where, with many pauses and circumlocutions, this disturbed knight describes Despair. He is frightened, and in horror, at the very name of him: "that vil-

len," "that cursed wight," "a man of hell," "God from him me blesse," "from whom I just escaped," "that calls himself Despayre." A poet must have a lively feeling of all these images before he can make them so perspicuously pass before our very eyes. But indeed no one had ever such a power of raising visions and images, as Spenser.

xxx. 2. UPTON. Thus Dido is described in Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 450:

Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
Mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.

xxxi. 2. TODD. This expression might have been suggested perhaps by Sir Thomas Eliot's *Castle of Helthe*, a book published in 1534. However, Sackville had also used the phrase in his *Induction*: "When sicknesse seekes his castell health to scale."

5. UPTON cites Canticles 4. 11: "Hony and milk are under thy tong"; Proverbs 5. 3: "The lips of a strange woman drop as an honycomb"; *Il.* 1. 249: "He from whose tongue flowed discourse sweeter than honey"; Cicero, *De Senectute*: "Ex ejus lingua (Nestoris) melle dulcior fluebat oratio"; and Tasso 2. 61:

Cominciò poscia, e di sua bocca uscieno
Più che mel dolce d' eloquenza fiumi.

xxxiii. 6-8 TODD. Henry More, the celebrated Platonist and passionate admirer of Spenser, has, in his *Song of the Soul* 1. 3, imitated, I had almost said rivalled, this fine passage:

Hence you may see, if that you dare to mind,
Upon the side of this accursed hil,
Many a dreadfull corse ytost in wind,
Which with hard halter their loathd life did spill.
There lives another which himself did kill
With rusty knife, all roll'd in his own blood;
And ever and anon a dolefull knill
Comes from the fatall owl, that in sad mood
With dreary sound doth pierce through the death-shadowed wood.

Both poets seem to have remembered Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 460:

Solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
Saepè queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.

[This debt to Virgil first noted by Upton.]

xxxiv. 3. KITCHIN cites Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 5. 1019: Περαιά ἀγκάλη as the source of this unusual expression. RIEDNER (p. 45) questions the indebtedness, as Spenser gives no further evidence of having read Aeschylus.

4-6. WALTHER cites *Morte d'Arthur* 235. 19: "And whanne they came nere the sege, syr Beaumayns aspyed upon grete trees as he rode, how there henge ful goodly armed Knyghtes by the neck and theire sheldes aboute theire neckys with their swerdes and gylt spores upon their heles. And soo there henge nyghe a fourty knyghtes shamefully with ful ryche armes."

xxxv-xxxvi. WARTON (2. 133). Sackville, who next to Spenser is the most full and expressive painter of allegorick personages, describes his Miserie after the same manner (*Induction* 37):

His face was leane, and some deale pin'd away,
And eke his hands consumed to the bone;
But what his bodie was I cannot say,
For on his carkas rayment had he none,
Save clouts and patches pieced one by one.

But the circumstance of the thorns, however, in stanza 36 is new, and strongly picturesque.

TODD. The circumstance of the thorns, however, is not new, but as Mr. Upton has observed, is an imitation of Virgil's "consertum tegumen spinis," *Aen.* 3. 594.

xxxviii-xxvii. UPTON. A great deal of the sophistry of old Despaire . . . seems taken from Seneca. Compare too Milton, *P. L.* 10. 999. I believe likewise that Spenser had in view the discourse between Pyrocles and Philoclea in Sydney's *Arcadia*.

JOHN WILSON (*Blackwood's Magazine* 37. 548). Orator, philosopher, theologer, and poet, is not Despair? No Atheist he indeed but an orthodox divine. What was Diogenes in his Tub to Despair in his Cave?

ANON. ("Religio Spenseri," *Blackwood's Magazine* 99. 209). There is something in the mournful cadences which enumerate the ills of life in stanzas 40 and 44, which reminds us that Spenser was a contemporary of the writer of the most famous soliloquies. But the question which could only be proposed, not solved, by the irresolute Prince of Denmark, receives an answer here. The grand old Pythagorean argument against suicide, put by Plato into the mouth of the dying Socrates, was never better stated than in four lines of the 41st stanza.

PERCIVAL. The speech of Despair begins by dissuading the Red Crosse Knight from attempting to avenge the death of Terwin, passes on to the bitterness of life from which death is a sweet relief, and ends in a terrible climax by trying to persuade the Red Crosse Knight to compass his own death! How the fascination of his fearful eloquence grows upon the knight, is shown in three subtle touches; from "firie zeale" to avenge Terwin (stanza 37), he cools down to amused wonder at Despair's arguments (stanza 41), and when the latter passes from abstract generalities to the particulars of his own life, then does conscience speak aloud within, and he nearly sinks into fatal despair.

xl. 2-3. JACK (p. 187). The carcasses of the suicides round the cave lead us through fear and dreariment to the attitude desired. Otherwise the poison is so sweet, we should have sucked without knowing it was mortal. The most famous of all the verses, with its vision of "eternall rest,"

And happie ease, which thou doest want and crave,
And further from it daily wanderest:

is the true parent of all the East has sung in English, an invitation to quietism.

xli. 2-5. JORTIN quotes the *Phaedo* (62). Socrates is arguing with Cebes

against suicide, and remarks: "There is a doctrine whispered in secret that man is a prisoner who has no right to open the door and run away: this is a great mystery which I do not quite understand. Yet I too believe that the gods are our guardians, and that we men are a possession of theirs." Jortin also quotes the *De Senectute* (20): "Vetat Pythagoras in jussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere."

TODD. I am tempted to make a quotation on this subject, at once neat and forcible, from a forgotten little book (Stafford's *Niobe* 1. 195, 1611 ed.), with which the pious reader will be gratified, and by which, as by the knight's remark, the advocate for suicide may be confounded. The author is speaking of death: "Yet will I not seek to hasten the houre of my deare deliuey; but will attend Gods leasure, and esteeme of life as of a guest. If it will tarrie, I will not thrust it forth of doors: if it make haste to be gone, I will not be hee that shall intreat it to abide."

xl.iii. 1-2. UPTON. Perhaps he had in view the Earl of Surrey's poem on the consideration of the state of this life:

The longer life the more offence;
The more offence the greater paine.

[This poem, which occurs in *Tottel's Miscellany*, is incorrectly assigned to Surrey.]

xliv. JACK (p. 187). The summit of that weighted and tired beauty of which Spenser was master

2-3. UPTON cites Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam* 20; Lucretius 3. 946; and quotes Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1. 46:

Fidenti animo, si ita res fert, gradietur ad mortem, in qua aut summum bonum, aut nullum malum esse cognovimus. Secundis vero suis rebus volet jam mori; non enim tam cumulus bonorum jucundus esse potest, quam molesta decessio.

4-5. UPTON. This seems imitated from Aeschines the Socratic:

Of death, the destiny of old age or of the afflicted.

Compare Melpomene's complaint in *The Teares of the Muses*. See likewise *The Ruins of Time*, st. 7.

xlvii. 1-2. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. Psalms 145. 9.

xlviii. 1-2. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. Luke 2. 35.

lii-liiii. JOHN WILSON (*Blackwood's Magazine* 37. 549). Meek and innocent was Una as the milk-white lamb she led, when first she met our eyes—but her poet, heaven-inspired with a knowledge of the divine things in her being, and prescient of her divine actions from afar, then told us of her high descent—and we see now the dauntless bearing of her, the daughter of a king. The "lovely lady" is transfigured into a "dreadless angel." "Severe in youthful beauty," she spares not the weakness of him she saves. Yet what tenderness in her reproaches! "Frail, feeble, fleshly wight" she calls him—but next moment, as if her heart misgave her—she says, and we can imagine with what a gentle voice,

Ne let vaine words bewitch thy manly hart.

Seeing him recovered or recovering from that fit so nearly fatal, in her gratitude to heaven before her eyne what glorious images begin to break!

Arise, Sir Knight, arise, and leave this cursed place.

By those two words—"Sir Knight"—he again becomes her Champion, and the Champion of the Cross.

lii. 6-9. PERCIVAL. Never once before has Una addressed the knight with such severity. His wronging of *her* had only drawn forth pity and forgiveness, but when he is about to harm *himself*, and wrong all the better part of his nature, then only is her indignation roused, and she calls him what he has long before deserved to be called. No where does Una shine so bright in the light of a heroine as she does here.

9. UPTON refers "horrible and bright" to "battaile," but TODD corrects the mistake; these adjectives clearly modify "dragon."

liii. UPTON. This whole stanza is full of scriptural expressions. "Fleshly" is opposed to "spiritual," "regenerated," etc., Rom. 8. 1—, where to be "in the flesh" and "after the flesh," means the depraved, corrupt state, so "carnally minded," Rom. 8. 6. 'Tis opposed likewise to "chosen" which follows just after, i. e. one of the elect, 2 Thess. 2. 13, Revel. 17. 17. Again, "The which doth quench,"—"taking the shield of faith, whereby ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked," Ephes. 6. 16. "And that accursed hand-writing,"—"Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us," Coloss. 2. 14.

1. UPTON. "Feeble," so the first edition; the second, "seely," which following editors have changed into "silly." But consider first Spenser's affectation of iterating of letters: "frail, feeble, fleshly." See likewise below (10. 2), "her knight was feeble and too faint"; and add to this that the expression is according to Scripture: 1 Thess. 5. 14: "Comfort the feeble minded"; Matt. 26. 41: "The flesh is weak"; Rom. 8. 3: "Weak through the flesh." For my own part I am at no loss which reading to prefer.

liv. 7-9. CHURCH. The poet finely intimates that Despair, as long as this state of trial shall last, will still continue to tempt men to destroy themselves, but the time will come when Despair, with respect to his desire or power of hurting good men, shall be no more.

CANTO X

JACK (p. 185). As to Spenser's virtuous canto, it is dull. "The House of Holiness" might have been made real by Wordsworth. Spenser was never there. The Mount that leads to Paradise is compared first to Mount Sinai, then to the Mount of Olives, and then to Parnassus.

AUBREY DE VERE (*Grosart* 1. 298-300). It is the same poet who has sung another greatness, and another kingdom—that of the Prince of Peace. That description presents, perhaps, the most perfect account of Christianity ever given in the same space by an uninspired author; of Christianity in its due proportions, and also in its great main divisions, doctrinal, moral, disciplinary; as a spiritual

dominion of Good, set up at once in the intelligence, in the affections, and in the life of man; a dominion which, while militant against evil, is also essentially contemplative, because it is the service of Truth. It would need a volume to illustrate this poem, which is a world of thought sifted and compressed; but whoever has read it must remember the "House of Holiness"—the porter at its gate, Humility, its "francklin faire and free," Zeal; its gentle squire,

That knew his good to all of each degree,
Hight Reverence;

the mistress of the mansion, "Dame Coelia," with her three daughters, Fidelia and Speranza, "though spoused, yet wanting wedlock's solemnize"; and Charissa already wedded, and encompassed by "many pledges dear." Neither can he forget the faithful "groom, meek Obedience," or Coelia's

sacred Books, with blood ywritt,
That none could reade except she did them teach;

or Patience, who consoles the Red-Cross Knight, now penitent; or Penance, who drives from his being the venom of past sin, and makes him fit for the fair company of Charissa; or Mercy, who brings him into her "holy hospital," and makes him acquainted with the seven reverent and benign ministers to whom the different offices of mercy are consigned. In all those ministrations he learns to take a part; and then he is deemed worthy to learn that there is something greater still than the "Second Commandment of the Law." He climbs laboriously that hill, on the summit of which Contemplation abides in his "sacred chapell" and "little hermitage" . . . The petition of Mercy may not be denied, and the seer leads the knight, after a season of fast and prayer, to a point whence he sees the "City of God" and the angels ascending and descending between it and the earth. This, he is told, is the Heavenly Jerusalem; and that which resembles it most on earth is Cleopolis, the city of True Chivalry, of Honour, and of Virtuous Fame. From the lower he is one day to pass to the higher, and there to be known as

Saint George of mery England, the sign of Victory.

This canto is a poem so complete in itself that no extracts could do it justice. It is one in which Plato, could he have returned to earth, would have found the realization of his loftiest dreams; in which St. Thomas Aquinas would have discovered no fault; and in which St. Augustine would have rejoiced as though he had felt once more that evening breeze which played upon him as he stood at the window on the seaside at Ostia, beside his mother Monica, but a few days before her saintly transit from this "vale of exile" to that sphere in which her heart had ever found its country and its home.

H. GOLDER (*PMLA* 45. 226). Spenser's House of Holinesse owes few debts to the romances: its general outlines come from one of the least chivalric and the most clearly symbolic passages in the *Orlando Furioso*, that which relates Rugiero's reception at the Palace of Logistilla; its main connections with romance concern its office as a hospitable mansion for the succor of errants in distress. Such wayside castles, presided over by benevolent knights or damsels, are familiar in chivalric story; but Spenser, except for the figures of the Porter, the Squire, and the damsels, reproduces few of the details which conventionally accompanied the

reception and entertainment of the visitor. At the close of the episode, however, the Knight is taken to the top of a neighboring hill, and there shown the road which he is next to follow and a fair city shining in the distance—a parallel for which has been suggested in *Huon of Burdeux* and might also be cited from other romances.

[For the whole question of *The House of Holiness* as an adaptation of the Courts of Love motif, see Appendix, pp. 405-7.]

i. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. Ephesians 2. 8-9.

iii ff. The Tower of Doctrine in Hawes's *The Passetyme of Pleasure* offers an analogy to this House of Holiness. See Appendix, pp. 415-6.

iii. 1. UPON. This is the οἶκος πνευματικός, the spiritual house, mentioned in 1 Peter 2. 5.

TODD. In the old Morality of *Everyman* a spiritual habitation is mentioned. Everyman inquires of Knowledge,

Where dwelleth that holy man Confession?

and the answer is:

In the Hous of Salvacyon;
We shall fynde hym in that place
That shall us comfort by Goddes grace.

iv. 6-7. PERCIVAL. Faith and Hope are virgins though espoused, because both look to the future of a next life, when their espousal will be fully solemnized,—when Faith will attain to Vision, and Hope end in Fruition.

9. UPTON. "pledges dere." A Latinism: "pignora chara."

v. Humility is likewise the warden of the castle in Hawes's *The Exemple of Vertu*; see Appendix, p. 417.

4-7. TODD. It may be curious to observe how particular our old poets are in describing these allegorical officers. Here Humility is the porter. See 1. 4. 6, where another is minutely painted. Thus Chaucer (*Knights Tale* 1942) describes Idleness as the portress of the garden of Mirth. In Hawes's *Graunde Amour* Curtesy is the portress of the tower of Musick; Stedfastness is the porter of the tower of Chivalry. And others are described in the same work. Milton (2 746) and Fletcher appoint Sin the portress of hell-gate. Browne (*Bitt Past* 1. 67, ed. 1616) finely paints Remembrance as the same officer at the door of the House of Repentance: "Remembrance sate as portresse of this gate."

9. CHURCH. Here, and in the tenth stanza, he alludes to Matthew 7. 14: "Narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it."

vi. 4. TODD. A francklin is a person of some distinction in our ancient history. He makes a conspicuous figure in Chaucer, and his manners bespeak his wealth. Mr. Tyrwhitt (*Chaucer* 2. 402, 2nd ed.) cites from Fortescue (*de Leg. Angl.* 29) the following description of a "franklain": "Pater familias, magnis ditatus possessionibus," and the learned critick adds that the franklin "is classed with, but after, the *Miles* and *Armiger*, and is distinguished from the *Libere tenentes* and *Valecti*, though, as it should seem, the only real distinction between

him and other freeholders consisted in the largeness of his estate." The wealthiness of this country gentleman is also marked by a circumstance in Shakespeare (*Henry IV*, Part 1. 2. 1): "There's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold."

ix. 1-2. LOWELL (*Prose Works* 4. 339). Una . . . has every charm of womanhood except that of being alive (as Juliet and Beatrice are).

O happie earth,
Whereon thy innocent feet doe ever tread!

Can we conceive of Una, the fall of whose foot would be as soft as that of a rose-leaf upon its mates already fallen,—can we conceive of her treading anything so sordid? No; it is only on some unsubstantial floor of dream that she walks securely, herself a dream.

xii-xxxi. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 165). So again [as emblems] we are presented to Faith and Hope in the House of Holiness. Faith "was arrayed all in lily white," etc. [Stanza 13 quoted.] The younger sister, Speranza, is less cumbered, yet

Upon her arme a silver anchor lay,
Whereon she leaned ever, as befell.
And ever up to heaven, as she did pray,
Her stedfast eyes were bent, ne swarved other way.

These are perfectly good emblems. We can see their likes in a dozen Emblem books. But one would imagine it difficult to make a practicable character in dramatic action out of a creature so hieratically posed and burdened. To enter

Ylinked arme in arme in lovely wise;

as they are said to do, with brimming cup, book, anchor and all, must have involved some power of legerdemain.

F. HARD (*SP* 27. 183-5). It appears to me reasonable to expect, further, that Spenser's imagery in pictorial compositions not regarded in the poem as tapestry figures was likewise influenced by this source; for example, the emblematic personages Fidelia, Speranza, and Charissa. Without treating the portrait of Charissa Professor Fletcher refers the figures of Fidelia and Speranza to the emblem books. As we have seen, however, emblematic and allegorical personages were popular tapestry motifs, and it is perhaps more likely that a source for these three sisters is to be found in contemporary tapestries.

Of the emblematic nature of these inhabitants of the House of Holiness there can, of course, be no doubt. Fidelia, arrayed in white, bears in her right hand a cup of gold which contains wine, water, and a serpent; in her left reposes a book containing the sacred mysteries.

Speranza is "clad in blew," etc. [Stanza 14 quoted.] Charissa, most interesting of the three, is "a woman in her freshest age," etc. [Stanzas 30-31 quoted.] We notice, first, that the picture is entirely clear and that it is complete. The only exaggeration occurs in the expression "a multitude of babes"; but this superfluity may be condoned on the ground that Spenser wished to emphasize the generosity of the virtue by having it affect a large number of objects! In all else the picture is quite definite and detailed. My feeling that Spenser has here remem-

ed a contemporary representation is strengthened by the fact that this subject not infrequent in art.

It is significant that the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity appear in at least o Elizabethan tapestries which are still extant. One of these, now preserved in deley Castle, formerly belonged to the Earl of Leicester; indeed, it was made pressly for him and bears his arms woven into the texture of the cloth. The other s recently been acquired by the Royal Scottish Museum. The "Leicester" uestry contains the representations of five emblematic characters: Justice, Temrance, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Justice holds a sword and an open book; mperance is a lady in flowing robes; Faith holds a cross in her right hand; ype possesses an anchor; and Charity is seated, with four little babes about her, e at the breast. The Scottish Museum set consists of three panels: two small es, containing pictures of Faith and Hope with their usual emblems; and a large e representing Charity, nursing a child while three others play about her feet. view of the survival of these two examples we may be fairly sure that the atment of these subjects was not uncommon.

xii-xiii. UPTON. Faith, here introduced as a person, is what divines call just-ying or saving faith, and, according to the apostle, "the substance of things ped for, the evidence of things not seen"; 'tis the assured expectation of things ped for, and consequently she is the elder sister of Hope. "She no whitt did unge her constant mood," for the profession of faith is to be "without waver-3" (Hebrews 10. 23). Her face is glorified: "Like sunny beams threw from r crystal face"; i. e., she threw from her face beams resembling the beams of e sun. Her radiated head is a type of her divinity, and shews her to be not a dulous and earthly, but a heavenly and Christian, faith. The cup she holds in r right hand is of pure gold, not deceitful as the cup of Duessa or Circe; 'tis e sacramental cup. See 1 John 5. 6, and John 19. 34. The primitive Christians xed water and wine in their sacrament. "In which a serpent did himself fold": Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1. 20) says the serpent is an emblem of health. e renews himself, and grows young again by stripping off his old skin or slough; is therefore the typical mark of Aesculapius and the physicians. So the serpent ted up in the wilderness was the type of the great physician of souls lifted up on e cross (John 3. 14). In her left hand Faith holds the New Testament. What said of that book is taken from what St. Peter says of St. Paul's Epistles, "in ich are some things hard to be understood." Faith is "araid all in lilly white": Scripture white raiments are the raiments of angels and of the saints in heaven. too the poets dress faith: Horace (1. 35):

Te Spes, et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno.

ioisto (21. 1):

Nè da gli antichi, par che si depinga
La santa Fè vestita in altro modo.
Che d'un vel bianco, che la copra tutta,
Ch' un sol punto, un sol neo la può far brutta.

ith was worshipped as a goddess at Rome. See Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 2. 23.

xii. 2. PERCIVAL. Cf. the three ladies, Velyte, Godd Operacioun and Fydelyte, Hawes, *Passetyme of Pleasure* 33.

4-5. TODD. From this interesting and most elegant painting Milton (*Il Penseroso* 32) drew his pensive nun, and the copy equals the original.

xiii 6. TODD. It is probable that Milton had this passage in mind when he made the elder brother in *Comus* express too noble an opinion of his sister to suppose

that the single want of light and noise
Could stir the constant mood of her calm thoughts.

8-9. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 539). Cf. Revelation 5. 1; 2 Peter 3. 16.

xiv. UPTON. Christian Hope is a firm expectation of the promises of God, and as Hope is in expectation and not in possession, she does not seem altogether as chearful as her sister, because hope is attended with some mixture of fear, and 'tis in another world that hope is swallowed up in certainty. This hope is distinguished from worldly hope as having its sure foundation in God, who is truth, hence she is "clad in blew." Cf. Chaucer (*Court of Love* 246):

Lo yondir folke, quoth she, that knele in blew,
They weare the colour ay and evir shal,
In signe they were and evir wil be true,
Withouten chaunge.

We are to "lay hold upon the hope set before us, which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast" (Hebrews 6. 19). So here her picture is drawn with an anchor in her hand. 'Tis a silver anchor, refined from the dross of this world. So the Apostle, "We are called in our hope," as opposed to the many, confused, wordly hopes and expectations, which distract dirty and dross souls. "He that hath this hope in him purifieth himself as he is pure" (1 John 3. 3). Hope was worshipped at Rome as a goddess. Cicero, *De Legibus* 2. 11: "Quoniamque expectatione rerum bonarum erigitur animus; recte etiam a Calatino Spes consecrata est."

RUSKIN (*Stones of Venice* 2. 339-340). I do not know if Spenser was the first to introduce our marine virtue, leaning on an anchor, a symbol as inaccurate as it is vulgar for, in the first place, anchors are not for men, but for ships; and in the second, anchorage is the characteristic not of Hope, but of Faith. Faith is dependent, but Hope is aspirant. Spenser, however, introduces Hope twice,—the first time as the Virtue with the anchor; but afterwards fallacious Hope, far more beautifully, in the Masque of Cupid:

She alway smyld, and in her hand did hold
An holy-water sprinkle, dipt in deowe.

xviii. WALTHER cites *Morte d'Arthur* 613. 10, where Galahad is taken to the nuns to be instructed by them: "Sire, sayd they all, we brynge you here thys child the whiche we have nourished."

9. TODD. An allusion to Ephesians 1. 18: "The eyes of your understanding being enlightened."

xx. CHURCH assigns these familiar allusions to their sources in the following order: Joshua 10. 12; 2 Kings 20. 10; Gideon's victory, Judges 7; the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, Exodus 14. 21-31; Matthew 21. 21.

xxvii. 1-2. WARTON (2. 136). By "to disple," i. e. "to disciple" or "discipline," was formerly signified the penitentiary whippings, practised among the monks; so that it is here applied with the greatest propriety. In Fox's *Book of Martyrs* there is an old woodcut, in which the whipping of an heretic is represented, with this title "The Displing of John Whitelock." "Displing friers" was a common expression, as it is found in *A Worlde of Wonders* (175, ed. 1608). Milton uses it with allusion to the same sense.

xxvii. 6. UPTON. The allusion is to the expiatory ablutions. Hence the Psalmist, 51. 2: "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity"; Isaiah 1. 16: "Wash ye, make you clean." He mentions particularly "salt water" as esteemed more efficacious: "The sea purges all the ills of men" (Euripides, *Iphig. in Taur.* 1193).

Will all great Neptunes ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? (*Macbeth* 2.)

We have here introduced three different persons, Penance, Remorse, and Repentance. There is a distinction made in the church between penance and repentance; the former is sorrow and contrition for sins; the latter, a thorough hatred of them, and a change of mind. But I am apt to think that our poet, in his description of this House of Holiness, . . . had likewise a view to that beautiful picture of Cebes, where "The House of the Blessed" might add to his image of this House of Holiness: Dame Caelia, a grave matron, answers exactly in description to Erudition, truly so called "calm of countenance, in the accepted prime of life"; Penance with an iron whip, is the picture of "Punishment, whip in hand"; Remorse is "Despondency"; Repentance, "Change of heart."

EDITOR. The *Pinax* of Cebes was very popular in the Middle Ages and exerted a profound influence upon pictorial art. Under the title of *The Tables of Cebes* it was translated into English by Sir F. Poyngz and published at London in 1550.

6. TODD. I must here again notice the old Morality of *Everyman*, for Confession . . . appoints Everyman penance, who answers:

Knowledge, gyve me the scourge of penance,
My fleshe therwith shall gyve acquyntaunce.

And presently adds:

Now of penance I wyll wade the water clere.

He then is advised to put on the garment of Contrition, and Good-deedes, his supporter, encourages his hope of mercy.

xxix. 7. UPTON. 'Tis finely imagined by Spenser to bring his Christian hero at last to Charity, for Christian charity is the completion of all Christian graces: "the end of the commandment is charity" (1 Corinthians 13). Charity is arrayed in yellow robes; she is a married matron, and so the god of marriage was drest (Ovid, *Met.* 10. 1). She has on her head a crown of gold, "a crown of gold that fadeth not away" (1 Peter 5. 4). Gold is a mettle that is pure and never corrupts, emblematically shewing that Charity remains for ever. Her sisters will die; Faith will be lost in vision, Hope in enjoyment, but Charity will continue for ever.

xxx. 8-9. LEIGH HUNT (*Imagination and Fancy* 98). This last couplet brings at once before us all the dispassionate graces and unsuperfluous treatment of Raphael's allegorical females.

xxxiv. 4-5. CHURCH. Alluding to Psalm 145. 9: "The Lord is good to all: and his tender mercies are over all his works."

xxxvi. 3. UPTON. 'Tis no small elegance in our poet thus masterly to contrast and oppose his images. The knight was carried by Duessa to the house of Pride, where he saw and luckily avoided the seven deadly sins. He is now brought by Una to Dame Caelia, where he is disciplined in sacred love, and brought to a holy hospital to be inured in Charity, which is reduced by the schoolmen to seven heads.

xxxviii. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. 2 Corinthians 9. 8.

xl. 5. WARTON (2. 15). By this it should seem, that those enslaved by the Turks were guilty of crimes, etc., but the poet would signify by "they faulty were," the prisoners first mentioned, who were deservedly imprisoned on account of their crimes.

UPTON. That is, "And though perhaps those prisoners and captives might have been guilty of faults and deserving of their captivity, yet he well considered that God forgiveth us daily much more than that which occasioned their captivity."

8. TODD quotes Tyrwhitt (*Chaucer* 2. 430, 2nd ed.) to the effect that "our ancestors were very fond of a story of Christ's exploits in his *descensus ad inferos*, which they called 'the harrowing of hell.' They took it, with several others of the same stamp, from the gospel of Nicodemus." Todd also cites *Syr Eglamour*: "He swore by Him that harowed hell." [The modern reader is referred to *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, ed. W. H. Hulme, *EETS*, Ext. Ser. C.]

xli. 9. CHURCH. See Ecclesiastes 11. 3: "In the place where the tree falleth, there shall it lie."

xlili. 1-3. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. James 1. 27.

xlvi ff. UPTON. Our Christian is prepared by the exercise of moral and Christian virtues for the rational pleasures of contemplation, for the enjoyment of God, and union with him. This contemplative state is the most perfect and god-like, and for which man is as much constituted by nature as he is for the discharge of the relative duties of life. "Man is born for action and contemplation," says Zeno in Diogenes Laertius 7. 130. And according to Zeno and the whole Stoical system, the active state of life, with the discharge of all relative duties, was the proper preparation for the contemplative state. Action and theory were by them never separated. . . . In this great scene of life man is both an actor and a contemplator

Longinus 35, and Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 14: "Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum." Hence too Milton, *P. L.* 4. 288:

For contemplation he, and valor form'd.

When Philosophy appears to Boetius her garment is marked below with Π, and above with Θ, in as much as to say, by practic philosophy you must ascend to theoretic. And this state is, as I said above, the highest of all and most difficult, and supposed hence to dwell on a "hill both steepe and hy," which seems imaged from Cebes: Ἀληθινή Παίδεια dwells on a steeple rock, where two fair sisters, Forbearance and Indurance, stand ready, with the same office assigned them that Mercy has here, assisting and encouraging those that mount the hill.

TODD. The residence assigned to Contemplation is often in woods or groves. See Milton's *Comus* 377. Milton, speaking of the soul, finely says that "so oft as she would retire out of the head from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to Divine Contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance."

DODGE (*PMLA* 22. 199). Cf. Ruggiero with the hermit on the rocky island; baptized; his destiny in part revealed. *Orl. Fur.* 41. 52-6.

H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 202) observes that just as the Red Cross Knight was conducted to the Hill of Contemplation following his experience in the Cave of Despair, so Rinaldo was conducted to the Hill of Hope after his experience in the Vale of Grief, and there received fresh hope and courage from the recipient of divine favor who dwelt thereon (*Rinaldo* 11. 56-65).

xlvi. 8. TODD. Mr. Warton in a note on Milton's *Il Penseroso* 52 says that Contemplation is first personified in English poetry by Spenser. But it is personified by Sidney in his *Arcadia*, which is generally understood to have been written about 1580. The verses are called Asclepiades:

O sweet woods, the delight of solitariness—
Contemplation here holdeth his only seat;
Bounded with no limits, borne with a wing of hope,
Climes even unto the stars.

Contemplation is also a person in the old morality of Hycke-Scorner, and like Spenser's old man whose "mind is full of spiritual repast," "thynkes on thoughtes that is full heavenly."

xlvi. 6. Power to look into the sun was attributed to the eagle in the Bestiaries of the Middle Ages. (See Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* 9. Note; 171.) Users of this figure are to be found in Dante, *Par.* 1. 46; Pulci, *Morgante* 14. 41; Tasso, *Rinaldo* 10. 31, *Ger. Lib.* 8. 49, 15. 14; and Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules* 330-1:

Ther mighte men the royal egle finde,
That with his sharpe look perceth the sonne.

—Note based upon HEISE, p. 112.

xlvi. 3. UPTON. This picturesque image of the snowy locks of this reverend person compared to a hoary frost which covers the head of an oak, Mr. Pope thinks was borrowed from Homer, where Hector is said to march along, seeming a mountain capt with snow, ὄρει νιφόεντι ἐοικῶς (*Il* 13. 754). In allusion to the white plumes playing on his helmet, and to his perpetual epithet κορυθαίολος [with glancing helmet].

lii. 2. UPTON. The reader will not see the propriety of this address till he reads stanzas 55-6, for it does not signify an earthly-minded man in the sense of Psalm 10. 18: "To judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppresse," but in the sense of Genesis 10. 20: "And Noah began to be an husbandman." Hebrew, "A man of the earth." (Septuagint) *Kaì ἡρξάτο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος γεωργὸς γῆς*, where *γεωργὸς* seems to be a gloss or interpretation. Hence the Knight's name, *Γεωργός*, *George*. The very same address and allusion you have in Milton for Adam, signifying "a man of earth," hence very properly Eve speaking to him says (5. 321): "Adam, earths hallowd mould." [See Appendix, "The Legend of St. George, p. 389.]

liii ff. J. R. MCARTHUR (*JEGP* 4. 236). Cf. *Huon of Burdeux*, p. 596 ff., where Huon and Esclarmonde approach the castle of Momur, the seat of Oberon in Fairyland:—"They went so longe that they came to the fote of a mountayne, wheron they mounted with great payne and trauayle; when they were on the heyght of the hyll they rested them/ and then within a lytell season Huon sawe apere before hym a great citey, and on the one syde therof a fayre and a ryche palleyes/ the walles and towers of the city and palleyes were of whyghte marble polysshed, the which shone so bryght agaynst the sonne as though it had bene al of christal/ then Huon sayde to his wyfe, 'dame, yonder before us, we may se the citey of Momure, wheras kynge Oberon is.'"

ROSEMOND TUVE (*PMLA* 44. 711). There are certain interesting castle descriptions in the *Huon* and in the *Libeaus Desconus* group which sound curiously as though Spenser were putting his Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land. The otherworld palace of Oberon, whose inhabitants have such "great marueyle to se any mortal persons to enter" is perhaps not that same "goodly Citie" "Whose wals and towres were builded high and strong Of perle and precious stone" seen from the top of the "highest Mount," at the end of a "little path, that was both steepe and long," nor yet that Cleopolis with its "bright towre all built of christall cleene," yet it is at least seen in very much the same manner from the "mountayne whereon they mounted with great payn and trauayle,"—a "great citey . . . the walles and toweres of the citey and paleys . . . of whyghte marble polysshed, the which shone so bryght agaynst the sonne as though it had bene al of christall"—and seen, after all, by just such another mere "man of earth."

H. GOLDER (*PMLA* 45. 229-30) thus summarizes the possible influence of these stanzas upon Bunyan: The only point at which the two incidents at all remarkably touch each other is at the close, where the vision granted the Red Cross Knight of the New Hierusalem from the Mount of Contemplation may be held to parallel Christian's sight of the Delectable Mountains from the top of the House Beautiful, his subsequent glimpse of the Celestial City from the Delectable Mountains, and his final sight of his heavenly home from Beulah Land. Yet, even here, the parallel is not close in detail; if Bunyan drew from Spenser, he chose only the broadest outlines and diverged from his model in all matters of circumstance. And, in weighing the importance of the general similarity between Spenser's scene and Bunyan's group of scenes, the possibility of an independent obligation to biblical, devotional, and chivalric sources must not be left unconsidered. Both knew, from

their Bible reading, Moses' sight of Palestine from Mount Pisgah and of God from Mount Sinai, Ezekiel's vision of the heavenly city from "a very high mountain," and John's revelation of the holy Jerusalem from a similar eminence. Both must have known, from their acquaintance with Puritan homiletic and tractarian literature, "the way of eying God in heavenly Meditation" and the mystic glimpses of heaven, while on mountain tops of spiritual experience, which form the chief consolation of harassed saints on earth. Moreover, both Spenser and Bunyan were well read in romance. In *Arthur of Little Britain* both could have read how the hero climbed a high mountain and saw from there "the castell of the Clere Toure, whereon there were pynacles of brighte cristall, and it dyde shyne so against the son, that no man could clereli loke ayenst it"; in *Huon of Burdeux* both could have seen, through the eyes of Huon and Esclarmonde, from the top of a lofty hill, the distant Momur, Oberon's faerie city, glowing with unearthly light. In later romances, Bunyan could have reinforced these memories by several similar descriptions—by Don Belianis' view of Antioch, with its numberless turrets; ". . . and the sun reverberating on them, made the city seem of a burning Flame"—by St. George's glimpse, from a mountain-top, of ". . . the city of Argenia, shining against the Sun . . ." so brilliantly that he was lost in amazement and considered it well named the City of Silver. One may question whether these images from the romances, joined with those from the other literature which Bunyan knew, were not enough, without Spenser, to provide the material for Bunyan's conception.

[For the Platonic significance of this Hill of Contemplation, see Appendix, pp. 503-4.]

liii-iv. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Revelation 21. 10 and 21; Exodus 14. 21, and 24. 18; Acts 7. 30.

lvi. 1-5. JACK (p. 185). There is . . . one of Spenser's happiest successes here. At a distance he sees a path leading to the Heavenly City, and reality comes in with the beautiful reference to Earth.

2. UPTON. Alluding to Jacob's vision, Genesis 28. 12.

lvii. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 540). Cf. Revelation 3. 12; John 14. 3; Galatians 3. 15; 1 Peter 1. 19.

[For the conflicting views of Warton and Wilson as to the propriety of introducing this view of the new Jerusalem into a romance, see Appendix, pp. 368, 370.]

lviii. 2. UPTON. The city of glory, where Gloriana reigns. The historical allusion means London, and Panthea—so named from the Pantheon which was consecrated to all the gods, and the receptacle of them all—means the palace of Queen Elizabeth, where resort the fairest of the Fairy beings. Cf. 3. 9. 51.

6. PERCIVAL. Panthea: Westminster Abbey.

KITCHIN. This crystal tower is by some thought to be Windsor Castle; but this seems very doubtful. Queen Elizabeth, when in town, usually lay at the Palace at Greenwich. The conception comes from Chaucer's "temple y-made of glas," the House of Fame.

A. E. QUEKETT (*NQ* Ser. 6, 4. 164) suggests Richmond, the old name of which was the Palace of *Shene*. Moreover, it was near London (Cleopolis).

lx-lxvi. ROSEMOND TUVE (*PMLA* 44. 706 ff.) finds traces of a traditional enfance story for Saint George in various mediæval tales: "Three times in Canto 10 the 'godly aged Sire' impresses upon Red Crosse the fact of his earthly, rather than elfin, lineage.

Then come, *thou man of earth*, and see the way,
That neuer yet was secne of Faeries sonne (st. 52).

Stanza 60 has:

And thou faire ymp, sprong out from English race,
How euer now accompted Elfins sonne,

and stanza 65 gives the reason for this misconception—the story of the theft of Red Crosse while yet 'in tender swadling band,' and of the 'chaungeling' who 'vnweeting' takes his place during his upbringing in 'Faerie lond.'

"Now so wondrous quick and persant a spright as the old man of the Hermitage would not thus carefully establish a distinction which had no point. And we shall see that for the Gentle Knight mortality is not a limitation and a curse, but a divinely-planned prerequisite to an 'aspiration for the infinite.' We have to do with some power, some privilege which is given to the hero because he is *not* of supernatural birth, but an ordinary mortal—in this case it is a sight of the New Jerusalem, entrance into the heavenly kingdom where there are mansions prepared for men but cold shrift for Merlin, Puck, Lucifer, Grendel and the Tuatha da Danann."

Robert the Denyll, who, as a devil-committed child, has to fulfill difficult penance to secure the salvation permitted only to mortals, furnishes interesting analogies to the spiritual discipline of the Red Crosse Knight. At the command of the Pope he goes to the mountains where he finds a holy hermit at a chapel, who absolves him only after difficult penance. Thereafter he aids "a virgin desolate foredonne," wins famous victories, and then, renouncing the world, retires to a holy life in the forest.

Miss Tuve also finds in the French *Anberon*, the antecedent of *Huon of Bordeaux*, an ancestry for Saint George which relates him to the fay tradition: "Judas Macabeus and the daughter of king Bandifort have a daughter Brunehaut, gifted at her birth by four fées, taken at the age of seven into fairyland, where she becomes queen, marries Caesar and gives birth to Julius Caesar. When he is to marry, Brunchaut selects Morgue:

Suer est Artu qui tant est de grant pris;
Tex est li rois c'onours li croist tous dis. (v. 1209)

And this 'Morgue' has a history that is distinctly apropos:

Morgue sa suer, quant enfes fu petis
De gens faees fu li siens cors ravis;
Uns rois faes, qui uix ert et flouris,
Le nourri tant qu'ele ot ans dusc' a. x.

It is from this old fée that 'Morgain tous ses engiens apris.' This seems a sorry disturbance of the Fata Morgana, 'euer now accompted Elfins race.' So Oberon is born, in the land of Faerye, of Julius Caesar and of the sister of Arthur—thus 'vnweeting reft.' The next item in the genealogy is more astounding. Morgan

gives birth to twin boys. One of these is Auberon le fae, dowered at birth as we have come to expect; he shall be king of the fairies, yet

Quant li ame de son cors partira
Em paradis seurement ira. (v. 1421)

But the other, son of Julius Caesar and of Morgue suer d'Artus, shall be '*saintefies en paradis*,' and *he* is none other than Saint *George* the Dragonkiller! And more than that, for in this curious hodge-podge, he is, as well, voyager into strange Eastern lands, protector of all things,—of the daughter of the king of Persia, the infant Jesus enroute to Egypt, and the miraculously re-attached beard of poor Saint Joseph. It is again the same story of him 'that is accompted Elfins sonne,' who wins many a 'famous victorie' 'To aide a virgin desolate foredonne,' whose blessed end is to 'be a Saint' 'emongst those Saints'—and whose name is 'Saint George of mery England.' "

Miss Tuve quotes in conclusion, and at the suggestion of Professor Greenlaw, an interesting sentence from Selden's notes to Drayton's *Polyolbion*, apropos of the legend which connected George with the Perseus-Andromeda motif: "' But you may better beleue the Legend then that he was a Country man borne, with his Caleb Lady of the Woods, or that he descended from the Saxon race and such like, which some English fictions deliver.' We can only quote 'sprong out from English race,' 'from ancient race of Saxon kings,' and regret the 'English fictions,' with a *maledicat* for some nameless analogue of Warbuton's cook. That there must have been a traditional enfance story for Saint George, we recognize; but the late remnants that are left to us are highly rationalized, and are mere echoes of the primitive tendency to endow a hero (as in a sort of *pourquoi* story) with a truly supernatural conception, such as Spenser may have known in Irish story (for example, Morgan, begotten upon the wife of Fiachna by Manannan mac Ler in Fiachna's shape, and kept by his supernatural father in the Land of Promise from his third day until his twelfth year).

"The stanzas which tell the story of the infant George are full of reminiscences of often-recurring romantic enfances—the shreds and patches gathered by an eclectic imagination and fused, as was Spenser's habit, into a new whole, coherent, convincing, true, yet none the less suggestive of those tales of other foundlings—from Romulus and Remus, Valentin and Orson, down to Libeaus Desconus and the young Perceval—which were Spenser's unrealized literary inheritance."

lx. 6. UPTON. That is, in some temple. So Godfrey, having completed his conquest of Jerusalem, hangs his arms up in the temple.

lxi. 6-7. WALTHER. Cf. *Morte d'Arthur* 589. 3: "Truly," sayd the bysshop, "heere was syr Launcelot with me with mo angellis than ever I sawe men in one daye, & I sawe the Angellys heve up Syr Launcelot into heven & the yates of heven opened ayenst hym."

9. UPTON. "St. George" is the word which Englishmen give in their battles. He is the tutelar saint and patron of England; King Edward III dedicated to him the order of the garter. He is a canonized saint, and his festival is kept April 23.

TODD. See *Richard III*:

Our ancient word of courage, fair St. George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons.

See also *La Mausolee, ou Les Tombeaux des Chevaliers du Noble Ordre de la Toison d'Or* 48 (Amsterdam, 1689): "Le cris de guerre des Roys d'Angleterre: Montjoye, Nostre Dame, S. George, à cause des bannieres de Nostre Dame et de St. George."

lxv. UPTON. St. George, by the generality of writers, is supposed to be a Cappadocian; by some, a Cilician. The old legend concerning this canonized saint of Rome was written, 'tis said, by Jacobus de Voragine. The romance writer of the *Seven Champions of Christendom* makes him to be born of English parentage, and of the royal blood. His mother was a king's daughter, and his birthplace, Coventry. But so soon as born, he was miraculously conveyed away by an enchantress, called Calcb, to which story Spenser alludes. [See Appendix, "The Legend of Saint George."]

6-9. TODD. The popular superstition of the "night-tripping fairy" who haunted women in child-bed, and exchanged children, is somewhat similar to that of the female night-walkers (lemures), recorded by Wierus (*De Praestig. Daemon.* 1583, p. 118), and of whom the existence was believed in Germany: "Eratque hoc larvarum genus apprime infaustum puerperis, et infantibus lactentibus, cunis adhuc inhaerentibus."

lxvi. 6. UPTON. Georgos in the Greek language signifying a husbandman, our poet hence takes occasion—according to his usual method—of introducing the marvellous tale of Tages, and applying it to his hero. Tages was the son of the earth; a ploughman—"As he his toilsome teme that way did guide"—found him under the furrough, which the coulter-iron had turned up. This wonderful tale the reader may see in Cicero, *De Divinatione* 2. 23; Ovid, *Met.* 15. 553, and in other writers. Hence in allusion to his name *Georgos*, Spenser in his letter to Sir W. R. calls him "a clownish young man, who having desired a boon of the queen of Faeries, rested himself on the floor, unfit through his rusticitie for a better place."

'Tis worth while to see with what great art our poet by degrees unravels his story: the poem opens with the Christian knight; you see his character, yet know not his name or lineage; some few hints are afterwards flung out; but in this canto you are fully satisfied. Spenser is very fond of this kind of suspense.

CANTO XI

CORY (pp. 105-6). In the dragon fight he heaps extravagance upon extravagance until the whole episode sinks into the grotesque to rise only with the stanza on the dragon's fall. As Dr. Maynadier once pointed out to me, the whole setting is quaintly pre-Raphaelite. The hills seem low and close together and made of pasteboard. Or perhaps one thinks of Dürer. The description of the dragon's approach is worthy of the German's grimmest art. . . . We think of Dürer when

we picture the dragon's huge bulk crowded into the foreground and Una on a tiny peak only a perilous inch away and, yet another inch in another direction, the toy battlements of a city. In the sustained description of the battle we feel the poet goading himself to mere rhetorical excess. Professor Courthope avowed a preference for Orlando's battle with the orc. But the episode in Ariosto is not material for legitimate contrast. It is graphic. But Ariosto was abandoning himself to the ludicrous as he conceived of Orlando calmly rowing his boat into the huge jaws of the sea-monster, propping them apart with his anchor, and hewing out red ruin within. Never does Ariosto rise here to the canorous grandeur that almost saves the poet of *The Faerie Queene* when he celebrates the monster's death.

[For Courthope's interesting contrast between the narrative methods of Ariosto and Spenser as reflected in the battle between Orlando and the Ork and the battle between the Red Cross Knight and the Dragon, see Appendix, pp. 374-7.]

i. 2. KITCHIN. The King and Queen are types of all mankind; formerly lords of Eden, but cast out through the Dragon's power; through sin and the devil. They are restored to their first estate only by Christ and His Gospel (represented by the Red Cross Knight, who overcomes the great enemy by means of the sword of the Spirit). This is the meaning of these two cantos. [Una's parents are variously interpreted as the Old and New Testaments, Classical and Christian philosophy, and the truth of nature and revealed truth. See also the *Letter of the Authors*, p. 169.]

iv. 5-9. HEISE (pp. 126-7). The situation in which this simile is used, answers perfectly to the one in which Tasso uses the same figure: *Ger. Lib.* 4. 8. 1-4:

Qual i fumi sulfurei ed infiammati
Escon di Mongibello, e il puzzo e il tuono,
Tal della fera bocca i negri fiati,
Tale il fetore e le faville sono.

Tasso and Spenser by the choice of this figure must have had in mind Virgil's celebrated description of Aetna: *Aen.* 3. 570-7:

Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens
Ipse, sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem,
Turbine fumantem picco et candente favilla,
Attolitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit,
Interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exaestuat imo

FLORENCE E. ROWE (*MLN* 14. 43). The unusual activity of the volcano Aetna during the sixteenth century attracted the attention of learned men.

7-9. JORTIN. Statius, *Theb.* 5. 556-8:

tum squamea demum
Torvus ad armorum radios, fremitumque virorum
Colla movet.

v. 6-9. UPTON. 'Tis impossible but that the reader's attention must have been awakened at the dreadful apprehensions of this dragon, for which he has all along

been prepared by the poet. This monster is just mentioned; the poet then pauses, and invokes his Muse. Now nothing can be finer imagined: during this pause the reader's imagination is in suspense, and left to work for itself, and the delay and expectation is kept up for about twenty verses. Mean while the poet, to awaken the attention of the reader to some great argument and new matter, calls upon the sacred Muse, after the manner of his masters, Homer and Virgil. . . . So again 3. 3. 4. In both these passages the Muse is called the daughter of Phoebus and Mnemosyne, i. e. memory. But Homer and Hesiod make the muses to be daughters of Jupiter. The poets are not, however, altogether agreed as to their genealogy. . . . But as Apollo is the god and father of poetry and music, what should hinder him from being reputed too the father of the muses? . . .

vi. 7. TODD. Milton, in his "Sonnet to Sir Henry Vane," seems to have had this passage in his remembrance:

Then to advise how War may, best upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage.

WINSTANLEY. Cf. *Sb. Cal.*, Oct:

With queint *Bellona* in her equipage.

vii. 1-4 UPTON. He speaks of his intention to write an heroic poem, the subject of which was to be the wars betwixt the Fairy queen and the Pagan king, meaning historically Q. Elizabeth and the K. of Spain. See 1. 12. 18.

CHURCH. See the Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, Verses to Lord Essex, and the *Faerie Queene* 1. 12. 18, where Spenser gives intimations of his design of writing an heroick poem in honour of Queen Elizabeth. [Of course Spenser refers to a future book of the *Faerie Queene*, a fact which escaped Upton and Church because they did not appreciate the extent to which the poem is an historical allegory.]

WINSTANLEY. Spenser is probably anticipating the later portions of his poem (Book 5), in which he really does speak of wars.

viii-xv. JORTIN and UPTON call attention to similarities between certain details of this description and that of the dragon in *Met.* 3, such as the scales like armor, the three rows of teeth, and the smoke and sulphur which the dragon emits, though Upton recognizes that these are characteristics of dragons in general by observing that "to cite all the poets, who describe dragons, would be an endless labour."

viii. 2. UPTON. Observe here how images from being pretty, may be raised into the terrible and sublime. Among the odes attributed to Anacreon there is one on Love (Ode 40), who, being stung by a bee, runs, half on foot, half flying, to his mother. . . . This image, ludicrous and pretty, our poet has made terrible. This it is to be a poet! and so worthy of imitation did it appear to Milton that in describing the journey of Satan through the vast gulf between heaven and hell (2 9-40), he has made use of Spenser's words:

nigh founder'd on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying.

[Mantuan's *Life of St. George* is probably the more immediate source of the idea; see Appendix, p. 383.]

3. TODD. In the eleventh stanza we are told that his tail alone "lacked but little of three furlongs." Homer (*Od.* 11. 576) says of the giant Tityus that, outstretched on the ground, he covered nine acres. See also *Il.* 16. 775, 21. 407; *P. L.* 1. 195.

ix. CHURCH. So, in *The Visions of the Worlds Vanity*, stanza 6:

An hideous dragon, dreadful to behold;
Whose back was armd against the dint of spear
With shields of brass that shone like burnisht gold,
And forkhed sting, etc.

HEISE (p. 113) suggests similarity of this figure to those in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 24. 96:

Qual buono astor che l'anitra o l'acceggia
Starna o colombo o simil altro augello
Venirsi in contra di lontano veggia,
Leva la testa, e si fa lieto e bello;
Tal Mandricardo—

and Dante, *Purg.* 19. 64-7.

7-9. PERCIVAL. Spenser appeals to the feeling of terror through more than one of the senses: of sight and sound (stanzas 4, 8, 9, 14 etc.); of smell (stanza 13).

x. 1-3. WARTON (2. 206). "Sails" are often used by our author for wings, and after him by Milton. And by Fletcher (*Purple Island* 12. 59): "So up he rose upon his stretched sailes." Thus Bayardo, in Ariosto, fights with a monstrous bird, whose wings are like two sails (33. 84. 8):

L'ale havea grandé che parean duo vale.

xi. JACK (p. 347). The sizes in the description of the dragon-fight are not consonant. The tail is half a mile long, and yet can be cut through at one blow. A tail a half a mile long, if in proportion to those of lizards or crocodiles, would be some fifty yards thick. The dragon's wings are compared to great sails beyond Elizabethan imaginings. When the dragon lifts the knight and horse their struggles compel him to let go. The contest in mid-air, says Spenser, was like one between a hawk and a fowl. In fact, if the dragon was a mile long, it would have been like a struggle between hawk and horse-fly.

5. UPTON. Corrected in the Errata, though I, for my part, dislike not "Bespotted *all* with shields," for "shields" means "scales." So in Job 41. 15, of the leviathan: "His scales are his pride"; Hebrew, "His strong pieces of shields."

xii. 8. WINSTANLEY. In the old Mystery Plays, "hell-mouth was usually represented as the wide gaping mouth" of a fish or dragon.

xiv. TODD. These "glaring lampes" are very properly given by Milton to Satan (1. 193):

With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blaz'd.

Both poets are probably indebted to Homer, *Il.* 13. 474: "And his eyes shine with fire."

S. Rowlands, in his metrical history of *Guy Earle of Warwick*, 1654, sign. H. 3, has very minutely copied Spenser's dragon:

His blazing eyes did burn like living fire,
And forth his smoaking gorge came sulphur smoke.

Other proofs of similar plagiarism might be adduced from this forgotten work. The dragon in *Huon of Bourdeaux* must not be omitted, as perhaps Spenser retained some remembrance of it. [See Appendix, p. 396.]

3-7. HEISE (p. 147) notes the general similarity of this passage to Homer's description (*Il.* 18. 207-213) of the golden cloud, likened to beacon-fires, which Athene set upon the head of Achilles. EDITOR. The likeness is too remote to have any significance.

xiv. 3. WINSTANLEY. This is generally taken as a reference to the Armada which is possible, though not probable, as the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* were not published until 1590, but the first book, at any rate, was in all likelihood completed before 1588.

xv. 5-6. See note on 6. 44.

8. TODD. The second and subsequent folios very rightly include this line in a parenthesis, as Mr. Church has remarked. Tonson's edition of 1758 has attended to this distinction; Mr. Upton has neglected it.

xviii. UPTON. The reader cannot but observe here many expressions taken from falconry. The wings of a hawk are called "sails": "He cutting way with his broad sailes," stanza 18. The crow or crop is called the "gorge," stanza 13. When the hawk descends to strike her prey she is said "to stoop": "At last low stouping." The poet describes so minutely and masterly too at the same time, that one cannot help accompanying him in his descriptions, and seeing the images he points out. And this description, so lively represented, made so strong an impression on Milton that there is scarce an expression or thought but he has imitated. "His waving wings displayed wide"; cf. Milton 7. 390: "With wings displayd."

"He cutting way with his broad sayles"; cf. Milton 2. 927-930:

At last his sail-broad vans he spreads for flight.

4-9. UPTON. Cf. Milton 1. 225, of the old dragon:

Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air
That felt unusual weight.

The dragon's "soaring around," and wheeling about, before he snatcht up the horse and man, seems to me a better explanation than I have already seen of Milton 3. 741:

and toward the coast of earth—
Throws his steep flight in many an acric wheelc.

So again Milton 4. 568:

I describ'd his way
Bent all on speed, and markt his acric gate

xix. 2. UPTON. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8. 695: "Quantum semel ire sagitta missa potest."

xxi. This figure of the raging sea occurs frequently in the poets, but Spenser develops it with more graphic detail than any of his predecessors. UPTON notes parallels in *Il.* 14. 394-9, 17. 263-6, *Georgics* 4. 262, and the *Orl. Fur.* 30. 60. HEISE adds the following: *Il.* 2. 394-5; Ovid, *Met.* 5. 5-7, 12 50-2, 15. 603-5; Dante, *Inf.* 5. 28-30; Pulci, *Morgante* 26. 46-9; Boiardo, *Orl. Inn.* 1. 3 2-6, 1. 26. 28-32, 3. 2. 49-52; Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 10. 40. 3-4, 37. 77. 4, 45. 112. 3-4; Tasso, *Rinaldo* 12. 55; *Ger. Lib.* 5. 28. [No specific indebtedness is to be observed, however.]

xxii. EDITOR. Cf. *Met.* 3. 69:

fixumque hastile momordit,
Idque, ubi vi multa, partem labefecit in omnem,
Vix tergo eripuit. Ferrum tamen ossibus haesit.
Tum vero postquam solitas accessit ad iras
Plaga recens—

xxiii. 1-5. UPTON. Our poet has plainly Virgil in view, in his famous description of the serpents of Laocoon (*Aen.* 2. 220):

Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos.

(and 215):

Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
Implicat.

You have the very word "imples": "sese implicat," "himself implies." Italian "implicare": "to entangle."

xxvi. 6-9. H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 832) finds a parallel in the *Orl. Inn.* (1. 24. 50-51), where the knight fights in the flame from the dragon's mouth, so that his armor becomes heated and his sight affected:

E così 'l sbergo e l' elmo e ogni altro arnese,
Venne quasi rovente ed affocato:
Arsa è la sopravesta.

9. UPTON. This was a wrong thought of our Christian knight to think of leaving his celestial panoply; see too stanza 28. His victory is therefore for a while postponed.

xxvii. 5-6. UPTON. This garment was sent to Hercules by Deianira, as a *philtrum* or love-charm, and given to her as such by Nessus when dying; therefore

he says "with bloody verses charmd." See Ovid, *Met.* 9. 153. The simile seems to be taken from Statius, *Theb.* 11. 234.

EDITOR. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus 4. 36.

xxviii. 1-2. UPTON. These adjectives or participles answer to the substantives. . . . Fairfax—in his elegant translation of Tasso 2. 93—has these kind of answering or parallel verses:

1 2 3 1 2 3
Thus faire, rich, sharpe; to see, to have, to feelc.

Could you think that Milton would have introduced these, "puerilities" shall I call them? in his divine poem?

1 2 3
—air, water, earth,
1 2 3 1 2 3
By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swam, was walk'd—

They are called "versus paralleli," "correlativi," "correspondentes," etc. 'Tis tiresome to give many instances of what, once mentioned, is soon recollected and known. But I cannot pass over the following, where Cicero thus speaks:

1 2 3 1 2 3
Defendi, tenui, vetui; face, caede, timore;
1 2 3 1 2 3
Civis, dux, consul; tecta, lares, Latium.

Nor another instance from the Arcadian shepherd, page 381:

1 2 3 1 2 3
Vertue, beauty and speech, did strike, wound, charme,
1 2 3 1 2 3
My heart, eyes, eares, with wonder, love, delight.

xxix-xlviii. UPTON. This well of life, as likewise the tree of life, mentioned below (stanza 38) are imaged from Revel. 22. 1: "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystall, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." But to make the allegory more plain I shall cite *John* 4. 10: "Thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water." And ver. 14: "The water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life."

"New-born" [34. 9], i. e. being as it were regenerated by baptism in the well of life.

The reader knows that the scene of action is in Eden, and that our knight, emblematically "the Captain of our Salvation," is come to restore lost Paradise; who, after his second fall, is to rise victorious over death and hell, and to lead captivity captive. These two trees, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, are particularly mentioned in Genesis 2. 9. Hence our divine poet (*P. L.* 4. 218):

And all amid them stood the tree of life.
High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit

Of vegetable gold; and next to life,
 Our death, the tree of knowledge grew fast by;
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.

This tree of life, shadowing out in a figure everlasting life, is mentioned in *Revelation* 2. 7: "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." Again, *Revelation* 22. 2: "And the leaves of the tree (viz., the tree of life) were for the healing of the nations." This passage of the *Revelation* makes the whole allegory very plain, and hence may be explained why he calls the tree of life "the crime of our first fathers fall." By a kind of metonymy, that is applied to the tree of life which belongs to man; and it means that tree which was made criminal for us to presume to reach; which was prohibited to us through the crime of Adam.

As Spenser keeps nearly to scripture and preserves all along his allegory, so likewise as far forth as his subject allows he looses not sight altogether of the legendary history of St. George: of whom 'tis related that the dragon assaulted our knight so seriously that both man and horse came to the ground sore bruised. That it happened a tree grew near the place where the fight was of such pretious virtue that no venomous worm durst approach its branches. That under this tree and with its goodly fruit our hero refreshed himself awhile, and then returned more vigorous to the battle. [EDITOR. I am not aware of a version of the St. George story which thus employs a life-restoring tree. It is to be met with in *Huon of Burdeux*.]

KITCHIN. The well, the trees of life, and of the knowledge of good and ill, are intended to indicate the allegorical meaning of the struggle, as between Holiness and the Devil; and to shew that (in accordance with the Anglican view of grace) man by himself cannot prevail against evil. . . . This "holy water" from the well of life is . . . simply allegorical or spiritual comfort and help in the struggle.

PERCIVAL. Spenser draws from *Bevis of Hampton*, "The dragon followed on Bevis so hard, | That as he would have fled backward, | There was a well as I weene, | And he tumbled right therein." In the allegory the well stands for the doctrines and ordinances of the Gospel. . . . A similar tree figures in the *Seven Champions of Christendom* 1. In the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* 95 ff., is an elaborate allegory of the tree of life, "that is Jesu Crist"; Sir J. Davies, *Norse Teipsum* (1. 97), also allegorizes it: see *Floriz and Blauncheſtur* 273 ff.

W. H. HILL. An allusion in the knight issuing from the well "new-borne" is intended to the doctrine of Regeneration. The Knight cannot conquer evil in his own strength: he must be born again of water and the spirit.

DODGE. (*MP* 6. 194-5). Of these four commentators, then, Upton and Mr. Hill associate the Well of Life more or less closely with the sacrament of Baptism, and so does Professor Percival; yet the two latter assert that it stands for the gospel, and even Upton does not say unmistakably that it represents Baptism; his "as it were" leaves him uncommitted. The meaning of the poet, however, is spoken in words that would seem to be decisive. After telling how the knight, rising refreshed from the well, is enabled to wound his enemy in the head, he remarks (stanza 36):

I wote not whether the revenging steele
 Were hardened with that holy water dew,
 Wherein he fell, or sharper edge did feele,
 Or his baptized hands now greater grew,
 Or other secret vertue did ensew. . . .

"Holy water" and "baptized" surely make the reference to the sacrament as clear as may be, and enable us even to go farther; for if by the well Spenser means Baptism, it seems most likely that by the tree he means, not Christ, but the other sacrament, the Lord's Supper. In fact, the best commentary upon this long battle with the Dragon is to be found in the Anglican Catechism:

Question. How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church?

Answer. Two only, as generally necessary to salvation, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

[See Appendix, "The Moral and Spiritual Allegory." That the Well of Life and the Tree of Life stood for the sacraments had been suggested by Thomas Keightley in 1871. See Appendix, "The Historical Allegory," p. 455.]

xxx. 6-8. UPTON. Silo, or Siloam is mentioned in John 9. 7: "Go wash in the pool of Siloam." Milton l. 11: "Siloa's brook that flow'd fast by the oracle of God." Sandys in his *Travels*, p. 197, says that the pilgrims wash themselves in the river Jordan, esteeming it sovereign for sundry diseases. "Ne can *Cephise*"—"Fatidica Cephissus aqua," Lucan 3. A river in Boeotia, on whose banks the temple of Themis stood: Καλλιφρέθρος, "pulcra fluentia habens," is its epithet in a hymn to Apollo, attributed to Homer: and in the *Medea* of Euripides 'tis called Καλλίναος. Hebrus is a river of Thrace, into which the head of Orpheus, with his lyre, was thrown by the Bacchanalians. (Virgil, *Georgics* 4. 524; Ovid, *Met.* 11. 50.) Milton, *Lycidas*:

His goary visage down the stream was sent,
 Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore.

. . . Spenser mentions Hebrus for the purity of its stream; and thus Horace (L. 1. *Epist.* 16. 13):

Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
 Frigidior Thracam nec *purior* ambiat Hebrus.

KITCHIN. For Jordan's waters see 2 Kings 5. 14.

8. PERCIVAL. Boeotian Cephissus whose waters turned sheep-fleece to a white colour; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 2, 106.

xxx. 4. TODD. Their *daily* labours. French "journal." The Italians use the adverb "giornalmente" for daily. Chaucer employs "journé" for a day's work, *Romaunt of the Rose* 576. And Shakespeare has Spenser's adjective, *Measure for Measure* 4. 3.

xxxiv. 3. UPTON. See Psalm 103. 5: "Thy youth is renewed like the eagle." The interpreters tell us that every ten years the eagle soars into the fiery region, from thence plunges himself into the sea, where, molting his old feathers, he acquires new. To this opinion Spenser visibly alludes.

EDITOR. In the old account in the *Physiologus* the eagle dives three times into a spring (*Physiologus*, ed. by Lauchert, p. 236): "The blessed psalmist David singing says: 'Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.' *Physiologus* says about this one (the eagle) that he has this kind of nature: When he grows old and his wings become heavy and he becomes blinded, then what does he do? He seeks a pure spring of water, and flies up into the ether of the sun, and burns up those old wings of his, and casts off the blindness of his eyes, and goes back down into the spring and dips himself three times and is renewed and becomes young. And you, O freeman, disciple of Christ, if you have on the garment of the old man, and the eyes of your heart have become dim, seek you the spring of knowledge, the word of God, which says: 'They have forsaken me, the spring of living water.' And fly up into the highness of the sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, and put off the old man with all his works; and dip three times in the overflowing spring of repentance (in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost), and put off the old man and put on the new man, built according to God. And in you shall be fulfilled the prophecy of David, 'Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.'"

xxxv. 6. UPTON. "deaw-burning blade." In the next stanza he interprets it, "his blade was hardned and tempered with the holy water." The expression "deaw-burning" must be red with some liberality of interpretation; 'twas "burning" bright with that holy "dew" in which it had been baptized.

xxxvi. 6. CHURCH. This is a slip of our poet's memory. See stanzas 20 and 22.

xxxvii. EDITOR. The figure of the roaring lion has been widely used throughout all literature. On the authority of Rowe (*MLN* 14. 35) there are no less than forty instances in the *Iliad* alone.

6. TODD. The "buxom air," that is, the "yielding air," is a common phrase in our old poetry. Cf. *P. L.* 2. 842.

xli. 1. UPTON. "The man" as in Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 3:

Multa viri virtus animo, multusque recursat
Gentis honos.

So in 2. 7. 37:

And ugly shapes did nigh the man (Sir Guyon) dismay.

So in the beginning of Plato's *Phaedo*, *ὁ ἀνὴρ*, "the man," viz. Socrates. And in Xenophon's *Anabasis* 1: "But the man (viz. Cyrus) is a friend highly to be esteemed by him to whom he may be a friend."

4-5. UPTON. 'Tis a proverbial expression, intimating as a thing of the highest hazard to attempt to wrest the club out of the hand of Hercules, or to pluck a bone out of the greedy jaw of Cerberus. We should not therefore read, "For harder was" but "Nor harder was," i. e. 'twas easier to pluck a bone, etc. The particle "it" is frequently omitted, as has been already observed. And this obvious reading is warranted by the folios.

TODD. Mr. Church also reads "Nor." The editions of 1751 and 1758 follow the quartos, "For."

PERCIVAL. "Nor," the reading of the edition of 1609. The editions of 1590 and '96 read "For," which gives an extravagant hyperbole.

xlii. 5-8. HEISE (p. 144) observes that Boiardo's heroes also strike each other with such force that sparks fly from their helmets, like sparks in a blacksmith's forge: *Orl. Inn.* 3. 7. 45:

D'intorno al capo l'elmo li tintina
E ciascun colpo foco e fiamma getta,
Come sfavilla un ferro a la fucina.

Ibid. 1. 21. 31:

E, chi mirava da lontano un poco,
Pareva, che fuor degli elmi uscisse foco.

xliv. UPTON. In the same manner Satan, the old dragon, in Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* 4. 8) is compared to Aetna.

Both these poets had Virgil's description in view (*Aen.* 3. 5716-7).

EDITOR. It is to be observed, however, that Mantuan, in his life of St. George, compares the dragon's breath to the Aetnean fumes; see Appendix, p. 381.

xlix. 8. KITCHIN cites *Od.* 2. 388: σκίωόντό τε πᾶσαι ἄγναι. RIEDNER (p. 59) remarks that "the words sound Homeric, yet one cannot say that Spenser imitated this phrase."

li. SAWTELLE. Cf. *Od.* 5. 1-2: "Now the Dawn arose from her couch, from the side of the lordly Tithonus, to bear light to the immortals and to mortal men." The adjective "rosca" is applied to Aurora by Lucretius (5. 655); it is also applied to Aurora's *car* by Virgil (*Aen.* 7. 26), which probably suggested the phrase, "all with flowers spread." The adjective "aged" is three times applied to Tithonus by Spenser (see also 1. 2. 7. and 3. 3. 20). The story of Aurora's mistake in asking Jove that her husband might be immortal, and forgetting also to ask for his perpetual youth is extant in the *Homeric Hymn to Venus*, and was reemployed by Hesiod (*Theogony* 984), Apollodorus (3. 12. 4), Horace (*Carmina* 1. 28. 8), and Ovid (*Fasti* 1. 461). The "golden" locks is reminiscent of *Aen.* 7. 25 and Ovid's *Amores* 2. 4. 43.

liv. UPTON. "So downe he fell" is four times repeated that the dreadful image might be fix'd in the readers mind; and not only for this very good reason, but likewise because the same kind of repetition is made at the fall of Babylon, of which this dragon is a type. See *Revelation* 14. 8: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." See too Isaiah 21. 9. Milton (10. 540) in his account of the metamorphoses of the infernal spirits into serpents, repeats thrice the same word:

down their arms,
Down fell both spear and shield; down they as fast.

This simile before us of a rock broken from its foundation and falling into the sea, originally belongs to Homer, but almost all the poets have imitated it, with additions or alterations, as their subject requires.

CHURCH. Fletcher seems to have admir'd this stanza, as will appear from his imitation of it, *Purple Island* 12. 59.

HEISE. Cf. *Il.* 13. 137-142; *Aen.* 9. 710-716, 12. 684-9; Statius, *Theb.* 7. 744-9; Pulci, *Morgante* 19. 48; Tasso, *Rinaldo* 7. 62, *Ger. Lib.* 18. 82.

CANTO XII

CORY (p. 107). The excess of the culminating episode of the first book is partly atoned for also by a quiet denouement in which the poet wisely focuses on Una of whom Aubrey De Vere has said:

As long as Homer's Andromache and Nausicaa, Chaucer's Cecilia, Griselda, and Constance, the Imogen of Shakespeare, or the Beatrice of Dante, are remembered, so long will Una hold her place among them.

Here the poet essays a fuller description of her, as she comes to her wedding; but even here he wisely leaves much to suggestion. . . . A little flurry of excitement occasioned by a letter of false protestation from Duessa saves the narrative from tameness. Appropriately enough, it is Una who answers the witch's charges with finality. And with divine appropriateness, in the last stanza of the narrative proper, as the poet, with his characteristic Elizabethan restlessness, hastens his hero away to Faerie Land once more to serve Gloriana, Spenser gives us a brief glimpse of Una, last of all, as we have seen her nearly always—as Truth seems to be, nearly always, in the sight of our world—in sorrow, alone.

JACK (p. 168). Una's Home in Canto 12 is as true as the Despair Canto to its central feeling, a home-felt happiness or household bliss. The whole has the tone of domesticity, "port after stormic seas," and, mingling with this beautification on earth, there is the ethereal music. . . . The Romance of Despair would not have been what it is but for the prevalent gospel of a retreat from the world preached by the monastic ideal, a gospel which, despite his Protestant rejection of it, had constant attraction for Spenser; and the whole romance of Una's home is dependent upon the Elizabethan conception of an "Antique World," simpler and more native in manner than contemporary custom, which "excesse and pride did hate," and where "honour was the meed of victorie"

i. See note to stanza 42.

ii. 2. UPTON. This epithet Ovid gives to the horses of the Sun, *Met.* 2. 392: "Ignipedum vires expertus equorum." And Statius [*Theb.* 1. 27] calls Phoebus: "Ignipedum frenator equorum."

TODD. Cf. *Sh. Cal.* July 18-9.

v. See note to 11. 1. 2.

7. PERCIVAL. The allusion is to Elizabeth's band of pensioners.

vi. 5-9. Cf. note to 5. 2. 1-5.

ix-x. W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser* 122-3). And, set to paint the symbolic Dragon lying dead, Lippo Lippi or Masaccio could not have failed to

show the city towers in the background with the watchman on the wall, nor have omitted, alongside the ceremonial procession that comes from the gates, the crowd of burgher folk, the adventurous boys, the frightened children and their mothers. That is a matter of imagination; in purely pictorial quality, the poetic master of *chiaroscuro* could not but please the painters who have loved the play of light. It is not surprising to find Turner trying to express in his medium the physical character of *The Faerie Queene*, and in the memory of Rembrandt, had he known it, the phrase might have lingered:

his glistening armor made
A little glooming light, much like a shade.

This pleasant pastime is not entirely frivolous, for it enforces appreciation not only of the artistic power of Spenser, but of his wonderful variety. Hazlitt was surely too much a slave to the fashion of his time when he said that "Nobody but Rubens could have painted the fancy of Spenser," however truly he adds that "he could not have given the sentiment, the airy dream, that hovers over it." Rubens has his place indeed, but only as one of many, from the mediaeval masters of illumination down through all the line of the Renaissance, through all who preserved the freshness of romance and achieved the classical security, to Claude Lorraine, and so while the pictorial sense endures. Here, as in other ways, the poet who came last into the field gathers up, as no other artist in any medium has done, a whole phase of the Renaissance.

ix. UPTON. The mob gathering around the dread dragon, and discoursing of him, is humorously described, and may be compared with Homer, *Il.* 22. 370, where the many thus crowd with admiration around the body of Hector, and discourse of him when dead; or with Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 265, where the monster Cacus is described killed by Hercules. Ovid, (*Met.* 8. 482), speaking of the Caledonian boar when killed, says, almost in Spenser's words, "ne durst they approach him nigh, or assay once to touch him":

Immanemque ferum, multa tellure jacentem,
Mirantes spectant; neque adhuc contingere tutum
Esse putant.

If any should dislike this and the two following stanzas, he should in justice to our poet suppose that he intended them as a kind of relief, and by way of opposition, to those terrible images which he describes in the living dragon. And this mixture of the dreadful and the comic, the serious and the ridiculous, is much after the manner of Shakespeare, whose genius seems in many respects to resemble Spenser's. In Macbeth particularly, you have a comic scene introduced, as a kind of relief, just after the horrid murder of the king.

EDITOR. I doubt if Spenser had any such idea in mind; if he did, he must greatly have overestimated the power of his dragon to move the emotions of the reader. Spenser and Shakespeare were so fundamentally different that any attempt to compare them in dramatic power or technique is beside the point.

xii. 6. UPTON. Such presents as we read of in ancient authors, for our poet is all antique. See Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 464:

Dona dehinc auro gravia, sectoque elephanto.

EDITOR. Spenser probably took this detail from Mantuan's *Life of St. George*; see p. 385.

xiii. 4. UPTON. In allusion to Matthew 21. 8, Luke 19. 36.

xiv. WARTON (1. 142-3). To this I shall beg leave to subjoin another passage of the same kind; in which he is describing the wedding of Florimel [5. 3. 3 quoted]. After this indirect, but comprehensive manner, Chaucer expresses the pomp of Cambuscan's feast [*Squires Tale* 63-74]:

Of which shall I tell all the array,
Then would it occupie a sommer's day;
And eke it needeth not to devise
At every course the order of service
I wol not tellen as now, of her strange sewes,
Ne of her swans, ne of her heronsewes.
Eke in that land, as tellen knights old,
There is some meat that is fully dainty hold,
That in this lond men retch of it but small:
There is no man that may reporten all.

Thus also, when Lady Constance is married to the Sowdan of Surrie, or Syria, [*Man of Lawes Tale* 704]:

What shuld I tellen of the rialte
Of that wedding? or which course goth befor?
Who bloweth in a trompe, or in a horne?

In these passages it is very evident that Chaucer intended a burlesque upon the tedious and elaborate descriptions of such unimportant circumstances, so frequent in books of chivalry. In the last verse the burlesque is very strong.

ROSENTHAL remarks that in both passages Spenser emphasizes the apparel and ceremony, whereas Chaucer dismisses the "array" in two verses, and devotes the balance to the viands.

xvi. UPTON. See Ovid, *Met.* 10. 634:

Nec mihi conjugium fata importuna negarent.

Spenser seems to have had his eye on the introduction to the *Aeneid*.

EDITOR. The influence of the *Odyssey*, Book 7, seems more apparent.

xviii. WALTHER cites *Morte d'Arthur* 242. 4, in which his lady informs Gareth that he must labor a year before he can enter fully into her love: "Go thy way, syr Beaumans, for as yet thou shalt not have holy my love unto the tyme that thou be callyd one of the nombre of the worthy knyghtes. And therfor goo laboure in worship this twelve monethe, and thenne thou shalt here new tydynges."

xxi. EDITOR. The description of Una issuing forth like the morning star is such a commonplace that it is hardly to be assigned to the influence of any particular writer. However Spenser may have been conscious, as Koepfel suggests, of the lovely maiden, one of two, who arose from the sea to deter the knights sent in quest of Rinaldo (*Ger. Lib.* 15. 60):

Qual mattutina stella esce dell 'onde
 Rugiadosa e stillante . . .
 Tale apparve costei.

2. E. HICKEY (*American Catholic Quarterly Review* 32. 491). In her name we have the first of the four names by which we know the Church of God—Una, Sancta, Catholica, Apostolica—and so we have an acknowledgment, at least a tacit one, that unity must accompany truth; or, rather, indeed, be of its very essence, and inseparable from its conception.

xxii. UPTON. Una having laid aside her mourning, now puts on her marriage garment, "All lilly white, withoutten spot or pride." See *Revelation* 19. 7: "The marriage of the lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready; and to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white, for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints." This passage plainly alludes to the mystical union of Christ and his Church, and this too is the allegorical allusion of our poet. "White without spot," so the Church is to be arrayed; "and without pride," not like the scarlet whore Duessa. See *Song of Solomon* 4. 7: "Thou art fair, there is no spot in thee." St. Paul, speaking of the Church, of which Una is the type, as St. George is the type of Christ, says that Christ "gave himself for the Church, that he might sanctifie and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word." The custom of the bride's washing on her marriage day is alluded to likewise in Euripides, *Phoenissae* 350. This mystical washing meant that the Church might have "no spot," but that it should be holy and without blemish.

EDITOR. Does not the betrothal of the Red Crosse Knight and Una refer rather to the union of England and reformed religion? See Appendix, pp. 457, 473.

7. RIEDNER. Homer's ἀμύμων (*Od.* 7. 303) has been reproduced by Spenser in the phrase "without spot."

xxv. 1-3. WARTON (1. 144-6). He seems to have copied this surprise, occasioned in the hall by the sudden and unexpected entrance of a messenger, together with some of the concomitant circumstances, from a similar but more alarming surprise in Chaucer, which happened at Cambuscan's annual birth-day festival [*Squires Tale* 96 ff.]:

And so befell, that aftir the third course,
 While that the king sat thus in his noblay,
 Herk'ning his minstrelis their thingis play,
 Beforn him at his bord deliciously;
 In at the halle dore full sodcinly
 There came a knight upon a stede of brass;
 And in his hond, . . .
 And up he rideth to the hie bord;
 In all the hall ne was there spoke a word,
 For marveile of this knight, him to behold
 Full besily they waiten yong, and old.
 This straunge knight, . . .
 Salved the king and quene, and lordis all,
 By ordir, as they sittin in the hall,

With so hie reverence and obeisaunce,
 As well in speche, as in countinaunce,
 That, . . .
 And aftir this, beforne the hie bord,
 He with a manly voice saide his message.

These sudden entrances of strange and unexpected personages, when feasts were magnificently celebrated in great halls, in the ages of chivalry, seem to have been no uncommon incident; either for diversion of the guests, or exhibiting complaints, or encrease of the solemnity. Stowe [*Survey of London* 387., ed. 1599] has recorded an instance of this sort

In the yeare 1316, Edward II. did solemnize his feast of Pentecost, at Westminster, in the great hall, where sitting royally at the table, with his peares about him, there entred a woman adorned like a minstrell, sitting on a great horse trapped as minstrelles then used, who rode round about the tables, shewing pastime, and at length came up to the king's table, and laide before him a letter, and forthwith turning her horse, saluted every one, and departed. The letters being opened, had these contents: Our soveraigne lord the king hath nothing courtously respected his knights, that in his father's time, etc.

The ceremony of our champion at the coronation, the only genuine remainder of chivalry subsisting in modern times, is mucⁱ in the spirit of this custom.

xxviii. 9. See note on 6. 19. 1.

xxxvi. 1-2 UPTON. See Revelation 20 2-7: "And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan and bound him a thousand years; and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled. And after that he must be loosed a little season. . . . And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations." As St. George is the type of Michael and our Saviour, so is Archimago, of the common enemy of Christians. Compare this passage of the Revelation with this stanza of Spenser, and with 2. 1. 1. And you will see how necessary 'tis to preserve the allegory that Archimago should be "loosed out of his prison." You will likewise see that this poem is not unconnected, no cyclic or rhapsodical poem, but that 'tis one and many, 'tis one poem of many parts, and that the story cannot end till the knights all return back to the Fairy court, to give an account of themselves to the Fairy Queen.

xxxvii. 3-5. UPTON. He alludes to the marriages of Antiquity, which were solemnized "sacramento ignis et aquae," the reasons for which, see in Plutarch's *Roman Questions*. . . . These two elements, fire and water, were used in marriages, but the consecrated or holy water was not sprinkled on the fire, as Spenser seems to say, but the water was sprinkled on the bride. I wonder whether Spenser did not rather write, "And holy water sprinkled on the bride," for she was sprinkled, as I said, with the holy water, and purified with the fire, and both the man and woman touch'd these elements. See Alexander of Alexandria 2. 5: "Stipulatione ergo facta et sponsione secuta, ignem et aquam in limine appositam uterque tangere jubebatur, qua etiam nova nupta aspergitur, quasi eo foedere inexplibili vinculo et mutuo nexu forent copulati. Haec enim elementa sunt primae

naturae, quibus vita victusque, communis constat, et quibus, qui extorres ab hominum coetu futuri sunt, interdici legibus solet." Compare Servius on *Aen.* 4. 167 and 12. 119. Allusions are frequent to this ceremony: see Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2. 598: "Quos faciunt justos ignis et unda viros," and Valerius Flaccus 8. 245:

ignem Pollux undamque jugalem
Prætulit.

xxxviii. 1. KITCHIN. Cf. Claudian, *Epithalamium de Nuptiis Augusti* 10. 209: "Nectariis adspergere tecta fontibus."

9. UPTON. Alluding to the hymeneal song, or epithalamium, not only among the Greeks and Romans, but sung likewise by "the children of the bridegroom"—as they are called in Matthew 9. 15—among the Jews.

xxxix. UPTON. Plainly alludes to the song sung at the marriage of the Lamb (Revelation 19. 6-7): "And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, saying Alleluia. Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him, for the marriage of the Lamb is come (Christ typified in St. George), and his wife (the Church typified in Una) hath made herself ready."

5. PERCIVAL. The Hierarchy of the Angels in Scholastic theology; Dante, *Par.* 28, gives the order as follows: "The first Trine consists of 1. Seraphim, 2. Cherubim, 3. Thrones, the second Trine of 4. Dominations, 5. Virtues, 6. Powers; the third Trine of 7. Princedoms, 8. Archangels, and 9. Angels." Lyndesaye, *Dieme* 523, gives nearly the same order: see Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 11, 18. 96; Milton, *P. L.* 3. 320, 5. 749. Spenser again alludes to it in *Hymne of Heavenly Love* 64, and *Hymne of Heavenly Beantie* 85-98. The idea originated from the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Arcopagite, and a list given in a *Homily* of Gregory the Great. The Scripture basis of the idea is Ephesians 1. 21, and Colossians 1. 16. The Scholastic theologians that set forth the notion subsequently were Aquinas, Peter Lombard, and Grosseteste: see Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography* 1. 844 ff.

xli. E. DOWDEN (*Grosart* 1. 330). Nor is the combat between good and evil in Spenser's poem one in which victory is lightly or speedily attainable; the sustaining thought is that victory is possible. There is a well-known painting by Raphael of the Archangel Michael slaying the Dragon; the heavenly avenger descends like a young Apollo, with light yet insupportable advance, and in a moment the evil thing must be abolished. There is a little engraving by Albert Dürer which contrasts strangely with that famous picture. It represents the moment of St. George's victory; the monster, very hideous and ignoble, has bitten the dust and lies impotent. But is the victor elated? He is too weary for much elation, too thankful that the struggle is ended; he rests for a short space, still mounted on his heavy German stallion; we can perceive that other combats await him, and that the battle with evil is a battle that lasts a lifetime. Spenser's conception of the strife with wrong comes nearer to that of Dürer than to that of Raphael.

xlii. JORTIN quotes as instances of this nautical figure in Latin poets Statius, *Theb.* 12. 809, *Silvae* 4. 4. 89; Virgil, *Georgics* 4. 116-7; Juvenal 1. 149-150; Sidonius, *Carmina* 24. 99-101, *Epistolæ*, 16, *Carmina* 2. 537; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*

1. 779; Nemesian, *Cyнетica* 58-62. He observes that prose writers use the same metaphor.

UPTON cites Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 46. 1 and Riedner adds Dante, *Purg.* 1. 1-3, *Par.* 2. 1-7, and Chaucer, *Troilus* 2. 1. 1-4.

EDITOR. To all of the above may be added Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae* 5-12, which most resembles the passage from Nemesian. For further instances see Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry*, pp. 146-7.

7-8. UPTON. i. e. "And then she may go abroad." The sentence is elliptical. This vessel is bent to Fairy land, from which the several knights first set forth, and to which they are to return, to give an account of their various successes and adventures.

Our poet having brought his vessel into harbour, to refit and repair, let us, like travellers, talk over the wonders we have seen, and the regions we have passed over of fable, mystery, and allegory.

However the wise, and the grave, may affect to despise wonderful tales, yet well related, with novelty and variety, they work upon the heart by secret charms and philters, and never fail both to surprise and to delight. But delight and entertainment is not all, for a good poet should instruct, not in the narration of particular facts, like an historian, but in exhibiting universal truths, as a philosopher. by showing the motives, causes, and springs of action; by bringing before your eyes Truth in her lovely form, and Error in her loathsome and filthy shape; Deceit should be stripped, and Hypocrisy laid open. And while wonderful stories and representations of visionary images engage the fancy, the poet should all along intend these only as initiations into the more sacred mysteries of morals and religion.

Lest you should object to the probability of his stories, the poet names the time when these wonders were performed, viz. during the minority of prince Arthur (who knows not the British Arthur?), and mentions the very persons who performed them: Prince Arthur, St. George, Sir Satyrane, Archimago, etc. Nay, he points out the very places wherein the adventures were achieved. If after so circumstantial a recital of time, place and persons, you will still not believe him, you must be enrolled, I think, among the very miscreants, for as to his wonderful tales of enchantments, witches, apparitions, etc. all this is easily accounted for by supernatural assistance.

This first book bears a great resemblance to a tragedy, with a catastrophe not unfortunate. The Red Crosse Knight and Una appear together on the stage, nothing seeming to thwart their happiness, but by the plots and pains of Archimago, they are separated, hence suspicions and distresses: she with difficulty escapes from a lawless Sarazin and Satyrs, and he is actually made a prisoner by a merciless giant. When unexpectedly prince Arthur, like some god in a machine, appears, and releases the knight, who becomes a new man, and with new joy is contracted to his ever-faithful Una.

If we consider the persons or characters in the drama we shall find them all consistent with themselves, yet masterly opposed and contrasted: the simplicity and innocence of Una may be set in opposition to the flaunting falsehood of the scarlet whore: the pious knight is diametrically opposite to the impious Sarazin:

the sly hypocrite Archimago differs from the sophist Despair. And even in laudable characters, if there is a sameness, yet too there is a difference, as in the magnificence of prince Arthur, in the plainness of the christian knight, and in the honest behaviour of Sir Satyrane.

How well adapted to their places are the paintings of the various scenes and decoration! Some appear horrible, as the den of Error, hell, the giant, the cave of Despair, the dragon, etc.; others terrible and wonderful, as the magical cottage of Archimago, the plucking of the bloody bough, the Sarazin's supernatural rescue and cure, etc. Others are of the pastoral kind, as the pleasing prospects of the woods, and diversions of the wood-born people, with old Sylvanus; or magnificent, as the description of prince Arthur, and the solemnizing of the contract of marriage between the knight and Una.

The scene lies chiefly in Fairy land, though we have a view of the house of Morpheus (1. 39.), and of hell (5. 23.), and changes to the land of Eden (11-12.).

Should we presume to lift up the mysterious veil, wrought with such subtle art and ornament, as sometimes to seem utterly to hide, sometimes lying so transparent, as to be seen through—should we take off, I say, this fabulous covering, under it we might discover a most useful moral: the beauty of truth, the foulness of error, sly hypocrisy, the pride and cruelty of false religion, holiness completed in virtues, and the church, if not in its triumphant, yet in its triumphing state. . . . Spenser in his letter to Sir W. R. tells us his poem is a continued allegory: where therefore the moral allusion cannot be made apparent, we must seek (as I imagine) for an historical allusion, and always we must look for more than meets the eye or ear, the words carrying one meaning with them, and the secret sense another.

A LETTER OF THE AUTHORS

Such epistolary prefaces, defending the poetical type to which a work belonged, or explaining its allegorical character, were traditional. Contemporary instances are Tasso's account of the allegory of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, with its allegorical interpretations of Homer and Virgil; Sir John Harrington's "Briefe Apologie of Poetrie," which accompanies his translation of the *Orlando Furioso* (1591); Whetstone's preface to *Promos and Cassandra* (1578); and Nashe's address "To the Gentlemen Students of Both Vniuersities," which introduces Greene's *Menaphon*.

Most of the material in the Appendix on "The Plan and Conduct of the Faerie Queene" has an immediate bearing upon this letter, and cross-references are therefore considered unnecessary. The reader will find in this section full discussion of such problems as Spenser's relation to epic theory, the provinces of poetry and history and the contrasting methods of the "poet historical" and the "historiographer," the relation of the *Faerie Queene* to the *Nicomachean Ethics* and to Renaissance ethical theory, the convention of the Annual Feast and of the "clownish" young knight, etc. The reader need hardly be reminded that Sir Philip Sidney's well-known essay, *An Apologie for Poetry*, in line with the antecedent Renaissance criticism, advances similar ideas about the province of poetry, and the office of the poet as teacher. Since the *Apologie* is so readily accessible, the pertinent passages have not been reproduced. The antecedents for the setting of the poem and the precursors of the "tall clownishe younge man" are further discussed in

those sections of the appendix, "Sources of Book One," which deal with "The Legend of the Fair Unknown," entitled "Gareth and the Legend of the Fair Unknown," and "Perlesvaus and the History of the Holy Grail."

RENWICK (*Selections*, p. 204). "Xenophon." The reference is to the *Cyropaedia*, "The Education of Cyrus," as compared with the *Republic* of Plato.

EDITOR. "Arthur . . . Timon . . . Merlin . . . Lady Igrayne." Cf. note to 9. 4, and for a full discussion of Spenser's use of chronicle history, consult Carrie M. Harper's *The Sources of British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*.

RENWICK (*Selections*, p. 204). "the Methode of a Poet historical" This commonplace of Renaissance criticism goes back to Horace, *Ars Poetica* 146-152. The contrast with the historian is made most clearly by Ronsard, in his preface to *La Franciade*, 1572.

RENWICK (*Selections*, p. 204). "Annuall feaste." Probably modelled on the feast which King Arthur held each year at Pentecost.

GRACE WARREN LANDRUM (*PLMA*, 41. 520). "The armour of a Christian man," etc. Among the indeterminate references may be included Spenser's reference . . . to "the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul, v. Ephes." This is the sole instance in which Spenser refers by number to a chapter in the Bible, and in this instance his reference is incorrect: obviously he meant the *sixth* chapter (vv. 11, 12). But all versions agree in reading "the armour of God."

EVELYN BOATWRIGHT (*MLN*, 44. 159). What Miss Landrum fails to realize is that Spenser makes no reference at all to a particular chapter. The "v" which she reads as the Roman numeral for 5 is in reality an abbreviation for the Latin word "vide," and was intended by Spenser to refer the reader to the whole of Saint Paul's letter to the Ephesians. The abbreviation was in common use in the sixteenth century.

APPENDIX I

THE PLAN AND CONDUCT OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

THOMAS RYMER ("Preface to the Translation of Rapin's *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poestie*," pp. 167-8). *Spencer*, I think, may be reckon'd the first of our *Heroick Poets*; he had a large spirit, a sharp judgment, and a *Genius* for *Heroic Poesie*, perhaps above any that ever writ since *Virgil*. But our misfortune is, he wanted a true *Idea*, and lost himself by following an unfaithful guide. Though besides *Homer* and *Virgil* he had read *Tasso*, yet he rather suffer'd himself to be misled by *Ariosto*; with whom blindly rambling on *marvellous* Adventures, he makes no Conscience of *Probability*. All is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, without any foundation in truth; his Poem is perfect *Fairy-land*.

They who can love *Ariosto* will be ravish'd with *Spencer*, whilst men of juster thoughts lament that such great Wits have miscarried in their Travels for want of direction to set them in the right way. But the truth is, in *Spencer's* time, *Italy* itself was not well satisfied with *Tasso*; and few amongst them would then allow that he had excell'd their *divine Ariosto*. And it was the vice of those Times to affect superstitiously the *Allegory*; and nothing would then be currant without a mystical meaning. We must blame the *Italians* for debauching great *Spencer's* judgment; and they cast him on the unlucky choice of the *stanza*, which in no wise is proper for our Language.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE ("Of Poetry," p. 99). *Ariosto* and *Tasso* entred boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but, having not Wings for so high Flights, began to Learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius or Disadvantage of New Languages and Customs would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the Contexture of all the antient Poetry with a very agreeable mixture, which made the Moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their Poems. But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction so well as a false had done, and all their Attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase Religion than to heighten Poetry. *Spencer* endeavoured to Supply this with Morality, and to make Instruction instead of Story the Subject of an Epick Poem. His Execution was Excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Design was Poor, and his Moral lay so bare that it lost the Effect: 'tis true, the Pill was Gilded, but so thin that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE ("Preface to *Prince Arthur, An Heroick Poem*," p. 238). But *Ariosto* and *Spencer*, however great Wits, not observing this judicious Conduct of *Virgil*, nor attending to any sober Rules, are hurried on with a *boundless, impetuous* Fancy over Hill and Dale, till they are both lost in a Wood of Allegories,—Allegories so *wild, unnatural and extravagant*, as greatly displease the Reader. This way of writing mightily offends in this Age; and 'tis a wonder how it came to please in any. There is indeed a way of writing purely Allegorical, as when *Vices* and *Virtues* are introduc'd as *Persons*,—the first

as Furies, the other as *Divine Persons* or *Goddesses*,—which still obtains, and is well enough accommodated to the *present* Age. For the *Allegory* is presently discern'd, and the Reader is by no means impos'd on, but sees it immediately to be an *Allegory*, and is both delighted and instructed with it. The devis'd Story must be related in a *probable* manner; without this all things will be *harsh*, *unnatural*, and *monstrous*, and consequently most *odious* and *offensive* to the Judicious. *Probability* must be in the *Action*, the *Conduct*, the *Manners*; and where humane means cannot, *Machines* are introduc'd to support it. Nothing is more necessary than *Probability*, no Rule more chastly to be observ'd.

JOHN DRYDEN ("Essay on Satire," *Works*, ed. Scott, 13. 18). The English have only to boast of Spenser and Milton, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many censures. For there is no uniformity in the design of Spenser: he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up a hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with some particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination or preference. Every one is most valiant in his own legend: only we must do him that justice to observe that magnanimity, which is the character of Prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem, and succors the rest when they are in distress.

JOHN HUGHES ("Remarks on the Fairy Queen," in his edition of Spenser, 1. lix-lxvi). That which seems the most liable to Exception in this Work, is the Model of it, and the Choice the Author has made of so romantick a Story. The several Books appear rather like so many several Poems than one entire Fable: Each of them has its peculiar Knight, and is independent of the rest; and the some of the Persons make their Appearance in different Books, yet this has very little Effect in connecting them. Prince *Arthur* is indeed the principal Person, and has therefore a share given him in every Legend; but his Part is not considerable enough in any one of them: He appears and vanishes again like a Spirit; and we lose sight of him too soon to consider him as the Hero of the Poem.

These are the most obvious Defects in the Fable of the *Fairy Queen*. The want of Unity in the Story makes it difficult for the Reader to carry it in his Mind, and distracts too much of his Attention to the several Parts of it; and indeed the whole Frame of it wou'd appear monstrous, if it were to be examin'd by the Rules of Epick Poetry, as they have been drawn from the Practice of Homer and Virgil. But as it is plain the Author never design'd it by those Rules, I think it ought rather to be consider'd as a Poem of a particular kind, describing in a Series of Allegorical Adventures or Episodes the most noted Virtues and Vices: to compare it therefore with the Models of Antiquity, wou'd be like drawing a Parallel between the *Roman* and the *Gothick* Architecture. In the first there is doubtless a more natural Grandeur and Simplicity: in the latter, we find great Mixtures of Beauty and Barbarism, yet assisted by the Invention of a Variety of inferior Ornaments; and tho the former is more majestick in the whole, the latter may be very surprizing and agreeable in its Parts.

It may seem strange indeed, since *Spenser* appears to have been well acquainted with the best Writers of Antiquity, that he has not imitated them in the Structure of his Story. Two Reasons may be given for this: The first is, That at the time

when he wrote, the *Italian* Poets, whom he has chiefly imitated, and who were the first Revivers of this Art among the Moderns, were in the highest vogue, and were universally read and admir'd. But the chief Reason was probably, that he chose to frame his Fable after a Model which might give the greatest Scope to that Range of Fancy which was so remarkably his Talent. There is a Bent in Nature, which is apt to determine Men that particular way in which they are most capable of excelling; and tho it is certain he might have form'd a better Plan, it is to be question'd whether he cou'd have executed any other so well.

It is probably for the same reason, that among the *Italian* Poets, he rather follow'd *Ariosto*, whom he found more agreeable to his Genius, than *Tasso*, who had form'd a better Plan, and from whom he has only borrow'd some particular Ornaments; yet it is but Justice to say that his Plan is much more regular than that of *Ariosto*. In the *Orlando Furioso*, we every where meet with an exuberant Invention, join'd with great Liveliness and Facility of Description, yet debas'd by frequent Mixtures of a comick Genius, as well as many shocking Indecorums. Besides, in the Huddle and Distraction of the Adventures, we are for the most part only amus'd with extravagant Stories, without being instructed in any Moral. On the other hand, *Spenser's* Fable, though often wild, is, as I have observ'd, always emblematical: And this may very much excuse likewise that Air of Romance in which he has follow'd the *Italian* Author. The perpetual Stories of Knights, Giants, Castles, and Enchantments, and all that Train of Legendary Adventures, wou'd indeed appear very trifling, if *Spenser* had not found a way to turn them all into Allegory, or if a less masterly Hand had fill'd up his Draught. But it is surprizing to observe how much the Strength of the Painting is superior to the Design. . . .

There are two other Objections to the Plan of the *Fairy Queen*, which, I confess, I am more at a loss to answer. I need not, I think, be scrupulous in mentioning freely the Defects of a Poem, which, though it was never suppos'd to be perfect, has always been allow'd to be admirable.

The first is, that the Scene is laid in *Fairy-Land*, and the chief Actors are *Fairies*. The Reader may see their imaginary Race and History in the Second Book, at the end of the Tenth Canto: but if he is not prepar'd before-hand, he may expect to find them acting agreeably to the common Stories and Traditions about such fancy'd Beings. Thus *Shakespear*, who has introduc'd them in his *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, has made them speak and act in a manner perfectly adapted to their suppos'd Characters; but the *Fairies* in this Poem are not distinguish'd from other Persons. There is this Misfortune likewise attends the Choice of such Actors, that having been accusom'd to conceive of them in a diminutive way, we find it difficult to raise our Ideas and to imagine a *Fairy* encountering with a Monster or a Giant. *Homer* has pursu'd a contrary Method, and represented his Heros above the Size and Strength of ordinary Men; and it is certain that the Actions of the *Iliad* wou'd have appear'd but ill proportion'd to the Characters, if we were to have imagin'd them all perform'd by Pigmies.

But as the Actors our Author has chosen are only fancy'd Beings, he might possibly think himself at liberty to give them what Stature, Custome, and Manners he pleas'd. I will not say he was right in this: but it is plain that by the literal Sense of *Fairy-Land*, he only design'd an *Utopia*, an imaginary Place; and by his

Fairies, Persons of whom he might invent any Action proper to human Kind, without being restrain'd, as he must have been, if he had chosen a real Scene and historical Characters. As for the mystical Sense, it appears both by the work it self, and by the Author's Explanation of it, that his *Fairy-Land* is *England*, and his *Fairy-Queen*, *Queen Elizabeth*; at whose command the Adventure of every Legend is suppos'd to be undertaken.

The other Objection is, that having chosen an historical Person, *Prince Arthur*, for his principal Hero; who is no *Fairy*, yet is mingled with them: he has not however represented any part of his History. He appears here indeed only in his Minority, and performs his Exercises in *Fairy-Land*, as a private Gentleman; but we might at least have expected, that the fabulous Accounts of him, and of his Victories over the *Saxons*, shou'd have been worked into some beautiful Vision or Prophecy: and I cannot think *Spenser* would wholly omit this, but am apt to believe he had done it in some of the following Books which were lost.

THOMAS WARTON (*Observations on the Fairy Queen*, 1. 3-18). Such was the prevailing taste, when *Spenser* projected the *Fairy Queen*: a poem, which according to the practice of *Ariosto*, was to consist of allegories, enchantments, and romantic expeditions, conducted by knights, giants, magicians, and fictitious beings. It may be urged, that *Spenser* made an unfortunate choice, and discovered but little judgment, in adopting *Ariosto* for his example, rather than *Tasso*, who had so evidently exceeded his rival, at least in conduct and decorum. But our author naturally followed the poem which was most celebrated and popular. For although the French critics universally gave the preference to *Tasso*, yet, in Italy, the partisans on the side of *Ariosto* were by far the most powerful, and consequently in England; for Italy, in the age of queen Elizabeth, gave laws to our island in all matters of taste, as France has done ever since. At the same time it may be supposed, that, of the two, *Ariosto* was *Spenser's* favourite; and that he was naturally biassed to prefer that plan which would admit the most extensive range for his unlimited imagination. What was *Spenser's* particular plan, in consequence of this choice, and how it was conducted, I now proceed to examine. . . .

It is evident that our author in establishing one hero, who seeking and attaining one grand end, which is *Gloriana*, should exemplify one grand character, or a brave Knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues, copied the cast and construction of the antient Epic. But sensible as he was of the importance and expediency of the unity of the hero and of his design, he does not, in the mean time, seem convinced of the necessity of that unity of action, by the means of which such a design should be properly accomplished. At least, he has not followed the method practised by *Homer* and *Virgil*, in conducting their respective heroes to the proposed end.

It may be asked with great propriety, how does *Arthur* execute the grand, simple, and ultimate design, intended by the poet? It may be answered, with some degree of plausibility, that by lending his respective assistance to each of the twelve knights, who patronize the twelve virtues, in his allotted defence of each, *Arthur* approaches still nearer and nearer to *Glory*, till at last he gains a complete possession. But surely to assist is not a sufficient service. This secondary merit is inadequate to the reward. The poet ought to have made this "brave Knight" the leading adventurer. *Arthur* should have been the principal agent in vindi-

cating the cause of Holiness, Temperance, and the rest. If our hero had in his own person, exerted himself in the protection of the twelve virtues might have been deservedly styled the perfect Pattern of all, and consequently would have succeeded in the task assigned, the attainment of Glory. At he is only a subordinate or accessory character. The difficulties and obstacles we expect him to surmount, in order to accomplish his final achievement removed by others. It is not he who subdues the dragon, in the first book, quells the magician Busirane, in the third. These are the victories of St. George and of Britomart. On the whole, the twelve Knights do too much for to do any thing; or at least, so much as may be reasonably required from the promised plan of the poet. While we are attending to the design of the book, we forget that of the hero of the poem. Dryden remarks, "We do Spenser that justice to observe, that magnanimity (magnificence) which is the true character of Prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem and shines the rest when they are in distress" (Dedication to the Translation of Junius). If the magnanimity of Arthur did, in reality, thus shine in every part of the poem with a superior and steady lustre, our author would fairly stand acquitted. To present it bursts forth but seldom, in obscure and interrupted flashes. "To shine the rest when they are in distress," is, as I have hinted, a circumstance of too little importance in the character of this universal champion. It is a service performed in the cause of the hero of the Epic Poem by some dependent inferior chief, the business of a Gyas or a Cloanthus.

On the whole, we may observe, that Spenser's adventures, separately taken, the subject of each single book, have not always a mutual dependence upon each other, and consequently do not properly contribute to constitute one long poem. Hughes not considering this, has advanced a remark in commendation of Spenser's critical conduct, which is indeed one of the most blameable of it. "If we consider the first book as an entire work of itself, we shall find it to be no irregular contrivance. There is one principal action, which is completed in the twelfth canto, and the several incidents are proper, as they either to obstruct or promote it."

As the heroic poem is required to be one *whole*, compounded of many parts, relative and dependent, it is expedient that not one of those parts should be so regularly contrived, and so completely finished, as to become a *whole* of itself. For the mind, being once satisfied in arriving at the consummation of a series of events, acquiesces in that satisfaction. Our attention and curiosity are in the midst diverted from pursuing, with due vigor, the final and general triumph. But while each part is left incomplete, if separated from the rest, the mind still eager to gratify its expectations, is irresistibly and imperceptibly drawn from part to part, 'till it receives a full and ultimate satisfaction from the consummation of one great event, which all those parts, following and illustrating each other, contributed to produce.

Our author was probably aware that, by constituting twelve several adventures for twelve several heroes, the want of a general connection would often be felt. On this account, as I presume, he sometimes resumes and finishes in some one book, a tale formerly begun and left imperfect. But as numberless interruptions necessarily intervene, this proceeding often occasions infinite perplexity to the reader. And it seems to be for the same reason, that after one of the

Knights has achieved the adventure of his proper book, the poet introduces him, in the next book, acting perhaps in an inferior sphere, and degraded to some less dangerous exploit. But this conduct is highly inartificial: for it destroys that repose which the mind feels after having accompanied a hero, through manifold struggles and various distresses, to success and victory. Besides, when we perceive him entering upon any less illustrious attempt, our former admiration is in some measure diminished. Having seen him complete some memorable conquest, we become interested in his honour, and are jealous concerning his future reputation. To attempt, and even to achieve, some petty posterior enterprise, is to derogate from his dignity, and to sully the transcendent lustre of his former victories.

Spenser perhaps would have embarrassed himself and the reader less, had he made every book one entire detached poem of twelve cantos, without any reference to the rest. Thus he would have written twelve different books, in each of which he might have completed the pattern of a particular virtue in twelve Knights respectively: at present he has remarkably failed, in endeavouring to represent all the virtues exemplified in one. The poet might either have established *twelve Knights* without an *Arthur*, or an *Arthur* without *twelve Knights*. Upon supposition that Spenser was resolved to characterise the twelve moral virtues, the former plan perhaps would have been best; the latter is defective as it necessarily wants simplicity. It is an action consisting of twelve actions, all equally great and unconnected between themselves, and not compounded of one uninterrupted and coherent chain of incidents, tending to the accomplishment of one design.

I have before remarked, that Spenser intended to express the character of a hero perfected in the twelve moral virtues, by representing him as assisting in the service of all, till at last he becomes possessed of all. This plan, however injudicious, he certainly was obliged to observe. But in the third book, which is styled the Legend of Chastity, Prince Arthur does not so much as lend his assistance in the vindication of that virtue. He appears indeed; but not as an agent, or even an auxiliary, in the adventure of the book.

Yet it must be confessed, that there is something artificial in the poet's manner of varying from historical precision. This conduct is rationally illustrated by himself (Letter to Sir W. Raleigh). According to this plan, the reader would have been agreeably surprised in the last book, when he came to discover that the series of adventures, which he had just seen completed, were undertaken at the command of the *Fairy Queen*, and that the knights had severally set forward to the execution of them, from her annual birth-day festival. But Spenser, in most of the books, has injudiciously forestalled the first of these particulars, which certainly should have been concealed 'till the last book, not only that a needless repetition of the same thing might be prevented, but that an opportunity might be secured of striking the reader's mind with a circumstance new and unexpected.

But notwithstanding the plan and conduct of Spenser, in the poem before us, is highly exceptionable, yet we may venture to pronounce, that the scholar has more merit than his master in this respect; and that the *Fairy Queen* is not so confused and irregular as the Orlando Furioso. . . .

But it is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to. We who live in the days of writing by rule, are apt to try every composition by those laws which we have been taught to think the sole criterion of excellence. Critical taste is universally diffused, and we require the

same order and design which every modern performance is expected to have, in poems where they never were regarded or intended. Spenser, and the same may be said of Ariosto, did not live in an age of planning. His poetry is the careless exuberance of a warm imagination and a strong sensibility. It was his business to engage the fancy, and to interest the attention by bold and striking images, in the formation, and the disposition of which, little labour or art was applied. The various and the marvellous were the chief sources of delight. Hence we find our author ransacking alike the regions of reality and romance, of truth and fiction, to find the proper decorations and furniture for his fairy structure. Born in such an age, Spenser wrote rapidly from his own feelings, which at the same time were naturally noble. . . .

Although Spenser formed his *Faerie Queene* upon the fanciful plan of Ariosto, yet it must be confessed, that the adventures of his knights are a more exact and immediate copy of those which we meet with in old romances, or books of chivalry, than of those which form the Orlando Furioso. Ariosto's knights exhibit surprising examples of their prowess and achieve many heroic actions. But our author's knights are more professedly engaged in revenging injuries, and doing justice to the distressed; which was the proper business, and ultimate end of the antient knight-errantry. And thus though many of Spenser's incidents are to be found in Ariosto, such as that of blowing a horn, at the sound of which the gates of a castle fly open, of the vanishing of an enchanted palace or garden after some knight has destroyed the enchanter, and the like; yet these are not more peculiarly the property of Ariosto, than they are common to all ancient romances in general. Spenser's first book is, indeed, a regular and precise imitation of such a series of action as we frequently find in books of chivalry. For instance; A king's daughter applies to a knight, that he would relieve her father and mother, who are closely confined to their castle, upon account of a vast and terrible dragon, that had ravaged their country, and perpetually laid wait to destroy them. The knight sets forward with the lady, encounters a monster in the way, is plotted against by an enchanter, and after surmounting a variety of difficulties and obstacles, arrives at the country which is the scene of the dragon's devastation, kills him, and is presented to the king and queen, whom he has just delivered; marries their daughter, but is soon obliged to leave her on account of fulfilling a former vow.

It may be moreover observed, that the circumstance of each of Spenser's twelve [k]nights, departing from one place, by a different way, to perform a different adventure, exactly resembles that of the seven knights entering upon their several expeditions, in the well-known romance, entitled the *Seven Champions of Christendom*.

JOHN UPTON (Preface to his edition of the *Faerie Queene*, 1. xx-xxvii). 'Tis not my intention in this place to enter into a particular criticism of any of our poet's writings, excepting the Fairy Queen; which poem seems to have been hitherto very little understood; notwithstanding he has opened, in a great measure, his design and plan in a letter to his honoured friend Sir W. R. How readily has every one acquiesced in Dryden's opinion? *That the action of this Poem is not one* (Dryden's Dedication of the translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*)—*that there is no uniformity of design; and that he aims at the accomplishment of no action.* (See

his dedication of the translation of Juvenal.) It might have been expected that Hughes, who printed Spenser's works, should not have joined so freely in the same censure: and yet he tells us, *that the several books appear rather like so many several poems, than one entire fable: each of them having its peculiar knight, and being independent of the rest* (in the preface to his edition).

Just in the same manner did the critics and commentators formerly abuse old Homer; his Iliad, they said, was nothing else, but a parcel of loose songs and rhapsodies concerning the Trojan war, which he sung at festivals; and these loose ballads were first collected, and stitched, as it were, together by Pisistratus; being parts without any coherence, or relation to a whole, and unity of design.

As this subject requires a particular consideration: I desire the reader will attend to the following vindication of Homer and Spenser, as they have both fallen under one common censure.

In every poem there ought to be simplicity and unity; and in the epic poem the unity of the action should never be violated by introducing any ill-joined or heterogeneous parts. This essential rule Spenser seems to me strictly to have followed: for what story can well be shorter, or more simple, than the subject of his poem?—A British Prince sees in a vision the Fairy Queen; he falls in love, and goes in search after this unknown fair; and at length finds her.—This fable has a beginning, a middle, and an end. The beginning is, the British Prince saw in a vision the Fairy Queen, and fell in love with her: the middle, his search after her, with the adventures that he underwent: the end, his finding whom he sought.

But here our curiosity is raised, and we want a more circumstantial information of many things.—Who is this British Prince? what adventures did he undergo? who was the Faerie Qucene? where, when, and how, did he find her? Thus many questions arise, that require many solutions.

The action of this poem has not only simplicity and unity, but it is great and important. The hero is no less than the British Prince, Prince Arthur: (who, knows not Prince Arthur?) The time when this hero commenced his adventures is marked very exactly. In the reign of Uther Pendragon, father of Prince Arthur, Octa the son of Hengist, and his kinsman Eosa, thinking themselves not bound by the treaties which they had made with Aurelius Ambrosius, began to raise disturbances, and infest his dominions. This is the historical period of time, which Spenser has chosen:

Ye see that good King Uther now doth make
Strong warre upon the paynim brethren, hight
Octa and Oza, whom hee lately brake
Beside Cayr Verolame—(3. 3. 52)

Could any epic poet desire a better historical foundation to build his poem on? Hear likewise what he himself says on this subject: "I chose the history of K. Arthur, as most fit for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many men's former works, and also furthest from the danger of envy and suspicion of present time." I much question if Virgil's Aeneid is grounded on facts so well supported. Beside a poet is a *Maker*; nor does he compose a poem for the sake of any one hero, but rather he makes a hero for the sake of his poem: and if he follows fame, whether from the more authentic relation of old chronicles, or from the legendary tales of old romances, yet still he is at liberty to add, or to diminish:

in short, to speak out, he is at liberty to *lie*, as much as he pleases, provided his lies are consistent, and he makes his tale hang well together.

Prince Arthur saw in a vision, and seeing fell in love with the Fairy Queen, just about the time that she held her annual festival, when her knights had their various adventures assigned them. From either of these periods an historian might begin his narration; but a poet must begin from neither: because 'tis his province to carry you at once into the scene of action; and to complicate and perplex his story, in order to show his art in unravelling it. The poet therefore might have opened his poem either with Prince Arthur, now actually set out on his quest, or with one of the knights sent from the Court of the Fairy Queen: by which means the reader is introduced into the midst of things; taking it for granted, that he either knows, or some way or other will know, all that preceded. 'Tis from the latter of these periods, namely from one of the Fairy knights, who is already rode forth on his adventure, that Spenser opens his poem; and he keeps you in suspense concerning his chief hero, Prince Arthur; 'till 'tis proper to introduce him with suitable pomp and magnificence.

Homer sings the anger of Achilles and its fatal consequences to the Grecians: nor can it be fairly objected to the unity of the *Iliad* that when Achilles is removed from the scene of action, you scarcely hear him mentioned in several books: one being taken up with the exploits of Agamemnon, another with Diomed, another again with the successes of Hector. For his extensive plan required his different heroes to be shown in their different characters and attitudes. What therefore you allow to the old Grecian, be not so ungracious as to deny to your own countryman.

Again, 'tis observable that Homer's poem, though he sings the anger of Achilles, is not called the *Achilleid*, but the *Iliad*; because the action was at Troy. So Spenser does not call his poem by the name of his chief hero; but because his chief hero sought for the Fairy Queen in Fairy Land, and therein performed his various adventures, therefore he intitles his poem *The Fairy Queen*. Hence it appears that the adventures of Prince Arthur are necessarily connected with the adventures of the knights of Fairy Land. This young Prince has been kept hitherto in designed ignorance of what relates to his family and real dignity: his education, under old Timon and the magician Merlin, was to prepare him for future glory; but as yet his virtues have not been called forth into action. The poet therefore by bringing you acquainted with some of the heroes of Fairy Land, at the same time that he is bringing you acquainted with his chief hero, acts agreeably to his extensive plan, without destroying the unity of the action. The only fear is, lest the underplots, and the seemingly adscititious members, should grow too large for the body of the entire action: 'tis requisite therefore that the several incidental intrigues should be unravelled as we proceed in getting nearer and nearer to the main plot; and that we at length gain an uninterrupted view at once of the whole. And herein I cannot help admiring the resemblance between the ancient father of poets, and Spenser; who clearing the way by the solution of intermediate plots and incidents, brings you nearer to his capital piece; and then shows his hero at large: and when Achilles once enters the field, the other Greeks are lost in his splendour as the stars at the rising of the sun. So when Prince Arthur had been perfected in heroic and moral virtues, and his fame thoroughly known and recognized in Fairy Land; Him we should have seen not only dissolving the enchantment of the witch Duessa, (an adventure too hard for the single prowess of St.

George) but likewise binding in adamantine chains, or delivering over to utter perdition that old wizard Archimago, the common enemy of Fairy Knights, whom no chains as yet could hold: in short, him should we have seen eclipsing all the other heroes, and in the end accompanied with the Fairy Knights making his solemn entry into the presence of Gloriana, the Fairy Queen: and thus his merits would have intitled him to that Glory, which by Magnificence, or Magnanimity, the perfection of all the rest of the virtues, he justly had acquired.

It seems, by some hints given us by the poet, that he intended likewise an Heroic Poem, whose title was to be *King Arthur*; and the chief subject of the poem, the wars of the King and Queen of Fairy Land (now governed by Arthur and Gloriana) against the Paynim King: the chief Captains employed were to be those Fairy Knights, whom already he had brought us acquainted with: and the historical allusions undoubtedly would point, in the allegorical view, at the wars that Q. Elizabeth waged with the K. of Spain; as the Fairy Knights would typically represent her warlike Courtiers. This seems plain from what St. George says to Una's parents (1. 12. 18).

I bownden am streight after this emprise—
Backe to retourne to that great Faery Queene,
And her to serve sixe yeares in warlike wize
Gainst that proud Paynim King that works her teene.

And plainer still from what the poet says in his own person (1. 11. 7).

Fayre goddesse, lay that furious fitt asyde,
Till I of warres and bloody Mars doe sing;
And Bryton fieldes with Sarazin blood bedyde,
Twixt that great Faery Queen and Paynim King. . . .

We have shown that the action of the Fairy Queen is uniform, great, and important; but 'tis required that the fable should be probable. A story will have probability, if it hangs well together, and is consistent. And provided the tales are speciously told, the probability of them will not be destroyed, though they are tales of wizards or witches, monstrous men and monstrous women; for who but downright miscreants, question wonderful tales? and do you imagine that Homer, Virgil, Spenser, and Milton, ever thought of writing an epic poem for unbelievers and infidels? But if after all the reader cannot with unsuspecting credulity swallow all these marvellous tales; what should hinder the poet, but want of art, from so contriving his fable, that more might be meant, than meets the eye or ear? cannot he say one thing in proper numbers and harmony, and yet secretly intend something else, or (to use a Greek expression) cannot he make the fable allegorical? Thus Forms and Persons might be introduced, shadowing forth, and emblematically representing the mysteries of physical and moral sciences: Virtue and Truth may appear in their original ideas and lovely forms; and even Vice might be decked out in some kind of dress, resembling beauty and truth; lest if seen without any disguise, she appear too loathsome for mortal eyes to behold her. . . .

As 'tis necessary that the poet should give his work all that variety, which is consistent with its nature and design, so his allegory might be enlarged and varied by his pointing at historical events under concealed names; and while his story is told consistently, emblematically and typically, some historical characters and real

transactions might be signified. Thus though in one sense you are in Fairy land, yet in another you may be in the British dominions.

RICHARD HURD (*Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, pp. 261-281). Spenser, though he had been long nourished with the spirit and substance of Homer and Virgil, chose the times of Chivalry for his theme, and Fairy Land for the scene of his fictions. He could have planned, no doubt, an heroic design on the exact classic model: or, he might have trimmed between the *Gothic* and classic, as his contemporary Tasso did. But the charms of *fairy* prevailed. And if any think, he was seduced by Ariosto into this choice, they should consider that it could be only for the sake of his subject; for the genius and character of these poets was widely different.

Under this idea then of a *Gothic*, not classical poem, the *Faery Queen* is to be read and criticized. And on these principles, it would not be difficult to unfold its merit in another way than has been hitherto attempted. . . .

I have taken the fancy, with your leave, to try my hand on this curious subject.

When an architect examines a *Gothic* structure by *Grecian* rules, he finds nothing but deformity. But the *Gothic* architecture has its own rules, by which when it comes to be examined, it is seen to have its merit, as well as the *Grecian*. The question is not, which of the two is conducted in the simplest or truest taste: but, whether there be not sense and design in both, when scrutinized by the laws on which each is projected.

The same observation holds of the two sorts of poetry. Judge of the *Faery Queen* by the classic models, and you are shocked with its disorder: consider it with an eye to its *Gothic* original, and you find it regular. The unity and simplicity of the former are more complete: but the latter has that sort of unity and simplicity, which results from its nature.

The *Faery Queen* then, as a *Gothic* poem, derives its METHOD, as well as the other characters of its composition, from the established modes and ideas of Chivalry.

It was usual, in the days of knight-errantry, at the holding of any great feast, for knights to appear before the prince, who presided at it, and claim the privilege of being sent on any adventure, to which the solemnity might give occasion. For it was supposed that, when such a *throng of knights and barons bold*, as Milton speaks of, were got together, the distressed would flock in from all quarters as to a place where they knew they might find and claim redress for all their grievances.

This was the real practice, in the days of pure and ancient Chivalry. And an image of this practice was afterwards kept up in the castles of the great, on any extraordinary festival or solemnity: of which, if you want an instance, I refer you to the description of a feast made at *Lisle* in 1453, in the court of Philip the Good, duke of *Burgundy*, for a crusade against the *Turks*: as you may find it given at large in the memoirs of Matthieu de Conci, Olivier de la Marche, and Monstrelet.

That feast was held for *twelve* days: and each day was distinguished by the claim and allowance of some adventure.

Now, laying down this practice as a foundation for the poet's design, you will see how properly the *Faery Queen* is conducted.

"I devise," says the poet himself in his letter to Sir W. Raleigh, "that the

Faery Queen kept her annual feaste xii days: upon which xii several days, the occasions of the xii several adventures hapened; which being undertaken by xii several knights, are in these xii books severally handled."

Here you have the poet delivering his own method, and the reason of it. It arose out of the order of his subject. And would you desire a better reason for his choice?

Yes; you will say, a poet's method is not that of his subject. I grant you, as to the order of *time*, in which the recital is made; for here, as Spenser observes (and his own practice agrees to the rule) lies the main difference between *the poet historical, and the historiographer*: the reason of which is drawn from the nature of *Epic* composition itself, and holds equally, let the subject be what it will, and whatever the system of manners be, on which it is conducted. Gothic or Classic makes no difference in this respect.

But the case is not the same with regard to the general plan of a work, or what may be called the order of *distribution*, which is and must be governed by the subject-matter itself. It was as requisite for the *Faery Queen* to consist of the adventures of twelve Knights, as for the *Odyssey* to be confined to the adventures of one Hero: justice had otherwise not been done to his subject.

So that if you will say any thing against the poet's method, you must say that he should not have chosen this subject. But this objection arises from your classic ideas of Unity, which have no place here: and are in every view foreign to the purpose, if the poet has found means to give his work, though consisting of many parts, the advantages of Unity. For in some reasonable sense or other, it is agreed, every work of art must be *one*, the very idea of a work requiring it.

If you ask then, what is this *Unity* of Spenser's Poem? I say, It consists in the relation of its several adventures to one common *original*, the appointment of the *Faery Queen*; and to one common *end*, the completion of the *Faery Queen's* injunctions. The knights issued forth on their adventures on the breaking up of this annual feast: and the next annual feast, we are to suppose, is to bring them together again from the atchievement of their several charges.

This, it is true, is not the classic Unity, which consists in the representation of one entire action: but it is an Unity of another sort, an unity resulting from the respect which a number of related actions have to one common purpose. In other words, it is an unity of *design*, and not of action. . . .

But to return to our poet. Thus far he drew from *Gothic* ideas; and these ideas, I think, would lead him no further. But, as Spenser knew what belonged to classic composition, he was tempted to tie his subject still closer together by *one* expedient of his own, and by *another* taken from his classic models.

His *own* was, to interrupt the proper story of each book, by dispersing it into several; involving by this means, and as it were inter-twisting the several actions together, in order to give something like the appearance of one action to his twelve adventures. And for this conduct, as absurd as it seems, he had some great examples in the *Italian* poets, though, I believe, they were led into it by different motives.

The *other* expedient, which he borrowed from the classics, was, by adopting one superior character, which should be seen throughout. Prince Arthur, who had a separate adventure of his own, was to have his part in each of the other;

and thus several actions were to be embodied by the interest which one principal Hero had in them all. It is even observable, that Spenser gives this adventure of Prince Arthur, in quest of Gloriana, as the proper subject of his poem. And upon this idea the late learned editor of the *Faery Queen* has attempted, but, I think, without success to defend the unity and simplicity of its fable. The truth was, the violence of classic prejudices forced the poet to affect this appearance of unity, though in contradiction to his *Gothic* system. And, as far as we can judge of the tenour of the whole work from the finished half of it, the adventure of Prince Arthur, whatever the author pretended, and his critic too easily believed, was but an after-thought; and, at least with regard to the *historical fable*, which we are now considering, was only one of the expedients by which he would conceal the disorder of his *Gothic* plan.

And if this was his design, I will venture to say that both his expedients were injudicious. Their purpose was, to ally two things, in nature incompatible, the *Gothic*, and the classic unity; the effect of which misalliance was to discover and expose the nakedness of the *Gothic*.

I am of opinion then, considering the *Faery Queen* as an epic or *narrative* poem constructed on *Gothic* ideas, that the poet had done well to affect no other unity than that of *design*, by which his subject was connected. But his poem is not simply narrative; it is throughout *allegorical*: he calls it a *perpetual allegory* or *dark conceit*: and this character, for reasons I may have occasion to observe hereafter, was even predominant in the *Faery Queen*. His narration is subservient to his moral, and but serves to colour it. This he tells us himself at setting out,

Fierce wars and faithful loves shall *moralize* my song;

that is, shall serve for a vehicle, or instrument to convey the moral.

Now under this idea, the *Unity* of the *Faery Queen* is more apparent. His twelve knights are to exemplify as many virtues, out of which one illustrious character is to be composed. And in this view the part of Prince Arthur in each book becomes *essential*, and yet not *principal*; exactly, as the poet has contrived it. They who rest in the literal story, that is, who criticize it on the footing of a narrative poem, have constantly objected to this management. They say, it necessarily breaks the unity of design. Prince Arthur, they affirm, should either have had no part in the other adventures, or he should have had the chief part. He should either have done nothing, or more. This objection I find insisted upon by Spenser's best critic (Mr. Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, 1. 7); and, I think, the objection is unanswerable: at least, I know of nothing that can be said to remove it, but what I have supposed above might be the purpose of the poet, and which I myself have rejected as insufficient.

But how faulty soever this conduct be in the literal story, it is perfectly right in the *moral*: and that for an obvious reason, though his critics seem not to have been aware of it. His chief hero was not to have the twelve virtues in the *degree* in which the knights had, each of them, their own (such a character, would be a monster); but he was to have so much of each as was requisite to form his superior character. Each virtue, in its perfection, is exemplified in its own knight: they are all, in a due degree, concentered in Prince Arthur.

| This was the poet's *moral*: and what way of expressing this *moral* in the

history, but by making Prince Arthur appear in each adventure, and in a manner subordinate to its proper hero? Thus, though inferior to each in his own specific virtue, he is superior to all by uniting the whole circle of their virtues in himself: and thus he arrives, at length, at the possession of that bright form of *Glory*, whose ravishing beauty, as seen in a dream or vision, had led him out into these miraculous adventures in the land of Faery.

The conclusion is, that, as an *allegorical* poem, the method of the *Faery Queen* is governed by the justness of the *moral*: as a *narrative* poem, it is conducted on the ideas and usages of *Chivalry*. In either view, if taken by itself, the plan is defensible. But from the union of the two designs there arises a perplexity and confusion, which is the proper, and only considerable, defect of this extraordinary poem.

No doubt, Spenser might have taken one single adventure, of the *TWELVE*, for the subject of his Poem; or he might have given the principal part in every adventure to Prince Arthur. By this means his fable had been of the classic kind, and its unity as strict as that of Homer and Virgil.

All this the poet knew very well; but his purpose was not to write a classic poem. He chose to adorn a *Gothic* story; and, to be consistent throughout, he chose that the *form* of his work should be of a piece with his subject.

J. J. JUSSERAND ("Spenser's 'Twelve Private Morall Vertues as Aristotle hath Devised,'" pp. 373-383). "Knowing how doubtfully all allegories may be construed" Spenser, "being so commanded" by Raleigh, wrote his famous letter, "expounding his whole intention in the course of [his] worke," the *Faerie Queene*. Raleigh had apparently had some difficulty in understanding the purport of this "darke conceit," to use Spenser's own words, and had desired explanations "for [his] better light in reading thereof." The letter was printed at the end of the volume published in 1590 which contained the first three books of the poem.

Spenser reveals in it the complicated mechanism of his work, as well as the high moral motive he had in writing it: "The generall end . . . of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." In this view, he had chosen for his hero, and for the pattern of such gentlemen or noble persons, King Arthur. Deriving his inspiration from the more or less real precedents offered by Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso, he labored "to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues as Aristotle hath devised."

Coming to this important passage so positive and precise, every student expects a note. Did Aristotle really supply the groundwork of the *Faerie Queene*? Where is this list of "the twelve private morall vertues" to be found? From such a high authority as Spenser such a peremptory statement is of the sort which one scarcely dares to contest, and about which one is even less tempted to confess ignorance. Who does not know what the twelve private moral virtues are—those virtues, a list of which Aristotle has devised?

Critics seem to have felt like the humblest students; unwilling to contest or confess, they said little or nothing; so that in many minds the twelve virtues of Aristotle continue to hold their ground.

They should not. Spenser showed, as a rule, no minute accuracy in his indications of sources and models, and he did not display more than usual in this

particular case. Three treatises on morals have come down to us under the name of Aristotle; one alone, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, being, as it seems, truly his; the others appear to be a make-up, drawn from his teachings by some disciples; they are incoherent and incomplete, and of little avail for our purpose.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, on the other hand, Aristotle devotes considerable space to a technical study of moral virtues, showing, or trying to show, that they consist in a mean or middle state between two faulty extremes. With the persistency of the theoretician, he forces each and every virtue within the same mold, though he has to confess sometimes that there is no name for a particular virtue, which is bound, however, to exist, as its two faulty extremes are known; at other times, that one or the other of these extremes has no name, and indeed scarcely any real existence.

What most strikes a reader of Spenser is that Aristotle draws nowhere any dogmatic list of virtues; he does not totalize their number; and such totalization would indeed be difficult, as, according to his own declarations, some of his virtues are only a branch or development of another virtue (as Liberality and Magnificence); some, admitted into the class at one part of the work, are described elsewhere as doubtfully belonging to it; others, finally, are treated of quite apart, at great length; but it is not clear whether, if one wanted to do what Aristotle neglected to perform—that is, to tabulate his moral virtues—these should, or should not, be admitted in the list. Such is the case with Justice, declared by Aristotle not to be, properly speaking, a separate virtue, but a combination and condensation of all the others; as without justice there would be no courage, no self-control, no mansuetude, etc. (Book V, chap. 2). Such is the case also with Friendship, whose admission into the treatise is justified, not to say excused, on the plea that it is either a virtue, or related to virtue, and that it is most necessary in life. If it had been considered a moral virtue proper, it would have come at its place, with all the others, and there would have been no need for such justifications.

No wonder, given this, that commentators have not agreed, and that some have considered that Aristotle's virtues are nine, others ten or eleven, in number. As a matter of fact, in his Book II, chap. 7, and further when he studies separately each virtue, Book III, chaps. 9 ff., and Book IV, he mentions ten, one of which, however, has no name, and another (Magnificence) is only the same as the next, but practiced by the very rich, instead of by the moderately rich, man. These virtues are: Courage, Self-control or Temperance; Liberality; Magnificence (that is, the liberality of the very rich); Magnanimity; a nameless virtue midway between ambition and total indifference to ambition; Mansuetude; Truthfulness; Jocularly; Friendliness (which is not friendship). There is also a chapter on Shame (*αἰδώς*, Lat. *verecundia*), though "it is not correct to call it a virtue." But "neither is Self-control," adds Aristotle in the same chapter. So that, if we include both, we have a total of eleven; if we exclude both, a total of nine; if we admit Self-control alone, a total of ten. Adding arbitrarily Justice and Friendship, or only one of them—which we cannot do save by forgetting that Aristotle has treated them apart, and shown that *he* did not include them in his regular count—we should have a total varying from ten to thirteen; a total of twelve being perhaps the most arbitrary of all and the most difficult to reach.

The nature of the virtues considered by Spenser matches the Aristotelian selection scarcely better than their number. We know of only six, corresponding to the

only six books he wrote, namely: Holiness, Temperance, Chastity, Friendship, Justice, Courtesy.

Holiness is certainly not borrowed from Aristotle's series of moral virtues; Chastity may be held to have been, if we give the word the sense of "shame" (*verecundia*), and neglect the fact that Aristotle, while studying it, declares that this "shame" is *not* a virtue. The reader knows what the case is with Friendship and Justice. Courtesy may be held to correspond, if to anything, to Aristotle's *φιλία* ("friendliness"), but not without a considerable extension and modernization of the word. Identification is the more doubtful as such a contemporary of Spenser's as Piccolomini calls *urbanita* the virtue named by Aristotle Jocularly or Easy Pleasantry; and Piccolomini's translator, Pierre de Larivey (1581), translates *urbanita o piacevolezza* by *courtorsie ou gayeté*. Aristotle's description of friendliness best suits, however, without matching it exactly, the modern notion of courtesy.

Temperance remains, and is the only one of Spenser's six virtues truly and plainly corresponding to one of Aristotle's.

At this point we are, I think, entitled to conclude that Spenser's statement that he intends "to pourtraict in Arthur, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues as Aristotie hath devised," is misleading, every word of it. There is no such definite list; Aristotle's number is not twelve, and the virtues he studies are far from being the same as those forming the subject of the *Faerie Queene*.

But why, then, this choice by Spenser, and why this number twelve?

[M. Jusserand finds the answer to these questions in Lodowick Bryskett's *Discourse of Civill Life* (London, 1606), a dialogue on the virtues which supposedly took place in Bryskett's Irish cottage, and to which Spenser was a party. Spenser is represented as having declined to discuss the moral virtues inasmuch as he had already "undertaken a work tending to the same effect which is . . . under the title of a *Faerie Queene*, to represent all the morall vertues," whereupon the burden of the discourse falls upon Bryskett. After expounding Cinthio's theories on the training of children, Bryskett turns to Piccolomini's *Della Istitutione morale di tutta la vita dell' uomo nato nobile e in citta libera*, for a more complete exposition of the moral virtues.]

Following these two Italians, and borrowing through them ideas from Plato as well as from Aristotle, he draws up a formal list of twelve virtues, the number being then expressly mentioned, the first four and chief ones being, as a matter of fact, the four Platonistic ones:

"There are then by the generall consent of men foure principall vertues appertaining to civill life, which are Fortitude, Temperance, Justice and Prudence; from which four are also derived (as branches from their trees) sundry others to make up the number of twelve, and they are these ensuing, Liberalitie, Magnificence, Magnanimitie, Mansuetude, Desire of Honor, Veritie, Affability and Urbanitie."

From such books and such conversations, from other less solemn talks which he and Bryskett, interested in the same problems, could not fail to have, Spenser derived his list of virtues and his ideas regarding a list of twelve. These ideas apparently matured little by little. His poem, as we know by his letter to Harvey of April, 1580, was then already begun; but most probably the general and dogmatic plan of it, as it appeared later in the letter to Raleigh, was not yet settled in his mind. . . .

The letter to Raleigh, explaining the then completely elaborated plan of the author, was written . . . some six years after the meeting described by Bryskett. That it does not cover exactly the facts is no wonder. That Spenser knew something of Aristotle, and that some of the maxims and ideas of the great philosopher remained in his mind, cannot be doubted. Either through direct or indirect borrowings, he took from him his notion of the middle or virtuous state, standing between two faulty extremes (though he did not try, as Aristotle did, to apply this theory to every virtue). From him, too, he derived the opinion that the political and the moral virtues can be united sometimes in a single man; and he intended to show it in composing later another poem, in which Arthur would have been represented as possessing all "the polliticke vertues . . . after that hee came to be king." Who, says Aristotle, will be able to unite in himself this double series of virtues, the private and the public ones? "I have already said it: the magistrate (*τὸν ἀρχοντα*) worthy of his functions." . . .

To sum up: Spenser owes something to Aristotle, but far less than he led us to believe. Here, as elsewhere, to the exalted models whom he quotes, different ones, of lesser stature, must be added. He borrowed as much from such moderns as Piccolomini and Bryskett as from Aristotle.

W. J. COURTHOPE (*History of English Poetry*, 2. 248 ff.). The reader will observe that the poet does not really fulfill the promise with which he opens his letter, of discovering "the general intention and meaning of his work." He is concerned rather to explain the artistic structure of the poem, than the moral of the allegory. A single sentence in the letter is devoted to declaring the "general end" of the *Faery Queen*, viz., "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline." All the rest of the letter is given up to an elucidation of the conduct and machinery of the story itself. And if we look at actual facts, instead of the poet's own account of the facts, we see that it is perfectly natural that this should be so. Spenser's object was in reality a literary one. As he sought in *The Shepherd's Calendar* to treat the Eclogue in a new style, so in the *Faery Queen* he aimed at producing a variety of the Romantic Epic of the Italians. As early as 1580 we find from Gabriel Harvey's correspondence with him that he cherished the ambition of "overgoing Ariosto." He doubtless hoped to achieve this aim by combining with Ariosto's romantic manner the moral style of English allegory. How far his design was just I shall consider presently. Meantime we may infer with some confidence that Raleigh, finding the conception of the whole poem somewhat "tedious and confused," "commanded" the poet to bring himself into touch with the general reader by writing an explanatory preface in the form of a letter to himself. . . .

A more doubtful verdict must be passed on the execution of the *Faery Queen*. There is undoubtedly a noble, indeed a sublime, foundation for the poem in its central design "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline." There is also something eminently poetical in the intention of embodying this image in the ideal knight—a figure consecrated like that of the shepherd, by ancient literary tradition—and in the person of "Arthur before he was a king." Moreover, as the subject was to be treated allegorically, it was open to Spenser to endow his knight with the "twelve private moral virtues, as Aristotle hath devised"; and in this manner to enrich the poem with all kinds of

philosophical and theological learning, as indeed is done in the first and second books of the *Faery Queen*. The general allegorical design was easily expanded so as to include the painting of Classical Mythology, such as the descriptions of Hell and of the Fauns and Satyrs, in the first book; of the Garden of Proserpine, the Palmer's Wand, and the Wandering Islands, in the second book; of the Gardens of Adonis and the History of Hellenore, in the third book; of the Temple of Venus and the Power of Love, in the fourth book. Italian Romance furnished the poet with numberless suggestions, such as the character of Archimago borrowed from Ariosto's *Atlante*; the tale of the Squire of Dames adapted from the Host's tale in Ariosto; the description of Nepenthe founded on Boiardo's and Ariosto's descriptions of the Fountain of Ardenne; the song of Phaedria, and the various imagery in the Bower of Bliss, modelled on the enchanted Gardens of Armida in the *Jerusalem* of Tasso. In the versatility of his invention Spenser imitated, emulated, and even surpassed, the great master of the romantic epic whose example he kept always in sight. No poem in existence can compare with the *Faery Queen* in the richness of its materials. But the question recurs, In what way is all this "variety of matter" fused with the central image of the "brave knight, perfected in all the twelve private moral virtues"?

For this, we must always remember, was Spenser's professed and primary motive; he chose to convey his moral in a form of allegorical narrative, because he thought it would be "most plausible and pleasing, being covered with an historical fiction." If Spenser could illustrate this declared theme with all the branches of learning at his disposal, his object was achieved; if he failed to work his material into his organic system, as far as his main design was concerned they profited him nothing. The most enthusiastic of Spenser's critical admirers have perceived that this was the ground on which they would be called upon to uphold the reputation of his great work; but they are by no means agreed as to the line of advocacy which ought to be adopted on his behalf. Upton, his earliest commentator in the eighteenth century, was bold enough to maintain that the *Faery Queen* is constructed on a principle of classical unity. . . .

Bishop Hurd, on the contrary, rejecting Upton's line of defence, argues that the *Faery Queen* possesses only a "Gothic unity." . . .

Of these two theories, Upton's may be dismissed with the remark that any reader who turns to the *Faery Queen* in the hope of finding the beginning, middle, and end which the commentator speaks of will search in vain. Hurd's view is more rational. It is supported by Spenser's own account of his design, and to some extent by the fact that in each book of the poem there is a reference to the *Faery Queen* as the great original of the various adventures. But to produce poetic unity it is not enough to form an idea in the mind; it is also necessary that in the execution of the design this central idea should be felt to communicate life and being to each constituent part of the poetical organism. Now it is certain that, if all mention of Gloriana were excised from the *Faery Queen*, the framework of the poem, as we have it, would be hardly disturbed, a fact which proves conclusively that the central idea, as described by Spenser, viz., "the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues," though it may have been in the poet's mind before he began to write, was not the actual inspiring motive of the whole work. It does not account for the appearance in the poem of such

irrelevant episodes as the Genealogies of the British Kings; the story of Cambell and Canace; the histories of Belpheobe and Timias, of Burbon and Belge; the Marriage of the Thames and the Medway, and many others. Hurd's idea of irregular or "Gothic" unity is no more adequate as an apology for the structure of the *Faery Queen* than Upton's; it is more profitable to endeavour to trace the actual genesis of the poem in Spenser's imagination, and to determine what are the qualities which have given it the undoubtedly permanent position it holds in English poetry.

The plain truth of the matter is that Spenser was inspired to write the *Faery Queen* by reading the *Orlando Furioso*. The structure of the former poem shows that, at every stage of the composition, the author was influenced by the manner and method of his Italian predecessor. Like every man of taste and imagination, he was filled with admiration for the infinite variety, movement, energy, and vivacity, of the *Furioso*; but owing to the vital difference in their circumstances, he failed to penetrate the means by which Ariosto gave life and unity to that astonishing poem. He believed that, like himself, the poet of Ferrara had conceived the idea of chivalry in a perfectly serious vein, and that his Orlando was intended to set forth the history and example of "a good governor and a virtuous man."

R. E. NEIL DODGE (*Spenser's Complete Poems*, pp. 131-3). In that letter of April 2, 1580, from which our first knowledge of the *Faery Queen* is derived, Spenser, we have seen, called for the judgment of Harvey upon his new venture. Harvey, never loath to express an opinion, sent back one of those misguided verdicts to which men of his stamp are unluckily prone: it would be a mere curiosity of criticism, did it not by chance record the views of the poet himself. "To be plaine," is the summing up, "I am voyde of al judgement, if your *Nine Comædies* . . . come not neerer Ariostoes comedies . . . than that *Elvish Queene* doth to his *Orlando Furioso*, which, notwithstanding, you wil needes seeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed your self in one of your last letters." In undertaking what he must have meant to be the grand work of his life, Spenser, then, was deliberately setting himself to rival Ariosto.

This avowed rivalry is involved in the very origins of his plan. For, first and most obviously, he must build up an extended poem of action: the material in which his didactic purpose was to be worked out, was epic. In this field all the many influences that would control his choice drew him irresistibly to one quarter, the romance. The poetry in which the traditions of his native literature were embodied gave him, for epics, romances. The great legendary hero of his race, the ancestor of his Queen, Arthur, was at the very heart of romance. The highest embodiment of his own spiritual ideals was in chivalry, and chivalry implied romance. Romance, too, satisfied to the full his native delight in color and warmth and magic of beauty. The epics of antiquity, on the other hand, dealt with alien matter, in an alien, though noble, spirit. Such imitations of them as had been made by Trissino, Ronsard, and others, were too utterly dreary to encourage a like attempt, and the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, in which the native glamour of romance was to be informed by their more spacious and simpler art, had not yet been given to the world. Nothing could be more natural, then, more inevitable, than that Spenser should set himself to rival the *Orlando Furioso*. In 1580 it still

stood as the one really great poem of epic scope that sixteenth-century Europe had produced, the accepted masterpiece, moreover, of that variety of the epic to which he was irresistibly drawn, the romance poem.

But this was not all. Ariosto was furthermore accounted a grave and moral poet, a master in the art of poetic edification. He had come by this repute through the clearest of critical necessities. His fertility and delightfulness, which seemed to revive the lost epical spirit of Homer, had captivated at once all lovers of poetry; but poetry could not in those days be its own *raison d'être*, it must make for moral edification: the inevitable concern of his admirers, therefore, had for generations been to expound the ultimate seriousness of his purpose. His easy-going scepticism, his irreverence, his delight in life and action, moral and immoral, for their own sake, without ethical prepossessions, these qualities they ignored or explained away: his seriousness (sometimes, by force of imaginative sympathy, very genuine, but more often conventional or factitious) they exalted to a level with the high seriousness of Virgil. The chief engine of their work was allegory. Ariosto, who made free use of whatever might enrich his poem, had adorned it here and there with frankly allegorical episodes: successive commentators had forced a like interpretation upon other passages, till, by 1580, the whole poem was expounded as a many-colored, comprehensive allegory of life, and all its admirers were agreed on its fundamental morality.

"Our sage and serious Spenser," then, could find even in the moral aspects of the *Orlando* matter for sincere emulation: in particular, of course, that allegory which had been so thoroughly read into it by commentators. This was, at best, somewhat irregular; it illustrated the moral problems of life, efficiently perhaps, but rather at random: it left room for a more philosophic method. He must have felt that, in this regard, he might safely "hope to overgo" the Italian. For, with a genuine fervor for allegory, impossible to the more worldly and modern Ariosto, impossible even to those commentators on the *Orlando* who had pushed allegorical interpretation so far, he had conceived a plan of vastly greater scope and more thorough method. His poem was to expound a complete system of Christian ethics, modelled upon the Aristotelian scheme of the virtues and vices, and this main allegory was to be enriched by another, to deal with notable contemporary events and personages.

It is one thing, however, to compose a great poem of action which commentators may find means to interpret allegorically, and quite another to develop a set of ideas allegorically in a great poem of action. For, given the action, it will go hard but some definite spiritual parallel may be found for it (as Tasso, having composed his romance-epic, safeguarded the most seductive passages by *ex post facto* allegorizing): given the set of ideas, however, action, free, self-sustaining, moving of its own impulse in a plain path, is by no means easy to invent. And Spenser's material was unusually stubborn. He had twelve "private morall vertues," each to be embodied in a knight, whose "feates of armes and chivalry" were to show the workings of that virtue with regard to "the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same." To devise twelve appropriate courses of action was manifestly but to begin: these must furthermore be held together; and how? If he carried them all forward simultaneously, by interweaving, after the manner of the *Orlando Furioso*, he might indeed achieve unity, but he would also confuse the philosophic development of each separate virtue: if he developed the

action of each virtue separately and continuously, the second not begun until the first was ended, he would be composing not one poem but twelve. The alternative was certainly hard. In the philosophic scheme, however, after which his own was planned, Aristotle's, Spenser found the rudiments of a solution. Concerning Magnanimity he read that "it seems to be a kind of ornament of all the other virtues, in that it makes them better and cannot be without them." From this hint he developed means of unification. The twelve virtues were to be treated separately, but at the same time brought into relation to the master virtue Magnanimity,—or, as he chose, Magnificence. In narrative terms, there was to be a hero, who, by playing an important, though it might be a brief, part in the enterprise of each knight, should be gradually developed as the central agent of the poem. Epical dignity would be furthered if this hero were historic, and romance pointed to the British Arthur. Then there must be a heroine—who could hardly be Guenevere. At this point the allegory gave an opening to loyalty—or, if one pleases, adulation. For according to Aristotle, the object-matter of Magnanimity is honor, or "Glory," and who could better stand for this than Spenser's sovereign, Elizabeth? This choice determined the rest. She could not be introduced *in propria persona*, still less as another historic character. The poet, therefore, invented for her the disguise of Gloriana, Queen of Faery Land. For narrative function he gave her the initiation of the twelve enterprises.

This general outline of action once conceived, the separate parts could be planned as the poem progressed. There was no need that the matter of each book should be determined at the outset; even the conclusion might be left for a time undecided. The one problem to be solved immediately was the beginning. The various enterprises were to start from the court of Gloriana on successive days of her great annual feast. Should this feast be described at the outset in a sort of proem, or should each separate book begin with an account of that particular day of the feast on which the knight of the book was sent forth? One or other of these methods would unquestionably have been the choice of Ariosto, who, as a genuine romance poet, believed in beginning at the beginning. To begin there, however, would not be epic (Ariosto himself had been blamed for just that); the genuine epic poet plunged at once *in medias res*; and the *Faery Queen*, though not epic in formal structure, ought none the less to acknowledge classical law. Spenser, therefore, determined to keep his beginnings, the feast, for retrospective presentment. Since he evidently felt also, however, that this feast was one great pageant, to be preserved entire and not distributed among the several books, it must manifestly, in default of first place, come last. So far his plan might seem to be clear. Yet the account given in the prefatory letter is oddly perplexing. According to one passage, the twelfth and last book is to be devoted entire to the beginnings; according to another, it would seem to be intended for the enterprise of the twelfth knight; and surely, one might expect from it some termination to the quest of Magnificence for Glory, of Arthur for his Faery Queen. One inclines to doubt if Spenser really knew just where his plan was taking him.

So organized, the *Faery Queen* must manifestly be at a disadvantage with other great poems of action. Despite the ingenious device for linking the separate enterprises to the quest of Arthur and the rule of Gloriana, the poem could not have that unity, that centralization of forces, which distinguishes the epics of antiquity. In the six books composed, Arthur does not really become a controlling and guiding

power in the action, nor is it likely that all the twelve could have made him that. Gloriana could never have become much more than a kind of presiding divinity, a transcendent looker-on. Nor, in lieu of centralization, could the poem attain the forward energy of the *Orlando Furioso*. Ariosto's romance moves like a broad river, in a dozen currents, now mingling, now separating, ever on, leisurely, irresistibly. In the *Faery Queen*, one enterprise must run its course uninterrupted to the end, and then disappear forever; a fresh start must be made, another enterprise, with new characters, set in motion and followed through; and then a third. That these enterprises succeed each other in time, that certain episodes are carried over from book to book, and certain characters, can hardly create the impression of forward energy. As it progresses, indeed, the poem takes on more and more the external aspect of the *Orlando*, but the ground plan of separate enterprises keeps its action fundamentally different. It moves without clearly perceptible goal.

E. DE SÉLINCOURT ("Introduction" to the one volume Oxford edition of *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, pp. xl-xliv, l-li, liii-lv). The story of Spenser's life is the key to much in that poem which was his crowning achievement. Written for the most part in the wild and solitary country of Ireland, the *Faerie Queene* is reminiscent of the world from which he was exiled, and expresses his yearning for a fuller life and for an abundance of all the good things that his spirit and senses lacked. But it is also fully charged with his experience during those years. The charm of the country-side and the desolation of mountain and forest, the difficulties and dangers he had to face, the ruffians and the heroes that he encountered, the friends he made, the woman he loved, all find their place in the intricate structure of his poem. Its idealism, heightened by his instinctive desire to escape from a narrow and sordid reality, is thus combined with a realism that bespeaks his sure sense of the imaginative value of all experience that is intensely lived.

It is typical of "that sacred hunger of ambitious minds," in which Spenser was at one with his age, that at the time when he was pressing his worldly fortunes in the service of Leicester he should have embarked upon the composition of a vast heroic poem, designed, as he "flatly professed" in a letter to Harvey, to "emulate," perhaps to "overgo" the *Orlando Furioso*. Such an achievement would not merely place him at the head of English poets, it would rank him as the foremost poet of the modern world. Ariosto was then at the height of his fame, declared by the critics to be a writer after Aristotle's own heart, the inheritor of the epic splendour of Homer and Virgil, and credited, like them, with profound and studied moral import. In the *Orlando Furioso* Spenser saw a complete romance of chivalry, in which the main plots, setting forth the fates of two pairs of lovers, stood out from a crowded background of minor episode. The very intricacy of the scheme attracted him; and in its combination of graphic incident with reflective comment he recognized an artistic method peculiarly fitted to his own contemplative genius. But just as Milton conceived of *Paradise Lost* as not less but more heroic than the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, a theme worthier of his austere Muse, so the sage and serious Spenser thought to surpass his model in the dignity both of his subject and of its handling. The *Faerie Queene*, however much it might draw for incident and detail upon foreign sources, was to be a truly national poem, based on English legend and carrying on the national poetic traditions.

Where Ariosto, in Ruggiero and Bradamante, set himself to celebrate the house of Este, Spenser would seek throughout his work to do honour to the English queen and to those of her courtiers who seemed most potent in shaping the destinies of his country. In the *Orlando Furioso* the allegory was vague and fitful, and the moral purpose, which Spenser had been taught to seek in it, was often abandoned for sheer delight in a baffling irrelevancy. The *Faerie Queene*, as Spenser was careful to explain, was to be a "continued allegory or dark conceit," and all the elaborate interwindings of its plot were to be directed by his ethical intention. The world of chivalry, which Ariosto viewed for the most part with a sceptical amusement, was to him a reflection of his own ideal conception of conduct, the means through which he might best attain his end, "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous or gentle discipline."

Weighty critics, amongst whom we must reckon Spence in the eighteenth century and Courthope in our own time, have suggested that Spenser read Ariosto in complete ignorance of his deep vein of irony, and that he took with the utmost gravity those ludicrous situations, and the sly comments upon them, which commend the essentially modern mind of Ariosto to the reader of today. To hold this view is to misconceive alike the nature of Spenser's idealism and the range of his artistic powers. The author of *Mother Hubberds Tale* was himself as subtle a master of irony as Ariosto; and if he wrote little in that vein it was not from a guileless innocence of the satiric point of view, but from his conviction that he had something greater to achieve. His high seriousness of purpose did not make him insensible to the humour of others, least of all when that humour was directed against the object of his instinctive reverence. A man is most sensitive where his love is engaged; and Spenser, in his passion for chivalry, was not likely to confound the accents of somewhat cynical amusement with his own sympathetic idealism. It is significant that he takes from *Orlando Furioso* passage after passage of purely humorous flavour, and moulds them to serve his deeper purpose. He could appreciate Ariosto's distinctive charm at the same time as he realized its essential divergence from his point of view.

O gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui,

laughs Ariosto in good-humoured raillery at a situation which illustrates with more than usual piquancy the unreal aspects of the chivalric ideal. Spenser borrows from the situation all except its absurdity, and breaks forth in accents of genuine enthusiasm.

O goodly vsage of those antique times,
In which the sword was seruant vnto right;
When not for malice and contentious crimes,
But all for praise, and prooue of manly might,
The martiall brood accustomed to fight:
Then honour was the meed of victorie,
And yet the vanquished had no despight:
Let later age that noble vse enuie,

Vile rancour to auoid, and cruell surquedrie. (3. 1. 13)

He found much in Ariosto which was a mocking challenge to his idealism. He accepted the challenge, and met it by transmuting the mockery into a triumphant expression of his faith. Nowhere is Spenser's independence in spirit and treat-

ment, in all truly poetic qualities, more clearly asserted than where his matter owes to Ariosto an obvious debt. Here at least he was confident that he would "overgo" the *Orlando Furioso*.

In 1582, when Spenser was already "well entered upon" the *Faerie Queene*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* made its appearance, and threatened to eclipse the fame of *Orlando Furioso* as the modern rival to the epics of Homer and Virgil. Spenser read it eagerly. Its more rigid construction, which later led Hurd, in his *Letters on Chivalry*, to regard it as "trimming between the classic and the Gothic manner," strengthened him in his desire to make his plot closely dependent upon his moral design; whilst its greater dignity of tone, its sincerity of sentiment, its patent seriousness both of style and manner, responded more fully to his own conception of a poet's calling. He found the *Gerusalemme Liberata* far less suggestive of incident and situation than the *Orlando Furioso*; but where, as in his description of the Bower of Bliss, he borrowed from it, he had no need to change the spirit of his original. It was his aim in the *Faerie Queene* to combine something of Ariosto's exuberance with the poetic temper of Tasso.

The passion for dignified and worthy precedent, which led him to compare his poem with the works of Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso, referred him for his ethical framework to that philosopher whose name was still held in the highest reverence—the twelve moral virtues as Aristotle hath devised. But he has no intention of fettering his imagination by too literal a subservience. Even if Aristotle's virtues be twelve in number, they are certainly not the twelve which Spenser desired to treat, and it is highly probable that epic propriety rather than philosophic analysis determined the number. From Aristotle, indeed, he takes some hints in his treatment of incontinence, and in his review of the different aspects of friendship; but his chief debt is to be traced in his analysis of virtue into separate, though at times barely distinguishable, virtues, and in the conception of one, *μεγαλοψυχία*, called by Spenser Magnificence, which in a measure presupposes the possession of them all.

On that conception he moulded his plot as he expounds it in the letter to Sir W. Raleigh. Prince Arthur has seen in a vision Gloriana, the Faerie Queene, and, ravished by her beauty, resolves to seek her out in faery land; the adventures that befall him on the way are to form the main plot, and to serve as connecting links to bind the whole together. Now the Faerie Queene has an annual feast which lasts twelve days, and on each day she sends forth a knight to aid some suppliant who has come to beg a champion from her court. It so falls that the redress of each wrong calls for the exercise of a separate virtue. To the adventures of each knight a book is principally to be devoted; and in the fortunes of each, Arthur, still in quest of his lady, is in some measure to bear a part, thus gaining experience in all that befits a perfect character. Guided partly by that precedent of classical epic which Ariosto had been blamed for neglecting, partly by the desire to make his description of the court of Gloriana the climax to his poem, Spenser plunges at once *in medias res*, and begins his story with the adventures of his first knight. Critics have blamed him because in the first place he found need to explain his poem in an introductory letter, and because in the second his explanation does not tally with its later progress. They forget that the letter was written when only the first three books of the projected twelve were given to the world and that the explanation was only necessary because the poem

was incomplete. And they fail to recognize that no artist is bound down to the rigid scheme on which he first conceived his work. An artistic plot is not something that can be worked out like a geometric design, beforehand, but the living product of characters and ideas. It often develops with a vitality that seems organic, and independent of the author's deliberate intention. . . .

The reader who has followed the wandering progress of the *Faerie Queene* to the point where Spenser left it may well be puzzled at its construction. Its plot as originally designed was loose enough, and in the process of development it has become looser still. Upton, indeed, in the eighteenth century, had the audacity to claim for it the unity of a classical epic; but it is obvious that even if it had been completed it could not have been other than a discursive romance. To his "general intention" and meaning Spenser has kept with sufficient clearness, but that intention is, after all, something apart from the story, and encourages digression. The "adventures intermeddled, but rather as accidents than intendments," throw far more light upon the moral conception than is commonly supposed; but they complicate the narrative, and by their very interest and importance obscure the development of an already inchoate plot. Spenser realized this himself, and towards the close of the sixth book he offered a defence of his rambling method.

Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde
Directs her course vnto one certaine cost,
Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,
With which her winged speed is let and crost,
And she her selfe in stormie surges tost;
Yet making many a borde, and many a bay,
Still winneth way, ne hath her compasse lost:
Right so it fares with me in this long way,
Whose course is often stayd, yet neuer is astray. (6. 12. 1)

Such a defence will make no converts. Those who are imbued with the classical horror of voyaging upon strange seas will travel uneasily in this Elizabethan privateer, which sails at the mercy of every wind and tide, and is always ready to tack or to follow any course that seems to promise a costly prize. They will rudely question the poet's seamanship, and accuse him of having lost his way, perhaps of having no way to lose. But his vessel did not set out to take the shortest route to a clearly defined haven. Those who voyage with him must embark in the spirit of the Elizabethan seaman. Their captain's chart is not clearly marked, nor do they greatly care. To them delight in the journey is more than the promised goal. It is enough that

through such hardy enterprize
Many great regions are discovered,

and if they never reach the promised El Dorado, they are content with the rich and varied spoil that falls to them by the way. After all, he is a dull reader who cannot find delight in the endless beauties of the *Faerie Queene*, and fails to recognize how throughout its progress Spenser was inspired by "the generall end of all the booke,—to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." . . .

But to many readers all allegory is distasteful. Spenser was led to adopt it, they believe, partly by the force of mediaeval tradition, and partly under the in-

fluence of current ideas as to the didactic function of poetry. Yet, in truth, Spenser was so influenced only because he was constitutionally of that idealistic temper in which allegorical poetry had taken its rise, and because he could most readily express in that medium the rich and varied interests of a mind that continually hovered between the worlds of fact and of idea. The idealist, starting from the actual world of which he has experience, distills from it what seems to be its essence, and creates another world of spiritual and moral conceptions which becomes as real for him as that from which he has created it. This other world is not peopled by dead abstractions. The prosaic analyst may "murder to dissect": the artist does not merely extract and isolate, he recreates. To him ideas depend for their reality upon the vividness with which they kindle his imagination. His mind has, as it were, a centre in two worlds, and it may work with equal freedom upon material drawn from either. That imaginative vision, which gives to the world of fact a higher reality by expressing the soul that informs it, gives to the world of ideas a sensuous incarnation which utters its voice in song.

In the allegory of the *Faerie Queene* these two worlds meet and fuse. But the fusion is not complete, and the children of each world bear upon their forms traces of their origin. Hence, two types of allegory may often be distinguished. At times the poet starts from the idea, and the process of incarnation follows. Human qualities are then abstracted into the rarefied atmosphere of thought and presented to his imagination for conscious artistic handling. The result is somewhat formal personification, cast in the traditional mould of mediaeval allegory, and executed in the manner of a pageant or a Morality. At its worst it is mechanical in structure and somewhat arbitrary in its symbolism; but it is seldom unrelieved by vivid detail that gives it an independent life, and at its best it turns an abstract conception with triumphant success into concrete living form. The *Masque of Cupid* (3. 12) embraces the quaintly emblematic figures of Dissemblance twisting her two clewes of silk, and Suspect peeping through his lattis, and along with them the haunting picture of Fear, "all armed from top to toe," yet taking fright even at the clash and the glitter of his own coat of mail. Of this kind is much of the incidental allegory in the *Faerie Queene*, and Spenser has used to the full the opportunities it offers to his rich power over colour and form, and his genius for imaginative description. But when his mind is turned rather upon the warm realities of life itself, the process is different. Human qualities, justice, temperance, and the rest, are still realized in their essence, but they are seen to be present in living human beings. Hence he does not present an abstract conception by a human symbol, but accepts under his idealizing vision a human being as the symbol of his conception. Britomart is not the abstract conception of Chastity, but a real woman who expresses in her personality and her conduct, along with many other powers and some human weakness, the essential quality of chastity. Una may be Truth, but she is far more. She is a woman with sufficient individuality to be "pre-eminently dear" to that poet who of all others delighted to find his happiness "in this world, which is the world of all of us." And such in the main is the structural allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. The characters, indeed, are seldom presented with the subtle and complex detail of a realist. Spenser's whole artistic method is that of idealization, and of emphasis on the essential. But for all that he bases it on life. Sometimes, indeed, it is

impossible to determine whether the ideal conception or the character which expresses it was his initial inspiration, whether in Sir Calidore he thought first of Courtesy or of Sir Philip Sidney, whether he drew Timias from Raleigh or found himself in his delineation of reckless honour falling back unconsciously upon his knowledge of his daring and impetuous friend. Allegory of this kind can easily be distinguished from the more obvious personification, however vivid; it has all the character of myth, which, apart from all its symbolism, has complete artistic life.

WILLIAM FENN DEMOSS (*The Influence of Aristotle's Politics and Ethics on Spenser*, pp. 1-48). All serious writers of the Renaissance had written educational treatises more or less like the *Faerie Queene*. Such are Skelton's *Magnifycence*, Elyot's *Governour*, Wilson's *Rhetorique*, Castiglione's *Courtier* (translated into English in 1561), and Ascham's *Schoolmaster*. These works, like Spenser's, teach virtues and have in view the ideal man. The novels of the period, for example Lyly's *Euphues* and Sidney's *Arcadia*, reflect the same serious purpose. The esteem in which such studies were held is indicated by the fact that Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, approved heartily of Castiglione's *Courtier*, and Sidney carried the *Courtier* always in his pocket when he went abroad. The teaching of morals, including manners, was of vital interest. Erasmus, that typical figure of the Renaissance, held moral and religious training to be the highest purpose of all right education. The systematic teaching of morals, from ethical writers, historians, and poets, formed an important part of a classical education in the Renaissance. British schools, including Cambridge and Oxford universities, gave much attention to the teaching of morals and manners. Again, the aristocratic element in Spenser's purpose—the design to "fashion a gentleman or noble person"—reflects the spirit of the Renaissance. Elyot writes to teach virtues to those who are to have "authority in a weal public." Skelton's hero is a prince. Castiglione's courtier and statesman is of noble birth. Lyly's *Euphues* is aristocratic, as is also Sidney's *Arcadia*. The conception that poetry should teach, implied in Spenser's purpose, shows the influence of the Renaissance. It has its classical basis in Aristotle (*Ethics* and *Politics*) and in Horace. Once more, the omniscience which Spenser's purpose requires of a gentleman or noble person reflects the Renaissance. The Renaissance, with the "perfyte man" in view, felt that a nobleman should know wellnigh everything. This belief, drawn from the ancients, largely from Aristotle, was encouraged by the example of the court during the reigns of the learned Henry VIII and Elizabeth. "Never," says Roger Ascham, "has the English nobility been so learned." Spenser, as is shown in his letter to Raleigh, has it in mind to fashion a gentleman, or noble person, "perfected" in all virtues, both moral and political—perfect in morals, manners, divinity, and statesmanship—the perfect man. . . .

The allegorical interpretation which Spenser puts upon Homer, Virgil, and others shows the English poet in agreement with his age. . . . Erasmus shows the Renaissance tendency to see allegory everywhere. He says, "Homeric and Virgilian poems will not be of indifferent use to thee if thou rememberst that they were entirely allegorical." Erasmus sees allegory and holiness in everything—even in Horace. Elyot says that Homer, "from whom as from a fountain proceeded all eloquence and lernyng," offered "instruction for politic governance of people." Gavin Douglas strives to discover the mysterious meaning which he is sure is concealed in Virgil's words. He sees in Aeneas the "just perfyte man." For him each one

of Aeneas' adventures holds a moral lesson; for what poets feign, he reasons, ever "bein full of secreyt onderstanding under hyd sentense or figur." And Fulke Greville, the intimate friend of Sidney, is certain that under the poetical trappings of Sidney's *Arcadia* are concealed profound moral intentions. He says, "In all these creatures of his making, his intent and scope was to turn the barren philosophy precepts into pregnant images of life." This Renaissance outlook was produced in some measure by Plato's practice of writing allegories. But Plato was rather hostile to poets, considering them incompetent to teach. This outlook comes really from Aristotle, who justifies not only this outlook in general, but also Spenser's interpretation of Homer in particular. Aristotle regarded the poets as moral and political teachers. In fact he drew his conceptions in the *Ethics* and *Politics* largely from the Greek poets, especially from Homer. Spenser's conception that Homer is to be interpreted allegorically, and that he represented in Agamemnon "a good governour" and in Ulysses "a vertuous man," is justified by Aristotle . . . who quotes the advice given to Ulysses preparatory to his sailing between Scylla and Charybdis, advice afterward repeated and followed by Ulysses. The part quoted is the admonition to Ulysses to keep far from Charybdis, the more dangerous of the two:

Far from this smoke and swell keep thou thy bark.

The account of the *Odyssey* shows that Ulysses is to take reason for his guide, and to shun Charybdis by going close to Scylla. Here is a justification not only for allegorical interpretation, but also for taking Ulysses as a representation of the "vertuous man." The case is no less clear for Agamemnon as "a good governour." Nor is there any doubt that Aristotle took Homer seriously as a teacher of politics. In the *Politics* he is discussing the Lacedemonian form of kingship, which is held to be a model. After describing it he says, "*Such is the evidence of Homer.*" For although Agamemnon patiently endured reproaches in the assemblies, when the army was in the field his authority extended to life and death." . . . Here he quotes Homer. Again, in a passage plainly implying that Agamemnon had both virtue and wisdom, Aristotle quotes the prayer which Homer puts into the mouth of Agamemnon, "Would I had ten such councillors as Nestor." Yet again, in the *Ethics*, in the discussion of Friendship, where he describes the three kinds of politics and the kind of friendship appropriate to each, Aristotle illustrates his conception of the ideal king by quoting Homer. He says, "He [the good king] treats his subjects well, as being good, and as caring for their welfare, like a shepherd for the welfare of his flock, whence Homer called Agamemnon 'shepherd of the folk.'" Influenced by the Renaissance tendency toward allegorical interpretation, Spenser would certainly regard such passages as significant. Spenser, whom Milton found "sage and serious," whom Milton "dared be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas," was thinking and doing, with the added power of genius, just what his age was thinking and doing.

[In the main body of his thesis, Dr. DeMoss combats the arguments of M. Jusserand, and seeks to prove that Spenser took his actual list of virtues from Aristotle, developed them in the Aristotelian manner, and could not have taken them and the plan of his *Faerie Queene* from Bryskett's *Discourse of Civill Life*. As to the number of virtues, he recognizes thirteen in Aristotle, as follows: (1) Courage, (2) Temperance or Self-Control, (3) Liberality, (4) Magnificence, (5) Highmindedness, (6) the mean concerning Ambition, (7) Gentleness or

Mansuetude, (8) Truthfulness, (9) Wittiness or Jocularly, (10) Friendliness, or Courtesy, (11) Modesty, or Shame, (12) Justice, and (13) Friendship. This number is found to be in harmony with Spenser's statement that in Prince Arthur is set forth Magnificence, and that "of the XII other vertues I make XII other knights the patrones."

As to the development of the several virtues, DeMoss makes a detailed analysis of the *Faerie Queene*, book by book, to show that Spenser closely adheres to Aristotle's system of moral philosophy, which is outlined as follows: "(1) He develops a virtue by showing its opposites, and by discussing various phases of the virtue and of its opposites. He treats a virtue as a mean between two extremes; but he discusses various phases of the mean and of its extremes, and he tends to make any given virtue include all the others; so that his virtues become a kind of center surrounded by many opposites. (2) He gives great emphasis to what he calls 'the opposite' of a virtue, and says less, and in some cases almost nothing, about the other extreme, for his mean is not arithmetical; one who aims at the mean, he says, must, like Ulysses, keep farthest from Charybdis, the more dangerous of the two extremes. And (3) he makes Reason the determiner of the right course in the case of each of the moral virtues."

Finally DeMoss questions the probability of Spenser's having read Bryskett's *Discourse* twenty years before it was published, cites the authority of Professor Erskine (*PMLA* 23. 831-850) to the effect that the conversations upon which the discourse was presumably founded and which Bryskett pretends were held in his cottage with Spenser, the Bishop of Armagh, and others as parties to the dialogue, were a myth, inasmuch as the speeches attributed to the various spokesmen were translated straight from Giraldo Cinthio, and concludes that even if Spenser had known Bryskett's *Discourse* he could not have taken his virtues and the plan of the *Faerie Queene* from it.]

For one reason, Spenser's and Bryskett's virtues are unlike in nature. For example, Bryskett, like Plato, makes Prudence one of the moral virtues, whereas Spenser, as we have already seen, follows Aristotle in making it that intellectual virtue which determines the mean in the case of each of the moral virtues. Again, Bryskett makes Magnanimity a subordinate virtue, whereas Spenser, like Aristotle, makes it include all the moral virtues. Moreover, Spenser's basis of classification is quite different from Bryskett's. In Bryskett's classification, to quote his own words, "There are . . . four principall vertues . . . from which four are also derived (as branches from their trees) sundry others to make up the number twelve," whereas Spenser, like Aristotle, makes one of his virtues include all the others. Finally, even the agreement in point of number, which Jusserand would make much of, does not exist. Bryskett's number is twelve, Spenser's thirteen. And Spenser's plan of his poem, set forth in the letter to Raleigh, would have been impossible with any other number of virtues than thirteen. Thus it is plain that Spenser did not get his virtues from Bryskett.

[In the opinion of the editor, DeMoss abundantly makes his point that Spenser followed the technique of Aristotle in the development of the successive virtues, but that he felt himself bound to an unquestioning acceptance of Aristotle's exact list of virtues is more open to question. In Christian philosophy Holiness undoubtedly occupies the high place that Highmindedness holds in Greek philosophy, but it is something of a strain to identify them. " Perfected in the twelve

private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised," allows of two interpretations: "as Aristotle hath devised" may modify "the twelve private morall vertues," but it may equally well modify "perfected." Certainly Spenser implies that he had read other philosophers than Aristotle when he says that "according to Aristotle and the rest." Magnificence is the perfection of all the other virtues. It would be strange indeed if he had not read Cinthio, Piccolomini, and the many Italian interpreters of Aristotle.]

HERBERT E. CORY (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 55-61). Spenser himself gives us the *clou* in his characteristic Parthian way, in his letter to Raleigh. "The general end" of this "darke conceit" is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." Since this was to be made "plausible and pleasing" by "being coloured with an historicall fiction" the poet chose for his hero the name of Arthur, a name to conjure with in all centuries in England. But Arthur was not to be the Arthur of the known legends. He was to be the accepted lover of Gloriana, the Faërie Queene. "In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery Land." Who then was Arthur? He was "magnificence," says the poet. That is, he symbolized the moral quality praised by Aristotle and his followers that we may best understand today by blending the modern meanings of magnanimity and magnificence. But who was Arthur? What was the political allegory? We turn to the poet; but he has made a Parthian retreat. He had expressly declared a double allegory for the whole poem, but it remains only partly explained. Since the days of Upton's edition of *The Faërie Queene*, however, many have accepted the suggestion that Arthur was Leicester, the sinister but brilliant patron of the poet, the reputed champion of Puritanism, the favorite of the queen, a lord who, for all the dark stories that still cling about his name, might easily be worshipped by a poet who could by training and conviction hold with him fervently in so many of his professed ideals. No wonder the poet put forward his suggestion of the marriage of Gloriana and Arthur, audacious, for all the encouragement of thronging rumors, with Parthian reticence. No wonder his prefatory sonnets again and again implore the various lords at the court to protect his vaguely interpreted but boldly insinuating poem against misreading and calumny. "If I finde ('these first twelve bookes') to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part of polliticke vertues in his person, after that hee came to be king." In the full ecstasy of his faith, then, the poet dreamed of writing an *Odyssey* to his *Iliad*. He was to make history for Elizabeth and Leicester in his first twelve books. He was, if these books were "well accepted," and if Gloriana and Arthur were married, to write an epic sequel celebrating the deeds of Leicester as king-consort or, perhaps, boldly prophesying for Leicester and Elizabeth the ways that they should follow to be illustrious. A new epic type that turns from the old mode of remembering and exalting the past to foreshadowing the future! Could we accept my theory would it not be a final and triumphant justification of Spenser's "darke conceit," his moral and political allegory? Would it not reveal depths in *The Faërie Queene* sufficient to allure even the most casual readers? To be sure he tells in his letter to Raleigh of "Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgment, formed a commune welth such

as it should be, but the other in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a government, such as might best be: so much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule." But this does not mean that in order to be concrete one must dwell with the past. It means merely that narrative seemed better to the poet than philosophy for all its divinity. And Spenser's Utopia was to him so near that nothing could be more concrete, dared he utter himself to the full. . . . What poet in the days of Elizabeth could plan an epic on the past when the present was so much greater and when the imminent future was rushing in with chariot-speed to transcend all? . . . England, then, was Faërie Land becoming rapidly a Utopia far more wonderful than that described by More in the first dawn with such lofty desire, but with such sly qualifications. Spenser would write history before it was made in fact. This is the secret of Spenser's immense and cloudy scheme with its superb arrogation of omniscience.

It is not surprising that a poem outlined on such a mighty scheme should prove imperfect in structure since Spenser, like all true Elizabethans, attempted the superhuman. . . . It is a significant evidence of Dryden's genius as a critic that he was the first and last writer to note the most subtle cause of Spenser's failure. While the most obvious cause was undoubtedly the magnitude of the scheme, a magnitude so stupendous that no one but a supreme poet could have even conceived it, yet the fact that Spenser's hero (Leicester, not Sidney) died, probably before Spenser had completed his third book, must have been to a hero-worshipper so sincere, the most deadly of destructive influences. The third book shows many signs of confusion. The fourth book is chaos. The fifth book, as an isolated poem, is better, but its strands are not well woven into the poem as a whole. The sixth book is almost completely disjointed and closes with a bitter anticlimax. . . . It is of the first importance to remember that, although its unifying strands were astonishingly new, they were not necessarily impossible of fulfilment. If the letter to Raleigh had survived without a single stanza of *The Faërie Queene* it is probable that most critics would have accepted its scheme for unity as fairly plausible. It is Spenser's failure that has led the critics to go too far and repudiate the scheme itself, a scheme, which, to be sure, required a poet far greater than any who had yet lived but which, for a child of the English renaissance bent on "overgoing" all predecessors with perhaps the most exalting conviction that ever flamed out in an epic poet, is understandable. But while I maintain the scheme to have been as plausible as it was audacious I find myself, after a survey of all the critics of the unity of *The Faërie Queene*, always returning to Dryden's remark on the death of Spenser's hero. Reality refused to pour itself into Spenser's mighty mould for an epic of the future. The break-up of the vast structure of the poem itself, the increase of the casual and the episodic, the inflow of chaos, the cry of despair in the last stanzas of the sixth book were inevitable.

EDWIN GREENLAW (Review of Cory's *Edmund Spenser*). Mr. Cory sets forth two propositions concerning the structure of the poem: first, that it was planned by Spenser to be what Mr. Cory calls "an epic of the future"; and, second, that it reveals a progressive disillusion, causing a "crumbling of the structure" of the poem, and proceeding from the poet's despair because Leicester's death made impossible what the poet had hoped for, a union of Leicester and the Queen and

an epoch of national greatness which, in Mr. Cory's thought, Spenser foresaw if this union had taken place. . . .

Now, although it is quite possible that in the courtship of Gloriana by Prince Arthur Spenser may have had in mind, at times, Leicester's long ambition, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the poem had for one of its purposes either prophecy of a union between the two or poetical propaganda to bring such union to pass. For one thing, Spenser's explanation of his general intention in the *Faerie Queene*, given in his letter to Raleigh (dated 23 January, 1589), could not have been written until after Leicester's death, after all thought of a marriage had been abandoned for many years, and after Spenser's bitter complaint about Leicester's abandonment of him had been expressed in *Virgils Gnat*. Mr. Cory's conjecture about the nature of the second twelve books is thus by a simple matter of chronology untenable. Furthermore, the only place in the *Faerie Queene* where Arthur may plausibly be identified as Leicester is in the fifth book, and even this identification is rendered uncertain by the fact that the Arthur of Book V frees Belgae, while Leicester assuredly did not settle the problem at all, but rather was called ignominiously home. . . .

Finally, the dedicatory letter, far from suggesting that Spenser contemplated a second poem of twelve books celebrating the deeds of Leicester as king-consort or at least pointing out the path which the royal pair should follow, is in reality to be explained on quite other grounds. Spenser himself is explicit as to his intention. He says that Homer, in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses, had portrayed a good governor and a virtuous man; that Virgil had combined the private and public virtues in the person of Aeneas, and Ariosto in his Orlando; Tasso, he says, separated the two sets of virtues, public and private, in his Rinaldo and Godfredo. Following these illustrious examples, Spenser proposes, in the first twelve books, to deal with the twelve private virtues; if these books are well received he will continue with an exposition of kingship. There is, therefore, no basis for any conjecture about an "epic of the future," devoted to Leicester's deeds as king-consort, just as it is impossible to construct out of the adventures of Arthur in the first six books, except for the expedition to the Low Countries, any history of Leicester as king-consort-elect. An epic of Britain, glorifying the reigning house, and containing, according to the poetical theory of the time, an exposition of perfect courtiership, was the object of Spenser's endeavor; herein lies the explanation of the structure of the poem. . . . At times he [Cory] seems to think that there is proof of the crumbling of the structure of the poem in the fact that after the first two books the allegory is less sustained, appearing only fitfully if at all. But this is not proof of a crumbling structure; it is evidence of a change in Spenser's conception of his poem, an improvement on the whole, and due in large part to the difference between the virtues that form the subject of the third, fourth, and sixth books and the virtues of the other books. "Holiness" is mediæval; "Temperance" is partly mediæval, partly classical; "Justice" is classical; while "Chastity" (Love), "Friendship," and "Courtesy" are treated by Spenser chiefly in the manner of the Renaissance. Book I has the precise and formal structure of the mediæval allegory. It is an exceedingly effective complex of the morality play and the Arthurian romance. The pleasure that it gives is in part due to this sense of form. Book VI, on the other hand, is like Sidney's *Arcadia*, which was regarded, at the time when Spenser was writing, as a sublime poem. This story of Calidore

is romance of the new Renaissance type. The allegory in it is the allegory that the Elizabethans found in *Cyropaedia* or *Arcadia*. To say that because Book VI lacks the formal excellence of Book I therefore the "vast structure" of the epic was "crumbling" is like finding fault with *Cymbeline* or the *Winter's Tale* because they do not have the academic symmetry of structure of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Mr. Cory seems troubled, also, by the number of unpleasant people one meets in Spenser's poem. These people, with their stories, seem to him not to be brought into close relations with the main plots in the later books. As we go on, he says, we come across many figures "so small, so sordid, we feel that they are drawn by a bewildered and a bitter hand" (p. 160). Now this idea, which Mr. Cory returns to again and again, betrays a serious misconception of the very essence of Spenser's method. This method, which is very similar to the use of the *exemplum* by mediæval writers, springs from the conception of poetry held by Spenser and his contemporaries. It is philosophy teaching by example, more gracious than by rule.

Fundamentally, Spenser uses the technique of the Arthurian romances, especially in the first three books. The damsel in distress of Book I; the complaint, in Book II, of the Palmer in behalf of the infant with bloody hands; the groom in Book III with his plea for a champion to rescue the damsel from Busirane—these are familiar romance motifs. Likewise, the interference of Arthur is not merely designed to show that no one virtue is sufficient unto itself; it is an application of the thoroughly conventional motif of the greatest knight in the world, coming to the aid of the knight who is the titular hero of the story. Even in Book III Arthur's failure to appear is not due, as Mr. Cory imagines, to Spenser's disappointment over the death of Leicester, but to the fact that Britomart is in a sense Arthur's equal, the feminine counterpart of that for which Arthur stands. Book III is complementary to Book II. In the story of Guyon the classical ideal of Temperance is exalted. Guyon is sorely tried, but in the end destroys Acrasia, who typifies the hedonistic conception of life implied in Marlowe's conflict between the passion for beauty and the consciousness of sin. Alma, in whom we see, as the editor of the Oxford Spenser has observed, "the soul in perfect command over the body," prepares Guyon to resist the earthly Venus. But in Britomart we have a deeper and warmer conception. She is not, like Guyon, a man struggling for perfection; she is love itself, in whose presence Busirane is as powerless as Comus in the presence of the Lady. She is allegorical in the Platonic, not the mediæval sense. But she also corresponds to Arthur and achieves the triumph appropriate to the greatest knight in the world. Her book, therefore, is closely linked to the two preceding books, while it looks forward, in its stress on the religion of love and beauty, to Book IV.

This method of plot-making becomes even clearer when we consider that Spenser drew his conception of his great knights from the romances. To give but a few of many examples that will instantly occur to the reader, already in *Amis and Amiloun* we have the virtue of friendship, prototype of Spenser's Cambell and Triamond; Sir Cliges is the embodiment of charity, Isumbras of humility, Sir Gawain of courtesy; the Squire of Low Degree typifies merit and virtue in humble position, ever a favorite theme with Spenser. Thus Red Cross, Guyon, Britomart, Calidore, Artegal, are not mere abstractions, such as one finds in the *Passetyme of Pleasure* or in *Magnyfycence*; they are conceived in the spirit of the romances. To try Spenser, therefore, as Mr. Cory does, by narrow canons of formal allegory; to

complain because the later books are free from the scholastic categories of the first book; to say that because the framework is less palpable therefore Spenser was losing his grip, was allowing the structure of his poem to crumble, was inhibited by despair, is singularly to miss the soul of the *Faerie Queene*.

The second observation I would make is that Spenser, following the later Arthurian romances, uses romance situations as *symbols* of spiritual matters. Thus, in *Rigomer*, a girl appears at Arthur's court and calls for a knight. Lancelot goes with her and finds in Ireland an enchanted castle where is a girl who will marry only the best knight in the world. Lancelot fights the monster serpent but can not complete the adventure, until Gawain, like Spenser's Arthur, comes and releases the people in the castle from enchantment. Now here is a primitive situation, without symbolism. But in Chrétien the same situation becomes symbolic, and in Spenser's first book it supplies the framework of the plot. To take a variant, Galahad's rescue of the maidens in the *High History* represents Christ's freeing of the Christian graces from the Seven Deadly Sins, an incident that Spenser transfers bodily to his story of the siege of Alma's castle. Thus Spenser does not copy literally the romances; he uses romance situations as symbols; he uses this method constantly, not occasionally or fortuitously, the episodes of which Mr. Cory and others have complained are of the essence of his method; the increase in this element as he gets away from the morality play structure of Book I is not a proof of failing inspiration but an ever-varying source of new interest. In Caxton's remarks about Malory's Arthur we find one of the chief clues to the method:

Herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue and sin. Do after the good and leave the evil. . . . All is written for our doctrine, and for to beware that we fall not to vice nor sin, but *to exercise and follow virtue*.

Finally, the use of the episodes, which as Mr. Cory observes become increasingly noticeable as we go on in the poem, is closely related to this conception of romance situation as symbol. In Guyon's book, for example, an episode like that of Phaedria symbolizes the classical excess, which results in intemperance. In the third and fourth books, where the Renaissance religion of love is the theme, the episodes either exemplify the virtues, to be emulated, or they are sins against love, to be shunned. Especially in the fourth book is the virtue of friendship presented by showing what it is *not*. Hence these spiteful and petty figures that give Mr. Cory so much pain are essential to Spenser's plan, not signs of incoherence and disillusion. In Artegal's book this use of the *exemplum* forms the heart of the structure. Spenser's purpose is to show the defects of the vacillating policy of the government with respect to Ireland. The murdered lady represents the spirit of lawlessness; the episode of the Saracen and his daughter is an *exemplum* showing the evils of bribery. The giant with scales shows the futility of communism, a species of injustice, the negative or obverse of the virtue to which the book is dedicated. Braggadocchio figures as a cowardly boaster who steals the credit that belongs to others. The story of the two brothers is a defense of the imperial policy; while the Radigund episode, which is very similar to an episode in the old romance of *Rigomer*, is a satire on womanish methods of dealing with the Irish problem.

There are no better illustrations of the relation of this method to Spenser's idea of structure than are found in Book VI, which Mr. Cory regards as marking the

utter disillusion of Spenser and the chaos that had descended upon his poem. It is the Book of Courtesy. The stress is on the lowly life, or life away from the artificiality and tinsel glitter of the court. The mood is that of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. The method, as in Book V, is cumulative, leading directly to the great scenes of Calidore's life among the shepherds. Calepine, Tristram, Aladine, though noble, seem to be men of base origin, outside the group of great knights. The savage man, also of noble blood, is more truly courteous than others. The hermit has left the court, like the Duke in Shakespeare's drama. Indeed, the whole atmosphere of the book, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is that of plays like *As You Like It*, *Cymbeline*, and *Winter's Tale*. The climax is in the story of Meliboeus and the pastoral of Calidore and his love. It is not bitter. It has no more of disillusion than comes to any man who has attained years enough and wisdom enough to distinguish between the shows of things and reality. To postulate despair and chaos in mind and structure is critical blindness. It is to miss the ripeness, the wisdom, the charm, of poetry that has welded life and verse into imperishable harmonies. It is to prefer the glitter of *Love's Labour's Lost* to the maturity of the *Tempest*. What is far worse, for a student of literary history, it is to miss the fascination which the contemplative life exerted over the finest minds of that time of action, the Renaissance. It is to deal falsely, not only with Spenser, but with the mind of his age.

JOHN W. DRAPER ("The Narrative-Technique of the Faerie Queene," pp. 311-324). Spenser's plan, in short, does not seem to have been borrowed from any previous poem; at the same time, his theory is rather conscious, and bears every impress of having been worked out beforehand: indeed, it reads better as a theory than it worked in actual practice. This leads one to ask whether its origin may not have been purely theoretical, not the epics of Homer and Virgil or the romances of Ariosto, but elements from all of these, vaguely commingled, perhaps actually confused and misstated, in the writings of some critic or group of critics from whom he borrowed. Spenser was a man of academic training and scholarly inclination: surely such a person would at least have consulted the accepted opinion of his age before setting out upon his masterpiece. The letter of Harvey's already referred to, shows that by 1580 at least some vague outline of the poem existed in his mind. At that time Elizabethan criticism had hardly come into being. The Italians were the arbiters of the elegant, a fact easily demonstrated by the large consumption of Italian books in England, and by the frequent quotation of Italian critics. It seems, therefore, quite natural that Spenser should have consulted this body of theory; the next question is whether there are sufficient similarities to show that he actually did so.

The didactic purpose of the epic, the first element of Spenser's theory, was very widely accepted in Renaissance Italy. Such critics as Daniello, Trissino, Robortelli, Capriano, and Scaliger stressed this function almost to the exclusion of aesthetic pleasure; and a number of other critics, including Giraldis and apparently Minturno, probably under the influence of Horace, united the two ideals, and declared that the business of poetry was equally to teach and to delight. The teaching, one gathers, was to be expressed in the exemplary character of the chief figures, the "nobilissimi Heroi discreti"; and the delight, in the management of the story. The theory that the hero is to furnish us with a lofty example while

the movement and variety of the plot holds our interest, plainly lies behind the letter to Raleigh, the earlier part of which, it will be remembered, discusses Arthur and the twelve knights as illustrations of Aristotle's virtues, and the latter part of which takes up the methods by which the narrative is to gain "variety."

The second important canon of Spenserian theory declares that the epic should be an "historicall fiction," that the story must have at least a foundation of fact, upon which may be erected a mass of more or less fictitious episode. This theory also is common among the Italian critics of the period. Beginning with Pigna in 1554, and developing with Minturno, Scaliger, Trissino, and Castelvetro, arose the liberation of the artist from the shackles of supposed historical accuracy; and, although Castelvetro still argued plainly for a basis of fact, embellishment by the end of the third quarter of the century, was very freely allowed. Spenser's choice of Arthurian material agreed perfectly with this requirement; for the Elizabethan authorities, Caxton, Holinshed, and Camden, all agreed that the story of Arthur, as told for example by Malory, was, in its main features at least, sober history. Spenser accepted the Arthurian material; and, just as the mediæval romancers had embroidered the period of Arthur's maturity with a cycle of romances, he proposed, in like manner, to embellish Arthur's youth with a group of stories, the characters of which would illustrate his moral, and the events of which, his political allegory. Suggestions for both characters and events, he has borrowed from the widest miscellany of sources; and, although Minturno excludes the *romanzi* from the category of the epic because they depart too far from fact, yet Spenser, although he borrowed much of his material from old romance and stretched the fictitious to the very bounds of credulity, may well have felt that he was composing, according to the canons of Italian criticism, an essentially epic poem.

The latter half of the letter to Raleigh is taken up with purely aesthetic concerns, especially with the problem of getting "variety of matter." To attain this variety, Spenser puts a severe strain upon the unity of this poem: he gives each book a separate hero with a separate story; and with these, he interweaves other more or less unconnected tales. The former of these devices may go back to the *Morte D'Arthur*, and the latter to Ariosto; but it is also true that ample authority for both of them is to be found in the Italian critics of the period; for the tremendous popularity of Ariosto forced them so to modify the rigor of classic rule as to include the *Orlando*, with its rambling construction, if not as a Homeric epic, at least as a great poem and an entirely acceptable type of poetic narrative. Thus a loose structure of almost any type was permitted or even advocated; and Aristotle's allowance of episodic material was stretched to the limit. Scaliger, for instance, held the view that several plots ("fabulae"), each developed in a separate book or canto, form, in this combination, a complete epic. Trissino claimed epic unity for the *Decamerone* because (as in the *Faerie Queene*) all the stories are related to a basic situation and are consequently placed in a single frame. Giraldi Cinthio, moreover, in defending the *romanzi*, declared that they treated of "one or more illustrious actions of one or more excellent men"; he found tolerance, if not sanction for such a scheme in Aristotle; and, like Spenser, commended it for the opportunity that it gave for episodic digression. These digressions, which constitute Spenser's other means of obtaining variety, are commonly allowed by the critics: indeed, they are spoken of as the primary means by which

a simple plot, such as one finds in tragedy, is to be inflated to epic proportions; and, in Castelvetro, it would even appear that episodes and sub-plots are so freely allowed— or at all events, his use of these terms is so confusing—that Spenser might well have gotten from him the recipe by which he wove together, into an almost inextricable tangle the stories of the third, fourth, and fifth books of the *Faerie Queene*.

Spenser, however, was interested not only in the problem of unity but also in the arrangement of his material. If one sets out to tell a series of narratives, bound together in a frame-work, the question at once arises in what part of the poem the frame is to be introduced. The obvious answer would seem to be at the beginning, at the end, and perhaps here and there along the way. In the *Faerie Queene*, however, Spenser has followed the unusual plan of commencing at once with his separate tales without showing their common basis, thus omitting a quantity of highly important antecedent action, which, according to his letter to Raleigh, he did not plan fully to disclose until the very end of the poem, a procedure unprecedented among classical epics. In Italian criticism there appears rather less authority for this than for Spenser's other *dicta*; but at least something of it is to be found. Vida suggests that the antecedent action of the *Iliad*, the battles of the Trojan Wars, appears in the poem, quite properly, "potius prope finem"; and Minturno declares unequivocally that an epic ought to begin with the "last things"—a statement that might be taken to imply its converse, that the poem should end with the first. Once having determined not to describe the annual feast of Gloriana at the beginning of his poem, Spenser may have felt that there would be no very good chance to tell of it until the end. Vida, moreover, and other of the critics, stress the importance of suspense; and perhaps Scaliger's statement that the principal theme should not be placed first in the narrative, but that the reader should be kept waiting and so be held captive, may have supplied Spenser with the authority for his plan.

Spenser, in short, looked upon narrative poetry through the eyes of the accepted authorities of his age. . . .

The form of the *Faerie Queene* was, I believe, very largely dictated by the Italian criticism of the forty years preceding; but the content on the whole, had no such source. Oddly enough, Spenser found, in Malory and elsewhere, a body of material, or at all events a literary tradition, that fitted rather nicely with the theories of the Italians. Whether the form first came into his mind or the content, is a difficult question, and one that is further complicated by the fact that the episodic character of the poem may have been brought about by his insertion in it of earlier productions. Spenser's early interests, as expressed in the *Shepheardes Calendar*, rather suggest that the form and the choice of content developed simultaneously; for, even at that time, he seems to have been well read both in mediæval literature and in Renaissance critical theory. When he first pitched upon Arthur as the super-hero of his poem, it is unfortunately impossible to say. There is a passage in Camden that I should like to think definitive on this point: "The subject [of King Arthur] was certainly worthy the genius of some learned man, who by celebrating such a prince would have immortalized his own fame. It seems to have been the greatest misfortune of this gallant defender of the British empire that he could find no panegyrist of his virtues." The passage fits

Spenser's treatment of Arthur as an example of Aristotle's twelve moral virtues; but unhappily there seems to have been no edition of the *Britannia* before 1586; and the Harvey letters of 1579-80 suggest that the plan of the *Faerie Queene* had, at that time, been blocked out, at least in its larger aspects. Camden, to be sure, started work on his history about 1570; and it is possible that the manuscript of the early part of the work, containing this passage, came to Spenser's eye before 1579, perhaps through Sidney who was a mutual friend. But this is all the merest hypothesis; and it is equally possible that Camden, hearing of Spenser's projected poem, wrote this passage as a compliment to the poet—or perhaps the whole thing is pure coincidence. In the absence, therefore, of any certain knowledge of the steps by which Spenser's conception of the *Faerie Queene* came into being, it is impossible to speak with any finality regarding the source of those details of his plan that might have come either from the Italian critics or from the romances; but the significant fact remains that every major element of his narrative-technique as outlined in the letter to Raleigh. Spenser could have drawn from the preceding generation of Italian literary theorists, and that their opinions are on the whole nearer to his actual practice and to his general statements than either the classical epics or classical criticism or the *Orlando* of Ariosto.

EDWIN GREENLAW ("The Faerie Queene," pp. 708-710). Spenser's use of the Arthurian romances is interesting and original. None of the great knights familiar in Malory and elsewhere appears; none of the great stories afterward used by Tennyson finds a place. The Holy Grail, for example, is barely mentioned. Yet the basis of the plot is familiar to any reader of the metrical romances of France and England. The *Faerie Queene* holds a feast lasting 12 days, on each of which an "adventure" takes place. On the first day a "clownish young man," who reminds us of Perceval or of Gareth, begs the boon of any "adventure" that may befall; he is sent with Una to free her parents from the thralldom of a dragon. On the second day a Palmer bearing a babe with bloody hands calls for a champion to slay Acrasia, the enchantress who wrought the woe, and Sir Guyon is assigned the task. On the third day Scudamore is sent to free Amoret from an enchanter, but his adventure is completed by Britomart. But all this explanatory matter is set forth in the letter to Raleigh; Spenser follows Virgil and other poets in beginning "in the midst," and the epic did not arrive at the point where the setting could be given in verse. Moreover, Spenser follows the late mediaeval romances in giving to familiar romance situations allegorical or mystical significance. Thus, Galahad's delivery of the Castle of Maidens, which in the Grail cycle had come to symbolize Christ delivering mankind from the Seven Deadly Sins, is used by Spenser. The quest, also, appears in many forms. For example, the quest of Red Cross for the dragon reaches a climax in a three days' battle in which the monster stands for Satan, who has long held the human race (Castle Mortal) in bondage; the three days' battle symbolizes Christ's victory over Death and Hell so often met in mediaeval legend. Spenser's poem is filled with such reminiscences of the Arthurian romances; their influence on him is far more pervasive than the debt, largely exaggerated, to Ariosto and Tasso, from whom he derives, as from the classics, many matters of detail.

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser's Fairy Mythology," pp. 107, 116-8). The

realm of Gloriana is two-fold: England, in the historical allegory; the Celtic Otherworld in the fairy aspect. In the proem to Book II, both senses are found in clear connection. Spenser asks where is "that happy land of Faery," only to remind the reader that every day great regions are being discovered that always have existed though men were unaware. "Certein signes" will reveal this land to the one who seeks; by which he means, of course, such signs as are familiar in Celtic folklore. But he goes on at once to say that Elizabeth may find her own realm to be this "lond of Faery." This double sense is kept throughout the poem, with a variety of effects. Arthur has had a vision of the Fairy Queen, but has sought vainly for her realm. Yet with Guyon he is in Fairy Land all the time. Guyon visits the Celtic Otherworld three times: it is on Phaedria's island; in the Underworld of Mammon; and in Acrasia's Bower of Bliss. On the other hand, Britomart says that she has come from her native soil, "the greater Britaine," to "Faery lond" because she has heard of famous knights and ladies that inhabit that realm. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this double geography; the one point that I wish to make, as a basis for what is to follow, is that Spenser fuses the well-known romance and folklore conception of a land of enchantment, difficult of access, with a quite arbitrary and literal conception of England as the scene in which the action of his poem takes place. . . .

The significance of the vision of the Fairy Queen is that by this device Spenser is able to establish the basis on which his poem rests. The traditional Arthur was a British king about whose birth many mysterious legends clustered, and who, at the end of his life, was received in *Faerie*, after that last great battle in the West, to be healed of his grievous wound by Morgain, or *La Dame du Lac*, or by these and other powerful fays together. After a long sojourn in *Faerie*, he was to come again and rule Britain. This belief is extant in parts of Wales today, as it was in Layamon's time. Lydgate phrases it compactly:

He [Arthur] is a king y-crowned in Fairye;
With sceptre and pall, and with his regaly,
Shall he resort, as lord and soveraigne
Out of Fairye, and reigne in Britaine.

(*Falls of Princes* 8. 24.)

Spenser's use of this tradition about the fairy sovereign gives the clue to the idea on which the entire poem rests. The interpretation is to be found in the return, through the Welsh house of Tudor, of the old British line to the throne of England, now long occupied by strangers. To state the proposition concisely: *Spenser conceives the Tudor rule as a return of the old British line; he conceives Elizabeth Tudor as the particular sovereign, coming out of Faerie, whose return fulfils the old prophecy.* That is to say, the poem is at once a glorification of Elizabeth's ancestry and a glorification of the Queen as an individual. Had England's greatness in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, Spenser's time, an era which the poet recognized as not only putting the realm on a new footing of prosperity and power but also as marking the beginning of a far-reaching imperial policy,—had this greatness come during the rule of a Tudor king, Spenser would have figured that king under the name of Prince Arthur. But his sovereign was a woman. The prophecy, then, is fulfilled through personifying, in Arthur, the spirit of Great Britain, now united to the Faerie Queene herself. This is not

only an excellent poetical device; it is also a most interesting development of the Arthurian legend, true to the spirit of that legend if not to its letter. It is also quite in keeping with Spenser's method of complex allegory, a method by which different qualities and forces, different attributes of perfection, are, like Plato's *ideas*, embodied now in one concrete form and now in another.

These statements are, I think, capable of nearly formal proof. To begin with, there is a sharp distinction, throughout the *Faerie Queene*, between *fairy* knight and British. Thus, Arthegal is a changeling, not a fairy:

He wonneth in the land of Fayerce,
Yet is no fairy borne, ne sib at all
To Elfes, but sprong of seed terrestriall,
And whylom by false faeries stolen away.

Guyon, on the other hand, is "elfin borne"; he was of noble state and "mickle worship in his native land"; he had been knighted by Huon (2. 1. 6). Amphisa was a fairy "by race" (3. 6. 4). Priamond and his brothers were born of a fay (4. 2. 44). Redcross, however, was "sprong out from English race, However now accompted Elfin's sonne." The Hermit goes on to explain that he came from the ancient race of Saxon kings, but was stolen as a child by a fairy who left her own child and took Redcross to fairy land where he was brought up by a ploughman. Furthermore, Prince Arthur, not a fairy but a "Briton knight," seeks Gloriana, the Fairy Queen, whom he has seen in a vision. Her image he bears on his shield. Guyon, a Fairy knight, promises to aid him in his quest, and they are companions throughout the second book. In the House of Alma they read with delight ancient chronicles that set forth the origin of each: Arthur reads *Briton Moniments* and Guyon *Antiquitee of Faery Lond*.

Summarizing the evidence thus far, we note: (1) the careful distinction between the two classes of knights, a distinction that is preserved both for the great knights and for the lesser figures as well. (2) The hero of Book I is a Briton; of Book II is a Fairy. Yet there is no distinction in appearance, size, or personal character, the distinction is of race. Both classes of knights perform valorous deeds against enchantment; the Fairy possesses no supernatural power, for example, as against the Briton. (3) Arthur, contrary to certain folk traditions, is not a fairy sovereign; Gloriana is.

[For a discussion of Leicester's entertainments at Kenilworth and Woodstock as a probable determining factor in the plan of the *Faerie Queene*, see Charles Read Baskerville, "The Genesis of Spenser's Queen of Faerie," *MP* 18. 49-54.]

VIOLA B. HULBERT (*Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues "According to Aristotle and the Rest,"* pp. 479-485). In the introductory letter addressed to Sir Walter Raleigh prefaced to the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser speaks of the twelve moral virtues of Aristotle around which he intends to build the twelve books of his epic. Scholars have differed as to what Spenser meant by the twelve moral virtues of Aristotle. Ambassador Jusserand had great difficulty in locating exactly twelve virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the tract in which Aristotle most fully discusses the moral virtues, and in matching the Spenserian virtues with those he found there. Other scholars, like Miss Winstanley and Dr. DeMoss, convinced that Spenser must mean what he says in the introductory letter, subjectively inter-

pret Spenser, on the one hand, and Aristotle, on the other, so that the virtues treated by each author coincide. The method employed by Miss Winstanley and Dr. DeMoss is unsound, for they interpret their material to suit their end. The proof of this statement lies in the fact that though Miss Winstanley and Dr. DeMoss employ the same method, they arrive at different results.

It is to be noted, however, that Spenser in his introductory letter mentions not only Aristotle but "Aristotle and the rest" (i. e., the commentators on the *Nicomachean Ethics*). Since Spenser was a university graduate, presumably he studied the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the commentaries printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries must indicate the manner in which he was taught to read Aristotle. In short, one must first learn the way in which Aristotle was interpreted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries before one can judge whether or not Spenser was indebted, as he asserts in the introductory letter, to Aristotle's *Ethics* for the virtues of the *Faerie Queene*.

M. Jusserand declares "that commentators have not agreed and that some have considered that Aristotle's virtues are nine, others ten or eleven in number," but he discusses only Piccolomini, who in his *Della Istitutione Morale* numbers the virtues eleven, and Bryskett, who in *A Discourse of Civill Life* numbers them twelve. Yet H. W. Chandler, in his catalogue of the editions of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (his catalogue includes also the commentaries on the *Ethics*), lists to the end of the sixteenth century four-hundred-odd extant editions, about three a year. This average must be doubled if we remember that the number represents simply the editions extant and that Chandler does not include in his catalogue works which draw if not all yet some vital part of their material from the *Ethics*; e. g., Piccolomini and Cinthio and their followers Larivey and Bryskett, the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas, and the *Speculum Morale* wrongly accredited to Vincent de Beauvais, etc. M. Jusserand did not examine the commentaries mentioned by Chandler because very few of them can be found in American libraries; they are for the most part accessible only in European libraries. I have examined those in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, following in the main Chandler's catalogue, but here and there adding an edition which was evidently not known to Chandler in 1878. The four-hundred-odd editions represent the work of more than one hundred men, who sometimes are mere translators or editors, at other times commentators; I have based my discussion on an examination of the work of more than seventy-five of them. Moreover, to make plain the popularity of the *Ethics* from the time of its introduction in the thirteenth century through Spenser's time, I have also discussed in my thesis works containing references to the *Ethics*, written before the sixteenth century but not printed until after it; e. g., Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*, the work of Jehan Le Bel, etc. Furthermore, I have included the works I have mentioned above—the *Summa Theologica*, the *Speculum Morale* (these I have traced through the fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century editions), the works of Piccolomini, Bryskett, etc.

Going through this material, I found that from the time of Aquinas on there is an interpretation of the virtues of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Book 2, chap. 7) which numbers them twelve. The tradition is not unbroken, but it is persistent enough to turn up again and again. These virtues are generally fixed in conception, name, and order, and in nothing but number do they bear any vital resemblance to those of Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*. When there is variation in the

order, it is slight and can usually be accounted for on grounds of logic; variations in the names of virtues can be explained by the fact that the Greek words do not always have ample Latin equivalents.

Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica* (Prima Secundae Quaestio 60, Articulus 5) is the first medieval scholar I have found who numbers the virtues twelve. The passage in which he does so is quoted almost verbatim by the author of the *Speculum Morale* (Liber 1, Distinctio 6, Pars 3). Yet one would not know from modern editions of these works that their authors numbered the virtues twelve, for the passages in modern editions number them eleven. This reading "eleven" goes back, as far as I can discover, to a suggestion by Cajetan in the first half of the sixteenth century. Cajetan was known as Thomas (though his given name was Jacopo) because he was a great interpreter of the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas; yet he could not understand the passage in the *Summa* which numbers the virtues twelve, for the number twelve in the *Summa* depends upon counting justice as twofold (*justitia circa passiones, justitia circa operationes*), and Cajetan could not find this distinction in Aristotle, Aquinas' source. Although he admitted that he had come upon no codex of the *Summa* to prove his view, nevertheless he thought the passage ought to be emended so that the virtues would be eleven in all. From the last quarter of the sixteenth century, all editions of the *Summa* emended the passage as he had suggested. The passage in the *Speculum* was likewise emended; up to 1591 the editions of the *Speculum* number the virtues twelve, after that date, eleven.

I accept the reading "twelve" in the passages in both works as correct and that of "eleven" as an emendation for the following reasons: The reading "eleven" can be traced back to Cajetan's suggestion; although I have not been able to ascertain whether or not the reading "eleven" in the modern editions has any early manuscript authority behind it, at least Cajetan knew of none in his day. The twofold interpretation of justice on which the number twelve in the *Summa* depends was also that of Aquinas' master, Albertus Magnus (see his commentary of the *Ethics*, Book 5). Aquinas and the author of the *Speculum Morale* are not alone in numbering the virtues twelve; with them can be grouped, for instance, Roger Bacon, Geraldus Odo, Martinus Magister, John Versor, Lefevre, Van Clichtove, Joannes Cesarius Juliensis, Lodovico Dolce, Count Giulio Landi, Chrysostomus Javellus, Conradus Koellin, Bryskett.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was Lefevre who gave the tradition of twelve new life. He wrote both a commentary on the *Ethics* (of which at least seventeen editions are extant) and a digest of it (of which at least thirty-five editions are extant). In the digest are listed twelve Aristotelian virtues with their extremes. Sometimes the work contains a preface by one of his pupils, Josse Van Clichtove or Joannes Cesarius Juliensis, which specifically gives the number twelve to the Aristotelian virtues. The great number of editions through which the digest went and the evidence as to its popularity in Italy and England as well as in France show how wide must have been its influence.

It is a peculiar fact that the tradition of twelve Aristotelian virtues does not vary from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century, except in the case of the twelfth virtue. The fluctuating twelfth virtue can be accounted for by the fact that one can easily find eleven virtues in Aristotle, but has difficulty in locating a

twelfth. Eleven, however, is a number which had no significance to the medieval mind, whereas twelve was a symbol of many things (Gregory the Great held that it signified perfection). One can see that in spite of the difficulty which commentators experienced in finding a twelfth virtue in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, many endeavored to do so in order to eke out the number eleven to the symbolic twelve.

There were, however, some scholars from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century who numbered the virtues eleven. Among them are Burley, Dante, various minor German commentators, and Piccolomini. Of these, the most important for our purpose is Piccolomini, for *Della Istituzione Morale* is one of the sources of that passage of the *Discourse* in which Bryskett numbers the virtues twelve. The other source for this part and for the rest of the work is Cinthio's *Tre dialoghi della vita civile*. Bryskett's use of his two sources in the passage in the *Discourse* which numbers and describes the Aristotelian virtues reveals the following facts: Bryskett knew that there was a tradition of twelve virtues; Piccolomini numbers them eleven. Bryskett also recognized what the twelve Aristotelian virtues were in nature and in name, for by means of Piccolomini he separates in Cinthio's text the Aristotelian virtues from the Platonic virtues and includes only the former in his final count. Consequently the Aristotelian virtues according to Bryskett agree partly in order, wholly in nature and name, with those of the other commentators on the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

One finds, therefore, in all commentaries up to Spenser's time a consistent interpretation of the Aristotelian virtues—an interpretation which bears little resemblance to that of the virtues of the *Faerie Queene*, except in the number twelve. If Spenser were consciously intending to diverge from the traditional nomenclature and order of presenting the Aristotelian virtues, it seems probable that he would have clearly stated his intention in the introductory letter. To find, moreover, similarities in nature between the Aristotelian virtues and the Spenserian, one is forced to adopt a method like that of Miss Winstanley and Dr. DeMoss, which must always be open to question because of its subjectivity. And, furthermore, most of the Spenserian virtues can be found in non-Aristotelian sources. Even, in fact, that Spenserian virtue which seems most clearly Aristotelian in development proves on investigation to be inspired not by Aristotle's temperance, from which it differs radically, but by temperance, one of the cardinal virtues.

There is no question that Spenser had some knowledge of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. He knew that the virtues were twelve in number; he remembered the names Philotime and Acrasia (though he forgot the quantity of the penult in Philotime and limited the nature of Acrasia); he recalled that one Aristotelian virtue was all inclusive, though he remembered it as magnificence when it was in reality magnanimity. That he presumably had read the *Nicomachean Ethics* in Cambridge and yet had so vague a memory of it afterward is not unparalleled in the experience of many a present university undergraduate. Spenser's hazy knowledge is, moreover, quite understandable if one examines the intellectual interests of the Cambridge student body during Spenser's years as an undergraduate. Students and faculty were engrossed in theology; they apparently neglected Greek and probably with it Greek philosophy. If Spenser's lecturer on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, like Melanchthon, intertwined the Aristotelian virtues with the Decalogue, one wonders that he remembered what little he did.

There is, of course, the alternate explanation that Spenser's decision to have twelve books (the standard number for an epic) may have had nothing to do with the twelve Aristotelian virtues; i. e., the fact that there are twelve virtues in the *Faerie Queene* would naturally be the result of an arrangement in twelve books, each of which deals with a virtue. Perhaps Spenser was already embarked on his plan when he recalled, or someone reminded him, that Aristotle also had twelve virtues and that they bore names somewhat similar to his. So, to give his book a learned look, he decided to refer to Aristotle as his source.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES (*Virgil and Spenser*, pp. 399-406). The Elizabethans were uncertain which to admire more in Virgil, the style that goaded them to the black magic of quantitative hexameters in the effort to recapture its beauty, or the high morality. Stanyhurst, in the Introduction to his translation of the *Aeneid*, expressed the feeling of his contemporaries quite naively. After lamenting the critical spirit in which Ennius, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius wrote their "Bitter quippes" which made them unsuitable for the reader of serious aspirations, he turned affectionately to "oure Virgil":

"But oure Virgil, not content wyth such meigre stuffe, dooth laboure in telling as it were a Canterbury tale, too ferret out thee secretes of Nature, with woordes so fitlye coucht, wyth verses so smoothlye slyckte, with sentences so featlye orderd, with orations so neatlie burnisht, with similitudes so aptly applyed, with eche decorum so duely observed, as in truth hee hath in right purchast to hymself thee name of a surpassing poet, thee fame of an od oratour, and thee admiration of a profound philosopher" (*Elizabethan Critical Pamphlets*, p. 137).

It is not precisely as a profound philosopher that we admire Virgil today. . . .

[Here follow paragraphs on the moral interpretation of Virgil.]

The prince of Virgilian allegorists was Christopher Landini of the Platonic Academy in Florence. There is no proof that Spenser knew his chief work, the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, but its interpretation of the *Aeneid* makes that poem correspond in all essentials with Spenser's "Legends of Holiness" and "of Temperance." Landini's first book is "De Vita Activa et Contemplativa" and his second is "De Summo Bono." His third and fourth books are a series of "Allegorie in Virgilium" which represent the *Aeneid* as allegorically exemplifying the theories of the other two. Aeneas' visit to the cave of the Sibyl is interpreted in a way which makes it correspond with Redcross's experience with Contemplation. "Antrum immane petit, quod cum facit ad res divinas contemplandas erigitur." Aeneas' experience in the cave is represented as a Platonic vision of truth and through it he achieves the ideal of perfection through contemplation of the supreme good (p. 16): "Aeneas divinarum rerum sibi contemplationem finem proposuit . . . Nam adventus in Italiam ostendit habitum virtutum iam contractum ita: ut a proposita vita non sit discessurus aeneas." The golden bough is wisdom. The descent to hell is temptation and the diseases at hell's gate are perturbations.

Here Landini's interpretation of the *Aeneid* loses its resemblance to the First Book of *The Faerie Queene* but begins to recall the second. Virgil's monsters about the gates of Dis are described one after another as temptations or perturbations. The embodiments of Virgilian pity become allegories of sin. *Male Suada fames* and *turpis egestas* are treated as varieties of *aunt sacra fames*. The four rivers of hell become perturbations which test the firmness of Aeneas' virtue. Forti-

fied by the golden bough, he moves among them unharmed, just as Guyon does, accompanied by the Palmer, among the stormy temptations of the "Legend of Temperance." Aeneas' marble temple to Apollo is only a symbol of the fact that, "sic mens nullis perturbationibus frangatur sed illas frangat" (p. 20). The entire *Aeneid*, like Spenser's Second Book, is but an allegory showing that

Who ever doth to temperaunce apply
His stedfast life, and all his actions frame,
Trust me, shall find no greater enemy,
Then stubbornne perturbation, to the same. (2. 5. 1.)

For Landini and Scaliger alike, the final meaning of the *Aeneid* consisted in its union of the principle of resistance to evil as incarnated in Aeneas with that of divine providence as less satisfactorily represented by the interferences of the gods in his story.

In *The Faerie Queene* Spenser combined the principles of resistance to evil and of divine providence conspicuously in his Second Book. Guyon's adventures are an illustration of the paradox which is implicit in the union of those two principles. Like Aeneas, he is constantly in need of metaphysical aid. At the crucial moment it is always at hand. As if to leave us in no doubt of his meaning, Spenser put his famous profession of faith in the care of heaven at the turning point in Guyon's story, at the head of the eighth canto of the Second Book.

And is there care in heaven? And is there love
In heavenly spirits to these creatures bace,
That may compassion of their evilles move?
There is: else much more wretched were the cace
Of men than beasts. But O th'exceeding grace
Of highest God that loves his creatures so.

In the allegorical interpretation of the *Aeneid* by the Neo-Platonic writers of the Renaissance we have the key to the allegory of *The Faerie Queene*. The actions suitable to heroic poetry, wrote Tasso (*Opere* 12, p. 7), are "Le forme della fortezza, della temperanza, della prudenza, della fede, e della pietà, e della religione, e d'ogni altra virtù, la quale, o sia acquistata per lunga esercitazione, o infusa per grazia divina." In Tasso's long exercise and grace divine we have crystallized the essence of the theory which Landini inherited and so amazingly developed in the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*—the theory that Aeneas is made perfect by contemplation of God and that he is disciplined for the mystical experience by the perturbations of the active life. In Tasso's list of heroic virtues we have the real basis of the division of *The Faerie Queene* into "the twelve morall virtues which Aristotle hath devised." Aristotle, of course, was only one in a distinguished galaxy who contributed to the Spenserian virtues. Over them all was flung a veil of mysticism dyed in the colors of the allegorical interpretation which the Renaissance read into Virgil's conception of Aeneas. Even for so unmythical a critic as Sperone, Aeneas possessed "cotale habito di fortezza, o di prudenza, o di temperantia." All these qualities, which "volle Virgilio significare per la presenza di Venere" (*Dialoghi*, p. 284), were for the school of Landini but the discipline preliminary to a spiritual consummation not unlike that to which Beatrice guided Dante, but more like that to which Una guided the Knight of the Red Cross.

The profoundest Virgilian philosophy which could be embodied in *The Faerie Queene* was the Sibyl's wisdom, "Ne cede malis," but it had been strangely Christianized. The Neo-Platonic commentators made the Sibyl's advice the basis of an ascetic allegory. The epic of Augustan Rome became a parable of the struggle of "the resolved soul with created pleasure." Spenser conceived a romance the whole ethos and plan of which were involved in that struggle. In doing so he may seem today to have written with his intellect and imagination in shackles to medieval tradition. We cannot, however, discount the fact that the vague "philosophy" of moral earnestness which Spenser's contemporaries found in the *Aeneid* penetrated the conception of epic poetry held by all thinking men. The "high seriousness" of *The Faerie Queene* may owe much directly to Virgil. Certainly it owes something to the mystical interpretation of his work by his allegorical commentators. . . . Spenser's admiration for Virgil, the "profound philosopher," may have been unhistorical but it was not naïve, and it was quite as important a factor in the creation of *The Faerie Queene* as was his admiration for Virgil, the artist.

W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 50-5, 174-6). Thus in choosing the national legend of Arthur, and in using it to shadow events of his own time, Spenser was acting on recognized principles: Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, Ronsard, had done so before him. The choice of matter suited the national feeling—Boiardo probably took up the Charlemagne cycle because it fell under his hand, though indeed Italy had a hereditary interest in Emperors, and in Charlemagne himself—the Matter of Britain was inevitable to Spenser, and it could be defended upon the best classical precedents. Milton and Dryden, who both meditated the same scheme, would have given the same reasons. He appears to have attempted another combination of methods. Giraldi Cinthio distinguishes between Epic and Romance again thus: "The subjects or materials of the romances are not after the same manner as those of Virgil and of Homer. For each of the latter have set themselves in their compositions to imitate a single action of a single man, and ours have many actions, not only of one man, but of many. For the fabric of their work is built up on eight or ten people" (p. 11). Pigna, who compares Romance more closely with Epic, varies this statement slightly: "In order to be Epic, this illustrious action shall be one single action of one single person. . . . The Romances set themselves indeed to many actions of many men, but propose to themselves one man especially, who is celebrated above all the others, and so they concur with the Epics in choosing a single person, but as to a single event it is not so, for they treat of as many as they think enough" (p. 25. Cf. Minturno, *L'Arte Poetica*, p. 27). When *The Faerie Queene* is examined in this light, it is evident that Spenser had the virtues of both in view, and even if his difficulties are partly solved by Pigna's preëminent hero, he inclines to the method which, of several discussed by Pigna, is nearest to Epic. *The Faerie Queene* treats of many actions of many men, but there is an attempt to give it unity by interweaving with these actions the single epic action of the single epic hero, Prince Arthur's search for Gloriana. The attempt is not successful, but it is made, and the device of separating the minor actions into Books may be an attempt to keep the minor heroes in their places, so that the greater action and the greater hero may be more clearly disengaged and ensured his due share of attention. The story of Arthegall and Britomart succeeds in overriding the division between Books III and IV, just

as that of Ruggiero and Bradamante, from which Spenser's story was imitated, thrusts into the background the principal action of the madness of Orlando, and for the same reasons, that its bearing on contemporary events and "le los du seigneur" gave it an undesigned prominence, and that the main action was not completely clear in all its bearings even to the poet himself. The coincidence of the Twelve Paladins and the Twelve Books of the Aeneid probably had more to do with the original plan of *The Faerie Queene* than any "invention" or "disposition" of the tale of Prince Arthur.

The incompleteness of *The Faerie Queene* obscures the construction more than incompleteness need, because the over-ingenious scheme did not grow out of the main action, or out of any action, but was devised from purely mechanical data of critical theory, and especially, as Spenser himself had to confess, because of that constantly cited commonplace of Epic criticism, "to begin in the middle," derived from Horace. . . . Pigna notes that "Nowadays this is in everyone's mouth, that one should not begin *ab ovo*." Each Book of *The Faerie Queene* is constructed upon this principle of "disposition," and so is the poem as a whole, and it is the latter that makes the explanation necessary. "The methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly as they were done, accounting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the midst, even where it most concerneth him, and there recouring to thinges forepaste, and divining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all." The contrast of poet and historian is made by Pigna, by Giraldi Cinthio, by Minturno, and most clearly by Ronsard; Spenser could hardly escape it, and his statement of the principle suggests that he regarded his poem as having at least some of the nature of Epic. Cinthio remarks that "there are a thousand wayes of shortening the length of the work without ceasing to describe all the life of the hero of whom the poet has set himself to write, as making some things be predicted by seers, making others be painted, and making others be narrated," all of which expedients Spenser adopted; but when he leaves the biographical poem Cinthio distinguishes two other kinds of Heroic, the Epic and the Romantic types, each having its appropriate method of disposition. "First it is to be ascertained, whether it is desired to write a poem of one single action, or of many actions of many men, or all those of a single man. If we wish to select the first, I think it laudable to follow the examples of the writers who have written of that in praiseworthy fashion, on whom Aristotle and Horace founded their doctrines. And thus the first thing about which warning has to be given will be, not to begin at the beginning, but with that part which seems to the writer to be most to the purpose . . . as we see Homer did. . . . But because I have not seen in our tongue a poem of this manner of composition which merits praise, I shall not dilate much upon it. . . . If the argument of the work is to be of many and various actions of many and various men, as are the compositions of the romances of our tongue . . . the opening will be born of that thing which is of greatest importance, and from which it appears all the others depend or are born, as we see the Count and Ariosto have done." The disposition of *The Faerie Queene*, then, is based on epic precedents; here as in its division into Books and also into Cantos, there seems to be an attempt to combine the virtues of both methods of Heroic Poetry.

This idea of reconciliation was, as we have seen, fundamental to the new poetry. The hope to overgo Ariosto by correcting the weakness of *Orlando Furioso* produced this elaborate scheme based on critical principles, as it produced the similar scheme of Tasso. Since, however, it is in the scheme that the attempt is apparent, and the scheme is as early as 1580, when Gabriel Harvey saw part of the poem, it occurred to Spenser in England at least a year before Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* was published in Italy, seven years before the *Discorsi e Lettere* in which Tasso explained his project, and the influence of Tasso probably tended rather to disturb than to assist. The planning is all very dull and pedantic, but the modern reader must remember that this was the latest criticism of the latest poetry, which was being discussed by everyone who was interested in literature; it is confused and sometimes contradictory; probably it was never very clear to Spenser. Yet it helped. The very diversity of Spenser's masters saved him from mere chaos, which might have resulted from the exclusive imitation of Ariosto and the other romancers, and from the deadly rigidity of the purely classicist formulas with which Ronsard shackled himself in *La Franciade*. Even the existence of this criticism was useful, for it forced people to think about such questions as matter and construction. Sheer poetic strength, of course, gave *The Faerie Queene* its success, but the greatest strength must be directed in a definite course. The poet has not yet appeared who can create an entirely new form on a large scale—Wordsworth tried it, and though, unlike Spenser, he had leisure to think of nothing else, he accomplished only the *Prelude* to an impossible immensity.

How much of this Spenser learned from Aristotle is very obvious, as his debt to Plato is obvious, but as we have seen, he was thirled to neither of them. The attempts that have been made to discover the source of the Twelve Virtues in Aristotle or in his commentators have all been unsuccessful, and it would be more surprising to find than to miss it. Some credit must be given to Spenser: just as the new poets combated the notion that all the world's store of poetic power has been expended on the earlier races, so they would have claimed for the modern age some power of thought, if only because Christianity had reoriented many of the ancient problems. There were to be twelve Books in *The Faerie Queene* because that was the correct number for an epic poem, not because there were any twelve virtues; and the phrase of Spenser "the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised," is best and most simply understood to mean "the twelve moral virtues which are such as Aristotle would call *private* virtues." Artistic motives must be kept in mind as well as philosophic, and temperament as well as reason. Thus Plato appealed to the spiritual and artistic nature of the poet, and Lucretius to his feeling for this world that is caught in the whirl of change—and, since temperament must judge of temperament, one reader at least feels that the deeper communion of spirit was between Spenser and Lucretius, that there is a depth of tone in the Lucretian passages of *Faerie Queene* more moving and more heartfelt than the somewhat shrill straining of the *Hymnes* of Love and Beauty. But if one name be asked for, as of him who most formed the thought, and the habit of thought, of Spenser, then it were best, here also, to turn back to his early training, and there, of all thinkers that he would be made to study, we find the prose idol of the humanists, Cicero. *The Faerie Queene*, with much in it *de Natura Deorum*, is the *de Officiis* and the *de Finibus* of the Renaissance, deriving the elements of

a complex civic and personal ideal from the opinions of many philosophers, aiming at stability and the proper distribution of rights and duties in an uncertain world, with a backward glance at the pristine virtues of the past and yet a wide outlook on the universe, preaching the search for "what order may be, what it may be that is seemly and fitting, a measure in speech and action," observing man's relations with God, with his fellows, and with the state.

Spenser was not a mere critic of life, but a constructive idealist, and intent on a possible ideal. All his virtues, as has been said, are positive fighting virtues, and go to build up the positive ideal of Magnificence, magnanimity. Magnificence seems vague and uncertain. The place of Prince Arthur in the epic-romance was never quite clearly worked out; his appearances are fitful and unrelated, and this naturally obscures the expression of the virtue he represents, but we know that Magnificence includes all the others, and its difficulty is due to its complexity. The Renaissance would forego nothing and would shirk nothing, but endeavoured to combine in one comprehensive plan of life all personal and political good, religion, learning, and all arts and elegances. It is the most complex ideal that any poet ever attempted to express, inclusive of all that Virgil ceded to Greece and all he claimed for Rome, all the gifts and graces of Chaucer's knight and squire and clerk and parson, and all the art of Virgil and Chaucer with them. Intellect and feeling had to combine in it, and to combine equally. Spenser's philosophy lacked the lucidity and system of severe intellectual process, but at least it did not attain lucidity and system by a severe process of exclusion of all that might interfere with its security. And among all our philosophic poets that may be said of Spenser alone.

APPENDIX II

ON THE PROPRIETY OF THE ALLEGORY

JOSEPH SPENCE ("The Defects of our Modern Poets in their Allegories: instanced from Spenser's *Fairy Queen*," *Polymetis*, pp. 302-307). The faults of Spenser in relation to his machinery or allegories, (continued *Polymetis*,) seem to me, to be all reducible to three general heads. They arise either from that poet's mixing the fables of heathenism, with the truths of christianity,—or from his misrepresenting the allegories of the antients;—or from something that is wrong in the allegories of his own invention. As to the two former, I shall not have much to say; but shall beg leave to be a little more diffuse, as to the third.

The strongest instance I can recollect of the first kind, his mixing christianity and heathenism together, is in that short view, which he gives of the infernal regions; in the seventh Canto, of the second book. You may read the passage here, in his *Fairy Queen* (2. 7. 62). The particular part I mean, is where he speaks of Jupiter and Tantalus, and of Pontius Pilate and our Saviour, almost in the same breath.

The instances of Spenser's misrepresenting the stories, and allegorical personages, of the antients, are not uncommon in this poem. Thus, in a former view of hell, he speaks of Esculapius (1. 5. 40-43), as in eternal torments. In another place, he introduces a company of satyrs, to save a lady (1. 6. 6-19) from a rape; tho' their distinguishing character was lust: and makes Sylvanus (1. 6. 15) the god or governor of the satyrs, a dignity which the antients never speak of for him; no more than of the ivy-girdle (1. 6. 14), which he gives him, round his waist. It is with the same sort of liberty as I take it that he describes the day, or morning (5. 10. 16), as having purple hair; the Sirens (2. 12. 31), as half-fish; and Bacchus, as fat (3. 1. 51): that he speaks of Clio, as Apollo's (1. 11. 5) wife; and of Cupid, as brother (2. 8. 6) of the Graces: and that he represents Orion, in one place, as flying from a snake (2. 2. 46), in the heavens; and, in another, as a water-god, and one of the attendants of Neptune. The latter is in Spenser's account of the marriage of the Thames and Medway; in which he has greatly increased Neptune's court; and added (4. 11. 15) several deities as attendants to that god; which were never regarded as such by any of the antients.

This may be sufficient to shew, that where Spenser does introduce the allegories of the antient poets, he does not always follow them so exactly as he might; and in the allegories which are purely of his own invention, (tho' his invention is one of the richest and most beautiful that perhaps ever was,) I am sorry to say, that he does not only fall very short of that simplicity and propriety which is so remarkable in the works of the antients; but runs now and then into thoughts, that are quite unworthy so great a genius. I shall mark out some of these faults to you, that appear even through all his beauties; and which may, perhaps, look quite gross to you, when they are thus taken from them, and laid together by themselves: but if they should prejudice you at all against so fine a writer; read almost any one of his entire Canto's, and it will reconcile you to him again. The

reason of my producing these instances to you, is only to shew what faults the greatest allegorist may commit; whilst the manner of allegorizing is left upon so unfixed and irregular a footing as it was in his time, and is still among us.

The first sort of fault I shall mention to you, from such allegories of Spenser as are purely of his own invention, is their being sometimes too complicated, or over-done. Such for example are his representations of Scandal, Discord, and Pride.

Scandal, is what Spenser calls, the Blatant Beast: and indeed he has made a very strange beast of him. He says, that his mouth was as wide (6. 12. 26) as a peck: and that he had a thousand tongues in it; of dogs, cats, bears, tygers, men, and serpents (6. 12. 28).

There is a duplicity in his figure of Discord, which is carried on so far as to be quite preposterous. He makes her hear double, and look two different ways; he splits her tongue, and even her heart, in two: and makes her act contrarily with her two hands; and walk forward with one foot, and backward with the other, at the same time (4. 1. 29).

There is a great deal of Apparatus in Spenser's manner of introducing Pride, in a personal character: and she has so many different things and attributes about her; that was this shew to be represented, (in the manner of our old pageants,) they would rather set one a guessing what they meant themselves, than serve to point out who the principal figure should be. She makes her appearance (1. 4. 18-36), exalted in a high chariot, drawn by six different creatures: every one of them carrying a Vice, as a postilion, on his back; and all drove on by Satan, as charioteer. The six Vices are Idleness, on an ass; Gluttony, on a hog; Lechery, on a goat; Avarice, on a camel laden with gold; Envy, eating a toad, and riding on a wolf; and Wrath, with a firebrand in his hand, on a lion. The account of each of these particular Vices in Spenser, is admirable: the chief fault I find with it is, that it is too complex a way of characterizing Pride in general; and may possibly be as improper in some few respects, as it is redundant in others.

There is another particular in some of Spenser's allegories which I cannot but look upon as faulty, tho' it is not near so great a fault as the former. What I mean is his affixing such filthy ideas to some of his personages, or characters, that it half turns one's stomach to read his account of them. Such, for example, is the description of Error (1. 1. 20), in the very first Canto of the poem; of which we may very well say, in the poet's own words, on a like occasion:

Such loathly matter, were small lust to speak, or think!

(5. 11. 31)

The third fault in the allegories of Spenser's own invention is, that they are sometimes stretched to such a degree, that they appear rather extravagant than great: and that he is sometimes so minute, in pointing out every particular of its vastness to you; that the object is in danger of becoming ridiculous, instead of being admirable. This is not common in Spenser: the strongest instance of the few I can remember, is in his description of the dragon, killed by the knight of the red-cross, in the last Canto of his first book. The tail of this dragon, he tells you, wanted but very little of being (1. 11. 11) three furlongs in length;—the blood, that gushes from his wound, is (1. 11. 22) enough to drive a water-mill;—and his roar, is like that of a hundred (1. 11. 37) hungry lions.

The fourth class of faults in Spenser's allegories, consists of such as arise from

their not being well invented. You will easily, I believe, allow me here, the three following postulata. That in introducing allegories, one should consider whether the thing is fit to be represented as a person, or not. Secondly; that if you chuse to represent it as a human personage, it should not be represented with any thing inconsistent with the human form or nature. And thirdly, that when it is represented as a man, you should not make it perform any action, which no man in his senses would do.

Spenser seems to have erred against the first of these maxims, in those lines in his description of the cave of Care.

They for nought would from their work refrain,
Nor let his speeches come unto their ear;
And eke the breathful bellows blew again
Like to the northern wind, that none could hear:
Those, Pensiveness did move; and Sighs, the bellows were
(4. 5. 38)

Was a poet to say that sighs are "the bellows, that blow up the fire of love," that would be only a metaphor: a poor one indeed; but not at all improper: but here they are realized, or rather metamorphized into bellows; which I could never persuade myself to think any way proper. Spenser is perhaps guilty of the same sort of fault, in making Gifts, or Munera, a woman; in the second Canto of the fifth book (5. 2. 9, 10): tho' that may be only a misnomer; for if he had called her Bribery, one should not have the same objection. But the grossest instance in him of this kind, is in the ninth Canto of the second book (2. 9. 21, 25-6): where he turns the human body into a castle; the tongue, into the porter, that keeps the gate; and the teeth, into two and thirty warders, dressed in white—Spenser seems to have erred against the second of these maxims, in representing the rigid execution of the laws under the character of a man (5. 1. 12) all made up of iron; and Bribery, (or the lady Munera, before mentioned,) as a woman (5. 2. 10), with golden hands, and silver feet:—and against the third, where he describes Desire (3. 12. 9), as holding coals of fire in his hands and blowing them up into a flame: which last particular is some degrees worse than Ariosto's bringing in Discord, in his Orlando Furioso (18. 34); with a flint and steel, to strike fire in the face of Pride.

The fifth sort of faults is when the allegorical personages, tho' well invented, are not well marked out. There are many instances of this in Spenser, which are but too apt to put one in mind of the fancifulness and whims of Ripa and Vaenius, that I mentioned to you this evening. Thus in one Canto, Doubt is represented as walking with a staff, that shrinks (3. 12. 10) under him; Hope, with an aspergoire (3. 12. 13), or an instrument the Roman catholicks use for sprinkling sinners with holy-water; Dissimulation (3. 12. 14), as twisting two clews of silk together; Grief (3. 12. 16), with a pair of pincers; and Pleasure (3. 12. 18), with an humble-bee in a phial: and in another, (in the procession of the months and seasons,) February is introduced (*Mut.* 7. 43) in a waggon, drawn by two fishes; May, as riding (*Mut.* 7. 34) on Castor and Pollux: June, is mounted (*Mut.* 7. 35) on a crab; October (*Mut.* 7. 39), on a scorpion: and November comes in, on a Centaur (*Mut.* 7. 40), all in a sweat; because, (as the poet observes,) he had just been fattening his hogs.

This might, full as well, have been ranged under my sixth and last class of faults in Spenser's allegories; consisting of such instances as, I fear, can scarce be called by any softer name, than that of Ridiculous Imaginations. Such, I think, is that idea of Ignorance, in the first book, where he is made to move (1. 8. 31) with the back part of his head foremost; and that of Danger in the fourth (4. 10. 16-7, 20), with Hatred, Murder, Treason, etc. in his back.—Such is the sorrowful lady, with a bottle for her tears, and a bag to put her repentance into (6. 8. 24); and both running out, almost as fast as she puts them in.—Such the thought of a vast giant's (1. 8. 24) shrinking into an empty form, like a bladder;—the horses of Night (1. 5. 28), foaming far;—Sir Guyon, putting a padlock (2. 4. 12) on the tongue of Occasion; and Remorse, nipping (1. 10. 27) St. George's heart.

Had Spenser formed his allegories on the plan of the antient poets and artists, as much as he did from Ariosto and the Italian allegorists, he might have followed nature much more closely; and would not have wandered so often, into such strange and inconsistent imaginations. I am apt to believe, that he considered the *Orlando Furioso*, in particular, as a poem wholly serious; tho' the author of it certainly wrote it partly in jest. There are several lines and passages in it, that must have been intended for burlesque; and they surely consider that poem in the truest light, who consider it as a work of a mixed nature: as something between the professed gravity of Tasso, and the broad laugh of Berni and his followers. Perhaps Spenser's taking some things to be said seriously, which Ariosto meant for ridicule; may have led him now and then to say things that are ridiculous, where he meant to be very serious.

However that may be, we may reasonably conclude from so great failures as I have been mentioning to you, in so great a man; (whether they arise from his too much indulging the luxuriance of his own fancy, or from his copying after so irregular a pattern,) that it would be extremely useful for our poets in general, to follow the plan of allegory, as far as it is settled to their hands by the antients: at least, till some modern may have invented and established some better plan for them to go upon; a thing, which (to deal fairly with you,) I do not expect to see done in our days. † . .

THOMAS WARTON (*Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser* 1 224-6). But although Spenser studied Ariosto with such attention, insomuch that he was ambitious of rivalling the *Orlando Furioso* in a poem formed on a similar plan, yet the genius of each was entirely different. Spenser, amidst all his absurdities, abounds with beautiful and sublime representations; while Ariosto's strokes of true poetry bear no proportion to his sallies of merely romantic imagination. He gives us the grotesque for the graceful, and extravagance for majesty. He frequently moves our laughter by the whimsical figures of a Callot, but seldom wakens our admiration by the just portraits of a Raphael. Ariosto's vein is essentially different from Spenser's; it is absolutely comic, and infinitely better suited to scenes of humour, than to serious and solemn description. He so characteristically excels in painting the familiar manners, that those detached pieces in the *Orlando* called Tales, are by far the most shining passages in the poem. Many of his similes are also glaring indications of his predominant inclination to ridicule.

But if there should be any readers, who, from some of the fictions in *Orlando*, would prove that its author possessed an extensive and elevated invention, let them

remember, that these are commonly borrowed from romances, and applied by the poet to the tenor of his allegory. Yet even here, he gives no proofs of a strong imagination. For although romances were his ground-work, yet it appears, that he was more fond of imitating their enormous improbabilities, than of adorning his poetry with the more glorious and genuine colourings of their magnificent conceptions.

Ibid. (2. 95-101). (Instead of entering into a critical examination of Spenser's manner of allegorising, and of the poetical conduct of his allegories,) which has been done with an equally judicious and ingenious discernment by Mr. Spence, (I shall observe, that our author frequently introduces an allegory, under which no meaning is couched; viz. 2. 9. 21. *Alma* is the mind, and her *Castle* the body. The tongue is the porter of this castle, the nose the portcullis, and the mouth the porch, about the inside of which are placed twice sixteen warders clad in white, which are the teeth; these *Alma* passes by, who rise up, and do obeisance to her st. 26. But how can the teeth be said to rise up and bow to the mind? Spenser here forgot, that he was allegorising, and speaks as if he was describing, without any latent meaning, a real queen, with twice sixteen real warders, who, as such, might, with no impropriety, be said to rise and bow to their queen. Many instances of his confounding allegory with reality, occur through this whole canto, and the two next; particularly, where he is describing the kitchen of this castle, which is the belly, he gives us a formal description of such a kitchen, as was to be seen in his time in castles, and great houses, by no means expressive of the thing intended. Again, the occult meaning of his bringing Scudamore to the house of *Care*, 4. 5. 32. clashes with what he had before told us. By this allegory of Scudamore coming to *Care's* house, it should be understood, that "Scudamore, from a happy, passed into a miserable state." For we may reasonably suppose, that before he came to *Care's* house, he was unacquainted with *Care*; whereas the poet had before represented him as involved in extreme misery. It would be tedious, by an allegation of particular examples, to demonstrate how frequently his allegories are mere descriptions; and that taken in their literal sense, they contain an improper, or no signification. I shall, however, mention one. The *Blatant Beast* is said to break into the monasteries, to rob their chancels, cels, cast down the desks of the monks, deface the altars, and destroy the images found in their churches. By the *Blatant Beast* is understood Scandal, and by the havock just mentioned as effected by it, is implied the suppression of religious houses and popish superstition. But how can this be properly said to have been brought about by scandal? And how could Spenser in particular, with any consistency say this, who was, as appears by his pastorals, a friend to the reformation, as was his heroine Elizabeth?

But there is another capital fault in our author's allegories, which does not immediately fall under the stated rules of criticism. "Painters," says a French writer, "ought to employ their allegories in religious pictures, with much greater reserve than in profane pieces. They may, indeed, in such subjects as do not represent the mysteries and miracles of our religion, make use of an allegorical composition, the action whereof shall be expressive of some truth, that cannot be represented otherwise, either in painting or sculpture. I agree therefore to let them draw *Faith* and *Hope* supporting a dying person, and *Religion* in deep affliction at the feet of a deceased prelate. But I am of opinion, that artists who treat of the miracles and dogmas of our religion, are allowed no kind of allegorical compo-

sition. . . . The facts whereon our religion is built, and the doctrine it delivers, are subjects in which the painter's imagination has no liberty to sport." (Abbe du Bos, *Reflections*. &c. tom. i. c. xxiv.) The conduct which this author blames, is practised by Spenser, with this difference only; that the painters here condemned are supposed to adapt human allegory to divine mystery, whereas (Spenser has mingled divine mystery with human allegory. Such a practice as this tends not only to confound sacred and profane subjects, but to place the licentious sallies of imagination upon a level with the dictates of divine inspiration; to debase the truth and dignity of heavenly things, by making Christian allegory subservient to the purposes of Romantick fiction.)

This fault our author, through a defect of judgment rather than a contempt of religion, has most glaringly committed throughout his whole first book, where the imaginary instruments and expedients of romance, are perpetually interwoven, with the mysteries contained in the *Book of Revelations*. Duessa, who is formed upon the idea of a romantic enchantress, is gorgeously arrayed in gold and purple, presented with a triple crown by the giant Orgoglio, and seated by him on a monstrous seven-headed dragon, (1. 7. 16) whose tail reaches to the skies, and throws down the stars, (st. 18) she bearing a golden cup in her hand. (1. 8. 25) This is the *Scarlet Whore*, and the *Red Dragon* in the *Revelations*. "Behold a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads; and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to earth" (Ch. 12. ver. 3. 4). Again, "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns, and the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hands, full of abomination, and filthiness of her fornication" (Ch. 17. ver. 3. 4).

In Orgoglio's castle, which is described as very magnificent, Prince Arthur discovers

An altar carv'd with cunning imagery,
On which true Christians blood was often spilt,
And holy martyrs often doen to die,
With cruel malice and strong tyranny;
Whose blessed sprites, from underneath the stone,
To God for vengeance cride continually. (1. 8. 36)

The inspired author of the above-named book mentions the same of what he saw in heaven. "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, how long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge, and avenge our blood on them that dwell on earth" (Ch. 6 ver. 9 10).

A hermit points out to the *Redcrosse* knight the New Jerusalem, (1. 10. 53) which an angel discovers to St. John (c. 21. 10 &c.). This prospect is taken, says the poet, from a mountain more lofty than either the mount of Olives or Parnassus. These two comparisons, thus impertinently linked together, strongly remind us of the absurdity now spoken of, the mixture of divine truth, and profane invention; and naturally lead us to reflect on the difference between the oracles uttered from the former, and the fictions of those who dreamed on the latter.

Spenser, in the visionary dominions of Una's father, has planted the *Tree of Life*, and of *Knowledge*: from the first of the trees, he says, a well flowed, whose

waters contained a most salutary virtue, and which the dragon could not approach. Thus, in the same scripture, "He shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the *Tree of Life*" (Ch. 22. ver. 1. 4). The circumstance, in particular, of the dragon not being able to approach this water, is literally adopted from romance, as has been before observed. Thus also by the steps and fictions of romance, we are conducted to the death of the dragon who besieged the parents of Una, by which is figured the destruction of the old serpent mentioned in the *Apocalypse*.

The extravagancies of Pagan mythology are not improperly introduced into a poem of this sort, as they are acknowledged falsities; or at best, if expressive of any moral truth, no more than the inventions of men. But the poet that applies the *visions* of God in such a manner is guilty of an impropriety, which, I fear, amounts to an impiety.

JOHN WILSON ("The Fairy Queen," pp. 416-420). We are sorrier to see Tom Warton joining in this censure of Spenser. He cites with apparent approbation a French critic—whose name, perhaps, we ought to know, but do not—who says, "I agree to let painters draw Faith and Hope supporting a dying person, and Religion in deep affliction at the feet of a deceased prelate. But I am of opinion, that artists who treat of the miracles and dogmas of our religion, are allowed no kind of allegorical exposition. The facts whereon our religion is built, and the doctrine it delivers, are subjects in which the painter's imagination has no liberty to sport." No liberty to sport! But it may have liberty to range without sporting—to range in reverence—to fall down and adore. The greatest painters have so studied and used the Scriptures—and genius has sanctified, glorified religion. Pity so wise a man as Warton should have asserted, that the conduct which this author blames, is practised by Spenser, with this difference only, that the painters here condemned are supposed to adapt human allegory to divine mystery, whereas Spenser has mingled divine mystery with human allegory. Such a practice, he adds, tends not only to confound sacred and profane subjects, but to place the licentious sallies of imagination upon a level with the dictates of divine inspiration; to debase the truth and dignity of heavenly things, by making Christian allegory subservient to the purposes of romantic fiction. These are strong words, yet he uses some still stronger—"the poet that applies the visions of God in such a manner is guilty of an impropriety, which, I fear, amounts to an impiety." And how does Warton support this accusation? He says Spenser has glaringly committed this fault "through a defect of judgment, rather than in contempt of religion," throughout his whole first book, where the imaginary instruments and expedients of romance are perpetually interwoven with the mysteries contained in the Book of Revelation. Thus Duessa, who is formed upon the idea of a romantic enchantress, is gorgeously arrayed in gold and purple, presented with a triple crown by the giant Orgoglio, and seated by him on a monstrous seven-headed dragon whose tail reaches to the skies, and throws down the stars—she bearing a golden cup in her hand. This, quoth he, is the scarlet whore and the red dragon in the Revelations. True. But we utterly deny that there is here either defect of judgment or contempt of religion. The aim of the poet was so high, that he was privileged to employ imagery from the *Apocalypse*. His sacred

desire was to shew forth Falsehood in all her power and all her pride, and he turned to the vision seen by "him to lonely Patmos banished," and in a religious spirit strove for the good of his brethren of mankind—to resshadow it in words that did then partake of inspiration—imparted—and yet born within his own great breast. There is here no desecration of things holy, but effective worship. It is the sublime application by a poet of a prophet's verses, even to the same subject. 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.)

Warton is especially shocked at the stanzas in which a hermit points out to the Red Crosse Knight the New Jerusalem, which an angel discovers to St. John. "This prospect," says the poet—(we are now quoting Warton's words)—"is taken from a mountain more lofty than either the Mount of Olives or Parnassus. These two comparisons, thus impertinently linked together, strongly remind us of the absurdity now spoken of, the mixture of divine truth and profane invention; and naturally lead us to reflect on the difference between the oracles uttered from the former, and the fictions of those who dreamed on the latter." It is not true that Spenser speaks of a mountain "*more lofty* than either the Mount of Olives or Parnassus." Had he done so, some impiety might have seemed to lurk in his words. Would we could quote the whole divine passage, for the sacred bard's vindication! Go and read the canto with a hushed heart. Let nine stanzas now suffice to silence him who unwittingly "hath done the gentle poet wrong." [Quotes stanzas 46-54 of canto 10.]

That is sacred poetry—if there be any besides what is in the Bible. The comparisons here are not "impertinently linked together"; but image of mount after mount arises in a religious trance—wherein "heaven and earth do make one imagery," and all that is purest, brightest, highest, best in humanity, the pious poet brings into blessed union with the gracious but ineffable mercies of the Divine. Would you strike out from Spenser such visions as these, in fear that he hath therein offended God and Christ? We have been told how we are to worship, and how to serve—in spirit and in truth. No reproach for having read these stanzas will ever be breathed on us from the pages of the New Testament; and he by whom they were written must have been conversant with the Book of Life,

But to return to Mister Spence—and "his second general head of the faults of Spenser in relation to his machinery and allegories"—namely, his misrepresenting the allegories of the ancients. Old Polymetis, who, though a respectable scholar, was but a booby of the lowest form in scholarship to Spenser, blames all the beautiful intermeddling with the Greek mythology which the poet makes in the fulness of knowledge and the spirit of love. He rates him for introducing a company of Satyrs to save a lady from rape, "though their distinguishing character," quoth Poly, "was lust." Oh! blindness beyond bat or mole not to see the beauty of the power of chastity in changing the brutal nature of the most salvage

of beasts! Then Spenser has absolutely made Sylvanus the god or governor of the Satyrs!—a dignity of which there is no mention in the ancients; and he has—without authority—put an ivy-girdle round his waist! 'Twas right that the old governor should be decent as well as dignified; in ancient days he never saw the face of Una. Spence berates Spenser for having unclassically given the Day or Morning purple hair; yet he himself wore a wig illustrious with that light of love. The poet, too, is charged with making the Sirens half-fish—which Horace seems to have done before him, and Flaxman after;—

“Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne,”

(Being, we hope, not applicable to ladies not absolutely Sirens. But all these violations of the respect due to the Greek mythology are trifles to the three that follow. The author of the Faerie Queen has wantonly, and in the face of the Heralds' office, married Clío to Apollo, thereby throwing a slur on the other Muses, who must be looked on in the light of mistresses; more audacious still, he has asserted that Cupid is brother to the Graces, who are thus made the natural daughters of Venus, which we verily believe they were; and he reaches the climax in iniquity, by not only bringing Neptune to the marriage of the Thames and Medway (surely nobody who has tasted the water between Sheerness and Chatham can doubt that it is salt)—but by greatly increasing the sea-god's court, and adding several deities as his attendants, which were never regarded as such by any of the ancients. What an advantage to a critic to be well read in the classics!

The schoolmaster, who really seems somewhat abroad, having thus illustrated “two general heads of faults,” proceeds to the third—and then pats Cerberus on the back. While he allows that Spenser's “invention is one of the most beautiful that perhaps ever was,” he is “sorry to say that he does not only fall short of that simplicity and propriety which is so remarkable in the works of the ancients, but runs now and then into thoughts that are quite unworthy of so great a genius.” He is even afraid to mention them, for they look quite gross taken by themselves; but conquering fear and repugnance, he refers to “the great deal of apparatus in Spenser's manner of introducing Pride”—drawn in a chariot by six different creatures, Satan being the charioteer—Idleness on an ass—Gluttony on a hog—Lechery on a goat—Avarice on a camel laden with gold—Envy eating a toad, and riding on a wolf—and Wrath, with a firebrand in his hand, riding on a lion. Satan's Equipage is beyond the comprehension of Spence—and he cannot credit his own eyes as he sees old Coachee dashing by, six-in-hand, without troubling himself to pay the turnpikes. “The chief fault I find with it is, that it is too complex a way of characterising pride in general; and may possibly be as improper in some few respects as it is redundant in others.” The description too, of the dragon killed by the Knight of the Red Cross, in the last canto of the first book, puzzles Polymetis. The tail of this dragon—he exclaims—holding up his hands with pen behind his ear—“wanted very little of being three furlongs in length; the blood that gushes from his wound is enough to drive a water-mill, and his roar is like that of a hundred hungry lions.” What a prodigious monster! Yet he might have remembered how a serpent once arrested the progress of a Roman army—that Milton represents Satan—who was not only *a* but *the* Great Dragon—as “floating many a rood”; while in justification of Spence, we should have simply pointed to the Ram of Derby—or referred Mr. Spence to Squire More of

Moreshall. Had all such references failed to convince him of the propriety of the passage, then we should have called on him for the legal dimensions of a dragon—got the Place of the Times to measure him for an iron-shirt to clap over his scales—and turning him out some Sunday into the dress-ring in the Park, given the fashionable world an opportunity of forming their own judgment, in full fig, of a hog in armour.

The faults of Spenser's allegories—"under the third general head"—are arranged by this precise and pompous pedant into six classes. We should murder the man whom we could prove to have arranged under the "third general head" of the faults of Christopher North, six classes of faults. All men are at liberty to call them "in numbers without number numberless"; but no man shall with impunity arrange them into six classes under the third general head. Curse classification of one's crimes. In the slump they leave you still human—divided and subdivided, and then multiplied, not the likeness of a dog. So fares Spenser the poet with Spence the arithmetician—so would fare William Shakespeare with Joseph Hume. He jots down as belonging to class second—general head third—"his affixing such filthy ideas to some of his personages that it half-turns one's stomach to read his account of them. Such, for example, is the description of Error." And what would have been the harm had it wholly turned Spence's stomach? To a man of sedentary habits nothing so salutary as an emetic. But men's stomachs are too often as strong as their hearts are hard—and to many Error looks lovely still, in spite of all the loathliest foulness in which the sage Spenser has steeped her, and we still see blinded boys and drivelling dotards kissing or slobbering the very maw of the monster, belching corruption from her rotten entrails. They will not even be *stunk* from the "Error of their ways," and finish their earthly career in the grave by poisoning the worms

APPENDIX III

SPENSER AND ARIOSTO AS ARTISTS

THOMAS WARTON (*Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser* 1. 224-6). But although Spenser studied Ariosto with such attention, insomuch that he was ambitious of rivalling the *Orlando Furioso* in a poem formed on a similar plan, yet the genius of each was entirely different. Spenser, amidst all his absurdities, abounds with beautiful and sublime representations; while Ariosto's strokes of true poetry bear no proportion to his sallies of merely romantic imagination. He gives us the grotesque for the graceful, and extravagance for majesty. He frequently moves our laughter by the whimsical figures of a Callot, but seldom awakens our admiration by the just portraits of a Raphael. Ariosto's vein is essentially different from Spenser's; it is absolutely comic, and infinitely better suited to scenes of humour, than to serious and solemn description. He so characteristically excels in painting the familiar manners, that those detached pieces in the *Orlando* called Tales, are by far the most shining passages in the poem. Many of his similes are also glaring indications of his predominant inclination to ridicule.

But if there should be any readers, who, from some of the fictions in *Orlando*, would prove that its author possessed an extensive and elevated invention, let them remember, that these are commonly borrowed from romances, and applied by the poet to the tenor of his allegory. Yet even here, he gives no proofs of a strong imagination. For although romances were his ground-work, yet it appears, that he was more fond of imitating their enormous improbabilities, than of adorning his poetry with the more glorious and genuine colourings of their magnificent conceptions.

HAZLITT ("On Chaucer and Spenser," *Collected Works*, 5. 35). He has in some measure borrowed the plan of his poem (as a number of distinct narratives) from Ariosto; but he has engrafted upon it an exuberance of fancy, and an endless voluptuousness of sentiment, which are not to be found in the Italian writer. Farther, Spenser is even more of an inventor in the subject-matter. There is an originality, richness, and variety in his allegorical personages and fictions, which almost vies with the splendor of the ancient mythology. If Ariosto transports us into the regions of romance, Spenser's poetry is all fairy-land. In Ariosto, we walk upon the ground, in a company, gay, fantastic, and adventurous enough. In Spenser, we wander in another world, among ideal beings. The poet takes and lays us in the lap of a lovelier nature, by the sound of softer streams, among greener hills and fairer valleys. He paints nature, not as we find it, but as we expected to find it; and fulfils the delightful promise of our youth. He waves his wand of enchantment—and at once embodies airy beings, and throws a delicious veil over all actual objects. The two worlds of reality and fiction are poised on the wings of his imagination. His ideas, indeed, seem more distinct than his perceptions. He is the painter of abstractions, and describes them with dazzling

minuteness. In the Mask of Cupid he makes the God of Love "clap on high his coloured wings *twain*": and it is said of Gluttony, in the Procession of the Passions,

In green vine leaves he was right fitly clad.

At times he becomes picturesque from his intense love of beauty; as where he compares Prince Arthur's crest to the appearance of the almond tree:

Upon the top of all his lofty crest,
A bunch of hairs discolour'd diversely
With sprinkled pearl and gold full richly drest
Did shake and seem'd to daunce for jollity;
Like to an almond tree ymounted high
On top of green Selenis all alone,
With blossoms brave bedecked daintily;
Her tender locks do tremble every one
At every little breath that under heav'n is blown.

The love of beauty, however, and not of truth, is the moving principle of his mind; and he is guided in his fantastic delineations by no rule but the impulse of an inexhaustible imagination. He luxuriates equally in scenes of Eastern magnificence; or the still solitude of a hermit's cell in the extremes of sensuality or refinement.

W. J. COURTHOPE (*History of English Poetry* 2. 268-274). The execution of the design equally breaks down on the purely epical side: the poem lacks human interest. We cannot believe in the reality, or consequently concern ourselves with the fortunes of beings who are felt to be mere abstractions. Spenser himself did not care about his personages, and his indifference makes him a languid storyteller. In this respect his style presents an extraordinary contrast with that of his master. I cannot give the reader a better illustration of the difference between the two poets than by comparing Ariosto's description of the battle between Orlando and the Ork (a sea-monster of the same voracious tendencies as the Minotaur), and Spenser's description of the fight between St. George and the Dragon at the end of the first book of the *Faery Queen*.

Ariosto's narrative is so concise that it will be as easy to give it in the poet's own words as in abstract. Orlando has set out in a boat with a cable and anchor to attack the Ork, and sees a lady chained to the rocks:

Perchè gli è ancor lontana, e perchè china
La faccia tien, non ben chi sia discerne;
Tira in fretta ambi i remi, e s' avvicina
Con gran disio di più notizia averne.
Ma mugghiar sente in questo la marina,
E rimbombar le selve, e le caverne:
Gonfiansi l' onde; ed ecco il mostro appare,
Che sotto il petto ha quasi ascoso il mare.

Come d' oscura valle umida ascende
Nube di pioggia e di tempesta pregna,
Che più che cieca notte si distende
Per tutto 'l mondo, e par che 'l giorno spegna
Così nuota la fera, e del mar prende

Tanto che si può dir che tutto il tegna:
Fremono l' onde. Orlando, in sè raccolto,
La mira altier, nè cangia cor nè volto.

E come quel ch' avea il pensier ben fermo,
Di quanto volea far, si mosse ratto;
E perchè alla donzella essere schermo,
E la fera assalir potesse a un tratto,
Entrò fra l' orca e lei col palischermo,
Nel fodero lasciando il brando piatto;
L' ancora con la gomona in man prese,
Poi con gran cor l' orribil mostro attese.

Tosto che l' orca s' accostò, e scoperse
Nel schifo Orlando con poco intervallo,
Per inghiottirlo tanta bocca aperse
Ch' entrato un uomo vi saria a cavallo.
Si spinse Orlando innanzi, e se gl' immerse
Con quella ancora in gola, e, s' io non fallo,
Col battello anco; e l' ancora attaccolle
E nel palato e nella lingua molle:

Sì che nè più si puon calar di sopra,
Ne alzar di sotto le mascelle orrende.
Così chi nelle mine il ferro adopra,
La terra, ovunque si fa via, suspende,
Chè subita ruina non lo cuopra,
Mentre mal cauto al suo lavoro intende.
Da un amo all' altro l' ancora è tanto alta,
Che non v' arriva Orlando, se non salta

Messo il puntello, e fattosi sicuro,
Che il mostro più serrar non può la bocca,
Stringe la spada, e per quell' antro oscuro,
Di qua e di là con tagli e punte tocca
Come si può, poi che son dentro al muro
Giunti i nemici, ben difender rocca;
Così difender l' orca si potea
Dal paladin che nella gola avea.

Dal dolor vinta or sopra il mar si lancia,
E mostra i fianchi e le scagliose schiene;
Or dentro vi s' attuffa, e con la pancia
Muove dal fondo e fa salir l' arene.
Sentendo l' acqua il cavalier di Francia,
Che troppo abbonda, a nuoto fuor ne viene:
Lascia l' ancora fitta, e in mano prende
La fune che dall' ancora dipende.

E con quella ne vien nuotando in fretta
Verso lo scoglio, ove, fermato il piede,
Tira l' ancora a sè, che in bocca stretta
Con le due punte il brutto mostro fiede,
L' orca a seguire il canape è costretta

Da quella forza ch' ogni forza eccede;
 Da quella forza che più in una scossa
 Tira, ch' in dieci un argano far possa.

Come toro salvatico, ch' al corno
 Gittar si senta un improvviso laccio,
 Salta di qua di là, s' aggira intorno,
 Si colca e lieva, e non può uscir d' impaccio:
 Così fuor del suo antico almo soggiorno
 L' orca, tratta per forza di quel braccio,
 Con mille guizzi e mille strane ruote,
 Segue la fune e scior non se ne puote.

Di bocca il sangue in tanta copia fonde,
 Che questo oggi il Mar Rosso si può dire,
 Dove in tal guisa ella percuote l' onde,
 Ch' insino al fondo le vedreste aprire:
 Ed or ne bagna il cielo, e il lume asconde
 Del chiaro sol; tanto le fa salire.
 Rimbombano al rumor, ch' intorno s' ode,
 Le selve, i monti, e le lontane prode.

In this wonderful description we admire the gravity of the narrator, and the vividness of his strokes, which seem to bring a most marvellous adventure within the domain of reality; the brevity of the style which prevents all feeling of languor; the approximation to prose idiom so judiciously combined with the musical ring of the disyllabic rhymes, and the skill with which the active narrative is accentuated by simile.

Spenser's manner is different enough. He first of all gives us a description of the dragon, extending over seven stanzas—a splendid painting. This is a sample of the manner in which the monster impresses his form on the poet's brilliant imagination: [Quotes stanza 10].

Now, remembering that Ariosto's description of the Ork was given in a simile of four lines, we expect something tremendous from an animal whose properties require sixty-three, and the impetus of whose body can stop the revolution of the spheres. The monster, however, is far from making the most of his advantages. His first movement is to upset horse and man with a brush of his tail. He then carries them both up into the air

So far as ewen bow a shaft may send,

but it never occurs to him to drop them. The Ork was a better general, as we have seen him force Orlando to leave his throat by the manoeuvre of diving. The dragon is wounded under the wing, at which he roars like an angry sea, and tears out the spear with his claws. These three actions occupy three stanzas. Winding his tail round the horse, he compels him to throw his rider, who attacks the dragon on foot but is unable to penetrate his brazen scales. The dragon, impatient of the combat, and endeavouring to fly off, is prevented by his wounded wing; whereat filled with fury, and remembering his tail, he again fells the knight to the ground. These incidents carry us forward fifty-four lines. Fortunately the champion falls backwards into a well of remarkable virtue:

Both Silo this and Jordan did excel,
 And the English Bath, and eke the German Spau,
 Ne can Cephise nor Hebrus match this well.

It is the Well of Life. The golden Phoebus now begins to steep his fiery face in the western billows, and St. George spends the night in the well, while his lady betakes herself to prayer. The fortunes of the second day's fight are much the same as the first, except that the dragon leaves off in worse case, having his head cloven, five joints of his tail cut off, and one of his paws hewn in sunder. He pours blasts of fire out of his mouth, and the knight, being forced to retire, stumbles and falls, this time under a tree whence flows a stream of balm. The dragon dares not approach the holy place, so that his enemy refreshes himself all night, Una being still in prayer.

The joyous daye gan early to appeare,
 And fayre Aurora from the deawy bed
 Of aged Tithone gan herself to reare,
 With rosy cheeks for shame as blushing red;

and the knight, arising at the same time, defies his enemy, who comes open-mouthed to make away with him at a rush. His impetuosity proves his destruction. A thrust of the sword into his throat puts an end to his abominable existence, and he falls to the ground with the shock of an earthquake.

The battle thus lasts through three days and fifty-five stanzas, or nearly five hundred lines. It is evident that the small number of incidents in proportion to the length of the story must prevent all rapidity of movement. The dilettante manner in which Spenser treats the whole affair is illustrated by the four lines of description, cited above, that open the third day's combat. There is also a want of realistic imagination about the narrative which prevents belief. The stupidity of the dragon in not making better of his wings has already been condemned. In the description we hear the clashing of his brazen scales, and feel his fiery eyes, which blaze like two great beacons; but during the fight these picturesque circumstances are not brought to our memory. Ariosto would have given life to this part of the story by striking terror into St. George's horse. We see no reason why, when the dragon has once carried horse and man off their feet, he should not grind them to pieces in his three ranks of iron teeth,

In which yet trickling blood and gobbets raw
 Of late devoured bodies did appeare.

If, however, it be urged that Spenser had no need of such realistic minuteness as the fight in an allegory, then it must be remembered that, except the Well and the Tree of Life, there is nothing in the adventure to recall the allegory to our mind. The dragon is the best described dragon in romance, but he has no diabolical symbols. St. George loses the shield of Faith, and scarcely feels the want of it; and when the monster is killed by a thrust of the knight's sword in his throat, we forget that this weapon is the Sword of the Spirit. If Spenser is not to be compared with Ariosto, he must be compared with Bunyan, and the necessary inference can be drawn from the parallel battle between Christian and Apollyon.

It must be decided then that, in the poetical qualities required to sustain the

interest of the reader through a poem so vast in its scope and in its actual length as the *Faery Queen*, Spenser was far inferior to the master whom he imitated.

H. J. C. GRIERSON (*Cross Currents in English Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 61-3). So far from succeeding in harmonising the spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation, Spenser's poetry is not most deeply affected by either the one or the other. With the art of the Renaissance he is in love, the new beauty of diction and harmony which he found in the French poetry of the *Pléiade* and the stanzas of Ariosto and Tasso. That he has made his own and enriched with—to our ears at least—a fuller, sweeter music. But neither the thought nor the temper of his poetry is quite that of the Renaissance as we meet it in Marlowe and Chapman, nor of the Puritan Reformation as it sounds in Milton. The spirit of his poetry is that of the age which was passing away, the age of romance and allegory and the cult of courtly love, the religion of love. *The Faerie Queene* is the last poem whose direct descent is from the *Romance of the Rose*, through Tasso and Ariosto. I speak, of course, of the effect of the poem on the imagination, not of its express purpose. The allegory is there to remind us from time to time that, as Dowden says, "the end of the whole is virtuous action." Nor do I wish to deny that in his own way Spenser does homage to ideals of holiness and purity and loyalty as well as courage and love. So does Ariosto; so does Tasso. We are apt to be a little self-righteous about the superior piety and purity of Protestant poetry; to think, both Americans and English, that seriousness is the first of virtues, and to misjudge a flippant and humorous poet like Ariosto. Mr. R. Neil Dodge, an American critic, quotes examples of borrowings by Spenser where what is comic or ironical in Ariosto's poem is by the Englishman taken quite seriously; and he adds: "When Spenser read the *Orlando Furioso* for suggestions he read it in the light of his own serene idealism." It might with equal justice be said that the English poet is deficient in a sense of humour. For it is not fair to judge Ariosto only by the cynical, ironical, humorous strain in his work. Mr. Edmund Gardner contends that Ariosto is a far more serious poet than his predecessor Boiardo, that his whole attitude towards women is far higher, that "Bradamante is a maiden warrior though no mere virago, as pure and steadfast as our Spenser's own Britomart, but incomparably more human and loveable." The worst canto in the *Orlando* is not more disgusting than Spenser's story of Malbecco and Hellenore or more frankly sensuous than the sacrifice of Serena. But Gardner's criticism goes deeper. It would not be unjust to contend that both the *Morte d'Arthur* and the *Orlando Furioso* are more impressive ethical poems than the *Faerie Queene* because they are more human, deal with more realisable characters, their temptations and sins and repentance. Arthur and Artegall are no more than names; Belpheobe and Florimel and Britomart but charming shadows. No one of them is either an individual for whose fate we feel deeply concerned, or, as an abstraction, assumes the proportions of Everyman face to face with one of the great, elemental temptations or experiences of men.

APPENDIX IV

SOURCES OF BOOK I

THE LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

F. M. PADELFORD and MATTHEW O'CONNOR ("Spenser's Use of the St. George Legend"). In medieval poetry and romance two characters stand out as par excellence the knights of holiness, Gareth and St. George. For Spenser's purposes, however, St. George was the more natural choice for the hero of his first book, as this patron saint of the nation would serve equally the purpose of the spiritual and of the political allegory. Spenser fell heir to a well-defined St. George tradition, and its influence is manifest in what may be called the envelopment of Book One.

Although there was an English version of the life of St. George as early as Aelfric's ninth-century *Lives of the Saints*, the later English versions in which the Perseus myth was blended with the traditional saint's life were modeled upon the *Legenda Aurea*, composed between 1260 and 1270 by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa. It was a translation of this popular work which Caxton issued in 1487 as *The Golden Legend*, working with his eye upon a French translation of 1380 and an English translation of 1438. Almost certainly Spenser would have been familiar with *The Golden Legend*, of which thirty copies are even now extant.

In this popular work, the story of St. George and the Dragon reads as follows:

St. George was a knight and born in Cappadocia. On a time he came in to the province of Libya, to a city which is said Silene. And by this city was a stagne or a pond like a sea, wherein was a dragon which envomed all the country. And on a time the people were assembled for to slay him, and when they saw him they fled. And when he came nigh the city he venomd the people with his breath, and therefore the people of the city gave to him every day two sheep for to feed him, because he should do no harm to the people, and when the sheep failed there was taken a man and a sheep. Then was an ordinance made in the town that there should be taken the children and young people of them of the town by lot, and every each one as it fell, were he gentle or poor, should be delivered when the lot fell on him or her. So it happened that many of them of the town were then delivered, insomuch that the lot fell upon the king's daughter, whereof the king was sorry, and said unto the people: For the love of the gods take gold and silver and all that I have, and let me have my daughter. They said: How sir! ye have made and ordained the law, and our children be now dead, and ye would do the contrary. Your daughter shall be given, or else we shall burn you and your house.

When the king saw he might no more do, he began to weep, and said to his daughter: Now shall I never see thine espousals. Then returned he to the people and demanded eight days' respite, and they granted it to him. And when the eight days were passed they came to him and said: Thou seest that the city perish-

eth: Then did the king do array his daughter like as she should be wedded, and embraced her, kissed her and gave her his benediction, and after, led her to the place where the dragon was.

When she was there S. George passed by, and when he saw the lady he demanded the lady what she made there and she said: Go ye your way fair young man, that ye perish not also. Then said he: Tell to me what have ye and why weep ye, and doubt ye of nothing. When she saw that he would know, she said to him how she was delivered to the dragon. Then said S. George: Fair daughter, doubt ye no thing hercof for I shall help thee in the name of Jesu Christ. She said: For God's sake, good knight, go your way, and abide not with me, for ye may not deliver me. Thus as they spake together the dragon appeared and came running to them, and S. George was upon his horse, and drew out his sword and garnished him with the sign of the cross, and rode hardily against the dragon which came towards him, and smote him with his spear and hurt him sore and threw him to the ground. And after said to the maid: Deliver to me your girdle, and bind it about the neck of the dragon and be not afraid. When she had done so the dragon followed her as it had been a meek beast and debonair. Then she led him into the city, and the people fled by mountains and valleys, and said: Alas! alas! we shall all be dead. Then S. George said to them: Ne doubt ye no thing, without more, believe ye in God, Jesu Christ, and do ye to be baptized and I shall slay the dragon. Then the king was baptized and all his people, and S. George slew the dragon and smote off his head, and commanded that he should be thrown in the fields, and they took four carts with oxen that drew him out of the city.

About 1482 Caxton printed a collection of saints' lives entitled "*A Festival*" compiled by John Mirk, a canon of the monastery of Lilleshall, in Shropshire, which used materials from the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Gesta Romanorum*. It is, in effect, a series of short narrative homilies for use on the various saints' days. So far as the legend of holiness is concerned, it contains only two details of consequence not found in *The Golden Legend*: a sheep is left with the king's daughter, and the dragon approaches St. George 'spyttyng out fure.' (Cf. the version of *Mirk's Festival*, ed. Dr. Theodore Erbe, *EETS, Ext. Ser.* 96, p. 133.) This homily is very similar to one quoted by Prof. Arthur Beatty (*The St. George or Mummers Plays, Trans. of Wisconsin Acad. of Arts and Science*, p. 15) which was employed in a Gloucestershire parish in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the two support the conclusion that such homilies must have helped to familiarize generations of Englishmen with this stock story.

The legend would also seem to have enjoyed great vogue in drama and pageantry. In an epoch when spectacles and rude plays furnished society with much of its organized amusement, the stirring prowess of England's patron saint must have been a favorite subject for dramatic display. Although none of the miracle plays of St. George have survived, Chambers found remnants of them in not less than twenty-nine of the mummers' plays, and records specifically a St. George play enacted at Bassingbourne in 1577, and Warton found the record of such a play presented in 1511. As St. George's day was the Sunday before April 23, it coincided with the season of the year most congenial to pageantry.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century Barclay wrote *The Lyfe of the Glorious Martyr Saint George*, published by Pynson, without date, a work which, unfortunately, is lost. Warton is authority for the statement that Barclay translated from Mantuan. As Barclay was inspired by Mantuan to write his eclogues, and as

Spenser modeled the September and October eclogues of *The Sheperdes Calendar* upon Mantuan, it is reasonable to suppose that Spenser would have cast a sympathetic eye upon the Mantuan and Barclay versions of the George story.

That portion of Mantuan's poem which deals with the dragon fight reads as follows (translation based upon the British Museum copy, Strassburg, 1510):

There is no need to record all of his more celebrated deeds—indeed the number forbids it—but one of memorable fame cries out and demands that it be handed down through all time.

On one occasion transferred (for military service) across the sea of Cilicia into the arid regions of torrid Libya, as he traversed the country with a legion of Thracian horsemen, under the Roman commander, Maximian, he heard that a city—called Silena by the Libyans—endured and succumbed to a shameful fate. Rumor has it that the ancient Sileni founded this city, conducted here, under the leadership of Bacchus, from the Nysaeon territory, and gave to the place a name, walls and a race. To the walls of the city was joined a fen of cheerless water, the banks extending in a wide circle: an infamous swamp, with water rising and falling in the same place, and giving forth a noxious exhalation. The death-dealing vapors were borne high into the air, vapors such as arise in the Campanian Avernus, or like to the baleful mist of Ampsanctus in the valleys of the Hirpini, coming as is thought from the depths of the lower world. A fen not less infamous than in former times the stygian pool in Egypt, hard by the walls of Memphis, and the Arcadian styx which petrifies on the bank.

Whether the work of the infernal deities, or of the celestial gods, or of nature, inimical to man, obtaining this influence from the stars, a monster of huge bulk had dragged himself forth (from this fen), and laid waste the fields, the sheepfolds and the city. A monster with a maw like a bull, a long gullet like a whale, a hollow throat like the Aetnaean cave, which is said to extend by a black yawning passage to the waters of Cocytus and the impious doors of Dis; a monster more cruel by far than the Lernaean Hydra, its black hide armed with horrid scales, able to scorn the club and bow of Hercules. When it had consumed the flocks, not able to endure the hunger in its empty belly it reared its ugly head and hissing neck on to the high walls, and exhaled its breath, a breath such as the infernal caverns are rumored to breathe through the purgatorial realms and Orcus. The deadly virus spread across the walls into the city, and, causing sudden death and unforeseen calamities to men, afflicted the citizens with bitter grief. Wherever in its movements it extended the great weight of its huge belly, the ground was embittered; the grass withered, the flowers with seared stalks wilted and fell, and the trees and green boughs, subject to the contagion, withered away; just as the Catinian countryside withers when the Aetnean crater vomits forth its fuming fires, involving in its rapid flames the groves, the fields, and the sheepfolds. Nay more, if the heavy vapor chanced to pollute any bird with its noxious breath, suddenly, as if its heart were cut off, its strength gone, with wings dropped, and, expiring with gasping throat, it fell to the ground dead.

After many deaths, after manifold disasters, at length the tribunes (of the plebeians) are summoned to the royal palace, and the fathers hold solemn council with the supreme ruler (the king). Finally, after many things have been said on this side and on that, with the consent of the king, the plebeians, and the patricians, a law decrees that two human bodies, chosen by lot, be given to the foul monster, one at sunrise, the other at sunset, so that its deadly hunger, thus satiated, would be appeased, and it would cease to pour over the entire city the death-dealing virus of its pestilential breath. Tradition has it that once upon a time a

similar fate befell the grandchildren of Cecrops, what time Theseus came into Crete with heavy oar and guided his footsteps by a cord.

The city receives the stern edict since there is no other way to secure the protection desired. The plebeians pay the penalty first and then, ascending, fate advances to the resplendent thresholds of the patricians. Every day fresh victims are bewailed, nor is there any one who does not tremble with fear, awaiting the tidings of unhappy fate. And it comes to the king who, advanced to the extreme winter of old age, has for his only child a virgin, now ripe for a husband, now fully mature for marriage. But just as is wont to happen in such a case, a grave disagreement arose between the king and the citizens. His affections urged the father not to surrender his daughter to such pillage, and he felt that royal majesty ought to be exempt. The populace, who were suffering the impious penalties and all of them sad in countenance because of the recent deaths, sternly reproached the king, and threatening many plebiscites demanded that what is common to the plebeians and the patricians shall be shared by the king himself. The king, therefore, perceiving the populace to be of one mind, and recalling the saying that the plebeians do not know how to endure chains or fire to endure water, with rising tears, gave up, alas, his daughter, the solace of his old age.

Straightway lamentation arises, resounding through the royal palace, and the hard lot tortures the afflicted parents. Neither by night nor by day do they silence their complaints. They remove the tapestries from the chambers, they desert the feasts, the halls remain uncared for; all the royal household bemoans the fatal calamity.

Now the fatal day was at hand and the report thereof, spread abroad through the neighboring cities, drew many to the spectacle. George dons his coat-of-mail, seizes his spear, and attended by a few comrades, mounts aloft on his snow-white steed—the mother of which was Thracian and the father Asturian, a gift from the Roman Emperor, which he had adorned with purple reins and gleaming gold—and with his companions draws nigh, taking up his station on a hill adjacent to the city, whence this infamous fen lies open to view.

The golden sun was succeeding the dawn, and Lucifer was still advancing, nor had he yet hidden himself in the high heavens, when the serpent, larger than the Deucalion Python, rearing his head from the black pool, ploughs through the resounding waters, and swimming, drives the waves to the shore. Straightway the lurid cloud stains the air, clear before, and Titan is consumed by the black smoke. The monster glides to the shores, and casting about its eyes, gleaming with blood-red flames, begins to look for its customary food. When it can not see it, it hisses, consumed with mighty rage, and rearing aloft its scaly back, and extending wide its greenish wings, as if about to fly, hisses again, beats the ground with its curved claw—a sign of impatience and wrath at having its food too long withheld—and with distended eyes and ears alert stands facing the portals, whence it knows that its food customarily approaches, imagines the grating of the doors and seems to expect the brazen bolts to be released from the round sockets, and expectant licks its gaping mouth with its huge tongue.

The terrified matrons, the men, and the little children stand on the high walls, breathlessly eager to see what they are unwilling to see, and gaze with heavy hearts. Meanwhile the wretched king and queen comfort the maiden, decked in royal apparel, and solemnly affirm that all the youths who must needs meet death through the decrees of the elders shall become divinities and be allotted seats among the immortals, and through future years shall be celebrated with the honor befitting gods, not only in their own country but wherever through the Libyan cities the

renowned story of this so illustrious act travels, and she shall enjoy sacred rites and lasting temples and be numbered among the gods whom Rome calls *penates* and *indigetes*, such as were Numa, Romulus, and he who was swallowed up by the earth for like piety. Thus they seek to inculcate in her mind the desire for immortality. With such words they endeavor to keep back the tears from their eyes, but natural affection opposes this effort; they inadvertently break forth into groans and tears, nor can they feign good cheer.

The entrance of the gate had been gained, but not as yet were the walls opened. Every head is forced to bow in tears; every breast is racked with sighs. They kiss her, they hold her in tight embrace, and again and again moisten her face with their caresses, but at length they reach the two-fold doors. Behold, the parents, with drenching tears, set foot upon the very threshold of the gates with their child, and then thrust forth from the doors their trembling daughter, shining in the garments of betrothal, and adorned with the braided locks. Finally the mournful attendants fasten the chains about her neck and leave her alone.

With face like a goddess, she, a virgin like to Helen, stands as Andromeda exposed to the monsters of the sea, and raising her eyes to the sky lest she behold the terrible enemy, tremblingly implores the divinities and the stars. From the distant walls she is heard to utter such laments as these, her words scarce reaching the attentive ears: "O wretched, O wretched Alcyone—for such was her name—wherefore are the fates so cruel to you that you must needs descend into the belly of this monster? Wherefore does nothing remain to me of life, which ought to extend for many years? Wherefore does the grave come to swallow me up, alive, sound in body, and innocent? What have I deserved? Wherefore am I thus condemned? For what crime am I punished? Why am I thus hated by heaven, earth, and the lower world? Is there no one among so many gods, among so many mortals, to offer aid? Alone, defenceless, I am abandoned here to the monster. Forsooth these, these are my nuptials, so longed for by my father, these are my offspring, which my mother awaited with joy. O ye heavenly gods, as ye are mindful that once in time past ye delivered Ariadne, O ye gods of the sea, ye of the under world, if ye have eyes which can see these misfortunes, if any pity moves you, hear the laments of your Alcyone, who has ever knelt a suppliant at your altars."

Such words did she utter, believing herself on the threshold of death. When the young women behold this spectacle from the walls, they are all seized with quaking; the presence of death more deeply affects their spirits; fright robs them, trembling, of their senses; a kindred emotion beats in every heart. The Tribune, himself, looking on from the hill, grieves, and all the company, deeply moved, lament the calamity.

The monster had halted in astonishment, for the other bodies were exposed with bare limbs; from the chains themselves he reasoned that this was his destined booty. He advances therefore with open jaws, and sluggish because of his great bulk, moves slowly forward. Crawling like a great turtle he sweeps along the ground, and with extended wings approaches his prey.

As from a distance George, ardently compassionate, beholds the cruel abomination, the enormity befitting so great anger, he groans in spirit, and, moved with pity, signs his breast with the cross, spurs his horse, and with tight-grasped spear hastens to meet the monster. All marvel at the young man; they are amazed at a spirit so undaunted, they pray the gods to be present at these hazards. God lends his aid to the great-souled undertaking. The sword's point, thrust far down the throat, penetrates into the broad belly, and the fair knight, more courageous

than the deadly monster, pierces its heart, black with death-dealing venom, the charger forced by the violence of the blow to pause a moment. Directly he is seized with flaming rage, nor does he heed the rein, but as soon as his momentary anger expends its sudden fury, he is wheeled about, and with prancing step and proud eye, and neighing frequently with his wide-spread nostrils, advances as if with his lordly spirit despising the enemy. Not less fervent is the ardor of the knight. He unsheathes his sword—sun-reflecting, flashing flames upon the walls—and fiercely returns with drawn weapon to the conflict. Another spear, thrust through the heart, the groin and the belly, enters the wound and completely buries itself in the viscera. The beast, distending itself on the broad field, bites the spear shaft with its crooked teeth. But anon, all its ferocity spent, the serpent lies prone on the ground, its great limbs stretched out in the dust, and expending its last gasps with panting breath.

Forthwith the clapping and shouting surges upward from the high walls, and the wild rejoicing lifts high the mingled voices. When the king and queen, half dead, learn what has transpired, forgetful of old age they rush to the walls, and with precipitate emotion command the release of their daughter, pallid, congealed with fright, wellnigh dead. They stand about with tender affection, they are filled with amazement, they gaze open-mouthed on the face of the virgin, nor have they words adequate for so great joy; they weep and stretch out their arms, and as it were bereft of speech, utter their feelings not with words but with gesture; they almost die for joy. Then there is the hum of voices as they all talk at once about so marvelous an event, such unlooked for good fortune, and they recall the similar mischance of the daughter of Laomedon, whom, exposed to the sea-monster, the Tirythian hero, as he passed through the Phrygian borders, gave back to her father unharmed. Also there are some who believe that, in the person of the knight, Alcides is disguised, or Castor, or warlike Pallas, or Mars.

But while the city resounds with talk, the victor shouts: "Now that you are safe, open the gates, rush forth and give thanks to Christ, the author of this benefit." They obey, throw open the gates, eagerly rush forth—as a torrential stream when from the high valleys it hurries down its mass of swirling waters—gather around the knight, and with bowed heads reverently adore him. He, when the monster has been removed, bending forward commands silence, and addresses the vast crowd in a loud voice. (The translation may here be open to question. The Latin reads:

Ille fero incumbens jubet esse silentia, moto
Alloquiturque alto turbam sermone frequentem.

The translation is favored by the fact that in other versions of the story it is customary to speak of the removal of the dead beast. In that case the comma should follow, rather than precede, *moto*. *Fero* may, of course, refer to the horse, in which case *fero . . . moto* means *equo . . . territo* (He, bending forward over his excited steed, commands silence). Or, as the editor of the 1510 edition suggests, *populo* may be understood, which would give the translation: "Bending forward on his horse, he commands silence to the excited throng.") He recalls the past calamities, declares that the cruel dragon was sent against them by the obscure *manes*, the lower world conniving, to destroy all their fields and their city, teaches them that the gods whose temples they frequent are cruel, swearing that all the gods whom they, deceived by vain rites, are wont to serve, are hostile to our success, and points out that they are gods in name alone, since they are demons of the infernal court. He proceeds to divulge the mysteries of the great thunderer (God) who made the sea, the earth and the stars, and teaches them that he is a

god by nature, not by art, a deity void of all form and immutable. To him alone he assigns altars and sacred rites, to him alone festivals, and he proceeds to tell how love brought the Son of the eternal Father down from the high heavens, and how Christ, assuming mortality, poured into human hearts the heavenly light; how by his death he abolished original sin; how, death conquered, he arose and revealed himself to his own; and how at last as a victor he ascended into the ethereal realms, and consecrated new temples and new honors to the father. And he states that, for aid to the unfortunate, he himself was sent from him who is above the *manes* of Erebus and the false gods.

Uttering such truths with a loud voice, he liberates the people from their ancient error and calling upon the multitude invites them to the (baptismal) water. God is present as the author of this work. From every quarter they go to the font, and they receive the sacred water on their heads. They cast down the old gods and they consecrate the purified temple to the God of thunder. He teaches the rites, and, appointing consecrated ministers, explains the times accommodated to sacred things and divides the seasons into feasts.

Finally they cremate the great limbs of the monster on a burning pyre, and paint the likeness of the serpent on the loftiest buildings, that posterity, coming hither, may read of these frightful deeds and that the fame thereof may extend to aftertimes. They also institute games as a memorial of these labors and great achievements, which the populace of the city may celebrate each year, such games as Greece formerly held for Archemorus, for great Alcides, and the thundering father (Jove). The king and the queen then approach, cause Alcyone to bow low at the feet of the saint, and speak as follows: "That our fellow citizens, that we and our daughter, survive, this is thy gift, oh saintly victor; that the true gods are revealed to us, this thy supreme virtue has achieved. In fine, thou preservest our bodies and thou preservest our souls, and to thee we owe ourselves and the city itself." Thus speak the royal couple, and forthwith they place gifts at his feet, sparkling gems, golden vessels encrusted with carvings, as many as for a long time the magnificence of royalty had required to be beaten, and cloaks superb with gold and silver. The city also and the liberated citizens prepare greater gifts. All these the victor gives to Christ, and commands that they shall erect in the heart of the city a great temple of living marble, in the Roman style, to the mother of the gods (the Virgin). Immediately on that spot where the foundations of the noble structure were destined to be laid, a fountain with most copious sparkling water gushes forth—such a fountain as the Pierides inhabit in Phocis, such as the Graces in Orchomenos, and Arethusa in the Sicilian fields—a draught from which can remove from the entire body all the venom wherewith the monster poisoned the unhappy city. Consequently as many as lay in their abodes infected with this plague sought aid for their bodies from the sacred fountain, and just as the multitude come to drink the waters of Albertus when August returns, so that entire city would visit the fountain on the anniversary of its appearance. And he caused it to flow into the fen, whereby through the rising of the pond, it would overflow the banks, and, by forming a stream, would spread the stagnant deposit through the dry fields. Thus his devotion worked to the advantage of the people and the countryside.

Mantuan's poem is an adaptation of the *roman d'aventure*, written in the metre and heroic style of classical poetry. It is apparently unique in its ambitious treatment of the theme, and would naturally have commanded the attention of a poet who was attempting an immortal work with St. George as the hero of his first

book. That Spenser knew Mantuan's poem, either at first hand or through Barclay's translation, is obvious, for he drew upon Mantuan for many of the details in the latter part of his narrative. The watchman upon the wall reporting the struggle, the command to open the brazen gate, the emphasis upon the three social classes—the royal family, the peers, and the populace, the obeisance made to St. George, the proclamation that he was the savior of the city, the common murmur that he was some great hero, divinely sent, the gifts of ivory and gold presented by the king, the reception of the princess by her parents, and the concluding festivities—all of these details seem to find their suggestion in Mantuan. The fights with the dragon also present certain points in common—the manner in which the dragon approaches, half walking and half flying, the smoke from his nostrils which darkens the sun, the death thrust received through the mouth, and the comparison of the hero to Hercules—but with the exception of the last point, these are only the conventional details of dragon fights.

An equally important presumptive source for Spenser's St. George is the life written as a so-called tapestry poem by John Lydgate. Three manuscript versions survive, two at Trinity College, one of which was transcribed with the variants by Henry Noble MacCracken for the EETS (1910), and the other at the Bodleian, transcribed by Miss Eleanor Prescott Hammond and published in *Englische Studien* (1910-1911). In the Cambridge manuscript the circumstances which occasioned the poem are explained as follows. "Next nowe folowing here bygynneþe þe deyve of a steyned halle of þe lyf of Saint George ymagyned by Daun Johan þe Munk of Bury Lydegate and made with þe balades at þe request of þarmories of London for þonour of þeyre broþerhode and þeyre feest of Saint George." Rather clearly the poem was to interpret a mural decoration, either by having the text or chosen portions thereof accompany the successive pictures, or by having them read when the decoration was unveiled at the feast of St. George.

In the opening stanza of the poem, Lydgate addresses his hearers or readers as follows:

O yee folk þat heer present be,
 Wheeche of þis story shal haue Inspecciozn,
 Of Saint George yee may beholde and see
 His martirdome, and his passyon;
 And howe he is protectour and patroun,
 þis hooly martir, of knighthood loodsterre,
 To Englisshe men booe in pces and werre.

The second stanza states that the order of the garter was founded by Edward III in honor of St. George. In the third stanza St. George is specifically denominated the knight of holiness, Christ's own knight, peculiarly chosen to fight against the various powers of Satan:

þis name George by Interpretacioun
 Is sayde of tweyne, þe first of hoolynesse,
 And þe secound of knighthood and renoun,
 As þat myne Auctour lykeþe for to expresse,
 þe feond venqwysshing of manhooode and prowesse,
 þe worlde, þe fleeshe, as Crystes owen knight,
 Wher-euer he roode in steel armed bright.

The fourth stanza tells of his birth in Cappadocia and his youthful delight in virtue, and the fifth, of the distinctive character of his knight-errantry as the champion of truth:

And Cristes feyth for to magnefye
 At gretter age his cuntree he forsooke,
 And thorough his noblesse and his chyuallerye
 Trouthe to sousteene, who-so list to looke,
 Many a Iournee he upon him tooke,
 þe chirche defending with swerd of equitye,
 þe Right of wydowes, and of virgynytee.

The poem then proceeds to the story of the fight with the dragon, which had long terrified the city of Lyseene:

A gret dragoun, with scales siluer sheene,
 Horrible, dreedful, and monstuous of sight,
 To-fore the Citee lay boope day and night.

To satisfy the hunger of this beast, at first two sheep are sacrificed every day, then men, women, and children by lot, until at length the lot falls on the king's daughter. The damsel is sent forth, trembling with fear and leading a sheep. At the critical moment St. George, her own knight, sent from the Lord, appears, accomplishes the liberation of the city, and is acclaimed conqueror with a royal procession in which palms and banners—or, as the Bodleian manuscript has it, with palms and laurels—are triumphantly borne. Lydgate tells this part of the story as follows:

þat sche most nexst of necessitye
 Beo so deuowred, helpe may no meede,
 But to beo sent oute of þat cytee,
 þis cely mayde quakyng in hir dreed;
 Vpon hir hande a sheep she did leed,
 Hir fadir wepte, hir moder, boope tweyne,
 And al þe Cytee in teerys did so reyne.

At hir oute goyng hir fader for þe noones
 Arrayed her with al his ful might
 In cloope of golde with gemys and with stoones,
 Which shoone ful sheene ageyne þe sonne bright,
 And on hir wey sheo mette an armed knight
 Sent frome þe lord as in hir diffence
 Ageynst þe dragoun to make resistance.

Saint George it was, oure ladyes owen knyght,
 þat armed seet vpon a ryal steed
 Which came to socour þis mayden in hir right,
 Of aventure in þis grete neode,
 "Ellas!" quod she, whane she takeþe heed,
 And bade him fleen in hir mortal feer,
 Lest he also with hir deuowred were.

And whane he saughe of hir þe maner,
 He hadde pytee and eeke compassyoun,
 To seen, allas, þe cristal streemys cleer

On hir cheekys reyne and royle adowne,
 Thought he wolde beon hir Chaumpyoun,
 For lyff nor deeth frome hir not to depart
 But in hir quarell his body to lupart.

Hooly Saint George his hors smote on þe syde
 Whane he þe dragoun sawe lyfft vp his hede,
 And towards him he proudely gan to ryde
 Ful lyche a knight with outhen fere or drecede;
 Avysyly of witt he tooke goode heed,
 With his spere sharp and kene egrounde
 Thoroughe þe body he gaf þe feonde a wownde.

þe cely mayde, knelyng on hir kne,
 Vn to hir goddes maked hir preyer,
 And Saint George, whane he did it see,
 To hir he sayde, with debonayre cheer,
 " Ryse vp anoon, myn owen doughter deer,
 Take þy girdell, and make þer-of a bande,
 And leed þis dragoun boldly in þyn hande

In to þe cyte, lyche a conqueresse,
 And þe dragoun meckly shall obeye."
 And to þe cytee anoon she gan hir dresse --
 þe Ouggely monstre dourst it not withseye—
 And Saint George þe mayden gan conveye,
 þat whane þe kyng hade Inspeccyoun,
 With palme and banner he gooþe processyoun,

Yiving to him þe laude of þis victorye,
 Which haþe þeyre cytee delyverd out of dreed;
 And Saint George, to encresce his glorye,
 Pulled out a swerde and smote of his hed,
 þe people alwey taking ful good heed,
 How God þis martyr list to magnefye,
 And him to enhaunce thorughe his Chiuallerye.

þanne he made þe dragoun to be drawe,
 With waynes and cartes fer out of þe towne,
 And after þat he taught hem Crystes lawe,
 By his doctryne and predicacyoun,
 And frome þerrour by conuersyoun,
 He made hem tourne, þe kyng and þe cyte,
 And of oon hert baptysed for to be.

It must be apparent to anyone familiar with the legend of holiness that Spenser borrowed many hints from this or some very similar version: St. George, like the Red Cross Knight, is Christ's own special knight of holiness and one who, again like the Red Cross Knight, thirsts for renown. His distinctive service is to fight against sin in its various forms and to uphold truth. The mere mention of the bright steel armor of St. George was seemingly enough of a hint for the later poet to identify it with that armor of the Christian which he assigns to the Red Cross Knight in the introductory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. Moreover, it needed but

the touch of Spenser's genius to identify Una, who is Truth, with the king's daughter, and to convert the sheep which the damsel leads into the "milkwhite lambe" which Una leads, a Christian symbol. Again, the processional rejoicing furnished raw material which Spenser richly elaborated in the concluding episode of his legend.

It remains to observe that Spenser may have taken a hint for the names of the heroes of his first books from etymologies proposed by Caxton in his prefatory remarks to the *Life of St. George*. After proposing another etymology Caxton remarks: "Or George may be said of *gerar*, that is holy, and of *gyon*, that is a wrestler, that is an holy wrestler, for he wrestled with the dragon." May not this chance sentence have served to confirm the poet in his choice of St. George as the hero of Book One, and also have suggested the name of Sir Guyon for the hero of the second book, that other knight who wrestled so valiantly with every form of incontinence?

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Una and Her Lamb," pp. 515-516). There is ample confirmation for the view that Spenser was following the ancient legend rather than contriving a subtle allegory of truth and innocence. An entry in "A Short English Chronicle" in James Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880, p. 55 reads:

This yere the Emperour of Almayne came in to Engelond and was at Seint Georges fest. And at the procession the kynge went above him. . . . And the first sotilte that came on the table was our Ladye armyng Seint George and an angill doinge on his sporys. The secounde sotilte was Seint George fightynge with the dragon, and the spere in his honde. The therde sotilte was a castell, and Seint George and the kynges doughter ledyng the lambe in to the castell gate.

In this incident we note the supernatural armor, as in Spenser's account of the arming of Red Cross (the Letter to Raleigh); the castle; the daughter of the king (Una), and the lamb. It is of interest to note that the whole matter is treated as if a matter of convention: "and the kynges doughter ledyng the lambe."

Another case almost precisely similar is cited by Gairdner under "historical memoranda" in the same book, p. 86. In an account of the reception of Edward IV at Temple Cross in 1461 we read:

There was Seynt George on horsbakke uppon a tent fyghtyng with a dragon, and the kyng and the quene on hygh in a castell, and his daughter benethe with a lambe. And atte the sleying of the dragon ther was a greet melody of aungellys.

Gairdner remarks (p. iv) that this MS seems at one time to have belonged to Stowe. The interest of the account to us is that it presents the full situation of Redcross and the dragon, the King and Queen of Castle Mortal; the daughter Una; the religious and patriotic setting (note the song of angels at the marriage of Una and Redcross, *F. Q.* 1. 12. 39). It also, like the other incident, explains the lamb as the companion of Una.

I have no doubt that other similar instances might be collected. It is therefore not necessary to credit Spenser with any special alchemy in converting the sheep of the literary versions to the lamb of his narrative. And I doubt if it is necessary to postulate any one literary source for Spenser's version of the Legend of St. George. It was part and parcel of folk belief and courtly entertainment in his time and long

before. The first book, whatever its historical and political significance, is a new world symphony upon a familiar folk theme, presented with variations that bring out its subtle spiritual significance.

IVAN L. SCHULZE ("The Maiden and Her Lamb," pp. 380-381). When Edward IV visited Coventry in 1474 there were numerous pageants presented in his honor:

Also upon the Condite in the Crosse Chepyng was seint George armed and kynges doughter knelyng afore him with a lambe and the fader & the moder beyng in a toure a boven beholdyng seint George savyng their doughter from the dragon (Thomas Sharp, *A dissertation on the pageants or dramatic mysteries anciently performed at Coventry*, London, 1825, p. 154).

Nearly all of the necessary elements reappear in the Saint George pageant of Edward VI's coronation procession. At the little conduit in Cheap "was sett a stage, whercupon was Seint George on Horsebacke in Compleat Harnes, with his Page in Harnes also, holding his Speare and Shield, and a faire Maiden holding a Lamb in a string" (John Leland, *Collectanea*, London, 1770, 4. 319). While the above account appears to indicate a defective representation of the legend, the elements of real significance to us, the maiden and her lamb, do appear.

There are numerous instances of the occurrence of the legend exclusive of the pageant. George Scharf (*Archaeologia*, 49. 244.) mentions a votive painting of Saint George, mounted on a brown charger, about to take the last blow at the dragon which has already been wounded through the neck. Near the saint stands a princess "with a lamb in a string." In the foreground kneel Henry VII, the Queen, and their children. This painting, according to Scharf, was probably designed for the altar of some chapel of Saint George. In addition to this painting the author cites various representations of the legend as depicted upon armor, coins, woodcuts, statuary, and tapestries. Joseph R. Smith (*Catalogue of Ancient English Ballads*, London, 1856) prints the title of "A most excellent ballad of St. George for England, and the King's daughter whom he delivered from Death, and how he slew a mighty dragon." Possibly this may be the poem, "Saint George for England," (printed in 1601 by Richard Vennard in *The Right Way to Heaven*), which begins as follows:

A Virgin Princesse and a gentle Lambe,
Doomb'd both to death to gorge this ugly beast:
This valiant victor like a Souldier came,
And of his owne accord, without request:
With never daunted spirit the Fiend assail'd,
Preserv'd the Princesse and the Monster quail'd.

The piece goes on to compare Saint George's victory over the dragon and his preservation of the princess with Christ's victory over the devil and his preservation of the church. The closing stanzas laud Montjoy as Saint George's knight and urge him to

Quell that Hell's shape of divellish proud Tirone . . .
That our deere Princesse and hir land be safe.

Vennard's book was dedicated to the Queen; and this use of the legend, with its direct reference to her Majesty and to political events, is not far removed from Spenser in spirit.

GARETH AND THE LEGEND OF THE FAIR UNKNOWN

The story of the *Libeaus Desconus*, or The Fair Unknown, is summarized as follows in the introduction to the text of Bishop Percy's *Folio Manuscript*: "Libeaus comes from his mother's apron strings, not knowing his father, . . . to Arthur's court. He asks for knighthood and the first adventure that comes in. He gets both, and his task is to free the Lady of Sinadoun from prison. Though scorned for his youth by her messengers, he conquers, one after another, thirteen formidable opponents, of whom the first nine are Sir William de la Braunch, his three cousins, two giants, Sir Gefferon, Sir Otes de Lisle, and the giant Mangys. A more insidious foe is behind, the sorceress of the Golden Isle, whom our hero has rescued from Mangys. For a year she keeps him from fulfilling his task; but at last he breaks away from her, and goes to Sinadoun. There he conquers the knight, Sir Lambers, and then two necromancers who have turned the lady of Sinadoun into a serpent. The serpent kisses him and at the kiss turns into a lovely princess, who offers him herself and her lands. He accepts both, marries the lady, and carries her off to King Arthur's court."

W. P. KER (*Epic and Romance*, p. 392). The story [of Guinglain, an early French version of *The Fair Unknown* by Renaud de Beaujeu] is as simple as that of *Walewein*; an expedition, this time, to rescue a lady from enchantment. She is bewitched in the form of a serpent, and freed by a kiss (*le fier baiser*). There are various adventures on the journey, which has some resemblance to that of Gareth in the *Morte d'Arthur*, and of the Red Cross Knight in Spenser, which is founded upon Malory's *Gareth*.

MARIE WALTHER (*Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene*, pp. 18-19. Condensed by the Editor). The Red Cross Knight appears to be a blending of Gareth (Beaumayns) and Lancelot. He resembles the former more in outward adventures; the latter in individual traits of character. The parallels with Gareth are as follows:

F. Q. 1. 1. 1: "Yet armes till that time did he never wield." It is his first adventure, the quest to help Una's parents, she having requested a knight at Gloriana's feast. In Malory (216) Beaumains desires the quest of the damsel who came to Arthur at Whitsuntide, imploring the service of a knight who would relieve her besieged sister.

F. Q. 1. 1. 12. Una warns the Red Cross Knight of the perils, as they wander about in the forest. In Malory (219 ff.) Lynet warns Beaumayns of each engagement. In 219. 35 she remarks: "But thou shalt see a syghte that shal make the orne ageyne and that lyghtly." To be sure Spenser ignores the humorous device of having the damsel scold her knight in fine fashion before and after each adventure.

The Red Cross Knight is praised for his gentleness. It is also an outstanding characteristic of Sir Gareth, who must endure all kinds of raillery: 217. 27; 224. 15; 225. 11; etc. Further Malory (272) says this of him: "And this Syr Gareth was a noble knyghte and wel rulyd and fayr langaged."

The postponement of the nuptials, after the knight has achieved his quest, is common to the Red Cross Knight and to Beaumayns. After the Red Cross Knight

was betrothed to Una, he still had to complete the task of performing further service for the Faerie Queene. In Malory (242. 4) it is the damsel who prolonged the delay: "Go thy way, syr Beaumayns, for as yet thou shalt not have holy my louc unto the tyme that thou be callyd one of the nombre of the worthy knyghtes. And therfor goo laboure in worship this twelve monethe, and thenne thou shalt here newe tydynges."

Furthermore the conclusion is the same: the Red Cross Knight and Una are solemnly betrothed, and the adventure of Sir Gareth concludes with the nuptials of himself and Dame Liones.

EDMUND KEMPER BROADUS ("The Red Cross Knight and Lybeaus Desconus"). The following points of similarity between this romance and the story of the Red Cross Knight may be noted:

I. R. C. K. (in the introductory letter to Raleigh) is a "clownish young man" when he first enters the court of the Faerie Queene. Similarly, L. D. seems to Arthur "To Ying to done a good fyttinge" and his early life in the woods has afforded him no experience with arms.

II. R. C. K. presents himself at the court of the Faerie Queene, and desires that "hee might have the atchievement of any adventure which during that feast should happen." L. D. says:

. . . . My lord so fre
In herte I were riȝt glad
ȝat ferste fyt ȝf I had
ȝat ony man askeȝ ȝe. (99-102.)

III. Like Una, the messenger from Snowden is escorted by a dwarf.

IV. Like Una, this messenger is the emissary of victims of enchantment, confined in their own castle.

V. "The clownishe person [R. C. K.] upstarting, desired that adventure." So we read of L. D.:

Up starte ȝe ȝinge kniȝt
. . . .
And seide, Arthour, my lord!
I schall do ȝat fyt. (169-172.)

VI. Una is represented as "much gainesaying." In L. D.,

ȝan gan Elene to chide
. . . .
Lore, king, is ȝy pride
And ȝy manhod y-schent
When ȝou wilt sende a childe
ȝat is witles and wilde
To dele douȝty dent. (181-187.)

ȝe maide stout and gay
Lep on her palfrey;
ȝe dwerȝ rod hir be side.
Till ȝe ȝirde day
Upon ȝe Kniȝt alwey
Faste sche gan to chide. (277-282.)

VII. R. C. K., after defeating Duessa's champion, is enticed by her into the House of Pride. In the course of time he repents and rejoins Una. L. D., after killing the giant keeper of the sorceress, is subjected to her spell for a twelvemonth, but finally repents and rejoins Elene (1297 ff.).

VIII. R. C. K., after a whole day of battle with the dragon, falls backward into a stream, and is thereby enabled to renew the fight. L. D. fights the giant,

From þe our of prime
Till hit was evesong time, (1423-1)

desists a moment, and is hurled backward into the stream by a treacherous blow. He springs out with renewed power, and defeats his enemy.

IX. Like R. C. K., L. D. ultimately succeeds in overcoming the superhuman power which has shut up the castle of his search, releases the inmates, and is united to the lady of the castle. . . .

It will be readily seen that this romance has a number of points of similarity to the career of Una and her knight not in the Gareth story.

I. Gareth spends a year in the King's kitchen, but in *F. Q.*, as in *L. D.*, the achievement is undertaken at once.

II. In both *L. D.* and *F. Q.* the lady is followed by a dwarf. In Gareth, a dwarf appears, attending, however, not upon the lady but upon the knight.

III. In *L. D.* and *F. Q.*, the young warrior is armed before he sets out; in Gareth, he is armed and knighted only after he has been sometime afield.

IV. There is nothing similar to the *Ile d'Or* incident in the story of Gareth.

V. Nothing similar to the reviving-stream incident appears in the story of Gareth.

VI. Malory lays much stress upon the mystery surrounding the identity of the lady and her castle; in *F. Q.* as in *L. D.*, no use is made of this motive.

VII. In Gareth, the lady is confined in her castle by a tyrant, simply; in *F. Q.* as in *L. D.*, the rescuer has to contend against the power of enchantment.

There can be no doubt that *Lybeaus Desconus* was readily accessible to Spenser, for it appears to have been printed as early as the sixteenth century. . . .

It cannot, of course, be argued that the author of the *Faerie Queene* was indebted solely to *Lybeaus Desconus* for the plot of Book I. But that he was familiar with the poem, and that its plot was more influential than is usually supposed in shaping the experiences of Una and the Red Cross Knight, one may, I think, reasonably conclude as a result of the above comparison.

EDITOR. It is difficult to determine whether Spenser was more indebted to the *Libeaus Desconus* or to the Malory version of this tale, for several of the comparisons made by Professor Broadus are not significant. Thus the fact that enchantment is employed in the *Libeaus Desconus* and the *Faerie Queene*, but not in Malory, is of little moment, for there is no similarity in the enchantments, and enchantment as such is a part of the common machinery of romance. Again, the siege of Una's parents by the dragon was taken directly from the St. George story. Once more, because of greater similarity, the well episode finds a more probable source in *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun* or *Sir Huon of Burdeux* than in the *Libeaus Desconus*.

It is not surprising that the episodes of Sansfoy, Sansloy, and Sansjoy have never been connected with the Fair Unknown elements of the *Faerie Queene*. The likenesses are not striking, and the question evidently has not hitherto been considered with reference to the whole Fair Unknown tradition. The three medieval versions of this legend—*Le Bel Inconnu*, *Libeaus Desconus* and the Gareth story in Malory—all contain an adventure between the protagonist and a series of three avengers. In two, the avengers are brothers. Miss Phetzing treats the *Faerie Queene* as the sixth version of the Fair Unknown cycle. As only three of the five previous versions appear to contain the three avengers, the *Faerie Queene* would not necessarily be expected to contain this element, especially since Spenser was more selective than the medieval romancers. On the other hand, if Spenser's version of the Fair Unknown story can be shown to contain the three avengers, it would be quite in keeping with the tradition, and probably not accidental.

In *Le Bel Inconnu*, the hero is sleeping on the grass when he is awakened by his squire because of the approach of three knights. Le Bel Inconnu fights each in turn. He kills the first, wounds the second, and sends the third to Arthur's court.

The episode has received narrative additions in the third version, the *Libeaus Desconus*. There Libeaus Desconus overthrows a knight, Sir William de la Braunch, and shortly thereafter is attacked by three knights:

On the morrow when itt was day,
fforth they rode on their way
 towards Sinadoun.
then they say in their way
3 knights stout and gay
came ryding ffrom Caerloon.

The three knights are brothers and they are cousins of Sir William. Libeaus overcomes them, sparing their lives.

The incident is more elaborate in Malory. Here there are four brothers, three avenging the death of one. Beaumains or Gareth is journeying with Dame Linet and the dwarf. "Soo this Beaumayns rode with that lady tyl euensong tyme and euer she chydde hym and wold not reste / And they cam to a black launde / and there was a black hauthorne / & theron henge a blak baner / and on the other syde there henge a black shelde / and by hit stode a black spere grete and longe / and a grete black hors couerd with sylke / and a black stone fast by / Ther sat a knyghte al armed in black harneis / and his name was pe knyzt of the blak lande." Beaumains jousts with him and "at the laste the black knyghte within an houre and an half he felle doune of his hors in swoune / and there he dyed / And thenne Beaumayns sawe hym soo wel horsed and armed / thenne he alyghte doune and armed hym in his armour."

"Thus," Malory continues later, "as they rode to gyders they sawe a knyght come dryuend by them al in grene bothe his hors & his harneis / And whanne he came nyghe the damoyse he asked her / is that my broder the black Knyzte that ye haue brought with yow." Being informed that it was not, the green knight said, "thou shalt dye for sleynge of my broder / he was a ful noble knyghte." Gareth overcomes the green knight, but the damosel intervenes to save his life.

Then they came to a white tower, held by a knight. "So god me helpe said the lord with pt knyzt wyll I iuste / for I see that he is a knyzt arraüt & soo he

armed hym and horsed hym hastily / And whanne was on horsbak with his shelde and his spere / it was al rede bothe his hors and his harneis / and alle that to hym longeth / And whanne that he came nyghe hym he wende it hadde ben his broder the black knyghte." They fight, and again Beaumains overcomes his adversary. Next they reach the pavilion of Ser Persant of Ynde, the blue knight, who in turn is vanquished. Then the knight says, "For certeynly now I wote wel it was ye that slewe my broder the black knyghte / at the black thorne / he was a ful noble kny3te / his name was syr Perard / Also I am sure that ye are he that wanne myn other brother the grene knyght / his name was syre Pertolepe Also ye wanne my broder the reed knyght syr Perrymones."

In Spenser's version the incident is again changed and elaborated in proportion as Spenser's genius transcends his predecessors. His three brothers are Sansfoy, Sansjoy, and Sansloy. Strictly speaking, only two of these are "avengers." But the series of brothers, appearing thus as a version of the Fair Unknown story would appear to be at least a remnant of this part of the legend. It seems to be but another example of Spenser's imagination at play upon his sources.

BEVIS OF HAMTOUN

THOMAS WARTON (*Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser* 1.46-53). There is another antient romance, for so it may be called, though written in verse, which Spenser apparently copies, in prince Arthur's combat with the dragon [11. 29-36 quoted]. . . .

This miraculous manner of healing our author drew from an old poem, entitled, *Sir Bevis of Southampton*:

What for weary, and what for faint,
 Sir Bevis was neer attaint:
 The dragon followed on Bevis so hard,
 That as he would have fled backward,
 There was a well as I weene,
 And he stumbled right therein.
 Then was Sir Bevis afraid and woc,
 Lest the dragon should him sloe:
 Or that he might away passe,
 When that he in the well was.
 Then was the well of such vertu
 Through the might of Christ Jesu,
 For sometime dwelled in that land
 A virgin full of Christes sand,
 That had been bathed in that well,
 That ever after, as men can tell,
 Might no venomous worme come therein,
 By the virtue of that virgin,
 Nor nigh it seven foot and more:
 Then Bevis was glad therefore,
 When he saw the Dragon fell
 Had no power to come to the well.
 Then was he glad without faile,
 And rested awhile for his availe,
 And drank of the water of his fill,

And then he leapt out of the well,
 And with *Morglay*, his brand
 Assailed the Dragon, I understand:
 On the Dragon he stricke so fast, etc.

After which the Dragon strikes the knight with such violence, that he falls into a swoon, and tumbles as it were lifeless into the well, by whose sovereign virtue he is revived.

When Bevis was at the ground
 The water made him whole and sound,
 And quenched all the venim away,
 This well saved Bevis that day.

And afterwards,

But ever when Bevis was hurt sore,
 He went to the well and washed him thore;
 He was as whole as any man,
 And ever as fresh as when he began.

. . . the circumstance of the Dragon not being able to approach within seven feet of this well, is imitated by our author St. 49. below, where another water is mentioned, which in like manner preserves the knight. [EDITOR. Later scholars have pointed out that in both episodes the dragons are sunning themselves when aroused, that they roar hideously, prostrate their foes with their tails, and are wounded under the wing. These details, however, are hardly more than the stock in trade of dragon fights.]

HUON OF BURDEUX

JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER ("Huon of Burdeux and the Faerie Queene") sees a relation between the moral allegory of Spenser and the quest of Huon, attempts to prove direct debt in certain details, and finds in *Huon* "the chief outlines and characters of [Spenser's] romantic fairy world, so opposed to the general folk-concept of fairies and fairyland."

JOHN R. MACARTHUR ("The Influence of Huon of Burdeux upon the Faerie Queene") shows Fletcher's parallels to be unconvincing because commonplaces of romance or lacking correspondence in phrase and incident sufficiently clear to merit acceptance. He adds a comparison between the dragon fight in the *Faerie Queene* and Huon's adventures upon the Rock of Adamant, and between Guyon's journey to the Bower of Bliss (2. 12) and Huon's experience with the "perelous Gulfe." These parallels, however, seem to the Editor to be, at most, analogues, not sources.

LIONS OF ROMANCE

EDITOR. The behavior of Una's lion is singularly like that of the lion in *Guy of Warwick*. After Guy had rescued the lion from the dragon, the noble beast became so attached to his benefactor that he "folowed hym full harde," and the account proceeds as follows:

He went before Gye pleying
 And wyth hys tayle hym faynynge.
 He likkyd Gyes fete also
 And lepe abowte hys stede halse.

Gye had wondur of that dede
 And lepe downe of hys stede.
 He strokyd hym on þe rygge ofte
 And leyde hys hande hys hedde on lofte.
 The lyon walowed on the grownde
 Before Gye, as dothe an hownde.
 Sythen he playde wyth hym faste:
 Of hym Gye was not agaste.
 Gye lepe on hys stede than:
 The lyon before hym faste ranne.
 He folowed Gye est and weste:
 Gye hym louyde at the beste.
 Gye to the emperowre dud ryde:
 The lyon yede be hys syde.
 Gye hym tolde euery dele,
 How that he had spedd wele.
 All þey wondurde on the lyon,
 That he louyd so syr Gyone.

The emperowre and his meyne
 Went vnto the cyte.

Both Gye and the emperowre
 Togedur þey went to the towre.
 Gye into hys chaumbur ys gone
 And wyth hym went hys gode lyone,
 Into what stede þat Gye wente,
 The lyon folowed hym, verament.

(3891-3920)

Similarly Una's lion fawns upon her, attends her when she resumes her journey, and is her servitor and guardian both day and night.

The lion episode of the Percival story in the *Morte d'Arthur* (14. 6-10) is, as suggested by Miss Walther (*Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene* 55), another possible source for Spenser's lion, and moreover contains a sequel which may have influenced the later poet elsewhere in the first book:

It chanced that Percivale de Galis, who was a holy knight, found himself in a wild region, much inhabited by wild beasts. " And there he sawe a yonge serpent brynge a yonge lyon by the neck/ and soo he came by sir Percyual/ with that came a grete lyon crynge and rorynge after the serpent And as fast as syr Percyual sawe thys/ he merueylled/ & hyhed hym thyder/ but anon the lyon had ouertake the serpent and beganne bataille with hym/ And thenne syr Percyual thoughte to helpe the lyon for he was the more naturel beeste/ of the two/ and there with he drewe his suerd/ and sette hys shelde afore hym/ and ther he gaf the serpent suche a buffet that he had a dedely wound/ whanne the lyon sawe that/ he made no ressemblaunt to fyghte with hym/ but made hym all the chere that a beest myghte make a man/ Thenne Percyuale perccyued that and caste doune his sheld/ whiche was broken/ and thenne he dyd of his helme for to gadre wynde/ for he was gretely enchafted with the serpente/ and the lyon wente alwaye aboute hym fawnyng as a spanyel/ And thenne he stroked hym on the neck and on the sholders/ And thenne he thanked god of the felauship of that beeste/ And aboute none the lyon took his lytel whelp and trussed hym and bare hym there he came fro. . . . Thus whanne syr Percyual had prayd he sawe the lyon came toward hym/ and thenne he

couched doune at his feete/ And soo alle that nyghte the lyon and he slepte to gyders."

During the night Sir Percivale saw a vision, in which two ladies met with him, and the one sat upon a lion, and the other upon a serpent, and the one was young and that other was old. Upon the morrow a soothsayer interpreted the dream as follows: "She whiche rode vpon the lyon betokeneth the newe lawe of holy chirche that is to vnderstande/ fayth/ good hope/ byleue/ and baptysm. . . . And she that rode on the serpent sygnefyeth the olde lawe/ and that serpent betokeneth a fende."

About midday, Percivale saw a ship come rowing in the sea, "couerd with sylke more blacker than ony beare." Boarding the craft, the knight found there a "gentilwoman of grete beaute/ and she was clothed rychely that none myghte be better." This lovely creature who was as false as she was beautiful, and able to summon a fair pavilion, a goodly table, and an alluring couch, proved a sore temptation to Percivale, who was only saved from forgetfulness of his knightly vows by the sight of his sword, the pommel of which was a red cross and the crucifix. The soothsayer explained in turn that "that gentilwoman was the maister fende of helle/ the whiche hath power aboue alle deuyls/ and that was the old lady that thou sawest in thyn aduysyon rydyngge on the serpent." The two women suggest the contrasting characters of Una and Duessa, and Spenser may have been more or less remotely conscious of this story as he worked upon the *Faerie Queene*.

It remains to speak of the lion episode in *Bevis of Hamtoun*, for from it, as Todd suggests, Spenser may have taken one suggestion for Una's fawning lion. Josian, the heroine of the romance, likewise a royal virgin, is spared by lions at a time when, like Una, she is separated from her champion. Bevis, with the aid of Bonefas, carries off Josian from King Yvor, and they take refuge in a cave. While Bevis is absent in search of venison, lions refrain from harming his fair attendant:

Josian in þe caue gan shete,
And þe twoo lyons at hur feete,
Grennand on hur with much grame
But þey ne myzt do hur no shame.
For þe kind of Lyouns, y-wys,
A Kynges douzter, þat maid is,
Kinges douzter, quene and maide both,
þe lyouns myzt do hur noo wroth.

(A text, 2387-2394)

This instinctive reverence of the lion for a virgin is, however, in keeping with the whole lion cult, for, as frequently observed, the lion, like the unicorn, will offer no injury to a virgin or to a royal personage. See, for example, 1. Henry IV. 2. 4: "The lion will not touch the true prince"; Sidney's *Arcadia*: "The unnatural beast, which contrary to its kind, would have wronged Prince's blood"; and Brunetto Latini's *Book of the Treasure*: "Et ne porquant li vencor envoient une vierge pucele cele part ou l'unicorne converse; car ce est sa nature que maintenant s'en va a la pucele tout droit, et depose toutes fiertez et sen dort soef el giron a la pucele; et en ceste manir le decoivent li veneor."

MORTE D'ARTHUR

EDITOR. Aside from the episodes of Gareth and of the lion considered above, it is difficult to determine just where in Book One Spenser was consciously following Malory. Of course Arthur plays the same noble rôle in the two romances, and each author touches upon his youthful training—the Sir Ector of Malory replaced by Timon—and his desire to know of his parentage. In Arthur's battle with Orgoglio there is perhaps a specific reminiscence of the combat in the *Morte d'Arthur* in which Arthur cuts off the *two* legs of a giant. Moreover Spenser could hardly have been unmindful of Merlin and Morgan le Fay when developing such characters as Archimago and Duessa. Nor is he likely to have forgotten the moment when Sir Galahad stepped behind the altar and first saw his shield, the red cross gleaming on its white background, or, when describing the ghastly spectacle of the slaughtered innocents in the castle of Orgoglio, the graves of innocent maidens which Sir Percival discovered in the castle where his sister had been slain. On the whole, however, it is clear that in Book One Spenser has drawn less upon the *Morte d'Arthur* than its prominence would have led one to expect.

PERLESVAUS AND THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY GRAIL

EDITOR. The Old French prose romance *Perlesvaus* or *Perceval le Gallois* was probably known to Spenser, as several copies of a printed edition of 1521 are still extant. This romance may have had a somewhat remote influence in shaping the legend of the Red Cross Knight.

Percival, the principal hero of the romance, in certain aspects corresponds somewhat closely to Spenser's hero. He is brought up in rustic surroundings, and appears at court in rustic garb where he causes much amusement; early in his career he commits a grievous fault which brings disaster in its train; he undergoes a graduated series of adventures which discipline him in arms; he receives the red cross shield because of his spiritual worthiness; he sojourns in the abode of a righteous man by way of preparation for his greatest exploit, and receives advice; then with the aid of his shield he takes the castle of the arch disbeliever, restores the oppressed, redeems the Holy Grail, and re-establishes the New Law. Moreover a damsel riding upon a white mule is one of three who early in the story appear at court seeking relief. Another of the damsels brings the shield of Joseph of Arimathea, decorated with the red cross and with silver and azure bands, which is to be reserved for the best knight in the world. Again, Dindrane, the sister of Percival, appears at court seeking for her brother, whose aid is needed to relieve their mother's castle from the enemies who have beset it, and her unhappy wanderings are somewhat like the wanderings of Una when separated from her knight. Also Percival is tempted by a lovely girl, really a demon in disguise.

Percival is the son of a Welsh knight who was killed in combat. Moreover his two older brothers lost their lives in the same manner. His mother therefore decides to bring him up in a forest far removed from men. One day, however, he meets five knights in the forest and learns of Arthur's court. Despite his mother's entreaties he insists upon seeking the court. He arrives, clad in a suit of leather and coarse linen, and his rustic costume and awkwardness cause much amusement.

Nevertheless he claims the armor of the Red Knight, who had insulted the court, and is prophetically proclaimed the best knight in the world by a certain damsel.

Of Percival's good conditions it is said that "good knight was he without fail, for he was chaste and virgin of his body and hardy of heart and puissant, and so were his conditions without wickedness. Not boastful was he of speech, and it seemed not by his cheer that he had so great courage. Nevertheless, of one little word that he delayed to speak came to pass so sore mischances in Greater Britain, that all the islands and all the lands fell thereby into much sorrow, albeit thereafter he put them back into gladness by the authority of his knighthood."

This serious oversight was that when he harbored at the castle of his uncle, King Fisherman, "the Holy Grail appeared to him and the Lance wherof the point runneth of blood, yet never asked he to whom was served thereof nor whence it came, and for that he asked it not are all the lands commoved to war."

As a result of this neglect Percival falls into a languishing sickness, from which he only slowly recovers, resting during his sickness at the hermitage of his uncle, King Pelles.

With his recovery he enters upon a long series of exploits, such as visiting the Castle of Maidens, where he releases many maidens and squires from the punishment that they suffer because of his mistake at the Grail Castle; wreaking bloody vengeance on his mother's oppressors, killing the Lord of the Moors and sixty of his knights; conquering the Knight of the Fiery Dragon, whose ravages have filled the court with dismay—an inworking it would seem of the St. George legend; and capturing the Castle of Copper, where pagans are worshipping a brazen bull.

His crowning achievement, however, to which all of the preceding adventures are in a sense preparatory, is to recover the Castle of the Holy Grail from his usurping wicked uncle, the oppressor of the obedient and the enemy of the New Law, and to restore the Grail and other hallows to it, thus splendidly redeeming his mistake and providing spiritual stability to society.

Preparatory to this great adventure Percival sojourns again with his hermit uncle, who impresses upon him that he is the special soldier of Our Lord, chosen for this supreme exploit, but that he cannot win the castle in his own strength: "It is a thing well known that you are the Best Knight of the World, but set no affiance in your strength nor in your knighthood as against so many knights, for against them you may not endure." Thereupon King Hermit gives him a white mule and a banner, which shall confound his enemies, and advises him of a beneficent lion—an instrumentality most pertinent to the *Faerie Queene*: "Two lions are there at the entry of the gateway, whereof the one is red and the other white. Put your trust in the white, for he is on God's side, and look at him whensoever your force shall fail you, and he will look at you likewise in such sort as that straightway you shall know his intent, by the will and pleasure of Our Saviour. Wherefore do according as you shall see that he would, for no intent will he have save good only, and to help you; nor may you not otherwise succeed in winning past the nine bridges that are warded of the twenty-seven knights."

Thus provided and instructed, Percival undertakes the castle and conquers the successive bridges, the lion assisting with his intelligence and fierce strength, until, the last bridge taken, the evil King of the Castle Mortal slays himself. "The High History witnesseth us that when the conquest of the castle was over, the Saviour of the World was right joyous and well pleased thereof. The Grail presented

itself again in the chapel, and the lance whereof the point bleedeth, the sword wherewith St. John was beheaded that Messire Gawain won, and the other holy relics whereof was right great plenty. For our Lord God loved the place much. The hermits went back to their hermitages in the forest and served Our Lord as they had been wont. Joseus remained with Perceval at the castle as long as it pleased him, but the Good Knight searched out the land there where the New Law had been abandoned and its maintenance neglected. He reft the lives of them that would not maintain it and believe. The country was supported by him and made safe, and the Law of Our Lord exalted by his strength and valour."

Percival like the Red Cross Knight upholds the Christian faith at the point of the sword, he carries the red cross shield, he redeems a castle from the oppressors of the faith, and he is the champion and propagator of the New Law or Christian Truth. Moreover his initial appearance at court, his early mistake in his knightly career, the advice which he receives before his crowning exploit, the friendly offices of the lion, the ladies seeking aid at the court, and the demon in the disguise of a fair maiden, all may be faintly recalled in Spenser's Legend of Holiness.

THE VISION OF TUNDALE

WHITNEY WELLS ("Spenser's Dragon," pp. 145-157). Undoubtedly Spenser used the romance animals in his dragon description, as he did romance motifs in the combat that immediately ensues. The first spear-thrust glances off the beast's hide as happens in nearly every romance; the dragon's tail becomes his chief weapon; there is an episode in the *Huon* that may easily have furnished the hint for the flight through the heavens; the knight first wounds the creature under the wing as do Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, and St. George; the knight is scorched by the fiery breath as is Sir Tristrem; parallelisms to the Well and Tree of Life have been pointed out in both *Bevis of Hampton* and *Huon of Bordeaux*; like Sir Torrent and the Knight of Courtesy, the knight hacks off the creature's tail; the dragon's foot that clutches the shield is amputated as in the *Huon*; the mortal thrust is given down the beast's throat as it is also by Huon; finally, the people flee the dead dragon as they do in *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. There is not an episode of the struggle but can be directly traced to one or more romances. The combat, then, is a composite glare of romance high-lights; where one or two sufficed the romance original, Spenser took all. But this does not hold for his dragon description; for here in only one or two minor details has he followed the romances.

Oddly enough, in the few cases where he most makes use of the conventions, critics have insisted on pointing his sources. Thus Miss Winstanley holds that "Spenser certainly copies Sir Bevis of Southampton in his description of the fight with the dragon," citing as one of the closest parallels the *Bevis*,

His skales brighter were than glasse
And moche harder than any brasse

and Spenser's

And over, all with brasen scales were armed.

But brazen scales were, perhaps, the most typical attribute of the romance dragon, as I have indicated, and an identity may just as easily be established, for instance, with *Sir Degaré*, *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, or *Sabra and the Seven Champions*, all of

which contain further parallelisms to support the provenience. In his earlier poem, *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, Spenser gave the dragon there

. . . shields of brasse, that shone like burnisht gold,
(Stanza vi)

in which respect his *Faerie Queene* dragon is slightly more elaborated.

Again, Miss Winstanley and others find the "Three ranckes of yron teeth" in Ovid's "triplici stant ordine dentes."

Although this feature was not a convention of the romances, it was common to the popularly conceived idea of the dragon and to a number of fabulous creatures. Another classical instance might be drawn from *Nicander*

Triplici conspicui se produnt ordine dentes

and Topsell describes the dragons as "hauing a treble rowe of teeth in theyr mouthes vppon euery iawe." The mantichora, according to Gesner, have "dentes triplici utrinque ordine." All of the source citations given for the dragon episode by Miss Winstanley and others may be similarly criticized, although concerning the dragon description *per se* they are conspicuously absent, except for those more conventional details noticed above. . . .

The piece that concerns the present study particularly, however, is *The Vision of Tundale*, one of the best known and certainly one of the most elaborate of the medieval visions. Its popularity is indicated by the survival of a great number of manuscripts in Latin, French, German, and Norse. Wagner lists fifty-four of the Latin, and of an English version four manuscripts are extant, all of the fifteenth century. This editor dates the English original at the end of the fourteenth century, finding it a translation of one of the most elaborate Latin versions. It is quite possible, then, even probable, owing to a popularity thus evidenced, that Spenser was acquainted with the *Vision of Tundale*.

In his vision, Tundale, guided by an angel, descends into Hell and passes through a valley strewn with hot coals, beside a mountain of fire and ice. Yawning abysses, fiery ovens, pillars of flame, are other details. But what concern the present study particularly are the huge beast called Acheron, the beast in the lake of ice, the terrible creatures in the lakes of fire and water, Satan and his fiends. Comparison of their descriptions with Spenser will indicate, I believe, the true original of the latter's dragon.

Issuing from a long way of mirkiness, Tundale and his guardian angel

. . . se þan a hedewes sight:
þai se a beste was more to know,
þan alle þe mountaynes, þat þai saw,
And his ene zete semed more
And bradder, þan þe valeys wore. (VT. 440 ff.)

and Satan is also huge:

He was bothe mekille and stronge,
A hundred cubites was he longe.
Fourti cubytes on brede he hadde
And nine on theknes was he made. (VT. 1311 ff.)

So, in Spenser,

Eftsoones that dreadfull dragon they espyde,
Where stretcht he lay upon the sunny side
Of a greal hill, *himselfe like a great hill* . . .
And made wide shadow under his huge waste;
As mountaine doth the valley overcaste. (FQ. 1. 11, 4 ff.)

[Here follows a long series of detailed parallel passages relating to the physical characteristics. To Spenser's dragon are compared Acheron, in whose mouth were "thre partyse, As thre gret zattes," throwing out "grete flammes of fyre"; Satan, from whose mouth issued "smoke and stynke of brymstone," whose nails were like sharp iron, and whose tail "was scharpe and of gret lenght," with "mony a pyke"; and beasts, whose

ene were brode and brennand bryght,
As brennand lampes dose on nyght.]

These parallels differ, of course, as one should anticipate. It would be a complete miscomprehension of Spenser's method and genius to expect a verbatim rendering. At least, they are closer than any comparisons involving the romance dragons except in those instances cited before. That the creatures of Tundale's hell furnished the basic hints for the poet's conception, particularly in its idea of vastness, seems likely, and there is further evidence. . . .

Issuing from hell, Tundale and his guide enter a flowery mead where

*In myddes þat place was a welle,
þe fayrest, þat ony tonge myght of telle.
Fro þat ran mony stremes sere
Of water, þat was fayre and clere . . .
þe welle, þat þou has sene here,
With þe water, þat sprynges so clere,
Is called be skylli þe welle of lyffe.
þe name of hit is fulle ryfe.* (VT. 1531 ff.)

Spenser:

Behynd his backe, unweeting, where he stood,
*Of auncient time there was a springing well,
From which fast trickled forth a silver flood . . .
. . . it rightly hot
The Well of Life.* . . . (FQ. 1. 11. 29.)

The fountain in the *Bevis* does not heal the knight of his wounds, but merely keeps the dragon and its venom away; a fact that Miss Winstanley is forced to note that Spenser does not use. In *Tundale*, however, the guide says to the hero,

*Tho soules, þat þou ses her within,
Have ben in payne for her synne,
But þat are clensted throw goddis grace
And dwellen now her in þis place . . .
Who so drynkes her of þis welle,
Honger shall he never fele
Ne threste shall he never mare,
But lyking have withouten care.
If he were olde, withoute payne
Hit wold make hym zonge agayne.* (VT. 1541 ff.)

Spenser:

Full of great vertues, and for med'cine good . . .
 For unto life the dead it could restore,
And guilt of sinfull crimes cleane wash away;
 Those that with sicknesse were infected sore
 It could recure, *and aged long decay*
Renew, as one were borne that very day. (FQ. 1. 11. 29 ff.)

Bevis' well, then, has far less in common with Spenser's well than has Tundale's, although I do not deny that the Bevis episode may have furnished the hint to Spenser who, thereupon remembering the well of the vision-piece, used it as his model.

The original hint, however, would seem more likely to have come from the fountain in *Huon of Bordeaux* which is nearer Tundale and, consequently, Spenser. "This fountayne was callyd the fountayne of youth . . . and (Huon) had no soner dronke thereof but incontynent he was hole of all his woundys." Properties that Spenser's and Tundale's wells have in common, however, are not true of Spenser's and Huon's, particularly the name, the cleansing from sin, and the restoration of youth to crabbed age. The last virtue as a quality of Huon's fountain can be inferred only from its name--the fountain of youth.

That the *Huon*, and not the *Bevis*, furnished the point of tangency to the Tundale vision, seems still more certain by the apple tree which stands beside the fountain of youth in the former romance and which Spenser undoubtedly took, as Miss Winstanley has pointed out, for his Tree of Life. There is a tree, similar in many respects, however, in Tundale's Paradise (VT. 1200 ff.).

We may consider, then, that the same process took place in this episode that occurred in the dragon description--the romance in hand pointed to a more elaborate account, the *Vision of Tundale*, that Spenser recognized as superior.

THE COURTS OF LOVE POEMS

EARLE BROADUS FOWLER ("Spenser and the Courts of Love." Condensed by the Editor). The court of love tradition influenced Spenser directly, or indirectly through adaptations in the moral allegories. The settings may be either out-of-doors, indoors, or a combination of the two. Of the twelve distinct episodes in the *Faerie Queene* which employ court of love settings, two are in Book One, the House of Pride and the House of Holiness, and both employ the interior setting. "When the court of love is placed within a building, that building is generally either a temple, with emphasis upon the religious service of the god or goddess of love, or a castle, with emphasis upon the regal authority and feudal magnificence of the court. In either case the general description of the building presents characteristics drawn from two sources: classical and mediæval. Hence we have a union of the classical temple of a divinity and the mediæval church or a composite picture of the palace of a god and a feudal castle." The two courts in Book One are of the latter type. Thus the House of Pride is a stately palace with lofty towers, and highly ornamented with costly materials, in line with a tradition that derives from Ovid and other classical sources, and as is customary, special attention is called to the gates.

The characters that figure in the courts of love are a presiding deity or personage—Venus, Cupid, or some allegorical figure—and a retinue or company of attendants. Venus was of course the original queen who presided over the courts of love, but in an age when allegory maintained, it was easy to supplant her, as Spenser has done in the persons of Lucifera and Dame Caelia.

"The first of these, Lucifera, is at once the presiding personage in the House of Pride and an embodiment of the chief of the Seven Deadly Sins. In an elaborate article written to prove that the source of the procession of the Seven Deadly Sins in the House of Pride is to be found in Gower's *Mirour de L'Omme* (vv. 841 ff.), Professor Lowes contends that the characteristics of Lucifera are derived from Gower's Orgueil. Without going into the merits of this discussion one is impelled to note that Spenser has put his material to a much larger use than we find to be true in the case of Gower. Lucifera's rôle in the House of Pride involves a good deal more than being, like Orgueil, chief in the procession of the Seven Deadly Sins. In Spenser the procession is a mere incident—an outing—in an important episode, viz., the House of Pride and the adventures of the Redcross Knight in it. Lucifera is a proud queen, the center of the pomp and magnificence of a feudal court. She is arbitress of the lists in the mortal combat between the Redcross Knight and the Saracen. Spenser has taken a well worn figure from a mediæval commonplace—the procession of the Seven Deadly Sins—and has made it perform a larger function in a court of love setting. Not only as an embodiment of Pride but also as a queen she spurns the earth with a lofty look. In her hand she holds a mirror and takes delight in gazing at her own image. She is 'the lady of that pallace bright' outside which a throng waits to get a glimpse of its mistress. She is attended by 'a noble crew of lords and ladies.' She is seated high on a rich throne and attired in royal robes adorned with gold and precious stones. Her beauty is emphasized. Knightly guests arrive and are conducted into the presence where they make obeisance. Both her personality and her position identify her with the general type of the queen of the court of love.

"The House of Holiness is governed by Dame Caelia, 'a matrone grave and hore.' She is celebrated for her wisdom, piety and goodness. The distinctively moral and religious nature of the allegory is apparent, and it is equally apparent that its sources are to be found not in the earlier, purer forms of the love allegories but in the later, moralized adaptations of the *genre*. Dame Caelia has affinities with Dame Doctrine, who governs the Tower of Doctrine in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*. Both are sought by persons wanting instruction and both have wise daughters capable of teaching. Compare also Dame Patience and Dame Pity in Breton's *A Strange Dream*. Both, like Dame Caelia, are benevolent gentlewomen ever ready to entertain the wayfarer and furnish teachers to guide him into the way of truth. . . .

"The name of the porter in the House of Pride—Malvenú—means just the opposite of Bel-accueil, a personification appearing repeatedly as the porter in the court of love allegories. With his usual skill in adaptation Spenser has apparently invented a personification suggestive of the inhospitality of the place—a suggestion borne out by the experience of the Redcross Knight within its precincts. Though not the porter, Humilité is an *hospitalier* in Caulier's *L'Hospital d'Amours*. (The porter of the Castle of Fortune in Hawes' *Example of Virtue* is Humility. So, also, Humilitas seems to be the porter in the *Castle of Perseverance*, 1696 ff.) . . .

"The hybrid form of allegory employed in the House of Pride made it comparatively easy for Spenser to introduce into it six of the Seven Deadly Sins as councillors in attendance upon the seventh, namely, Pride—personified in Lucifera. It is significant that one of these—Lechery—is described in terms which identify him with the Ovidian type of the courtly lover. . . .

"The presence of one or more of the Seven Deadly Sins not only in the later, moralized type of court of love allegory but also in the earlier and purer form of the *genre* is not uncommon. The porter at the gate of the Garden of Mirth in the *Romaunt of the Rose* is Idleness. Envy appears in the M. E. *Court of Love*, 1254-1260. With Spenser's Lechery may be compared Wantonness, the keeper of the wardrobe in Breton's *Fort of Fancie*. With Spenser's Wrath compare the 'flecti faciles Irac' of the *De Nuptiis*, 79. In Gower's *Confessio Amantis* mention is made of a Court of Pride and of a number of allied sins that serve as officials in it. The confessor says to the lover:

Surquiderie is thilke vice
Of Pride, which the thridde office
Hath in his Court, and wol noght knowe
The trowthe til it overthrowe (I, 1883-1886).

Other officials are Hypocrisy, Inobedience, Avantance, and Vain Glory. With the last named compare Spenser's Vanitie, the usher or guide in the House of Pride. (The guide is a stock character in the court of love allegories. See the *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor*, 246, where Venus calls a damsel to act as guide to the lover; *Der Kittel—Meister Altswert, Bib. d. Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart* 21. 18—where a messenger comes to the lover to lead him to Venus land; *Parlement of Foules*, 120-122, where Scipio Africanus acts as guide to the poet; *The Palice of Honour—Works of Gavin Douglas* 1. 41 ff.—where one of Calliope's maidens guides the author to the palace after his release from captivity at the court of Venus; and the *Court of Love*, 158-160, where the lover finds a friend and guide in Philobone. We may note here also the figure of Zele, the guide in the House of Holiness (*FQ.* 1. 10. 6). On the origin and function of the guide in mediæval allegory see Neilson, *Origins*, 213 ff., and Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame*, 86 ff., and especially 94). Or perhaps a more perfect parallel to Spenser's character is Vaine Delight, the usher in Breton's *Fort of Fancie*. The six vices are called councillors by Spenser. 'Conseillers' in Caulier's *L'Hospital d'Amours* are Honneur, Entendement, and Souvenir.

"In the House of Holiness (*FQ.* 1. 10. 3 ff.) the prominent attendants or companions of Caelia are her three daughters—Fidelia, Speranza, and Charissa. Other personifications are Reverence, a squire, and Obedience, a groom. Patience, the leech, with the aid of Penance, Remorse, and Repentance exercises a purgatorial function. Mercy conducts sojourners through an adjacent hospital in charge of seven beadsmen to a hill on which stand a chapel and a hermitage. In the latter dwells Heavenly Contemplation, 'an aged holy man.' Humilité, the porter, and Zele, the guide, have already been noted.

"The Redcross Knight is led to the House of Holiness by Una (Truth). In *La Voie de Paradis* of Raoul de Houdan the poet is led to the House of Love by Grace. The Redcross Knight becomes ill on account of his sins and is put off in a dark room where he is attended by a leech called Patience. With the aid of

Penance, Remorse, and Repentance, the leech administers a course of heroic treatment which finally purges the knight. He is afterward turned over to Mercy, who conducts him to the hospital of the seven beadsmen, where he rests a while before being led to the chapel of Heavenly Contemplation. In *L'Hospital d'Amours* the lover, who is ill on account of love, is received by Courtesy who conducts him through the hospital and the chapel to a 'habitable,' where he is put to bed and the chief physician Espoir summoned. Espoir prescribes and the lover is finally cured with the aid of a kiss. Again, the Redcross Knight is taught the way of salvation by Fidelia and Speranza, and especially by Charissa, who schools him in 'her vertuous rules.' In *Der Kittel* the poet comes to the castle of Venus, where the goddess herself instructs him in the lore of love. Also in the M. E. *Court of Love* the king has the statutes of Love's court brought out and the lover is required to read and observe them (vv. 295 ff.). In the *Pastime of Pleasure* Minerva in the Tower of Chivalry instructs Graunde Amoure in the rules of knighthood. Indeed, not only in her function as a teacher but also in her general conception and characteristics, Charissa in the realm of religious love seems to correspond to Venus in the province of courtly love. . . . Doubtless the ultimate source of the three sisters is the New Testament; but they are also stock characters in mediaeval allegory. Faith, Hope, and Love are conceptions common to both moral and pure court of love symbolism. Hence we see their ready adaptability to the mixed allegory of the House of Holiness. In Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoretto e il Favoleto* the retinue of the God of Love includes 'quattro donne valenti,' two of whom are Speranza and Amore. In Guillaume de Machaut's *Dit de Vergier* one of the six maidens is Esperance. But it is in the later, moralized type of courtly allegory that we find personification most clearly parallel to Spenser's. An interesting example of this type is an anonymous, alliterative, late M. E. work called *Life and Death*. The poem shows the influence of *Piers Plowman*. It gives an account of a large company gathered in a great field to do honor to a beautiful lady. Among the knights present are found not only Sir Honour, Sir Courtesy, and Sir Cunning but also Sir Comfort, Sir Hope, and Sir Love. Among the ladies are Dame Mirth, Dalliance, and Disport as well as Dame Meekness and Dame Mercy. Among the occupants of the Castle of Great Grace in Hawes' *Exemple of Virtue* are Faith, Charity, Penitence, Mercy, Contrition, and others. In the *Pastime of Pleasure* Prudence is the 'leche' but he has a sister called Patience. When near the end of the same poem Death has arrested Graunde Amoure there come to him Dame Confession and Dame Contrition to bewail his sins. Dame Peace and Dame Mercy plead for the lover before La Bell Pucell, and Mercy and Charity bury him at the end. In Douglas' *Palice of Honour* Charity is master of the household and Hope and Mercy are courtiers. Whether or not the specific personifications Reverence and Heavenly Contemplation are of Spenser's own coinage is not a question of prime importance, since the category to which they belong is definitely fixed by the examples cited in this paragraph."

THE MIROUR DE L'OMME

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES ("Spenser and the *Mirour de l'Omme*," pp. 389-438). The traits which combine to give the description [of the Deadly Sins] its distinctive character may be readily summarized. In the first place, to the device of representing each Sin as riding on a symbolic animal Spenser has added the further

symbolizing touch of depicting each Vice as holding an appropriate object in its hand. Second, with each of the six Sins thus pictured he has associated a specific malady (in the case of Wrath, a number of maladies). And finally, he has elaborated each portrait by a massing of vividly pictorial or sharply characterizing details. I wish to point out that in the description of the marriage of Pride and the World in the *Miroir de l'Homme* Gower represents each of the Sins as riding on a symbolic beast, and also as carrying an appropriate object in its hand; that in the fuller account of the Sins which follows he associates each with a specific malady; and that a very large number of Spenser's most strongly visualized details are present (though less closely focussed) in Gower. And finally, it will be seen that the correspondences are not only general, but in many cases definitely verbal. In no other treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins, so far as I know, does the same combination of salient details occur. And the verbal parallels, taken in conjunction with this fact, seem to point to but one conclusion.

The passage in the *Miroir* with which we are first concerned is the section beginning at line 841, with the rubric: "Comment les sept files du Peccché vindront vers leur mariage, et de leur arrai et de leur chiere." . . .

Chascune soer endroit du soy
 L'un apres l'autre ove son conroi
 Vint en sa guise noblement,
 Enchivalchant par grant desroy;
 Mais ce n'estoit sur palefroy,
 Ne sur les mules d'orient:
 Orguil qui vint primerement
 S'estoit monté moult fierement
 Sur un lioun, q'aler en coy
 Ne volt pour nul chastement,
 Ainz salt sur la menue gent,
 Du qui tous furent en effroy.
 Du selle et frien quoy vous dirray,
 Du mantellet ou d'autre array?
 Trestout fuist plain du queinterie;
 Car unques prée flouriz en mai
 N'estoit au regarder si gay
 Des fleurs, comme ce fuist du perrie:
 Et sur son destre poign saisie
 Une aigle avoit, que signifie
 Qu'il trestous autres a l'essay
 Volt surmonter de s'estutye.
 Ensi vint a la reverie
 La dame dont parlé vous ay.
 Puis vint Envyé en son degré,
 Q'estoit desur un chien monté,
 Et sur son destre poign portoit
 Un espervier q'estoit mué.
 La face ot moult descolouré
 Et pale des mals que pensoit,
 Et son mantell dont s'affoubloit
 Du purpre au droit devis estoit
 Ove cuers ardans bien enbroudé,

Et entre d'eux, qui bien seoit,
Du serpent langues y avoit
Par tout menuement proudré.

Après Envy vint suiant
Sa socr dame Ire enchivalchant
Moult fierement sur un sengler,
Et sur son poign un cock portant.
Soulaïne vint, car attendant
Avoit ne sergant n'escuier:
La cote avoit du fin acier,
Et des culteals plus d'un millier
Q'au coste luy furont pendant:
Trop fuist la dame a redouter,
Tous s'en fuient de son sentier,
Et la lessont passer avant.

Dessus un asne lent et lass
Enchivalchant le petit pass
Puis vint Accidie loign derere,
Et sur son poign pour son solas
Tint un huan ferm par un las:
Si ot toutdis pres sa costiere
Sa couche faite en sa litiere;
N'estoit du merriem ne de piere,
Ainz fuist de plom de halt en bass.
Si vint au feste en tieu maniere,
Mais aulques fuist de mate chere,
Pour ce q'assetz ne dormi pas.

Dame Avarice apres cela
Vint vers le feste et chivalcha
Sur un baucan qui voit toutdis
Devers la terre, et pour cela
Nulle autre beste tant prisa:
Si ot sur l'un des poigns assis
Un ostour qui s'en vait toutdis
Pour proye, et dessus l'autre ot mis
Un merlot q'en larcine va
Des bources portoit plus que dis,
Que tout de l'orr sont replenis:
Moult fuist l'onour q'om le porta

Bien tost apres il me sovient
Que dame Gloutonie vient,
Que sur le lou s'est chivalché,
Et sur son poign un coufle tient,
Q'a sa nature bien avient;
Si fist porter pres sa costée
Beau cop de vin envessellé:
N'ot guaire deux pass chivalchée,
Quant Yveresce luy survient,
Saisist le frein, si l'ad mené,
Et dist de son droit heritée
Ques cel office a luy partient.

Puis vi venir du queinte atour
La dame q'ad fait maint fol tour,

C'est Leccherie la plus queinte:
 En un mantel de fol amour
 Sist sur le chievre q'est lechour,
 En qui luxure n'est restrainte.
 Et sur son poign soutz sa constreinte
 Porte un colomb; dont meint et meinte
 Pour l'aguarder s'en vont entour.
 Du beal colour la face ot pinte,
 Oels vairs riantz, dont mainte enpeinte
 Ruoit au fole gent entour.

Et d'autre part sans nul demeure
 Le Siccle vint en mesme l'eure,
 Et c'estoit en le temps joly
 Du Mai, quant la deesce Nature
 Bois, champs et prées de sa verdure
 Reveste, et l'oisei font leur cry,
 Chantant deinz ce buisson flori,
 Que point l'amie ove son amy:
 Lors cilz que vous nomay desseure
 Les noces font, comme je vous dy:
 Moult furont richement servy
 Sanz point, sanz reule et sanz mesure.

Certain divergencies between the two accounts may at once be given their due weight. In the first place, the *order* of the Sins is not the same. The succession in Spenser is Pride, Idleness, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Envy, Wrath. In Gower the order is the more conventional one—Pride, Envy, Wrath, Idleness, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery. But the difference in arrangement has no significance. The order in the *Assembly of Gods* is Pride, Envy, Wrath, Avarice, Gluttony, Lechery, Idleness. In *Piers the Plowman* (Passus v) the series is Pride, [Lechery], Envy, Wrath, Lechery, Avarice, Gluttony, Idleness. And other variations are numerous. No valid conclusion, accordingly, may be drawn from this particular divergence. The *sex* of the Sins, moreover, is different in the two accounts. In the *Mirour* all seven are the daughters of Sin and Death; in the *Faerie Queene* Pride is a "mayden Queene," the others—her "six sage Counsellours"—are masculine. But the sex of the Sins is inherent in the fundamental plan of Gower's poem; the divergence in Spenser grows out of his conception of the House of Pride, and is susceptible of interpretation as representing a perfectly familiar mode of adapting borrowed material. The same may be said of the fact that in Gower the Sins ride in procession single file, while in Spenser they ride, apparently, side by side. Inasmuch as Gower's plan demands at this point a bridal procession, Spenser's a chariot drawn by a team, the difference in detail is again inherent in the difference in plan. In a word, the divergences are either without significance (as in the case of the order of treatment), or else they grow out of the different settings of the situation in the two poems, and are so without real bearing on the point at issue.

It is likenesses, however, with which we are most concerned. And, quite apart from details, the similarities between the two descriptions both in general conception and even in method are obvious—so obvious, indeed, as to constitute in themselves (especially after even a cursory survey of the other treatments of the Seven Deadly Sins) a strong piece of presumptive evidence. For in Gower's con-

crete and definitely visualized imagery are precisely the elements on which Spenser's imagination was wont to seize for transmutation in his own alembic, and the lines in the *Faerie Queene* stand to those in the *Mnour* in a relation strikingly similar to that which other well known passages in Spenser bear to Ariosto.

But such evidence can at best be merely presumptive, and the general parallel, however striking, is inconclusive. It is necessary to examine closely the details. And it will simplify matters to present the more salient facts in tabular form.

Sin	Beast		Object carried		Malady	
	Gower	Spenser	Gower	Spenser	Gower	Spenser
[Pride]	lion		eagle	mirror	frenzy	
Idleness (3)	ass	ass	owl	breviary	lethargy	fever
Gluttony (5)	wolf	swine	kite (+ vessel of wine)	bouzing can	" loup roial "	dropsy
Lechery (6)	goat	goat	dove	burning heart	leprosy	pox (?)
Avarice (4)	horse	camel	hawk (+ " bources ")	[gold]	dropsy	gout
Envy (1)	dog	wolf	sparrowhawk	[toad]	fever (" ethike ")	leprosy
Wrath (2)	boar	lion	cock	burning brand	cardiacle	spleen, palsy, etc.

It should be kept in mind that the essential correspondence in the two accounts, so far as the facts of the table are concerned, is the striking conjunction in both of symbolic animals, symbolic objects carried in the hand, and symbolic maladies. That both beasts and objects (leaving for the moment the maladies out of account) should vary, is to be expected, when a greater artist is dealing with the symbolism. But even so the direct correspondences are closer than at first appears. Idleness in Spenser rides "upon a *slouthfull Asse*"; in Gower it is "dessur un *asne lent et lass*." And "his heavie heild" corresponds to "de mate chere." Gluttony's "bouzing can" is in Gower as the "beau cop de vin envessellé." Lechery in Gower rides "sur le chievre *q'est lecchour*"; in Spenser he rides upon "a bearded Gote, whose rugged heare . . . *was like the person selfe whom he did beare*." The "burning hart" which he bears in his hand takes the place of the dove, and is not in Gower's description of Lechery. But it is in his account of Envy, as the "cuers ardans" of l 73. Avarice in Gower "des bources portoit plus que dis, *Que tout de l'orr sont replenis*." In Spenser, "two iron coffers hung on either side, *With precious metal full as they might hold*." Envy's kirtle in Spenser is "of *discolourd say*"; in Gower, Envy's face is "moult *descolouré*." This kirtle in Spenser is "ypainted full of eies"; in Gower "son mantell dont *s'affoubloit* [compare Spenser's "all in a kirtle . . . *he clothed was*"] Du purple au droit devis estoit *Ove cuers ardans bien enbroudé*." The burning hearts have been transferred to Lechery; the eyes more fittingly (cf. xxx, 7; xxxi, 6) take their place. In Envy's bosom, in Spenser, lies "an hatefull Snake"; in Gower, between the burning hearts are scattered serpents' tongues. To Wrath's dagger correspond "des culteals" in Gower. I grant at once that these details in themselves cannot for a moment be regarded as conclusive. Some of them, of course,

are conventional touches. But others (especially in the case of Envy) are not so easily accounted for, and they are of a piece, as we shall later see, with far more striking and significant correspondences.

If we turn more definitely to the animals, several interesting facts appear. . . . Spenser agrees with Gower in four out of the seven animals, and in two cases (those of Idleness and Lechery) the association of the animal and the Vice corresponds. The *change* in the case of the *lion*, moreover, is no less significant than the agreement. Wrath in Gower rides upon a boar; in Spenser he is mounted on a lion. Now in the *Mirour* it is Pride who is borne by a lion. In the *Faerie Queene*, however, Pride is in the chariot drawn by the remaining Sins, so that her lion is available for other use. And it is difficult to doubt that it is from Pride in the *Mirour* that Spenser has transferred the lion to his own Wrath. For Gower's description is at once uncommonly pictorial and apt: "un lioun, q'aler en coy Ne volt pour nul chastement, Ainz salt sur la menue gent, Du qui tous furont en effroy." And it is precisely this distinctive touch which appears condensed in Spenser's phrase: "Upon a Lion, loth for to be led." As for the other three changes, one can perhaps only guess. But the swine (associated with Gluttony in both the *Ancren Riwle* and the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*) is obviously more in keeping with the superb grossness of Spenser's conception of Gluttony than the wolf, and the wolf, thus available for other use, may readily have been transferred (possibly under the influence of the *Assembly*) to Envy, to whose malicious and devastating character, as Spenser conceives it, it is certainly more appropriate than the dog. Spenser's choice of the camel for Avarice will be discussed below; and Gower's rather inept assignment of the horse cried out in any case for the reviser's hand.

The changes in the objects carried—once the idea of such objects was suggested—are again what we should expect. Gower's symbolism is general; the object chosen—in each case a bird (with the addition, in the case of Gluttony and Avarice, of two objects *which also appear in Spenser*)—is broadly appropriate to the Vice, rather than an integral part of a description conceived and executed as an artistic whole. In Spenser, on the other hand, the objects—in no case a bird—are part and parcel of a *composition*; as in Gower, they have a symbolic relation to the Vice, but they also blend with the other details to create a unified impression. Their choice, in other words, is determined not only by their symbolic, but also by their artistic value. Thus the conception of Idleness is dominated by the religious aspect of Somnolence, and the unused breviary—instead of an owl "pour son solas"—is completely in harmony with that. Gluttony's "bouzing can" (with its suggestion in Gower) follows inevitably from the rest of the description; the kite, however apposite to the Vice, *per se*, would be extraneous to the composition. Lechery's burning heart (the hint for which is also found in Gower) and Wrath's burning brand are organically symbolic—they grow out of their respective conceptions and at the same time focus them; the dove and the cock in Spenser's setting would strike a discordant note. And this more organic treatment is carried one step farther in the case of Avarice and Envy, whose hands are occupied, in the one case with telling the gold, in the other with holding the toad. In either description the bird would be a mere mechanical device. Once more, given on the one hand the apt suggestion of a symbolizing

object, given on the other Spenser's gift for composing—for harmonizing descriptive details into organic unity—and the naive symbolism of Gower's birds would inevitably give place to emblems of a subtler sort.

One may, however, agree that Spenser *would* have done thus or so, and yet be unconvinced that he *did* just these things—that the case, after all, is anything but hypothetical. Let us see, accordingly, if there are other indications that point more directly toward borrowing on Spenser's part. [There follows an exhaustive analysis of details and verbal parallels, too extensive to be reproduced. The reader is referred to pp. 401-37 of the original study.] . . .

Spenser's great descriptive passage, then—to take stock for a moment—agrees with the *Mirour* (and apparently with the *Mirour* alone) in its framework of beasts, objects carried in the hand, and maladies. And this definite structural outline is filled in with a wealth of detail which parallels directly (often even verbally) the descriptions of the same Sins in the *Mirour* and (in part) in the *Confessio*. And the procession in the *Faerie Queene* is projected against the striking and distinctive background of the procession in the *Mirour*. In his dealing with the framework—with the large composition of his canvas—Spenser has exercised the breadth and freedom of handling which marks his treatment of Ariosto elsewhere. In the massing of his details, on the other hand, he employs the closer verbal imitation with which he elsewhere follows Tasso. If I am right, he found his framework ready to his hand in Gower's series of strikingly pictorial, arresting stanzas; he found a mine of suggestive detail in the unwieldy mass of descriptive material that followed, as well as in its partial reëmbodiment in Gower's later work; and he proceeded to select and combine. Read in the light of its sources, the progress of the Seven Deadly Sins is seen as a *tour de force* of masterly technique, that has fused disjointed and intractable materials into a rounded and balanced whole that is one of the imperishable glories of English verse.

EDITOR. Some scholars have been inclined to question Professor Lowes' conclusions, primarily on the ground that, with only one copy of the *Mirour* now extant, it must have been little known in Spenser's day. The question will, as a matter of fact, probably remain an open one. The association of symbolic animals with the Seven Deadly Sins was, to be sure, a common practice—Professor Lowes himself cites in this connection the *Ancien Riule* and the *Assembly of Gods*—but so also, if the illustrations of Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* in Ms. Gg. 4. 27 of the Cambridge University Library are an index of the contemporary art, was the association of symbolic objects. Thus in these manuscript pictures Lechery not only is seated on a goat, but has her unopened breviary chained to her wrist and supports a sparrow (or dove) upon her finger, and Gluttony, seated on a bear, has a large and greedy kite upon his right hand. Undoubtedly the pictorial representation of the sins—in tapestries, in illuminations, in painted panels and in carvings—must have been common enough, and the artists would have been inclined to introduce as much symbolic detail as possible. Little was left to Spenser's invention save the one supreme contribution—to give the touch of genius to traditional material.

The question of Spenser's possible or probable indebtedness to Gower aside, however, Gower does present the most elaborate description of the sins to be met with in any antecedent writer, and the comparison must at least remain of value as a measure of Spenser's powers of vivid description.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE LIFE OF MAN

F. M. PADELFORD ("Spenser and the Pilgrimage of the Life of Man," condensed). *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, an allegory of man's spiritual journey from birth to death, was one of the moral poems which presumably formed a part of Spenser's wide background of reading. The poem was written by Guillaume De Guileville, a monk of the Abbey of Chalis in Valois. De Guileville prepared two versions, one in 1330 and one in 1355, the first having been stolen. Printed editions of the second recension appeared in (?) 1500 and 1511, and editions of a prose version in 1485, 1486, 1488-9, 1499 and 1504. No printed edition appeared in England, but in 1426 Lydgate began a poetical translation of the second recension, of which three manuscripts are extant.

In a broad and general way *The Pilgrimage* and the *Book of Holiness* parallel one another. The hero of each is armed for his adventures, though the Red Cross Knight, as a knight, accepts the armor of St. Paul, which the Pilgrim, as a Pilgrim, renounces for the weapons of David. The first adventure of the Knight is with Error and the first adventure of the Pilgrim with Rude Entendement. Thereupon follows for each an encounter with the Seven Deadly Sins. The third major adventure of each is the crisis of his career, the Knight becoming the victim of Orgoglio and the Pilgrim of Satan, and for each delivery comes only through Heavenly Grace. Following this supreme adventure, each is subjected to discipline in a religious household where his spiritual strength is established.

The robbing of Church properties was of course a form of abuse that finds other expression, but it is interesting to note that Spenser's Kirkrapine, who seems a rather anomalous character since Spenser, as a Protestant, could hardly have been attacking the destruction of the monasteries, suggests the passage in which the Pilgrim sees an abbey like a chessboard plundered by all the pieces (17265 ff.).

ffor everyche gan hym sylff avaunce,
Whan ther bataylle was ado,
To make hem redy for to go
To that abbay ther besyde,
And, be surquedye and pryde,
Ther to forreye, what they may,
Robbe and spoylle, and ber a-way,
And revē hem off ther rychesse,
And brouhten hem in swych dystresse,
That no thyng lefte to ther refut,
But made al bare and destytut. (17286-96)

THE PASSETYME OF PLEASURE AND THE EXEMPLE OF VERTU

EDITOR. A persistent literary tradition has connected *The Passetyme of Pleasure* and *The Exemple of Vertu*, by Stephen Hawes, groom of the Chamber to Henry VII, with the *Faerie Queene*. According to this tradition, Spenser derived from Hawes the groundwork of his poem. Warton (*History of English Poetry* 4. 177), who conceived a genuine, though misplaced, admiration for the poetry of Hawes, was first responsible for this association of the work of these two allegorical poets. Mrs. Browning (*The Greek Christian Poets and the English Poets*

123) in turn gave support to the tradition by remarking with characteristic enthusiasm, that *The Passetyme of Pleasure* is one of "the four columnar marbles, the four allegorical poems, on whose foundations is exalted into light the great allegorical poem of the world, Spenser's *Faery Queen*," the other three being *Piers Plowman*, the *House of Fame* and the *Temple of Glas*. Professor Schick (Introduction to Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, p. cxliv) in commenting upon Mrs. Browning's remark, suggested that there was opportunity for a careful study of influences, but inclined to recognize the *Court of Sapience*, rather than the *Temple of Glas*, as the forerunner of *The Passetyme of Pleasure*. Professor Brandl (Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* 2. 1. 689) lent the weight of his distinguished name to the tradition by saying of *The Passetyme of Pleasure* that "ever clearer come to light the elements out of which Spenser was to construct the *Faerie Queene*." Finally Friedrich Zander (*Stephen Hawes the Passetyme of Pleasure verglichen mit Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene*) devoted a doctoral dissertation to the thesis that the influence of Hawes upon Spenser was very marked. On the other hand, Professor Saintsbury had reached the conclusion that although Spenser probably knew *The Passetyme* and *The Exemple*, he "owed him [Hawes] a very small royalty" (*History of English Literature* 165), and in the ninth edition of the *Britannica* [9. 612b] Oliver Elton boldly denied that Hawes had any influence whatsoever upon Spenser: "The efforts that have been made to trace through Hawes the line of Spenser's spiritual ancestry seem not well advised. The resemblances that have been pointed out are such as arise inevitably from the allegories and from the traditional material with which both worked. There is no reason to believe that Spenser owed his general conception to Hawes, or that the *Faery Queene* would have differed in even the slightest detail from its present form if the *Pastyme of Pleasure* had never been written. The machinery of chivalric romance had already been applied to spiritual and moral themes in Spain without the aid of Hawes." A conservative intermediate position was taken by William Murison [*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* 2. 233], who was the last scholar to consider the question: "The extent of this influence, or indebtedness, is easy to overstate and very difficult, or, rather, impossible, to prove. It does not follow that, when two writers speak in very similar terms of the seven deadly sins, one has borrowed from the other. For, from the time of *Piers the Plowman*, the seven deadly sins had appeared again and again in allegory, in morality play and in pageant: they are found, too, along with other miscellaneous information, in that perpetual almanac, *The Kalendar of Shepherds*. It seems better, then, simply to enumerate points of resemblance—grouped together they make a striking list—than to attempt to define where the limit of Spenser's indebtedness to Hawes should be fixed."

The story of *The Passetyme of Pleasure* is briefly as follows: Grande Amour passes through the meadow of Youth, and then confronted with two highways chooses the way of Active Life rather than the way of Contemplation. From Lady Fame he learns of La Bel Pucell, the allegorical symbol of a noble ideal only to be attained through heroic effort. He visits the tower of Doctrine and meets her seven daughters, the Trivium and the Quadrivium. In the tower of Music he sees La Bel Pucell, makes love to her in her garden, and wins her affection. But she is not yet his, for she is carried away to her distant home and Grande Amour must seek and win her by discipline and heroic effort. He visits

successively the tower of Chivalry, where he is trained in arms by Minerva and knighted by Melizius, the temple of Venus, and the tower of Chastity. Upon the way he overcomes two giants, one three-headed and the other seven-headed. Traversing a wilderness he sees the palace of La Bel Pucell situated on an island. Before he can reach the island, however, he must destroy Privy Malice, a monster that breathes forth dragon-fire. Victory is possible only when Pallas gives him an ointment with which he anoints his sword. La Bel Pucell is at last won and they are married. With her he lives happily until Old Age and Death end his career.

In *The Exemple of Vertu Youth*, following the advice of Wisdom, and under the guidance of Discretion, sets out to win Cleanness, the daughter of the king of Love. He overcomes the temptations of Sensuality and Pride in a wilderness devoid of light, crosses a stream by a narrow bridge, and enters the realm of the king of Love. He has still, however, to overcome a dragon with three heads, symbolic of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Finally he wins his bride, but he is now sixty years old, and is renamed Virtue. The attention of the moral poets being ever focussed upon individual salvation, it apparently did not occur to the sober-minded Hawes that this marriage was too belated to people the world with virtues and cleannesses.

The most striking points of resemblance between Hawes' allegories and the *Faerie Queene* are summarized by Murison as follows:

"Hawes's main idea is to describe the discipline a man must undergo and the obstacles he must surmount to attain moral purity, in *The Exemple*, or win worldly glory, in *The Passetyme*. Spenser states that his general aim is 'to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline.'

"Spenser follows the lead of Hawes in adopting the paraphernalia of chivalry as allegorical symbolism. The knights of *The Faerie Queene* put into practice what Melizius enunciates in *The Passetyme* as the underlying idea of chivalry—not fighting in every quarrel, but fighting for the truth or for the commonweal, and helping widows and maidens in distress. Some of Melizius's knights, as, for instance, Courtesy and Justice, appear among Spenser's paladins.

"It is after hearing a description of La Bel Pucell's surpassing beauty and worth that Graund Amour falls in love and determines to win his ideal. Spenser represents Arthur as having 'seen in a dream or vision the Faerie Queene, with whose beauty ravished, he, awaking, resolved to seek her out.'

"Graund Amour in *The Passetyme*, Youth in *The Exemple*, and Spenser's Red Cross Knight wear the same armour, the Christian soldier's panoply described by St. Paul, whose *Epistle to the Ephesians* is expressly referred to in each of three instances.

"In *The Exemple* there is a dragon with three heads—the world, the flesh, and the devil—which must be defeated before Lady Cleanness is won; and the Red Cross Knight must overcome the same three foes before he wins Lady Una.

"Lechery, in *The Exemple*, is a fair lady riding on a goat, and, in *The Faerie Queene*, a man upon a bearded goat. In the former poem, Pride is an old lady in a castle on an elephant's back, in the latter, a lady in a coach drawn by peacocks. Hawes writes of the park of Pride, Spenser of the garden of Pride.

"When fighting with the seven-headed giant, Graund Amour leaps aside to

evade the stroke of the ponderous axe, which then crashes into the ground three feet and more. In a similar way, Orgoglio's club misses its mark and ploughs three yards into the ground.

"Humility is warder of the castle in *The Example*, and porter of Spenser's house of Holiness.

"The claim asserted by Mutability in Spenser's fragmentary seventh book resembles Fortune's claim to universal rule, as set forth by Hawes in both his poems.

"Envy, Disdain and Strangeness contrive Hawes's monster Privy Malice; Spenser's blatant beast, Slander, is urged on by Detraction and Envy."

To these points should perhaps he added that Graund Amoure and the Red Cross Knight must each overcome a dragon in front of the castle of his lady as a final adventure, that each knight has been prepared for the conflict by a careful course of discipline, and that just as the healing ointment of Pallas protects Graund Amoure against the fire of the dragon, so the Red Cross Knight is restored by the miraculous well of life.

The Exemple of Vertu was first printed in 1512, and again in 1530. The second edition was from the press of Wynkyn de Worde, and presumably the first edition was from the same press. *The Passetyme of Pleasure*, the more important work of the two, was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, and again by the same printer in 1517. A third edition was printed by J. Wayland in 1554, and subsequent editions by Richard Tottel and John Waley in 1555. The fact that three editions of *The Passetyme* thus appeared in two years attests the popularity of the poem in the middle of the century. Anthony à Wood is authority for the statement that in the time of Henry VII and Henry VIII this book "was taken into the hands of all ingenious men," though he laments that in his own day, "such is the fate of poetry," it is "thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall."

Spenser certainly must have had access to a poem which was manifestly popular a decade before he entered Pembroke Hall, and it is unlikely that, intending to write an allegory himself, he would have failed to read so conspicuous an example of that type of poetry. This, however, would not be conclusive evidence that he was directly influenced by it.

The Exemple is medieval in its machinery, though its basic postulates—the offices of nature, fortune, courage, and wisdom in advancing man's happiness, the very recognition of the desirability of happiness, and the assumption that marriage is desirable and that pure wedlock is divinely favored—bespeak the new spirit. Similarly *The Passetyme of Pleasure* breaks with the medieval tradition in choosing the active rather than the contemplative life, in conceiving Reason as the particular mentor of the active life, in providing a humanistic education for the knight, and in commending the desire for fame. It is not without significance that Hawes thus breaks with Lydgate, who was his acknowledged master, for the hero of *Reson and Sensuallite* is confronted by two roads which offer as the only alternatives the life of monasticism and the life of sensuality. When Death has overcome Graund Amoure and the Seven Sciences have wailed a dirge over his body, Fame enters with her burning tongues to pronounce her victory over Death and

declares that she will make the hero to live eternally, saying with great pride and solemnity:

The power, estate and royall dignitie
Of dame Fame in every nation
Is for to spreade by hye auctoritee
The noble dedes of many a champion.

And one recalls the defiance which Petrarch hurled at the medieval philosophers when he proudly proclaimed that "Fame triumphs over Death and there files a procession of warriors of old, and finally writers and thinkers whose names are handed down in a halo of glory."

Spenser's allegory is completely in accord with these Renaissance ideals that furnished the groundwork of Hawes' poems, and he could hardly have been unaware that Hawes had anticipated him in employing the paraphernalia of chivalry in moral allegories.

The list of resemblances is certainly impressive when regarded in its entirety, but when examined item by item it is found to contain only the commonplaces of the romances, of the homilies, of the morality poems and plays, and allegorical paintings and tapestries. Thus the dream motif, in which the lover dreams of a fair lady with whom he falls in love and in quest of whom he goes upon awaking, is a customary introduction to the court of love poems; the armour of the Christian as described by St. Paul is constantly referred to in the homilies and ecclesiastical writings; the pictorial representation of the seven deadly sins must have been very familiar, the goat of course being traditionally associated with lechery; the giant when burying his weapon in the ground was only observing the traditions of his kind; humility is a common figure in the morality literature; the claim of Mutability to universal rule goes back of Hawes, to such treatises as the *De Placitu Naturae* of Alain de Lille, and the damsel-dragon-knight formula had been established in every one's mind by the very popular St. George legend.

The verbal coincidences are not striking enough to be of any significance, and are confined to such general sentiments and descriptive phrases as would naturally occur in poems with something of a common theme. Yet, since in all probability Spenser had read *The Passetyme of Pleasure*, it is only reasonable to suppose that this poem, if not *The Exemple of Vertu*, formed a part of that rich storehouse of character, episode, plot, and description upon which he drew, sometimes consciously, and sometimes unconsciously, for the fabrication of his poem.

THE ITALIAN ROMANCES

R. E. NEIL DODGE ("Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," pp. 168-198). But how did Spenser interpret Ariosto? Certainly very much like Harington. In the *Letter*, addressed to Raleigh, which prefaces the *Faery Queen*, he couples Orlando with Aeneas as being meant to "ensample" "a good governour and a vertuous man," and this of itself shows clearly that he accepted the conventional views about Ariosto's high seriousness. It was natural that he should do so; for though his temper was, in most ways, the very reverse of Ariosto's, he evidently enjoyed the *Furioso* much more than Milton did, if not so unreservedly as Harington, and he would therefore be moved, like Harington, to give it the most favorable inter-

pretation possible, without too scrupulous analysis. Since he read it in a somewhat more sober spirit, he would be less open to the feeling of inconsistency. Yet, though he might escape the grosser critical dualism of Harington—reading and enjoying the poem in the gayer spirit of Ariosto and interpreting it as though it were another *Iliad*—he could hardly avoid a certain dualism of his own. He might believe that the *Furioso* was a poem of high seriousness, but when he actually came to transfer some of its serious passages to his own lofty poem he would instinctively change and elevate them; for whatever theories he might hold, his immediate poetic sense was unerring. . . .

Spenser's talent for transforming the comic into the serious may be illustrated by another example.

In the first canto of the *Furioso*, Angelica, having escaped from Rinaldo and Ferraù, has put herself in the charge of Sacripante, King of Circassia, yet another of her lovers. She has persuaded him to conduct her back safely to her home in the Orient. They have hardly left the spot where she met him, however, when Rinaldo appears on the scene and loudly challenges her escort. Sacripante is not slow to defend his charge, and the two warriors rush to combat. This time Angelica waits to see the result, but before long a furious blow from Rinaldo, which partially cripples Sacripante, so alarms her that she flies the field. In her flight she meets a reverend friar, and asks the way to the nearest seaport. He is surprised by her beauty and tempted to a disreputable plan; she will not stay with him, such is her fear of Rinaldo, but presses on; he conjures a demon into her palfrey, instructed to lead her a circle to a desert island, where he himself will again find her. Meanwhile, another demon sends Rinaldo and Sacripante hurrying off to Paris, by the false report that Orlando has kidnapped Angelica and is taking her thither.

These bare facts hardly render the spirit of levity in which Ariosto handles this episode. The early passages are among the most diverting in the poem, the later among the most scabrous. Such as it is, however, Spenser reproduces it in some of its main features in the sixth canto of Book I (st. 34 ff.). Una is wandering in quest of the Red Cross Knight, under conduct of Satyrane (cf. Angelica: Sacripante). They come upon Archimago in his habitual disguise of the reverend old man (cf. the reverend friar and his magic), and asking him about the Red Cross Knight, are informed that the latter has recently been slain by a Paynim champion (a lie, of course, as that with which the friar's demon troubles Rinaldo, and Sacripante). Satyrane rushes ahead to find the Paynim and wreak vengeance; Una follows. When she reaches the place of the combat, which has meanwhile begun, she finds that the Paynim is Sansloy, he who formerly had her in his clutches and from whom she was rescued at the last moment by the Satyrs (in the *O F.* cf. the preceding episode of Angelica rescued from Rinaldo's hot pursuit by Ferraù). When Una appears, Sansloy, recognizing her, makes at her, but is turned by Satyrane. Una in terror flies (like Angelica), and Archimago, who has been watching the affair from the bushes, hurries after her, "in hope to bring her to her last decay" (like the friar after Angelica). The champions are left fighting, and we are told nothing about the issue of their combat. In the third book Satyrane appears again; Sansloy is heard from no more. Ariosto, scrupulously careful of his plot, leaves no such loose ends: the Rinaldo-Sacripante duel is brought to a definite close.

Spenser, we see, has taken the bare facts of the episode, not necessarily humorous in themselves, and has made use of them for his own grave purposes, utterly ignoring the turn which Ariosto gave them. Yet this is one of those passages which indicate that he was not insensible to Ariosto's humor. Why did he reproduce the facts of the episode, if not because they had fixed themselves in his mind and came to him at the time he was writing this canto? And what fixed them in his mind if not an enjoyment of the humor with which Ariosto handles them? One cannot, of course, argue from a single instance: we shall find others that are still more striking. Indeed, after surveying the whole list of Spenser's imitations from Ariosto, one can hardly resist the conviction that he enjoyed him in almost all his work, serious, humorous, even ironical—barring perhaps that variety which so particularly appealed to Harington. This makes his complete imaginative independence all the more remarkable. . . .

The intense seriousness, the reverence for chivalry which pervade the *Gerusalemme Liberata* could hardly fail to attract Spenser powerfully; even its somewhat morbid sadness and *dolcezza* seem to have charmed him, for though his own temperament was serenely cheerful, he certainly had a strong taste for the poetry of melancholy—witness Du Bellay, the saddest of the Pleiade poets and the only one of them who ever influenced him, and witness his own poetical laments. In the days when he first undertook the *Faery Queen* he was acquainted with the *Rinaldo* and borrowed from it; when the *Gerusalemme Liberata* reached him he was apparently as enthusiastic over it as the Italians themselves. If, as might very well be, he was then engaged upon his second book, the remarkable imitations of Tasso's poem of which that book is full might be taken to represent the first impulses of that enthusiasm.

How far Spenser was in sympathy with Tasso may be indicated by the character of his imitations. When he copies Ariosto it is almost always with a change. He may take the facts of a plot one by one as they stand in his original; the peculiar rendering will always be his own. He may adopt a situation—it will be with certain modifications which alter its character. He may imitate a reflective passage—the spirit of the version will be new. In other words, he is never thoroughly in touch with Ariosto. When he imitates Tasso, however, he does not feel the need of change, or if he changes, he preserves in good part the spirit of the original. . . .

Spenser imitated Tasso whenever he found occasion. The *Gerusalemme Liberata*, however, was too little a romance poem to furnish him very much material; the epical subject-matter which Tasso had adopted was too far removed from the subject-matter of the *Faery Queen*. Having begun his poem with Ariosto in mind, therefore, he still found Ariosto his most convenient resource; indeed, as we have seen, during the very days of his early enthusiasm for the *Gerusalemme Liberata* the *Faery Queen* was drifting, as if irresistibly, towards the type of the *Furioso*, and was accumulating imitations in double volume; for Spenser was imitating, not to record his critical preferences, but to fill in the outlines of his extended poem. And, after all, it would be a grave mistake to imagine that he did not really enjoy and admire the *Orlando Furioso*. He and Ariosto were radically different in spirit, and could rarely, or never, be in complete sympathy, but we know that he thought him a grave and edifying poet, not much the worse for a

strain of somewhat free humor, and it is evident to the most casual observer of his imitations that he read the *Furioso* repeatedly and assiduously. Had he undertaken to emulate it merely in the spirit of opposition, he would hardly have gone to it so frequently for suggestions and direct help, he would hardly have studied it with such care. Or if we conceive of him as borrowing from it in cold blood, using it merely because it was full of convenient plots, characters, situations, etc., we must admit that his memory for things he did not really enjoy was sometimes singularly tenacious, that he has imitated passages which he could not have hunted up for the occasion and which, to the unsophisticated observer, would seem to have stuck in his mind because they pleased him. It is not necessary to assume that Ariosto fascinated him, was his favorite poet; but a careful survey of the data will convince most of us, I think, that Spenser took very genuine pleasure in the fertile and amiable Italian. He certainly did not go to him for inspiration of the higher order, but for the practical conduct of the *Faery Queen* he found him invaluable—the consummate artist of the romance poem, a poet of almost inexhaustible variety and suggestiveness. Every passage borrowed might be recast, modified, animated with another spirit— all, apparently, in repudiation of Ariosto's meaning; but that would not imply antagonism. Spenser might recognize the difference between his own poem and the *Furioso* without, therefore, disapproving of the latter—except casually; and he might read the *Furioso* like Milton without feeling any grave discrepancy between his own imaginings and the spirit of the context. He probably did not analyze his impressions like a philosopher. Ariosto had perfected the type of the romance poem; Spenser emulated and imitated him, and read him with pretty constant pleasure [Cf. "Spenser and Ariosto as Artists"]

CLASSICAL LITERATURE

In the first book, as throughout the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser is so constantly indebted to the classical writers—notably Virgil, Statius, and Ovid—that it is not feasible to assemble these obligations. Myths, sometimes adopted literally, and sometimes construed to fit the poet's needs, classical similes, developed with the amplitude of the epic poets, descriptions, like that of the beautiful House of Sleep, not to speak of Latin constructions and phrase-coloring and half heard echoes of noble lines, are to be met everywhere in the *Faerie Queene*. The critical notes aim to record at least all of the poet's more significant borrowings from the classical poets.

For a detailed discussion of Spenser's relation to Virgil, see Merritt Y. Hughes, "Virgil and Spenser," *University of California Publications in English* 2-3, 263-418 (1929). This study not only records Spenser's specific borrowings from the Latin poet, but considers the essential differences in the genius of the two men, and the interpretation which Spenser, as a Renaissance scholar, must have placed upon the great Latin epic.

APPENDIX V

THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL ALLEGORY

JOHN RUSKIN (*Stones of Venice* 3. 205-9). The following analysis of the first book of the "Faerie Queen," may be interesting to readers who have been in the habit of reading the noble poem too hastily to connect its parts completely together; and may perhaps induce them to more careful study of the rest of the poem.

The Redcrosse Knight is Holiness,—the "Pietas" of St. Mark's, the "Devotio" of Orcagna, —meaning, I think, in general, Reverence and Godly Fear.

This Virtue, in the opening of the book, has Truth (or Una) at its side, but presently enters the Wandering Wood, and encounters the serpent Error; that is to say, Error in her universal form, the first enemy of Reverence and Holiness; and more especially Error as founded on learning; for when Holiness strangles her,

*Her vomit full of bookes and papers was,
With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke.*

Having vanquished this first open and palpable form of Error, as Reverence and Religion must always vanquish it, the Knight encounters Hypocrisy, or Archimagus: Holiness cannot detect Hypocrisy, but believes him, and goes home with him; whereupon Hypocrisy succeeds in separating Holiness from Truth; and the Knight (Holiness) and Lady (Truth) go forth separately from the house of Archimagus.

Now observe: the moment Godly Fear, or Holiness, is separated from Truth, he meets Infidelity, or the Knight Sans Foy; Infidelity having Falsehood, or Duessa, riding behind him. The instant the Redcrosse Knight is aware of the attack of Infidelity, he

Can fairly couch his speare, and towards ride.

He vanquishes and slays Infidelity; but is deceived by his companion, Falsehood, and takes her for his lady: thus showing the condition of Religion, when, after being attacked by Doubt, and remaining victorious, it is nevertheless seduced, by any form of Falsehood, to pay reverence where it ought not. This, then, is the first fortune of Godly Fear separated from Truth. The poet then returns to Truth, separated from Godly Fear. She is immediately attended by a lion, or Violence, which makes her dreaded wherever she comes; and when she enters the mart of Superstition, this Lion tears Kirkrapine in pieces: showing how Truth, separated from Godliness, does indeed put an end to the abuses of Superstition, but does so violently and desperately. She then meets again with Hypocrisy, whom she mistakes for her own lord, or Godly Fear, and travels a little way under his guardianship (Hypocrisy thus not unfrequently appearing to defend the Truth), until they are both met by Lawlessness, or the Knight Sans Loy, whom Hypocrisy cannot resist. Lawlessness overthrows Hypocrisy, and seizes upon Truth, first slaying her lion attendant: showing that the first aim of license is to destroy the force and authority of Truth. Sans Loy then takes Truth captive, and bears her away. Now this Lawlessness is the "unrighteousness," or "adikia," of St. Paul;

and his bearing Truth away captive, is a type of those "who hold the truth in unrighteousness,"—that is to say, generally, of men who, knowing what is true, make the truth give way to their own purposes, or use it only to forward them, as is the case with so many of the popular leaders of the present day. Una is then delivered from Sans Loy by the satyrs, to show that Nature, in the end, must work out the deliverance of the truth, although, where it has been captive to Lawlessness, that deliverance can only be obtained through Savageness, and a return to barbarism. Una is then taken from among the satyrs by Satyrane, the son of a satyr and a "lady myld, fair 'Thyamis," (typifying the early steps of renewed civilization, and its rough and hardy character "noused up in life and manners wilde") who, meeting again with Sans Loy, enters instantly into rough and prolonged combat with him: showing how the early organization of a hardy nation must be wrought out through much discouragement from Lawlessness. This contest the poet leaving for the time undecided, returns to trace the adventures of the Redcrosse Knight, or Godly Fear, who, having vanquished Infidelity, presently is led by Falsehood to the house of Pride: thus showing how religion, separated from truth, is first tempted by doubts of God, and then by the pride of life. The description of this house of Pride is one of the most elaborate and noble pieces in the poem; and here we begin to get at the proposed system of Virtues and Vices. For Pride, as queen, has six other vices yoked in her chariot; namely, first, Idleness, then Gluttony, Lust, Avarice, Envy, and Anger, all driven on by "Satan, with a smarting whip in hand." From these lower vices and their company, Godly Fear, though lodging in the house of Pride, holds aloof; but he is challenged, and has a hard battle to fight with Sans Joy, the brother of Sans Foy: showing, that though he has conquered Infidelity, and does not give himself up to the allurements of Pride, he is yet exposed, so long as he dwells in her house, to distress of mind and loss of his accustomed rejoicing before God. He, however, having partly conquered Despondency, or Sans Joy, Falsehood goes down to Hades in order to obtain drugs to maintain the power of life of Despondency; but, meantime, the Knight leaves the house of Pride: Falsehood pursues and overtakes him, and finds him by a fountain side, of which the waters are

Dull and slow,
And all that drinke thereof do faint and feeble grow.

Of which the meaning is, that Godly Fear, after passing through the house of Pride, is exposed to drowsiness and feebleness of watch; as, after Peter's boast, came Peter's sleeping, from weakness of the flesh, and then, last of all, Peter's fall. And so it follows: for the Redcrosse Knight, being overcome with faintness by drinking of the fountain, is thereupon attacked by the giant Orgoglio, overcome and thrown by him into a dungeon. This Orgoglio is Orgueil, or Carnal Pride; not the pride of life, spiritual and subtle, but the common and vulgar pride in the power of this world: and his throwing the Redcrosse Knight into a dungeon, is a type of the captivity of true religion under the temporal power of corrupt churches, more especially of the Church of Rome; and of its gradually wasting away in unknown places, while carnal pride has the preeminence over all things. That Spenser means, especially, the pride of the Papacy, is shown by the 16th stanza of the book; for there the giant Orgoglio is said to have taken Duessa, or

Falsehood, for his "deare," and to have set upon her head a triple crown, and endowed her with royal majesty, and made her to ride upon a seven-headed beast.

In the meantime, the dwarf, the attendant of the Redcrosse Knight, takes his arms, and finding Una tells her of the captivity of her lord. Una, in the midst of her mourning, meets Prince Arthur, in whom, as Spenser himself tells us, is set forth generally Magnificence; but who, as is shown by the choice of the hero's name, is more especially the magnificence, or literally, "great doing" of the kingdom of England. This power of England, going forth with Truth, attacks Orgoglio, or the Pride of Papacy, slays him; strips Duessa, or Falsehood, naked; and liberates the Redcrosse Knight. The magnificent and well-known description of Despair follows, by whom the Redcrosse Knight is hard bested, on account of his past errors and captivity, and is only saved by Truth, who, perceiving him to be still feeble, brings him to the house of Coelia, called, in the argument of the canto, Holiness, but properly, Heavenly Grace, the mother of the Virtues. Her "three daughters, well upbrought," are Faith, Hope, and Charity. Her porter is Humility; because Humility opens the door of Heavenly Grace. Zeal and Reverence are her chamberlains, introducing the new comers to her presence; her groom, or servant, is Obedience; and her physician, Patience. Under the commands of Charity, the matron Mercy rules over her hospital, under whose care the Knight is healed of his sickness; and it is to be especially noticed how much importance Spenser, though never ceasing to chastise all hypocrisies and mere observances of form, attaches to true and faithful *penance* in affecting this cure. Having his strength restored to him, the Knight is trusted to the guidance of Mercy, who, leading him forth by a narrow and thorny way, first instructs him in the seven works of Mercy, and then leads him to the hill of Heavenly Contemplation; whence, having a sight of the New Jerusalem, as Christian of the Delectable Mountains, he goes forth to the final victory over Satan, the old serpent, with which the book closes.

✓ R. W. CHURCH (*Spenser*, pp. 124-5, 163). The allegory is of the nature of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It starts from the belief that religion, purified from falsehood, superstition, and sin, is the foundation of all nobleness in man; and it portrays, under images and with names, for the most part easily understood, and easily applied to real counterparts, the struggle which every one at that time supposed to be going on, between absolute truth and righteousness on one side, and fatal error and bottomless wickedness on the other. Una, the Truth, the one and only Bride of man's spirit, marked out by the tokens of humility and innocence, and by her power over wild and untamed natures—the single Truth, in contrast to the counterfeit Duessa, false religion, and its actual embodiment in the false rival Queen of Scots—Truth, the object of passionate homage, real with many, professed with all, which after the impostures and scandals of the preceding age, had now become characteristic of that of Elizabeth—Truth, its claims, its dangers, and its champions, are the subject of the first book: and it is represented as leading the manhood of England, in spite not only of terrible conflict, but of defeat and falls, through the discipline of repentance, to holiness and the blessedness which comes with it. The Red Cross Knight, St. George of England, whose name Georgos, the Ploughman, is dwelt upon, apparently to suggest that from the commonalty, the "tall clownish young men," were raised up the great champions of the Truth—though sorely troubled by the wiles of Duessa, by the craft of the arch-

sorcerer, by the force and pride of the great powers of the Apocalyptic Beast and Dragon, finally overcomes them, and wins the deliverance of Una and her love. . . . He idealized the excellence and the trials of this first generation of English gentlemen.)

J. E. WHITNEY ("The 'Continued Allegory' in the First Book of the *Faery Queene*," pp. 42-62). No one, so far as I have been able to examine Spenseriana, has called attention to the remarkable allegory of the "Defender of Faith" running throughout the First Book of the *Faery Queene*. I wish to show how conspicuous it is, and the particular reason why so much is made of it. The allegory, both moral and historical, is an important one. It is, I believe, pre-eminently the "continued allegory" of the poem. In the adventures of the Red Cross Knight in the First Book, there is not an incident which is not plainly marked with it. There are clues to it everywhere. It is obscure only as those large names on maps are the hardest to find. In some parts of the allegory, previously accepted explanations of details are used, for here and there single letters, as it were, have been noticed on the map, though the whole legend of which they form a part has not been spelled out before. In a paper like this, the allegory can only be given circumstantially. To unfold it in detail as Spenser does, the poem should be edited with that object in view. In explaining, I will follow Spenser's method by reserving the most striking features to the last. . . .

Notice that although St. Paul particularizes each piece of armor, Spenser, by generalizing all but one piece, thus gives special emphasis to the shield of Faith: twice in the first fourteen lines of the poem. It is according to Spenser's method to make much of particular pieces of armor. For example, it is by his shield that Prince Arthur overcomes Orgoglio in the eighth canto of the first book. The shield of Britomart is an allegorical symbol, and the shield of Scudamour (Scud d'amour) is made of signal importance in the tenth canto of the fourth book. Furthermore in the latter stanzas of the eleventh canto of the fifth book this same shield of the Red Cross Knight is plainly used as the symbol of the Christian faith. This is one of Spenser's "certain signs." Think for a moment of the ideas and sentiments which cluster about the shield! More than any other piece of armor it was something to be defended to the uttermost. The loss of it brought the deepest disgrace. "Come home with your shield, or on it" was the parting injunction of the Spartan mother. The shield of Faith proves to be the Knight's Defence and care in a peculiar sense, and he is the Defender of Faith as truly as he is the Defender of Una, or Truth.

Though Spenser usually moves with abundant leisure, he loses no time in opening the first book. No sooner are the knight and lady before us than "the day with clouds was suddaine overcast" and "an hideous storme" drives them to take refuge in the Wood of Error; there after wandering the labyrinth about they come to the den of the Dragon Error. To my mind this tempest represents the beginning of the Reformation. Certainly all agree on interpretation of references to the early Reformation in stanzas immediately following. At that time when old trusted supports were withdrawn and the very foundations of Christianity seemed crumbling, faith was tried as never before. Even with Una and the Dwarf, or Truth and Prudence, for guides, it was impossible for the Christian Knight to avoid all paths of error. But when error takes the substantial form of a Dragon

the Knight can attack it and aims a good stout blow at the monster. . . .

Notice that it is the shield of faith which Error attacks, and would wrest away, and "her huge traine all suddenly about his body wound" reminds one of St Paul again: not "having your loins girt about with truth," but with error. And as his faith is attacked, so it is his faith which Una seeks to strengthen,—

Add faith unto your force, and be not faint:
Strangle her, else she sure will strangle thee.

Then after no easy struggle with that "sword of the Spirit which is the word of God," he

Stroke at her with more than manly force
That from her body full of filthie sin
He raft her hateful head without remorse.

Though the Red Cross Knight has shown himself "well worthie of that armory," they are still in the wood of error, but they are now conscious of it. Spenser teaches us that even out of error there is a "plaine beaten path," but it is a direct retreat.

Without the interval of a single stanza Spenser passes from this adventure to a more subtle trial of faith. . . . This holy hermit is Archimago, representing hypocrisy in the moral allegory, and the subtle intrigue and trickery of the Roman Catholics in the historical allegory. It is not strange that faith is credulous and the eye of truth deceived, since

Neither man nor angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible except to God alone.

Since the day is spent they accept his proffered hospitality, and enter that never-to-be-forgotten home of Hypocrisy. . . .

While his guests are sleeping Archimago with dreams and delusions of sense attacks the Knight's faith in the purity of Una,—the Christian's faith in the purity of truth itself. But even in dreams the Red Cross Knight would not in a single thought do Una wrong. . . . He attacks his waking senses with a still more fiendish plot than any tried, and the delusion of the arch-magician is triumphant. The Knight's faith in Una, in the heavenly truth, is overcome, and convinced of her utter baseness, he spurs away deserting her. It will be well for future understanding of the allegory to remember that Una is veiled, and the Knight has never seen the real face of Una.

Not long has he ridden before another test of faith begins . . . So the Red Cross Knight meets Sansfoy, the faithless, the infidel, and Duessa, the opposite of Una, falsehood as opposed to truth. She typifies the papal church, with scarlet robes, and Persian mitre, and gifts of lavish lovers, contrasted with the spotless and sober simplicity of the reformed church. The Defender of Faith at once meets the attack of the Defender of Faithlessness shield to shield. . . . One cannot fail to notice the importance of the outward symbols of faith in this contest. The charmed shield with its red cross alone stands between the Knight and defeat, and even under the last fierce stroke of the infidel, aimed at his helmet, his very salvation, it fairly blesses him from blame. The Knight's blow returned

upon the crest of Sansfoy proves it to be a helmet of destruction. What is the outcome of this combat?

Bidding his Dwarf to bring away

The Sarazins shield, signe of the conqueroure,

he rides on with Duessa, lending sympathetic and credulous attention to her long story made up of lies and lamentations. Her words deceive him, not only as to her nature but as to her name. . . . Thus Duessa, the deceitful, represents herself as Fidessa or true Faith. Henceforth for a time he believes himself to be the champion of faith, and his sincerity of purpose is not weakened as long as he does not know that Fidessa is the representative of false faith. Notice the names of the chief characters in this first book: Sansfoy is plainly *without faith*: Fidessa does not imply utter lack of faith, but *little faith*.

The next episode gives him opportunity to see what strait he is in by comparing the faith of Fradubio, or Brother Doubt, wavering between the true Fraclissa and the false witch Duessa, with his own conduct toward Una and the same Duessa. But it is not strange that all is lost upon him, since, as Upton says, "He stands amazed and performs nothing; for holiness, unassisted with truth and reason, is soon lost in amazement and silly wonderment"

In the next adventure,---

To sinfull house of Pride, Duessa
Guides the faithful Knight. . . .

Here [in the description of the palace] we have that contrast between the real and the apparent which characterizes Spenser's representations of the church he hated, and here false faith and true defender are welcomed. The queen of this palace, whose kingdom is everywhere, is Lucifera, worldly or ostentatious pride; and Vanity is the usher who leads all subjects "to the lowest staire of her high throne." For one thing Duessa typifies that form of self-deceit which breeds self-righteousness. The meaning of the moral allegory is obvious. Since he forsook Truth, the Red Cross Knight has lost simplicity and nobility of character, and at the House of Pride we find him following in the train of the seven deadly sins,---Pride, Sloth, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Envy, Wrath.

And after all, upon the wagon beame
Rode Sathan with a smarting whip in hand.

Here again he has to do battle for his faith. . . . In the moral allegory the attack of Sansjoy is the attack of joylessness or despondency upon the victim of pride, self-righteousness, and false faith; and again a marked feature of the passage is the importance of the shield symbols. In the interval before the combat Duessa turns traitor, and warns Sansjoy that his opponent

Beares a charmed shield,
And eke enchanted armes that none can perce;
Ne none can wound the man, that does them wield.

In the fight which follows, the allegory still turns on the trial of faith. The lists are set with royal pomp. Lucifera and her court are in attendance on one side.

On th' other side in all mens open vew
 Duessa placed is, and on a tree
 Sans foy his shield is hangd with bloody hew;
 Both those the lawrell girlonds to the victor dew. . . .

The fight with Sansjoy is far fiercer than with Sansfoy, and an extended comparison proves most interesting; but mark particularly the different result. The Defender of Faith at once met and overcame a bold Sansfoy, but Sansjoy finally eludes him through Duessa's intervention; that is, in the House of Pride self-deceit still disguises the real cause of his despondency.

The only escape from Pride is through Prudence and Humility, which the Dwarf represents. So we find it is the Dwarf who points out to the Knight the real nature of the place where they are. But though the Knight hurries from the scene of his last adventure, he does not seek to escape the false Fidessa, whom he has championed. . . . She follows, seeks and finds the Red Cross Knight, no longer militant, reclining by the waters of idleness, "Disarmed all of yroncoted plate" and even that shield of faith thrown aside with its sacred symbol "for souveraine hope." Duessa has led him to the snares of pride once before, and she betrays him again.

Ere he could his armour on him dight,
 Or get his shield, his monstrous enemy
 With sturdie steps came stalking in his sight,
 An hideous geant, horrible and hye.

And the Red Cross Knight,

Disarmed, disgrast, and inwardly dismayde
 And eke so faint in every joynt and vaine,
 Through that fraile fountaine, which him feeble made,

falls an easy victim to the monster Orgoglio. In allegory Orgoglio signifies brag-gart, carnal, or physical pride, and it is when the Knight is least active that he becomes his victim.

So, says Ruskin, "after Peter's boast, came Peter's sleeping, from weakness of the flesh, and then, last of all, Peter's fall." Orgoglio throws him into his deepest dungeon, and takes Duessa as his leman dear. And now for ninety days he groans in the dungeons of Orgoglio, before Prince Arthur and his faithful Una release him. In the bitterness of his despair all faith seems dead, and at the moment of rescue he cries to his deliverer:

O, who is that, which brings me happy choyce
 Of death, that here lye dying every stound,
 Yet live perforce in balefull darknesse bound?
 For now three moones have changed thrice their hew,
 And have been thrice hid underneath the ground,
 Since I the heavens chearfull face did vew:
 O welcome thou, that doest of death bring tydings trew.

Perhaps this episode in Spenser contains no directly obvious hints, as in every other case in the history of the Knight, that this adventure also is a trial of faith. No such hint is needed at such an advanced point in the story, and the meaning of the whole ought to be clear. His ninety days in the dungeon were not wasted;

there was one long struggle between true and false faith in his thoughts continually. Let me quote here from a most appreciative, but, unfortunately, anonymous series of criticisms on the first book of the *Faery Queene*, which were published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1835. "How could the Red Cross Knight have doubt of Una's innocence—after he had seen Duessa turning against him—and the whore of Orgoglio? Had she not left him to rot in a dungeon? And was it possible that he could have lain there three months in its hungry stench without his reason and his conscience telling him that he had been all along in the clutches of a fiend, and had forsaken an angel? His many miseries had indeed been all thrown away upon him, had he not groaned unceasingly in his imprisonment to think that his own fleshly frailties had not only laid himself low, but left that heavenly being without one to care for her in the haunted wilderness."

If anything more is needed to convince him of the nature of the true faith which he had deserted, and the false faith which had deserted him, it is given in that necessary but most loathsome passage in Spenser, the transformation of the seemingly fair Fidessa to the filthy hag Duessa, at Una's command. The Christian Knight—for spite of all weakness and error, he is still the Christian Knight—has no apology to make for past conduct, and so preserves a long silence from the very moment of his deliverance. All the more noteworthy, then, are the first words which Spenser allows us to hear from him only after a long interval. At Prince Arthur's praise of his lady love, the Faery Queene to whom he has been so faithful, the Knight's love for Una can be silent no longer.

Thine, O then, said the gentle Redcrosse Knight,
Next to that ladies love, shall be the place,
O fairest virgin, full of heavenly light,
Whose wondrous faith exceeding earthly race,
Was firmest fixt in my extremest case.

But the Red Cross Knight is never a man of speech. It is important to notice, says Lowell, how very few are the words put in his mouth. "He never meant with words but swords to plead his right." And there still remains a subtle trial of faith where the weapons shall be those least familiar to him. To this the remainder of the famous ninth canto is devoted. In the Cave of Despair, his shield does not ward off the poisoned points of such words as these:

Why then dost thou, O man of sin, desire
To draw thy dayes forth to their last degree?
Is not the measure of thy sinfull hire
High heaped up with huge iniquitie,
Against the day of wrath, to burden thee?
Is not enough that to this lady mild
Thou falsed hast thy faith with perjurie,
And sold thy selfe to serve Duessa vild,
With whom in all abuse thou hast thy self defild?

To all the arguments of Despair he replies with complete and forcible refutations, yet so is he "charmed with inchaunted rimes," so is his faith deluded by sophistries that the man of deeds cannot recognize his victory in words. . . . To fully appreciate the relation of this canto to the allegory one should read the whole of it.

The despondency which, as Sansjoy, attacked him in the House of Pride has deepened to despair, and his failing faith is only saved by the reassurances of Una.

But the power which saves him should proceed from within; the Knight must possess it even as Una does, before he can become the perfect knight able to cope with the great Dragon, and worthy to be the husband of the heavenly Una. To attain this higher development he follows the guidance of Una. From the Inferno of Orgoglio's Castle and the Purgatory of the Cave of Despair, we pass to the Paradise of the House of Holiness in the tenth canto. Here are passages of great significance in the interpretation of the allegory. . . . They go to the House of Holiness, presided over by Dame Celia and her three daughters, Fidelia, Speranza, and Charissa. We must notice that here it is his faith which is first attended to. Entered in, this most beautiful sight greets them [Follow stanzas 13-14, and 18-20].

The faithfull knight now grew in little space,
By hearing her, and by her sisters lore,
To such perfection of all heavenly grace,

that Fidelia could do little more for him, and Una could at last call him "her faithful knight." Now we see one leading reason why so much is made of the need of strong faith and of the help of Fidelia. To no other personage in his entire poem has Spenser assigned such tremendous power, and no other can confer such power, and only by the aid of such strength can the great Dragon be overcome. There is no fear hereafter that the intelligence of the champion shall be blinded to the discernment of the true and the false faith. So purified are those eyes which once saw Fidessa in Duessa, that those visions open to the eye of faith alone are revealed on the Mount of Contemplation. A holy father shows to him the joys which can be his only

when thou famous victory hast won
And high amongst all knights hast hong thy shield,—

that shield of faith which is to be to all knights an everlasting remembrance that faith without works is dead, but that by faith the true knight can overcome all enemies. Here occurs a most noteworthy passage. It is not until we approach the end of the allegory that we can see the beginning of it. "'Tis worth while," says Upton again, "to see with what great art our poet by degrees unravels his story: the poem opens with the Christian Knight; you see his character yet know not his name or lineage; some few hints are afterwards flung out; but in this canto you are fully satisfied. (Spenser is very fond of this kind of suspense.)" Indeed to the Red Cross Knight himself his name and lineage are unknown, until here revealed by the holy father. . . .

Before this, we have only in vague, conjectural way understood that the Red Cross Knight represented reformed England, but as "Saint George of mery England," the nationality of the hero is put forward as the great key to the solution of the historical part of the allegory. Saint George is England, or the line of sovereigns who represent England, and we recall that just at the beginning of the Reformation, upon this line of sovereigns had been conferred the title of Defender of the Faith; but we shall come back to this.

In the progress of the poem we have finally come to the great scene of the Triumph of Faith, that combat which is the mission of the hero from the begin-

ning, whereby the parents of Una are to be delivered from the great dragon. Abundant fault has been found with this eleventh canto, because of the inequality of the three days' combat between the Knight and the flying dragon "like a great hill" with a swingeing tail, "that of three furlongs did but little lack." It is an unequal combat, and only a Knight endued with the power which Fidelia confers could endure it. But even then there is a time near the end of the fight when his faith seems wellnigh lost, when with that swingeing tail, "that high trees overthrew and rocks in pieces tore," the dragon,

With sharpe intended sting so rude him smot,
That to the earth him drove, as stricken dead.

[Quotes stanzas 38-43.] He has defended the faith, and this time without another's aid; one more struggle and the combat is ended.

F. M. PADEFORD ("The Spiritual Allegory of the *Faerie Queene*, Book One"): The first book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is a twofold allegory, political and spiritual. From one point of view, so resourceful was the poet, the episodes picture the outstanding events and characters of the English reformation, and from another, the growth in grace, through experience and instruction, of a Christian gentleman. Interpreted in this last sense, the book is a pilgrim's progress, an allegory indeed that was not without its influence, it would seem, upon the more homely and more obvious and didactic *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan. In this paper I attempt an interpretation of this spiritual allegory.

On its formal side, the allegory is indebted to the medieval and Italian Renaissance romances, to the morality plays and the moral allegories of the earlier Tudor period, and to Aristotle's *Ethics*.

The setting is romantic, and the story follows the familiar procedure of romance, a knight engaged in the succor of a damsel of royal blood, in this case distressed because her parents have been shut up in a brazen castle for many years by a huge dragon. But, as Professor Greenlaw has pointed out, the book also follows closely the typical plot of the morality plays: "There is the betrayal of virtue through sin (Redcrosse, led astray by Duessa, falls into the hands of Orgoglio); the consequent despair and temptation to suicide (Despair tries to get Redcrosse to kill himself; Una saves the hero); the coming of rescue (Arthur); and then a period of purgation and training in preparation for salvation (the sojourn in the house of Celicia)" (*SP* 14. 214).

Moreover, as Dr. DeMoss has shown, in the development of Holiness, as in the development of the virtues treated in the other five books, Spenser actually follows, as he professes to do in the introductory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, the method employed by Aristotle in expounding the virtues. Thus, as in the *Ethics*, the virtue is represented as the mean between two extremes—excessive or irrational holiness on the one hand and a deficiency of holiness on the other, it is contrasted with the opposite vices, and it conforms to the dictates of reason.

Excessive or irrational holiness—which of course defeats its own end and in the last analysis is not holiness at all—is represented by Corceca, the blind old hag who is ever mumbling her Aves and Paternosters, and by the Satyrs who are so indiscriminating that they even worship Una's ass. Inadequate holiness, on the other hand, is represented by the timid Dwarf who attends Una, by the Lion

who succumbs to Sansloy (the Spirit of Lawlessness), by Fradubio (Brother Doubt), but primarily by the Red Crosse Knight himself in his earlier adventures before he has acquired, through experience and instruction, his spiritual majority. The heroes of the first and second books are subjected to a systematic course of training which ripens and strengthens them so that they emerge as ideal exponents of the virtues of Holiness and Temperance. (Strictly speaking, Sir Calidore, the Knight of Courtesie, is the only hero who is completely established in his virtues from the first, for Britomart and Artegall, the Knights of Chastity and Justice, mutually contribute to the full realization of one another in their respective virtues, and the establishment of Cambel and Triamond in the virtue of Friendship is covered in retrospective episodes.)

The norm of Holiness is represented by the Red Crosse Knight, when fully disciplined; by Dame Cælia, who presides over the house of holiness; by her daughters, Fidelia, Speranza, and Charissa; by Prince Arthur, who figures in the successive books as the resplendent apotheosis of all virtues, the Magnificence, or perhaps better, the Highmindedness of Aristotle, which Spenser, following his master, calls the perfection of all the other virtues.

The opposite of Holiness is represented by such characters as Archimago (Hypocrisy), Lucifera and Orgoglio (Material and Spiritual Pride), Sansfoy (Faithlessness), Sansloy (Lawlessness), Sansjoy (Joylessness) and the like.

That the Red Crosse Knight must follow the dictates of Reason if he is to attain holiness is consistently emphasized. Because he trusted to his emotions rather than to his reason, he was deceived into believing evil of Una—the beginning of all his troubles, he failed to pierce the deception of Duessa, even when Fradubio had made it very obvious, and was unprepared for the attack of Orgoglio. On the other hand, when he followed the dictates of reason he was proof against mishap.

• (On its spiritual side, the allegory is indebted to the idealism of Protestant Christianity, especially as defined in the *Institutes* of Calvin, and to the idealism of Plato and his Italian followers.) As elsewhere shown, this first book, as an allegory of the religious life of man—his conversion, training, and growth in grace—is in line with current theological principles ("Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *MP* 12. 1).

~ There has been much discussion, first and last, of Spenser's procedure in choosing holiness as the virtue of the initial book of his allegory. Some scholars, notably M. Jusserand, have argued therefrom that Spenser did not actually accept Aristotle as his guide, though professing to do so. How, say they, can we take Spenser seriously when he professes to be a disciple of Aristotle and then devotes his very first book to the exposition of a virtue distinctively Christian and altogether foreign to the Aristotelian ethics.~ Dr. DeMoss ingeniously tries to find a reconciliation through identifying the Red Crosse Knight with Highmindedness. In this I cannot follow him.

~ Rather, I take it, Spenser recognizes holiness as holding the high place in the character of a Christian gentleman that Aristotle assigned to highmindedness in the character of a Greek. This is precisely the place assigned to it by Calvin. In the opening section of Book III, Chapter 6 of the *Institutes*, introductory to the detailed discussion of the life of a Christian, Calvin contrasts the "plainness

and unadorned simplicity of the Scripture system of morals" with the affected "exquisite perspicacity of arrangement" of "mere philosophies" and proceeds to exalt holiness as the foundation of righteousness and as the bond of our union with God, in a word, as the basis of character. "(The Scripture) has numerous admirable methods of recommending righteousness. . . . With what better foundation can it begin than by reminding us that we must be holy, because 'God is holy' (Lev. 19:1; I Pet. 1:16)? For when we were scattered abroad like lost sheep, wandering through the labyrinth of the world, he brought us back again to his own fold. When mention is made of our union with God, let us remember that holiness must be the bond. . . . Wherefore he tells us that this is the end of our calling, the end to which we ought ever to have respect if we would answer the call of God."

Moreover, though Aristotle does not recognize holiness as one of the virtues, Plato does so recognize it, for holiness, temperance, justice, and courage are the virtues upon which the argument of the *Protagoras* hinges. Spenser was doubtless familiar with this greatest of the Socratic dialogues, which has for its theme the unity of all virtues, and in assigning holiness a prominent place among the virtues he was dealing with a virtue familiar to Greek, as well as to Christian, thought.

Again, we must not overlook the fact that its mystic idealism is akin to that of Plato, and that the moral courage of its hero and the conception of life as moral warfare is Platonic as well as Christian.

We are now ready for a review of this allegory upon which, as we have seen, medieval romances, morality plays, the Aristotelian ethics, and Christian and Platonic idealism have all had an informing influence.

Were it not for the expository letter to Raleigh, we should miss that first glimpse of the hero of Book One which shows a clownish young rustic, through the armor of Christ suddenly transformed into the goodliest seeming man in all the courts of Faerie. Thus, says the poet, does the acceptance of Christ and the dedication of one's life to His service regenerate a man.

But turning to the poem itself, in the opening stanzas the hero appears a gentle knight, of a pleasing but grave countenance, and fearless withal. "Yet nothing did he dread" is a just tribute to his moral courage, for however fierce the enemies who subsequently assault him, he never shows fear.

At his side is Una, or Christian Truth, seated upon an ass, the symbol of humility, and attended by a lamb, the symbol of purity and innocence. Her face is heavily veiled, and the knight has never seen beneath this veil, for he does not behold Truth in the fulness of its beauty until he has long committed himself to its service.

(On first acquaintance Una is a rather disappointing character. Frail and dependent, she seems a sorry representative of Truth, which we would fain conceive as regal, self-sufficient, serenely enthroned in her own cloudless light, far removed from all passion and turmoil, remotely accessible alone, and revealing herself only now and again to a favored mortal, and then only in part. Spenser, we say, here displays his limitations, here shows how slender his grasp upon the best classical or Christian thought.) Not so did the Greeks conceive of truth, and not so Dante. But Spenser offers his own best defence, for in the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* he pictures Truth as the throne of God and the divine Sapientia—the

Logos in a feminine aspect—as the souveraine darling of the Deity (Cf. C. G. Osgood, "Spenser's Sapience," *SP* 14. 167).

(Una, on the other hand, is a profoundly social conception, and a profoundly Christian and compassionate one. Truth is here conceived as having assumed the garments of human frailty, as making herself dependent upon the services of man, that, through his chivalric service in her behalf, man might grow in grace, might attain the full measure of Christian knightliness. When man has thus finally attained his spiritual stature, she reveals herself to him in her eternal aspect, transcendently and divinely beautiful. Una then appears as the daughter of God and Sapientia, her royal parents, for the purpose of the romance conceived as shut up in the castle by the dragon Sin, since sin controls the world until the spirit of Christ, operating through mankind, overpowers it. To Una the knight is at last wed, as the Christian, following the customary terminology, is made one forever with Christ.) . . .

{ In the first adventure of the Red Crosse Knight, the conflict with Error in the labyrinthine wood, a wood so dense that heaven's light nor any star can pierce, as in the *Inferno* a symbol of worldliness, the knight is victorious. Protected by the shield of faith and wielding the sword of the Spirit, he is clearly the superior of his adversary. Having slain the monster, the knight then learns that falsehood is ultimately self-destructive, for the filthy brood of Error feed upon their fallen mother only to swell and burst.

But although the knight is proof against Falsehood when it practices no deceit and frankly shows itself in its naked ugliness, he is unprepared to cope with Falsehood when disguised with the cloak of honesty, and so he straightway falls an easy victim to the crafty Archimago who ingeniously deceives him into believing Una false and fickle. He has never seen the lovely countenance of Truth, he has only beheld her darkly veiled, and this is the reason for his ignorance and his credulity. He is of course sincere in his mistake, but the Christian must learn how well nigh fatal are mistakes of judgment in spiritual matters, must come to know the Truth by experience and by instruction ere he will be proof against the cunning forces of Evil. This experience and this instruction the knight subsequently gains, yet so as by fire.)

{ The most puzzling character in the spiritual allegory as in the political, is the Dwarf, who attends Una, though lagging far behind,

That lasie seemed, in being ever last,
Or wearied with bearing of her bag
Of needments at his backe.

He appears but seldom in the narrative: once when he brings the Red Crosse Knight his steed and flees with him from the hermitage of Archimago; again when he warns the knight to flee from the castle of Lucifera, having discovered the bodies of those slain by pride; and finally when he gathers up the armor of the knight after he has been imprisoned by Orgoglio, discovers Una, and conducts her and Prince Arthur to the castle of Orgoglio for the relief of the knight.

The Dwarf has traditionally been interpreted as Prudence. He cannot, however, represent prudence as that virtue was conceived by the Latin writers, a virtue on a par with temperance, fortitude, and justice, the golden mean between rashness on the one hand and timidity or irresolution on the other. The Dwarf is altogether

too insignificant a character for such a rôle. He more nearly represents prudence as Plato interprets it, the habit of acting in accordance with enlightened self-interest, a virtue distinctly inferior to the purifying and remedial virtues, and far inferior to that imitation of the divine nature which is the highest of moral activities. A happier denomination would be Common Sense, that measure of uninspired intelligence which is shared by all men in common, and which comes far short of Christian understanding. It is the wisdom of the natural man who lacks the moral courage and the spiritual stature of the militant Christian, that mind of the flesh which St. Paul contrasts with the mind of the spirit.¹

Blinded with rage, and guided by will rather than by reason, the Red Crosse Knight flees from the hermitage of Archimago. In this distraught state of mind, staggered by his cruel disappointment in Una, he might well be expected to renounce his faith, and the temptation to do so immediately assails him in the person of the Saracen knight, Sansfoy. But such is the instinctive loyalty of his nature that the knight at once recognizes Faithlessness as an enemy and opposes it victoriously. When he cleaves the helmet of his assailant, he declares his unwillingness to trust to a denial of faith for his salvation.

Yet that which faithlessness cannot accomplish when it appears in its own true nature, menacing and destructive, it is able to accomplish readily under disguise, for no sooner has the knight overcome Sansfoy than he falls under the spell of Duessa, or Faire Falsehood, who here masquerades as Faith (Fidessa). Indeed, so anxious is he to be true to his knightly vows and to succor the distressed, that he even pursues after her, betrayed by his own naïve sincerity. Thus may the disheartened Christian overcome the temptation to adopt the frank negation of faith as his philosophy, only to be caught by an erroneous positive philosophy which has speciously insinuated itself into his thinking.

On this second day the Red Crosse Knight but repeats the experience of the initial day, overcoming an obvious foe but yielding to a foe in disguise. He is still a very green knight.

In fact, so lacking is the Red Crosse Knight in spiritual discernment that he does not pierce the disguise of Falsehood even when he learns of her evil doings from the lips of a former victim. For the knight and Duessa have proceeded but a little way when, chancing to pluck a bough from a tree beneath which they rest, he hears the sad story of Brother Doubt. This story and the consequent alarm of Duessa should have put the knight on his guard, but he is too simple to learn this very obvious lesson.

The allegory of Doubt is nicely conceived. The doubting soul is vacillating in thought and action—for Fradubio could not choose between his own lady and Duessa, and when he saw the witch in her native ugliness was too timid to escape her or resist,—and is therefore rendered mute and impotent. The tree in which he is imprisoned, a tree which all faithful pastors shun, is the opposite of the soul-nourishing tree of life, a characteristic symbol, and from this imprisonment there is no escape save through the waters of baptism, the "living well." Who, save Christ, can deliver us from the body of this death? As Sansfoy represents the opposite of faithfulness, in accordance with the Aristotelian method of expounding a virtue, so Fradubio represents insufficiency of faith.

Canto Three, through the allegory of Una and the Lion, shows how a glimpse

of the Truth of Christianity can soften and win the fiercest nature, and how the native goodness and primitive courage of untutored man can serve the cause of Christ, opposing blind superstition (Corceca), and attacking those carnal and rapacious forces which feign allegiance to the Church but undermine it from within. Yet because the simple children of the faith, typified by the Lion, are undisciplined and uninstructed, and governed primarily by their emotions rather than by reason, they often succumb to the spirit of lawlessness, even after they have made a beginning in the Christian life. The Lion thus presents, under a fresh aspect, insufficiency of faith, but an insufficiency grounded in undisciplined emotion rather than in doubt. Professor H. S. V. Jones makes the very happy suggestion that the Lion may stand for the Law of Nature, a suggestion with very rich possibilities.

With Canto Four the narrative returns to the Red Crosse Knight who, in the company of Duessa, comes upon the house of Pride, where Lucifera and her councillors, the six other deadly sins, are taking their pleasure, the centre of a great throng of vain worshippers. From the sins of lust, gluttony, avarice, sloth, anger, and envy the knight is immune, but as pride is the sin which most besets a man of spirit and of lordly nature, the hero is here subjected to the temptations of carnal pride, as in a later venture, to the much more severe temptation of spiritual pride. Although the knight makes humble obeisance before the throne of Lucifera, he does not feel himself one with the gay fickle crowd which surround her, and intuitively holds himself aloof:

Yet the stout Faery mongst the middest crowd
Thought all their glorie vaine in Knightly vow,
And that great Princesse too exceeding prowde,
That to strange Knight no better countenance allowd.

But no sooner has the knight estranged himself from the "joyaunce vaine" of this company, no sooner has he shown that he is proof against their fickle and tinsel pleasures, than, in the person of Sansjoy, he is subjected to the counter temptation of morose and austere joylessness. This is a temptation fraught with much greater danger, for the idealist who has suffered disillusionment may turn in disgust from those pleasures of the flesh that offer themselves as a mocking substitute, but is sorely inclined to become cynical and atrabilious, grudgingly indifferent to all normal and healthy pleasures of life. But although the struggle is a hard one, the knight emerges victorious, even though Falsehood does her utmost to assist in his defeat.

Sansjoy is then not the joylessness of the Puritan, not the abnegation of the religious ascetic who is faithless to this life, with all its legitimate pleasures, that he may be faithful to what he conceives to be a higher life, but the joylessness which finds nothing in life engaging and satisfying. Very properly he is conceived as the youngest brother of Sansfoy and the younger brother of Sansloy, since a logical progression is implied in this Pagan brotherhood: the absence of faith leads one to deny the validity of the restraining law both divine and human, and the end is a cold and embittered indifference. Very properly Sansjoy is banished to Pluto's realm, for the essence of the spiritual life is joy. Faith, obedience, joy, these, says Spenser, are attributes of the Christian life.

With Canto Six the narrative returns to Una, who has been led into a wild

forest by Sansloy. In the breast of Sansloy anger has given place to lust, and he first tries to win fair Una by guile and, when this fails, to overcome her by force. In her dire extremity she cries aloud for help and attracts thereby

A rude, misshapen, monstrous rablement

of Satyrs, at whose approach Sansloy takes to flight. Among these simple folk Una dwells for a long time,

During which time her gentle wit she plyes
To teach them truth, which worshipt her in vaine,
And made her th' Image of Idolatryes;
But when their bootlesse zeale she did restraine
From her own worship, they her Asse would worship fayn.

This bit of allegory is especially interesting as revealing certain aspects of Spenser's religio-social thinking. The proper champion of Christian truth is the Christian gentleman, educated, disciplined, and morally courageous, who brings the enlightened control of reason to his leadership. Deprived of such champions, Truth is in a perilous state. Then it is that the lawless elements in society, anti-Christian and anti-social, seek by subtle argument or by force to misconstrue the truths of Christianity, or the embodiment of Christianity, the Church, so that it will be made to serve their unlawful ends. In this extremity Christianity sometimes finds temporary protection in the humble children of earth. Yet their service to the Truth cannot be an abiding one, for they are capable only of superficial understanding and their attitude is an indiscriminating idolatry. It was in such soil as Spenser's thinking here furnishes that early Presbyterianism thrived, for Presbyterianism postulated a theocracy in which ecclesiastical whigs would be the leaders in thought and in policy. The satyrs singing their "shepherds ryme" in honor of Una find their counterpart in the weavers droning their persistent psalms.

Among the satyrs is one, however, Sir Satyrane, who has liberated himself from his environment, and he is capable of learning "her discipline of faith and verity." Under his guidance she slips away from a community that could not satisfy her, that lost her forever, since

In vaine he seekes that having cannot hold.

Anon Una and her new champion come upon Sansloy, and while the knights are engaged in deadly combat Una quietly departs.

In this canto the poet reveals much Calvinistic severity and something of the intolerance of an intellectual aristocrat.

In Canto Seven the Red Crosse Knight, who was last seen hastening from the House of Pride, is overtaken by Duessa, who finds him sitting by a fountain, spiritless, wearied, his armor laid aside. The fountain is itself symbolic of sloth, for the presiding nymph was one who had, through weariness, foregone the chase when hunting with Diana. Courting Duessa,

Poured out in loosnesse on the grassy grownd,
Both carelesse of his health, and of his fame,

the knight is suddenly attacked by an hideous giant, Orgoglio, and after a feeble resistance is thrown into a remorseless dungeon. Duessa, for her part, offers herself

to the giant as a mistress, is accepted, and is enthroned by him upon a monstrous seven-headed beast.

The Dwarf, meanwhile, escapes with the armor of the Knight, comes upon Una, and is guiding the distracted maiden to the castle of Orgoglio when they fall in with Heavenly Grace in the person of Prince Arthur, who calms Una by his goodly reason and offers his services.

In Canto Eight Prince Arthur slays the giant; cleaves one of the heads of the beast, who, aided by Duessa and her magic cup, the cup of abominations, had all but overcome the Squire of the Prince; liberates the Red Crosse Knight who was hoping for release only through death; and strips Duessa of her finery, revealing all her loathsomeness.

At the court of Lucifera we have already seen the Red Crosse Knight, in his own strength and unaided save by common sense, overcome the temptations of carnal pride, with their hollow gaiety, and the contrary temptation to turn from the pleasures of life with a morose and bitter spirit. Now, in the events of these last two cantos, we see him, lulled by a false philosophy and with no objective in life, his irksome armor laid aside, surrender to complacency and soft living his noble spirit, built for high emprise. Deceived as to his own power to resist temptation, and weakened in body, for the first time he yields to sensuality. Then it is that he is attacked by the most dreadful foe of mortality, spiritual pride. In the face of such a foe he is completely powerless, and he is saved only by the unlooked-for aid of that Heavenly Grace which intervenes at the difficult moment to save him whom God has chosen for His own. Then when this miracle of salvation has finally been performed, he sees falsehood in all its ugliness. (The beast is obviously introduced for the political and ecclesiastical allegory, and it would probably be a refinement too scrupulous to assign it any very precise spiritual meaning. It merely reflects, as I take it, the beastliness of spiritual pride.)

The story of Arthur's lineage, with which the following canto opens, is introduced for the sake of the political allegory as a refined compliment to Queen Elizabeth, and would seem to play no part in the stricter spiritual allegory.

In the concluding part of the canto, the Red Crosse Knight undertakes to destroy Despair, through pity for the despairing Trevisan, but he makes the mistake of trying to reason with Despair, and is himself so sorely tempted by the plausible arguments of the cursed old man that he is saved only by Una's intervention. Weak and spent as he is from his late confinement, he is ill prepared for such endeavor.

The allegory is of course obvious. When the Christian is weak from conflict, when he has been shown his impotence, when he awakens to a sense of God's perfection and of his own imperfectness, he is wont to despair, to ask himself why add through longer life to that burden of sin which a just God must avenge. Then comes the reassurance that God is merciful as well as just, and that the elect are justified by faith:

In heavenly mercies hast thou not a part?
 Why shouldst thou then despire, that chosen art?
 Where justice grows, there grows eke greater grace,
 The which doth quench the brond of hellish smart,
 And that accurst hand-writing doth deface.

This characteristic bit of Calvinism with which Canto Nine closes, serves as a prelude to Canto Ten, in which the Knight is instructed at the house of Holiness, or Cælia, in theology. Spenser believed that it is not enough for the Christian gentleman to be saved; he must know the whole scheme of salvation and must be nurtured in the faith. Only then can he hope to be a spiritual leader.)

Professor Legouis regards this instruction as essentially Catholic and criticizes the poet for subjecting his knight to a discipline upon which, as the champion of the reformed religion, he had supposedly turned his back. As a matter of fact, the program of discipline here outlined is common to the traditional teachings of the Medieval Church and to those of the reformed theologians, and there is not a provision therein which Calvin does not specifically recommend in the *Institutes*. (Cf. "Spenser and the Theology of Calvin," *MP*, 12, 13-15.) The establishment has, to be sure, the character of a medieval religious house, but Spenser was thereby merely making use of pictorial machinery long familiar through the morality plays and the moral poems.

Canto Eleven is occupied with the conflict which serves as a climax to the knight's exploits, a conflict upon which the poet has expended his best descriptive efforts. With full knowledge of the truth, taught by hard experience to rely upon heavenly grace, established by discipline both intellectual and moral, the knight is ready for the overthrow of the great dragon, Antichrist, which has long kept Una's parents from enjoying their kingdom. The conflict lasts into the third day, and although the knight wounds his adversary under the left wing on the first day so that he cannot fly, and on the second day cuts off the adversary's sting and the paw with which he seeks to render useless the shield of faith, he himself is so overpowered by the fire and smoke which the dragon breathes forth, that he is saved only by the refreshing waters of the well of life and by the balm of the tree of life, that is, by the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Thus does the Christian keep the faith and win the victory over sin, supported by the life-giving sacraments.

In the final canto the parents of Una are liberated, and her "aged Syre, the Lord of all that land," the "aged Queene," and the "sage and sober peres"—the patriarchs and apostles—throw laurel boughs at the feet of the knight. Then the King yields his daughter and his kingdom unto the knight, a symbol that the redeemed and spiritually enlightened man shall possess the truth and inherit the earth.

The last vain efforts of Archimago and Duessa to reclaim the Red Crosse Knight serve to emphasize the completeness of his victory, and to show how impotent are deception and falsehood when the Christian has entered into possession of the truth. There is, to be sure, a certain artistic appropriateness in introducing these characters in the closing scene, just as a dramatist summons his principal characters, the villains along with the hero and heroine, before the final curtain.

Such in fine was Spenser's conception of the training of a gentleman in that virtue which he regarded as the beginning of all excellence. His ideal gentleman, as he aimed to portray him through the successive books, would be a man in whom would be harmonized those virtues which the Greek philosophers recognized and the Christian virtues, but Spenser believed that one must seek first the kingdom of God. It is this emphasis, so creditable to England, which differentiates the *Faerie Queene* from that other outstanding Renaissance exposition of a gentleman,

The Courtier of Castiglione. *The Faerie Queene* is a Reformation as well as a Renaissance document.

EMILE LIGOUIS (*Spenser*, pp. 233-7). Si maintenant au lieu de considérer l'ensemble du poème, on en examine chaque partie, on a peine à voir en Spenser un bon allégoriste pour ce qui est du contenu intellectuel de l'allégorie.

Même dans le premier livre, le plus sérieux, et même après avoir lu la subtile explication qu'en a tentée Ruskin, que de mystères et d'apparentes contradictions, si nous nous attachons à l'allégorie et voulons y trouver un sens qui s'accorde avec le sujet! Le héros de ce livre est Croix-Rouge ou Sainteté, et nous sommes invités à entendre le récit des aventures qu'il accomplit au service de Dame Una, qui est la vraie Religion, et qui a besoin de sa vaillance pour délivrer les états du roi son père, dévastés par un effroyable Dragon.

Voilà qui est clair. Or, dès le début de sa quête, Croix-Rouge tue Erreur et toute son affreuse engeance. Il semble que cette victoire doive le préserver d'être jamais séparé de la Vérité sa compagne. Mais il n'en est rien. A peine sort-il triomphant du combat qu'il est victime des sortilèges d'Archimago, manifeste symbole de la Papauté, de ce catholicisme qui est pour Spenser l'Erreur en sa forme la plus redoutée; Archimago qui "de sa langue douceuse, raconte force histoires de saints et de papes, sans manquer de débiter un *Ave Maria* devant et après chacune." Par sa magie, le Chevalier croit son Una infidèle et perverse. Il la délaisse pour Duessa, ou le papisme, impure courtisane qu'il prend pour la foi véritable. A quoi donc lui sert-il d'avoir tué Erreur, et que lui serait-il arrivé de pire s'il avait été vaincu par elle?

Sans entrer dans les subtilités (ou les enfantillages) de ses luttes subséquentes avec les trois frères Sansfoi, Sansjoie et Sansloi, et sans nous demander comment il peut remporter d'éclatants triomphes sur ces ennemis au moment même où il demeure séparé de la vraie foi et est la dupe de Duessa, voyons-le conduit par cette perfide sorcière dans la Maison d'Orgueil, palais de Lucifera. Cela devrait vouloir dire en bonne allégorie qu'il succombe au premier des péchés capitaux. Mais non, pas plus à celui-là qu'aux six autres, dont Lucifera fait défiler devant lui le cortège. Ce somptueux pageant, qui certes ne fut pas à l'origine écrit pour la circonstance, ni destiné aux yeux de Croix-Rouge, passe devant lui sans le séduire, et d'ailleurs sans provoquer non plus en son âme aucun sentiment de dégoût. Il semble n'avoir rien vu, ni compris. Quant à l'orgueil, il pourrait en éprouver de sa victoire sur Sansjoie et des acclamations dont elle est saluée, et il est bien vrai qu'il fait d'abord hommage à Lucifera de son triomphe, mais il lui arrive de voir les misérables victimes qu'elle tient dans ses cachots, et il s'enfuit pour n'en pas grossir le nombre.

Ce qu'il éprouve en s'éloignant de la Maison d'Orgueil, c'est une lassitude qu'expliquent les blessures reçues dans son duel récent avec Sansjoie, mais qui ne paraît avoir rien de commun avec l'orgueil même, qui en est plutôt le contraire.

Le voilà donc, nous semble-t-il, vainqueur de l'épreuve d'orgueil. Et pourtant, c'est le moment où Spenser nous le montre désarmé, affaibli, qui tombe sous les coups du géant Orgoglio au nom significatif. Ainsi il n'échappe à Lucifera qui est orgueil, que pour devenir le captif d'Orgoglio qui est orgueil. Et d'ailleurs, en quoi consiste cette défaite? Cela veut-il dire qu'il devient orgueilleux? Point du tout. C'est l'endroit de toute son histoire où il apparaît le plus chétif, misérable et humilié.

Ici le lecteur qui se sent perdu s'avise que peut-être il a fait fausse route dès de début. Si l'allégorie n'était pas morale après tout, mais historique? Croix-Rouge est aussi le chevalier de Saint-Georges et le patron de l'Angleterre. Ce qui nous est signifié, c'est sans doute l'histoire religieuse de l'Angleterre au XVI^e siècle. Le rapprochement de Croix-Rouge et d'Una, c'est alors le symbole de la Réforme sous Henri VIII et Edouard VI. Leur séparation, c'est la rechute de l'Angleterre dans le papisme sous Marie Tudor qui est figurée par Duessa. Orgoglio n'est pas l'orgueil, mais un orgueilleux, le grand orgueilleux, Philippe II qui, par son mariage avec Marie Tudor, tient un temps l'Angleterre en son pouvoir. C'est Marie Tudor qui livre Croix-Rouge et se livre elle même à ce brutal. Et les oubliettes de château d'Orgoglio où gît le pauvre chevalier, sont une évocation des prisons et des tortures de l'Inquisition importées en Angleterre sous Marie la Sanglante.

De son cachot Croix Rouge est extrait presque mourant par l'intervention d'Una et d'Arthur, par le retour de la vraie foi et la présence de la grâce divine d'une part, par l'avènement d'Elisabeth et la puissance de Leicester de l'autre. Un instant l'allégorie morale et la politique cheminent de conserve. La vue d'Una fait comprendre à Croix Rouge sa longue erreur et l'abomination d'avoir cru en l'infâme Duessa. Il aura honte de lui-même et se sentira damné. Il sera sur le point de céder aux sophismes du désespoir. Mais Una le conduit dans la Maison de Sainteté et notre perplexité renaît à voir ce sanatorium de l'âme tout pareil d'aspect à l'un de ces monastères que le premier acte de la Réforme avait été de détruire. Nous y rencontrons l'hôpital où veillent les sept *headsmen*, ou discours de chapelets; Patience qui guérit le Chevalier de son péché en le faisant jeûner, prier jour et nuit, se vêtir de haire et coucher sur les cendres; Pénitence qui de son fouet de fer le flagelle chaque jour; le vieillard Contemplation qui dans son petit ermitage passe ses heures en saintes méditations.

Serait-ce l'aboutissement de cette longue et pénible marche vers la réforme religieuse? Se peut-il qu'au bout du chemin on retrouve glorifié un des couvents détruits par Henri VIII? Ainsi le lecteur hésitant entre l'interprétation morale et l'allusion historique, ne trouve de satisfaction intellectuelle ni dans l'une ni dans l'autre. Il croit parfois tenir le fil et soudain le sent se briser. Il compare tout bas cette allégorie confuse à celle de Bunyan si forte, si lumineuse et si continue.

Pour une bonne allégorie, il faudrait que les scènes émanassent de l'idée centrale dont elles seraient l'illustration. Or il arrive souvent à Spenser d'avoir des airs de bravoure tout prêts et de chercher pour eux dans son allégorie un endroit où les caser. Il a commencé par des "pageants" et il tient à mettre chacun de ceux-ci en belle place, tant pis si l'allégorie en souffre ou en est obscurcie. On vient de voir que c'est le cas pour sa procession des péchés capitaux. Il en est de même pour sa grande composition sur le défilé des fleuves et rivières au mariage de Tamise et Medway. Ici d'ailleurs, c'est un magnifique hors-d'oeuvre qui ne gâte aucune idée, car il n'y a pas l'idée. Le cas du masque de Cupidon est différent. Destiné à montrer les caractères et les souffrances de l'Amour, on ne comprend pas pourquoi ce spectacle est ordonné par le luxurieux magicien Busirane. Rien ne serait mieux fait pour avertir et détourner d'aimer ceux qui inclineraient à l'amour. Or, l'objet de Busirane est justement de gagner le cœur d'Amorette. Le masque est aussi déplacé qu'il est beau. L'avantage est une sorte d'étrangeté, un air de mystère, le charme de l'inexpliqué, mais ces qualités "romantiques" sont tout juste l'opposé

de celles qui conviendraient à une allégorie morale sérieuse, si vraiment la morale était le principal objet du poète. L'imagination peut être charmée mais l'intelligence se sent dupée et proteste.

Aussi est-on tenté de laisser là ces stériles énigmes. Pourquoi ne pas s'en remettre au jugement de Hazlitt et jourir simplement du poème pour la beauté de ses vers et de ses tableaux? "Quelques-uns ont peur de l'allégorie, a-t-il dit, comme s'ils s'imaginaient qu'elle va les mordre. . . . S'ils ne tracassent pas l'allégorie, l'allégorie ne leur fera pas de mal."

Aussi bien Hazlitt a-t-il reconnu que, quoiqu'il prétendît, Spenser n'était pas un philosophe, mais un artiste: "Le principe directeur de son esprit était l'amour du beau, non celui du vrai." Et Hazlitt montrait par son exemple qu'il était possible de concilier l'extrême admiration de *la Reine des Fées* avec le refus de croire à l'importance des idées de Spenser ou de sa doctrine morale. Il avait raison profondément; il mettait le doigt sur l'essentiel.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD ("Spenser and the Enchanted Glass," pp. 23-28). The gentle knight who comes pricking o'er the plain into the first stanza of the First Book is a wholly inexperienced young man. He is an Englishman, with the blood of Saxon kings in his breeding, but wholesomely combined with a boyhood and youth spent close to the soil in a farmer's household. Spenser, in so presenting him, could hardly, I suppose, have been thinking of his own aristocratic origin and bourgeois youth. The hero of the story, with all the winsome enthusiasm of a high-spirited and well-bred lad, throws himself into his career. There is a girl—a lovely creature, one among all women for her purity and sweetness and fidelity, but not of the sort that makes a furore among men. The young man does not at once fall deeply in love with her, and indeed takes her almost casually, though her partly maternal, partly romantic interest in him no one but the lad himself can fail to see.

His first adventure is a fight with the monster Error, a gruesome and filthy she-dragon in the direct literary line that stretches from Grendel's dam to the Jabberwock. But what kind of Error is this? For all the commentators say, it might be just plain Error in general, if such there be. But how, one might ask, if the Red Cross Knight first overcomes Error in general, does he fall into so much error later on? Ruskin seems to be right, however, when he finds a clue in the not very tidy line, "Her vomit full of bookes and papers was." Clearly this is Error of doctrine, of books, multiclamorous cant and evil counsel, which din in the ears of every young person during the period of his education. The fight is vigorous, but not doubtful. The young man is proof by very breeding against silly and specious ideas from whatever authority. He refutes them by a sort of habit and instinct. They fall naturally from his mind. Such Error is easily vanquished. But the harder task remains to validate and prove the truth of his experience.

And he has not long to wait, for here comes a gentle inoffensive old man, whom the Red Cross Knight addresses with just a trace of assurance caught partly from his first easy triumph and partly from the girl's admiring congratulation on his success. But the old man is a Deceiver, to wit the notorious Archimage, and he imposes upon the ingenuous but self-assured young person with pathetic ease. A series of cleverly managed misrepresentations deceive the young man, and he

falls out with the woman who is the mainstay of his life, yet whom he does not really know. He then picks up with a more intriguing female—to all appearances more desirable, as the world desires. What is more, he wins her by his personal prowess from another man.

I notice two very natural touches in Spenser's narrative at this point. First, in a fit of righteous indignation, and with something of the absolute downrightness of youth, his eye of reason was with rage yblent. Then he deserts Una without any attempt to explore the matter. Thus he wanders aimlessly far away.

Still flying from his thoughts and gealous feare;
Will was his guide, and grieve led him astray.

Clearly he misses not Una so much as he resents—with a touch of youthful selfishness perhaps—the reflection which her apparent infidelity casts upon his dignity.

Such grief is easily dispelled the moment a popular woman shows interest in him, especially if, as in this case, she drops another man to take him up. She is too artful to try to capture him with gaiety. She appeals to his warm but unseasoned heart as one in sad plight, "friendlesse, unfortunate."

Soon they are engrossed in a flirtation, which for him is innocent and most consoling. Forgotten are his troubles, forgotten is Una, forgotten his career, forgotten all but the delicious moment, when they are interrupted by a fantastic episode that would have put him on his guard against this dangerous but delightful girl, had she not quickly played her highest trump-card and fainted in his arms.

Clearly, she sees, he needs something to take his attention—something engrossing. She introduces him into Society, that is, to the Palace of Pride, a Renaissance Court, the *beaumonde*—by whatever name it is the same perennial thing, gorgeous, ostentatious, unsubstantial, thronged, fickle, yet fascinating. Everybody is there—at least everybody that counts—all agog for the favor of her who is arbitress of their social success. Of course there is a deal of iniquity beneath this gorgeous spectacle, but the callow young knight cannot yet discern it. He finds himself at once a social favorite. Why not? He is young, able, handsome, has already scored at least two conspicuous successes, and his natural charm suffers nothing by a certain ingenuousness, the basic ingredient in many a social triumph. All this is pleasant enough for a time. At length he happens to fall foul of a quarrelsome gentleman named Sans Joy, who will take it out of him, willy nilly. But the Lady Lucifera, the social leader, with an eye single to successful social events, stops the impromptu fight, and turns it into a society affair. She stages a magnificent duel for her guests. Though his opponent escapes defeat by a trick, the Red Cross Knight gains the credit of a victory, and enormous vogue for the moment.

But something is queer about this place. Even he sees that, though he is not discerning enough to explain the rather inscrutable behavior of his lady Duessa, who is really playing a double game. Meanwhile with a lurking instinct quite natural in a well-bred youth, that this is no place or company for him, he stumbles upon the reverse view of the whole situation—the broken hearts and bitter thrall that have overtaken all who devoted themselves to this kind of success. Such are

Croesus, Nimrod, Sulla, Tarquin, Cleopatra, nay heroes like Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, and the great Julius himself.

I confess I can never read these passages without reflections upon Spenser's own ever-recurring illusion and disillusion of like kind. But after his quiet escape what? Nothing. He has no aim apparently beyond sitting in a pleasant spot luxuriating in the loveliness about him. The lady, whom he has deserted in somewhat the same inconsiderate fashion of his parting from Una, will not let him off so easily. She overtakes him, and with pretty reproaches reduces him again to helpless subjection. Idly he stoops to refresh himself with a draft from a shady spring (*F. Q.* 1. 7. 6-7).

The situation is clear. He has had nothing thus far but success and popularity and attention. True he lost his first lady Una, but that was her fault, he thought, and he has suffered little wrong but injured pride. Now he is without a purpose, without vision or inspiration. He is unaware of what he has lost in Una, grows self-congratulatory and impotent, and easily falls prey to the least formidable of his adversaries the braggart Orgoglio. Captive in the dungeon of this giant he has leisure to review his course and realize his plight. But if he has to all appearances failed by trusting too much his own powers, ever vigilant and devoted Una has not relaxed her efforts to save him. Arthur comes to her aid, overcomes Orgoglio, forces the dungeon, and she rescues the hero in the last stages of depression over his failure.

Now he has seen the real devotion of Una and beholds, stripped of all her blandishments, Duessa and all her kind. May I call attention here to a rather exquisite touch in Spenser's narrative? When Una, overjoyed, reclaims her hero, not a thought of blame enters her mind. With almost maternal partiality she excuses all that has happened (*F. Q.* 1. 8. 42).

The Red Cross Knight in shamed realization of her true worth has no word to utter. But his full sense of his own defection is yet to come. As it grows upon him, he is face to face with Despair. And though he enters upon this deepest and most subtle of his trials with a trace of his old swagger, he falls quickly by the specious reasoning of guilty depression into such deep and agonizing remorse that he madly rushes upon suicide. In the very act Una again saves him (*F. Q.* 1. 9. 52).

With faultless sense of his predicament she forces him from contemplation of a miserable and hopeless past to consider the redeemable future in service to her. And he is saved for ever.

Rightly enough expositors have interpreted this episode and the whole Book as an illustration of Spenser's Platonic faith in the power of pure and noble love to redeem the soul of man. But to me it is something more than Platonic; it is Spenserian. Spenser has authenticated the exalted teaching of Diotima in the *Symposium*, nay of the Gospels themselves, through his own struggle in the clash of noble and ignoble in his own soul. The last cantos, especially, the tenth and twelfth, ring with the sound conviction of one who knows these things because he has lived them.

Only one episode remains. Out of his recovery he rises with Una or super-human Truth at his side to a vision of supreme values, to a point whence he beholds all things human in their true light and relationship. Henceforth he is

established, mature, reliable, and betrothed for ever to her who is above all lovely, faithful, and good. In her service his real career begins just as the Book closes.

H. S. V. JONES ("Magnanimity in Spenser's Legend of Holiness," pp. 200-6). Of the mediæval cast of Spenser's Aristotelianism there can, of course, be no doubt; so that students of his great allegory are necessarily curious about the patristic and scholastic, as well as the Protestant, understanding of the Aristotelian virtues illustrated in the *Faerie Queene*.

Of these the virtue of highmindedness, for which King Arthur stands, has from this point of view received insufficient attention. In general terms, it has its appropriate place in the scheme of Spenser's allegory; for, since Arthur not only has a kind of roving commission in the poem but is, at least according to the poet's plan, a presiding genius in each of the books, it is fitting that he should represent a virtue which is "the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all;" or which, in the words of Aristotle, is "the crown of the virtues, as it enhances them, and cannot exist apart from them." "The highminded man," Aristotle elsewhere remarks, "possesses such greatness as belongs to every virtue." On still further grounds we may justify the representation of highmindedness in Arthur. He is in quest of Gloriana; and "highminded people," says Aristotle, "are concerned with honour; for it is honour more than anything else of which the great regard themselves, and deservedly regard themselves, as worthy." "Highmindedness," he elsewhere says, "has to do with honour on a large scale;" and we might further recall that the highminded man is so far epic in character that "he is ready to encounter great dangers, and in the hour of dangers is reckless of his life, because he feels that life is not worth living without honour."

Granted on these grounds the appropriateness of Arthur's place in the allegory of the *Faerie Queene*, it is nevertheless a subject of curious interest that the chief of the Christian knights should represent the most Hellenic of all the virtues, one that, indeed, might be considered a mark of that self-assured type of character which was shaped by the ethos of the Greek world. . . .

Catholic thought evolved a Christian version of highmindedness centuries before Spenser introduced the virtue into the allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. "In scholastic descriptions," says the New English Dictionary, "the notion was modified in accordance with Christian ideals and blended with elements suggested by the etymology of the word (*animus* being capable of the sense 'courage'); hence 'magnanimity' is often classed as a subdivision of fortitude." As the Dictionary points out, this classification is adopted by St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologica*, Part II, Question 129, following herein the *Somnium Scipionis*, I. viii.—7: "Fortitudo praestat magnanimitatem, fiduciam, securitatem, magnificentiam, constantiam, tolerantiam, firmitatem."

St. Thomas treating magnanimity as a part of fortitude has preserved those characteristics already noted, which have made appropriate its assignment to Arthur; and, of course, he has removed the objections to it as a Christian virtue. "Magnanimity," says Aquinas, "by its very name denotes stretching forth of the mind to great things. . . . And since a virtuous habit is denominated chiefly from its act, a man is said to be magnanimous chiefly because he is minded to do some great act." Further, regarded as fortitude, magnanimity has its part in every virtue; for "a principal virtue is one to which it belongs to establish a general mode of virtue

in a principal matter. Now one of the general modes of virtue is firmness of mind, because a firm standing is necessary in every virtue." On the other hand, we learn that there is no necessary contradiction between highmindedness and Christian humility. "There is in man something great which he possesses through the gift of God; and something defective which accrues to him through the weakness of nature. Accordingly magnanimity makes a man deem himself worthy of great things in consideration of the gifts he holds from God. . . . On the other hand, humility makes a man think little of himself in consideration of his own deficiency. . . . It is therefore evident that magnanimity and humility are not contrary to one another, although they seem to tend in contrary directions, because they proceed according to different considerations." . . .

Since *animus*, like the Greek *θυμός*, means *voluntas* as well as *fortitudo* (or *firmitas mentis*), we might identify either or both of these very similar qualities with the Arthur of the *Faerie Queene*. Each was used as a matter of fact to translate *θυμός* in the physiological psychology which derives from Plato through Chalcidius. For example, Alanus de Insulis under the entry *Mundus* in his *Liber in Distinctionibus Dictionum Theologicalium* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 210, col. 866D) writes, "Sic sapientia in throno capitis locum habet, voluntas in corde, voluptas in renum suborbio"; whereas in the *De Planctu Naturae* (*Ibid.*, col. 445C, D), we read: "In corde vero, velut in medio civitatis humanae, magnanimitas suam collocavit mansionem, quae sub prudentiae principata, suam professam militiam, prout ejusdem imperium deliberat, operatur. Renes autem tanquam suburbia cupidinariis voluptatibus partem corporis largiuntur extremam, quae magnanimitatis imperio obviare non audentes, ejus obtemperant voluntati. In hac ergo republica, sapientia imperantis suscipit vicem; magnanimitas operantis sollicitudinem; voluptas obtemperantis usurpat imaginem."

If magnanimity, residing in the heart of man, is equivalent to will, we may adopt descriptions of will as applicable to the virtue represented by King Arthur. This virtue is, then, obviously "applicable" to all the others. According to St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* XIV. 6)—"The character of the human will is of moment; because, if it is wrong, these motions of the soul will be wrong, but if it is right, they will be not merely blameless, but even praiseworthy. For the will is in them all; yea, none of them is anything else than will." . . .

If Arthur represents *voluntas* as well as *fortitudo*, the first book of the *Faerie Queene* may be suggestively compared with such educational moralities as *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, and *Mind, Will, and Understanding*. A rapprochement of this type of morality with the *Legend of Red Cross* is suggested on general grounds by the educational purpose of the *Faerie Queene*, by the representation of Una as a school-mistress, and by the course of study in the House of Holiness. Moreover, the first two are similar to the *Legend of Holiness* in that they lead to the marriage of the hero with a character who like Una stands for wisdom or truth. Further parallels are noticeable between Spenser's story and *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*. Wit diverted by Idleness from the wholesome influence of Good Nurture falls asleep with his head in the lap of Wantonness in a scene suggestive of the dalliance of Red Cross and Duessa at the beginning of Canto VII. Further on in the morality we are reminded of the fight with Orgoglio when Wit is brought by Idleness to the den

of Irksomeness, who entering like a monster beats down Wit with his club. Just at this point Wisdom comes to the rescue of the bleeding Wit in a manner comparable if not identical with Una's rescue of Red Cross. And may we not compare, too, the imprisonment of Wit by Fancy in Act II, sc. 2, with the imprisonment of Red Cross by Lucifera? However, what is to the point of this article is the inclusion of Will as a character in *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* and *Mind, Will, and Understanding*. The uncorrupted Will near the beginning of the latter play says:

(27)

And I of the soul am the will
Of the godhead, likeness and figure.
With good will, no man may spill
Nor with good will of bliss be sure.
What soul will great meed secure,
He must great will have, in thought or deed,
Virtuously set with conscience pure,
For in will stands only man's deed.

(29)

Of him cometh all will set perfectly,
For of ourself we have right nought
But sin, wretchedness, and folly.
He is beginner and ground of will and thought.

In *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, Will is hardly more than inclination but it is clear that the salvation of Wit depends upon the reformation of Will. We may find, then, in this group of morality plays still further support for our interpretation of Arthur's place in the ethical allegory of the first book of *The Faerie Queene*.

With the passages quoted above should be compared the following lines from the first stanza of canto X, Book I of *The Faerie Queene*:

Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill (i. e. reason)
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.

Further, if Una is wisdom, the higher or exalted wit, and Arthur will, there would seem to be implicit in the interview between these characters in canto VII the opinion that reason itself needs the encouragement and promptings of will. In encouraging the confidences of the dejected Una Arthur says:

but he, that never would
Could never: will to might gives greatest aid;

and, further, in recalling Una to herself:

"Flesh may empaire," quoth he, "but reason can repaire."

The *Legend of Red Cross*, regarded as a Wit and Will allegory, raises the old question of the relation between intellectualism and voluntarism, upon which the

older and the later scholasticism, the Thomists and the Scotists were divided; and about which neo-Augustinianism and the Reformation had much to say. St. Thomas, of course, following Aristotelian and Stoic doctrine, gives precedence to reason; while Scotus and the later Augustinians yield prior position to the will. Though we certainly should decline to classify Spenser as a pure voluntarist, a mediæval understanding of highmindedness, which he might seem to share with Alanus de Insulis, makes clear the great importance which he attached to the will in the conduct of the moral life. However, his position is certainly not that of the Jesuits, for whom freedom of the will meant free choice between good and evil. There is rather that species of determinism or efficacious grace which we associate with the creeds of both Luther and Calvin and with the Jansenism of the following century. Perhaps the original mistake of the Red Cross Knight was the Pelagian heresy that the initiative rests with the human will.

APPENDIX VI

THE HISTORICAL ALLEGORY

Spenser was at pains to make clear to his courtly readers—if, indeed, such pains were necessary—that his allegory deals with real persons and historical events. Thus in the prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, he specifically identifies Queen Elizabeth with Gloriana and Belpheobe, and may intend to imply her identity with other characters. Certainly she is the Mercilla of Book Five. In the sonnets addressed to the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Oxford, Lord Howard, the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Hunsdon and Sir John Norris he informs these noblemen that they appear in the poem. In the introductory stanzas to Book Two he encourages his readers to look beneath the surface events, and specifically assures the Queen that in this mirror she may behold the image of her ancestors. And in the introductory stanzas to Book Three he speaks of fitting the romantic episodes to "present persons." In line with these suggestions, John Dryden remarked in his *Essay on Satire*, 1693, that "the original of every knight was then living in the court of Queen Elizabeth; and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought most conspicuous in them." Upton, in his edition of 1758, initiated the specific interpretation of Book One by suggesting that it shadows forth the outstanding events of the English reformation. Sir Walter Scott gave further encouragement to such interpretation when, in his review of Todd's edition (1805), he complained that scholars had not taken the trouble to go deeply into the annals of the sixteenth century to discover the esoteric allusions to persons and places. No further effort at historical interpretation was made until 1863 when Frank Howard attempted to identify some of the leading characters (*NQ* Ser. 3. 4. 21-2, 236-7, 283), suggesting that the Earl of Essex was Prince Arthur; Sir Philip Sidney, the Red Cross Knight; Burleigh, Archimago; and the Earl of Oxford, the three brothers, Sansfoy, Sansloy, and Sansjoy. In 1871, Thomas Keightley started on a new tack by sketching through the allegory (*NQ* Ser. 4. 7. 49-50) as a "history of the Church from its commencement till the poet's own time," and identifying a few of the characters with specific historical personages, as the Counts of Toulouse with the lion, and Charlemagne with Orgoglio. This inclusive interpretation has not received subsequent encouragement from any scholar of standing. Seventeen years later Professor J. Ernest Whitney made a somewhat detailed study of the political allegory on the lines laid down by Upton. This was followed by Professor Philo M. Buck's monograph, 1911, the present editor's *The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the First Book of the Faerie Queene*, 1911, and Miss Winstanley's interpretation in the introduction to her edition of 1915.

In a general way it may be said that Upton, Whitney, and Buck spread the allegory on a broad canvas, making it apply even more, if anything, to England's international relations than to the progress of reform at home. Thus Upton identified Sansfoy with the Turks, and Buck identified Sansfoy with France, Sansloy with the Duke of Alva, Sansjoy with Philip of Spain, and Orgoglio with Francis, Duke of Guise. Miss Winstanley and the editor restricted the allegory to the progress of the reformation in England.

In 1930, Dr. Ray Heffner shifted the ground by advancing the theory that the key to the allegory is rather to be found in the Elizabethan pageants and masques, and that little if any of the allegory is to be assigned to specific historical characters or to events prior to the reign of Elizabeth. Dr. Heffner's thesis is supported by Professor Greenlaw, in his posthumous work *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*, who finds the solution for the allegory in the "return motif," the theory ardently advanced by Tudor historians and antiquarians that the reigning house was in the Arthurian succession, and, governed by the virtues, destined to restore the ancient glory of the realm.

Upton's scattered suggestions for the historical allegory will be found in the Critical Notes on the following passages: 3. 5; 3. 18. 6; 6. 7; 6. 20; 7. 46. 7; 8. 50; 11. 7. 1-4, 12. 49; 12. 43. 7-8.

SIR WALTER SCOTT (Review of Todd's *Spenser*, pp. 213-215). The plan of the Faery Queen is much more involved than appears at first sight to a common reader. Spenser himself has intimated this in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh prefixed to the poem. For he there mentions, that he has often a general and particular intention, as when he figures, under Gloriana, the general abstract idea of glory, but also the particular living person of Queen Elizabeth. This "continued allegory or dark conceit," therefore, contains, besides the general allegory or moral, many particular and minute allusions to persons and events in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as well as to points of general history. The ingenuity of a commentator would have been most usefully employed in decyphering what "for avoiding of jealous opinions and misconstructions," our author did not chuse to leave too open to the contemporary reader. But although every thing belonging to the reign of the Virgin Queen carries with it a secret charm to Englishmen, no commentator of the Faery Queen has taken the trouble to go very deep into those annals, for the purpose of illustrating the secret, and, as it were, esoteric allusions of Spenser's poem. . . .

The Red-Cross Knight, in the obvious and general interpretation, signifies "Holiness"; or, the perfection of the Spiritual Man in Religion. But, in the political and particular sense, the adventures of St. George bear a peculiar and obvious, though not a uniform, reference to the history of the Church of England as established by Queen Elizabeth. Thus, we find the orthodox church, in its earlier history, surmounting the heresies of the Arians, and many others; as the Red-Cross Knight, while animated by the voice of Una or Truth, destroys the monster Error and her brood. Again, he defeats Sans Foy, but falls into the snares of Duessa, the leman of the vanquished knight. Thus the Church, in the reign of Constantine, triumphed over Paganism, but was polluted by Error in consequence of its accession to temporal sovereignty. Hence its purity was affected by those vices which are described as inhabiting the house of Pride; and, becoming altogether relaxed in discipline, the church was compelled to submit to the domination of the Pope. These events are distinctly figured out in the imprisonment of the Red-Cross Knight in the Castle of Orgoglio, and in Duessa's assuming the trappings and seven-headed palfrey of the Whore of Babylon. Here the poet also seems dimly to have shadowed forth what was not too plainly to be named—the persecution in the days of Queen Mary.

But all the floor (too filthy to be told)
 With blood of guiltless babes and innocents true,
 Which there were slain as sheep out of the fold,
 Defiled was, that dreadful was to view;
 And sacred ashes over it was strowed new.

The conquest of Orgoglio and Duessa do [*sic*] therefore plainly figure forth the downfall of Popery in England, as the enlargement of the Red-Cross Knight signifies the freedom of the Protestant Church, happily accomplished by the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Yet these obvious inferences have escaped the commentators of Spenser.

C ("The Faerie Queene Unveiled"). Although the *Faerie Queene* was commenced before the *Arcadia*, yet Spenser, dazzled by the splendour of that romance, and blinded by his love and admiration of Sidney, undoubtedly swerved from his course in the second book, and appears to have been greatly influenced thereby in the third and fourth.

On looking into the *Faerie Queene*, after reading the *Arcadia*, we are struck by the resemblance between the three brothers Anaxius and the three Sarazins—Sansfoy, Sansloy, and Sansjoy; nor can we doubt they also are three personations of the Earl of Oxford. Further, a suspicion readily arises, not easily resisted, that as the Earl of Leicester is represented in Prince Arthur, his great opponent, Lord Burghley, may be shadowed in Archimago, the great magician *Hypocrisy*. Several curious points confirm this suspicion; as the recognition of Archimago, the false St. George, by "the bloody bold Sansloy," but more especially by a singular circumstance in the second book, which will be duly noticed.

The principal adventures of the Redcrosse Knight (Sir Philip Sidney), on a closer inspection, appear to admit of a plausible solution. He starts on St. George's Day, in 1579, and after long travels slays Sanfoy: then wanders on to the "sinful House of Pride," which he quits, having overthrown Sansjoy, who is carried by Duessa to Pluto's realm. These two adventures may refer to the quarrel with Oxford, and to the discussion with Queen Elizabeth about nobles and commoners in the month of September. St. George is then conquered by the giant Orgoglio, and thrown into a dungeon; but is released by Prince Arthur, after a confinement of nine (fairy) months. Pride was certainly one of Sidney's besetting sins, at least in his earlier years, as witness his Dudley blood and his ambassadorial journey to Vienna; but his pride must have received a sudden fall on the birth of Leicester's son, and, "on the tilt-day next following, Sidney assumed an impress with the word *Speravi* dashed through, to show that his hope therein was dashed." The nine months' incarceration in the dungeon is an allusion to "the interesting state" of the Countess of Leicester; and this ingenious supposition is confirmed by a similar piece of allegorical humour in the third book, when Merlin replies to Glauéc:

Beldame, by that ye tell
 More need of leach-craft hath your Damozell,
 Than of my skill: who help may have elsewhere,
 In vain seeks wonders out of magick spell. (3. 3. 16, 17)

In the seventh canto, stan. 44, Una tells Prince Arthur the Dragon "has them

(her parents) now four years besieged to make them thrall": from this remark we may infer, Spenser dates the danger to the Protestant faith from Queen Elizabeth's refusal of the sovereignty of the Netherlands at the end of the year 1575.

In the ninth canto, Prince Arthur tells St. George about his quest of the Faerie Queene:

Nine months I seek in vain, yet ni'll that vow unbind.

Hence it appears, the Prince commenced his wanderings the very day Simier told the Queen, in February, 1579, of Leicester's marriage with the Countess of Essex; and it must have been her majesty's angry countenance that so charmed Prince Arthur in his dream,—these are fairy transformations (1. 9. 15).

The knights then part—

Arthur on his way to seek his love,
And th' other for to fight with Una's foe.

St. George is then saved from Despair; and Una brings him to the "House of Holinesse," whence he goes to fight and overcome the Dragon; or, in other words, he delivers his famous letter against the marriage with Anjou to Queen Elizabeth about Christmas, 1579.

Although we are not in general justified in giving the same faith and credence to poetical representations as to historical statements; yet the coincidence between the *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene* forces on our mind the conviction, that Lord Burghley did act insidiously and invidiously to Sir Philip Sidney on that occasion.

FRANK HOWARD ("The *Arcadia* Unveiled"). The trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots is alluded to in the trial of Ducessa, who is also a personification of the Roman Catholic religion, and appropriated to Mary, as the head of that party in England. . . .

From the sonnet of Spenser, prefixed to the first edition of the first three books of the poem, it is clearly pointed out that Prince Arthur is to be a personification of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

To the most honourable and excellent Lord, the Earl of Essex, etc.

Magnifick Lord, whose virtues excellent
Do merit a most famous poet's witt,
To be thy living praise's instrument;
Yet do not sdeigne to let thy name be writ
In this base poem, for thee far unfit.
Nought is thy worth disparaged thereby.
But when my muse, whose feathers nothing flitt,
Do yet but flag, and lowly learn to fly,
With bolder wing shall dare aloft to sty
To the last praises of this Faery Queen,
Then shall it make most famous memory
Of thine heroick parts, such as they been;
Till then, vouchsafe thy noble countenance
To these first labours' needed furtherance.

If Sir Samuel Meyrick be right in appropriating a suit of armour in the horse armoury of the Tower to the Earl of Essex, there is a singular coincidence with

Spenser's description of Prince Arthur, as wearing "athwart his breast a bauldrick brave."

And in the midst thereof one pretious stone
Of wondrous worth, and eke of wondrous might,
Shap't like a ladies head (Gloriana's).

The suit of armour has the head of Elizabeth engraven on the breast-plate.

C ("The Arcadia Unveiled"). I was not aware of Mr. Howard's suggestion, that Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was intended by Prince Arthur; which, however, appears to me scarcely tenable, since in the spring of 1580 the Earl was only in his thirteenth year.

* FRANK HOWARD ("Essay on the Historical Allusions of Spenser"). As the character of Prince Arthur is enriched with the achievements of the British power as a state, so the reign of Gloriana is enriched with events which took place prior to the accession of Elizabeth; and in the first book, the legend of Holiness, is given an allegorical history of the Reformation. Una is the one thing needful,—truth or true religion, and she comes to the court of Gloriana, to seek assistance, as the reformers sought the assistance of Elizabeth; there is also probably in this an allusion to the early rise of the Reformation in England. St. George is described as—

Sprung from ancient race,
Of Saxon kings. . . .
From thence a Faery thee unweeting reft,
There as thou slepst in tender swaddling band,
And her base elfin brood there for thee left:

alluding, though with a slight perversion of the fact, to the early introduction of Christianity into England, and the change which occurred under the Saxon kings, when Augustine introduced the Roman Catholic doctrines. His adventures in Error's den appear to be an allusion to the rise of the Pelagian heresy in the fourth century. Archimago is the Pope, who, with Duessa, the Roman Catholic doctrine, separate him from true religion, and betray him into the hands of Orgoglio, figurative of the persecution under Mary, from which he is delivered by Prince Arthur, in reality by the power of England on the accession of Elizabeth.

Una, when separated from St. George, the representative of England—an allusion to the restoration of Popery by Mary—is protected by the Lion, the emblem of the Netherlands, who "mars blind devotion's mart" in the destruction of Kirkrapine, the support of Abessa and Corceca, allusions to the ritual of the Roman Catholics. The Belgic Lion is destroyed by the Sarazin Sansloy:

Proud Sansfoy,
The eldest of three brethren; all three bred
Of one bad sire, whose youngest is Sansjoy,
And twixt them both was born the bloody bold Sansloy:

an allusion to the oppression of the Netherlands by Spain, whose Moorish connection is figured under the designation of "sarazin"; the character of the Spanish people in the description and names of the brothers, proud, melancholy, and bloodthirsty: and a triple character, also alluded to in the triple body of Gerioneo,

the oppressor of Belge, in the fifth book, which has reference to the three countries united into one empire, under Charles V. and Philip his son—Spain, Germany, and America.

Una is first protected from Sansloy by the Satyrs, which may probably be an allusion to the reformed faith being held up by what Spenser elsewhere calls the "brutish multitude"; and subsequently by Satyrane.

A Satyr's son yborn in forest wild,
By strange adventure as it did betide,
And there begotten of a lady mild,
Fayre Thyamis, the daughter of Labryde:

alluding to Sir John Perrot, who was supposed to be a natural son of Henry VIII., and who, while deputy of Ireland, appears to have protected the Protestants there.

In calling Archimago the Pope, it is not intended to imply that any particular pope is alluded to, but the Popedom, which perhaps may be enlarged to the Spirit of Evil, which by the Protestants of that time was considered synonymous with the Papacy. Archimago first raises the dream to the Red Cross Knight, which leads him to lose faith in Una. This, I have suggested, may allude to the Pelagian Heresy, or, as he raises a false Una in Duessa, may allude to the mission of Augustine, which introduced the Roman Catholic doctrine to supersede the action of the monks of Bangor, who kept up a continual service to Christ. We find him endeavouring to excite a dispute between the Red Cross Knight and Sir Guyon at the commencement of the next book. He takes charge of and renews the glory of Duessa, who had been stripped and shamed in canto viii. of the first book. He steals the sword of Prince Arthur for Pyrocles, which probably refers to the Roman Catholics of England, who endeavoured to support Mary Queen of Scots, the symbol of Papacy, and saves Pyrocles from drowning, which may allude to the *non*-destruction of Spain on the defeat of the Armada; but we must not commence the second book at present.

A curious *lapsus penne*, or Homeric nod, may be observed in the description of St. George. The poem professes to be in glory of Faerie land which is declared to be England; yet St. George is described as of the race of *Saxon kings*, and stolen by a Faery:

And her base elfin brood there forthie left.

The solution of this poetical contradiction I may leave to others, as well as the question of identity of—

Fayre Thyamis, the daughter of Labryde.

That there is some meaning or allusion in it can scarcely be denied.

THOMAS KEIGHTLEY ("Allegory in the Faerie Queen"). Spenser styles his poem "a continued allegory or dark conceit"; but he does not by that mean to say that it forms one continued allegory in the sense in which we now understand the term. In fact there is but one allegory in it—namely, the first book, "The Legend of Holiness"; and in all the rest of the poem the characters are mere impersonations of moral or physical qualities, or of real persons, without any specially connected series of events. . . . This [allegory], then, I take to be the history of the Church from its commencement till the poet's own time. In

Una I see, not Truth simply, but the True Church; in Duessa, not mere Falsehood, but the False Church—that of Rome. The father and mother of Una, the king and queen of Eden, I take to be God the Father and the Ancient Adamic or patriarchal Church. In the Dragon I discern the great enemy of man, Satan. In the Red-cross Knight the Christian people, represented by St. George, the patron saint of England, the great champion of the true faith; and finally, in Archimago, Satan in his character of the tempter and seducer.

The adventures of the knight begin with his entering the grove of Error, and his encountering and slaying that monster. By this is probably meant the conflict with the various forms of religious error or heresy in the Church. Archimago then tries his wiles, and separates the knight from Una; but his doing so by making him suspect her purity seems rather to break the allegory. However, he abandons her and then falls in with Duessa in company with a "faithless Sarazin" named Sansfoy, that is, Paganism, whom he slays; and he is then deceived by Duessa, who conducts him to the House of Pride, that is, the Roman Empire, which now becomes Christian. Here he encounters and slays a brother of Sansfoy, named Sansjoy, by which is perhaps meant the joyless condition of the Empire when separated from the True Church. . . . In this part of the allegory [dealing with Una and her adventures] the lion seems to signify the counts of Toulouse, who protected the True Church against that of Rome, and gained its members admission into the religious houses against the will of their inmates, and punished those who made spoil of sacred things. By the Paynim Sansloy may be meant the papal adherents under De Montfort and others, who overcame the counts of Toulouse, and from whom Una is saved by the satyrs, that is, the Waldenses, whose abode was in the woods and valleys of Switzerland. Sir Satyrane, who is connected with them, I take to represent the Huguenots of France, who derived their creed and their name from the reformer of Switzerland; and it is very remarkable that he and Sansloy are left fighting—just as the Huguenots and the Papists were at the time—and are not mentioned any more in this book . . .

In this giant Orgoglio we have Charlemagne and his successors, the power and glory of the Papacy, and the miserable thralldom of the Christian people. . . . Prince Arthur . . . is the impersonation of British royalty as shown forth in the house of Tudor, and we have here the victory of that house over the papacy and its abettors. . . . By the well and the tree I think the two sacraments seem to be indicated. . . . The allegorical characters cease with this book. So when we meet with the Red-cross Knight and Satyrane again, they are simply knights of Faerie, Archimago a mere enchanter, and Duessa the Queen of Scots. ✓

J. E. WHITNEY ("The 'Continued Allegory' in the First Book of the Faery Queene," pp. 63-9). St. George is *Fides Defensor* not representing Henry VIII. alone, but rather the sovereigns of England, who bear the title of Defender of the Faith. With the just license of a patriotic poet, Spenser represents Una, or the cause of truth, as the peculiar charge of St. George, or England. At the beginning of the allegory the tempest of the Reformation drives the wandering pair into a labyrinth of Error, and there St. George fights sturdily against the Dragon Error in defence of Truth and Faith. Perhaps never in all Christian history has error been so common, so excusable. In spite of his theological training, or possibly because of it, to Henry VIII., as to nearly all Englishmen, the true faith seemed

at first to be that which every Christian sought in the Church of Rome. Even Luther was a devoted Papist before he became a devoted Reformer.

Throughout the first of the allegory Una is veiled to her lover, and we see the significance of that puzzling mystery. The Dragon of the Wood of Error was a veritable dragon, and in attacking it, St. George was the champion of no false faith, but simply struggling with misunderstanding. Una typifies the true Christian church on earth, long represented by Rome only, from this time forward represented, though still half concealed under her black stole, by the Protestant Church only. She is that heavenly truth which Luther sought first in Rome, which England at the beginning of the Reformation still seemed to see in Rome, and St. George is her champion. Archimago, symbol of papal influence, by lies and delusions, convinces St. George that his veiled Una is not truth, but foulest falsehood. The meaning is, that before England found its way out of the great tangle of error, it was led to turn from the true faith as St. George abandoned Una.

We next find the King of England defending the false faith, as St. George becomes the defender of Fidessa not knowing that she is the falsely faithless Duessa. But in this very change St. George gives the death blow to Sansfoy, the faithless, and becomes Fidessa's sole defender. In much the same way England sought to defend the island faith from injury by making Henry supreme head of the church in England, and thus gave a far heavier blow than was intended to the old established papal faith on the island. I think, too, that in the relations of Duessa and the Red Cross Knight there is much more than a shadowy fabric of allusion to Henry VIII.'s favor shown to certain less substantial phases of the Renaissance, which might well be represented by the oriental Duessa, the daughter of the emperor of the West, and the link between Constantinople and Rome.

In the second volume of the *Stones of Venice* Ruskin forcibly shows how the spirit of the Renaissance proved injurious to both Protestant and Catholic. The succeeding career of the Red Cross Knight, his half-hearted, half-successful combat at the House of Pride, his disarming at the fountain of Sloth, and his long captivity in the dungeon of Orgoglio, shadow forth certain features of the history of England, near the middle of the sixteenth century. Orgoglio's "throwing the Red Cross Knight into a dungeon," writes Ruskin, "is a type of the captivity of true religion under the temporal power of corrupt churches, more especially of the Church of Rome; and of its gradual wasting away in unknown places, while carnal pride has the pre-eminence over all things. . . . Prince Arthur, in whom, as Spenser himself tells us, is set forth generally magnificence, but who, as is shown by the choice of the hero's name, is more especially the magnificence, or literally, 'great doing,' of the Kingdom of England, going forth with Truth attacks Orgoglio, or the Pride of Papacy, slays him; strips Duessa, or Falsehood, naked, and liberates the Red Cross Knight." The title *Fidei Defensor* conferred upon Henry VIII. was in one sense but an ornament of worldly pride. The assumption of the title of the Head of the Church was blasphemy and arrogance on the part of Henry VIII. Remember that Fidessa leads St. George to the House of Worldly Pride, and Henry's carnal pride, or pride of power which the giant Orgoglio typifies, may have seemed to Spenser the chief fault of his later years. At this point the more personal part of the allegory as pertaining to Henry VIII. comes to an end. If the poet's picture of the king seems too highly colored,

remember that history has taught us to understand his character more clearly than was possible with Spenser. What Spenser saw was the coming of the gospel light apparently through his wisdom, not remarking that

Love could teach a monarch to be wise,
And gospel light first dawned from Boleyn's eyes;

but Spenser's vision was obscured by many circumstances. Moreover, in a poem whose avowed object was the flattery of his daughter, we should not look for spots on the character of so great a king.

Before the adventure of St. George at the Cave of Despair, there is a bright passage like the hopeful reign of Edward before the dismal rule of Mary. But to all Protestants in England there came a period of despair in the reign of Bloody Mary, more intense than that typified in the famous ninth canto. Again the comforting joy and peace which glorifies the following canto in the story of the House of Holiness, may equally well express the feelings of the adherents of the true faith, at the accession of Elizabeth. The beginning of her reign was really a new beginning for the Protestant faith in England. As St. George, worn with mistakes and struggles, was trained to the perfection of true faith and good offices in the calm of Celia's home, so young England, after its stormy trials of doubt and persecution, rested in the quiet of Elizabeth's kingdom and grew in the knowledge of the true faith. It was not until after the discipline of St. George, this real Re-formation and enlightenment of faith, that he could cope with the great dragon. The destruction of this monster of sin frees Una's parents from "eternal bondage." Precisely what this may signify is not wholly obvious. The writer in *Blackwood's*, before quoted, suggests that the parents of truth can be no other than the sacred Scriptures, the Old and New Testament, so long imprisoned in the brazen walls of ignorance and superstition, but wholly freed by the triumph of Reformation. Perhaps the deliverance of England from papal power by wars on the Continents and by the defeat of the Armada, may be nearer to the historical meaning. In the final canto, with the betrothal of St. George and Una, we have the final and indissoluble union of England with the true Christian faith of the Reformed Church.

It is not until this betrothal, that the veiled beauty of Una's face is revealed to her lover. . . . The messenger is Archimago, who always in Spenser is the agent of papal intrigue, and the letter, with all the boldness of a bull from the Vatican, represents the last overtures of Rome seeking to win England back to the old false faith.

This remarkable allegory of the Defender of the Faith runs without a single break through every incident of the legend of the Red Cross Knight. It excludes not one of the accepted interpretations of allegory in any part of the book, for it is Spenser's custom to give a number of significations to the same incidents and characters. In history we can still catch glimpses of the interest if not enthusiasm with which the great addition to the royal title was generally received. England has had something like it in recent days; but if the virtual self-assumption of the title of Empress of India gave matter for congratulation, how much deeper the significance of the title, Defender of the Faith, conferred by what England then believed to be the infallible authority of heaven. England's right to this title after her complete change of face is to this day hotly discussed and denied

by Roman Catholics, and history gives us some understanding of contemporary opinion on the question. It would be strange indeed if so enthusiastic a Protestant as Spenser took no notice of it. Plainly he has given it unusual attention, and in philosophical allegory he has given its true interpretation, showing that the virgin queen could wear with increased confidence a divinely given title. He intimates that, independent of papal decree, the title belongs in a peculiar sense to the sovereigns of England from the earliest times, and later researches have established the antiquity of the title. And to the Queen as "Defender of the Faith" he dedicates his poem.

EDITOR. Whitney's paper must be the starting point for any sound interpretation of the historical allegory, identifying as it does the episodes of Book One with the progress of the reformation in England. The interpretation suffers, however, by confining too many of the cantos to the events of Henry's reign. Orgoglio is probably Philip of Spain, and not one aspect of Henry's character, and if this adjustment be made the accompanying episodes will be thrown into proper historical perspective.

PHILO M. BUCK, JR. ("On the Political Allegory in the *Faerie Qucene*," pp. 2-11; abstracted by the Editor). The Red Crosse Knight is the spirit of the English people. Una is true religion. Arthur is the Earl of Leicester. In Holinshed's description of the welcome tendered Leicester by the Dutch in 1586 occurs this passage: "Over the entrance of the court gate was placed aloft upon a scaffold, as it had been in a cloud or skie, Arthur of Britaine, whom they compared to the Earl."

St. George, England, sets out for the delivery of Una, the true faith. Almost immediately comes up the storm in the church, and England is led into the Wandering Wood and to Error's Den. The books and papers vomited up by Error refer to the pamphlet publications in the latter years of Henry's reign. The deceiving of the Red Crosse Knight by Archimago refers to Henry's essential allegiance to the Catholic doctrine and ritual, especially in his later years, Archimago representing Cardinal Pole or Bishop Gardiner.

Sansfoy suggests France which for a time was under the faithless Henry II, who sought an alliance with Queen Mary, Duessa. Sansloy may be the Duke of Alba. Duessa calls herself Fidessa, just as Mary prided herself on her fidelity to the Catholic Church. The defeat of Sansfoy may be regarded as the diplomatic check which the French received when Mary became Queen and married Philip. Fradubio and Fraelissa are a covert allusion to the pathetic fate of Lord Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey.

With Canto Three Una also suggests Elizabeth, who, during Mary's reign, was protected by the common people as Una by the lion. The slaying of Kirkrapine is an obvious allusion to the abolishment of the monasteries. As the subtle Archimago, disguised as the Red Crosse Knight, deceived Una, so Elizabeth was the centre of intrigue. Thus she was courted by Lord Thomas Seymour, and Catholic spies surrounded her.

True Religion had a hard time of it after England and Mary were united. It found itself protected only by the people of England, and was safe only in the wilderness. It suffered from Blind Devotion and the Monastic System (which Mary sought to re-establish). It was tempted by the preaching of Gardiner and

Pole; and finally, in the Netherlands especially, it was cruelly oppressed by the Duke of Alva (Sans Loy), the man who respected no laws in his treatment of Dutch nobles and burghers.

The House of Pride is obviously the Roman Church, *Lucifera* being the Scarlet Woman, and the six wizards perhaps the College of Cardinals. Mary brought England back into the Catholic fold but in spirit the country held aloof from the close alliance of England, Spain and the Pope, as does the Red Crosse Knight from the household of Pride.

Just as *Lucifera* and her court are banded together to take an airing, so about 1556, England under Mary, Spain and the Netherlands under Philip and his viceroy Alva, France under the Guises, and Austria under Maximilian were banded together to extirpate heresy.

Sansjoy represents Philip of Spain; Duessa's secret alliance with him, his imminent defeat at the hands of the Red Crosse Knight, and Duessa's begging his life from Night, their common grandparent, picture respectively the marriage of Mary and Philip, who were cousins, the antagonism of England, and the elimination of Philip's direct control of English politics. In Canto Five Spenser had in mind the unfortunate position of a half-protestant England united to a queen whose love of Rome and Spain was greater than her love of country, and finally England's resolute turning away from Spanish and Catholic intrigue and insistence on political and religious freedom.

As Sansloy is identified with the Duke of Alva, the satyrs of Canto Six were perhaps the Beggars of the Sea, who defied the force of Alva, and Satyrane perhaps the Prince of Orange, who for a long time fought Alva and who gave aid to Elizabeth in conflict with Spain.

The capture and incarceration of the Red Crosse Knight by Orgoglio alludes to the capture of Calais in 1558, by Francis, Duke of Guise, the rôle of Duessa suddenly shifting to that of Mary Queen of Scots.

Canto seven initiates the reign of Elizabeth. A champion now appears in the person of Leicester (Arthur), and the task of freeing England from foreign domination is begun. According to Spenser, the reuniting of England and True Religion was owing to the faithfulness and might of the Earl of Leicester. A French fleet and force under D'Oysel sent into Scotland to prepare that country for a war on England, to enforce the claim of Mary Stuart to the English crown, was defeated at Leith by Lord Grey, a close relative of Leicester, in 1560, and England was saved. The beauty of Duessa is stripped from her, and her native hue is shown. The claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the throne of England are shown to be no more than an idle terror. All that now remains is to strengthen England and to establish the true church. This is done in the cantos that follow.

First England's despair of ever being able to make her way unaided through the perils that surrounded her is admirably portrayed in the adventures of the Red-Cross Knight and Despair, and of Terwin and Trevisan, the latter of whom has already fallen victim to Despair's alluring logic. Terwin and Trevisan may well represent some continental states who had found the Catholic oppression too strong. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the power of the Protestants was at its lowest ebb, and state after state was apparently succumbing to the attacks of the revived Catholic vigor. This was especially true in France and Saxony. Una,

religion, however, saved the Red-Cross knight, and he was taken to the House of Holiness to recuperate, and is sent forth to fight the battle of the faith against the great dragon.

The dragon is slain; Una and St. George, as he is now called, are united. As he is about to be married to Una, the false Duessa sends Archimago with a letter claiming that she has a prior claim on his hand. This is probably the allegory of the claim of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the throne of England. But Archimago is uncased and all ends happily.

EDITOR. This interpretation rather obviously goes astray through attempting to give an international interpretation to the characters and episodes, and the reasoning is loose. To identify Sansjoy with Philip of Spain, Sansfoy with Henry II of France, Orgoglio with Francis, Duke of Guise, and Sansloy with the Duke of Alva is to raise unanswerable questions. Thus, what corresponds historically to the death of Sansfoy or to the death of Orgoglio? Again it is only by a most severe straining of the point that Leicester is identified with the Arthur of Book One. In general Professor Buck's interpretation does not permit a close application of the allegory.

LILIAN WINSTANLEY (Introduction to the *Faerie Queene*, Book I; abstracted by the editor). The historical meaning has been concealed by a too early identification of Duessa with Mary Queen of Scots. As a matter of fact, this Mary does not enter the allegory until the last canto, where Duessa sends a messenger to declare that the Red Cross Knight is betrothed to her. In the other cantos Duessa stands for Mary Tudor. Note that the poet dwells upon the physical repulsiveness of Duessa, and her love of jewelry and rich attire. Moreover, Mary Tudor, in the language of Duessa, had been betrothed in the first flower of her freshest age unto the heir of a most worthy King. Again, like Duessa she laid stress upon her virginity.

The chief crisis of the book, the imprisonment of the Red Cross Knight in the dungeons of Orgoglio, therefore refers to the Spanish marriage. The account of the Red Cross Knight before his dreadful foe exactly resembles the demoralized condition of England at the end of Edward's reign. Orgoglio is an excellent type for Philip II: his huge stature suggests the power of Spain, and his name typifies the Spanish pride. Duessa, like Mary Tudor, does not need any wooing, but eagerly claims the love of the giant. The monstrous beast, "all embrewd in blood," stands for the Marian persecutions, and the whole description of Orgoglio's castle is an account of persecuted England. If the strange watchman, Ignaro, refers to any one, it is probably Bonner, the presiding genius of the persecution, and a man rough and uncouth in manner.

Una's conduct upon hearing the news of her Knight's evil plight suggests the conduct of Elizabeth when ordered to the tower before Philip's arrival.

Prince Arthur, who fights with Orgoglio, represents Leicester. The Dudley family conspired against Mary, and Robert Dudley was attainted and condemned to death; he was not executed but was imprisoned until the accession of Elizabeth. The terrific blow which beats Arthur to the earth is probably a reference to his attainder and sentence.

Lucifera, characterized by her pride, love of jewelry, ceremony and display,

is another type of Mary Tudor. Her proud, though unwarranted boast of parentage, her assumption of a Kingdom to which she had no claim, and her governance by policy rather than law, all suggest Mary.

If the Duessa of the first book is to be interpreted as Mary Tudor it is not difficult to find the identity of Archimago. In his ethical aspect he is plainly an embodiment of Hypocrisy; as regards his human identity we have, to guide us, that he is evidently an ecclesiastic of the Church of Rome, that he works "hand in glove" with Duessa throughout the book and is always on her side. He is extraordinarily cunning, subtle and ruthless; he is the bitterest and most ingenious of all the enemies of Una; furthermore he must be an Englishman because he disguises himself for a time in the arms of the Redcrosse Knight (i. e. he poses for a while as belonging to the Reformed Church). This deception brings upon him overthrow from Sans Loy (Lawlessness) and he almost perishes, but revives and is once more the bitter and skilful enemy of Una.

There is only one man who really fulfils these conditions, and that is Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester. . . . Gardiner always was on the side of Catharine of Aragon and of Mary, and Mary trusted him more than any other man. He did for a time accept Henry's Reformation and remained on the bench of bishops; he was thus enabled to pass the Six Articles Bill and re-enact the persecution laws (i. e. he assumes the armour of the Red-crosse Knight for the purpose of working against him); owing to his Catholic intrigues he was imprisoned in the reign of Edward VI.

The means Archimago employs to separate Una from the Redcrosse Knight are probably an allusion to the story of the unhappy Anne Boleyn. It must be remembered that in Spenser's day the mother of Elizabeth was regarded as having been practically a Protestant martyr. Among the most notorious and embittered of Anne Boleyn's enemies was Stephen Gardiner, and it was only natural that Spenser should represent him as having by his devices brought about her destruction. Anne Boleyn was accused of having been shameless and forward with Henry himself, of having lived in immoral relations with him before their marriage; and, when the charge of adultery was brought against her, it was said that she had been "taken" with Mark Smeton exactly as Una is said to have been taken.

The curious incident of Abessa looks like a symbolic treatment of the story of the Nun of Kent, and the name itself may be derived from her own statement that Henry offered to make her an abbess.

Kirkrapine refers, as generally agreed, to the dissolution of the monasteries, and the lion who kills him, to Henry VIII.

Fradubio and Fraclissa probably refer to Cranmer and his German wife. Fradubio is a good name for this vacillating prelate, and Fraclissa changed into a tree, "enclosed in wooden wals full faste," easily suggests the wife whom Cranmer, to avoid conformity to the requirement of celibacy, was reputed to carry around in a chest. It was Cranmer who, in his position as Archbishop, annulled Catharine's marriage, thus making Mary illegitimate and cutting her off from her due place in the succession; this might well be represented as seeing Duessa in her true form.

At every point Sir Thomas More fits the character of Sansfoy, and it would be

natural for Spenser to call him "Sansfoy" since he made himself exceedingly conspicuous as a Catholic champion. The description of Sansfoy's death suggests execution by beheading. It should also be remembered that, of all Henry's executions, this was the one that caused the widest dismay; More's character stood so high, and his reputation was so great, that his death sent a thrill of horror through the whole of Europe; Henry was often reproached with it as with the greatest of his crimes; he was repeatedly threatened with vengeance on this account, and it was considered as a special aggravation of the circumstances that More's body was not allowed burial but that his head as the head of a traitor was exposed upon the Tower.

With regard to the next champion—Sansjoy—we find that he also is closely associated with Duessa. Here again the circumstances of the allegory seem to point clearly to one man: Reginald Pole. He was one of the chief living representatives of the Plantagenet blood and was formidable and powerful because of his family connections. The name "Sansjoy" corresponds to his ascetic and gloomy temperament; he fasted often, was a rigid celibate and so stern, uncompromising, and fanatical that even Gardiner feared his influence and dreaded his recall. He assailed Henry in the most bitter and ferocious manner in his book *On the Unity of the Church* and held him up to the execration of all Europe. He made himself what he considered the missionary of a holy war against the infidel king. He threatened Henry with the judgment of heaven for his many crimes and especially for the execution of More. "Thomas More, the wisest, the most virtuous of living men, was slain for silence."

"How will you be cast out among the curses of mankind. When you die you shall have no lawful burial and what will happen to your soul I forbear to say." We may compare this with the speech of Sansjoy in Spenser:

Goe caytive Elfe, him quickly overtake,
And soone redeeme from his long wandring woe;
Goe guiltie ghost, to him my message make,
That I his shield have quit from dying foe.

Reginald Pole was, of course, one of the staunchest champions and defenders of Mary; he had also been suggested as a husband for her; she herself seems to have been willing at one time to contemplate the marriage, but Pole preferred his ecclesiastical career.

Henry was so greatly infuriated against Pole that he got an act of attainder passed and demanded his extradition, though unsuccessfully, both from Charles V and from the king of France. This is probably what Spenser refers to when he speaks of the Redcrosse Knight as wounding Sansjoy and of Sansjoy being carried off in a dark cloud by Duessa so that the Redcrosse Knight looks around for him in vain.

Pole spent a great many years of exile in different parts of Europe, but he was protected from Henry's wrath by the Pope and the influence of Catharine and Mary exerted through Charles V on his behalf. Duessa's efforts to find a cure for the wound of Sansjoy may well refer to Mary's attempts to get Pole's attainder reversed.

The figure of Night in all likelihood symbolizes the Countess of Salisbury. Night laments the tragedies of her family and the successes of the new dynasty

which have overthrown them, but, as the Countess of Salisbury actually did, she submits with dignity to the inevitable.

A more difficult character to interpret is that of Sansloy. He is one of those who are in closest league with Duessa, he belongs to the same great family as Sansfoy; he seizes upon Una, attempts to ravish and abduct her; she is saved from him by the satyrs, but he attempts again and is beaten off by Sir Satyrane; this second endeavour, however, nearly delivers Una into the power of Archimage; she flees in terror from the sight of the combat and Archimage pursues her.

The most salient fact in Sansloy's history is thus his attempt to abduct Una and the fact that, by so doing, he nearly betrays her into the power of Archimage.

It is probable that the reference is to Edward Courtenay.

Edward Courtenay was of the blood royal (i. e. Plantagenet) and had been a prisoner in the Tower for nearly fifteen years when Mary came to the throne. He was handsome and attractive, but he had no sooner been released from the Tower than he gave himself up to a life of the wildest dissipation. The queen treated him with marked favour but he soon found that he had no chance of winning her hand. Then he turned to Elizabeth (*DNB*).

Sir Thomas Wyatt and others planned a rising against the Spanish marriage: the Catholic party were to be mastered, Courtenay was to marry Elizabeth, and she should be set upon the throne.

There could be no doubt as to the existence of this dangerous plot and, after the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, Gardiner did his utmost to implicate Elizabeth, but there was no evidence against her; never in her life had she been in greater danger, and Gardiner would certainly have succeeded in putting her to death but for the devotion of the people, who looked to her as their chief hope and would not permit her to perish without substantial evidence.

We may now compare with Spenser. The name "Sansloy" is, in itself, appropriate to Courtenay because of his exceedingly dissolute and licentious life, and because of the accusations of untrustworthiness repeatedly brought against him even by his fellow-conspirators. He was of the Plantagenet line and hence the appropriateness of his great descent. Spenser represents his relations to Una as almost exactly those of Courtenay to Elizabeth; he seeks her love; he tries at first to gain his end by wooing but, when wooing does not prosper, attempts violence.

Una is delivered from him by the satyrs; he attempts later on to seize her, but is prevented by Sir Satyrane, who engages him in combat and tells him that he loves her at his peril.

Una takes to flight, which seems to refer to Elizabeth's efforts to extricate herself from all complicity with either Courtenay's plot or Wyatt's rebellion:

the whiles the royall mayd
Fled farre away, of that proud Paynim sore afrayd.
But that false pilgrim . . .
Being in deed old Archimage, did stay
In secret shadow, all this to behold,
And much rejoyced in their bloudy fray:
But when he saw the damsell passe away
He left his stond, and her pursewd apace,
In hope to bring her to her last decay.

This, being interpreted, in all probability means that Gardiner watches with joy the quarrels between the conspirators (Courtenay seems to have been continually at odds with the rest), but, when he perceives Elizabeth avoiding the whole dangerous complication, he, none the less, pursues her, determined to obtain evidence which may destroy her, in which effort, as has been said, he very nearly succeeded.

It is noticeable that this happens immediately before the *Orgoglio* canto, which is, historically, as it should be, since the Courtenay-Wyatt conspiracy was essentially a plot against the Spanish marriage. Never had Elizabeth's remorseless enemy—Gardiner—so nearly attained a fatal hold upon her.

Some time previous to this, however, Sansloy is represented as slaying Una's Lion. If the Lion stands for Henry VIII this slaying cannot be interpreted in any literal sense, for Henry VIII was not killed, but it might very easily refer to the serious attack upon him made by the Exeter conspiracy, perhaps of all the perils of his reign the most dangerous. Courtenay's whole family were concerned in this; his father was executed because of it, and he himself, though only a boy at the time, was imprisoned for fifteen years. Spenser represents Sansloy as being on particularly good terms with Archimage, and, as a matter of fact, Courtenay and Gardiner were very friendly; it seems to have been a fact that only Gardiner's affection for Courtenay preserved the latter from death.

A more difficult incident is that in which Sansloy overthrows Archimage when the latter is disguised as the Redcrosse Knight. It may possibly refer to the fact that the Exeter conspiracy greatly strengthened the position of Cromwell, Gardiner's chief opponent, and correspondingly injured him, but this is certainly doubtful. Possibly it only refers to Gardiner's own lawless behaviour which procured him imprisonment.

The character of Sir Satyrane is usually interpreted as referring to Sir John Perrot, mainly because of the curious circumstances Spenser records concerning his birth. We may quote the following account of Sir John Perrot: "Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland under Elizabeth, was commonly reputed to be the son of Henry VIII, whom he resembled in appearance, and Mary Berkley, afterwards the wife of Sir Thomas Perrot. He united great physical strength to a violent and arbitrary disposition; he was much addicted to brawling. He was created a knight by Edward VI. He had great skill in knightly exercises, which secured him a place in the train of the Marquis of Northampton when the latter went to France in June 1551 to negotiate a marriage between Edward VI and Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Henry II.

"He fully maintained the reputation for gallantry he had acquired at home and by his bravery in the chase so fascinated the French king that he offered him considerable inducements to enter his service" (*ibid.*).

This closely resembles Spenser's portrait of Sir Satyrane. We have the irregular birth, the knighthood, the great gallantry, the somewhat rough manners, the exceeding skill in the chase. Sir Satyrane is represented as having been educated by his satyr-father, and Henry VIII actually did take Sir John Perrot under his patronage. . . .

It remains to be asked if we can identify the part he plays before the Spanish marriage. Sir John Perrot was an exceedingly zealous Protestant; he fell into trouble with Mary because he was accused of sheltering heretics in his house in Wales and was on that account committed to the Fleet Prison.

He was a strong partisan of Elizabeth and seems to have been involved in the Wyatt rising. We may interpret Spenser's allegory as referring mainly to his zeal in the Protestant cause; the satyrs are plainly meant for the common people among whom Protestantism took refuge when it was driven out from high places; Sir Satyrane is one of them and, like them, a defender of the Truth and a partisan of Elizabeth.

The allegory of Giant Despair is also not difficult to interpret. This is a very graphic rendering of what actually happened after Elizabeth's accession: to many even of her best friends the position seemed wellnigh desperate. In exactly the same way Spenser represents the courage and character of Una—that and that alone—saving England or the Redcrosse Knight from destruction.

The allegory of the House of Holiness of course symbolizes the restoration of Protestantism.

In the last canto when the Redcrosse Knight and Una are about to be wedded a messenger appears with a letter, claiming the Redcrosse Knight as betrothed to Duessa. This can only refer to Mary Stuart, her claim to the crown and the renewed attempt to assert Catholic supremacy.

EDITOR. That Duessa stands in part for both Mary Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots is altogether probable, though the character must stand also for the Falsehood of Roman Catholicism in general. The character is the opposite of Una, who may conceivably suggest Elizabeth in one or two episodes, but who is clearly the Truth of the Reformed Church. The partial identification of Orgoglio with Philip of Spain is equally probable and localizes the episodes in the seventh and eighth cantos. The allegory of Giant Despair is rather obviously the depression experienced after Elizabeth's accession, and the allegory of the House of Holiness, the restoration of Protestantism. The killing of Kirkrapine is generally recognized as the dissolution of the monasteries, and Abessa, if not actually suggested by the Nun of Kent, is at least consistent with the character. Again there is much to be said for identifying Sansfoy as Sir Thomas More and Sansjoy as Cardinal Pole, and these identifications involve no internal difficulties.

Much less convincing are the identifications of Cranmer as Fradubio, Archimago as Gardiner; the Lion as Henry VIII; Sansloy as Edward Courtenay; Sir Satyrane as Sir John Perrot; and Arthur as Leicester in this initial book. The sixteenth century Protestants regarded Cranmer as a great hero of the faith and champion of the reformed religion, and they would have regarded Fradubio as an insulting misinterpretation of the great prelate's character. The proposed identification of the other characters can only be sustained by the utmost straining of the allegory, as when the death of the Lion at the hands of Sansloy is referred to the serious attack made upon Henry VIII by the Exeter conspiracy. As a matter of fact Henry of course put down the conspiracy, and the Lion should ultimately have killed Sansloy. To be consistent Courtenay should have killed Henry VIII or destroyed his regal power; wounded Gardiner, at least figuratively; taken Queen Elizabeth (Una) captive; have been deprived of her by the common people; and have come into conflict with Sir John Perrot and been worsted by him. In general it may be said that Miss Winstanley made the mistake of following modern historians rather than finding out how the Elizabethans themselves interpreted Tudor history.

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD (Abstracted and revised from *The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the First Book of the Faerie Queene*). The Red Cross Knight, according to Spenser's own testimony, is St. George, which is England as a militant spiritual force; and as the sovereign, the Defender of the Faith, was the concrete embodiment of this force, the Red Cross Knight and Henry VIII are to some extent identical. Una is the truth as ultimately defined in the doctrines and practices of the national English church. She is veiled at the beginning of the poem because the full truth has not yet been revealed. The dragon which keeps the parents of Una imprisoned is obviously Antichrist, for the theologians of all the centuries so interpret the great dragon of the Book of Revelation, the reformed clergy completing the equation to read: the dragon: Antichrist: the Church of Rome.

The parents of Una may represent the Old and New Testaments, or classical and Christian philosophy, or preferably that truth of nature and that revealed truth which Melancthon and Hooker made the foundation stones of their whole Christian philosophy.

In his letter to Raleigh, Spenser identifies Prince Arthur with "Magnificence," having in mind the Aristotelian conception of this virtue—greatness in action, character and power, and associating these high qualities with the traditional Arthur of romance. In its spiritual aspect the character symbolizes Heavenly Grace. When human agencies failed and the very existence of the reformation was in jeopardy, that divine grace which had chosen England to be the home of true religion, and the English to be its champions, intervened.

The first encounter of the Red Cross Knight, the struggle against Error, the monster, half serpent and half woman, surrounded by her filthy spawn, is interpreted by Whitney as Henry's defence of the Church against Lutheranism, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, on the ground that "to Henry VIII, as to nearly all Englishmen, the true faith seemed at first to be that which every Christian sought in the Church of Rome." Such an interpretation, however, is completely at variance with the appraisal of this royal treatise consistently made by Elizabethan churchmen, for they regarded it as a distinct check to the progress of truth. The episode is more likely to refer to the advance of the new learning, which received hearty encouragement from the young sovereign, and which laid the foundation for the new rationalism in religious thought.

It is a question if the character of Archimago can be convincingly assigned to any historical person. Did not Spenser need, for the ready flow of his story, a character who would stand for the cunning, the treachery, and the ruthlessness of the Roman Catholic party.

The cunning device whereby Una is made to appear untrue to her knight, lying in the embrace of a fair young squire, may plausibly refer, as Miss Winstanley suggests, to the adulterous charges which were brought against Anne Boleyn by her enemies. Just as Duessa stands for the falsehood of Roman Catholicism, but is also to be identified with Mary Tudor and then with Mary Queen of Scots, so Spenser may for the moment identify Una with Anne Boleyn, the mother of his Queen. Incongruous as this may seem to us, we must remember that the Elizabethan churchmen regarded Anne Boleyn as a royal champion of Protestantism and virtually a martyr. (Cf. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* 2. 309.)

For the two unfortunate lovers, Fradubio and Fraelissa, whom Duessa cruelly imprisoned in a tree, no satisfactory counterpart has yet been suggested.

The lion who becomes the attendant of the deserted Una, kills Kirkrapine, and is ultimately slain by Sansloy, is identified by most editors, following the suggestion of Upton, with Henry VIII. This has nothing to support it other than the tradition that the lion is usually an heroic and chivalrous beast, often faithful unto death, which *serves* a superior from pure gratitude or loyalty, and further that the lion on the shield furnishes the identification of certain knights.

As the Abessa-Corceca-Kirkrapine episode is admitted by all to refer to the destruction of the monasteries, it seems only logical to interpret the lion as Thomas Cromwell, the agent of the king in the whole program of suppression. In the eyes of the sixteenth-century Churchman, Cromwell figured as a spiritual leader and martyr, the stalwart champion of reform, the enemy of the papacy, the good friend of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, their fellow worker in establishing the Church upon a sound body of doctrine.

Foxe, who both expressed and molded the sentiment of Elizabethan Churchmen, credits Cromwell with the suppression of the abbeys and monasteries. (Cf. *Actes and Monuments* 2. 421-423; cf. also Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ed. of 1824, 1. 1. 534, 561, et al.)

Several explanations suggest themselves for the choice of the lion as the symbol of this grim minister. Reference may be had to the hardy origin of Cromwell as a smith's son; or the savageness of the beast may be designed to suggest the cruel dispatch with which Cromwell executed his reform; or, more likely yet, the lion is chosen because the beast figures both on the arms and on the crest of Cromwell, a common method of identification in the allegory. (Cf. Doyle, *Official Baonage of England* 1. 690.)

By the thirsty land drinking up the blood of Kirkrapine obviously is meant the dissemination of the monastic wealth, which Foxe justifies on the ground that only by this means could possible future restoration of the monasteries be forestalled (*Actes and Monuments* 2. 423).

There is much to support Miss Winstanley's suggestion that the introduction of Abessa, "a country girl of extreme ignorance and stupidity," the daughter of Blind Devotion (Corceca), may have been inspired by the strange career of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent. The ecclesiastical memorials of the period are full of the stir which she made, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that from 1528 to 1532 she was the most talked of champion of the old religion. Many books were devoted to her revelations and miracles, she was a frequent visitor at the monastic houses, to the great edification of the inmates, and for a time at least, even Sir Thomas More believed in her and addressed her as "His right dearly beloved sister in our Lord God" (Cf. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* 1. 1. 277.) Moreover Cromwell was credited with her detection, for in his efforts to regain the king's confidence More specifically commended Cromwell for "bringing to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby other wretches might take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God" (*ibid.* 1. 1. 276). The stir which she made certainly hastened the dissolution of the monasteries, and in the Protestant mind she was invariably associated therewith.

If the lion is Cromwell, who is Sansloy? I think we find the answer again in Foxe. "The chief and principal Enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, etc." (*Actes and Monuments* 1. 1. 431-432). Again:

As the Lord of his goodness had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a Friend and Patron to the Gospel, so on the contrary side Satan (which is Adversary and Enemy to all good things) had his Organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtil means to impeach and put back the same (*ibid.* 2. 369).

In like vein Hall in his *Chronicle* (p. 838) and Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1. 1. 561) attribute the overthrow of Cromwell to the antagonism of Gardiner, and it was clearly the prevailing belief of the sixteenth-century Churchmen that Cromwell and Gardiner were pitted against each other as the leaders respectively of the English Church party and of the Romanists, and that Cromwell's fall was due to his adversaries' cunning. (Cf. the play, *The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, edited by T. E. Jacob, London, 1889, first printed in 1602, in which this struggle is presented in dramatic form. In this play the character of Cromwell is extravagantly idealized.) If then the lion symbolizes Cromwell, Sansloy symbolizes Gardiner.

Just as Una fell into the hands of Sansloy when the lion was slain, so, in the defeat of Cromwell, Gardiner gained control of the ecclesiastical policy, laid rude hands upon the Church, and tried to recover it for Romanism. The Injunctions of 1539--injunctions against English translations of the Bible, against discussion of the sacraments, and in support of holy bread and water and other rites--the martyrdom of Lambert, and the famous Six Articles were the introductory steps in this activity. (Cf. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* 2. 370, for the "crafty fetches" of "this wily Winchester.")

Sansfoy, the older brother of Sansloy, who was killed by the Red Cross Knight, would seem to be either More or Wolsey. The huge size of Sansfoy, and his indifference to God or man, suit well with Wolsey, and his o'er-weening pride and hope to win Duessa's heart as he attacks the Red Cross Knight lend themselves to the popular notion of Wolsey and his ambitions to secure the Papal throne. Moreover, Protestants were not forgetful that Wolsey had written of Gardiner to the Pope, as the very "half of himself, than whom none was dearer to him" (*Ecclesiastical Memorials* 1. 1. 137).

On the other hand, as Miss Winstanley suggests, the violence of Sansfoy's death, his head being cleft, the lament of Duessa to Night, and the eagerness of Sansloy, Sansjoy, and Duessa to avenge his death seem to point to More. Certainly the Catholic party was much more outraged by the execution of More than by the royal neglect and desertion of Wolsey. Moreover, the execution of More was the chiefest of the crimes for which Reginald Pole excoriated his royal cousin, and Sansjoy can hardly be other than this fearless and austere Cardinal. But either More or Wolsey was a sufficiently commanding figure to be introduced into the allegory. Again, the mysterious way in which Sansjoy is snatched away from his adversary, and the vain efforts of the Red Cross Knight to discover him, find a close counterpart in Pole's hurried departure from England at the summons of Rome, and the baffled efforts of the enfuried Henry to recover him.

The grand and gloomy figure of Night, lamenting her fallen children, and boldly proclaiming that Sansfoy's blood shall be avenged, may well symbolize Pole's

mother, the Countess of Salisbury, a woman who faced unflinchingly the royal threats.

Following the suggestion of Upton, editors have commonly identified Sir Satyrane as John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland under Elizabeth. This conjecture apparently rests on nothing more substantial than the fact that Perrot, like Satyrane, was illegitimate, being the son of Henry VIII, whom he resembled in appearance, and that he excelled in physical prowess. To be sure he was imprisoned by Mary on the ground of sheltering heretics in his house in Wales and was apparently involved in Wyatt's rebellion, but at the best he was an insignificant figure in reformation history. It seems highly improbable that Spenser would have given him a place in an allegory built on such broad lines, unless indeed the poet saw fit to honor him because of a friendship formed in Ireland.

If the allegory follows in general the sequence of history—and why should it not?—Sir Satyrane, as the protector of Una upon the death of the lion, should represent the man who became the recognized champion of Protestantism at the death of Cromwell. Moreover he should be a man sprung from the people—for of course the episode of the satyrs means that the spirit of true religion was fostered and harbored by the common folk, when its integrity was threatened in high places—a plain and honest man, physically energetic, and one who had earned distinction abroad.

According to Foxe, the man who assumed the reform leadership on Cromwell's death and upon whom fell at the death of the viceroy the mantle of Gardiner's hate was Cranmer. (Cf. *Actes and Monuments* 3. 538-540.)

As Foxe makes it so very clear that Cranmer succeeded Cromwell as the leader of the reform party, and that the Bishop of Winchester was the aggressive and malicious leader of the opponents, the presumption strongly favors assigning the character of Sir Satyrane to Cranmer.

Moreover, it could properly be said of Cranmer,

He had in armes abroad wonne muchell fame
And fild far landes with glorie of his might,

for he had been sent abroad in connection with the king's divorce, had boldly declared the English contention to the Pope, had waited in vain for an adversary qualified to dispute with him, and had thence alone sought the court of the emperor and won the assent of his council.

Again, it is interesting to observe that whereas Spenser describes Sir Satyrane as

Plaine, faithfull, true, and enemy of shame,

Foxe devotes several pages to showing how fully Cranmer measured up to all of the desiderata of a bishop. (Cf. *ibid.* 3. 538.)

Like Sir Satyrane, Cranmer was much given to physical activities, and the suggestion for the prowess of Sir Satyrane and for adapting the account of Atlante's training of Rogero to his youthful education (*Orl. Fur.* 7. 5. 7) may have been prompted by Cranmer's well-known fondness for sports and the careful training in athletics that he received from his father. (Cf. Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* 1. 2.)

The highly colored recital of Sir Satyrane's prowess and exploits is amply justified by the exigencies of the allegory. Like the hero of the canto, Cranmer

was a man of the people, and they understood him and regarded him with admiration and affection. (Cf. *Actes and Monuments* 3. 534-537; Arber, *An English Garner*, ed. 1895, 4. 160.)

Cranmer satisfies the character of Sir Satyrane in all the details save the illegitimate birth. But this may be a mere concession to the Satyr tradition. Certainly an allegory of the English reformation could hardly overlook so outstanding a figure as Archbishop Cranmer.

The imprisonment of the Red Cross Knight in the dungeons of Orgoglio must refer to the darkest hours of the reformation. This can hardly be other than the reign of Mary Tudor. If broadly speaking Orgoglio represents the ruthless power of Romanism, in the concrete, as generally agreed, he doubtless stands for Philip of Spain, who was the chiefest exponent of this power, and throughout this part of the allegory Duessa doubtless stands for Queen Mary. Just as Duessa surrendered the Red Cross Knight and her own body to Orgoglio, so Mary surrendered the religion of her nation and her own person to Philip.

It is of course manifestly absurd to interpret the final overthrow of the giant as the destruction of the Spanish Armada, in view of the fact that Spenser had outlined the first book before going to Ireland in 1580, and had doubtless finished the book long before 1588, but it would be chronologically acceptable to identify the death of Orgoglio with the collapse of Philip's influence in England.

The description of Orgoglio quite coincides with the character given to Philip and the Spanish nation by the English Protestants. Spenser pictures the giant as haughty, blustering, scornful of all other powers and knighthood, proud of his ancestry, the very earth groaning under him for dread and the sky seemingly fearful of his towering height. In a word, as his name signifies, he is Pride. So, to cite only a few of innumerable comments upon the Spaniards, Christopher Goodman, writing in 1554, speaks of "adulterous Philip" and says that the English nation "hath a great detestation against the Spaniard, knowing their lofty, proud domineering tempers, and vicious inclinations" (*Ecclesiastical Memorials* 3. 1. 197), and Knox, writing to Gardiner, says that the Spanish nation "surmounteth all others in pride and whoredom" (*ibid.* 3. 1. 198). Likewise Jewel, writing to Bullinger on May 22, 1559, complains: "What is most vexatious, we have to struggle with what has been left us by the Spaniards, that is, with the foulest vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness."

Duessa's entreaty of Orgoglio to accept the knight as his bonds slave and her as his mistress expresses to a nicety Mary's excessive infatuation for Philip and her anxiety to please him even at the expense of English self respect and independence. The triple crown which Orgoglio placed upon the head of Duessa and the royal majesty with which he endows her are especially apposite, since marriage with the Prince of Spain nominally enlarged the sovereignty of Mary. In the high sounding language of the proclamation which attended the marriage: "Philip and Mary by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain and Sicil, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Millaine, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flaunders and Tyrol" (*Actes and Monuments* 3. 84).

The imagery with which Duessa is depicted is borrowed from the woman of the Apocalypse, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth. As the

writer of the Apocalypse interprets this woman as Rome, "that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth," and as the reform writers make fullest use of this, Spenser probably made the character of Duessa do two-fold service, Mary being as it were the embodiment of Rome. Similarly the purple and gold in which Duessa is arrayed are equally apposite to the gorgeous costumes which Mary prepared to catch the favor of Philip, and to the rich deckings of the Church of Rome. (Cf. *The Select Works of Bishop Bale*, pp. 249-610, Parker Society.)

The seven-headed beast, adapted from the Apocalyptic beast of the sea, (Revelation 13 and 17), is invariably interpreted as Antichrist, the bestial body of Satan, (Cf. *Works of Bishop Ridley* 53, 415-418, Parker Society; *Bale*, p. 421) sometimes identified with the Pope, as the peculiar embodiment of the spirit of Antichrist, (*Bale*, p. 426) but more often with the whole company of Papists as "one universal Antichrist" (*ibid.* p. 496). The seven heads symbolize the Roman Catholic countries or the divisions of the Empire, and the cleaving of one of these heads by Prince Arthur the end of Roman Catholicism in England. The description of the tail of the beast—able to reach to the house of the heavenly gods, and, with extorted power and borrowed strength, to take the ever-burning lamps and throw them to the ground—is adapted from the description of the Apocalyptic dragon, whose "tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth." (Revelation 12. 4.) St. John therein alludes to Satan's successful tempting of certain of the angels, and Spenser probably had in mind those men who should have been illustrious in the Church, but whom Rome robbed of their heritage by her false teachings and made children of darkness. Such is the application given to the passage by Bale (p. 408) and Sandys (*Sermons*, pp. 361-362, Parker Society.) The bloody ravages of the beast of course refer to the Marian persecutions.

The magic cup of Duessa is suggested by the "cup full of abominations" (Revelation 17. 4) which the harlot of the Apocalypse holds in her hand. As the reform writers invariably applied this cup of abominations to Mary's restoration of the Mass and the whole Roman Catholic regime, there can be small question that the magic cup of Duessa, potent for death and despair, antithetical to the diamond box of life-giving liquor, stands for the Mass and its deadening influence when forced by Mary upon the Church. (Cf. Ridley, *Works*, pp. 53-55; Bale, *Works*, p. 497.) The beast crushing the life out of the squire would then mean Mary's effort to wipe out Protestantism.

For the woman, the beast, and the dragon of the Apocalypse, Spenser has substituted the woman, the beast, and Orgoglio. The reason therefor is apparent, for, with a good eye to a climax, the poet wished to reserve the dragon for the concluding struggle of the book.

Arthur's squire I take to be, as generally agreed, the body of reform clergy, and the horn to be the Bible, against which the false teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church cannot stand.

It is perhaps idle to attempt to relate the details of Prince Arthur's struggle with the Giant to specific historical episodes, but certainly Spenser must have had in the background of his mind the persistent efforts of Philip to be crowned King of England, ably abetted by Mary, his demands for the subservience of England to the Spanish military program, and his final effort to possess England through

the impudent suggestion of marriage with the newly crowned Elizabeth. (For the contemporary Protestant attitude see *Zurich Letters* 3. 174, 179, and for the Elizabethan interpretation of Philip's motives, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* 3. 1. 201.)

The diamond box, inclosing the drops of pure liquor able to heal any wound, which Prince Arthur gives to St. George in parting, I take to be the wine of the Communion service, which, through heavenly grace, was given to the English Church; and the book which the Red Cross Knight gives in return, the Book of Common Prayer, the gift of the English Church, in which testament of Christ, the holy sacrament, is "writ with golden letters rich and brave"—"a worke of wondrous grace, and hable soules to save." In this exchange is literal reference, I think, to the permanent establishment of Communion in two kinds and the final adoption of the Book of Common Prayer in 1559.

The abrupt vanishing of the giant's body after the head was cut off signifies, I should think, the abrupt end of Catholic prestige in England. By Duessa's casting her golden cup upon the ground and throwing her miter aside may be meant the refusal of Mary's bishops to accept the new order, which dissension followed close upon the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy; and by the stripping of Duessa of her gaudy clothes, the simplification of ecclesiastical robes. The rich interior of Orgoglio's castle refers to the rich furnishings and relics of the Churches, and the blood upon the floors to the blood of martyrs, or of babes who had been sacrificed to the lust of monastic fathers and mothers. (On children's skulls found in monasteries, see Pilkington, *Works*, p. 687, Parker Society.)

The adventure of St. George in the cave of Despair probably finds its counterpart in the disheartening prospect, both in matters of Church and State, which confronted England upon the accession of Elizabeth. But just as Una snatches the knife from the hand of the knight, so did Elizabeth give fresh heart to a despairing nation.

The education of the Red Cross Knight in the house of Holiness is, of course, a broad picture of the growth of the English Church in the knowledge and discipline of Christianity. If the environment smacks of the monastery, it is to be noted that such a religious establishment best serves the pictorial purposes of allegory and is in keeping with the tradition of the moral allegories, and if the discipline seems to suggest a reversion to the old Roman Catholic regime, it is yet to be observed that all of the virtues therein taught were stressed by Calvin and the other reform theologians.

In the final conflict of the Red Cross Knight with the dragon is depicted, I believe, the last great chapter in the conflict with Roman Catholicism—a chapter that centers upon the dramatic figure of Mary Queen of Scots. With its conclusion an inseparable barrier was erected between England and Rome, and England's ecclesiastical policy was permanently defined.

Hardly had the Act of Supremacy been passed, before the clouds began to gather to the north, and for eleven years Elizabeth was harassed by the ambitious intrigues of Mary who coveted the throne for herself and the Church of Rome.

To the advocates of the national Church these were years of gravest anxiety, for they recognized the tremendous significance of the outcome. The letters of the English reformers to their friends in Switzerland give the best evidence of the feelings of these contemporary Churchmen. Under the date of August 7, 1570, Jewel writes Bullinger:

Antichrist seems now to have ventured his last cast, and to have thrown the world into confusions by seditions, tumults, wars, fury, fire, and flame. He perceives that it is now all over with him and that destruction and death are impending over him and his party; so that his wretched object now is, not to perish ignobly or obscurely. Let the remembrance of them perish then with a noise (*Zurich Letters* 1. 227; cf. also Horn's letter to Bullinger, pp. 246-247).

As a young and fervent Churchman, Spenser must have felt keenly the anxieties of these crucial days, and must have shared in the popular feeling at the end of the struggle, that the final overthrow of Antichrist in England was divinely achieved. Certainly it is highly improbable that he would have left this important contemporary history out of his allegory of the English Church.

In the final canto is poetically expressed the union of England and true religion. The truth once veiled is now fully revealed. England has achieved her divine mission of discovering the truth and is henceforth to be its defender.

RAY HEFFNER ("Spenser's Allegory in Book I of the *Faerie Queene*," abstracted by the author). In the pageants presented to Elizabeth as she passed through London to her coronation, Elizabeth is identified with Pure Religion in precisely the manner of Spenser's Una. In the second pageant is a "Chylde representing her Majesties person, placed in a seat of Government, supported by certayne vertues, which suppressed their contrarie vyces under feet." The first of these virtues was Pure Religion, "which did tread upon Superstition and Ignorance." In the fourth was represented two mountains, one green and flourishing, the other withered and dead, contrasting the past and the hoped for future under Elizabeth. Out of a cave came Time leading his daughter Truth, "all cladde in whyte silke," with *Veritas* written on her breast and a Bible in English in her hand. A child explained the meaning with the following verses:

This olde man with sythe, olde Father Tyme they call,
And her his daughter Truth, which holdeth yonder boke
Whom he out of his rocke hath brought forth to us all
From whence for many yeres she durst not once outloke. . . .
Now since that Time again his daughter Truth hath brought,
We trust, O Worthy Quene, thou wilt this Truth embrace—

And at the conclusion of the verses, the Bible in English was presented to Elizabeth, who took it, kissed it, "and with both her handes held up the same, and so laid it upon her brest, with great thanks to the citie therefore." At the end of all the pageants, a child spoke these verses as a farewell:

For all men hope in thee, that all vertues shall reygne;
For all men hope that thou none error shall support;
For all men hope that thou wilt truth restore agayne,
And mend that is amisse to all good mennes comfort . . .
Farewell, O worthy Qucene, and as our hope is sure,
That Errours place thou wilt now Truth restore; . . .

(Nichols, *Progresses* 1. 57)

Tottel in his official account (1558-9) adds:

Whyle these words were in saying, and certain wishes therein repeted for maintenance of Trueth and *rooting out of Errour*, she now and then helde up her hands to heavenwarde, and willed the poeple to say amen.

When the childe had ended, she said, "Be ye well assured I will stande your good Queene."

Here is Spenser's Una (Truth) and a representation of Elizabeth in that character. It is to be remembered that Una's first achievement through her champion, the Redcrosse Knight, is the *rooting out of Error*. Elizabeth's connection with the character of Una is more clearly shown in the third pageant, in which eight beatitudes are applied to her. The verses in explanation make the following pointed references to her persecution under Mary:

Thou has been viii times blest, O Queene of worthy fame,
By mekenes of thy spirite, when care did thee besette,
By Mourning in thy griefe, by mildnes in thy blame,
By hunger and by thyrst, and justice couldst none gette.

(Nichols, p. 47)

Thus Truth, who for many years "durst not outlook from her cave," in the pageants has a double meaning—the reference is to Elizabeth as well as to the True Religion; but Truth, or True Religion, is thereby identified with Elizabeth. We see here the very essence of Spenser's allegorical method, the blending of moral, political, and religious allegory. We notice, too, that the method of the pageants is essentially that of Spenser in the praise of Elizabeth through her association with the virtues and her opponents with the vices.

We have in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, then, the celebration of such triumphs of Elizabeth as are promised to her in the pageantry on her coronation. Let us notice that the method in his poem is essentially that of these masques, the praise of Elizabeth through the virtues attributed to her, with the inclusion of their opposites (the vices) in their relation to her opponents.

The significance of these pageants was generally recognized. They signified that the English people looked to Elizabeth as a spiritual as well as a temporal leader. Her coming to the throne was, therefore, regarded as the establishment of the true religion. During Mary's reign Elizabeth was the chief hope of the Protestant party. This is seen not only in the great outbreak of popular enthusiasm on her accession to the throne, but also in many subsequent treatments. A good illustration of the use of these pageants is George Whetstone's *English Myrror*, published in 1586 when the Catholic menace was at its peak, and when, in all probability, Spenser was writing his *Faerie Queene*. The book is dedicated to Elizabeth, and gives an account of the coronation pageants. . . .

The historians all agree that Elizabeth's first care on coming to the throne was the restoring of the Protestant, or true, religion. In Camden's *Annals*, we find:

In the first beginning of her Raigne, she applyed her first care (howbeit with but few of her inwardest counsailors) to the restoring of the Protestant Religion (English translation printed by B. Fisher, London, 1630, p. 1). And in a marginal note, the translator, "R. N.," adds: "Her first care is for Religion."

Sir John Hayward in his *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (reprint, Camden Society, pp. 14-19) gives an account of the pageants and mentions her first care of the restoring of the Protestant religion. Holinshed (4. 158 ff.) attests the same fact.

Fulke Greville's account I will quote:

Againe, for the next object, looking backward upon her sister's raigne, she observes religion to have been changed; persecution, like an ill weed, suddenly grown up to the highest. . . .

This view brought forth in her a vow, like that of the holy kings in the Old Testament; viz.: that she would neither hope nor seek for rest in the mortall traffique of this world, till she had repaired the precipitate ruines of our Saviour's militant Church, through all her dominions, in the rest of the world, by her example. Upon which princely resolution, this She-David of our's ventured to undertake the great Goliath amongst the Philistines abroad, I mean Spain and the Pope; despiseth their multitudes, not of men, but of hosts; scornfully rejectes that holy Father's wind-blowne superstitions, and takes the—almost solitary—truth, for her, leading star. (Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by A. B. Grosart, *Fuller Worthies Lib.*, 1870, pp. 164-5.)

The Elizabethan attitude toward, and understanding of, the problem confronting the Queen at this time is illustrated in the following extract from Lady Diana Primrose's *A Chaine of Pearle* (1603):

The first Pearle—Religion.

The goodliest Pearle in faire Eliza's chaine
Is true Religion, which did cheifly gaine
A Royal lustre to the rest, and ti'de
The hearts of all to her when Mary di'de
And though she found the realme infected much
With Superstition, and abuses, such
As (in all humane judgement) could not be
Reformed without domesticke mutiny,
And great hostility from Spain and France,
Yet shee undaunted, bravely did advance
Christ's glorious ensigne, magre all the feares
Or dangers which appear'd; and for ten yeares
She swaid the scepter with a Ladies hand. . . .

Then follows a history of her religious difficulties—but

with a Lyon's heart
She bang'd the Pope, and tooke the Gospell's part.
(reprint in Nichols 3. 640-50)

It seems to me, in the light of the foregoing, that the answer to the question as to why Spenser chose religion as the subject for his first book of the *Faerie Queene* lies not in an examination of Aristotle's virtues, where it has usually been sought, but in such materials as I have presented here. Spenser says in many places that the subject of his poem is Elizabeth. It was only natural, therefore, that he should choose as a starting point her first problem—religion. Her solving of the first problem was, therefore, the first virtue. This was the attitude of all her other panegyrists and historians, and it is only natural to suppose it to be Spenser's as well. If this is true, we are to look to Book I not for a history of the Reformation in England, but for Elizabeth's part in that movement.

Moreover, Spenser's contemporaries read his allegory in this manner. They

saw the first book of the *Faerie Queene* as the allegory of Elizabeth's relations to religion.

Elizabeth's coronation day was celebrated each year on November 17, by a great display of impress and chivalry. George Peele gives in his *Anglorum Feriae* a poetic account of such a celebration. The following extract from his work will serve to show both the connection with the pageants in 1559 and the similarity to Spenser's method in the *Faerie Queene*.

Write, write, you chroniclers of time and fame,
Elizabeth by miracles preserv'd
From perils imminent and infinite:
Her birthday being celebrated thus,
Clio, record how she hath been preserv'd,
Even in the gates of death and from her youth,
To govern England in the ways of truth; . . .
To pass the story of her younger days,
And stormy tempests happily overblown,
Wherein by mercy and by miracle
She was rescu'd for England's happiness,
And comfort of the long afflicted flock
That stray'd like scatter'd sheep scar'd from the fold;
To slip remembrance of those careful days,
Days full of danger, happy days withal,
Days of her preservation and defence; . . .
Wherein pale Envy, vanquish'd long ago,
Gave way to Virtue's great deserts in her,
And wounded with remembrance of her name,
Made hence amain to murmur that abroad
He durst not openly discharge at home, . . .
Among those erring fugitives that pine
At England's prosperous peace and nothing more
Do thirst than alteration of the state,
And nothing less than our good queen affect,
A number of unnatural Englishmen
That curse the day so happy held of us, . . .
False architects of those foul practices
That end in their dishonor and their shame,
Those bloody stratagems, those traitorous trains,
And cruel siege they lay unto her life.

(*Works*, ed. Dyce, London, 1861)

In his *Farewell to Drake and Norris* (1589), he anticipates both Spenser's treatment of Saint George and the championship of the Protestant cause. Elizabeth is represented here very much as she is in Book V of the *Faerie Queene*:

Under the *sanguine Cross*, brave England's badge
To propagate religious piety,
And hew a passage with your conquering swords. . .
Even to the Gulf that leads to lofty Rome;
There to deface the pride of Antichrist,
And pull his paper walls and popery down—
A famous enterprise for England's strength,

To steel your swords on Avarice's triple crown,
 And cleanse Augcas' stalls in Italy. . . .
 You fight for Christ, and Englands peerless queen,
 Elizabeth, the wonder of the world,
 Over whose throne the enemies of God
 Have thunder'd erst their vain successless braves.
 O, ten-times-treble happy men, that fight
 Under the cross of Christ and England's Queen.

(*Works*, p. 549)

Selden in his notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion* (4th song, l. 215) gives a history of the Saint George legend, after which he says:

Your more neat judgments, finding no such matter in true antiquity, rather make it symbolical than truly proper. So that some account him an allegory of our Saviour Christ, and our admir'd *Spenser* hath made him an emblem of Religion.

Selden implies that Spenser was the first to make of the saint an emblem of religion. If that is true, the following quotations seem to refer to Spenser and, in a measure, interpret his allegory:

Saint George for England

Conculcabis Leonem et Draconem. Psal. 90.

A Virgin Princesse and a gentile Lambe
 Doomb'd to death to gorge this ugly beast:
 This valiant victor like a Souldier came,
 And of his owne accord, without request:
 With never daunted spirit the Fiend assail'd,
 Preserv'd the Princesse and the monster quail'd.

Saint George, the figure of our Saviour's force,
 Within the Dragon's jawes his speare hath entred:
 Whose sword doth threaten, banishing remorce,
 And hec that in his noble part hath ventred,
 Spewes forth his poyson on the sullen ground,
 And stands in danger of a deadly wound.

And may my soule, oh Jesus! speake with zeale?
 Thy Woord, thy sword, will Sathan's pride consume?
 So doth thy Father's holy will reveale,
 And with that beast all those that dare presume:
 That peece of wood whereon thy body dide,
 Hath made a mortall passage in his side.

Saint George's Knight, goe noble Mountjoy on,
 Bearing thy Saviour's badge within thy breast:
 Quell that Hell's shape of divellish proud tirone,
 And cover with the dust his stubborne crest:
 That our deere Princesse and hir land be safe,
 Such power to him, oh Jesus Christ vouchsafe.

(Vennard, Richard, *The Right Way to Heaven: and the true testimonie of a faithfull and loyall subject: compiled by Richard Vennard, of Lincolone's Inne. At London Printed by Thomas Este. 1601. Nichols 3. 532 ff.*)

Mountjoy, then, represents St. George in exactly the same way as Redcrosse, as the champion of Elizabeth, Pure Religion against her Catholic enemies.

Another similar interpretation of the Saint George legend is Gerard Malynes' *Saint George for England, allegorically described*. In the dedication to Lord Keeper Egerton he explains the allegory [quotation omitted]. The interpretation of Malynes of the Saint George legend is identical with that of Spenser—Saint George is made an emblem of religion, that is, Protestantism. Saint George is, however, Elizabeth herself. In Spenser he is Una's champion.

Richard Niccol gives, however, in his *England's Eliza* (1610) an unmistakable abstract of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Niccol attempts to give a summary of Elizabeth's reign and in his induction pays his respects to Spenser as Elizabeth's Poet. The following is the beginning of the poem:

1.

When England's Phoebus *Henrie's* hopeful sonne
The world's rare Phoenix, princely *Edward* hight,
To death did yeeld, his glasse outrun,
And Phoebus-like no more could lend his light:
Then men did walk in shades of darkesome night,
Whose feeble sight with error blacke strooke blind
Could in no place time's faire *Fidessa* find.

2.

That blind borne monster, truthe's sterne opposite,
Begotten first in Demogorgon's hall,
Twixt ugly Erebus and grizlie night,
The sonnes of truth did horrible appall
With her approach, much dreaded of them all:
Whoever came in reach of her foule pawes,
She in their blood imbu'd her thirstie iawes.

3.

Witnesse may be the manie a burning flame,
Made with the limbes of saints to mount on high,
Whose constant soules without the least exclaime,
In midst of death down patiently did lie,
And in bright flames did clime the clowd-brow'd skie:
Yea, let *Elizae's* woes in that blind age,
A witnesse be of bloodie error's rage.

(Quoted from *Mirror for Magistrates*, Part 5, ed. by Joseph Haslewood, London, 1815, 3. 812-944.)

Niccol's borrowings from Spenser are apparent. It would seem, then, that he interpreted Book I as referring to Elizabeth as Princess as well as Queen. His reference to "time's faire *Fidessa*" indicates that he had the pageants in

mind. Thus, Niccol links Spenser's *Faerie Queene* with the pageants. In his eighth stanza he seems to refer to the third pageant.

Error's brood to him represented the Catholics sent over by the Pope and Spain to annoy Elizabeth and turn the country against her—the Jesuits, and semi-nary priests.

68.

Meane time Rome's dragon rousde his bloodie crest
And wav'd his wings, from whence that rabble rout,
That hell-hatch'd brood, who, fed, on error's brest
And suck'd of her poysonous dugs, came crawling out
As was their wont, to file the world about:
For those he hatch'd beneath his shadie wings,
T'employ gainst potentates and mightest kings.

69.

Many of these to England's shores he sent. . . . [e. g., the Armada]

70.

Most of the which (O that time's swan-white wings
Could sweepe record of such foule shame)
Were home-borne impes, untimely shot up, springs
Of Britaine brood, Britaine's alone by name . . .

71.

Unkindly impes, even from your birth accurst,
Detested stock of viper's bloodie brood,
That sought to satisfie your burning thirst
By drinking up your dying mother's blood,
Maeke her death your life, her hurt your good.

Aside from Niccol's *Eliza* the most interesting work in this connection is Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, published in 1607, but written before 1603. The *Lectori* explains the purpose of the play thus:

The Generall scope of this Drammaticall Poem, is to set forth (in Tropicall and shadowed collours) the Greatnes, Magnanimity, Constancy, Clemency, and other Heroical vertues of our late Queene and (on the contrary part) the inveterate Malice, Treasons, Machinations, Underminings and Continual bloody strata-gems, of that Purple Whore of Roome. . . .

And where as I may (by some more curious in censurc, then sound in iudge-ment) be Critically taxed, that I falsifie the account of time, and set not down occurrents according to their true succession, let such (that are so nice of stomach) know, that I write as a Poet, not as an Historian, and that these do not live under one law. . . . (*Works*, London, 1873, 2. 185 ff.)

In other words, Dekker sought to write an allegorical play on the same principles which Spenser had used in his *Faerie Queene*. Their methods are the same—Elizabeth is represented by the virtues and her enemies by the vices. Spenser spoke of his allegory as "a dark conceit"; Dekker refers to his as "Tropicall and shadowed collours". Moreover, in his reference to "a Poet" in the last part of the quotation, Dekker, I believe, had reference to Spenser. I

shall show that he borrowed frequently from the *Faerie Queene*. If Dekker is correct in making his distinction between the historian and the poet, we make a great mistake in trying to interpret Spenser's "continued allegory" as continued history. A poet, according to Dekker, does not live under the same law as the historian—he is not bound to treat events in chronological order. He may, therefore, select from the life and reign of Elizabeth those events which illustrate his theme and arrange them in their most effective sequence. This Dekker has done. And by implication he is following Spenser.

The play begins with a dumb show:

He drawes a curtaine, discovering Truth in sad habiliments; uncrownd; her haire disheveld and sleeping on a Rock; Time (her father) attired likewise in black and al his properties (as Sithe, Howre-glasse and Wings of the same cullor) using all meanes to waken Truth, but not being able to doe it, he sits by her and mourns. Then enter Friers, Bishops, Cardinals, before the Hearse of a Queen, after it Councillors, Pentioners, and Ladies, al these last having scarfes before their eyes, the other singing in Latin. Trueth suddenly awakens, and beholding this sight, shews (with her father) arguments of Ioy, and *exeunt*, returning presently: Time being shifted into light cullors, his properties likewise altdred into silver, and Truth crowned, (being cloathed in a robe spotted with Starres) meete the Hearse, and putting the veiles from the councillers eyes, they wondrous awhile, and seeming astonished at her brightnes, at length embrace Truth and Time, and depart with them: leaving the rest going on.

This being done, Enter Titania (the Faerie Queene) attended with those Councillors, and other persons fitting her estate: Time and Truth meete her, presenting a Booke to her, which (kissing it) shee receives, and shewing it to those about her, they drawe out their swordes, (embracing Truth,) vowing to defend her and that booke: Truth then and Time are sent in, and returned presently, driving before them those Cardinals, Friers, etc. (that came in before) with Images, croziar staves etc. They gon, certaine grave learned men, that had beene banished, are brought in, and presented to Titania, who shewes to them the booke, which they receive with great signes of gladnesse, and *exeunt omnes*.

The subject of his dumb show is Elizabeth's coming to the throne and the resulting restoration of the Protestant religion. That Dekker used the pageants presented to Elizabeth on her coronation is unmistakable; the characters of Truth and Time and the presentation of the Booke prove this beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Now in the *Dramatis Personae* there are unmistakable allusions to the *Faerie Queene*. "Titani the Faerie Queene: under whom is figured our late Queene Elizabeth"; "*Fideli*"; "*Florimell*"; "*Elfron*"; "*Paridel*"; "*The Emperess of Babylon*: under whom is figured Rome."

There can be no doubt as to the source of the following genealogy for Elizabeth:

all those wounds

Whose goary mouthes but lately stained our Bounds
Bleed yet in me: For when Great Elfiline (Henry VII)
Our grandsire fild this throne. . . .
He to immortal shades being gone
(Fames Minion) great King Oberon (Henry VIII)
Titaniaes royall father . . . etc. (*Whore of Babylon*, pp. 202-3.)

wise, the source of the following is obvious:

Dumb shew. A cave suddenly breakes open, and out of it comes Falsehood
ir'd as Truth) her face spotted, shee stickes up her banner on top of the
; then with her foot in severall places strikes the earth, and up riseth
peius; a Frier with a boxe; a gentleman with a drawn sword, another with
gloves in a boxe, another with a bridle. Time, Truth with her banner, and
n-dealing enter and stand aloofe beholding al.

- e. See there's the cave, where the Hyena lurkes. That counterfits thy voyce,
and calls forth men to their destruction. . . .
- n. . . . but this freckled queane, may be a witch.
- e. She is so; shee's that damned sorceresse,
That keepes the enchanted towers of *Babylon*.
This is the *Truth*; that did bewitch thee once.
- n. Is this speckled toade shee. Shee was then in mine eye,
The goodliest woman that ever wore for part of Sattin. . . .
- e. Lets follow.
- n. With hue and crie, now I know her: this villanous drab is bawd, now I
remember, to the Whore of *Babylon*; . . . (*ibid.*, pp. 243-6).

Originally the incident referred to Mary Queen of Scots; but obviously in
, Dekker could not publish so uncomplimentary an account of Mary. There-
he changed it to refer to Essex's rebellion. As the scene now stands, the
nblance to the Ducssa of the *Faerie Queene* is fairly close, but it must have
even closer in the original version.

With this account, we should consider Ben Jonson's statement to Drummond:

in yt paper S. W Roughly had of ye allcgories of his Fayrie Queen by the
ng beast the Puritans were understood and by ye false Ducssa the Q of Scots.
versations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, 1619, Reprint, The
ey Head Quartos, ed. by G. B. Harrison, p. 9.)

rummond has reported Jonson correctly, this statement implies a second letter
aleigh on the *Faerie Queene*, which of course was not published. In another
in the *Conversations*, Jonson spoke of "ye papers Sir W. Roughly had of
ser's *Faerie Queene*." However, it is my opinion that Jonson was merely
ig his own interpretation of the poem, and that Drummond confused it with
etter to Raleigh. The reference shows, then, merely Jonson's interest in the
ical allegory of the *Faerie Queene*, and is another instance of a contemporary
gnition of such allegory.

but to return to Dekker, we have this unmistakable reference to Spenser in
Empress's instructions to Campeius (Campion), Parydell (Doctor Parry),
Lupus (Lopez):

Haue change of haire, of eie-brows, halt with soldiers,
Be shauen and be old women, take all shapes . . .
He that first sings a Dirge tun'de to the death
Of that my onely foe the Fairie Queene,
Shal be my loue, and (clad in purple) ride
Vpon that scarlet-coloured beast that beares
Seuen Kingdomes on seuen heads.

these, with many other borrowings, such as the frequent references to Fairy-

strond, Fairie Queene (Elizabeth), and elves and Fairies show Dekker's debt to Spenser's epic. Dekker borrowed from Spenser because he recognized in the *Faerie Queene* an allegory similar to the one he would employ. Moreover, his method is precisely that of Spenser—the praise of Elizabeth in terms of the virtues attributed to her, and the application of the vices (virtues' opposites) to her enemies. His use of the pageants along with Spenser is significant: he recognized in them the same matter and method as he found in the *Faerie Queene*.

From these notes in general, I draw the following conclusions:

1. Spenser seems to have got from the pageants at Elizabeth's coronation a suggestion for his *Una* (Truth) and his allegorical method in Book I.
2. Spenser chose Religion as the subject for Book I because he viewed it not only as the first problem to confront the Queen, but also as the first of her virtues.
3. Spenser's contemporaries read Book I as the allegory of Elizabeth and her relation to the establishment of Pure Religion

If these contentions are correct, we should look to the life and reign of Elizabeth for the events which are allegorically set forth in Book I.

CHARLES BOWIE MILLICAN (*Spenser and the Table Round*, pp. 50-126). As to Spenser's own critical attitude toward the ancient British history we can merely speculate. Perhaps his point of view was like that of Irenæus in *A Vene of the Present State of Ireland*. Irenæus dismisses the story of Brutus as a "vaine tale" by drawing a parallel with the story of Gathelus the Spaniard, in the belief of which the Irish do "no otherwise, then our vaine English-men doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to proove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England, as it is, that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine." But he refers in the same speech to Kings Arthur and Gurgunt even as he refers later to Kings Egfrid and Edgar, asserting that both Gurgunt and Arthur once had Ireland under their sway. In the *De Rebus Gestis Britanniae Commentarioli Tres* by one E. S., whom the late F. I. Carpenter would take to be Spenser himself, Brutus and Arthur are treated as historical figures, and recognition is made of the alignment of English writers against Polydore Vergil. The chronicler sees himself in the historical field even as Bacon saw himself in the sphere of science:

Non vt perficerem, aut illustrarem ipse, sed vt aliorum excitarem studia, qui id optimè facere possunt, informauì. Dolendum enim est historiam hanc, quae tot, tantas, & tàm praeclaras res contineat, ita iacere. Nam cùm non ferenda Anglicanorum turba scriptorum videatur, tùm nescio quid in Polidoro desidero.

Carpenter assigns the chronicle conjecturally to the year 1582, and concludes that "Spenser's skepticism was very probably a development of later date."

But be Spenser's attitude toward the ancient British history what it may have been, early or late in life, the poet needs no advocate for his muse. Nor does Sidney, who, despite his appeasing Lhuyd's ghost with a hearty laugh, "had an intention to have transformd all his Arcadia to the stories of King Arthure." We should certainly not expect Spenser's own critical views to have been so partisan as those of the fanatical Lhuyd or Richard Harvey, who considered the "Britons" superior to the other members of the growing British empire. Spenser, like Hakluyt, may have considered Geoffrey's *Historia* essentially a "historie of

the Kings of England," but it does not necessarily follow that he, like Richard Harvey, subscribed to all "the markes and circuities, that *Geffry Monmouth* hath set downe." Rather, we should expect Spenser to have reacted, if not like Speed and Selden, then more like Camden, whom he pauses in *The Ruines of Time* to praise as the "nourice of antiquitie." Spenser's use of Brutus and Arthur does not imply credulity so much as it implies a thorough knowledge of the literary pabulum of his age. From 1544 to 1615, from Leland to Howes, through Spenser's school days, through the composition and publication of *The Faerie Queene*, to the time of Spenser's death, Geoffrey of Monmouth was considered by Welshmen and by most Englishmen as the champion of the growing empire of Great Britain, and the controversy that accordingly raged over the historicity of Brutus and Arthur could not have been disregarded by a poet of Spenser's antiquarian predilections. Without the elder tradition of "the Ynys Brydain that Geoffrey rescued from oblivion . . . there would have been a poorer Spenser." Without the interpretation put upon Geoffrey by Spenser's contemporaries, there would not have been a better Spenser. Leland, Kelton, Bale, John Caius, Lhuys, Sir John Price, Richard Price, Lambard, Powel, Churchyard, Richard Harvey, Sir Henry Savile, Stow, Howes—an imposing array: and they were not without reserves, named and unnamed, who, at one time or another, helped them to raise the Old Harry and sacrifice upon the altar of patriotism Polydore Vergil, William of Newburgh, Gildas, Boccaccio, Hector Boece, George Buchanan, Vives, Jean Bodin, John of Whethamstede, Hadrian Junius, and others. And be it observed that Geoffrey was defended, and Polydore and his "complices" condemned, in verse as well as in prose. . . . One thing is certain: when Ponsonby was printing *The Faerie Queene*, the Arthurian wing of the Ancients was in triumph over the Moderns, and without sweetness and light. . . .

The profound political significance of basing on the conquests of Arthur of Britain England's claims, not only for a united Great Britain including Ireland but also for an empire extending across the seas, was enhanced by the very presence of a Welsh Queen "who came from *Arthurs* rase and lyne." What had begun as substantially a vindication of the ancient Britons and their descendants in Tudor England had become within fifty odd years a unified passion "to bring home England to the English," and Arthur of England was used in a way that makes the Angevin Anglicization of Arthur of Britain seem pale and sporadic. To the majority of the Elizabethans, Arthur of England was as real as Alfred, Cadwalader, or Henry VII. Calais lived on in Elizabeth's heart as it had died in Mary's, and Elizabeth, upheld by the English Lion and the Welsh Dragon, with the sword "IVSTITIA" lying athwart "VLRBUM DEI," did not hesitate to assume the title "D. G. ANGLIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REGINA." It may be contended that once Spenser set himself to glorify Elizabeth, it was inevitable that he should use the Arthurian legend, but the inevitability does not preclude the workings of the old law of cause and effect. The conversations of John Dee, Daniel Rogers, the elder Hakluyt, Lord Burghley, and Elizabeth herself help to explain the inevitability.

By the time of Spenser, therefore, the Arthurian right of Tudor sovereigns had been made a firm historical tradition, a tradition sanctioned by Elizabeth herself; and we should well expect that Spenser's ideas for the inclusion of Arthur-

ian story in *The Faerie Queene* became as much a part of him during his formative period as his notions of classical mythology or Platonic love. Before the reign of Elizabeth, indeed, the Arthurian legend in connection with the Tudors had enjoyed, as we have already observed, a little Renaissance all its own, and the Arthurian right of Tudor sovereigns had reached Spenser as a poetical tradition as well. That obscure poets had seized upon the connection—be the Welsh, the Latin, the English however crude—points to the applicability of the theme, and we need not question whether all the Tudors sponsored the flattery so long as they proved to be patrons silently pleased. Henry VII had his Glyn Cothi. Arthur, Prince of Wales, had his André, his Giglis, his Carmeliano. Henry VIII had his Leland. Edward VI had his Kelton. Mary alone was without her Arthurian bard. How likely, then, in view of the increased nationalism of the Elizabethan age, that Elizabeth should inspire an Arthurian throat in her “nest of singing birds”! As Professor M. Y. Hughes has pointed out, Pierre de Ronsard wrote verses to her—*A Très-Haute et Très-Illustre et Très-Vertueuse Elisabeth Royne d'Angleterre* (1567)—in which he “sketched the Arthurian legend as the basis of English glory and suggested an epic poem in honor of Arthur.” In *The Blessedness of Brytame* (1587), Maurice Kyffin sounded a similar and a more pertinent note:

Ye Bryttish Poets, Repeat in Royall Song,
 (VVith waightie words, vsde in King Arthurs daies)
 Th' Imperial Stock, from whence your Queene hath sprong;
 Enstall in verse your Princesse lasting prayes:
 Pencerddaid, play on Auncient Harp, and Crowde:
 Atcciniaid, sing her prayes pearcing lowd.

Besides, many other ramifications of the legend were to influence Spenser. The antiquarian movement was given a great impetus in 1572, when Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, and the old grudge against Polydore Vergil did not cease with the words of Leland, Kelton, and Bale. As Bishop Joseph Hall was quick to observe, the age of Spenser was also the age of William Camden, and the bishop's observation may be extended to include other diligent Elizabethan antiquaries of whatever rank or file. Indeed, in his *Britannia* (1586), Camden, who was never more than lukewarm in his praise of Arthur, hinted at the timeliness of a panegyric on the gallant defender of Britain:

Materies [Arthuri] proculdubio doctissimi viri facultate, & copia digna, qui tantum principem celebrando propriam etiam ingenij laudem consequutus fuisset. Fortissimus enim Britannici imperij propugnator hoc solo nomine vel infoelicissimus videtur, quod sue virtutis dignum preconem non inuenerit.

The reverence for all forms of England's glorious past, in which Brutus and Arthur and other illustrious empire-builders shone out like beacons, added strength and spirit to the age which focussed round the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588; and back of the unified search for England's antiquities, back of the interest in the Arthurian legend, back of any other special influences which may have increased Spenser's own interest in the legend, is the motive of England's building for British empire. It was an age in which loyalty to the crown was in itself patriotism.

But in connection with Spenser's use of the Arthurian legend, the world should not forget Thomas Wilson, who in *The Arte of Rhetorique* talks directly to Spenser. Under the heading of "Sport moued by telling of old tales," Wilson writes:

If there be any olde tale, or straunge historie, well and wittellie applied to some man liuyng, all menne loue to heare it of life. As if one were called Arthure some good felowe that were wel acquainted with kyng Arthures booke, and the knightes of his rounde table, would want no matter to make good sport, and for a nede would dubbe him knight of the rounde Table, or els proue hym to be one of his kinne, or els (whiche wer muche) proue him to be Arthur himself.

Wilson's words, together with the bearing they have on the living example of the contemporaneous existence of London's Prince Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, make the complete identification. Prince Arthur or Artegal or Calidore may not only be the symbols of the virtues of "vn perfetto cauagliere" or find their prototypes at the court of Elizabeth, but with the authority of Wilson they may also be, if Spenser wishes, actually the virtues and courtiers themselves. It is, in fact, not supererogatory to hammer home once more the significance of the contemporaneous existence of "the Worshipfull Societie of Archers, in London yearely celebrating the renoumed memorie of the Magnificent Prince ARTHVRE & his Knightly Order of the Round Table." London's "Magnificent" Prince Arthur may not be to the satisfaction of all scholars "magnificence in particular . . . according to Aristotle and the rest," yet he may serve as an humble prototype for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, or for a composite picture of an Elizabethan captain moving about Faeryland in quest of Gloriana, England's Tudor Faery Queen. Especially when much is made of Spenser's living behind his age in the playground of mediæval romance, it is of singular moment that even on one occasion this "Magnificent" Prince and his Knights while on their way to Mile End Green "did their duty upon their knee" before Elizabeth Tudor, and that she in return "most graciously bowed her body."

EDWIN GREENLAW (*Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*, pp. 1-100). Full understanding of Spenser's theme in the *Faerie Queene* depends upon a battle of the books which began in the early Tudor period and persisted, in various forms, until the accession of a new dynasty. While the glorification of the House of Tudor has long been recognized as one element in Spenser's poem, the structural importance of the theme has been singularly neglected. Furthermore, the theme has been regarded as his own invention, in imitation of Vergil and Ariosto. But Spenser, like Shakespeare, invented little. His praise of the Tudor house was no mere literary compliment nor a trick of epic technique. It was the expression of a philosophy of history, of a conception of British destiny. He did not invent it, but found it ready to his hand in a score of places. He glorified it, so that it became part of the structure itself of the greatest work of the imagination produced during the Elizabethan period. That he looked upon himself as an historical poet, aiming at the interpretation of English history though using a method different from that of an historiographer; that he was an antiquary moved by the same spirit as that which animated the noble group of students of Britain's past; that the historical portions of the poem are clues to

its meaning, not mere intrusions of old work into the romance, are all matters of importance. A study of these matters will not only bring into the circle of influences on Spenser's mind and art a large and interesting group of sources but will also point the way to the proper interpretation of his continued or historical allegory.

In 1534 Polydore Vergil's *Anglicae Historiae Libri xxvi* was published. Its author, born at Urbino, educated at Padua and Bologna, and for some years in the service of the Duke of Urbino and of Alexander VI, came to England about 1501. He attained high favor with Henry VII, who commissioned him to write a history of England; he held various offices, including that of archdeacon at Wells, near Glastonbury, in the Arthur country; he was on friendly terms with Fox, More, Linacre, and Latimer, and, with some intermissions, with Erasmus; after a few years he became naturalized as a British subject; he quarreled with Wolsey and for a short time was in prison, to the great scandal of his Italian friends; late in life he returned to Italy, where he died some twenty years after his chief work, the History, had appeared.

Though naturalized, Polydore appears to have remained at heart an Italian of the Renaissance. He disputed with Erasmus concerning the priority of their respective collections of *Adagia*. The quarrel was made up, and he even offered, at one time, to assist Erasmus with money, but he re-iterated his claim in later editions of his book. He was little at Wells, and though he presented some hangings for the choir, with his arms, which his opponent Leland duly registered in his *Itinerary*, he sold the archdeacon's house, when he departed, with doubtful propriety. He did not choose to further Wolsey's ambition to wear the Cardinal's hat, and his account of Wolsey, in his History, shows the prejudice which he maintained an historian should avoid. He was an Italian Catholic; he did not sympathize with the liberal movement in the English church; he hated the Britons and preferred the Saxons; but he wrote an excellent history and he precipitated a conflict of far-reaching importance.

Polydore's history differs from chronicles of the earlier type in that he fuses his material into a connected narrative and applies canons of criticism to his authorities. He anticipates Bacon in his theory that it is the office of the historian to present facts as best he can ascertain them and to allow the reader to draw his own conclusions. He professes to avoid prejudice. "It is a law in history," he says, "that the writer should never be so bold as to open any false things, nor so demisse as not to utter any truth." He regarded contemporary testimony, as of Bede, as competent, and in response to criticism on a certain point asserted that it would not be lawful for him to intermeddle by reason of the law incumbent upon an historian not to refrain from the revelation of falsehood nor to give suspicion of favor or envy. He wrote to James IV for information concerning Scottish kings; James refused on the ground that he could not expect an impartial account from a foreigner; Polydore secured his information from other sources.

It was this critical judgment of authorities and decision to seek, so far as possible, for first-hand information that led him to reject Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur and of the deeds of the Britons. Gildas he deemed competent, and he praised his predecessor for telling the truth about his countrymen. But he was not content with rejecting the legends concerning the descent of the

Britons from Troy and the Arthurian matter. Speed, nearly a century later, did the same thing, and did it thoroughly, though with better manners. Polydore argues for Gildas in the following terms:

It is noe smalle argumente of his [Gildas'] syncritee that in uttering the trewthe he spareth not his owne nation, and, wheare as he speakethe littell good of his contriemenne, he beewaillethe manie eevles in them, nether dothe he feare in revealingge the troth though he were a Britton, to write of Brittons that thei nether weare stoute in battayle nor faithfull in peace.

And he continues, with a repetition of William of Newburgh's attack on Geoffrey:

But on the other side there hath appaered a writer in owre time which, to purge these defaultes of Brittaines, feininge of them thinges to be laughed at, hath extolled them above the noblenes of Romans and Macedonians, enhauncinge them with most imprudent lyeing. This man is cauled Geffray, surnamed Arthure, bie cause that owte of the olde lesings of Brittons, being somewhat augmented bie him, hee hath recited manie thinges of this King Arthure, taking unto him bothe the coloure of Latin speeche and the honest pretext of an Historie: more over, taking in hande a greater enterprize, he hath published the southsaiengs of one Merlin, as prophesies of most assuured and approved trewthe, allways addinge somewhat of his own while translatethe them into Latine. This saithe he [adds Polydore], Gildas before him, but not I, which write nothing but that which hath ben written beefore, wherefore there is noe man which justlie can be angrie with mee for this sainge (that thei were nether valiaunte in battaile nether true in leage), which was a reproche to the owld Britons.

His account of Arthur is in the same strain:

At this time Utherius departed owte of this world, after whome succeeded his sonne Arthur, being noe doubt such a mann as, if hee had lived longe, hee surelie woulde have restored the whole somme beeing almoste loste to his Britons. As concerninge this noble prince, for the marvelous force of his boddie, and the invincible valiaunce of his minde, his posteritee hath almoste vaunted and divulged suche gestes, as in our memorie amonge the Italiens ar commonlie noysed of Roland, the nephew of Charles the Great bie his sister, albeit hee perished in the floure of his yowthe; for the common people is at this presence soe affectioned, that with wonderus admiration they extol Arthure unto the heavens, alleginge that hee daunted three capitans of the Saxons in plaine feelde; that hee subdewed Scotlande with the Iles adjoyninge; that in the teritorie of the Parisiens hee manfullie overthrew the Romaines, with there capitan Lucius, that hee didd depopulate Fraunce; that finallie hee slewe giauntes, and appalled the hartes of sterne and warlike menne. This redowted conqueror, of so manifolde exploits, is reported to have ben sodainle retrayted from his jorney with domesticall contention, while hee minded to invade Rome, and consequentlie to have extinguished his tratorus nephew, Mordred, who usurped the regall power in his absence, in which conflict hee himselve receaved a fatall stroke and balefull wounde, whereof hee died.

And he disposes of the claims of the monks of Glastonbury with equal scorn:

Not manie years since in the abbey of Glastonburie was extracted for Arthur a magnificent sepulchre, that the posteritee might gather how worthie he was of all monuments, whereas in the daye of Arthure this abbaye was not builded.

The immediate effect of these passages was to precipitate a storm. Long before, Polydore had aroused suspicion. Andreas, secretary to the King and later

his biographer, had asked Wolsey to warn his royal master against the foreigner. Later, as we shall see, Bale called upon Leland to show forth the treachery of this Italian Catholic. His attack on Geoffrey was esteemed madness. Stories were circulated about his manipulation of evidence. Books were written against him, and long after, poets attacked him as a traitor to his adopted country. What were the reasons for this battle of the books?

With the accession of Henry VII the prophecies of Cadwallader, last of the Briton kings, were fulfilled and the realm returned to its rightful and ancient possessors. Furthermore, patriotic Englishmen were quick to see that the new dynasty, marking the end of the Lancastrian-Yorkist feud, was far more significant than a mere change of monarchs. There emerged, as we shall see, two themes. One, the tragic story of Lancaster and York, ending in the union of England, was the theme of Hall's *Chronicle* and of Shakespeare's historical plays. The other, the return to power after many centuries of the ancient Britons, was the theme of Leland and other chroniclers, of Warner and Drayton who combined chronicle with epic, and of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. These facts, once they are grasped, throw a flood of light upon the interpretation of a considerable portion of distinguished Elizabethan literature, and they illustrate the birth, as an accompaniment of the new national consciousness which was the outstanding achievement of the Tudors, of a striking form of historical primitivism. [Here follows a full account of the spirited defence by Tudor historians and antiquarians of the traditional history of Briton.]

With this faint survival of the mighty battle I close this chapter. In the light of the story, it seems to me that certain modifications of current theory concerning the provenience of the Matter of Britain in the sixteenth century must be made. It is true that there was slight interest in the romantic elements in the story. Malory was read, but except for a few insignificant romances was not imitated. *Chmon of England*, the various versions of the *Amadis*, such stories as these contain some Arthurian motifs but they are not imitations or continuations of Malory. Even Spenser avoids the great knights, the great scenes and motifs of Arthurian romance according to Chretien and Malory. Sidney and his followers in the writing of the new prose fiction used a different setting, characterization, and source material. . . .

There was never a people so eager for story, so extra-national in the curiosity to know whatever could be found out about human adventures real or imaginary, of today or of the past. Is it not amazing, then, that almost alone of the great repositories of story thus available, so little use was made of what we usually think of as the Arthurian legend? It is not that these stories were not available, for Caxton had supplied them. It is not, as has been suggested many times, and by Professor Mead only the other day, that the Puritan prejudice voiced by Ascham had weight, for Malory was read, and *Huon*, and *Amadis*, and the Greek prose tales, and Painter's *Palice*. Nor was it that Malory smacked of Popery, for Elizabethans knew how to tell old tales in terms conforming to their own tastes, and Spenser's devotion was to Holy Church, not to the Anabaptist meeting house. It is not that chivalry was dead, for throughout the Tudor period there were jousts and disguisings, and the rules of knighthood became the social standards of courtiership. Yet there is no Grail, no dramatizing or modernizing of Lancelot or Guinevere or Gawain; the Round Table stirred a bit of antiquarian interest and

the Society of Archers gave its members the names of Arthur's knights, but the great themes of the cycles of romance remained untouched until a later period of Romanticism revived them, in Tennyson and his fellows.

These facts, set over against the evidence I have brought together in this chapter, enable us to draw certain rather definite conclusions.

For one thing, the Elizabethans were not interested in the Arthurian romances, that is, in the development of the legend by Chretien and his followers and redacted in part by Sir Thomas Malory. Since they drew eagerly, as I have said, upon almost every conceivable source of story, the explanation must be, in part at least, that they did not look upon the story of Arthur as we have been taught by Tennyson to look upon it, and it was this different viewpoint that gives the peculiar stamp which the Elizabethan version possesses. A very simple illustration of this is to be found, I think, in the fact that most commentators upon Spenser's Prince Arthur who have written since Tennyson's *Idylls* have been unconsciously but indubitably influenced by the conception of Arthur set forth in that work, in spite of the fact that Tennyson's Arthur differs in almost every essential respect from Spenser's. The peculiar Elizabethan stamp is, of course, characteristic of all the literature of that time; it is to be seen, for example, in North's Plutarch and in Shakespeare's use of that treasure house, to be seen also in Chapman's Homer as contrasted with Pope's or with Arnold's. But to the matter of Britain something happened that differs from the customary Elizabethan technique of translation. Chapman could have read Lancelot and Gawain as he read Homer's stories. The point is that he did not, nor did Spenser, nor Shakespeare, nor the minor writers.

To show this matter fully is a complex task, for it involves a re-examination of the *Faerie Queene* in the light of the results of the present investigation. But the clue is to be found, I think, in the peculiarly national bias that the story took with the accession of the Tudors. The Battle of the Books is one aspect of this emphasis. The antiquarians were one with Polydore in rejecting the legendary tales of Chretien and Malory, but they insisted on the historicity of Arthur and the truth of the descent from Troy. Politically, the same position was taken. Henry VII used it in support of his claims to the throne. By Henry VIII the interest was capitalized in his evident desire to be regarded as Arthur's successor, with claims that might be extended to continental Europe. For Elizabeth Tudor, there were the important matters of her right to her throne, of the ending not merely of the internecine strife of the Roses but of the chaos that followed Henry's death, and of the consequent return of the Golden Age of Arthur's reign. The question turned, therefore, upon the historicity of Arthur, not upon the quests of his knights or the endless romances that gathered about them to the virtual exclusion of the king. The Elizabethans fixed their eyes upon *Arthurus Rex*. . . .

Against the comparative obscurity of this matter in the centuries from Geoffrey to Polydore, let us set the extraordinary energy which the legend took on with the accession of the Tudors. Is not the true explanation to be found, not in a gradual Anglicizing, but in political and historical conditions? For example, the prophecies of the return, either by the literal resurrection of Arthur or by restoration of his line, were unused from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, except in the numberless rebellions in Wales and elsewhere as a basis for the preposterous claims of Welsh chieftains. . . .

But we have to distinguish sharply, it seems to me, between this superstition

that Arthur was only sleeping, with his warriors, in this place or that in Wales, or in the North of England, or in Somerset, or Scotland, or even far-off Sicily, and the Elizabethan idea. That idea was first suggested, I believe, when Henry Tudor landed at Milford and marched under the red dragon of Cadwallader to claim Arthur's seat. Henry was not Arthur, nor was his son, nor was Elizabeth; the prophecy was interpreted mystically; in the Tudors, Arthur reigned again. So viewed, the whole process becomes clear, and may be set down in very brief space.

Let us try, then, to interpret all this story as I believe it must have appeared to a witness of Elizabeth's triumphant progress up to, say, the year of the Armada. To such an observer, it would seem that England's prosperity was due to the great gifts of the Queen for peace in religion and in international relations, and the consequent return of the Golden Age. Stirred by the mighty sequence of events, those to whom the tradition of the Roses had come down, or the Marian terror, must have felt that they had witnessed the birth of a new nation. Yet not all new, surely, but a recreation. For now the ancient Britons, descended from mighty Troy, had returned to their own. Rome was once more conquered, by a new Arthur, whose return was to be mystically expressed, a continued allegory or dark conceit.

Thus seen, the Battle of the Books is no academic ceremony but a chapter in the history of ideas. Polydore was an Italian traitor, faithful to Rome, the ancient enemy of Britain. The antiquaries who sought by their researches to overthrow him were then, if ever, in close touch with the life and thinking of the time. Their material passed instantly from the scholar's study to the court and to the people; it was seized upon by poets, by makers of masque and drama, by all patriots, and by him who was to write the epic of New Troy. Whatever may be the truth about Geoffrey's political intention when that "learned and unscrupulous old canon of St. George's in Oxford," to use Chambers's felicitous characterization of him, wrote his Latin history, there can be no doubt about the Tudor interpretation. How the old story thus proved, once more, its amazing generative power, has been the subject of this chapter. But we have been concerned, thus far, chiefly with tracing its power to insinuate itself in a thousand forms into the thought and emotion of the Tudor age. We are to find the place of Arthurian story in Elizabethan literature not in reprints of Malory, not in conjectures as to the damning power of Puritan malcontents, but in recognizing that here as elsewhere the Elizabethans appropriated, translated, and made their own whatever they touched. . . .

Let us begin such an inquiry with Spenser, first because his poetry is professedly allegorical, second because it is from the method of tracing historical allegory in the *Faerie Queene* that the application of similar methods has recently been marked in Shakespeare studies, and third because in the case of Spenser we may trace, with some precision, the current elaborate explanations of his continued or sustained allegory back to their beginnings. The most detailed exegesis of the book of Redcrosse is that given by Miss Lilian Winstanley (1915), who regards the story as a transcript of English history of the time of Henry VIII and Mary Tudor. Miss Winstanley, however, merely adopted, and pushed to greater extremes of identification, the views of Professor Padelford (1911), who in turn had adopted, with material additions, the conception of the allegory set forth in

a paper by J. Ernest Whitney in 1888. All these interpretations agree in the theory that the first book is a romanticized history of the English reformation, the only differences being in the constantly increasing application to detail, so that not merely the general drift of the allegory, but every incident, every character in the poem is referred, with the utmost precision, to incidents and characters in early Tudor times. These Spenser commentators have not yet gone to the length of imagining the poet as looking over the shoulder of Queen Elizabeth as she wrote her letters, as has been fancied concerning Shakespeare's intimacy with the great monarch, but they are on their way. And, by implication, we have only to wait a bit longer, until the secret history of England in the sixteenth century has been thoroughly mastered, before we shall have a complete solution of the puzzle of the remaining books of the poem.

Now all this vast structure has grown out of a series of remarks concerning Spenser's historical allegory which may be quite definitely traced. For example, Professor Padelford begins his discussion by quoting some remarks found in Sir Walter Scott's review of Todd's Spenser in 1805. Sir Walter expressed the view that the plan of the *Faerie Queene* is much more involved than appears at first sight, and held that the poem is filled with "particular and minute allusions to persons and events in the court of Queen Elizabeth as well as to points of general history." Sir Walter, it is true, confessed a belief that ingenuity could be better employed than in trying to decipher what the poet had chosen not to leave too open, which is of course a wholly indefensible view; nevertheless, he was fascinated by what he called these "secret, and, as it were, esoteric allusions of Spenser's poem."

Scott's reference to these matters was suggested by what he found in Todd (1805), who had quoted a part but by no means all the suggestions of earlier commentators. It is to Warton (1754) that we owe at least one valuable suggestion that has not yet been systematically followed up, to the effect that Spenser's manner of allegorizing seems to have resulted rather from the influence upon him of contemporary masques than from anything he had found in Ariosto. And Warton continued with the remark that the *Faerie Queene* is "equally an historical or political poem," that, in fact, "that which is couched under this (moral) allegory is the history and intrigues of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers, who however are introduced with a moral design." It will be observed that Warton held the political and historical allegory to be of equal importance with the moral, that he regarded the chief source of this aspect of the poem to be the masques and entertainments at court; and that he regarded the history and intrigues of Elizabethan courtiers as material upon which Spenser drew. But he did not follow out his own suggestion, or attempt identifications.

This was not the case with John Upton (1758), whose rather numerous notes on the subject Todd, in his variorum of 1805, practically ignored. For example, Upton not only identified Guyon with Essex but gave, in some detail, his reasons. Spenser, says Upton, definitely states that Essex appears in the poem, and that Guyon fulfils this condition is indicated, he holds, by Wotton's description of Essex as "demure and temperate." Moreover, he was raised among Puritans and was himself a Puritan; he was a member of the Order of the Garter; he was Master of the Horse to Elizabeth and Spenser stresses Guyon's horse. There is no attempt to identify the story of Guyon with events in Essex' life; Upton con-

tents himself with quite general matters; but he holds that Whitgift, the tutor of Essex, is Spenser's Palmer. The whole theory falls to the ground, however, when we recall that Essex was a mere boy when Spenser wrote second *Faerie Queene*, and could not, by any possibility, have represented Guyon.

We find in Upton a few other similar conjectures, the most notable being his identification of Henry VIII with Redcross, in which he has been followed by later commentators. Upton's general position on the subject is found in his summary of the first book: "Where therefore the moral allusion cannot be made apparent, we must seek (as I imagine) for an historical allusion; always we must look for more than meets the eye or ear"; a remark which at once suggests its possible source in Milton.

All these theories of historical significance in the *Faerie Queene* may be traced back to John Dryden, who in 1693, in his *Essay on Satire*, stated that "the original of every knight was then living in the court of Queen Elizabeth; and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account." It is easy to see whence Dryden derived this idea, for it comes from his interpretation of Spenser's dedicatory sonnets, in which several of the distinguished men who are addressed by the poet are assured that their virtues are immortalized in the poem. Whether such a construction is justifiable, we shall see later. Here it is sufficient to point out that Dryden's casual though very positive remark, repeated with increased emphasis by a series of commentators, has led to the elaborate and detailed exegesis with which we are now so familiar. . . .

It is necessary, then, to keep firmly in mind the fact that the whole elaborate structure of identification of character and incident in the *Faerie Queene* is wholly modern and comparatively recent, and that it is based on conjectures going no further back than Dryden. It is true that Duessa was identified, in Spenser's time, with Mary Queen of Scots. The real or pretended anger of James is a matter of record, and Jonson accepts the identification in his *Conversations with Drummond*. But we have no record of other identifications, still less of evidence that the first readers of the poem saw in it a continued allegory of Tudor history, and while the absence of such evidence is of course not conclusive, it must be taken into account. . . .

The problem of interpretation turns upon the meaning of the word "continued" in Spenser's letter to Raleigh. That contemporary allusion has a large place in the *Faerie Queene* there can be no doubt. Moreover, there is equally no doubt of the fondness of the Elizabethans for the dark conceits, the hidden wisdom, the allegorical interpretation of poetry. Nashe conceives of all poetry as a more hidden and divine kind of philosophy. Harington reflects current views of the philosophical substratum beneath the story or history. Chapman goes even farther in his asseveration of the occult meanings, the depth of mystery in poetry, which hides, like a king his treasure and his counsels, its meaning from the vulgar. Milton praises the *Faerie Queene* because in it more is meant than meets the ear. All this, and more that might be cited, conforms to Sidney's ideas of poetry as perhaps the greatest of the learnings, a view closely analogous to that expressed in Spenser's letter.

But these hidden truths are philosophical, not of the nature of historical para-

phrase, and the historical allusions do not constitute the "continued allegory." Political doctrine as well as philosophical and moral allegory had been found in Vergil's *Aeneid* since the Florentine Academy, but not a transcript, into contemporary events and personalities, of ancient story. The great debate between the partisans of Ariosto and of Tasso turned to a large extent upon the philosophical and moral allegory supposed to be imbedded in the poems; Tasso, indeed, wrote an allegorical explanation of his Godfrey, *ex post facto*. But here, again, we find no such understanding of historical allegory as our commentators fasten upon Spenser's poem. Spenser belonged to the tradition of Renaissance epic. He wrote on national origins, conforming to the advice of the Pleiade poets concerning epic poetry; he used old words of Arthur, following the same injunction; he discoursed of the moral virtues, of the forming of a man in all virtuous and gentle discipline, of the distinction between the private man and the governor, according to the interpretations of Homer, Vergil, the Italian epics of his time. But neither in what he said in his letter, or in the dedicatory sonnets, or in the comments on his poem that have come down from his own time, is there any indication that he made a list of the events of Tudor history and deliberately fitted these events into an Arthurian romance. Such transcript of contemporary history into the form of old legend was made, a century later, by Sir Richard Blackmore, who wrote epics on Arthur as Prince and as King; but Blackmore took the body of his story from Geoffrey and arranged it in such a way, and with such clear indications of his purpose, as to make clear that every person, every incident, shadowed forth persons and events in the time of William. Spenser, apparently, did nothing of the kind. . . .

But here our concern is with Spenser's treatment of the return motif, and its relation to the understanding of his allegory.

In the first place, his poem illustrates the combination of antiquarianism, national feeling, and political intention that I have shown to be the true meaning of the controversy about Arthur and the development of the matter of Arthur in Tudor England. His antiquarianism has never been sufficiently stressed. He was acquainted with Camden, admired him, and pursued at intervals throughout his life the same subjects as those followed by that prince of antiquaries. We see the results in widely scattered works: his Irish tract, for example; or in many places in his poetry; most of all in his use of British chronicle in the second and third books of the *Faerie Queene*. His national feeling was closely connected with the idea of the return of Arthur, and this is the organizing principle of the great poem. And his political intention was not to review the events of the reformation of Henry VIII but to seize upon and interpret the return motif, to show imaginatively the qualities of the golden age of chivalry, and, most of all, to lay bare, through masque and allegory, the hidden dangers that threatened the realm and to exalt the strengths able to overcome these perils.

Even in this last matter, so closely bound up with the interpretation of the allegory, Spenser was not original. He found his virtues and vices, his allegory, his masques, equally with his return motif, in the pageants and the literature of his time. Since his poem was to honor Elizabeth the Queen of Faerie, it is fitting that he should have linked it with the pageants that she loved and with themes sung by poets not once only but on each anniversary of her accession. Dr.

Heffner, in a paper read before the English Seminary at Johns Hopkins, and recently printed in *Studies in Philology*, subjected the pageants presented at Elizabeth's coronation, and the anniversary poems that followed, to a critical study. He found in them many reasons for supposing that the emphasis on religious reform, the theme of the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, was not interpreted by Spenser's audience as the achievement of Henry VIII, the usual position of interpreters of the allegory of this book, but as the first and greatest achievement of the Queen. . . .

This evidence is so considerable in amount, and recurs with such frequency in writings scattered through the years of her reign, as to give grounds for feeling that the usual reference of Spenser's first book to the period of Henry VIII is open to serious question. Stated simply, the proper interpretation of this evidence would seem to be that we are not to look for a continued historical allegory, in which each event in Spenser's story shadows some event in Henry's reign and each character stands for some one who figured in the history of that prince, but that we are to read this first book as a reflection of the popular interpretation of conditions at Elizabeth's accession, and popular recognition of her first great service in the cause of truth. It seems reasonable enough. After all, Spenser's poem is entitled the *Faerie Queene*, and, if so, why should we suppose that he began by writing an allegorical history of the reign of her father? . . .

We are not to see, in the Coronation pageants or in the projected masque of 1562, sources, in the usual sense of that much abused term. We see through them how the court circle looked upon such matters. They are like editorials and critical articles written about some modern statesman or some public cause, enabling a later generation to know how men and matters looked to contemporaries, instruments to understanding.

There emerge, then, certain simple facts:

1. Allegory of the special type we are here considering is simple, makes its presence known, has a general rather than a minute application.

2. When, as momentarily in Shakespeare and far more frequently in Spenser, it refers to specific persons or events, this reference is by way of illustration or compliment or ornament, never sustained for long, never based on an intimacy of detail which the modern student may perhaps derive from his study of documents now available but in Elizabethan times secret, known to few, matters of highly confidential correspondence. History in the making, it is well to remember, is never so simple, so capable of ordered narrative and interpretation, as it appears to a later generation.

3. Keeping these two principles in mind, we recognize certain contemporary topics, interpretations, and beliefs, commonplaces of Elizabethan thought. Among these are the national feeling that the queen's first great service was the re-establishment of religion. Redcross, to speak in Elizabethan terms, has been led astray, the maiden Truth has been deserted and placed in dire peril, but through the spirit of ancient Britain and the ministrations of true religion, Duessa is put to flight and the dragon is slain. This is the substance, purely Elizabethan, of the first book, as it is the substance of masque and drama and of poems in praise of England and her sovereign. . . .

Let us consider the rôle of Arthur in the two books. In the first, he rescues Redcross from the dungeon into which he has been plunged in consequence of his own folly. Now Redcross is no fairy but a changeling, in charge of fairies, not Briton but Saxon born. Arthur is Arthur of Britain. The story of Truth, brought to straits by the defection of her knight, is perhaps faintly reminiscent of the sufferings of Elizabeth the princess. Rescued by Arthur, comforted by the princess, Redcross recovers his lost sense of spiritual values and is enabled, after a period of preparation, to slay the dragon. Arthur here may symbolize, as has been often said, the truth that the single virtue is powerless in great emergency unless helped by Magnificence, sum of all the virtues. Or he may, more reasonably, represent the old device familiar in romance technique, of having the greatest knight in the world, Lancelot or another, appear in a story in which a new and untried knight is the titular hero. Spenser's art is complex, compound of many simples; both these conceptions may have been in his mind. But the great conception, the one that goes to the root of his real thought, is bound up with the widespread interest in the return motif. England is saved by the interposition of Arthur the Briton. . . .

In some such manner, I believe, we must approach the vexed problem of Spenser's political intention. The virtues are those that seemed, not to Spenser alone but to the English people, incarnate in their queen. That he should speak of them as Aristotelian in origin and twelve in number offers no difficulty. There was common knowledge of Aristotle, his ethics and his politics; and in the seventh book of the *Politics* Aristotle had stressed temperance as a major virtue. But in Spenser and his time it was a diffused Aristotelianism that was influential; we do not find in the *Faerie Queene* a systematic translation of the ethics any more than we find in it a systematic but concealed contemporary history. The first achievement of the queen was the restoration of religion; the next was the establishment of a settled government by routing Discord, Guile, Zeal and all fanaticisms, the lure of the irrational and intemperate. These basal idealisms, themes treated in a large body of Elizabethan writings, Spenser built into his poem, built into it, also, the great theme of the return of the house of Arthur and the restoration of ancient British glory.

APPENDIX VII

THE CHARACTER OF UNA

JOHN WILSON ("The Fairy Queen," pp. 429-430).¹ Where else is woman, in her pure ideal, still so humanly beautiful? True that Spenser's Ladyes, happy or forlorn, do not smile—do not sigh—do not weep—in the same intense spirit of joy or grief, as the Ladyes, happy or forlorn, of Shakspeare. Nor with them so intense are our sympathies. No pious daughter—holy on earth as if she had come from heaven—is strangled before our eyes by a slave at bidding of a sister. Such event, to be believed possible, in Providence, demanded a whole Tragedy to itself from the soul of Shakspeare—nor would nature suffer any one but him to hear the heart of Lear crack on Cordelia dead. Yet a divine poet has felt that one fair creature—"so sad, so suffering, so serene"—in her perilous wanderings through the wilds of Faery—still belonging to human life, though from all things human in her solitariness far remote—may be linked in love—within the heart's recesses—with one who belonged, in her fatal trouble, wholly to this waking world. ✓

Two will I mention, dearer than the rest—
The gentle Lady married to the Moor;
And heavenly Una with her milk-white lamb.

Dearer than the rest—and equally dear to Nature's Priest. But dear for sake of different kinds of dread. Each line has its own image that reveals its own world of woe—each being has her own epithet that shews her own suffering heart. "The *gentle* Lady," uncomplaining ever—and forgiving to the last; "*Heavenly* Una," as a mournful sky subduing the voice of angry waters to peace. "Married to the Moor!" The murderous Moor, swarthy as a starless night. "With her milk-white lamb"—a creature dropt from a snow-cloud! How each innocent nature grows lovelier by comparison! To Desdemona we give all the pity our heart can hold—we grieve that it can hold no more—and we weep at her burial. But Una and her companion glide away from our eyes, that cease to see them through a mist of tears in which there is no pain—death has nothing to do with them, though they cannot escape suffering—and their sorrow is beautiful, as if it breathed but a transient shade over the lustre of Immortals.

AUBREY DE VERE ("Characteristics of Spenser's Poetry," pp. 263-6). We need go no further than the first book of the *Faery Queen* for a proof that Spenser could illustrate human nature as well as allegorise the Passions; for its heroine, Una, is one of the noblest contributions which poetry, whether of ancient or modern times, has made to its great picture gallery of character. As long as Homer's Andromache and Nausicaa, Chaucer's Cecilia, Griselda, and Constance, the Imogen of Shakspeare, or the Beatrice of Dante, are remembered, so long will Una hold her place among them. One of the most noteworthy things in this character is the circumstance that so few elements suffice to invest it with an entire completeness. What are those elements? Truth, Reverence, Tenderness,

Humility. It is that conception of character, at once Christian and womanly, which belongs to the earlier Italian poetry more than to that of other nations, or of later times, in which the woman is so often lost in the Goddess or the Syren. Una's life is spent in the discharge of one great duty—the deliverance of her parents from thrall. (In her simplicity she reposes an entire trust in the youthful knight who, at Queen Gloriana's command, has undertaken the enterprise, and with whom she travels alone through wood and wild, gladly repaying his love with hers, but never shaken in her devotion to her parents far away. He forsakes her, persuaded through the spells of the enchanter Archimago that she is false. She wonders, and she mourns; but the wound of an insulted love is not exasperated by self-love, and therefore it heals. She is too humble to be humiliated; and when she learns that he has fallen under the thralldom of the wicked witch Duessa, she roams over the world in the hope of delivering him who had vowed to be her deliverer. ✓ The milk-white lamb which she "led in a line" as she rode, and the lion which emerged from the woods to become her protector, may have suggested the lines in which Wordsworth illustrates the chivalrous age—

The lamb is couchant at the lion's side;
And near the flame-eyed eagle sits the dove.

✓ The purity of Una, unlike that of Belphebe or Britomart, has culminated in sanctity, and is symbolized by that veil, on the rare removal of which her face sends forth a divine radiance. It is this sanctity which overawes the merry wood-gods; nor can it be regarded as less than a serious blemish in the poem that the same high spell should not have overawed all besides [1. 6. 12, 13 quoted]. ✓
* (Una is as brave as she is meek; and it is her timely courage that delivers her knight after his restoration to her.) When he is on the point of yielding to the spells of Despair, that most powerful of all Spenser's impersonations, at the moment when

his hand did quake,
And tremble, like a leaf of aspen greene,
And troubled blood through his pale face was seen
To come and go with tidings from the heart,
As it a running messenger had been,

she snatches the dagger from his hand, and breaks the enchantment. She leads him to the House of Holiness, where, by goodly discipline, as well as a fuller initiation into the Faith, the knight is rendered fit for his great enterprise; and she does not shrink from a spiritual penance greater than his—

His own deere Una hearing evermore
His rueful shriekes and gronings, often tore
Her guiltless garments and her golden heare,
For pitty of his payne and anguish sore;
Yet all with patience wisely did she beare,
For well she wist his cryme could els be never cleere.

He slays the dragon; in the palace of Una's rescued parents the wedding-feast is held; and when she, the emblem of Truth in its sacred unity,

had layd her mourneful stole aside,
And widow-like sad wimple throwne away,
Wherewith her heavenly beautie she did hide,

the radiance then revealed is such that even the Red Cross Knight

Did wonder much at her celestial sight;
Oft had he scene her faire, but never so faire sight.

EDWARD DOWDEN (*Transcripts and Studies*, pp. 315-320). In the legend of St. George, as accepted by artists of the Middle Ages, the virgin Cleodolinda, the Andromeda of Christian mythology, is about to die, when the warrior, now riding forward to join his legion, perceives her distress, rescues her, and slays the dragon. Spenser recasts the legend: Una is never exposed to the monster; she devotes herself to the delivery of her parents, and the part which she plays in the adventure is far from being a passive one. To her the champion of her cause owes the sword which fights her battle, and hope, and courage, and forgiveness, and love, and even life itself. Before her arrival he seems but a clownish young man among the splendid personages of Gloriana's court; it is Una who brings him his great charger and the silver shield. Throughout Spenser's poem, although Una is so young, so tender, so mild, while the knight is stout and bold, there is a certain protectiveness on her part towards him; yet this is united in such a way with gentle fervid loyalty and trust that it seems to imply no consciousness of superiority.) St. George is not yet delivered from the cloud of youthful ignorance and unpurged passion: in his courage there is something of mere "greedy hardiment"; in his indignation against evil there is too little care to distinguish the innocent from the guilty; in his sorrow for wrong-doing there is some of that lax self-pity which prefers the easy way of despair and death to the hardness of strenuous discipline. But Una has already known the good and evil things of life. She first recognizes the peril of the Wandering Wood, yet the knight being once pledged to encounter with the serpent of the cavern, she would not have him draw back; she is aware that no half-measures will serve in such a struggle with error, and heartens St. George to the desperate effort. . . . And when this first victory has been achieved, the eager approach and joyous greeting of his lady fill the weary knight with new strength, so that she has now to warn him that before new adventure rest is needful, and refreshment, and the wise counsel of the night. As she would utterly destroy the evil creature of the Wandering Wood, so when at length the enchantress Duessa, the deceiver of her lord, is overthrown, Una shows no weakness of false pity. Her lord's feeble cry comes to her from the dungeon when no one else has heard it, and the wrath of Una, pure and innocent as her own lamb, is unflinching as that wrath of the Lamb of which we read elsewhere. . . .)

Duessa is not slain, but all her loathsomeness of body is laid bare; this Una decrees, and her knight must look upon the withered hag whom he had taken to himself in Una's place; after that let her deceive him if she can. But before St. George endures the pain and shame which are needful, Una has already taken him to her heart, with only tears for his piteous aspect, and no word of reproach except against the evil star which had wronged his truer self. . . . Yet another subtle and dangerous enemy the young knight meets before his trial of strength with the dragon. The strange fascination which resides in the words of Despair has laid its spell upon his soul; his eye broods on the dull waters of death; his resolution ebbs; he is tending heavily to the grave; the dagger is in his trembling hand. For one moment Una feels the blood run cold to her heart, and she is

on the point of swooning; the next she snatches away the accursed knife, with courageous words which strive for the desperate man's sake to be reproachful. . . .

In Dame Coelia's house Una is indeed happy. The reverent matron cherishes her; she is as a sister among the three comely daughters; and she knows that joy so dear to a woman's heart of acting as an earthly Providence to her lover, of fashioning him in ways after her mind, and of anticipating in her spiritual child some of the delights of motherhood, while she watches him grow daily in thews and stature, in all the cardinal virtues and all the Christian graces. His rueful shrieks and groanings come to her when Patience disciplines him with the iron whip, and Una writhes under the torment as if it were her own; but it is wholesome for him to endure, and she bears all wisely and patiently. At last the scourgings, and nippings and prickings, and smartings are over; St. George is brought to her clean and sound, the son of her tears and prayers; he is her very own, and now with sweet complacency she kisses him, praying him to cherish himself and partake once more of gladness.

Una can endure joy as she can sorrow. Her joy is never a blinding bliss of life; it has in it a reasonableness and sweet sobriety. When Arthur overthrows her adversary, the royal maid comes running fast to greet his victory, "with sober gladness and mild modesty." Yet this perfect poise of joy has nothing of languor in it; she sees life steadily and sees it whole, and, therefore, she carries some of the sunshine into shady places, and in her elation there is a touch of sadness. On her betrothal morning Una comes forth as fresh and fair as the freshest flower in May; she is clothed in a robe all lily white, more pure and less proud than silk or silver; her sad wimple is thrown aside, and her face has in it the radiance of the morning; yet at this most wished-for moment Una's gladness is wisely tempered and serious. . . .

But joy of any kind, unless it reside in the consciousness of loving duty done, is rare with Una, and, for all her strength of endurance and of affection, she is a frail and tender being, exposed to the roughest buffetings of fortune. By nothing is Spenser so compassionate (to use a word of his own) as by the sight of woman in undeserved distress; the chivalrous fire kindles about his heart; wrath, and remorse, and love make him their own. And Una is for ever passing from calamity to calamity. The brightness of her aspect is that of a face very white and calm; she veils herself and wears the mourning stole in token of her sorrow; when she has laid aside the veil we see the clear shining of her beauty most often through tears. The lion forgets his rage in her presence, but the fealty of her wild champion brings a pang to the lady's heart, for it reminds her of her own lionlike lord, who has fled away from her. Then, after her manner of shunning violences of feeling, she compels herself to be calm, "in close heart shutting up her grief." Once more, when night comes in the miserable cottage of Abessa, her sorrow breaks its bounds, and once more at morning she is ready to resume her labours. The day brings only deception, and wrong, and anguish. Archimago, disguised as her own knight, rides towards her, and Una, in glad yet timid humility, approaches him, and presently taking heart, dares to greet him with happier welcome. Then comes the discovery of the old enchanter's fraud and bare escape from the violent hands of the Saracen. Among the kindly salvage tribe Una enjoys a short breathing-time, and resting her over-worn heart is yet

not idle; she is a teacher to the barbarous people of the gentle lore of Christ. When rescued from the woods, grief begins anew with the false tidings of St. George's death; the lady is so downcast that she cannot for sorrow keep pace with her protector, Satyrane. A second escape from the Paynim follows, and a second time assurance reaches her of her lord's death; for is not this the dwarf who hastens towards her bearing the masterless spear and shield? Una sinks from deep swoon to swoon; and then, when her case is almost desperate, the strong comfort reaches her of Prince Arthur's presence, and his reasonable words, which she, putting away her passion of grief, reasonably ponders and receives. Even the joy of her betrothal day is not unmingled with pain; the last guileful shaft of her adversary has still to be shot; with "sober countenance" Una confronts Archimago and unmasks his lie. At last she touches the whole of happiness, touches it and no more; she is made one with him who from the first had been dearer to her than the light of day, and almost at the same time she is divided from him. The Faerie champion must depart to accomplish other commands of Queen Gloriana, and Una is left to mourn.

APPENDIX VIII

THE PLATONIC ELEMENT

✓ J. S. HARRISON (*Platonism in English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 1-12). ' (The fundamental doctrine of Platonism as it was understood throughout the period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the reality of a heavenly beauty known in and by the soul, as contrasted with an earthly beauty known only to the sense. In this the Christian philosophic mind found the basis for its conception of holiness. Christian discipline and Platonic idealism blended in the *Faerie Queene* in the legend of the Red Cross Knight.) '

! (The underlying idea taught by Spenser in the first book is that holiness is a state of the soul in which wisdom or truth can be seen and loved in and for its beauty. In the allegorical scheme of his work Una stands for the Platonic wisdom, σοφία, or ἀρετή, and a sight of her in her native beauty constitutes the happy ending of the many struggles and perplexities that the Red Cross Knight experiences in his pursuit of holiness.) (The identification of Una with the Platonic idea of truth or wisdom is not merely a matter of inference left for the reader to draw; for Spenser himself is careful to inform us of the true nature of the part she plays in his allegory. Una is presented as teaching the satyrs truth and "trew sacred lore." When the lion, amazed at her sight, forgets his fierceness, Spenser comments:

O how can beauteie maister the most strong,
And simple truth subdue avenging wrong?

When Una summons Arthur to the rescue of the Red Cross Knight from the Giant and the Dragon, Spenser opens his canto with a reflection on the guiding power of grace and truth amid the many perils of human life:

Ay me, how many perils doe enfold
The righteous man, to make him daily fall,
Were not, that heavenly grace doth him uphold,
And stedfast truth acquite him out of all.
Her love is firme, her care continuall,
So oft as he, through his owne foolish pride,
Or weaknesse, is to sinful bands made thrall.

Here Arthur is meant by grace and Una by truth. In accordance with the same conception of Una's nature Satyrane is made to wonder

at her wisdome heavenly rare,
Whose like in womens wit he never knew; . . .
Thenceforth he kept her goodly company,
And learnd her discipline of faith and veritie.

Furthermore, she is represented as guiding the Red Cross Knight to Fidelia's

school, where he is to taste her "heavenly learning," to hear the wisdom of her divine words, and to learn "celestiall discipline." In making these comments and in thus directing the course of the action of his poem Spenser presents in Una the personification of truth or wisdom.

✓But he does more than this; he presents her not only as wisdom, but as true beauty. Spenser is so thoroughly convinced of the truth of that fundamental idea of Platonic ethics, that truth and beauty are identical, that he shows their union in the character of Una, in whom, as her name signifies, they are one. Plato had taught that the highest beauty which the soul can know is wisdom, which though invisible to sight, would inflame the hearts of men in an unwonted degree could there be a visible image of her.) In his *Phaedrus* he had stated that "sight is the most piercing of our bodily senses; though not by that is wisdom seen; her loveliness would have been transporting if there had been a visible image of her" (250) (Convinced, as Spenser was, of the spiritual nature of the beauty of wisdom, he carefully avoids dwelling upon any detail of Una's physical beauty. The poetic form of allegory, through which his ideas were to be conveyed, required the personification of truth, and the romantic character of chivalry demanded that his Knight should have a lady to protect. The progress of the action of the poem, moreover, made necessary some reference to the details of Una's form and feature (Cf. 3 4-6; 6. 9) But in no instance where the physical form of Una is brought to notice is there any trace of the poet's desire to concentrate attention upon her physical charms. In this respect Una stands distinctly apart from all his other heroines, and especially Belpheobe. And yet Spenser has taken the greatest care to show that the source of Una's influence over those that come into her presence lies in the power exerted by her beauty; but this is the beauty of her whole nature, a penetrating radiance of light revealing the soul that is truly wise. Indeed, when Spenser has the best of opportunities to describe Una, after she has laid aside the black stole that hides her features, he contents himself with a few lines, testifying only to their radiant brilliancy.

Her angels face

As the great eye of heaven shyned bright,
And made a sunshine in the shadie place.

In other instances he directs our attention to the power which the mere sight of her has upon the beholder. Her beauty can tame the raging lion and turn a ravenous beast into a strong body-guard who finds his duty in the light of her fair eyes:

It fortun'd out of the thickest wood
A ramping Lyon rushed suddainly,
Hunting full greedie after salvage blood;
Soone as the royall virgin he did spy,
With gaping mouth at her ran greedily,
To have attonce devour'd her tender corse:
But to the pray when as he drew more ny,
His bloudie rage asswaged with remorse,
And with the sight amazd, forgat his furious forse.

The Lyon would not leave her desolate,
 From her faire eyes he tooke commaundement,
 And ever by her lookes conceived her intent.

The wild-wood gods stand astonished at her beauty, and in their wonder pity her desolate condition. Old Sylvanus is smitten by a sight of her. In her presence he doubts the purity of his own Dryope's fairness; sometimes he thinks her Venus, but then on further reflection he recalls that Venus never had so sober mood; her image calls to mind—

His ancient love, and dearest Cyparisse . . .
 How fair he was, and yet not faire to this.

To behold her lovely face the wood nymphs flock about and when they have seen it, they flee away in envious fear, lest the contrast of its beauty may disgrace their own. By these dramatic touches Spenser very skilfully suggests to his reader the high nature of Una's beauty. It has a power to win its way upon the brute creation, and it has a severity and radiance that set it off from the beauty of physical form possessed by the wood nymphs and even by the great goddess of love, Venus. {

The most important consideration that bears upon the question of Una's beauty is found in the method which Spenser has used to indicate how the Red Cross Knight attains to a knowledge of it. One reason why the people of the wood, the nymphs, the fauns, and the satyrs, were permitted to see the celestial beauty of Una unveiled lay in the fact that through their experiences a means was provided by the poet to quicken the imagination into a sense of its pure nature. But the Knight, though he had journeyed with her throughout a great portion of her "wearie journey," had never been able to see her face in its native splendor, hidden, as it had always been, from his sight by the black veil which Una wore. The deep conceit which Spenser here uses points in the direction of Platonism; for there it was taught that wisdom could be seen only by the soul. This is a fundamental truth, present everywhere in Plato, in the vision of beauty that rises before the mind at the end of the dialectic of the *Symposium*, in the species of divine fury that accompanies the recollection of the ideal world in the presence of a beautiful object, as analyzed in the *Phaedrus*, and in the *Hymn of the Dialectic* in the *Republic* by which the soul rises to a sight of the good (VII. 532). In the *Phaedo* the function of philosophy is explained to lie in the exercise by the soul of this power of spiritual contemplation of true existence (82, 83). In Spenser this conception is further illustrated by the part which the schooling, received by the Red Cross Knight on the Mount of Contemplation, played in the perfection of his mental vision. Up to the time when the Knight comes to the Mount he is, as the aged sire says, a "man of earth," and his spirit needs to be purified of all the grossness of sense. When this has been accomplished, the Knight is prepared to

see the way,
 That never yet was seene of Faeries sonne.

While on this Mount he is initiated into a knowledge of the glories of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and through this experience he is made aware of the relative

insignificance of that beauty which he had thought the greatest to be known on earth. He thus says to the aged man, Heavenly Contemplation, who has revealed this vision to him:

Till now, said then the knight, I weened well,
That great Cleopolis, where I have beene,
In which that fairest *Faerie Queene* doth dwell,
The fairest Citie was, that might be seene;
And that bright towre all built of christall cleene,
Panthea, seemd the brightest thing, that was:
But now by prooffe all otherwise I weene;
For this great Citie that does far surpas,
And this bright Angels towre quite dims that towre of glas.

With his soul filled with the radiance of this vision of beauty, his eyes dazed—

Through passing brightness, which did quite confound
His feeble sence, and too exceeding shyne.
So darke are earthly things compar'd to things divine—

the Red Cross Knight descends from the Mount; and when after the completion of his labors he sees Una on the day of her betrothal, he wonders at a beauty in her which he has never before seen. Una has now laid aside her black veil, and shines upon him in the native undimmed splendor of truth.

The blazing brightness of her beauties beame,
And glorious light of her sunshyny face
To tell, were as to strive against the streame.
My ragged rimes are all too rude and bace,
Her heavenly lineaments for to enchace.
Ne wonder; for her owne deare loved knight,
All were she dayly with himselfe in place,
Did wonder much at her celestiall sight:
Oft had he scene her faire, but never so faire dight.

The contribution of Platonism to the formation of the ideal of holiness can now be easily recognized. The discipline of the Red Cross Knight in the House of Holiness is twofold. In the practice of the Christian graces—faith, hope, and charity—the Knight is perfected in the way of the righteous life. He is a penitent seeking to cleanse his soul of the infection of sin. On the Mount of Heavenly Contemplation he exercises his soul in the contemplative vision of the eternal world. But the emphasis laid by Platonism upon the loveliness of that wisdom which is the object of contemplation results in quickening the imagination and in stirring the soul to realize the principle in love. This is the exact nature of the experience of the Red Cross Knight at the end of his journey. On the Mount of Heavenly Contemplation he has a desire to remain in the peaceful contemplation of heaven:

O let me not, (quoth he) then turne againe
Backe to the world, whose joyes so fruitlesse are;
But let me here for aye in peace remaine,
Or streight way on that last long voyage fare,
That nothing may my present hope empare.

But the aged sire, Heavenly Contemplation, reminds him of his duty to free Una's parents from the dragon. Obedient but still purposing to return to the contemplative life, the Knight descends; and in the performance of his duty he gains the reward that the contemplative life brings. "But he," says Plato, "whose initiation is recent, and who has been the spectator of many glories in the other world, is amazed when he sees any one having a godlike face or any bodily form which is the expression of divine beauty" (*Phaedrus* 251). Thus it is that the Red Cross Knight

Did wonder much at her celestial sight.

With that sight comes the one joy of his life after the many struggles experienced in the perfection of his soul in holiness.

And ever, when his eye did her behold,
His heart did seeme to melt in pleasures manifold.

APPENDIX IX

THE MUSE OF THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

FREDERICK M. PADEFORD ("The Muse of the *Faerie Queene*"). In the proem to the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser addresses the muse as follows:

Helpe then, O holy virgin, chiefe of nync,
Thy weaker novice to performe thy will;
Lay forth out of thine everlasting scryne
The antique rolles, which there lye hidden still,
Of Faerie knights, and fayrest tanaquill,
Whom that most noble Briton Prince so long
Sought through the world, and suffered so much ill,
That I must rue his undeserved wrong:
O, helpe thou my weake wit, and sharpen my dull tong.

Upton, Church, Percival, and other editors assume that the muse here invoked is Clio. This is far from being self-evident, however. The case for Clio receives apparent support from III. 3. 4, where the poet, about to deal with the ancestry of Elizabeth, calls upon Clio to assist him, addressing her as "my dearest sacred dame":

Begin then, O my dearest sacred Dame!
Daughter of Phæbus and of Memorye,
That doest ennoble with immortall name
The warlike Worthies, from antiquitye,
In thy great volume of Eternitye:
Begin, O Clio: and recount from hence
My glorious Soveraines goodly auncestrye,
Till that by due degrees, and long pretense,
Thou have it lastly brought unto her Excellence.

Here it is recognized that Clio is the muse who keeps the records of past heroes and who must inspire an historical canto. Moreover, she is addressed as "my dearest sacred Dame," an epithet that seems in keeping with the earlier expression "holy virgin, chiefe of nync." At first glance it would seem that these two passages, taken together, settle the question of the muse addressed in the proem, who is the muse presiding over the *Faerie Queene* as a whole. It may be objected, however, that the poet would not have felt the need of invoking the aid of Clio in Book Three if she had been the muse who had aided him in writing the preceding books, and that the very language of the request, "Begin and recount," implies that Clio's good offices are here needed for the first time, the poet turning from another muse to her because of the subject matter to be treated, which is strictly historical. Again the phrase "my dearest sacred Dame" may mean only "my very dear sacred Dame," expressive of the poet's well-known fondness for antiquarian and historical lore, and a term of address that would be quite justified if the poet were turning for the nonce to a fresh muse whose good offices were very needful.

Clio is again addressed in VII. 6. 37. The poet, departing from the dominant theme of Book VII—the controversy of Mutability and Nature, and about to weave together classical mythology and Irish nature lore in the charming narrative of Diana's punishment of Molanna for her treachery, observes:

And, were it not ill fitting for this file,
To sing of hilles and woods, mongst warres and knights,
I would abate the sternenesse of my stile,
Mongst these sterne stounds to mingle soft delights;
And tell how Arlo through Dianaes spights
(Bceing of old the best and fairest hill
That was in all this holy-islands hights)
Was made the most unpleasant and most ill.
Meane while, O Clio, lend Calliope thy quill.

Then after finishing the narrative, the poet returns from the digression and resumes as follows (VII. 7. 1):

Ah! whither doost thou now, thou greater Muse,
Me from these woods and pleasing forrests bring?
And my fraile spirit (that dooth oft refuse
This too high flight, unfit for her weake wing)
Lift up aloft, to tell of heavens king
(Thy soveraine sire) his fortunate successe,
And victory in bigger noates to sing,
Which he obtain'd against that Titanesse,
That him of heavens empire sought to dispossesse?

Thereupon succeeds the account of how in the presence of all the gods assembled upon Arlo hill, Mutability claimed supremacy, only to be rebuked by great Dame Nature, whose rebuke is upheld by Jove. In this canto the poet deals with a fundamental cosmic and ethical problem under the guise of mythology.

It has been taken for granted that the "greater Muse" here addressed is Clio, who resumes her task of directing the composition of the *Faerie Queene* after temporarily giving way to Calliope. The line "Meane while, O Clio, lend Calliope thy quill" is, however, susceptible of two interpretations. It may mean, "Meanwhile, O Clio, give way for the moment to Calliope," or it may mean, "Meanwhile, O Clio, lend thy services for the moment to Calliope." If the former be the meaning, Clio is the "greater Muse," and the story of Diana's desertion of Arlo Hill is treated as epic material and therefore in the province of Calliope, and the controversy between Mutability and Nature as historical material and in the province of Clio; if the latter be the meaning, Calliope is the "greater Muse," and the story of Diana's desertion of Arlo Hill is treated as historical material and therefore in the province of Clio, and the controversy as epic material and in the province of Calliope.

At first blush the two episodes seem equally mythical, concerned as they are with the doings of the gods. The changing of the course of the river Molanna and its ultimate union with the Fanchin is, however, assumed to be an historical fact, which is merely given a mythological interpretation for poetic effect. That would seem to favor assigning this episode to Clio, and therefore recognizing Calliope as the "greater Muse" and consequently the muse addressed in the poem

to Book One. Certainly a debate with Jove as the umpire would seem to be essentially epic material. On the other hand, it may be plausibly argued that the debate between Mutability and Nature, dealing with cosmic theories as illustrated by the observation of natural phenomena and the experience of man, is basically historical.

There is still a fourth address to the muse, in 1. 11. 5-7, but it leaves one equally uncertain as to which muse is implied. The occasion is the fight between the Red Crosse Knight and the Dragon, and the poet implores the muse, who is wont to arouse the martial spirit in men, to sing in "second tenor," reserving her more "furious fitt" for the clash of arms between the Faerie Queene and her rival, the great Paynim King:

Now, O thou sacred Muse, most learned dame,
Fayre ympe of Phoebus, and his aged bryde,
The nourse of time and everlasting fame,
That warlike handes ennoblest with immortall name;

O gently come into my feeble brest,
Come gently, but not with that mightie rage,
Wherewith the martiall troupes thou doest infest,
And hartes of great heroës doest enrage,
That nought their kindled corage may aswage:
Soone as thy dreadfull trompe begins to sownd,
The god of warre with his fiers equipage
Thou doest awake, sleepe never he so sownd,
And scared nations doest with horror sterne astownd.

Fayre goddess, lay that furious fitt asyde,
Till I of warres and bloody Mars doe sing,
And Bryton fieldes with Sarazin blood bedyde,
Twixt that great Faery Queene and Paynim King,
That with their horror heaven and earth did ring,
A worke of labour long, and endlesse prayse:
But now a while lett downe that haughtie string,
And to my tunes thy second tenor rayse,
That I this man of God his godly armes may blaze.

Which then, Clio or Calliope, is the muse of the *Faerie Queene*? It is to me a puzzling question, for the four passages from the poem itself seem to leave it unsolved.

For supplementary data one naturally turns to other evidence supplied by Spenser himself, and first of all to *The Teares of the Muses*. As this was early work, it gives us Spenser's notions of the muses antecedent to the writing of the *Faerie Queene*. Clio as "eldest sister of the crew" speaks first. She laments the indifference of the nobility to learning and to worthy deeds:

In th' eyes of people they put all their praise,
And onely boast of arms and auncestrie:
But vertuous deeds, which did those armes first give
To their grandsyres, they care not to achieve.

So I, that doo all noble feates professe
To register, and sound in trump of gold,

Through their bad dooings, or base slothfulnesse,
 Finde nothing worthie to be writ, or told:
 For better farre it were to hide their names,
 Than telling them to blazon out their blames.

It is thus the office of Clio to register noble feats. The lament of Calliope is not sharply differentiated from that of Clio: the present nobility

Have both desire of worthie deeds forlorne,
 And name of learning utterly doo scorne.

Yet Calliope is more specific as to her own office and subject-matter, declaring that in olden times she was wont to praise in heroic style

The goodly off-spring of Joves progenie,
 That wont the world with famous acts to fill,

and she definitely cites "Bacchus, Hercules, and Charlemaine" as mortal heroes whom she has raised to the station of demi-gods. She thus claims as her own the stories of the classical heroes of the ancient world, and she annexes the Charlemagne romances, which may include the Italian romances as well. As the *Faerie Queene* is an Arthurian romance, it would seem to fall into her province. Again, she declares that, inasmuch as she spurs men to good deeds by giving heroic actions their due praise, she is called "the nurse of vertue and golden trompet of eternitie." This phrase is so strikingly similar to that in 1. 1. 5, where the poet addresses the muse as

The nourse of time and everlasting fame,
 That warlike handes ennoblest with immortall name,

that it is hard to escape the conclusion that the one passage determined the other, and that Calliope is therefore the muse addressed in the passage from the *Faerie Queene*. "The nurse of vertue" is also a highly significant phrase in view of Spenser's professed purpose in the *Faerie Queene* to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." The reader need not be reminded of the many passages in the course of the six books in which virtue is expounded; the word is ever upon the poet's lips.

One turns next to *The Shepheardes Calender*, not forgetting that Spenser was formulating the general scheme of his epic at the very time that he was composing the eclogues. In the April eclogue, Calliope, followed by the other muses, speeds her to the place where the "fayre Eliza" shines, the gloss remarking that Calliope is "one of the nine Muses, to whome they assigne the honor of all poetical invention, and the first glorie of the heroicall verse." In the June eclogue, Hobbinol (Gabriel Harvey) is made to say that he saw Calliope and the other muses forego their musical instruments as soon as Colin (Spenser) began to sound his oaten pipes, and the gloss again comments upon Calliope. Calliope is thus singled out among the muses, and Clio is not mentioned at all. Even granted that Spenser had no hand in the glosses, in common with the writer of the glosses he must have recognized Calliope as "the first glorie of the heroicall verse," and in the June eclogue is not Gabriel Harvey made to say that Spenser turned aside from his projected epic to write *The Shepheardes Calender*?

I saw Calliope wyth Muses moe,
 Soone as thy oaten pype began to sound,
 Theyr yvory luyts and tamburins forgoe,
 And from the fountaine, where they sat around,
 Renne after hastely thy silvcr sound.

Would she not be the proper muse to inspire a poem which was all dedicated to the exploits of Arthur, "the image of a brave knight," and of the other heroes who make up this Arthurian galaxy? After reading *The Teares of the Muses* and *The Shepheardes Calender*, one would certainly expect to find the poet choosing Calliope as the muse of his *Faerie Queene*.

As in the letter to Raleigh Spenser states that he is following "all the antique poets historicall," and mentions specifically Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso, one turns to the classical epics and the Italian romances to see what muse or muses are there addressed. Homer appeals to the muse, but to no muse in particular; he recognizes that there are nine, but does not differentiate their provinces. In the opening verses of the *Aeneid*, Virgil merely invokes the Muse generically, but in the ninth canto (525-529), when he is about to relate the daring attack of Turnus upon the Trojan towers, while invoking the muses in general, he addresses Calliope in particular: "Ye Muses, and thou, Calliope, I pray, inspire my song; that I may tell what slaughter, what destruction Turnus wrought; whom each warrior sent down to the shades: do ye with me unfold the mighty scroll of war; for you remember, Ladies, and from your memory can relate." Some scholars are of the opinion that by syllepsis Calliope here stands for all of the muses, but the suggestion seems improbable, for why should the poet indulge in such meaningless redundancy? It is more reasonable to assume that he thus singles out Calliope either because he regards her as the foremost of the muses, or as the muse especially concerned with heroic deeds.

On the contrary, in the tenth book of the *Thebais* (628-631), where Statius is about to exalt the patriotic heroism of Menoeceus, he solicits the aid of Clio, she who is mindful of antiquity and the ordered generations:

Nunc, age, quis stimulos et pulchrac gaudia mortis
 Addiderit iuveni (neque enim haec absentibus umquam
 Mens homini transmissa deis) memor incipe Clio,
 Saecula te quoniam penes et digesta vetustas.

This is clearly a recognition of Clio as the muse of history. As between Virgil and Statius, there can be little question which would carry the greater authority with Spenser.

Turning now to the Italian romances, Boiardo does not invoke the muse at the opening of the *Orlando Innamorato*, but in canto thirty addresses Venus, the "holy mother of Aeneas, daughter of Jove, delight of men and of gods." Ariosto likewise appeals to Venus—unless, indeed, the appeal is only to his lady—but with characteristic mockery. . . . Finally Tasso, in the beginning of his grave Christian epic, a product of the Catholic Reformation, implores the divine aid either of Urania—Celestial Intelligence, or of the Blessed Virgin. . . .

In the *Rinaldo*, Tasso merely supplicates the Muse who had aided him in the composition of his sonnets and madrigals, to assist him in attempting a sustained poem of chivalry.

It is thus to be seen that there was no clear tradition among the epic poets for Spenser to follow; the example of Virgil, however, would favor the selection of Calliope.

One turns next to other classical sources. We know that Spenser was an attentive reader of Hesiod. In the *Theogony* (79 ff.) Hesiod gives the names of the nine muses, the first writer to do so, and their genealogy. Calliope alone is singled out for special mention: "Calliope is the foremost of them all, for she is concerned with [sings] the deeds of lordly monarchs:"

Καλλιόπη θ' ἦτε προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασίων,
ἣ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Did not Spenser have this authority in mind when he singled out Calliope for mention in *The Shepheardes Calender*, and is not the epithet "chief of nync," which he employs when apostrophizing the muse in the proem to Book One, a translation of Hesiod's προφερεστάτη ἀπασίων? It is not to be overlooked that as in the June eclogue Hobbinol sees Calliope lay aside her lute when Colin begins to play the shepherd's pipe, so in the proem this same Colin announces that he is laying aside his "oaten reeds" to sing of knights and ladies, and thereupon invokes the aid of the "holy virgin, chiefe of nync."

Plutarch, another Greek writer with whom Spenser discloses his familiarity, treats of the muses in Question Fourteen of the *Symposiasts*, which has to do with the number and offices of the muses. The pertinent sentences read as follows: "This discourse ended, we poured out our offerings to the Muses, and together with a hymn in honor of Apollo, the patron of the Muses, we sung with Erato, who played upon the harp, the generation of the Muses out of Hesiod. After the song was done, Herod the rhetorician said: Pray sirs, hearken. Those that will not admit Calliope to be ours say that she keeps company with kings, not such, I suppose, as are busied in resolving syllogisms or disputing, but such who do those things that belong to rhetoricians and statesmen. But of the rest of the Muses, Clio abets encomiums, for praises are called κλέα; and Polymnia history, for her name signifies the remembrance of many things. . . . One faculty of our reason is said to be political or imperial, over which Hesiod says Calliope presides; Clio's province is the noble and aspiring."

This symposium shows the uncertainty about the offices of the various muses which existed in the mind of a Greek writer of the first Christian century, but Plutarch accepts the dictum of Hesiod that Calliope presides over things political and imperial. This is of moment in view of the Renaissance interpretation of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* as exemplifying in the persons of Agamemnon, Achilles, and Aeneas the good monarch and the good governor.

Ovid was another writer whom Spenser, in common with all well-educated men of his day, knew intimately. In the *Metamorphoses*, Book 5, Fable 3, one of the muses repeats to Minerva the song of Calliope, in answer to the Pierides, in which she describes the defeat of the giant, Typhoeus, and Pluto viewing the mountains of Sicily, where Venus persuades her son Cupid to pierce his heart with one of his arrows. Ovid clearly recognized that Calliope was the appropriate muse to relate the heroic doings of the gods. If Spenser followed Ovid in this regard, Calliope would be the muse who aided him in telling of the debate between

Mutability and Nature before high Jove—the predominant theme of Book Seven, and consequently the muse of the *Faerie Queene* as a whole. Clio would then be the muse invoked for the interpolation of the Irish river episode, "Mean while, O Clio, lend Calliope thy quill" meaning "for the moment, O Clio, come to the aid of Calliope."

In general the Roman poets recognized Calliope far more than Clio. It is only fair to observe, however, that so much confusion existed as to the special provinces of the muses that Horace (*Carmina* 3. 4. 1) appeals to her as the muse of lyric poetry; Ovid, on one occasion (*Tr.* 2. 568), as the muse of amatory poetry; Columella (10. 225), as the muse of rural poetry; and Lucretius (6. 94), as the muse to address in discussing such natural phenomena as lightning, clouds, water-spouts, etc.—an office, by the way, which Plutarch assigns to Euterpe. . . . Even this diversity of office, however, is indicative of the preëminence which Calliope enjoyed among the poets.

As Spenser used Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* and the *Mythologiae* of Natalis Comes as handbooks, one turns to those Renaissance encyclopaedists for possible help. Natalis Comes says nothing that is pertinent to the problem. Boccaccio borrows a curious passage from Fulgentius (*Mythologiae* 1, Fabula 15), in which the muses are interpreted as the successive steps or modes in acquiring and expressing ideas. The concluding sentence summarizes the process as follows: "Primum est uelle doctrinam, secundum est delectari quod uelis, tertium est instare ad id quod delectatus es, quartum est capere ad quod instas, quintum est memorari quod capis, sextum est inuenire de tuo simile ad quod memineris, septimum, iudicare quod inuenias, octauum est eligere de quo iudicas, nonum bene proferre quod elegeris."

This grotesque and labored interpretation probably explains the statement in the gloss to the April eclogue that Calliope is the muse "to whome they assigne the honor of all poetical invention." It is at least of value to our discussion in recognizing Calliope as supreme among the muses; as the body of the text has it: "The ninth is Calliope, that is, having the best voice; in Homer's words: *θεῶς δ᾽ ἅπα φωνησάσης*, 'the voice of the goddess giving utterance.'"

In the late Roman art the muses are frequently depicted. Calliope is usually portrayed as standing, and holding a scroll in her hand; Clio as seated upon a chest, and also holding a scroll. If Spenser were familiar with this pictorial tradition, the lines in the proem to Book One

Lay forth out of thine everlasting scryne
The antique rolles, which there lye hidden still,

would lend some color to the Clio hypothesis.

There remains for consideration Spenser's fundamental conception of epic poetry. Did he think of it primarily as glorified history, composed in honor of Queen Elizabeth as the crowning glory of the Tudor line, or did he think of it as primarily an allegory of virtuous achievement? Virgil, to be sure, had written the *Aeneid* to glorify Rome and the Julian line, and Ariosto had written the *Orlando Furioso* to glorify the House of Este, but did Spenser regard this exaltation of persons and of *gens* as the *raison d'être* of the *Aeneid* and the *Orlando* and consequently of his own *Faerie Queene*? No, I believe that he did not. He wove much history into his poem, and he wrote as an ardent patriot, but I believe

that he conceived of his *Faerie Queene* as *primarily* an exposition of the virtuous man and only secondarily as history, and that he so regarded the *Aeneid* and the other epics. The familiar sentences in the letter to Raleigh are in line with the then universal idea of the epic as moral allegory, history or story merely furnishing the episodic material. . . .

However he might enjoy their immortal verse for itself, an Elizabethan could never forget that Homer and Virgil were great moral poets, seeking to instruct. He was the inheritor of a venerable, if mistaken, tradition. It would be wearisome to retrace this tradition through the long centuries from Fulgentius (*obit* A. D. 550) to Sidney. Dante, Bernard of Chartres, John of Salisbury, Petrarch, the entire school of Italian writers on poetics—Capriano, Castlevetro, Daniello, Robortelli, Trissino, and notably Scaliger, the literary dictator of the Renaissance, Landini of the Platonic Academy at Florence, "the prince of Virgilian allegorists," and finally the English apologists—Puttenham, Webbe and Sidney, all proclaim it. "For Landini and Scaliger alike, the final meaning of the *Aeneid* consisted in its union of the principle of resistance to evil as incarnated in Aeneas with that of divine providence as less satisfactorily represented by the interferences of the gods in his story." Some writers found in Homer and Virgil allegorical expositions of the active and the contemplative life; some, expositions of the virtues of private and political man; some, more general illustrations, by way of example, of wisdom or folly, virtue or vice. But all found in the classical epics, to quote the words of Chapman, "the most material and doctrinal illations of truth, both for all manly information of manners in the young, all prescription of justice and even Christian piety in the most grave and high governed."

As for the Italian epics, in the initial romance, the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, Morgante is professedly the incarnation of the senses and the type of sensuality, and Astarolle an abstraction of the intellect. With the Catholic Reformation even the gay and bantering Ariosto, who probably had no other aim than to delight, was made to join the moralists as Fornari and Toscanella—whose commentaries Spenser thumbed—forced him, even in his most antic moods, to drag the allegoric wain. Tasso, a grave product of the counter-Reformation, was so serious about his allegory that he wrote an expository essay on his own immortal poem lest its purpose be misunderstood. So much for allegory in the Italian romances.

"If the body," wrote Chapman, "being the letter or history, seems fictive and beyond possibility to bring it into act, the sense then and allegory, which is the soul, is to be sought, which intends a more eminent expresse of Virtue for her loveliness, and Vice for her ugliness, in their several effects, going beyond the life than any art within life can possibly delineate." History is the body of an epic, allegory its soul. Thus did the Renaissance conceive of the epics, and thus did Spenser conceive of his *Faerie Queene*.

And now the conclusion of the whole matter. Spenser addresses the muse of his *Faerie Queene* as "the chiefe of nyne" and the "greater Muse." Which muse he had in mind cannot be determined from the internal evidence, for the appeal to Clio in III. 3. 4 may have been occasional, and the line in VII. 6. 37, "Mean while, O Clio, lend Calliope thy quill," allows of two plausible interpretations. One is therefore driven to external evidence. In the April gloss Calliope is called "the first glorye of the heroicall verse," and in *The Teares of the Muses*

she acclaims herself "the nurse of vertue" and the muse who sings of the mythological heroes—"Jove's progenie"—and of such later heroes as Charlemagne. These passages favor Calliope as Spenser's "greater Muse" and "chiefe of nyne." The classical writers concede Calliope the first place among the muses. Hesiod calls her the foremost of the nine, and in one form or another this preëminence is conceded her by Plutarch, Virgil, Ovid. Her name, indeed, was almost synonymous with poetry itself, so that she was frequently invoked in verse other than the heroic. As for the encyclopaedists, Boccaccio justifies the assertion of the gloss that she was the muse "to whom they assigne the honor of all poetical invention." Finally, the Renaissance conception of the epic as primarily moral, and only secondarily historical, favors Calliope.

JOSEPHINE W. BENNETT ("Spenser's Muse," abstracted by C. G. O.) presents the case for Clio as the "chiefe of nine" invoked by Spenser for the *Faerie Queene*. Clio is first in the list of Muses given in a pseudo-Vergilian epigram current at the time. Spenser must have read it in *Natalis Comes*, it is quoted by E. K., and Spenser follows the order of this list in his *Tears of the Muses*. Clio is also first in the lists of the mythographers, Fulgentius, Phornutus, and Boccaccio.

The traditional distinction between Clio and Calliope which the Renaissance favored, and which derived from these mythographers, is strongly in favor of Clio as the muse of the *Faerie Queene*. Clio, they say, from Greek "cleos," "glory," is the muse of fame; she is also the keeper and guardian of records; whereas Calliope, which name they explain as meaning "beautiful voice," is the muse of poetic expression in general, not of a particular poetic genre. Such seems to be Spenser's conception of Calliope in *The Shepheardes Calender* (April, June).

In his *Tears of the Muses*, if Spenser makes any distinction, he shows Clio more concerned with wars and feats of arms, Calliope with the wise acts and rule of semi-divine heroes.

Now in the *Faerie Queene* it is exactly these traditional concerns of Clio with which Spenser has to deal—feats of arms, antique records, and above all, fame. This appears particularly from 1. Proem. 2; 1. 11. 5-7; 3. 3. 4; and 4. 11. 10; and in his invention of the fair city Cleopolis, seat of Gloriana, with its crystal tower Panthea closely akin to the temple in Chaucer's *House of Fame* (*F. Q.* 1. 10. 58-9).

In Fulgentius the Muses also represent nine various steps in the Platonic ascent of the soul to heavenly wisdom or virtue, of which Clio is the first or "the will to know." Hence the poet calls all the Muses "the brood of blessed Sapience" (*Tears of the Muses* 72). Since he proceeds to assert (lines 85-90) that fame of virtuous deeds must begin with knowledge and intelligence, it follows that the idea of this Platonic Clio must be basic in a poem setting forth the adventures of various aspirants to idealized virtues.

As for the ambiguous shift of quill between Clio and Calliope for the episode of Diana in Book Seven (7. 6. 37. 9), it is more likely that Calliope relieves Clio than otherwise. So Vergil appeals to Calliope for help in a particular passage at 9. 525-9; and Statius in like manner at *Theb.* 8. 374 (cf. 1. 41; 10. 630).

Furthermore in Ovid (*Met.* 5. 339), and in Linocier's long account of the Muses, printed as an appendix in certain editions of Spenser's well-thumbed *Natalis Comes' Mythologiae*, Calliope appears as the muse more concerned with hymns

and with heroic doings of the gods. Such is essentially the legend of Diana and the Irish rivers in 7. 7. At any rate it is not matter for the muse of fame, history, and martial exploit.

EDITOR. The verses included among Virgil's epigrams probably determined the order in which the muses appear in *The Teares of the Muses*, but the fact that Clio comes first in the list creates no presumption that she was regarded as the chiefest.

Mrs. Bennett quite misinterprets the lament of Calliope in *The Teares of the Muses*. In effect Calliope says: "In former days I sang the glorious deeds of 'the goodly off-spring of Jove's progenie,' but the present descendants of Jove are degenerate, scorning both worthy deeds and learning. They care neither to hear of the ancient heroes nor to perpetuate their own memory. I exalted Hercules and Charlemagne to heaven, but their counterparts, the nobility of today, I cannot exalt because they are ignoble, seeking only pleasure, and not praise." If we can trust his own language, Spenser did not conceive of Calliope as exclusively "preoccupied with the 'famous acts' of the semi-divine heroes," but equally as "the nurse of vertue," eager to find in the court of Elizabeth some noblemen "worthie to command," some who would "care to do brave deed, or strive in vertue others to excell."

Again, if Calliope was the proper muse to bestow bays upon Eliza in the April eclogue, because of "presiding over things political and imperial," she would be the muse of the *Faerie Queene* if those scholars are correct who believe that the poem was designed to celebrate the political and imperial achievements of Elizabeth. And if she was "the nurse of vertue," was she not the muse to inspire a poem which was to illustrate and exalt all of the virtues, both private and public?

Moreover, if in his second address to the muse Spenser recognizes her as the one to sustain his verse when he should sing of "warres and bloody Mars," the example of Virgil, who addressed Calliope in particular when he was about to "unfold the mighty scroll of war" and to recite the "destruction Turnus wrought," is not to be lightly dismissed. Nor, in view of the very different nature of the episodes to be recited, is it convincing to couple this special appeal of Virgil's with the special appeal which Spenser makes when about to introduce the Diana-Molanna episode in the Cantos of Mutabilitie.

Finally, if, as Mrs. Bennett concedes, Calliope was the appropriate muse to relate the doings of the gods, would she not be the muse to whom the poet would turn when about to relate the great controversy between Mutability and Nature, which is carried on in the presence of all the gods, with Jove presiding? And that muse is the muse of the *Faerie Queene*.

TEXTUAL APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

The text of this edition is based on the 1596 quartos, the second edition of Part 1 of the *Faerie Queene* and the first edition of Part 2. Although volume one of 1596, with which we are immediately concerned, was printed from 1590, the text of 1596 shows sufficient alteration for the better to justify the opinion that Spenser was responsible for an incidental revision. It is not our belief that 1596 represents Spenser's correction of 1590 line by line; the number of spelling variants and their inconsistency would make such a view untenable. The fact remains that the 1596 quarto has the authority of the last edition in Spenser's lifetime. It was printed along with a fresh installment of the *Faerie Queene*, very probably under the author's supervision; in other words, it was not a new printing in the author's absence of a finished work, such as the later editions of the *Shephearδες Calendar*. We follow 1596, therefore, unless there is a strong presumption of error.

The copies of the early editions (1590 [2 copies], 1596, 1609, 1611) used in the preparation of this work are in the library of the Tudor and Stuart Club of the Johns Hopkins University. The text has been collated with the University of Washington's 1596 and photostats of 1590 in the Huntington Library. Readings in 1596 which for any reason appear doubtful, and a few 1590 readings, have been further checked with other copies. (See the note on the relations of the quartos.) No copies of 1617 known to us differ from 1611 in Book I.

It is not feasible to reproduce all the spelling variants in 1590; but they are subject to classification, most of them falling into a few groups. A preliminary note on the relations of the early quartos, with particular reference to spelling, is therefore included in the textual apparatus. It is hoped that this summary will in some measure compensate for the necessarily incomplete list of spelling variants. Since the punctuation variants are less numerous and less subject to classification, it is simpler to list all of them.

The following typographical conventions of the early quartos are not reproduced in the text nor noted in the variants: the use of VV for W; the ampersand; the tilde to indicate a following nasal; and the long s. Lower case v occurring where u might be expected is an exception to this rule. In the printing of diphthongs as ligatures or separate characters, the usage of 1596 is followed without listing the 1590 variants.

When the readings of the later editions can be included without comment, they are given in the variant readings. Conjectures and comments of previous editors and explanations of the readings adopted in this edition are given in the critical notes on the text. The list of readings for all editions after 1611 is selective; it is designed solely to give the reader some idea of the degeneration of the text through Hughes, and of the critical preferences of editors since Birch.

We have tried to provide textual apparatus adequate to make the single volume useable, but we wish to remind the reader that a general appendix on the text will be possible only when the work on the *Faerie Queene* is completed.

THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLY QUARTOS

Variant Copies of 1590 and 1596.

Copies of the 1590 *Faerie Queene*, like most Elizabethan books, consist of corrected and uncorrected sheets. On the strength of one such variant, it is customary to distinguish a "first issue" of the *Faerie Queene* when the book lacks the Welsh words (2. 10. 24. 8-9) on page 332, and a "second issue" when the text includes the Welsh words. In collating for this edition the so-called first and second "issues" of 1590, we found enough variants in Book I to demonstrate the error of such a distinction between the two copies. The corrected and uncorrected sheets are bound up indiscriminately, and the second (presumably corrected) "issue" is at fault in a number of cases where the first (presumably uncorrected) "issue" gives the corrected reading. Even the apparent correspondence between the presence or absence of the Welsh words and the spacing of the date on the title page does not hold good. In copies with the Welsh words (Tudor and Stuart Club, Huntington Library, Massachusetts Historical Society) the date on the title page is set close, thus: 1590. In copies with blank spaces on page 332 the date is usually spaced, thus: 1 5 9 0. But at least one copy with blank spaces, that in the Stark Collection at the University of Texas, has the title page date set close, and the British Museum copy (C. 12. h. 17), containing the Welsh words, has the date spaced. Finally, the "Faults Escaped" corrects "Seuith" to "Scuith," regardless of whether the Welsh words do or do not appear on page 332 of the text. The British Museum copy (C. 12. h. 17) reads in the text "Scuith" in both lines.

A list of the variant readings in Book I was circulated for checking with other copies of 1590, which, as our tabulation shows, differ with expected inconsistency. Since only the known differences in our copies were included in the list, it is highly probable that there are other variants where our copies happen to agree.

A similar check was made for Book I in the 1596 edition. In this case, since we have but one copy, we listed readings in our copy of 1596 which differed from those recorded by previous editors. Our check reveals fewer variants between copies than in 1590, but the fact is not necessarily an indication of greater uniformity in copies of 1596. The discovery of differences, largely accidental in any case, is more likely in the simultaneous use of two copies known to differ.

Reports on copies of 1596 were received from the following libraries: Bodleian, British Museum, Folger, Harvard, Huntington, University of Chicago, University of Washington, and Wrenn. The Bodleian (S. 22. Art. Seld.) and the Harvard copies agree with the Tudor and Stuart Club copy in reading "enchauter" in 1. 6. 42. 8; the other copies read "enchauter"; the Tudor and Stuart Club copy alone reads "So two they fight" in 1. 6. 47. 8; the other copies read "So they two fight."

Relations of 1590 and 1596.

The 1596 edition of Part 1 of the *Faerie Queene* was printed from a copy of 1590, which it follows in spacing line by line and page by page, except for the insertion of a stanza (1. 11. 3) in 1596. The resulting disparity in 1596, which affects pages 155-170, is caught up at the end of Canto 11; and the exact corre-

VARIANTS IN COPIES OF 1590

* Sig. Reference Book 1	Tudor and Stuart Club, PO 2358 1590a (Copy 1)	Tudor and Stuart Club, PO 2358 1590b (Copy 2), Massachusetts His- torical Society	British Museum (C. 12. h. 17)	Huntington (Church Copy 56741)	Chapin, Harvard, Huntington (Church Copy 50742), Morgan, Newberry, British Museum (G. 11, 535 and C. 28. b. 14), New York Public	Elizabethan Club, Wrenn	Stark Collection (University of Texas)	Bodleian (Malone 615)	Bodleian (F. 2. 62. Linc.)	Folger
H4 ^v 8. 47. 7.	weld	w eld	weld	w eld	weld	weld	weld	weld	w eld	weld
H5 ^r 9. 1. 1.	Goodly	goodly	Goodly	goodly	Goodly	Goodly	Goodly	Goodly	goodly	Goodly
H5 ^v 9. 4. 8.	billowes	dillowes	billowes	dillowes	billowes	dillowes	billowes	billowes	dillowes	dillowes
H6 ^v 9. 10. 3.	scornd	scormd	scornd	scornd	scornd	scornd	scornd	scornd	scormd	scornd
H8 ^v 9. 26. 2.	dye?	dye.	dye?	dye.	dye?	dye.	dye?	dye?	dye.	dye?
L3 ^v 11. 33. 2.	tace	race	race	tace	race	tace	race	race	tace	race
L3 ^v 11. 34. 9.	vew	new	new	vew	new	vew	new	new	vew	new
L5 ^v 11. 48. 9.	Inio	Into	Into	Inio	Into	Inio	Inio	Into	Inio	Into
L5 ^v 11. 49. 6.	yied	yield	yield	yied	yield	yied	yied	yield	yied	yield
L6 ^r 11. 50. 2-5.	(might [<i>misplaced</i> after line 2])	(might [<i>correctly</i> <i>pl a c e d</i> after line 4])	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>
M1 ^v 12. 18. 6.	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene	Queene
† Book 2										
X7 ^v 10. 24. 8-9.	<i>Blank spaces</i>	<i>Welsh words sup- plied, line 9 completed</i>	<i>Welsh words sup- plied correctly, line 9 completed</i>	<i>Welsh words sup- plied, line 9 completed</i>	<i>Blank spaces</i>	<i>Blank spaces</i>	<i>Blank spaces</i>	<i>Blank spaces</i>	<i>Blank spaces</i>	<i>Blank spaces</i>

* Both 1590 and 1596 are quartos bound in eights.

† This variant is included because it is the basis of the conventional distinction of two "issues."

spondence in the page by page content of the two editions continues to the end of Book 3. The revision of the concluding stanzas of Book 3, and the drastic cutting of the supplementary material of the first edition makes 1596 twenty pages shorter than 1590.

This correspondence between 1596 and 1590 cannot be explained as the result of a new printing of the original MS in the type and format of the first edition. Of the errors in pagination common to both editions, at least two give further evidence that 1596 is printed from 1590. In both, the pagination skips from 78 to 81, and is confused thereafter (more so in 1590 than in 1596) to page 97, which is correctly numbered; and in both, page 510 is incorrectly numbered 600. Errors in pagination are less frequent in 1596 than in 1590, but 1596 introduces a few independent errors. Further, 1596 follows 1590 in errors of other kinds: e. g., in both editions the catchword on page 330 is (incorrectly) "The"; the first word on page 331 is (correctly) "Tho." Other errors common to both editions can be traced in the Variant Readings.

There remains the difficult task of accounting for the failure of 1596 to adopt all the corrections in the list of "Faults Escaped" appended to 1590. If changes involving more than one word are counted separately, there are one hundred and fourteen corrections directed in *F. E.*, of which sixty-three are adopted in 1596. Of those adopted, twelve are altered in spelling. In forty-seven cases 1596 agrees verbally with 1590; and in four cases (2. Pr. 2. 8; 2. 3. 20. 5; 2. 5. 28. 2; 2. 11. 30. 7) 1596 alters 1590 in a manner other than that directed by *F. E.* (One of the faults escaped ["fuccour" to "succour," 3. 12. 43. 4] occurs in the concluding stanzas of Book 3 which are dropped in 1596.) By far the greater part of the corrections common to 1596 and *F. E.* are of a kind which an Elizabethan printer would feel at liberty to make; J. C. Smith (2. 501-2) notes only six instances which appear beyond the printer's ability. Regardless of the exact number, about which there may be some dispute, it is undoubtedly true that very few of the corrections noted in *F. E.* and made in 1596 could not have been made independently by the printer. The number of differences in spelling between 1596 and *F. E.* is significant. Had the printer been using *F. E.*, it is at least probable that he would have reproduced more regularly the spelling of a word which required such direct attention.

How are the inconsistencies in the relationship between 1596 and *F. E.* to be explained? In particular, why were not all the corrections in *F. E.* adopted? We suggest that Spencer, in his incidental revisions, sometimes made (or directed) independently a second correction of an error already listed in *F. E.* A systematic correction in the text of the errors in *F. E.* may have seemed to him unnecessary and evidently was not made. Such an independent duplication of some of the corrections is a more likely explanation of their appearance in 1596 than that the printer used *F. E.* in some cases and not in others.

One other peculiarity of *F. E.* should be noted: in three cases it corrects errors which do not exist in the text of our copies of 1590. *F. E.* corrects "Glorius" to "*glorious*" (1. 1. 3. 3), but both our copies of 1590 read "Glorious" in the text; *F. E.* "sie" to "fye" (1. 8. 43. 3), "fie" in the text; and *F. E.* "ronght" to "raught" (2. 3. 2. 6), but "rought" in the text. In the last case, either a correction of "rought" to "raught" is intended (and "ronght" is a typographical error in *F. E.* itself, which occasionally differs from the text in the spelling of

words listed for correction), or else the particular copy of 1590 from which *F. E.* was compiled read "ronght" in the text. The second explanation is the more likely, and applies to the other cases as well. Extant copies of 1590 include corrected and uncorrected sheets in various combinations, and it is quite possible that *F. E.* was made up from a copy which actually read in the text "Glorius," "sie," and "ronght." The British Museum copy (C. 12. h. 17) has the Welsh words on p. 332 (2. 10. 8 and 9) printed correctly *Scuith* in both lines.

Spelling Changes.

We have classified below the spelling changes from 1590 in 1596, which number in Book 1 approximately 2,250 (including duplicates for two changes in one word), or about one to every two and one-half lines. These changes are so frequent and so generally distributed throughout the book that they constitute almost a line by line alteration of the spelling. At the same time, they are so inconsistent and haphazard that we cannot suppose a systematic editing by Spenser or some other person. In fact, few changes are made in 1596 which are not also made in reverse, and quite frequently the spelling of 1590 is followed in 1596 at one place and is changed at another. A few typical examples will illustrate this point. The word "bloody" in 1590 is usually changed to "bloudie" in 1596, but sometimes it becomes "bloudy"; and frequently it remains "bloody." In at least one case, "bloud" in 1590 is changed to "blood" in 1596—the exact reversal of the usual practice. The spelling "Fary" is changed to "Faery(ie)" ten times in Book 1, but eighteen occurrences of "Faery(ie)" in 1590 are not changed in 1596. On one occasion (1. 12. 41. 8) "Faery" in 1590 is changed to "Farie" in 1596. We note also that "Fary(ies)" of 1590 remains unchanged twice in one stanza in Book 3 (3. 26. 4 and 6). Another good example is the word "able," which is printed "hable" nine times in 1590 (Books 1-3) and "able" only once (2. 5. 3. 5). Six of the nine occurrences of the spelling "hable" in 1590 are changed to "able" in 1596. In Books 4-6, first printed by Field, the word occurs eleven times, always spelled "able."

Thus we are able to perceive certain general preferences, such as: "bloody(ie)" in 1590, "bloudy(ie)" in 1596; "Fary" and "Faery" in 1590, "Faerie" in 1596; "hable" in 1590, "able" in 1596. But, so far as we can discover, no spelling is consistent throughout either edition. In 1590, such words as "attire" are usually spelled with *y* ("attyre"), and in 1596 *i* is preferred. But it should be noticed that the three hundred and nineteen changes from *y* to *i* are offset somewhat by the eighty-four changes of *i* to *y* and the untabulated cases in which no change is made. The same is true of *y* to *ie* and many of the other classifications listed below.

Finally, we note for Book 1 the following spelling changes in 1596 when making corrections listed in *F. E.*: *F. E.* directs "brightnes," 1596 reads "brightnesse"; *F. E.* "pelf," 1596 "pelfe"; *F. E.* "leke," 1596 "leake"; *F. E.* "fiers," 1596 "fierce"; *F. E.* "ronne," 1596 "runne"; *F. E.* "contayne," 1596 "containe." (For the three books there are twelve such changes.) Then, too, 1590 is not consistent in the spelling of catchwords; for example, the catchword on p. 37 is spelled "Druncke," but the first word on p. 38 is spelled "Dronke"; 1596

does not use a catchword on the right-hand page, but it spells the first word on p. 38 "Drunke."

We cannot, in view of all this evidence, suppose that Spenser was responsible for the spelling changes in 1596; nor can we postulate an editor other than Spenser, for the changes in 1596 are too haphazard. The logical explanation is, of course, that the printer was responsible for the spelling in both editions.

It is our belief, then, that the spelling of the 1590 quarto represents in the main the spelling practice of John Wolfe, the printer, but that frequently the compositor was influenced by the MS from which he was setting. Likewise, 1596 represents the spelling practice of Richard Field, but frequently the compositor was influenced by the copy of 1590 from which he was setting. Spenser's spelling is preserved in 1590 only when it coincides with Wolfe's general practice or when, momentarily, the compositor follows his copy. The inconsistencies apparent in our tabulation of the changes is ample evidence, of course, that the spelling of neither printer was standardized.

The printer's responsibility for the spelling agrees with what we know of Elizabethan practice. See W. W. Greg, *Library* 4. 102-118, for changes made by Field in Harington's *Orlando Furioso*; Percy Simpson, *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 2. 21, for changes made by Windet in Hooker's spelling; and R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 246-9, for a statement of the general practice. The first reference is particularly apropos, since Field also printed the 1596 *Faerie Queene*. An analysis of the sixty-four lines reproduced by Greg shows that the printer changed Harington's spelling one hundred and thirty-three times. In general, these changes are the same as those made by Field from the 1590 *Faerie Queene* (for example, *y* is changed to *i* forty-seven times).

If the spelling in the 1590 and 1596 quartos represents the practices of the printer, it cannot, as has often been supposed, be an indication of deliberate archaism in Spenser. In fact, the spelling of these quartos is no more archaic than that found in other books printed by the same printers, or other printers of the same period. The spelling of 1590 and 1596 is decidedly nearer modern practice than the usual spelling of the MSS of the period.

The following list does not take into account the many cases in which 1596 agrees with 1590 in the spelling of a word which is changed elsewhere. In listing examples of changes which occur frequently, we have given, of course, only representative words.

a—ae [11]	Fary > Faerie; <i>Fralissa</i> > <i>Fralissa</i>
ae—a [1]	Faery > Farie
a—ai [2]	Romanes > Romaines; master > maister
ai—a [1]	bains > banes [ay—a (1) shayre > share]
a—au [4]	commandement > commaundement; daghter > daughter
au—a [46]	chaunge > change; resemblance > resemblance; aunswers > answeres
a—ea [4]	Shephards > Shepheards; hart > heart
ea—a [5]	heart > hart
ai—aiigh [1]	soueraigne > souveraigne
ai—e [6]	bataille > battell; trauailes > trauels [see also ei—e below]
au—ou [2]	braught > brought; naught > nought
aw—au [1]	lawrell > laurell

- b—p [1] gossibs > gossips
c—ck [2] sparclng > sparkling; rancling > ranckling
c—k [2] sparclcs > sparkles; carcascs > carkascs
ck—k [7] blacke > blake; thancked > thanked
c—s [10] preace > prease; sence > sense; chace > chase
s—c [1] fiersely > fiercely
s—ce [11] fiers[-nesse,-ly] > fierce[-nesse,-ly]
c—t [4] gracious > gratiofus; auncient > auntient
t—c [2] gracious > gracious; spatious > spacious
d—'d [38] armde > arm'd; assur'd > assur'd; liude > liu'de
ed—d [1] ensewed > enseed
d—ed [6] congeald > congealed; refusd > refused [*and rhyme words in 5. 29 and 5. 37*]
ed—'d [1] liued > liu'd [*see variants 10. 62. 4*]
'd—ed [3] mou'd > moued [*and rhyme words in 5. 24*]
e added [173] *At the end of a word* [151]: aw > awe; ay > aye; champ > champe;
chief > chiefe; do > doe; els > else; hous > house; purchas >
purchase; vultur > vulture; wher > where
*To part of a compound, or at the end of a word to which a suffix is
added* [22]: chearfull > chearefull; foolhappie > foole-happie; only
> onely; toilsom > toilesome; wherin > wherein [*see also changes
in consonants listed below*]
e dropped [168] *At the end of a word* [154]: ame > am; aye > ay; bathe > bath; doe
> do; ofte > oft; plaste > plast [*and rhyme word haste in 1. 47*];
sate > sat; secrete > secret; whome > whom
*From part of a compound, or at the end of a word to which a suffix is
added* [14]: darkenesse > darknesse; earely > early; sackecloth
> sackcloth; woefull > wofull [*e is dropped from the prefix in
foreweried > forewairied*]
e—ee [8] be > bee; clene > cleene; threds > threeds
ee—e [44] bee > be; hee > he [*so mee, shee*]; seeldome > seldome
e—a [2] merueilles > marueilles; waxed > waxed
e—ea [56] dredd > dread; ech > each; erthly > earthly; heuenly > heauenly; lept
> leapt; welth > wealth
ea—e [4] dread > dred; heare > here
e—ei [1] nether > neither
ei—e [7] batteill > battell; traueill > trauell
e—i [23] behaueour > behauior; hether > hither [*so thether, whether*]
i—e [11] chastitee > chastetee; diuide > deuide; enemy > enemy
e—ie [6] frend > friend; perce > pierce
e—o [7] lenger > longer; swerds > swords; wemens > womens
e—œ [1] *Phœbus > Phœbus*
e—u [1] sumpteous > sumptuous
ea—a [*See a—ea above*]
ea—ai [7] heare > haire
ea—ee [5] speeches > speeches; yealdeth > yeeldeth
ee—ea [2] speech > speach
ee—ie [13] felicittee > felicitie [*and one rhyme word in 4. 31*]; freends > friends;
yeelded > yielded
ie—ee [6] belieue > beleue; yielded > yeelded
ei—ai [9] certeine > certaine; streight > straight; suddeine > suddaine
ei—eigh [1] neibors > neighbours
eow—ow [1] sheow > show
eu—ew [2] leud > lewd

ew—ue [7]	dew > due; trew > true
ey—ay [1]	<i>Despeyre</i> > <i>Despayre</i>
h <i>dropped</i> [7]	aghast > agast; chord > cord; christall > cristall; hable > able
i—e	[<i>See e—i above</i>]
i—y	[<i>See y—i below</i>]
i—ei [1]	hight > height
ie—ey [1]	countrie > countrey
ie—ee	[<i>See ee—ie above</i>]
ie—y	[<i>See y—ie below</i>]
le—ll [4]	fertile > fertill; subtile > subtill
ll—le [1]	femall > female
n—m [2]	embracement > embracement; enmoud > emmou'd
o—a [1]	wroth > wrath
o—oa [8]	cole > coale; rored > roared
oa—o [1]	stroake > stroke
o—oo [6]	bokes > bookes; forth > foorth; wods > woods
oo—o [4]	doollfull > doleful; twoo > two
o—ou [4]	brought > brought; tongue > tounge
o—u [20]	begonne > begun; conning > cunning; dronke > drunke; honger > hunger; lompish > lumpish
u—o [3]	cumbrous > combrous; dungeon > dongeon
oo—ou [70]	blood > bloud; bloodie > bloudie[ly]; bloody > bloudy[ie]
ou—oo [1]	bloud > blood
or—our [39]	corage > courage; forth > fourth; honor > honour; terror > terrour
our—or [4]	mournfull > mornefull; terrour > terror
ou—u [14]	bounch > bunch; courteous > curteous; retourne > returne
ou—ow [6]	foule > fowle; poure > powre
ow—ou [46]	fownd > found; fowr > foure; howre > heure
ow—oo [1]	rowme > roome
re—er [1]	powre > power
ri—ir [1]	thristy > thirstie
s—c; s—ce	[<i>See c—s above</i>]
s—es [27]	beads > beades; lumps > lumpes; ruins > ruines; words > wordes
es—s [102]	altares > altars; belongses > belongs; findes > finds; partes > parts; thinges > things; wordes > words
s—z [2]	amased > amazed; brasen > brazen
t <i>inserted</i> [1]	wretched > wretched [<i>see also variant</i> 7. 43. 4]
t—c	[<i>See c—t above</i>]
u—o	[<i>See o—u above</i>]
u—w [1]	persuade > perswade
ue <i>added</i> [4]	tong > tongue
ue <i>dropped</i> [1]	tongue > tounge
y—i [319]	attyre > attire; agayne > againe; cryme > crime; deitey > deitie; defy-aunce > defiance; deryu'd > deriu'd; dye > die; fayre > faire; fayth > faith; gryped > griped; hys > his; mayd > maid; miseryes > miseries; oyntments > ointments; ryde > ride; sayd > said; shyne > shine; syre > sire; theyr > their; tryall > trial; vayne > vaine; whylst > whilst
i—y [84]	arraid > arrayd; childe > chylde; die > dye; eie > eye; iron > yron; ride > ryde; royall > royall; shinie > shynie; waies > wayes
y—ie [201]	body > bodie; dy > die; <i>Faery</i> > <i>Faerie</i> ; hasty > hastie; Lady > Ladie; mighty > mightie; sturdy > sturdie; vnworthy > vnworthie

- ie—y [39] bodie > body; hastie > hasty; Ladie > Lady; mightie > mighty; sundrie > sundry; vnworthie > vnworthy; wiely > wylie
- Consonant doubled* [97] al > all; carefull > careful [and many words ending in -full]; euill > euill; forest > forrest; litle > little; maner > manner; obey-sauce > obeysance; of > off; stil > still; subtilly > subtilly; tel > tell
- Double consonant > single* [170] badd > bad; calls > cals; combatt > combat; dedd > ded; euill > euil; forrest > forest; farr > far; hott > hot; itt > it; mett > met; rots > rots; telles > tels
- Consonant doubled and e added* [57] ar > arre; darknes > darknesse [and many words ending in -nes]; far > farre; ran > ranne
- Double consonant and e > single consonant* [6] farre > far; richesse > riches; worshippe > worship
- Capitalization* Thirty words printed lower case in 1590 are capitalized in 1596. Sixteen words capitalized in 1590 are printed lower case in 1596
- Word hyphenated* [24] a while > a-while; Awaite > A-waite; drousy hed > drowsy-hed; foolhappie > foole-happie; Sansfoy > Sans-foy; selfewild > selfe-wild; sunbright > sun-bright
- Hyphen dropped* [1] late-borne > late borne
- One word divided* [22] apart > a part; euerdamned > euer damned; Sansfoy > Sans foy; whenas > when as; Ycladd > y cladd
- Two words combined* [14] an others > anothers; a way > away; be spredd > bedspred; him selfe > himselfe; vnder neath > vnderneath
- Abbreviation expanded* [23] qd. > quoth

[For the purposes of this edition we have confined our observations on the spelling to the evidence resulting from a close study of the text of Book 1. Although we have every confidence in the conclusions based on that work, a complete investigation of the problem of Spenser's spelling should include: (1) an analysis of his poems set by other printers and of documents known to be in Spenser's autograph; (2) a study of other books printed by Wolfe and Field; (3) and a comparison of the spelling in 1596 of Part 1, printed from 1590, and Part 2, printed from MS. We plan to extend our investigation along these lines elsewhere.—R. H.; E. A. S.]

Changes in Punctuation.

The punctuation of the *Faerie Queene* as it appeared in the editions of 1590 and 1596 was carefully considered, and is highly sensitive and intelligent. It aimed at combining grammatical clarity and rhythmical fluidity, without undue sacrifice of either. In the 1609 and 1611 editions the punctuation is much more prosaic and mechanical, for while the same general rules of punctuation—so far as grammar is concerned—are followed, there is relative disregard of rhythmical pattern. In this edition we have followed the punctuation of 1596. To be sure there are occasional lines—such as 1. 2. 11. 3-4—in which the punctuation of 1596 cannot be justified on either grammatical or rhythmical grounds, but one is seldom forced to depart from the markings of this edition. In most instances the incorrect punctuation is attributable to the compositor, who must be allowed a few errors in so long a poem. Even in the passage cited above, the compositor's eye may have transposed the comma and semicolon.

A comparison of the punctuation of 1590 and 1596 shows a high degree of correspondence between the two editions; the changes, however, are significant

and give every evidence of deliberate study. They may be broadly classified as corrections of errors, and modifications in the interest of logical or metrical values. To show the character of these changes, the alterations in the Proem and Canto 1, which are characteristic of the changes throughout the Book, are here given, with the reasons which governed the changes as we understand them.

A. Correction of obvious errors:

- xvii. 9 *glauunst.* The period, closing this stanza, was omitted in 1590.
connected by "and."
xix. 2 *bee,* The comma is clearly required to separate coördinate clauses not
xxiv. 9 *corse.* Period omitted in 1590.

Conversely, one error has crept into 1596: xxv. 7 should read *wound*, as in 1590.

B. Alteration, conceivably made by the printer, to bring the 1596 edition into accord with the general practice of his shop in mechanical details.

- xxxiii. 5 Brackets are placed around the interpolation in the broken quotation.

One hesitates to assign this change to the poet, since, although brackets are customarily employed, there are thirteen such interpolations in Book 1 which are not altered.

C. Modifications which change logical and metrical values.

1. Omissions.

- (Proem) i. 2 *taught* Comma removed to vary metrical pattern of lines 1 and 2.
xii. 7 *reuoke* Comma between infinitive and its direct object removed.
xv. 4 *bred* Comma between verb and delayed subject removed. The comma was sometimes used in such a construction, but here it destroys the flow of the verse.
xvii. 5 *enrag'd* Comma after participle removed to vary metrical pattern.
Four other verses in the stanza have a comma after second or third foot.
xx. 4 *slacke* Comma between verb and object removed.
xxxiii. 8 *wings* Comma between object and pronominal subject in an inverted clause is frequently used. Here it is removed to give a run-over line, for metrical variety.
xliv. 8 *bore* Comma between verb and intimate adverbial phrase removed.
The comma is not needed and the tempo and flow of the verse are improved.

2. Additions.

- xviii. 2 *rage,* Comma clarifies construction.
xix. 2 *bee,* The omission of the comma in 1590 clearly a printer's error.
xxi. 7 *creatures,* Comma breaks a long and somewhat cumbersome unit. Adjective modifier out of the usual position normally set off by a comma.
xxix. 8 *prayed,* Comma definitely subordinates the adverbial clause, throwing the emphasis where it belongs.
xxxv. 1 *there,* Comma shows clearly the grouping of ideas. Participial phrase introducing a sentence is normally set off by a comma.
xxxvii. 9 *quakes,* Comma emphasizes the two thought elements.
xlv. 4 *liuely,* Ditto.
xlvi. 7 *guile,* Comma clarifies construction.
lii. 5 *feares,* Participial phrase following the subject normally followed by a comma, if not set off by two commas.

3. Alterations.

- (Proem) i. 4-5 In 1590 line 4 is followed by a colon and line 5 by a comma. By changing the punctuation so that line 4 is followed by a comma and line 5 by a semi-colon, line 5 is thrown into the first unit of the stanza where it belongs. Note that in the revised stanza a semi-colon is substituted for a colon to separate the stanza units. This is because the relation between the two is less formal than the colon implies.
- iv. 7 *slow*, The semi-colon replaces a colon, thus reducing the sentence which constitutes this stanza from three coördinate units to two. At best the stanza is loosely organized.
- iii. 6 In 1596 a comma is inserted after *rode* and a comma removed after *earne*. The purpose is to harmonize logical and rhythmical units.
- v. 6 *beld*; The semi-colon stops a run of commas, and throws the ideas into contrast.
- vii. 9 *seemes*; The purpose of the semi-colon is to minimize the result relationship of the following clause.
- xxiii. 4 *best*; In his long Homeric similes, Spenser ordinarily breaks the figure with a semi-colon or colon, according to the degree of formality. The comma of 1590 was out of line with his practice.
- xxviii. 8 *sought*; Semi-colon, rather than comma of 1590, required to separate logically independent sentence units.
- xxv. 7 *glas*; *Ditto*.
- xxvi. 4 *biddes*. The period replaces a colon, since the sentence is both logically and grammatically complete. If the colon had been retained, it would have had no more value than the colon which follows verse 5.
- xxvii. 6 *light*; Similar to 28. 8 and 35. 7.
- i. 3 *despight*: The colon is substituted for the comma of 1590 to sharpen the contrast in ideas.

There is one change of punctuation in 1596 which is obviously a printer's error. xxv. 7 is followed by a period, where a comma is the proper mark.

[The general subject of the punctuation of the *Faerie Queene* will be treated more fully in a subsequent volume of the edition.—F. M. P.]

VARIANT READINGS

The list of variants includes (1) verbal differences in 1590, 1609, and 1611; (2) the readings of 1596 altered in our text; (3) all punctuation variants in 1590, with citations from 1609 and 1611; (4) changes in spelling in early editions which involve a possible change in pronunciation, the adding or dropping of a syllable, or any apparently significant peculiarity; (5) misprints in 1590 and 1596 which are useful for further bibliographical study of the early quartos; and (6) examples of the readings of later editions. Unless it is involved in the change, punctuation is not given in recording a variant. Our usage in regard to typographical conventions is explained in the general note above.

The following symbols are used for reference to the editions and commentaries cited:

<i>a</i>	1590 (both copies)	<i>C</i>	Church, 1758
<i>F. E.</i>	Faults Escaped (1590)	<i>U</i>	Upton, 1758
<i>b</i>	1596	<i>W</i>	Warton, 1762
<i>c</i>	1609	<i>T</i>	Todd, 1805
<i>d</i>	1611	<i>Cb</i>	Child, 1855
<i>E</i>	1679 (printed for Edwin)	<i>Co</i>	Collier, 1862
<i>H₁</i>	Hughes, 1715	<i>M</i>	Morris and Hales, 1869
<i>J</i>	Jortin, 1734	<i>G</i>	Grosart, 1882-4
<i>H₂</i>	Reprint of Hughes, 1750	<i>D</i>	Dodge, 1908
<i>B</i>	Birch, 1751	<i>S</i>	Smith, 1909-10

In 1590 the dedication reads as follows:

TO THE MOST MIGH- | TIE AND MAGNIFI- | CENT EMPRESSE ELI- | ZABETH, BY
THE | GRACE OF GOD QVEENE | OF ENGLAND, FRANCE | AND IRELAND DE- |
FENDER OF THE FAITH | &c. | Her most humble | Seruant: | *Ed. Spenser.*

PROEM

- i. 2. taught] taught, *acd and most later editors*
- 4. reeds,] reeds: *a*
- 5. deeds;] deeds, *a*
- ii. 2. will,] will: *cd and all later editors except G and S*
- iv. 5. my] mine *a B*

CANTO I

- Arg.* 3. entrappe] entrappe *a*
- i. 2. and] of *d E*
- ii. 1. But] And *a BCCbCoM*
- 4. dead as liuing euer] dead, as living ever, *CCh*
- iii. 2. That] Which *d EB*
- 3. Glorious] *F. E.*: For Glorious read glorious (*our copies, however, read Glorious*)
- 6. rode,] rode *a*
- earne] earne, *a*
- iv. 5. throw,] throw: *CChCoM*
- 6. mournd:] mournd, *CChCoM* mournd; *S*
- 7. slow;] slow: *a S*
- v. 1. an] and *a CUTCbCoMGD*
- 6. held;] held, *a CbD*
- vii. 5. that] they *H*
- 6. Not] Nor *H₂*
- 9. seemes;] seemes, *a*
- viii. 3. tempest] tempests *cd EB*
- 9. funerall.] funerall, *UTD*; *CChM* place semi-colon after each unit of the description
- ix. 6. sweete] sweet, *cd*
- x. 4. They] The *b*
- xii. 5. stroke] hardy stroke *abcd EH*; corr. *F. E.*
- 7. reuoke] reuoke, *a*
- xiii. 2. you,] you: *cd and most editors*
- late] late, *ab*
- 3. disgrace,] disgrace; *cd U*
- xv. 4. bred] bred, *a*
- 6. poisonous] poisonous *a*

7. shapes] shape *cd E (M quotes b as reading shape)*
8. them] her *d E*
- xvii. 1. perceiu'd] perceiu'ed *b*
5. enrag'd] enrag'd, *a*
9. glaunst.] glaunst *a*
- xviii. 2. rage,] rage *a*
her selfe] she herself *H₁*
4. doubled] double *B*
- xix. 2. ye] you *cd*
bee,] bee *a*
- xx. 4. slacke] slacke, *a*
5. from] ftom *a*
- xxi. 5. spring] ebbe *abcd; corr. F. E.*
to auale] t'auale *a*
7. creatures,] creatures *a*
8. female] femall *a*
- xxiii. 4. best;] best, *a*
8. wings] wings, *a*
- xxiv. 4. Resolv'd] Resolud *a*
8. raft] reft *cd*
9. corse.] corse *a*
- xxv. 7. wound,] wound. *b*
- xxvii. 6. ye] you *cd E*
- xxviii. 8. passed] passeth *bc G*
sought;] sought, *a*
- xxix. 8. prayed,] prayed *a*
- xxx. 9. sits] fits *cd EHBG*
- xxxi. 2. homebred euill] homebredd euil *a (copy 1)* homebred deuil *a (copy 2)*
homebred euill euill *b*
6. you] thee *a BCUTChCoM*
- xxxii. 6. forwearied] for wearied *b G*
- xxxiii. 4. ye] we *B*
bin] him *E*
5. (Quoth then that aged man;)] *No parentheses in a*
- xxxiv. 8. gently] genlty *b*
- xxxv. 1. there,] there *a*
7. glas;] glas, *a*
8. euermore] euemore *b*
- xxxvi. 4. biddes.] biddes: *a*
- xxxvii. 6. light;] light, *a*
9. quakes,] quakes *a*
- xxxviii. 2. like] like *a*
- xl. 6. Sleepe] sleepe *bd sleep. c*
- xli. 1. more,] more *CCoM And, more Ch*
3. euer-drizling] euery drizling *a; corr. F. E.*
- xlii. 4. thrust] trust *b*
8. sights] sighes *a B; corr. F. E.*
- xliv. 8. bore] bore, *a*
- xlv. 4. liuely,] liuely *a*
- xlvi. 7. guile,] guyle *a*
vsage] visage *cd E*
- xlvii. 8. boy,] boy *c S*
9. pleasures] Pleasures *cd and most later editors*

- xlvi. 3. weene,] weene *cd and most later editors*
 9. her with Yuie] her Yuie *bc* had her Yuie *d E*
 xlix. 3. started] starteth *a BCUTChCoM*
 mistrust] mistrust, *ab G*
 9. took.] took *a*
 l. 3. haue] t' haue *cd EH*
 despight:] despight, *a*
 8. can she] canshe *b*
 li. 2. fate] Fate *cd*
 lii. 5. feares,] feares *a*
 liii. 4. Whiles] Whilst *cd*
 6. since] sith *cd*
 no'vntruth] n' vntruth *cd*
 liv. 8. chuse] chose *a*

CANTO II

- Arg. 1. *parts*] *parts.* *a*
 3. *stead*] *steps* *a*; *corr. F. E.*
 i. 7. carre] carre, *a*
 8. vp the] vp to the *B*
 ii. 2. feigning] feined *d*
 iii. 4. lusty-hed] lusty-hed. *b*
 iv. 3. dreames,] dreames *a*
 9. Come see,] Come, see *cd ChCoM*
 v. 1. amaze] a maze *d*
 5. embracement] enbracement *a*
 viii. 1. speede] speede, *a*
 9. loued] louest *b*
 ix. 1. *Archimago,*] *Archimago* *a*
 5. harts;] harts: *a*
 x. 9. power] powre *a*
 xi. 3. anon,] anon: *ab G*
 4. shield:] shield, *ab* shield; *Ch* shield *G*
 5. crosse,] crosse; *cd*
 xii. 1. semblaunt,] semblance *cd E*
 xiv. 7. day,] day. *a*
 xv. 6. their] theit *a*
 9. yeeldeth] yeilded *d E*
 xvi. 3. side] side, *a*
 4. shocke] shocke. *a*
 5. Astonied both,] Astonied, both *cd EHCTChCoMD*
 stand sencelesse] stands fencelesse *a*; *corr. F. E.*
 blocke,] blocke. *a*
 8. idely] idely, *ab* idely *cd*
 xvii. 5. cruell spies] cruelties *abcd EH*; *corr. F. E.*
 9. dies] die *cd EHCUTChCoM*
 xx. 7. conqueroure.] conqueroure, *a*
 xxii. 5. your] thy *a HsBCCoM*
 6. was!] was? *a*
 xxiv. 5. soule assaid] soulea ssaid *a*
 xxv. 1. *Sarazin,*] *Sarazin* *cd*
 xxvi. 7. tell;] tell, *a Ch*
 8. Faire] faire *ab CoGM*

- xxix. 1. can] gan *cd*
 2. shade him thither hastily] shade thither hastily *b* shadow thither hast'ly *cd E*
 shade thither hastily *H*
 3. ymounted] that mounted *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
 9. tide.] tide, *a*
 xxxi. 5. happened] hapned *cd EH*
 xxxii. 9. ruefull] tuefull *a; corr. F. E.*
 plaints] plants *a*
 guiltlesse] guitlesse *b*
 xxxiii. 4. weake,] weake *a*
 xxxviii. 9. Then] Thens *C*
 xxxix. 1. Fye] fye *ab* Phy *c*
 xl. 1. Thens] Then *ab HB; corr. F. E.*
 2. vnweeting] vnweening *bcd EHB*
 xli. 5. Thens] Then *ab H; corr. F. E.*
 xlii. 4. My bodie all,] My body, all *C*
 6. waste] vaste *d*
 xlv. 6. vp gan lift] gan vp-lift *cd E*

CANTO III

- i. 4. Through] By *cd EH*
 5. brightnesse] brightne *a; corr. F. E.*
 ii. 4. handeling,] handeling *a*
 9. witches] wretches *d E*
 iii. 3. prease] preace *a* praise *EH*
 7. wrought,] wrought *a*
 9. vnto] vnjo *a*
 vii. 1. field,] field *ab*
 5. pittie] pit tie *a*
 6. Lord,] Lord *ab*
 viii. 6. paine] plaint *d E*
 ix. 7. will] well *d E*
 x. 4. that at] at the *d*
 5. tract] track *H*
 xi. 1. whom] Whom *b*
 xii. 5. hold,] hold *a*
 xiv. 9. small,] small *a*
 xvi. 9. criminall.] criminall, *a*
 xvii. 7. habiliments,] habiliments; *d ECUTCoMD*
 8. kept;] kept, *d ECUTChCoMD*
 xviii. 8. rings:] rings, *cd*
 xix. 2. rize,] rise: *d*
 4. longer] lenger *a*
 6. entring is] entred in *d E*
 xxiv. 3. way] way, *acd*
 xxv. 8. gan] did *d E*
 xxvi. 6. shield,] shield *ad*
 8. nigh,] nigh *a*
 wist] wist, *a*
 xxviii. 2. fro] from *H*
 8. forth] foth *a*
 9. liefel] life *cd EH*

- xxix. 1. And] But *d E*
 5. deface:] deface, *a*
 6. excuse:] excuse, *a*
 9. defend, now] defend. Now *a CoMGD* defend; now *BC* defend; now *U1*
xxx. 5. has] had *cd E*
 many a] many, *a a*
xxxi. 4. hide] hide, *a*
xxxii. 2. lesse,] lesse *cd*
 9. told] told, *c BUT*
 her] him *d EC*
 iourney] iourney, *a*
xxxiv. 5. feare] fea *b*
 9. spurd] spurd *a CUTChCoMGD*
xxxvi. 7. morning] mourning *a cd EHBUCoMD*
xxxviii. 6. thel that *C*
 7. that] the *abcd E. H; corr. F. E. (probably referring to this line, as first suggested by B)*
 9. fight.] fight: *CUTChM*
xxix. 9. stay.] stay; *cd ED* stay: *HU ChCoM* stay, *C*
xlii. 8. launcht] launc't *cd E* launc'd *H*
xliii. 5. field] fied *b*
 7. vildly] vilely *cd EH*
xliv. 7. feares,] feares *cd EHCUTChCoM*

CANTO IIII

- i. 9. proue.] proue *a*
ii. 3. false] fale *a*
iii. 5. case] care *a; corr. F. E.*
iv. 3. thick,] thick *a*
 7. farre] faire *d*
vi. 2. gates] gate *d*
vii. 5. sumptuous] sumpteous *a*
viii. 6. stone:] stone; *a*
xi. 3. worth] wroth *b G*
xii. 2. a Queene] Queene *b*
 7. Realmel Realmes *bcd EHBGS*
xiii. 1. Elfin] Elfing *b G*
xiv. 8. trimly] timely *d*
xv. 2. crew:] crew; *a*
xvi. 2. call:] call; *a*
 3. hurtlen] hurlen *cd EH*
 9. glitterand] glitter and *bcd EH*
xx. 3. From] For *bc*
xxi. 3. luxury,] luxury; *a*
 7. pyne:] pyne, *a*
xxii. 8. corse] course *a; corr. F. E.*
xxiii. 1. worldly] wordly *a*
 7. flow,] flow: *b S* flow; *cd H*
xxv. 4. fanglenesse:] fanglenesse; *a*
xxvi. 4. tempt,] tempt *bcd*
xxvii. 3. coffers] coffets *a*
 4. mettall full,] metall, full *cd EH* metall full *CUTChCoMD*
 6. pelfe] pelpe *a; corr. F. E.*

- xxix. 5. more;] more, *a*
xxx. 4. chaw] jaw *cd EHC*
6. neighbours] neighbors *a*
xxxi. 8. great] gteat *a*
xxxii. 9. fiftel] first *abcd EH*; *corr. F. E.* (*G quotes b as reading fift*)
xxxiii. 1. beside] besides *d*
xxxvi. 1. all,] all *a*
xxxvii. 6. *Lucifera*] Lucifer' *a UTCbCoMGD* *Lucifera, as one o' th' H*
xxxviii. 1. space] space, *a*
xl. 1. hurtlen] hurlen *cd EH*
3. swords] swerds *a*
xli. 1. (quoth then the Paynim bold,)] *No parentheses a*
xliv. 6. mace] mace, *a*
xlv. 5. of my new ioy] of new ioy *ab*; *corr. F. E.*
xlvi. 7. spright] spright, *a*
xlix. 1. Fairel faire *abc*
3. affraid;] affraid: *a*
7. grone;] grone *a*
li. 8. secret] secrete *a*

CANTO V

- i. 9. did he wake] did wake *b*
light.] light, *a*
ii. 1. gate] gate, *b*
4. haire:] hayre; *a*
5. hurld] hurls *abcd EHCbCo*; *corr. F. E.*
iii. 8. Chroniclars] Chronicles *d*
vi. 8. mayle;] mayle: *a*
vii. 4. heat,] heat: *bc* heat; *d*
9. helmets hewen deepe,] hewen helmets deepe *a*
viii. 4. widest] wildest *d*
ix. 5. show,] show *abG* showe *c* showe, *d*
xi. 2. woe;] woe, *a*
xiii. 2. deare,] deare; *cd*
4. his foe] thy foe *d E*
9. shrowd.] shrowd *a*
xv. 2. thirstie] thirsty *a CT'CoMD*
6. trumpets,] trumpets *a*
xvii. 4. wash his woundes] washen his wounds *cd EH*.
5. can] gan *a*
xix. 5. swownd] swoune *cd EHBC*
xxi. 8. Yet] yet *abcd*
xxiii. 8. *Nighes*] *Nights* drad *cd EH*
xxiii. 9. forlorne?] forlorne *a S*
xxiv. 9. for] and *bcd EH*₁
xxv. 6. seat?] seat *a*
xxvi. 4. price] price, *a*
7. (Quoth she)] Quoth she, *a*
xxvii. 2. saying;] saying, *a*
7. falshood] fashood *a*
xxix. 6. congealed] congeald *a*
8. healed] heald *a*
9. concealed] conceald *a*

- xxx. 1. ground] ground *a*
 xxxiv. 4. lilled] lolled *H*₂
 6. dayes] Dayes *a* *HBCUTCoMD*
 xxxv. 5. thirstie] thristy *a*
 7. gin,] gin; *BCUTCbCoMD*
 8. law,] law *a* law; *BCUTCbCoMD*
 9. leake] lete *a*; *corr. F. E.* (*M* quotes 1590 as reading leke)
 xxxvii. 5. more,] more. *d* more; *CUTCbCoMD*
 6. refused] refusd *a* refused, *cd EHBCUCbCoMD*
 8. accused] accusd *a*
 9. abused] abusd *a*
 xxxviii. 4. chasing] chafing *H*
 6. cliffs] clifts *abcd EH*; *corr. F. E.*
 xxxix. 4. hearing his rash Syre,] hearing, his rash Sire (*or* syre) *d EHUTCbCoMD*
 xl. 2. reuiuel] reuiue *a*
 9. fire] sire *a*; *corr. F. E.*
 xli. 2. nigh] high *bcd EH*
 xlii. 6. renowmed] renowned *a*; *corr. F. E.*
 xliv. 2. wounds] wound *HB*
 xliv. 2. dame Pride] Dame Pryde *a*
 xlix. 4. the] that *G* (*who refers corr. in F. E. to this line*)
 1. 9. fill.] fill *a*
 li. 5. that] the *abcd EHG*; *corr. F. E.*
 lii. 9. ensewd] ensewed *a*
 him] dim *d E*

*

CANTO VI

- i. 5. in] it *abc*; *corr. F. E.*
 6. foole-happie] fool-hardy *H*₂
 ii. 1. was] was, *a*
 iii. 7. fort] post *H*₂
 iv. 4. wordes,] wordes *b*
 v. 5. win] with *bcd EHG*
 vi. 3. womens] wemens *a*
 vii. 9. sownd.] sownd, *a*
 viii. 7. misshapen] mishappen *a* mishapen *b*
 ix. 2. dolefull] doolfull *a*
 xi. 1. fearefull] feareful' *a*
 assaid] assaild *d E*
 xii. 1. commit] committ, *a*
 3. twixt] through *cd EH*
 4. ensu'th:] ensu'th, *abs* ensu'th. *BCCoM*
 xiv. 2. doubled] double *cd EH*
 xv. 2. Or] Of *bcd E* If *HG*
 5. excellent.] excellent: *a*
 xvii. 9. selfe-wild] self-will'd *c*
 xviii. 9. find.] find *a*
 xxii. 7. kindling] kindle *E*
 xxiii. 8. noursled] nousled *a* *CUTCbCoMD* nursed *d E*
 xxiv. 1. ymp,] ymp *a*
 5. teare] rear *H*
 xxv. 6. prouoke;] prouoke: *a*
 8. Libbard] Libbatd *a*
 9. carnel] yearne *cd EH*

- xxvi. 5. fierce and fell] swift and cruell *a; corr. F. E.*
 9. as a tyrans as tyrans] *b* as proud tyrants *cd EH*
 xxvii. 8. Lyon] Lyon's *E*
 xxix. 4. taught] taught, *a*
 9. blown.] blown *a*
 xxx. 7. Straunge] Sraunge *a*
 8. around,] around *a*
 9. lore] love *H*
 xxxv. 1. forworne] forlorne *d E*
 xxxvi. 9. liuing] liuing, *a*
 xxxviii. 2. shall I] I shall *d EHC*
 xxxviii. 8. thirsted] thirsted *cd EHS*
 xxxix. 3. might] migh *a*
 4. was] not *H₁*
 7. quoth he] qd. she *a*
 xlii. 8. Th'enchauter] Th'enchauuter *b (corr. in some copies of b)*
 9. hope] hope, *cd*
 xliii. 2. assaile] assaile; *d* assaile, *U*
 x. 3. other] other *bc*
 xlv. 1. fell] full *a*
 xlv. 8. thrown,] thrown *ab G*
 xlvii. 2. fate] fete *b*
 8. they to] two they *b* they two *cd HC and some copies of b*
 9. afrayd.] afrayd *a*

CANTO VII

- i. 1. what] that *H₁*
 5. Truth] truth *a*
 6. frame,] frame; *ab G*
 ii. 4. nol ne *d*
 iii. 3. playes] playes, *cd*
 4. cherefull] chearefull *a*
 5. mind:] mynd, *a*
 6. vnkind] vnkynd, *a*
 9. tempring] tempting *H*
 iv. 7. fade:] fade *a*
 v. 5. her] he *b*
 9. drunke thereof, did] drinke thereof, do *a CUChCoM*
 vi. 3. glas:] glas, *b* glass: *cd*
 5. fraile.] frayle: *a*
 ix. 7. women] wemen *a*
 x. 1. growen] growing *d*
 xi. 4. hopelesse,] hopelesse; *ab G*
 5. pace] pass *H*
 9. he] be *E*
 xii. 3. him did] did him *H*
 5. wary] weary *H*
 6. blow:] blow *a*
 7. powre,] powre *a*
 xiii. 2. Hell,] Hell,, *a*
 4. bullet] bollet *a*
 xiv. 1. knight,] knight *b*
 xvi. 2. eye,] eye: *cd*
 6. dreaded] dteaded *a*

- xviii. 4. brought] braught *a UTChCoMGD*
 5. nought] naught *a UTChCoMGD*
 6. tread] tread, *a*
 7. foretaught] fortaught *UT (U argues that the word means "wrongly taught")*
 xix. 3. thrall,] thrall; *CUT*
 4. weed,] weed; *CUTChCoMD*
 7. bleed,] bleed; *CUTChD*
 8. heaui nesse,] heaui nesse; *HCUTChCoMD*
 xx. 3. the] that *a BCTChCoM*
 xxii. 5. threds] threds *a*
 9. sad sight fro] sad fro *a*
 xxv. 1. fortune] Fortune *CCbD*
 2. sorrow] Sorrow *CCbD*
 7. launched] launced *cd*
 9. feare,] feare *b*
 xxvi. 6. Pride] Pryde *a*
 xxxi. 2. bred;] bredd, *a*
 xxxii. 6. *Selinis*] Selinis *b*
 8. Whose] Her *a C*
 xxxiii. 3. Not] Nor *E*
 steele] steeld *a; corr. F. E.*
 7. Hewen] Hew'n *HCUT*
 xxxiv. 4. affray;] affray: *a*
 7. ouer-lay;] ouer-lay *a*
 xxxv. 1. No magicke] Ne magicks *d E Ne magick H*
 8. subdew,] subdew *a*
 xxxvi. 1. seeme] scene *a; corr. F. E.*
 7. fell;] fell, *a*
 9. may] might *H*
 xxxvii. 5. faire] faire, *ab G*
 7. trample] amble *a BCCb*
 8. chauf] chanst *a; corr. F. E.*
 xxxviii. 5. allay,] allay *a*
 9. emmou'd] enmoud *a*
 say.] say: *cd*
 xl. 5. Ladie] Lady, *a*
 xli. 3. so;] so *a*
 7. staid] ~~sa~~id *a*
 xlii. 5. said;] said *a*
 Faire] faire *ab G*
 xliii. 4. deare,] deare *a*
 whilest] whiles *a*
 destinies] destinies, *a*
 5. runne] come *a; corr. F. E.*
 xlvi. 9. *Gebons*] Gebons *bcd EH*
 continually.] continually; *cd*
 xlv. 6. to] they *H₁*
 xlv. 1. At] And *d E*
 xlvii. 3. hands] hand *a; corr. F. E.*
 5. ground] *ground* *a*
 xlviii. 9. you] yee *a BCUTCoMD*
 xlix. 5. seeme;] seeme *a*
 l. 6. false] foule *d*

- lii. 2. comforted] comforted, *a*
- 8. reuiu'd] reuiu'd *a*

CANTO VIII

- Arg. 3. the] that *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
- i. 2. fall?] fall, *a CTCbCoMD fall! U*
- 3. not,] not *a*
- 4. all.] all: *a*
- 6. through] thorough *a*
- ii. 5. that] the *d E*
- iii. 1. the] his *a BUTChCoM*
- v. 3. flew.] flew: *a*
- 5. fownd,] fownd. *a (may be broken comma)*
- 6. bowre] bowers *H*
- 8. stowre,] stowre *cd and most later editors*
- vii. 6. wise] wist *a; corr. F. E.*
- 9. beare.] beare: *cd*
- viii. 1. might:] might, *a*
- 9. show.] showe: *cd*
- ix. 9. clay.] clay: *cd*
- x. 3. auantage] aduantage *a*
- 4. quight] quight, *a*
- 6. smote] smott *a*
- 9. riuen] rivers *E*
- xi. 4. againe:] againe, *a*
- 9. murmur ring] murmuring *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
- xiii. 1. The] Then *H*
- xiv. 3. inner] inward *cd EH*
- 9. dismayd.] dismayd *a*
- xv. 1. cruell] crnell *a*
- 3. nigh] night *b*
- xvi. 5. mis-shaped] misshaped *a*
- xvii. 1. exceeding] excedding *a*
- xviii. 2. left] right *d EH, C*
- 8. low:] low *ab* lowe, *c* lowe. *d*
- xix. 4. aier] air it *H_a*
- 8. hyl] hye, *a D*
- xx. 3. daz'd,] dazd *a*
- xxi. 1. amoo'u'd,] amoo'u'd *cd HBCUTCoMDS*
- xxii. 4. right] left *Co*
- xxiv. 4. his] its *H*
- 5. store.] store, *b G* store: *cd*
- 6. his] her *a*
- 8. vanisht] vanquisht *d E*
- xxvi. 7. cheualrie] chevalrie *a*
- xxvii. 5. euermore;] euermore: *a*
- 7. eyes] eye *a CUTCoMD*
- xxviii. 1. handeling] handling *c H*
- 3. your] you *B*
- xxix. 4. forcibly,] forcibly. *b*
- xxx. 2. An] And *b*
- old old] old *E*
- 4. fro:] fro; *a*

- xxxi. 5. face,] face; *cd* face: *HUTCbCoM*
 xxxii. 8. thrall;] thrall, *b* thrall? *Co*
 caytiue] captive *B*
 xxxiii. 1. asked] added *H*
 5. sits] fits *bcd EHG*
 hed] hed, *a*
 xxxv. 2. gold,] gold. *bc GS*
 xxxviii. 8. vew:] vew, *ab GS*
 xl. 1. neither] nether *a*
 3. hands] bands *d E*
 hateth] hated *H₁*
 8. beare,] beare. *bcd*
 xli. 7. and] *Om.* *b*
 xlili. 2. haue] kaue *b*
 3. fie] *F. E.* directs for sie read fye (*our copies read fie*)
 7. whom] when *H*
 xliv. 4. delight] dislike *JH₁D*
 xlvi. 7. misshaped] mishaped *b G*
 9. told.] told, *a*
 xlvii. 8. wrizled] writhled *d E*
 xlviii. 2. write;] write *b*
 7. talaunts] talons *d E*
 1. 5. lurkt] lurket *b*

CANTO IX

- Arg.* 1. lowes] love *H*
 tells:] tells *a*
 2. bands] hands *a H₁BCh; corr. F. E.*
 i. 7. deuize,] deuise (*or* deuize) *cd EHCCbDS*
 ii. 1. powres] powres, *cd EHUTCbCoMDS*
 2. recured] recovered *B*
 iv. 8. billowes] dillowes *a* (*copy 2*)
 v. 2. me:] mee *a*
 6. spring:] spring. *a*
 viii. 1. you] your *H₁*
 9. the] that *ab; corr. F. E.*
 respire.] respyre *a*
 ix. 1. youthly] youthfull *d E*
 3. the] that *a CCo*
 5. Timons] Cleons *a; corr. F. E.*
 9. whiles] while *d E*
 x. 3. scornd] scormd *a* (*copy 2*)
 xi. 2. brest] beast *E*
 4. vnawares] vnwares *b*
 found;] fownd: *a*
 6. arme] arms *H*
 9. yeeldes] yield *E*
 xii. 9. on] at *ab; corr. F. E.*
 xiii. 1. For-wearied] For wearied *a*
 xiii. 6. away,] away *a*
 xiv. 2. deare,] deare; *acd*
 4. iust] a just *H*
 xv. 2. gras,] gras (*or* grass) *acd*
 8. vow] vowd *a BCCbCoMG*

- xvi. 9. ground] grownd *a*
 xviii. 9. as] the *bcd EHU*
 xix. 7. his] this *a Co; corr. F. E.*
 9. able hable *a*
 xxiii. 4. afrayd;] afrayd, *a*
 xxiv. 7. knight;] knight *a U*
 xxv. 5. perplexitie:] perplexitie, *a*
 7. emboldned] emboldened *a*
 8. reach,] reach: *cd EHUT* reach; *CChCoMD*
 xxvi. 1. sure] here *E*
 2. dye?] dye. *a* (*copy 2*)
 5. nye.] nye? (*or nie?*) *abc G*
 xxix. 3. launched] launced *cd*
 4. reprieft,] reprieft *CS*
 xxx. 6. feare:] feare; *a*
 xxxi. 5. mealt'h] mealt'th *d EHGS*
 xxxii. 2. treachours] treacherous *d E*
 7. But nor] But not *cd EHCUT*
 xxxiii. 3. ypight] yplight *a*
 9. And] Aud *a*
 xxxiv. 5. scattered] scattred *a*
 6. cliffs] clifts *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
 xxxv. 4. griesel] griesly *d EU; favored by C*
 growen] growing *H₂*
 9. Were] Where *b*
 xxxvi. 8. fast] had *d*
 xxxvii. 2. tale] tale, *a*
 Treuisan] Trevisan a
 8. thee] the *E*
 9. sight.] sight? *CUTChCoMDS*
 xxxviii. 8. liuing] liniug *b*
 xli. 2. is] *om. a; corr. F. E.*
 xlii. 2. create] create, *a*
 7. holds] *M reads hold in 1590*
 xliii. 8. way,] way. *a*
 xlv. 9. maiest] maist *a*
 xlvi. 7. falsed] falsest *a*
 xlvii. 3. fold] fo'ld *a*
 xlviii. 5. reuerse] reuerse, *a*
 xlix. 4. assaile,] assaile; *cd EHCTChCoM*
 li. 6. To come, and goe] To come and goe; *cd EH* To come and goe, *D*
 lii. 1. saw] heard *a B*
 llii. 1. feeble] seely *b BG* silly *cd EH*
 8. deface.] deface, *b G* deface: *cd Ch*

CANTO X

- i. 3. fight] sight *EH*
 ii. 7. daint,] daint. *a*
 vi. 1. begin,] begin: *cd EHBCUTChCoMD*
 5. glee,] glee; *HCUTChCoM* glee: *MD*
 6. became,] became; *cd* became: *HCUTChCoMD*
 vii. 8. simple true] simple, trew *M*
 viii. 6. that] the *d*

- ix. 5. tyrans] tyrants *cd*
- xi. 4. broad-blazed] broad-blazing *d*
- 5. Dame,] Dame *CTChCoMDS*
- xiii. 8. booke,] booke *a*
- xv. 4. well] for *a H₂BCUTChGM*
- 9. gan] can *cd H₂*
- xvi. 1. deare,] deare; *S*
- 8. her] he *abcd; corr. F. E.*
- sore,] sore: *cd C* sore; *UTChCoMD*
- xvii. 4. Whye] Whye. *a*
- xx. 3. hight;] hight, *a*
- 4. dismay;] dismay, *ab GS* dismay: *cd* dismay *Ch*
- 5. *Line om. ab Ch encloses line in brackets*
- xxi. 3. grace,] grace; *a*
- 8. desirde] desirde, *ab G*
- 9. dismayes.] dismayes, *a*
- xxii. 5. all] all, *a*
- 9. perplexitie.] perplexity *a* perplexitie; *d*
- xxiii. 1. smart,] smart: *cd EH* smart; *UTChMD*
- 3. which] who *H₂*
- 4. all] all, *a*
- xxiv. 4. reliefe] reliefe. *ab*
- xxvii. 5. embay,] embay *d EHBCUTChMDS*
- 6. His bodie in salt water smarting sore] His blamefull body in salt water sore
a BCM
- xxix. 2. brought:] brought; *a*
- xxxi. 6. faire,] faire. *b G*
- xxxiv. 8. worldes] worlds *c*
- xxxvi. 6. Their] There *ab*
- 9. in commers-by] in-commers by *ab*
- xxxviii. 1. as] an *c EH* the *d*
- place,] place: *cd UTChCoMD*
- 3. thristy] thirsty *d EHB*
- xl. 2. able] hable *a*
- xl. 9. height] hight *a*
- 1. 1. she] he *b G*
- 3. marke] marke? *d*
- attaine?] attaine *d*
- lii. 1. since] sith *cd EH*
- 6. Brings] Bring *ab*
- liii. 1. him] then *H*
- Mount;] Mount, *d*
- liv. 5. flowring] flowry *E*
- lv. 6. nor] not *H₂*
- 7. song;] song: *ad*
- lvi. 2. descend] descend. *a*
- 9. vnknown] vnknowne *cd EH*
- lvii. 3. dwell in] dwell-in *cd*
- 5. pretious] piteous *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
- 8. all in] in all *H*
- lviii. 3. dwell,] dwell *abcd G*
- lix. 2. frame] fame *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
- lx. 2. accompted] accounted *cd*

- lxi. 3. thy] to thy *b G*
 lxii. 4. (quoth he) as wretched, and liu'd in like paine] As wretched men, and liued
 in like paine *a CCbCoM*
 8. batailles none are to be fought] bitter batailles all are (ate *in a*) fought
a ChCoM
 9. are] they're *a CUTMD* are *bcd EH₁S*
 lxiii. 1. (quoth he) then] (quoth he then) *C*
 then turne] returne *cd EH*
 2. are;] are, *a*
 lxiv. 7. doen] doen then *b*
 lxv. 3. place] face *a*
 4. Britaine Britans *a CCbCoM*
 land,] land *a*
 lxvi. 5. brought] btought *a*

CANTO XI

- i. 1. faire] fayre *a faire b*
 ii. 4. at] it *a; corr. F. E.*
 iii. Stanza om. 1590
 3. be,] be *b G*
 4. far] far, *b G*
 appeare,] appeare *b G*
 iv. 5. stretcht] stretch *b*
 side] side, *ab G*
 v. 1. his] this *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
 5. wyde,] wyde, *a*
 6. thou] most *E*
 7. ympe] nympe *E*
 vi. 5. aswage,] asswage; *cd EH* aswage. *B* aswage: *UTChCoMD*
 6. sownd,] sound, (or sownd,) *cd EHBUTCoMD*
 9. scared] feared *abcd EH; corr. F. E.*
 viii. 7. vast] vaste *a wast b*
 9. swolne] sworn *H₁*
 ix. 4. sword] swerd *a*
 speare;] speare, *a*
 x. 4. bynd,] bynd *b G*
 5. lynd] kynd *a*
 9. still] full *H₁*
 xi. 4. slacke,] slack, *a* slacke. *bG* slack; *cd (S reads slacke. in 1590)*
 5. as] all *abcd EHG; corr. F. E.*
 xii. 6. tell,] tell *cd EHUTChCoMDS*
 xiii. 2. enraunged] enraged *H*
 xvi. 1. couch] coach *H₁*
 4. neither] nether *a*
 xviii. 5. vnsound] vnfound *b*
 xxiii. 1. His] The *H*
 2. therewith all] there-with all *c there-with-all d*
 8. distaynd,] distaind; *cd*
 9. disdaynd,] disdaind: *cd*
 xxiv. 1. fiercely] fercely *a*
 trenchand] trench and *E*
 xxv. 1. wrath] wroth *acd*
 5. in] on *dE*

- pight.] pight, *a*
 8. styē] flie *d*
 xxvi. 6. swunged] singed *cd EH*
 xxvii. 2. vaunt] daunt *bc*
 7. this] the *H₂*
 xxviii. 1. brent] brent, *C*
 4. desire,] desire *cd*
 xxix. 1. befell] befell, *a*
 xxx. 2. away,] away; *cd EHCUTCbCoMD*
 4. aged] ages *d E*
 5. one] it *abcd EHChCO; corr. F. E.*
 7. Spaul Spaa *H*
 xxxi. 7. Can] Gan *d EH*
 xxxv. 1. spy,] spy. *b*
 2. wonder] wonder, *a*
 5. He, now] He now, *C*
 xxxvii. 2. yelded] yelled *cd EHBCUTCbMD*
 xxxviii. 7. be got] begot *d*
 xxxix. 3. can] gan *d*
 4. sting] string *bcd EH*
 7. string] sting *bcd EH*
 8. a] in *cd E*
 xl. 8. fall,] fall *cd HBCbUTCoMDS*
 xli. 4. Nor] For *ab BDG*
 6. strength] strength, *ab*
 xlii. 4. stoutly] fiercely *d*
 9. thereby] threby *a*
 xliii. 1. shield,] shield *ab G*
 xlv. 3. little] lit'e *a*
 8. forwearied] foreweried *a*
 xlv. 9. *The tree of life*] *Not italicized ab BChG; but cf. xxix. 9*
 xlvii. 8. ill] euill *d E*
 mornefull] mournfull *a*
 xlviii. 7. heale,] heale *b G heale; Ch*
 1. 8. pray;] pray, *d*
 li. 2. the] her *bcd EH₁*
 6. her did marke] did her marke *d*
 7. spred,] spred; *abcd EHBG*
 8. darke;] darke, *abcd EHBG*
 liii. 8. maw,] maw; *d*

CANTO XII

- Arg. 4. doe] doth *H₂*
 ii. 5. seeme,] seeme *C and all later editors except G*
 9. fall.] fall, *ab*
 iii. 5. fond] found *bc G fand dE*
 7. hond] hand *d E*
 vii. 1. young] yong *a*
 3. sung] song *a*
 7. day,] day *cd and all later editors except G*
 viii. 1. meriment] meriment. *a*
 3. bent,] bent *a*

- ix. 1. after,] after *a CUTCbCoMD*
- 5. wonderment.] wonderment, *a*
- 7. monstrous] monstrons *b*
- xi. 2. too] to *a*
- play,] play *a*
- 4. gossips] gossibs *a*
- 5. talants] talents *abc G; corr. F. E.*
- 6. hand?] hand. *a*
- xiii. 4. strowes] strow *H₁*
- street:] street *a*
- xiv. 5. containe] vntayne *a; corr. F. E.*
- xvi. 1. pleasure] pleasures *bcd EH₁G*
- xvii. 1. the] that *a H₂BCUTCbCoMS*
- 4. note] *M reads n'ote in b*
- xviii. 8. Paynim] Pynim *b*
- xxi. 7. that] the *bc G*
- drawing] dawning *bc*
- xxii. 4. heauenly] heaunnly *b*
- xxvii. 7. of] and *bcd EH₁*
- xxviii. 7. her] his *bcd EHG*
- 8. soe.] soe, *b GS so: cd*
- xxxi. 7. strayd] stayd *a; corr. F. E.*
- xxxii. 5. t'] to *abcd EHCo; corr. F. E.*
- 6. wylie] wiely *a*
- xxxiii. 4. show] sheow *a*
- xxxiv. 2. vaine] faine *a; corr. F. E.*
- 3. improvided] vnprovided *T*
- 9. who] wo *ab; corr. F. E.*
- xxxv. 2. freight] fraught *d*
- xxxvi. 7. banes] bains *a*
- xxxvii. 6. the] a *cd EH*
- xxxviii. 3. frankencense] frankincense *a*
- xl. 4. suffice] snffice *a*
- 9. His] Her *bcd EH*
- xli. 3. ne] nor *cd E*
- 4. able] hable *a*

LETTER OF THE AUTHORS

- Line 7. by-accidents] by accidents *a*
- 52. express] ezpress *a*
- 60. three.] three, *S*
- 82. through] through *a*

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT

PROEM

iv. 5. myl mine *a* The change in 1596 was in line with Spenser's practice of using "mine" only before a vowel. It also avoids the internal rhyme of "mine" and "eyne." The reading of 1590 may have been a printer's error.

CANTO I

ii. 1. Butl And *a* As Smith observes, "The reading of 1596 brings out finely the contrast between the 'jolly' appearance of the Knight and his dedicated purpose."

ii. 4. dead as liuing euerl dead, as living ever, *CCb* In support of this punctuation, Church quotes Rev. 1. 18.: "I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for evermore." It is not necessary to construe "euer" as modifying "liuing" to give logical meaning to the line. Moreover, "dead" and "liuing" seem to be thrown into juxtaposition, and the line is certainly much smoother with the caesura following "dead."

v. 1. The change of "innocent" from an adjective (1590) to a substantive (1596) heightens the poetical quality of the comparison.

viii. 3. tempestl tempestes *cdEB* The emendation was probably made because "dred" was improperly conceived as a noun rather than an adjective.

ix. 6. sweete bleedingl sweet, bleeding *cd* Morris reads "sweete-bleeding"; Smith observes that he is "probably right in regarding 'sweete' as an adverb to 'bleeding.'"

xv. 6. poisonousl poisnous *a* Smith: "1596 is less shy of trisyllabic feet than 1590, and both than *F. E.*; and the second part of *F. Q.* than the first."

xviii. 9. trainel Upton: "'Traine' in the former verse (6) signifies 'tail'; in the latter, 'deceit.' For it is contrary to the laws of *good* rime to make the same word with the same signification to rime to itself: nay, *good* rimes require even different words. And here so obvious a reading occurs, that I am almost persuaded Spenser wrote,

God help the man so wrapt in Errour's endlesse *chaine*.

Psalms 73. 6: 'Pride compasseth them about as a chain.' In the book of Common Prayer: 'Though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins.'

Have knit themselves in Venus' shamefull *chaine* (1. 2. 4. 8).

In chains of lust and lewde desyres ybound (2. 1. 54. 3)."

This is more plausible than most of Upton's proposed changes, but would this mistake have escaped the poet's notice?

xxviii. 8. passedl passeth *bcG* The printer's eye was evidently caught by the *th* in the following word.

xxx. 9. sitsl fits *cdEHBG* In support of the original reading, cf. *S. C.*, May 77, June 75, Sept. 232; *Ded. Son.* 5. 12. "Fits," however, occurs in *S. C.*, Oct. 88; *F. Q.* 2. 11. 9; *Proth.* 141.

xxxi. 6. youl thee *a* Smith: "The plural pronoun is more courteous than the singular. There is a similar change of 'thy' to 'your' in 1. 2. 22. 5."

xl. 9. sentl To avoid the rhyme of two words spelled alike, Upton proposes "shent," meaning "brought into disgrace." Spenser, however, was not altogether averse to this practice. Cortland Van Winkle (*Epithalamion*, p. 131) lists 130 such rhymes in the *F. Q.*

xl. 9. her with yuie l her yuie *bc*; had her yuie *d E* The reading of 1596 is clearly a printer's error, which 1611 sought to correct.

CANTO II

vi. 2. his] Upton: "Perhaps 'his' in the first and third line, occasioned the printing 'his' in the second line, instead of 'this guilty sight.'"

viii. 9. 'loued] louest *b* The printer's eye was probably attracted by the *ss* of "best."

xvi. 5. Astonied both,] Astonied, both *cd etc.* The emendation is unnecessary; "they" understood is the subject of "stand."

xvii. 9. dies] die *cd etc.* We have kept the original reading; the singular form of the verb was probably attracted by the noun immediately preceding.

xxix. 5. aluue] bilive conj. Upton.

xxii. 5. your] thy *a etc.* See note to 1. 31. 6.

xxix. 2. shade him thither hastily] The omission of "him" in 1596 was responsible for the efforts of later editors, who did not consult 1590, to remedy the line. See *Variants*.

xxxiii. 4. Wretched man, wretched tree] Church proposes a transposition of "man" and "tree," "as the connection is thereby better preserved." The poet, of course, was following the order of the words in the preceding line.

xxxiv. 1. Say on, *Fradubio*, then, or man, or tree,] Church proposes omitting "then" as the word occurs in the next line.

xl. 2. vnweeting] vnweening *b etc.* Spenser's frequent use of "vnweeting" clearly justifies Church's restoration of the reading of 1590.

xli. 9. stray] stay conj. Upton.

xliv. 5. this] his conj. Upton.

xlv. 3. care] Upton: "I believe he wrote 'busie cure,' following Chaucer and Lidgate."

CANTO III

xvii. 5.9. We have kept the original punctuation of these lines. Lines 7-8 seemingly parallel lines 5-6, and "Then" (9) finds its antecedents equally in "when all men carelesse slept" and "Whiles none the holy things in safety kept."

xxiii. 1. bray] bay conj. Upton.

xxix. 9. defend, now] defend. Now *a* We have retained the punctuation of 1596, construing "that" (6) as a conjunction introducing a clause of purpose. The punctuation of line 6 in 1590 requires that "that" be construed as a relative, referring to "excuse" as its antecedent.

xxxii. 8. the] that conj. Upton.

9. her all that fell] Upton: "One would think and indeed not improbable that 'her' in the first line (8) caught the printer's eye; and occasioned 'her' in the second: whereas it should have been 'Who told him.'" Smith suggests "all that her fell"; "her" is clearly the object of "fell," but I do not find the order so "excessively contorted" as does Smith.

xxxiv. 9. spurnd] spurd *a* Cf. 3. 1. 5. 4: "sharpely gan to spurne His fomy steed."

xxxvi. 7. morning] mourning *a* Cf. 11. 47. 8: "O mornefull memory."

xliv. 7. feares,] feares *c etc.* "To be partaker" (8) depends upon "followes," and "ne ought he feares" is parenthetical.

CANTO IV

x. 2-3. Looking to heauen; for earth she did disdayne,
And sitting high; for lowly she did hate:

Church and most of the later editors alter the punctuation of these lines. The original punctuation, however, is in accordance with Spenser's usual practice of placing the colon or semi-colon before a causal clause unless very informal. Cf. stanza 22. 1-2.

xii. 7. Realmel Realmes *b etc.* We have followed the reading of 1590. Spenser would probably have avoided "Realmes with lawes," and here again the compositor's eye would seem to have caught the *es* of the succeeding word.

xx. 3. Froml For *bc* In 1596 the compositor's eye probably caught the "For" of line 4.

xxiii. 7. dry dropsiel Upton suggests "dire dropsie," Latin *dirus hydrops*, a conjecture which Smith observes is "worth noticing." Collier: "May not Spenser have written, not 'dry dropsy,' but 'hydropsy,' which was misread by the old compositor, and therefore printed as two words?"

xxiv. 3. whallyl walled conj. Morris.

xlii. 8. Him litle answerd th' angry Elfin knightl Upton proposes to read: "Him angry, little answerd th' elfin knight."

CANTO V

v. 9. those thel Upton finds it difficult to think of Duessa and the shield as "lawrell girlonds," and so proposes to read "those and th'."

vii. 9. helmets hewenl hewen helmets *a* As Smith aptly observes, "This is one of those slight changes of order, made here for the sake of grammar, but more often for the sake of rhythm, which reveal the poet's own hand in 1596 more conclusively than more conspicuous alterations."

x. 8. doestl Upton: "It had been easier thus, 'And, sluggish german, doe thy forces slake.'"

xv. 2. thirstiel thirsty *a* In support of "thirsty," Church cites 35. 5 [1590]; 6. 38. 8; 10. 38. 3; and 2. 6. 17. 8 [1590]. But cf. 3. 20. 4, where both 1590 and 1596 read "thirstie," and 6. 9. 6. 8. Moreover, "thirst" rather than "thrust" is usually employed. Cf. *Concordance*.

xvii. 4. wash his woundesl washen his wounds *cdEH* This change was made because the editor of 1609 did not recognize the syllabic value of *es*.

xxiii. 8. Nightesl Nights drad *cdEH* See the preceding note.

xxxv. 7-8 *Typhoeus* ioyns were stretched on a gin,

Theseus condemned to endlesse slouth by law,

Although most editors substitute semi-colons for commas at the ends of these lines, We have followed the earlier punctuation. The editors of 1609 and 1611 were not disposed to alter it. The movement of the stanza was becoming ponderous and monotonous, and a change of tempo was desired.

xxxviii. 3. two monstersl Upton finds "neither reason nor rime" in "two monsters," since the reference is to the Phocae, and proposes either "the monsters" or "sea monsters."

xli. 2. nighl high *b etc.* We have followed the reading of 1590; the compositor of 1596 was prone to substitute the initial letter of a preceding or following word, in this case "her."

CANTO VI

i. 3. bewailel Church: "'to bewaile her wrack,' as Mr. Jortin observes, seems unintelligible. 'Assayle' (see st. 5. 3.) is a word which fully answers to the poet's design: and then the sense is obvious." Upton gives the meaning of "bewaile" as "select" or "choose." But see *NED* on this passage (last definition under "Bewaile"): "The use of 'bewaile' is either very forced (?suggested by the consequences of a wreck), or it is a mere error. The suggestion that it was meant for a derivative of 'wale', 'to choose', is worthless."

5. doubtl Church: "Take it as you will, there should be a comma or semi-colon after 'doubt.'" The meaning is obvious and it was desirable to avoid a double caesura.

iv. 2. And] Upton: "'And' seems printed twice by the negligence of the compositor of the press: I want authority only to print, without the connective participle, which is better omitted:

With fawning wordes he courted her awhile,
Oft looking lovely, and oft sighing sore."

viii. 7. misshapen] mishappen *a* mishapen *b* 1590 reads "misshaped" in 8. 46. 7.

xii. This stanza troubles Upton who is certain "all is not right here" and suggests transposing "truth" (line 2) and "ruth" (line 7).

xviii. 3. troupe] troupes conj. Church.

xx. 3. seek] see conj. Church.

xxiii. 8. nousled] nousled *a* Most editors follow *a*, but cf. 5. 1. 6. 8.

xxiv. 2. bastard] dastard conj. Upton.

xli. 3-4 and . . . slain] Upton: "If we suppose a word to be left out here either in hasty writing, or by the printer; with much greater spirit, and with better metre, we may thus read,

That hast with knightlesse guile, and treacherous traine,
Faire knighthood fowly shamd. And dost thou vaunt
That good knight of the redcrosse to have slain?"

xliv. 8. thrown,] thrown: *abG* The colon was obviously a compositor's mistake, which carried over from 1590.

xlvii. 8. they to] The Tudor and Stuart Club copy of 1596 reads "two they"; all other copies known to us, "they two." The construction and scansion favor the reading of 1590.

CANTO VII

i. 7. guiltlesse] guileless conj. Upton.

xvii. 8. An] And conj. Church.

xix. 3-8. The punctuation of *abcd* is consistent with Elizabethan usage. The members of an enumeration are normally followed by commas, but lines 5 and 6 are here followed by semicolons in order that the construction of the phrases which conclude these lines may be clear.

xxvii. 7. loued dearer] lov'd with dearer conj. Upton.

xxxiii. 5. cleene] sheene conj. Upton.

xxxiv. 1-6. Upton proposes altering these verses as follows:

The same to sight he never wont disclose,
But whenas monsters huge he would dismay,
Or daunt unequall armies of his foes:
For so exceeding shone his glistring ray,
That ev'n the flying heavens it would affray,
And Phoebus golden face it did attain,—

xxxvii. 7. trample] amble *a* Smith: "One of those changes of words which reveal Spenser's hand clearly in 1596. A steed so spirited would not amble."

xlvi. 7. Or] And conj. Church.

xliii. 1. The] This conj. Upton.

xlvi. 9. tyrants] tyrant conj. Upton.

xlvi. 8. disauenturous] disauentures conj. Church.

deare] dreare conj. Upton. This of course alters the whole meaning of the line.

lii. 4. That] The conj. Morris.

CANTO VIII

iii. 1. the] his *a* This alteration points to Spenser himself; it was seemingly made to avoid the repetition of "his."

ix. Upton suggests the following, by way of emendation:

As when almightie Jove, in wrathful mood
To wreake the guilt of mortal sins ibent,
Hurles forth his thundring dart, with deadly flood,
Enrold in flames and smouldring dreriment;
Through riven clouds and molten firmament
The fiers three-forked engin making way,—

2. is bent] ybent conj. Jortin.

xi. 7. the] their conj. Upton.

xiii. 1. The] Tho conj. Church.

xviii. 2. left] right *d* etc. "Left" is used in the sense of "remaining."

xxi. 5. their] his conj. Church, and accepted by Grosart and Dodge; Smith observes that "their" may mean Orgoglio's and Duessa's forces.

xxxiii. 5. sits] fits *b* etc. Both 1590 and 1596 read "sits" in l. 30. 9. Cf. note to same.

xxxv. 9. was] were conj. Upton.

xli. 6. brownd bowrs] Church, ignorant of the meaning of "bowrs" as "muscles," suggested "brawney powres."

xliv. 4. Best musicke breeds delight in loathing eare] Jortin: "I cannot think that Spenser ever intended to write thus. His argument requires directly the contrary: 'even the best music breeds no delight in a loathing ear, much less can it be agreeable to dwell upon this melancholy subject.' Possibly he intended:

Best music breeds *dislike* in loathing ear,

and *delight* is either a slip of his pen, or a fault of the Printer, occasion'd it may be by the word *delight* being in the line above."

Church: "I could wish to have found:

Musick breeds no delight in loathing eare.

i. e. Even *Harmony* is displeasing when the Ear is out of tune."

Dodge: "Old editions = delight, which spoils the obvious sense of the passage, and which was obviously caught from the preceding line. The substitute was suggested by Daniel's *Delia* liv:—

'Like as the lute delights or else dislikes,

As is his art that plays upon the same, etc.'"

Smith: "As 'delight' is repeated by parablepsy from line 3, the form of the word is not much of a guide to emendation. Others suggest 'despight.'"

The passage permits the following interpretation: "Something in itself agreeable and pleasant can win the ear of one who is disinclined to hear, but not so a thing that is disagreeable and unpleasant. The knight has learned his lesson, and it is better not to rehearse the painful episode." The substitution of "dislike" would suggest that the next line begin with "And" not "But," for the two clauses would then be coördinate, not adversative.

CANTO IX

xv. 8. vow] vowd *a* The change to the present tense was either a subtle improvement, implying that the vow is constantly renewed, or "vow" may be an infinitive coördinate with "seeke."

xxii. 2. and curld] his uncurl'd conj. Upton.

xxvi. 9. of] on conj. Jortin.

- xxix. 2. bitter byting] bitter-biting conj. Upton.
 xxxii. 7. nor for gold nor glee] nor for gold nor fee C Smith: "The alliteration, if not the sense, favours 'glee.'"
 xxxv. 1. That] The conj. Upton.
 xlv. 8. rageth] raging conj. Church.
 9. which] these conj. Church.
 xlvii. 8. the] thy conj. Upton.
 li. 6. To come, and goe] To goe, and come conj. Church.

CANTO X

- xxiii. 1. her] his conj. Church.
 4. Her] Him conj. Church.
 xxv. 8. his] Church would omit.
 xxxv. 1. The] This conj. Upton.
 lii. 4-6. To improve the grammar, Morris would change "traueiler" (4) to the plural, or "them" (6) to "him."
 lxii. 9. As for loose loues are vaine] As for loose loues they are vaine a Smith: "The reading of 1596 eases the metre, and 5. 3. 22. 5 and 6 shows an exactly parallel construction. But the main reason for preferring 1596 is the proximity of 62. 4 and 62. 8, which are certainly author's corrections."
 lxiii. 2. the] that conj. Upton.

CANTO XI

vi. 5-6. Most editors follow the punctuation of *c* and throw line 6 into the second thought unit of the stanza. Note, however, the cumulative rapidity and passion of the first unit (lines 1-6) when read as originally punctuated, and the effect of beginning the second unit with "The God of warre." The stanza has the sweep of a tempest and ought not to be tampered with.

- vii. 4. that] the conj. Upton.
 xix. 7. spend] bend conj. Church.
 xxi. 2. wreck] wreke conj. Upton.
 xxvii. 7. twelve] ten conj. Upton.
 xxviii. 1. emboyled] embroyled conj. Upton.
 xli. 4. Nor] For *ab* Smith: "I am no longer sure that Spenser did not write 'For.' There is a very similar confusion in 5. 6. 26. 5 and 6."
 xlii. 4. double] doubled conj. Upton.
 li. 7-8. Line 8, "From heauen high to chase the chearelesse darke," seems to furnish the reason for Aurora's "haste," and we have followed the punctuation suggested by Church and followed by all subsequent editors excepting Grosart. As Smith observes, "The original punctuation makes line 8 refer to the lark."
 liv. 7. poyse] noyse conj. Morris.
 lv. 2. it] he conj. Church.

CANTO XII

- iv. 9. eternall] infernall conj. Upton.
 xvi. 2. godly] goodly conj. Upton.
 xviii. 6. that] the conj. Upton.
 xxi. 4. Church suggests "proceeded" for "proceeding," and would close the line with period.
 xxiii. 4. ragged] rugged conj. Upton.
 xxxii. 3. hight] high! conj. Upton.
 xxxviii. 5. sweat] smile conj. Upton.

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