THE FRIENDSHIP THEME IN THE FAERIE QUEENE: SPENSER'S INDEBTEDNESS TO ARISTOTLE AND HELIODORUS

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TO MY WIFE, DARLENE, AND

TO OUR CHILDREN, SCOTT, SHELLEY, AND ?

PREFACE

The present study had its genesis in a seminar paper which was prepared for Dr. Charles E. Walton's Spenser and Milton class during the first summer session of 1962 at N.S.T.C. Class discussion of that paper on "Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics and Book V of The Faerie Queene," focused my attentions upon Spenser's intriguing depiction of the union of equity and justice in the figures of Britomart and Artegall, virtuous equals. I had been interested in Spenser's allegorical use of Aristotle's concept of equity in relation to justice, and the realization that Spenser conceived of the union of equity and justice in terms of Aristotelian friendship dialectic led me to re-examine Aristotle's analysis of the moral virtues, particularly his theory of friendship which upholds the attachment of equals as one of the highest spiritualizing forces of society. I determined to study the entire Britomart-Artegall relationship in terms of artistic structure and treatment, and, at the inception of the present study, the tentative title was "Spenser's Britomart and Artegall: Nicomachean Lovers Within the Courtly Love Convention."

However, one of the fruits of research came in the realization of Spenser's indebtedness to Heliodorus, especially in the important "Radigund" episodes of Book V of

The Faerie Queene. This discovery was the result of searching for an antitype of The Faerie Queene, of attempting to define Spenser's artistic precepts, and of surveying the changing position of women in society as reflected in literature. It came in a reading of the Aithiopica (or Ethiopian History) of Heliodorus in Rowland Smith (trans.) The Greek Romances of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901).

I am indebted to the staff of the William Allen White Library for furnishing the translation of Heliodorus, in particular, and for the library's assistance in providing nearly all of the other materials which have made this study possible.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Walton for his guidance and inspiration throughout the present study, and, particularly, for his suggestions concerning the organization of the complex facets of this thesis. I should like, also, to thank Dr. June Morgan for her helpful suggestions as a second reader of this study.

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CHAPTER I

PRECEPTS AND ANALOGUES:
PERSPECTIVE ON FORM AND FUNCTION

It is absurd to judge Spenser by precepts which he did not acknowledge. Thomas Warton advanced this insight of critical jurisprudence even though he evaluated Spenser at a time when literary criticism was dominated by the tenets of an authoritarian Neo-classicism.[1] Nevertheless, critics have focused their attentions too often upon only those elements of Spenser's The Faerie Queene which varying norms and tastes have suggested.[2] Many of their observations have been illuminated needlessly by the flickering candle of mere autistic perception.

Granted that many of the critical abuses bestowed upon Spenser are indicative of the scope of his artistic

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[1]Thomas Warton, "Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, 1754" in George Benjamin Woods (ed.), English Poetry and Prose of the Romantic Movement, pp. 79-80.

[2]William R. Mueller (ed.), Spenser's Critics: Changing Currents in Literary Taste, pp. 1-17, analyzes criticism of Spenser's poetic technique, the structure of the epic, the allegory, and the total effect of The Faerie Queene. The book contains essays and excerpts of representative eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century works; cf., Emma Field Pope, "Renaissance Criticism and the Diction of The Faerie Queene," PMLA, XLI (September, 1926), pp. 575-617; F. F. Covington, Jr., "Early 17th Century Criticism of Spenser," MLN, XLI (June, 1926), pp. 386-7.

genius, one wishes that he had completed The Faerie Queene. Its completion undoubtedly would have lengthened its breadth to nearly four times that of the Odyssey.[3] Nevertheless, had Spenser finished The Faerie Queene, perhaps much of the criticism made invalid by misapplication of theory would have been forestalled. In its extant form of six books and a fragment of a seventh, however, The Faerie Queene is particularly vunerable to critical shafts aimed at its organic unity.[4]

The reader is denied the cumulative effect of the whole work in the absence of the proposed rendezvous at the court of Queen Gloriana of all of the characters of the "incidental" intrigues. Without this dénouement, the reader cannot appreciate Prince Arthur as the consummation of all of the moral virtues embodied in the other patron knights.[5]

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[3]Dodge observes that The Faerie Queene, in its extant form, is nearly twice as long as the Odyssey: R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, X, n. s. 2 (1897), p. 151.

[4]This status is true, despite Bradner's assertions that one need not be disturbed because The Faerie Queene is only half finished. Bradner believes that ". . . the books are complete as they stand, each dealing with the quest of a single knight in which his particular virtue finds a field for action." Leicester Bradner, Edmund Spenser and the Faerie Queene. pp. 73-4.

[5]Cf., John Upton, Spenser's Faerie Queene, pp. xx-xxvii, cited by Edwin Greenlaw, et. al. (eds.), The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition, I, pp. 300-24, esp. p. 321.

Arthur's super-excellence does not emerge. His magnificence does not emblemize The Faerie Queene.

Instead, the emblem of narrative interest, if not, indeed, of allegorical meaning and emphasis in The Faerie Queene, resolves itself as the picture of Britomart beholding the reflection of her lover, Artegall, in the mirror of Venus. It is the relationship of these patrons of chastity and justice which not only permeates, but dominates, sustains, and provides a type of amoeba-like elasticity to the other narrative elements in Spenser's unfinished tapestry. If Spenser had finished his narrative, perhaps this "accident" of fabrication would not now loom so large[6] As it stands, however, the interest generated in the absorbing narration of the relationship between Britomart and Artegall makes its interpretation ultimately necessary.

Professor R. E. Neil Dodge in 1897 conclusively pointed out that the real center of narrative interest and action in The Faerie Queene must be sought in the "love" story of Britomart and Artegall. He observed:

> From the beginning of the third book to the end of the fifth they are kept pretty constantly

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[6]In his "Letter to Raleigh," Spenser ranks the love of Britomart with ". . . the overthrow of Marinell, the misery of Florimell, the vertousness of Belphoebe, the lasciviousness of Hellenore and many the like . . ." themes which are ". . . intermedled but rather as accidents than intendments . . . ." Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, p. 137.

> before us, and the prophecies of Merlin . . . and the Priest of Isis . . . tell us enough of the future to make their story complete.[7]

Admitting that Spenser treated this love affair between his patroness of Chastity and his patron of Justice in relatively few passages and at wide intervals, Dodge accounted for the brevity of Spenser's treatment of this theme in terms of allegorical necessity: ". . . Britomart and Artegall . . . are principally busied in allegorical action and have scant time for love."[8] He did not hazard a guess as to how much Spenser eventually intended to stress their love story or their union. He did point out, however, that Spenser borrowed their story, which forms the central plot for The Faerie Queene, from Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso (1516). He revealed that Britomart is the counterpart of Ariosto's Bradamante and that Artegall reflects Rogero. Recalling that Orlando is only the titular hero of the Orlando Furioso, Dodge declared that Gloriana is only the titular heroine of The Faerie Queene, and that Prince Arthur is only the nominal hero, while Britomart and Artegall are the "virtual" heroine and hero, just as Bradamante and Rogero are the dominant figures in the Orlando Furioso of

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[7] R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, X, n. s. 2 (1897), p. 175.

[8] Loc. cit.

Ariosto.[9]

Dodge's early work concerning Spenser's imitations from Ariosto has had the effect of a pebble dropped into a quiet pool of water. Spenserian scholarship has rippled from this starting point to reveal, in concentric circles of ever-broadening dimensions, a complex of suggestion at once emanating from Spenser's narration of the love affair between the patron knights of chastity and justice. However, most of these revelations have not been the result of specific critical attention to that love affair. The contributions which have been made toward its analysis have been the result of either more limited, or more general, specific attentions.

Britomart's role as Spenser's "ensample" of chastity in III has been seen by Padelford as that of the virtuous woman serving as a norm to two altogether incontinent women and four intermediate character types.[10] Thus, she has been interpreted as the Aristotelian mean between two extremes.

Artegall's role in defining justice in V is to echo the Aristotelian concept of the golden mean almost in Aristotle's exact words.[11]

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[9]Ibid., pp. 174-78, esp. p. 178.

[10]Frederick M. Padelford, "The Women in Spenser's Allegory of Love," JEGP, XVI (1917), pp. 70-83.

[11]William Fenn De Moss, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues, 'According to Aristotle'," MP, XVI (May, 1918), pp. 35-7.

However, Spenserian scholars have failed to examine the fullness of the relationship between Artegall and Britomart in terms of the philosophy of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics to which Spenser alluded in his explanatory letter to Raleigh.[12] However, it would be incorrect to maintain that this element of allegorical interest has entirely escaped the attention of Spenserians. For example, Osgood points out that all of the gradations of love and friendship exhibited in the third and fourth books of The Faerie Queene find their crowning instance in the Britomart-Artegall relationship.[13] Like Erskine, however, Osgood is content to remark only on the ". . . strongly Platonic" idealism of the attachment.[14]

Bradner asserts that Spenser wanted his readers to think about the relationship between justice (the virtue exemplified by Artegall in V) and love and friendship, which, Bradner maintains, Britomart illustrates in IV.[15] However,

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[12]R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," pp. 136-7.

[13]Charles G. Osgood, "Comments on the Moral Allegory of the Faerie Queene," MLN, XLVI (December, 1921), pp. 502-7.

[14]John Erskine, "The Virtue of Friendship in the Faerie Queene," PMLA, XIII, n. s. 1 (1915), p. 345.

[15]Leicester Bradner, Edmund Spenser and the Faerie Queene, p. 91.

Bradner does not see a hero in IV who illustrates both friendship and justice.[16] He bewails:

> . . . From the logical and ethical point of view this lack is doubtless serious. Friendship is necessary to true and lasting love between man and woman and is also fundamental to society . . . .[17]

Even this examination, however, does not focus completely upon the Britomart-Artegall relationship.

Other scholars have attempted to defend the artistic integrity of the central books of The Faerie Queene, and most of them have maintained that the Britomart-Artegall episodes hold the section together, but none finds a real hero or relationship to champion the cause of friendship in IV. Nevertheless, Mills has proposed a point of view which should in the future extend critical attentions upon the Artegall-Britomart relationship into the scope of Spenser's friendship theme. Taking the classical friendship dialectic as a point of departure in his exhaustive study of the friendship theme in Tudor literature and Stuart drama, Mills offers proof that Spenser, like Aristotle, includes love under friendship. He reasons that Spenser naturally has the book on friendship follow the book honoring chastity. Moreover, Mills observes that since friendship in its wider

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[16] Loc. cit.

[17] Ibid., p. 92.

classical sense applies to relations with people in general, it is logical for the formal aspect of that relationship, justice, to follow in IV, and to be followed, in turn, by the less formal aspect, courtesy.[18]

Lever's examination of the nuptials in The Faerie Queene had led him to realize that Colin Clout's appearance in the final cantos of VI is made after Spenser has traced a great spiral of the two extremes of love scored and love requited. Lever concludes, ". . . with the completion of Book VI [of The Faerie Queene], the process of purging love from romance illusions was complete."[19] He noted that Colin is bequeathed to his Rosalinde in a rustic setting reminiscent of that in The Shepheardes Calender (1579).[20] The significance of this reflection becomes clearer when one recalls that the love story of Colin and Rosalinde, as the central theme of the Calender, gives the appearance of dramatic unity to that collection of eclogues.[21] In this view, the artistic integrity of the entire poem, as well as of the central books, is perceptible.

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[18]Laurens J. Mills, One Soul in Bodies Twain, p. 227.

[19]Julius Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet, p. 95.

[20]R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "The Shepheardes Calender," pp. 8-56.

[21]R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, pp. 2; v.

All of these studies have shed some light upon the understanding of Spenser as a mirror of thought and literary consciousness of his century. If the present study of the Britomart-Artegall relationship is to add to the widening knowledge of Spenser's purpose in The Faerie Queene, it must proceed (1) from an examination of the possible sources of Spenser's creative impulse; (2) from an interest in analogues that kindled Professor Dodge's early work; and (3) from a realization of the author's intentions, which may be discovered by an examination of the genre of The Faerie Queene as well as the observable aesthetic and practical principles which channeled Spenser's creative talent. Moreover, one would be heaping more critical abuse upon Spenser if he did not make an effort to understand the degree to which form and function tend to become synonymous in The Faerie Queene. The degree of emphasis that Spenser gives to any particular aspect of his work must be determined within the scope of Spenser's own concept of artistic structure.

Actually, The Faerie Queene represents a coalescence of many literary genres, and the Britomart-Artegall story itself echoes with reverberations and reflections from motifs appearing in other literary forms which must have influenced Spenser. The Faerie Queene is not just a verse epic, but a national heroic epic romance, blended with qualities and interests stemming from such widely diverse

genres as the sonnet sequence and the early Greek romance, the domestic manual and the Arthurian romance cycles, the court masque and the Italian novella, the medieval legend and the Platonic myth, the "mirror" and the court of love conversazione.

Although Spenser's famous introductory letter to Raleigh does not really ". . . discover unto the reader" the general intention and meaning of the book[22] and is mainly concerned with illustrating the mechanics of the story itself,[23] it does declare the "general end" of the "continued allegory or dark conceit" to be the fashioning of ". . . a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline . . . ."[24] His method, Spenser announces, is to be that of the "poet historical" rather than that of the "historio-grapher"; his labor is to teach by "ensample rather than by rule"; and his conceit is to be "plausible and pleasing, being colored with an historical fiction . . . ."[25] These declarations and their fulfullment classify

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[22]A. C. Hamilton, "Spenser's Letter to Raleigh," MLN, LXIII (November, 1958), p. 483.

[23]William J. Courthope, History of English Poetry, II, p. 248.

[24]R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," pp. 136-7.

[25]Loc. cit.

The Faerie Queene as a hybrid. The Faerie Queene has no single distinct antitype.[26]

When Spenser chose to ". . . fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline," he automatically linked The Faerie Queene with numerous contemporary manuals of courtesy and guides to conversation which had originated in Renaissance Italy. In these courtesy books, writers legislated principles of conduct and social deportment in even the most intimate details of civility. They assumed that treating conversation and courtesy as fine arts would benefit social intercourse in general, while assisting the courtier in his art. One of the avowed objectives of these Italian conversation books was ". . . to promote friendly intercourse between the sexes."[27] The most popular of these books were channeled into the mainstream of European thought through well-known translations from the Italian vernacular, so that two basic kinds of such courtesy books have been distinguished in Spenser's age.[28] The first

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[26]Cf., Maurice Evans, English Poetry in the Sixteenth Century, p. 37; cf., Josephine W. Bennett, Genre, Milieu, and the "Epic-Romance," believes that the epic-romance is a "Non-existant" genre, pp. 95-125.

[27]Lewis Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England, p. 87.

[28]Ibid., p. 81.

represented by Della Casa's Galateo (1576), advised refinement of manners for men and women in general.[29] The second, illustrated in Castiglione's Il Cortegiano (1561), centered its attentions upon the courtier class.[30] Spenser's The Faerie Queene is more closely related to Castiglione's Il Cortegiano. Spenser may have chosen to fashion ". . . a gentleman or noble person . . ." in recognition of the debate over "nobility-by birth" or "nobility-by-virtue."[31] Like Castiglione, Spenser narrowed the appeal of The Faerie Queene to a limited circle of the courtly class, if one may accept the dedicatory sonnets as accurate indexes to its reading audience.[32]

One should note, however, that while the Italian courtesy book appealed mostly to the upper classes, the general reading public avidly absorbed the spirited conversations from the courtesy book format of real-life characters.

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[29]Loc. cit.; the date of Robert Peterson's English

[30]The Courtier had been translated into French and Spanish before Thomas Hoby translated it into English in 1561; cf., Einstein, op. cit., p. 81.

[31]Surely Spenser was aware of the two sides to the issue since debaters expounding both views expressed themselves in the conversation books; cf., Einstein, op. cit., pp. 61-2.

[32]E. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Dedicatory Sonnets," pp. 140-4; "Commendatory Sonnets," pp. 762-3.

Through this medium, the good burghers of the rising middle classes became aware of Plato's theory of the ladder of love that leads to manifest beauty.[33] Castiglione's treatment of love ". . . freed from all sensuality, as the desire to enjoy beauty," was well-known in England through Thomas Hoby's English translation in 1561.[34]

At the same time, moreover, many of the dialogue conversation pieces and their relatives--the household or domestic manual and the letter writing books--must have held the interest of Spenser and his fellow Elizabethans. As Craig points out, the Elizabethans ". . . seem to have known and thought more about conduct than we do."[35] Their concern for guides to conduct kindled an abundance of domestic literature in the eighth and ninth decades of the sixteenth century, and Spenser could not have completely ignored the domestic manual.[36]

Nevertheless, the influence of the domestic manual upon Spenser has been minimized. Simultaneously, the lasting influences upon Spenser of Ovid, as a classic progenitor of

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[33]Einstein, op. cit., p. 83; Donald J. McGinn, and George Howerton (eds.), Literature as a Fine Art, p. 16.

[34]Einstein, op. cit., p. 84.

[35]Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass, p. 82.

[36]Chilton Latham Powell, English Domestic Relations, p. 1.

the literary court-of-love convention, and of Chaucer, as an exponent of its later development in England, have been acknowledged.[37] However, one feels that the domestic manual as a reflection of the more Puritan aspect of the English mind entered into Spenser's personal synthesis. Evans has remarked that the sixteenth century's constant appeal to allegory is indicative of a quest to integrate all of the peripheral influences into a code in ". . . which the active life could be moral without being inhuman."[38]

Spenser evidently went directly to Ovid.[39] There is little doubt that Spenser would not have found a kindred spirit, here, and an appreciation for sustained narration, invention, love of beauty and physical form primarily in Ovid's Metamorphosis, but also in Ovid's Ars amatoria (The Art of Love), Remedia Amoris (The Cure for Love) and Amores (The Amors).[40] Although it is not possible for one to determine the manner in which Spenser read Ovid, he can feel certain that Spenser appreciated Ovid's ability to analyze human character and his special forte in feminine psychology.[41]

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[37]Mills, op. cit., p. 85; John Jay Parry (ed.), The Art of Courtly Love by Andreas Capellanus, p. 4.

[38]Evans, op. cit., p. 17.

[39]S. G. Owen, "Ovid and Romance," in G. S. Gordon, English Literature and the Classics, pp. 183-4.

[40]Parry, op. cit., p. 4.

[41]Louis Ralph Zocca, Elizabethan Narrative Poetry, p. 211.

Again, it is absurd to think that Spenser was not aware of the English development of the court of love elements which ultimately derived from Ovid. Although the Latin poet did not present his ideas in a formal system and while his Art of Love was written as a parody on technical treatises of his day,[42] authors in the Middle Ages grafted the idealization of woman onto their acceptance of Ovid's concept of extra-marital love.[43] The subsequent body of courtly love literature was Spenser's heritage, but, nevertheless, as Daiches and Lewis have illustrated, Spenser demolished the court of love ideal in The Faerie Queene by his juxtaposition of ideal love and the ". . . barren, demoralizing, perverse, enslaving love of the courtly romances . . . ."[44] It is also significant, here, to realize that Spenser does not dwell at length in The Faerie Queene upon the more erotic aspects of Italian humanism. Although he paid tribute to the body of literary conventions associated with the court of love theories as an accompaniment of chivalry, his The Faerie Queene is not another Il Filostrato (The love-stricken one) in which the delights of illicit passion are

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[42] Parry, op. cit., p. 4.

[43] Loc. cit.; also Helen F. Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought, pp. 511-12.

[44] David Daiches, A Critical History of English Literature, I, p. 191; cf., C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, pp. 297-300.

explicated in verse paragraphs extending into cantos.[45] As Tillyard has noted in reference to Arthurian romances, once the conventions of courtly love were invented, writers gave them a precise value in their total schemes. One finds Lancelot, the perfect courtly lover, being denied the vision of the Holy Grail.[46] Similarly, Spenser's emphasis upon other elements in The Faerie Queene is indicative of the value he assigned to courtly love as a literary convention.

Perhaps, the domestic-relations handbook was another agent of moral purification that influenced Spenser. Following the rehabilitation of the status of women at the hands of the German reformers, the typical domestic relations book elevated the position of women although it did not advise romantic love as the basis of a harmonious marriage.[47] Wealth, parentage, education, and general social position were the elements upheld as prerequisites to domestic relationships.[48] The ideal wife (described in the domestic manual) was one whose good breeding and favorable disposition enabled her to love and serve her husband in friendly

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[45]Cf., Nathaniel Edward Griffin and Arthur Beckwith Myrick (tr.), The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio.

[46]Eustace Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, p. 3.

[47]Charles Carroll Camden, The Elizabethan Woman, pp. 56; 65-6.

[48]Ibid., pp. 65-6.

subjection, to help him to avoid promiscuous sexual indulgence, and to beget children. She was expected to be quiet in speech, somewhat serious, and comely, though not necessarily beautiful. Her actions were to proceed from a religiously oriented sense of temperance, and among her duties was the instruction of children in the delights of virtue and religion. Chastity, also the subject of Spenser's III, was placed above all other virtues. The English gentlewoman was expected to fulfill her role in society through the cultivation of a sense of chastity in manners as well as through sexual restraint.[49]

One native work in particular, with which Spenser had ample opportunity to become familiar, regarded marital love literally as the flower of friendship.[50] The pronounced undertone of Aristotelian friendship dialectic in Edward Tilney's The Flower of Friendship (1568) deserves one's consideration. Tilney became Master of Revels to Queen Elizabeth after writing this piece in close imitation of Il Cortegiano. Spenser, who also sought court preferment, may have been given the incentive to study it.[51] In The Flower of Friendship, Tilney used Vives and Erasmus, looked upon as

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[49] Ibid., pp. 39-40; Powell, op. cit., pp. 121-49.

[50] Ibid., p. 153.

[51] Loc. cit.

authorities in domestic relations, as interlocutors in a discussion by a mixed assembly concerning the duties of husband and wife. Neither Vives nor Erasmus has much to say, although it is of some interest for one to recall that women, herein, express their views equally with men. Moreover, The Flower of Friendship is illustrative of the bisexual conversations of the courtesy books in which coarse language and the marks of an affected or "patronizing" attitude toward women are absent.[52]

Another form, the educational treatise, is related to The Faerie Queene and to the courtesy book through its interest in teaching morals and manners and in explaining how a courtier could best assist his prince. Sir Thomas Elyot's The Governor (1531) was one of the earliest treatises on moral philosophy written in English. Its aristocratic interests included educating the children of the upper classes in order that they, too, ". . . may be deemed worthy to be Governours."[53] Scholars have cited Thomas Wilson's The Art of Rhetorique (1553), John Skelton's Magnyfycence (1516), and Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster (1570),

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[52]Loc. cit.; Einstein, op. cit., p. 87; William Durant, The Story of Civilization, V, p. 586.

[53]Einstein, op. cit., p. 294.

as other guides to polite erudition.[54] Desiderius Erasmus had held moral and religious training to be the architectonic goal of education and had ceaselessly ordained the codes of apostalic Christianity. His Handbook of the Christian Knight (1503) and his Institutions of a Christian Prince (1516) were not overlooked by the Elizabethans.[55] Queen Elizabeth herself, following the examples of King Alfred and Chaucer, translated De Consolatione Philosophiae of Boethius (400 A.D.). This treatise presented a dialogue based principally upon the philosophy of Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists.[56] Its English version in Spenser's time attests to an Elizabethan concern for the translation and commentary upon classic writers. One even recalls that Spenser himself had been urged to translate Aristotle and Plato, by his friend, Lodowick Bryskett, who offered this challenge to Spenser in the introduction to his own translation of Giraldi Cinthio's Discourse of Civil Life (w. 1586, pr. 1606).[57] The systematic teaching of morals through once

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[54]William Penn De Moss, The Influence of Aristotle's Politics and Ethics on Spenser, pp. 1-5.

[55]Harold Hooper Blanchard (ed.), Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance, p. 500.

[56]Marjorie Anderson and B. C. Williams (eds.), Old English Handbook, pp. 185-6.

[57] Einstein, op. cit., p. 356.

forgotten but exhumed ethical writers, historians and poets, moreover, formed an important part of a classical education during the Renaissance.[58] It may be remarked, here, in passing, that the form of the various intrigues of The Faerie Queene has been identified as basically ". . . le roman educatif, the romance of a knight whose trials fit him for a final, major success."[59]

Closely related to the moral treatise and the subject at hand of love and friendship in The Faerie Queene are the collections of adages, quotations, proverbs, examples and comments which formed another body of literary work in Spenser's age. The Adagia (1500) of Erasmus, illustrating a style already established upon the continent, was best known.[60] The classical adages and expressions in these books should have been of some interest to Spenser, whose The Faerie Queene abounds in contemplative and exclamatory passages.[61] In the 1525 edition of the Adagia, Mills discovered that sixty-two adages reflected the classical friendship theories.[62]

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[58]William Penn De Moss, The Influence of Aristotle's Politics and Ethics on Spenser, pp. 40-8.

[59]John Arthos, On the Poetry of Spenser and the Form of Romances, p. 42.

[60]Mills, op. cit., p. 90.

[61]Daiches, op. cit., pp. 187-9.

[62]Mills, op. cit., p. 90.

That The Faerie Queene was intended to be a "continued allegory of dark conceit" obviously relates it to the traditions of the medieval morality play, to the allegorical elements of the pastoral, and to the court masque. Baskerville has theorized that the court entertainments at Kenilworth and Woodstock led Spenser to adopt the concept of a queen of fairies to represent Queen Elizabeth and that, at the inception of The Faerie Queene, Spenser had Leicester in mind in his portrayal of Prince Arthur, since Leicester used the devices of entertainment at Woodstock to present himself favourably in flattering Queen Elizabeth.[63] Fowler has pointed out that what Spenser himself calls the "Masque of Cupid" in Book III is clearly a masque belonging to the intermediary stage in the historical development of the type, although it is modified by the court-of-love elements. Neither the dance of the rudimentary form, nor the literary color of the more mature type stands out in the performance to which Spenser subjects Britomart at the House of Busirane, and Fowler concludes that this passage reflects the masque as Spenser had witnessed it before he had left England to enter into government service in Ireland.[64]

At the same time, Spenser's allegorical characterization in The Faerie Queene has much in common with the Genre

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[63]Charles Read Baskerville, "The Genesis of Spenser's Queen of Faerie," MP, XVIII (May, 1920), pp. 49-54.

[64]Loc. cit.

of character writing popularized by the Characters of Theophrastus, written when he was head of the Aristotelian school of the Peripatetics in Athens in the third century before Christ. Many of Spenser's characters are rooted in Aristotle's doctrine of the golden mean as were those of Theophrastus.[65] Spenser's main characters, moreover, do not reflect a simple personification or merely symbolize an abstraction. As fictional characters, their actions illustrate the abstract vice or virtue which may be their most dominant characteristic.[66]

The narrative aspect of The Faerie Queene establishes a nexus with the novelistic quality of works of prose fiction in the sixteenth century such as John Lyly's Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit (1579), its sequel, Euphues and His England (1580), and Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia (written in 1580-1 and published in 1590).[67] It is significant that Spenser expressed his preference for Xenophon over Plato and consequently was casting his vote of preference for the novelistic quality over the more

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[65]G. S. Gordon, "Theophrastus and His Imitators," English Literature and the Classics, p. 53.

[66]Dunbar, op. cit., p. 500; cf., William V. Moody and Robert M. Lovett (eds.), A History of English Literature, pp. 74-8.

[67]William Fenn De Moss, The Influence of Aristotle's Politics and Ethics on Spenser, pp. 5-10.

straightforward manner of the philosophical treatise. In the letter to Raleigh, Spenser stated that Plato,

> . . . in the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a commune welth such as it should be, but Xenophon in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a goverrment, such as might best be . . . .[68]

The conclusion to be drawn, Spenser insists, is that ". . . so much more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule."[69] Spenser may be alluding, here, to the more or less prevalent notion of antiquity that a great rivalry and enmity existed between Xenophon and Plato. This notion was based on speculations that Xenophon wrote the Cyropaedia in opposition to Plato's Republic and that one of them wrote a Symposium in emulation of the other.[70] However, Spenser is calling attention to the story of Cyrus and the Persians and to Xenophon's technique in telling that story in Cyropaedia. Although Xenophon figures prominently in the history of the Greek novel as the first to revolt from Atticism and to write ". . . what can properly be called a prose romance,"[71] one should recall that he uses free

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[68]R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

[69]Loc. cit.

[70]J. S. Watson (tr.) Xenophon's Cyropaedia, or Institution of Cyrus, p. xvi.

[71]J. S. Phillmore, "The Greek Romance," English Literature and the Classics, (G. S. Gordon), pp. 94-5.

invention in the Cyropaedia primarily to exhibit his notion of excellent government.[72] Watson has called to mind that Cicero was quick to point out anachronistic inconsistencies in this work and also in Xenophon's Anabasis.[73] Moreover, it is well known that Xenophon's pictures of Persian manners and education, in which Spenser may have taken an interest, were imaginary, or at the most, were based upon the discipline of Sparta that Xenophon admired.[74] The education of Cyrus, which is indicated by the title, is sometimes regarded as applicable only to the first chapter, but critics have interpreted the title to be inclusive of the whole discipline and order which Cyrus reportedly maintained after he became ruler. In Book I, Xenophon makes it clear that Cyrus is educated ". . . in conformity with the laws of the Persians."[75] Cyrus learns justice in his youth at the public schools of law and is reared in discipline, abstinence in diet and drink, and becomes skilled in hunting and riding and in the arts of war.[76] Transferred, he might well become Spenser's

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[72]Watson, op. cit., p. xi; cf., Mills, op. cit., pp. 125-6.

[73]Watson, op. cit., pp. xi, xii.

[74]Loc. cit.

[75]Ibid., p. 4.

[76]Ibid., pp. 1-44.

Artegall, or at least the account of his education may have a bearing upon Spenser's concept of justice in Book V. Many of the interests of the courtier, moreover, lie in his story and in Xenophon's life, as well. A self-exiled knight errant himself, Xenophon joined the Greek forces (the Ten Thousand) that supported Cyrus the Younger in Persia, and became a leader in the retreat, that he tells of in the Anabasis, after the disastrous battle at Cunaxa (401 B.C.).[77]

Of special interest in Xenophon's writings, also, is the Symposium, or Banquet, which appeared after Plato's Symposium. In both works, love and friendship are the subjects discussed by the prominent men in Athens. One may recall, however, that while Plato's Symposium gave birth to the theory of the interrelationship of love and beauty, Socrates does not divulge a concept involving any "ladder of love" in Xenophon's Symposium. Herein, Socrates emerges, free from all Platonic shadings. He does distinguish between love of body and love of mind, but he emphasizes the value of friendship as he is portrayed by Xenophon.[78] In Plato's Symposium, however, Socrates recalls a discussion

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[77]Moses Hadas, A History of Greek Literature, pp. 123-6; Watson, op. cit., pp. vii-x.

[78]Xenophon, The Banquet (ed., tr. by J. S. Watson, in Xenophon's Minor Works, VIII, "On Love"), pp. 182-203; cf., Hadas, op. cit., pp. 127-8.

with Diotima, concerning those "godlike" poets and artists whose desire for immortality leads them to embody ". . . wisdom along with every other spiritual value."[79] One should keep in mind that Spenser's avowed didactic intent was to

> . . . portraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised. . . .[80]

That he should furnish his Redcrosse knight with ". . . the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul . . ." is also indicative of his desire to embody wisdom with every other spiritual value.[81] That he preferred the novel technique of narration to achieve this end as opposed to the philosophical treatise, even in the form of dialogue or myth, is a precept not to be overlooked.

That Spenser evidently took an interest in other quasi-historical novels is not to be overlooked, either. Another historical novel or romance of obvious importance to Spenser was the Aithiopica or Ethiopian History (400 A.D.) of Heliodorus, translated into English from intermediate Latin

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[79] Plato, Symposium (tr. by Benjamin Jowett, in Great Books of the Western World, VII, The Dialogues of Plato), pp. 149-74.

[80] R. A. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

[81] Ibid., p. 137.

in 1569 by Thomas Underdowne.[82] Both Sidney and Tasso reportedly mentioned the Ethiopian History as a model for the construction of an epic.[83] Critics have hitherto overlooked the extent to which Spenser drew sporadically from the pages of Heliodorus for both situation and character (Chapter III of the present study will deal with this analogue in detail). Here, only a brief survey will be made. Lewis has pointed out that the element of attraction in the Ethiopian History was its ". . . breathless variety of adventure [and] an ultimate unity of action."[84] Another point of immediate concern to scholars is the fact that the Ethiopian History is among the first Greek romances to uphold woman as a friend and companion to man and to reveal her as a heroine who is not denied the active life. In his delineation of Charicles, Heliodorus banishes the popular conception of the role of the Greek "bed-mate" as a necessary agent for the propagation of the race, whose duty lies in her bestowing affections upon whatever master has

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[82] C. S. Lewis, English Literature of the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 334; Rowland Smith (ed., tr.), The Greek Romances of Heliodurus, lists four English translations. Underdowne's translation is first in 1587 in his list; cf., p. ix.

[83] C. S. Lewis, English Literature of the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 334.

[84] Loc. cit.

happened to claim her.[85] One readily sees that Charicles's chastity, like that of Spenser's Britomart, is more than one of sexual discipline.

Furthermore, that Spenser proposed to "color his allegory with an historical fiction" unites The Faerie Queene not only with the historical narrative romance, but also with the "mirror" genre. In Spenser's age, authors used the "mirror" to instil patriotism as well as to disseminate historical knowledge.[86] In the medieval "mirror," or specula, there was an emphasis upon the ascetic, contemplative life as a preparation for pious death.[87] The Speculum Guy de Warewyk (1300) illustrates the didactic tendency of this form. It is a homily of approximately five hundred couplets which demonstrates the manner in which Alcium showed the Earl Guy how to distinguish between vice and virtue when Guy sought advice on how to flee from the enticements of the world.[88] However, medieval "mirrors" quite early became identified with "complaints," "tragedies," or "lamentations," all of which attempted to portray the

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[85]Smith, op. cit., p. xii; cf., Moses I. Finley, The World of Odysseus, esp. pp. 74-154.

[86]Zocca, op. cit., p. xii.

[87]Ibid., p. 4.

[88]Ibid., pp. 3,4.

repercussions of sin upon mankind.[89] Scholars have concluded that the "mirror" was altered in its character from the devotional to the historical type, in part, through the influence of Boccaccio's Latin treatise, De Casibus Virorum Illustrium (1494), written during his period of temporary conversion. For centuries, this work concerning the tragedies ". . . of all such Princes as fell from their Estates through the Mutability of Fortune. . ." was the principal source of Boccaccio's widespread reputation.[90] Boccaccio begins in this work with Adam and Eve who are standing naked before the poet, asking that he tell their tale. What follows is a general compendium of mythology and history, written as Boccaccio related,

> . . . with the object of teaching princes the virtue of wisdom and moderation by holding up to them examples of misfortune provoked by egotism, pride, and inordinate ambition.[91]

Boccaccio's "mirror" combines legendary and historical characters, as does Spenser's The Faerie Queene, and uses the familiar device of the vision common to both works.[92]

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[89] Loc. cit.

[90] Loc. cit.

[91] Lewis, Elizabethan Narrative Poetry, p. 7, citing John Lydgate, The Fall of Princes, Henry Bergen (ed.), EETS, (1924), I, xi; Einstein, op. cit., p. 394, lists the Lydgate translation in 1553.

[92] Spenser employs the vision to explain Prince Arthur's quest. Britomart's "optical seduction" in the looking glass of Venus (III. ii. 24-6) is an extension of the vision device.

Yet, despite the powerful influence which Boccaccio exalted upon the fictional elements of the "mirror," moral consciousness retained its eminence in the "mirror" as a form.[93] A summary, therefore, of the recurrent themes which are relevant to Spenser's treatment of justice in Book V must include the following motifs: through His profound justice, God will visit His wrath upon the transgressors of the law; obedience is expected of the citizenry and justice from the rulers; and, tyranny excites rebellion and civil war.[94] One should recall, moreover, that the vogue of the "mirror" was strong throughout and after Spenser's lifetime. For example, nine editions of the Mirror for Magistrates were printed between 1554 and 1610.[95]

That The Faerie Queene is a verse narrative links it with the Italian novella and with the more native ballad. Boccaccio and Bandello were the novella writers to whom versifiers of this period often turned for material for their tales. According to Zocca, many of the more decorous tales of the Italian writers were metamorphosed into verse romances to enchant the moral-minded Elizabethans.[96] Boccaccio's story

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[93]Zocca, op. cit., p. 35.

[94]Ibid., pp. 34-6.

[95]Ibid., pp. 26-31.

[96]Ibid., p. 131.

of Titus and Gesippius (Decameron, X, viii), for example, was translated several times during the sixteenth century, and a prose version of this tale was used by Elyot in The Governour (1531) to illustrate perfect friendship.[97] It is curious to note, on the other hand, that much of the popular narrative poetry which found expression in the ballads that were sung in great numbers between the days of Chaucer and Spenser tended to debase Robin Hood, Arthur, and Charlemagne. Zocca points out that these works were composed for the rising middle classes, and, consequently, reflected their delight in notoriety.[98]

One finds it easy to forget that the market for popular verse in Spenser's day was nearly glutted with ephemeral narrative verse poems written for the middle classes and that The Faerie Queene simply towers above them, as the courtly class did the citizenry, not only in wealth and power, but also in artistic accomplishment and outlook. Apparently, few of these early verse romances aimed at any distinction as works of art. Most of these metrical romances appear to have been written with little thought as to organic construction. King Arthur's knights rescued ladies, and Guy of Warwick battled giants as the versifiers piled

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[97] Loc. cit.

[98] Zocca, op. cit., pp. x; 98; 151.

fantastic incident and anachronistic errors, one upon the other, with endless diversion. One should observe, also, that the native English verse romances of this period, with the exception of a few tales, were strikingly Puritan in their attitudes toward love. Generally, love was depicted herein as a temporary aberration and as a snare in marriage. Maidens were urged to avoid sudden passions and to calculate their lover's intentions since there was a danger that virginity and its purity could be absolutely lost in an unguarded moment.[99] Basically, these romances urged the same sort of advice as that to be found in the domestic handbook.

However, a growing feeling for a proud, insular nationalism complemented the historical element of works in popular verse. This combination made the new cyclic romances of Arthur, Charlemagne, Troy, Thebes, and Godefroy de Bouillon fit morsels for both a popular and a courtly literary diet.[100] History was prized in Tudor England for its utility in showing the rise and fall of nations. The chronicles that sprang up as a result of this attitude emphasized that history repeated itself.[101] Rulers and statesmen

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[99] Ibid., p. 186.

[100] Ibid., p. xii.

[101] Cf., Kathrine Koller, "Two Elizabethan Expressions of the Idea of Mutability," SP, XXXV (January, 1938), pp. 228-237.

sought lessons in the successes or failures of their predecessors, and as England became eager to know much about English history and English heroes, fictitious histories and legendary accounts were accumulated alongside true historical records. The note of English nationalism which was sounded in the translations of Alfred and Aelfric, and which struck again at the end of the fifteenth century in Caxton's prefaces and prologues, was to rise to a fevered clamour during the threat of the Spanish Armada.[102] Moreover, the menu of rehashed narrative legend appearing at this time had a large common stock of romance from which to draw for its numerous national heroes, real or fictitious.

Spenser himself draws upon the "matter of Troy" in Book III when he has Merlin recount Artegall's pedigree for Britomart, as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth. Merlin predicts, ". . . from Britomart's wombe a famous progenee/ Shall spring, out of the ancient Trojan blood,/ Which shall revive the sleeping memoue/ Of those same antique peres, the hevens brood. . . ." (III.iii.22.5-7) The tale of Troy, cherished by shadowy tradition among the peoples of Wales and Brittany, had been sung by bards and written by churchmen at an early date. In the twelfth century, Geoffrey

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[102]Ascott R. Moncrieff, Romance & Legend of Chivalry, pp. 90-5.

of Monmouth's Latin chronicle, Historia Regum Britanniae, told of Brutus, grandson of Ascenius, who supposedly followed the example of his great ancestor, Aeneas; Brutus was reported to have sailed to the south of Britain to found a new kingdom. Arthur and Cadwallader were supposed to have been the descendents of Brutus, and writers and minstrels were encouraged to try these themes.[103] It is from the "matter of Britain," aside from that of France and Rome, though, that the full orbed Arthurian cycle evolved. The English eagerly accepted Geoffrey of Monmouth's kind of history that made King Arthur into an English national hero and a British counterpart of Charlemagne. Malory, in his alliterative Morte d' Arthur (1485), derived from Geoffrey, fused several Arthurian romances into a form that resembled recorded history. He also gave to the legends the status of a political epic with his allusions to contemporary history and the wars of Edward III.[104] This compilation, made in the reign of Edward IV, was one of the first books to have been printed by Caxton and was available in Spenser's time in numerous editions. Although the British king's

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[103] Ibid., pp. 91-2; Moody and Lovett, op. cit. pp. 25-7.

[104] Monorieff, op. cit., p. 92; cf., A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (eds.), The Cambridge History of English Literature, I, p. 284; cf., Hardin Craig and John W. Dodds, Types of English Fiction, pp. 49-50.

memory was better kept in Wales, in Malory's age, and while Arthur's name in England was not as familiar as that of the Saxon Robin Hood, nevertheless prose versions of the Arthurian metrical romances had been translated into English at about the time of the York and Lancastrian wars.[105] The ". . . pretense of solidarity and historical truth in Geoffrey . . ." eventually proved to be unsuitable, however, for romantic purposes, and in many stories read by the Elizabethans, Arthur is no longer the monarch and conqueror presented by Geoffrey.[106] As he is presented in the metrical romances, King Arthur has ample leisure to make his appearance at the beginnings and ends of stories.[107] In this light, in comparison with the popular verse romances contemporary with The Faerie Queene, Spenser's limited use of Arthur as the central hero is possibly to be excused. Spenser wanted to present

> . . . the historye of King Arthur, as most fitte for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many mens former works, and also furthest from the daunger of envy, and suspition of present time. . . .[108]

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[105] Loc. cit.

[106] Loc. cit.

[107] Ward and Waller, op. cit., p. 284.

[108] R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

His choice reflects the strong interest in English nationalism which the narrative verse writers of his period held. Consequently, the element of treachery in Spenser's reference to "envy and suspicion," takes on additional meaning as a commentary upon nationalism when one realizes that the story of Celtic Arthur's death at the hands of the traitorous Modred was widely known.[109] The story of this political intrigue was told, for example, in Boccaccio's De Casibus, which appealed to Renaissance readers.[110] No doubt, Spenser was merely suggesting, here, that a story of Prince Arthur would tend to veil his historical and political allegory. At first glance, however, one element of Arthurian cycles would seem to impair Spenser's use of Prince Arthur as a hero in a work of historical fiction. Had Spenser dwelt upon the story of Lancelot's love affair with Arthur's wife, Guinevere, an apparently non-Celtic graft upon the original Arthurian stock, Spenser's Prince Arthur might have won Gloriana only to find that her guilty passion for another lover would ridicule Arthur's magnanimous candor.[111] This most dramatic feature of Arthurian cycle significantly reflects the influence of court-of-love theory upon the

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[109]Moncrieff, op. cit., p. 92.

[110]Zocca, op. cit., pp. 7, 15.

[111]Moncrieff, op. cit., p. 96.

development of the Arthurian legend.[112] Lancelot first appears as the lover of Guinevere in Chretien's Chevalier de las Charrett (1190), written for Marie of Champagne,[113] who was bent on elaborating the theory and practice of "courtly love." Herein, one finds Lancelot, bravest of Arthur's knights, struggling in vain against his disloyal love for the queen.[114] According to Malory, one might add, Arthur chose Guinevere, daughter of his ally, King Leodegrance of Cameliand, because his barons had urged him to marry. Merlin had warned him, in Malory, that she was ". . . not wholesome for him to take to wife."[115] Spenser uses this segment of the Arthurian cycle, however, with some dexterity in both his ethical and political allegory by presenting Timias, Prince Arthur's squire, struggling against his passion for Belphoebe (Queen Elizabeth). One must agree that these observations illustrate the strong link between The Faerie Queene and the great body of chivalric romance in other contemporary verse romances and with those that were already a part of English literary

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[112] Ibid., p. 97.

[113] Loc. cit.; cf., Roger Sherman Loomis, Arthurian Tradition & Chretien de Troyes, Le Chevalier de la Charrett, pp. 187-268.

[114] Moncrieff, op. cit., p. 97; cf., Ward and Waller, op. cit., p. 270.

[115] Moncrieff, op. cit., p. 96.

history. Of these works scholars generally agree that Spenser borrowed eclectically from Arthur of Little Britain, an early fourteenth-century French romance originally entitled the Petit Artus de Bretayne, translated early in the sixteenth century by John Bourchier, Lord Berners.[116] It has been pointed out, also, that Chaucer was not the only source of Spenser's archaisms which abound in the diction in The Faerie Queene.[117] Pope has assumed logically that Spenser's remarkable power of assimilation was the result of his wide familiarity with earlier English, and has suggested that some of his proper names seem to bear out this assumption. Primond and Triamond and Calidore, for example, occurred as Primeur, Triamour and Sir Cadore in Sir Tristrem, in Guy of Warwick and in Morte d' Arthure.[118]

Spenser's The Faerie Queene is related by its content and construction to the sonnet sequence, another form of narrative verse which employs the use of a tenuous narrative thread. Both the sonnet sequence and the heroic epic romance were among the forms challenging the Elizabethan in the

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[116]Sarah Michie, "The Faerie Queene and Arthur of Little Britain," SP, XXXVI (April, 1939) pp. 105-123.

[117]Emma Field Pope, "Renaissance Criticism and the Diction of The Faerie Queene," PMLA, XLI (September, 1926), p. 603.

[118]Ibid., p. 615.

sixteenth century in the task of assimilating as many of the new poetic forms, styles, and subjects which the language could sustain. As Evans has observed, the technique of imitation involved transfering a literary style, or form, or subject, from the terms of one civilization into the terms of another.[119] It is significant that in Spenser's Fowre Hymnes (1596), the poet draws numerous ideas not only from Plato's Symposium and Phadrus, and from the Italian neo-Platonists, but also from Calvin's Institutes and other Christian wisdom literature.[120] In his hymns of "Heavenly Love" and "Heavenly Beauty," added to the original hymns in praise of love and beauty, Spenser repudiates the Platonic ladder of love concept and emphasizes Christian ideals, although the poems still contain Platonic echoes.[121] Considering Spenser's particular moment in history, when a reaction had begun to set in against the Italianate Englishman, against the decadence of Italy, and mostly against the conventionalism of the Italian sonnet, it is somewhat surprising that Spenser adopted the artistic conventions accompanying the Italian sonnet. In much of his own

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[119] Evans, op. cit., p. 36; cf., McGuinn and Howerton (eds.), op. cit., pp. 17-8.

[120] Daiches, op. cit., pp. 182-3; cf., R. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Fowre Hymnes," pp. 741-58.

[121] Daiches, op. cit., p. 182.

poetry.[122]

Yet, the place of convention in Elizabethan are was evidently strong. Daiches asserts that authors in the sixteenth century knowingly distinguished between art and life.[123] He cites an example of perfunctory, conventional writing in Spenser's Astrophel, (1595) a pastoral elegy in memory of Sir Philip Sidney. Written in the stanza form of Spenser's youthful compositions, this piece was dedicated to Sidney's widow, who had remarried, and refers to Sidney's love for Stella.[124] Evidently, the dictates of convention extended to the epic romance as well, and not even a Boccaccio could afford to neglect the well-established literary convention which demanded that the writer express the relationship between his hero and heroine in terms of courtly love.[125]

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[122] D. G. Rees, "Italian and Italianate Poetry," in John H. Brown and Bernard Harris (eds.), Elizabethan Poetry, pp. 53-70, esp. pp. 65-6.

[123] Daiches, op. cit., p. 177.

[124] Loc. cit.; Stella is traditionally identified with Penelope Devreus, Lady Rich.; cf., W. B. Neil Dodge (ed.) The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, pp. 698-703.

[125] Griffin, op. cit., pp. 70-2, esp. pp. 71-2: "More particularly incumbent upon Boccaccio must have been the obligation of respecting these conventions when he came to compose a love story so intimately connected with the progress of his own courtship as was the Filostrato. For as a court lady interested in tales of amatory adventure, Maria would naturally expect that a love poem written in her honor should show due regard for the rules of literary love-making that were largely observed in the writings with which he represents her as familiar."

In retrospect, however, one sees that the conventionalism of contemporary love poetry was bound to decline in the 1590's, after Italian authority had reached its peak.[126] Sidney had seen the futility of continuous Petrarchism, and soon, an English John Donne would find convention repugnant.[127] In addition, the attitude that Donne would take toward women and toward love would violently break with the court-of-love tradition.

The Italian epic romance ". . . provided the mold into which Spenser could pour his serious and complex vision."[128] However, Zocca has observed ". . . the Italian mythological poems of the late sixteenth century convey an impression of enervation, of spent lassitude."[129] The tired feeling in Continental poetry which saw lovers perform the same, now labored, motions which they had been making for three centuries, did not seem to transfix its English counterpart, however.[130] Perhaps, the younger English Renaissance had not yet grown bored with the Italians' infinite

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[126] D. C. Rees, op. cit., p. 69.

[127] Loc. cit.

[128] Daiches, op. cit., p. 133.

[129] Zocca, op. cit., pp. 191-2.

[130] Loc. cit.

series of modulations on the same theme.[131] Clearly, though, when Spenser came to translate the world of Italian romance into English, much of the glitter and vivacity of art-for-art's sake is replaced by moral earnestness.[132] It is significant that Spenser regarded his epic predecessors as moral and political teachers. Possibly seeking a dignified and worthy precedent, Spenser wrote in the letter to Raleigh that he had

> . . . followed all the antique poets historicall: first Homere, who in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governor 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 dissevered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons namely that part which they in philosophy call Ethice, or vertues of a private man, coloured in his Angelo; the other named Politice in his Godfredo.[133]

That Spenser reads the classic examples allegorically seems to align his thinking with the Renaissance tendency to see allegory everywhere,[134] with the acceptance of the didactic

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[131]Rees, op. cit., p. 64; Roderick Marshall, Italy in English Literature 1775-1815, pp. 5-8.

[132]Rees, op. cit., pp. 68-9.

[133]W. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

[134]William Penn De Moss, The Influence of Aristotle's Politics and Ethics on Spenser, pp. 1-5.

purpose of the epic among the critics of Renaissance Italy,[135] and ultimately with Aristotle, with whose popular Nicomachean Ethics, and possibly its commentaries, Spenser sought to anchor his epic in dignified authority.[136] Aristotle, too, looked upon the poets as moral and political teachers. In opposition to Plato, who regarded the poets as incompetent to teach, Aristotle, for his Ethics and Politics, drew largely from the Greek poets, especially from Homer. Aristotle, like Spenser, felt that Homer had "ensampled a good governor" in the person of Agamemnon in the Iliad and "a vertuous man" through Ulysses in the Odyssey. Again and again, Homer is his authority. Of special interest, here, Aristotle quotes Homer in the Nicomachean Ethics wherein he describes three kinds of politics and the friendship appropriate to each. Homer's concept of the ideal king is quoted by Aristotle:

> . . . [The good king] cares for [his subjects] with a view to their well-being, as a shepherd does for his sheep (whence Homer called Agamemnon 'shepherd of the peoples').[137]

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[135] John W. Draper, "The Narrative Technique of The Faerie Queene," PMLA, XVI (1918), pp. 311-24.

[136] Viola B. Hulbert "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues According to Aristotle and the Rest," University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses, Humanistic Series V (1926), pp. 479-85.

[137] Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, tr. by W. D. Ross, in Great Books of the Western World, IX, p. 413, hereinafter cited as Aristotle, Ethics.

It is significant that Spenser, like Aristotle, interprets Homer allegorically. That Virgil, too, was interpreted allegorically by Spenser is also in keeping with the bulk of sixteenth century interpretation. The Aeneid had been overinterpreted by Virgilian allegorists.[138] The Virgilian allegorists of the Platonic Academy in Florence had preached the theory that ". . . Aeneas is made perfect by contemplation of God and that he is disciplined for the mystical experience by the perturbations of life. . . ."[139]

However, Spenser's interest in Virgil as a profound philosopher may have been superseded by his interest in Virgil as an elegant artificer. That quality of the Italian artificiosa placed Virgil above Homer in the general consensus in Spenser's time.[140] Ariosto had superseded Virgil and had earned ubiquitous applause. ". . . Ariosto's fame was supreme."[141] When Spenser brought out his first three books containing the letter to Raleigh in 1580, Ariosto's Orlando Furioso was esteemed as ". . . the one long poem of

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[138]Merritt Y. Hughes, "Virgil and Spenser," University of California Publications in English, II, p. 155.

[139]Loc. cit.

[140]Pope, op. cit., p. 581.

[141]M. M. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, X, n.s. 2 (1397) p. 154.

Europe which, dealing with romantic chivalry, gave it accomplished artistic expression."[142] Spenser was probably attracted more to the artifice than to the allegory of the Furioso although Ariosto's admirers had thoroughly read allegory into it.[143] The continuity of the epic and the nature of the characters of the Furioso had kept Ariosto from being as popular as Bandello or Boccaccio as a source of plots for verse romances and other translations.[144] Nevertheless, the form and subject of this epic of chivalric romance seemed most inviting to Spenser. Spenser accepted many of the points of decorum which Ariosto evinced in his Orlando Furioso. By the choice of subject matter, both men sought to play on the chords that their magistrates and their patrons enjoyed, each within the framework of his own respective civilization. Among Ariosto's aims was the desire to weave together a panegyric of the House of Este.

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[142] Loc. cit.

[143] A. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, pp. 332-3.

[144] Zocca, op. cit., p. 146; cf., Francesco De Sanctis, Storia della Letters Italiana. Tr. by Joan Redfern, History of Italian Literature, II, pp. 498-9, points out that while ". . . the subjective poets, whose work is largely composed of manner, such as Petrarch, Tasso, Marino, and others of the same type. . ." are easily imitated, ". . . Ariosto is impossible to imitate; he is without a manner because he is deeply immersed in the thing itself, and has no personal attitude of his own toward it." In other places, De Sanctis dwells upon Ariosto's "Homeric" lucidity as an inimitable quality.

Similarly, Spenser desired to compliment Queen Elizabeth and, also, his more immediate patrons, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, and Arthur Grey, Lord Grey de Wilton. However, Ariosto's financial support was secure. Patronage of the needy poet in the Italian courts was looked upon almost as a matter of state policy.[145] On the other hand, Spenser was obliged to beggar notice of his talent. In England, where patronage was affected by the nobility, a gentleman was not expected to write for profit. Many artists looked in vain for material reward.[146] Despite the circumstances, it is a fact that Spenser passed most of his adult life in government service in Ireland.[147] Somewhere

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[145]Einstein, op. cit., pp. 110-1.

[146]Edwin Haviland Miller, The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England, p. 26.

[147]Leicester Bradner, Edmund Spenser and the "Faerie Queene," pp. 26-7, points out the attractiveness of the theory advanced in 1910 by Greenlaw that Spenser left England in the midst of his plans to become the private secretary to Lord Grey in turbulent Ireland because of pressure brought to bear by the Earl of Leicester. Greenlaw points out the political implications in Spenser's Mother Hubberd's Tale, and Bradner urges that this interpretation explains Spenser's preface to Virgil's Gnat in which he speaks of having been wronged by the Earl and compares his own fate with that of the gnat in the poem, but Bradner points out an anachronism concerning the date of Mother Hubberd's Tale.; Muriel Bradbrook, "No Room at the Top: Spenser's Pursuit of Fame," in Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (ed.), Elizabethan Poetry, pp. 104-7, believes that Spenser's Mother Hubberd's Tale was the result of over-confidence in Spenser; Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester, Patron of Letters, pp. 336-50, believes that Spenser was loyal to Leicester, but turned to ". . . the study of civil law as a more effective means of advancement . . . ." p. 337.

between 1591 and 1595 he abandoned the hope of preferment in London and finally could afford to settle down to improve his estate at Kilcolman and finish The Faerie Queene.[148] Still, his poem had to be presented seriatum, if he were to keep his name current to patron and public (even if its sections were not written seriatum and the poem may have grown organically to its extant form).[149] Moreover, Spenser was denied the time which Ariosto and Virgil before him had spent in polishing their works.[150] In another respect, too, Ariosto's environment differed greatly from Spenser's. The Italian poet found himself in a decadent world in which idealism was moribund.[151] Consequently, Ariosto flattered his patrons with the same casual indulgence that he evidenced in superimposing his Orlando Furioso upon the structure of the incomplete Orlando Innamorato (1494) of Boiardo.[152] Rees has maintained that while Boiardo was greatly dominated by the prevaricator's interest in plot,

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[148] Bradner, op. cit., p. 42.

[149] Joan Bennett, The Evolution of the Faerie Queene, p. 3.

[150] C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, pp. 357-8, proposes that Spenser added the "original" end to III in order to give the story of Amoret a happy ending out of the necessity of presenting at least part of The Faerie Queene for publication.

[151] Francesco De Sanctis, op. cit., pp. 486-7.

[152] Rees, op. cit., p. 56.

Ariosto's immediate interest lay in exploiting the world of chivalric romance.[153] As far as mere narrative content is concerned, Orlando Furioso contains, in addition to several shorter stories, three main narratives in its complex structure. Blanchard has identified these narratives as background action, the main narrative, and the title theme. The first two were available from Boiardo, whereas the titular theme was Ariosto's invention.[154] The following condensation of Blanchard's summary suggests Ariosto's technique:

> . . . The great war between the powers of Pagandom under Agramant, Emperor of Africa, and the powers of Christendom under Charlemagne furnishes the background action. Having enlisted Marsilius, the Saracen king of Spain as an ally, Agramant invades France and besieges Paris. Eventually, Charles drives them out of France and carries the war into Africa and ends it there with a final combat of three against three on an island in the Mediterranean.[155]

Here, one sees that Boiardo has begun the story of Rogero and Bradamant against this background. Their story, like that of Britomart and Artegall in The Faerie Queene, comprises the narrative thread of Ariosto's poem, as Blanchard's summary also indicates:

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[153] Loc. cit.

[154] Blanchard, op. cit., p. 387.

[155] Loc. cit.

> The young knight Rogero had been obtained by Agramant from the care of the magician Atlantes because of a prophesy that he alone could aid the pagan host. As Rogero accompanies the Pagan army into Southern France, he engages an unknown Christian warrior fighting under what he considers unethical conditions. He comes to the assistence of the warrior--her assistance--as she proves to be a maiden knight, Bradamant, sister to Rinaldo of Mount Abano. The two barely have time to learn one another's identity when they are attacked and separated. When Ariosto continues the narrative, Bradamant is in quest of Rogero, her beloved, and their marriage was to provide the genesis of the members of the House of Este, which included two of Ariosto's patrons at Ferrara.[156]

The adaptations of plot in The Faerie Queene are obvious. The title theme of Ariosto's work, however, contrasts severely with Spenser's The Faerie Queene. Boiardo had used the court-of-love theme for Orlando's (Roland's) love affair with Angelica. An eastern princess of incredible beauty and seductive charm, Angelica had been sent to the camp of Charlemagne to distract its greatest knights. Both Orlando and his cousin Rinaldo fall prey to this tactic and, in Ariosto, Orlando's love turns to madness.[157] Every story is completed within the forty-six cantos of Ariosto's poem, but the artistic motive domesticates all other interests. Ariosto entreats his reader,

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[156] Loc. cit.

[157] Loc. cit.

> . . . Of him Ruggero, if thou wilt lend a willing ear,
> The worth and warlike feats I shall retrace;
> So thou thy graver cares some little time
> Postponing, lend thy leisure to my rhyme.
>
> (Orlando Furioso I. iv. 6-8)[158]

he announces that he is going to sing". . . Of LOVES and LADIES, KNIGHTS and ARMS," ". . . Of COURTESIES, and many a DARING FEAT. . . ." (I. i. 1-2). As De Sanctis points out, Ariosto's epic comprises an immense totality in which unity does not depend upon any one particular action or personage, but rather upon the whole spirit and development of the romantic world of chivalry.[159] Herein, the essence of chivalry demands the freedom of the individual knights to be "errant." Their adventures necessitate not only multiplicity of plots, but also lack of continuity or central action. Instead of assuming a "proper magnitude," and "relieving the story," the varying episodes all contribute to an organic magnitude. Ariosto's application of Aristotelian unity of action would have falsified his

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[158]Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, tr. by William Stewart Rose, in Harold Roope Blanchard (ed.), Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance in Translation, p. 308; William Stewart Rose (tr., ed.), The Orlando Furioso, p. 1.

[159]De Sanctis, op. cit., pp. 400-1.

creation of the world of chivalry.[160] Spenser knew that the unity of the world in its endless variety lay in its spirit or laws. His mutability cantoes express his understanding of natural law.[161] Surely, he realized that the unity of Ariosto's world lay in the laws of chivalry. It would appear that the Aristotelian concept of suiting the form to the matter outweighed many other considerations for Ariosto, and, possibly, for Spenser. In creating his own world of chivalry, Spenser proposed to ". . . severally differently . . ." handle and discourse the adventures of his knights.[162] "Variety" is a key goal in his artistic structure. Like Sidney, who revised his "fairly simple" Arcadia and inserted a complex of stories into it,[163] Spenser wove myriad episodes throughout the latter portions of The Faerie Queene.

Clearly, it is in the area of moral allegory, however, that Spenser meant to "overgo" Ariosto as he translated many

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[160] Loc. cit.; Aristotle, On Poetics, tr. by Ingram Bywater, in Great Books of the Western World, IX, pp. 681-99, esp. p. 685. In the Poetics, Aristotle treats the Epic chiefly from the point of view of drama and contrasts the Epic with Tragedy. Aristotle believed that Tragedy was the higher art because it was more compact or concentrated.

[161] Cf., Spenser, The Faerie Queene (VII.vii.58).

[162] H. E. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," pp. 136-7.

[163] C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 332.

of the elements of the Orlando Furioso into an English point of view.[164] That he invented a new verse form to supplant the ottava stanza has been cited as an example of his observing the propriety of suiting verse form to achieve decorum. As Rees points out, Ariosto typically used his supple verse paragraph as ". . . an instrument of smiling irony. . ." by letting the narration or description of the first six lines lead to ". . . an anti-climax or deflating comment in the detached couplet."[165] Spenser's addition of the final alexandrine, Rees maintains, proclaims "commitment" and "earnest persuasiveness" since it is ". . . linked by rhyme to the body of the stanza."[166] When Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata (1582) threatened to surpass the fame of the Furioso, Spenser was well underway with The Faerie Queene. As De Selincourt observes, Spenser may have found this work less interesting as an analogue, but where he borrowed from it ". . . as in the description of the Bower of Bliss, he had little need to change its spirit."[167]

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[164]Cf., A. B. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Spenser-Harvey Correspondence," p. 773.

[165]Rees, op. cit., pp. 63-9.

[166]Loc. cit.

[167]Ernest De Selincourt, The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, pp. xl-lv, cited in The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition, I, p. 337.

Tasso believed that poetry's function was to instruct the young. In the 1594 Discorsi de poem herioco, a reworking of his 1587 Discorsi dell 'arte poetica, Tasso channeled the Aristotelian elements of criticism into a Horatian, rhetorical framework.[168] Spenser was concerned with moralizing, and he evidently sought to ". . . combine something of Ariosto's exuberance with the poetic temper of Tasso."[169]

As a noted Renaissance critic of poetic theory, Tasso tended to put poetry entirely within a rhetorical framework. He saw the task of the poet in terms of the rhetorical trilogy:

> . . . to select such a matter as will be capable of receiving within itself that most excellent form which the artifice of the poet seeks to introduce into it invention ; to give it such a form disposition ; and finally to dress it with the rarest ornaments that are appropriate to its nature elocution .[170]

In this respect, Tasso illustrated the dominant canon of Italian, and, for that matter, English poetic theory.[171] From classical times to Spenser's day, rhetoric and poetry were closely linked. Einstein maintains that Geoffrey de

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[168]Bernard Weinberg, History of Literary Criticism in The Italian Renaissance, II, p. 636.

[169]De Selincourt, op. cit., p. 337.

[170]Weinberg, op. cit., p. 636, citing Tasso's Discorsi de poema herioco; brackets by Weinberg.

[171]Einstein, op. cit., p. 358.

Vinsauf's Poetica Nova, the standard medieval "poetic," was current for three hundred years after its appearance in the thirteenth century. In it, the poet is introduced to a long list of "colours" of rhetoric with which he is advised to embellish his work.[172] Einstein also observes that in treating the techniques of poetry and oratory as identical, the Poetica Nova differed in no large respect from the standard sixteenth-century manual of poetry, Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie (1589). Moreover, the dominant influence in English criticism was of direct descent from the poetic canons of Aristotle through the influence of Italian critics.[173]

Just as Wyatt and Surrey had introduced the Italian lyric, Spenser's friend, Sidney, introduced Italian criticism. Sidney's Defense of Poesy has been designated as ". . . an epitome of the literary criticism of the Italian Renaissance."[174]

It is significant that Spenser's letter to Raleigh everywhere reflects the Defense of Poesy. The phraseology of the following passage from the Defense of Poesy, for

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[172] Loc. cit.

[173] Loc. cit.

[174] Loc. cit.; cf., McGuinn and Howerton, op. cit., p. 17.

example, is strikingly similar to Spenser's exact phraseology in his letter to Raleigh:

> . . . The Philosopher therfore and the Historian are they which would win the gole; the one by precept, the other by example. But both not having both, doe both halte. For the Philosopher, setting downe with thorny argument the bare rule, is so hard of utterance, and so mistie to be conceived, that one that hath no other guide but him shall wade in him till hee be olde, before he shall finde sufficient cause to bee honest: for his knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and generall, that happie is that man who may understande him, and more happie that can applye what hee dooth understand. On the other side, the Historian, wanting the precept, is so tyed, not to what should bee, but to what is; to the particuler truth of things; that hys example draweth no necessary consequences, and therefore a less fruitfull doctrine.
>
> Now dooth the peerelesse Poet performe both; for whatsoever the Philosopher sayth should be doone, hee giveth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was done. So as he coupleth the general notion with the particular example. . . .[175]

To recall Spenser's exact words in context,

> . . . To some, I know, this methode will seeme displeasant, which had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they use, then thus clowdily enwrapped in allegoricall devises. But such, me seeme, should be satisfide with the use of these dayes, seeing all things accounted by their showes, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightful and pleasing to commune sense. For this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a

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[175]Sidney, Apologie for Poetrie in Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (ed.), Sir Philip Sidney An Apologie for Poetrie, pp. 16-17; the italicized portions are the present author's.

> 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: soo much more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule.[176]

Both statements illustrate the Elizabethan literary canon that Englishmen would rather be shown virtue in action than to be told about it. One should note, also, that this passage illustrates that Spenser also sought to illustrate the general concept with a particular idealistic example, thereby revealing the universal. Perhaps, here, one should recall that the Defense of Poesy was ". . . not a defense of poetry against prose but rather of fiction against fact."[177] The word poetry often included all imaginative writing in prose or in verse. Aristotle, Sidney, and Spenser must have felt that poetry could be "more philosophical" than the mere statement of historical fact because it could give concrete body to the general truth which it sought to disclose. Sidney (and Spenser) went a step beyond Aristotle, however, in mentioning that a poet may give ". . . a perfect picture of what should be done in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was done." Sidney is, here, adding to the Aristotelian criticism the Platonic doctrine of perfect and absolute

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176R. A. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

177C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 318.

ideas. He is using the notion of "ideal" in a more strictly moral sense than Aristotle had intended. Sidney wanted the poet to use his skill as an instrument of moral persuasion. For Sidney, poetry was destined to "teach and delight."[178] According to Sidney's theory, Spenser achieves verisimilitude even though he "disengages and represents" the general characteristics of nature.[179] Zocca had noted that Spenser considers decoration and ornament as an accompaniment rather than as the end in itself.[180] Arthos has pointed out that the setting in The Faerie Queene, too, seems to have no rights of its own, and, for the most part, no animation except that given it by the characters.[181] Sidney's theory acknowledges a degree of the power of the "creator" or "seer" for the poet, and, as Bradner has illustrated, Spenser creates an imaginary world for his The Faerie Queene in which he may ". . . shadow forth" the real world.[182] A sense of this duality is kept before the reader in The Faerie Queene, while Spenser exploits the parallels of

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[178]Walter J. Bate, Criticism: the Major Texts, p. 31.

[179]C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, excluding Drama, p. 319.

[180]Zocca, op. cit., pp. 223-9.

[181]Arthos, op. cit., p. 48.

[182]Bradner, op. cit., p. 54.

reality and symbol.[183] That some of Spenser's characters are disturbingly unethical should not be taken at face value. They represent vices and their actions contribute to the ultimate meaning or theme of the whole work. Their actions are determined by the character who, through dramatic necessity, expresses them. Therefore, their actions cannot be judged as if they were presented in and for themselves.[184] Spenser himself clearly expresses his technique:

> But never let th' ensample of the bad
> Offend the good: for good, by paragone
> Of evill, may more notably be rad,
> As white seemes fayrer, macht with
> black attone;
> Ne all are shamed by the fault of one:
> For lo! in heven, whereas all goodnes is,
> Amongst the angels, a whole legione
> Of wicked sprightes did fall from happy
> blis;
> What wonder then, if one of women all
> did mis?
> (III.ix.2)[185]

Similarly, one should recognize Spenser's technique of employing significant contrast in entire scenes or episodes, as well as in single acts or situations. In interpreting The Faerie Queene, one must realize that Spenser is the guiding hand and that this work is presented as the vision of

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[183] Loc. cit.

[184] Marlies K. Danziger, "The Criterion of Truth," An Introduction to Literary Criticism, p. 162.

[185] Cf., John Milton, "Aeropagitica," in Merritt Y. Hughes (ed.), John Milton Complete Poems and Major Prose, p. 728.

one singer. As Arthos has observed, Spenser is essentially a reflective narrator who is outside the framework of the story which he tells.[186] One must also keep in mind that, although Spenser's epic abounds in variety of allegorical conception by the nature of its scope, the emphasis which particular elements receive indicates Spenser's attitude and helps to define the values which the poem manifests.[187]

As one attempts to draw conclusions concerning the particular emphasis which Spenser gives to the Britomart-Artegall story, he should take into consideration a number of points. First, the overpowering result of the socio-ideological climate of Spenser's environment has been seen to be reflected in his adherence to the concept that a literary work should be calculated to teach as well as to delight. The didactic tenet of contemporary literary criticism has been seen to prevail in the forms which Spenser employed in creating The Faerie Queene. The courtesy book, the domestic manual, the educational treatise, the collections of adages, the works of prose fiction, the quasi-historical novel, the "mirror" the metrical romance, and even the Italian epic romance, all confirm the titanic interest in didacticism in the sixteenth-century. Secondly,

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[186]Arthos, op. cit., pp. 12; 66.

[187]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

one has seen that the synthetic quality of The Faerie Queene stands in testimony of the wide range of interests and powers of assimilation inherent in Spenser's mind. Thirdly, one now readily sees that in inventing the matter for his national epic romance, in endowing it with a form appropriate to the concept of chivalry, and in ornamenting it with the devices of artificiosa, Spenser intended to produce an artificial and picturesque epic, but also a morally significant one. Fourthly, one may now recall that while Spenser intended to lend variety to his epic, he also sought a means, in addition to the spirit of chivalry, to attain to an organic unity in The Faerie Queene. One must admit that the demands of plot and the villainy of time were forces with which Spenser as a writer had to contend. However, it is significant that, in the work which Spenser completed, he chose to weave the narrative threads of his romance around the courtship and union of characters representing the virtues of chastity and justice. It would be an insult to Spenser's genius to assume that the emphasis which he gives to the Britomart-Artegall relationship is entirely the result of fabrication. Surely the position of prominence which the Britomart-Artegall story holds in The Faerie Queene is not the result of haphazard planning, nor of failing invention, but rather of deliberate attention to the values which Spenser intended to reflect. One sees

that form and function complement one another in The Faerie Queene, and a definition of the exact nature of the relationship between Britomart and Artegall may be helpful in assessing the emphasis which their story receives within Spenser's artistic structure of The Faerie Queene.

CHAPTER II

ARISTOTELIAN FRIENDSHIP IN SPENSER'S SPHERE OF JUSTICE

Because of the basic dualism in The Faerie Queene, critics have tended to see nearly every element of interest within its scope in Platonic terms, including the Britomart-Artegall relationship. It is a reduction to the absurd, however, to say that everything in The Faerie Queene is a reflection of Plato's specific thought because of Spenser's dualistic way of thinking. One need not be alarmed, for example, that even Plato's doctrine of the pre-existence of forms (upon which the very concept of dualism rests) wavers in the balance with pure Lucretian atomism in a number of passages in The Faerie Queene in which Spenser attempts to reflect upon the processes of nature and to explain substances.[188] In combining the two concepts, Spenser mutilates both, but, one must remember, The Faerie Queene is a synthesis. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that in the letter in which Spenser directs Raleigh ". . . to the wel-head of the history,"[189] the poet intimates that he is

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[188] Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and Lucretius," SP, XVII (January, 1920), pp. 439-464, esp. pp. 448; Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser's Mutabilitie," PMLA, XLVI (March, 1930), pp. 684-703, esp. p. 685.

[189] A. B. Neil Dodge (ed.), The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," pp. 137-8.

going to classic Aristotle. Prince Arthur is to be ". . . perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised," and Spenser wrote that he was going to set forth magnificence in his Prince, because this ". . . vertue . . . (According to Aristotle and the rest). . . is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all . . . ."[190]

De Moss has vigorously argued that Spenser consciously and deliberately followed Aristotle to portray virtue and vice in the books which he completed. He sees the Redcross knight as Aristotle's highminded man and argues:

> . . . There is nothing surprising. . . in Spenser's combining Aristotle's Highmindedness with Christianity; for the combination is simply moral perfection (represented by the Knight of Holiness) married to Christian truth (Una).[191]

De Moss not only resolves the debate concerning the number of virtues in Aristotle, but shows beyond doubt that Spenser must have used Aristotle as a guide, and in some places with an open book of the Nicomachean Ethics before him.[192]

One must realize that Spenser specifically follows

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[190] Ibid., pp. 136-7.

[191] William Penn De Moss, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues 'According to Aristotle'," MP, XVI (May, 1918), p. 35.

[192] Ibid., pp. 24-5; 35-8; cf., Frederick M. Padelford, "The Virtue of Temperance in the Faerie Queene," SP, XVIII (July, 1921), p. 340.

Aristotle in consigning to friendship a pre-eminence over physical love and familial ties.[193] Like Aristotle, Spenser infers that the claims of love and friendship are bound to clash, as illustrated by his thought expressed in the following passage in The Faerie Queene:

> Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deeme
> When all three kinds of love together meet,
> And doe dispart the hart with powre extreme,
> Whether shall weigh the balance downe; to weet,
> The deare affection of kindred sweet,
> Or raging fire of love to womenkind,
> Or zeale of frends combynd with vertues meet.
> But of them all the band of vertuous mind,
> Me seemes, the gentle hart should most assured bind.
>
> For naturall affection soone doth cesse,
> And quenched is with Cupid's greater flame;
> But faithful friendship doth them both suppresse,
> And them with maystring discipline doth tame,
> Through thoughts aspyring to enternal fame.
> For as the soule doth rule the earthly masse,
> And all the service of the bodie frame;
> So love of soule doth love of bodie passe,
> No lesse than perfect gold surmounts the meanest brass.[194]
> (IV.ix.1,2)

His emphasis, here, upon an attachment of virtuous minds and the union of souls ("band of vertuous mind" and "love of soule") is not simply a reflection of Platonic idealism, however. Plato acknowledged the concept that the highest form of friendship or love can be realized only between

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[193] H. Clay Trumbull, Friendship The Master-Passion, p. 54.

[194] In this passage and in subsequent ones in the study, the italicized portions are the present author's, unless otherwise specified.

persons of excellent character, but Spenser's reflection, here, marks a direct transcription of the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle. In the passage quoted, Spenser wrote that ". . . love of soule doth love of bodie passe,/ No lesse than perfect gold surmounts the meanest brass." On the other hand, Aristotle illustrates the essence of goodwill in friendship by quoting Homer (Iliad VI, 236) in the Nicomachean Ethics, saying that Glaucus gave Diomede ". . . Armor of gold for brazen, the price of a hundred beeves for nine."[195] Aristotle uses this particular quotation to show that one may suffer willingly what is unjust in order to extend goodwill. The correspondence of terms alone, noted here, is not sufficient to indicate that Spenser was using Aristotle directly; but, here, one finds that the context of this passage in the Nicomachean Ethics, expressing the theory of voluntary adversity, is applied by Spenser to V of The Faerie Queene. The conviction expressed by Aristotle that one may be voluntarily treated in an unjust way lies at the very heart of Artegall's subjection to the torments of Radigund. Artegall's predicament in this important crisis in V also illustrates most pointedly the difference between love of body and love of mind.

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[195]Aristotle, Ethics, p. 348; cf., Great Books of the Western World, IV, p. 42 for Iliad (VI, l. 236).

Furthermore, Spenser is following Aristotle directly when he establishes a hierarchy of loves in which he subordinates all other kinds, objects, and tendencies of love's expression to friendship.[196] Plato, too, recognized the reservoir of sexual energy in emotion and the fire of physical love, and he stressed the light of knowledge as the pilot of the soul. However, he was more interested in the worship of truth or beauty, than in specifically analyzing friendship. Even when one decifers his irony and myth, no clearcut analysis of friendship as separate from other manifestations of love emerges.[197] On the other hand, when Aristotle formed his concept of the good life, he included friendship as the noblest of all external aids to happiness.[198] For him friendship was not a vague or general concept which should be employed to lead one to the love of good or beauty as an end in itself. Aristotle was more concerned with the flesh and blood individual and his immediate travails.[199] He looked upon friendship as the spiritual union of

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[196]Aristotle, Ethics (V.ix), pp. 384-5.

[197]William Durant, The Story of Philosophy, pp. 13-40.

[198]Ibid., p. 62; Aristotle, Ethics (Books I, III, VIII, IX), pp. 339-436; Mortimer J. Adler and Seymour Cain (eds.), Ethics: The Study of Moral Values, pp. 37-70.

[199]Loc. cit.; cf., Mills, op. cit., p. 4.

personalities. Aristotle implied that this union with one's "other self," which has been described as ". . . one soul in bodies twain,"[200] found its expression most happily in two persons who are equally disposed to the highest virtue through native habit. Because he saw few highly virtuous men, Aristotle bemoaned the rarity of this ideal form of pure friendship. Nevertheless, he upheld friendship as the domestic and political foundation of Greek society itself. The main ingredient in his formula for friendship was the reciprocal, mutually recognized expression of goodwill. In explaining that friendships founded in virtue welded states together, he also expressed his belief that friendships tended to endow social intercourse per se with a benevolence and generosity that find no need of legal correction.[201]

For the most part, critics have accepted the conclusion that Spenser is following Aristotle in presenting

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[200]Aristotle does not use this phrase. Mills adopts it as the title to his book on friendship in Tudor literature and Stuart drama since it succinctly illustrates the intermingling of identities and the spiritualization of classic friendship thought. In one illustration of the phraseology, Mills cites The Confessions of St. Augustine, IV, paragraph 11, wherein Augustine bewails the loss of a lifelong friend: ". . . I wondered yet more myself, who was to him a second self, could live, he being dead. Well said one person of his friend, 'Thou [illegible] of my soul:' for I felt that my soul and his were 'one soul in two bodies:' and therefore was my life a horror to me, because I would not live halved;" Mills, op. cit., p. 13.

[201]Aristotle, Ethics (VIII), pp. 406; 412-13.

friendship in The Faerie Queene. Nonetheless, critics have argued that Spenser does not live up to the promise of the passage quoted from ix of the book on friendship. They point out that, to them, the theme of Cambel and Telamond in III reads like a literary exercise.[202] Looking elsewhere for a more vibrant example of friendship, Erskine has singled out Britomart as the patron of that virtue, viewing her as the knight of innocence and considering her betrothal to Artegall as a reflection of ". . . some such idea that the innocence of ideal nature makes friendship possible, and that friendship includes justice. . . ."[203] However, Erskine's interpretation is indefinite. Furthermore, it embraces the form of "Platonic" love outlined by Ficino as a kind of asexual love which depends upon the severe restriction of one's sensual desires. The "Platonic" lover must restrict sensual involvement to hearing, seeing, and thinking.[204]

Osgood submits that the Britomart-Artegall

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[202]Cf., Bradner, op. cit., pp. 90-1; also John Erskine, "The Virtue of Friendship in the Faerie Queene," PMLA, XXX (1915), p. 845; Charles G. Osgood, "Comments on the Moral Allegory of The Faerie Queene," MLN, XLVI (December, 1931), pp. 503-4; Charles G. Smith, "Spenser's Theory of Friendship," PMLA, XLIX (March, 1934), p. 492.

[203]Erskine, op. cit., p. 845.

[204]McGuinn, op. cit., p. 11.

relationship is ". . . strongly Platonic in its idealism," and he feels that Erskine makes this concept clear.[205] However, close attention to the Britomart-Artegall relationship reveals that it is a vibrant illustration of classic Aristotelian friendship, even though the relationship is expressed between man and woman, as Aristotle allows it may be in husband and wife although he usually thinks of friendship as existing between two men.

An interpretation of this relationship in Aristotelian terms must be based on two points. First, one must assume a recognition of the changing position of women in society from Aristotle's day to Spenser's. A body of scholarly writing has revealed that the nature of society and the position of women in society has had much to do with weighing the balance in favor of either friendship or love.[206]

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[206]The following works were found to be particularly enlightening by the present author: William Durant, "The Morals and Manners of the Athenians," The Story of Civilization, II (The Life of Greece), pp. 287-302. This work discusses Greek friendship, morals, premarital relations, love and marriage, woman, and the home. Moses I. Finley, The World of Odysseus. Finley provides an insight into the place of women in the "Homeric world" from which Aristotle is known to have sought authority. He considers the Greek society to have been fully bisexual rather than homosexual in its expression of love. Laurens Joseph Mills, One Soul in Bodies Twain, Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama. Mills analyzes the classical development of the friendship theme and traces the Teutonic elements of friendship as well in the literature of the Middle Ages and in the early Renaissance, covering Spenser's period. Chilton Latham Powell, English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653, A

As Mills observes,

> . . . It was a case of see-saw: with the ancients, friendship was up, love down; in chivalric and courtly love, love was up, classical friendship down. The balance comes in the sixteenth century with both ends equally weighted.[207]

Having assumed this recognition, one must, secondly, illuminate the significance of the le roman educatif of Britomart at the Temple of Isis in V. In this episode, Spenser conceives of Britomart's betrothal to Artegall in terms of a union between equity and justice.[208] Aristotle sees friendship as a product of these two elements, and for him, it bears not only domestic, but political connotations. An explanation may clarify this assertion.

In all of Aristotle's reconnoitering with a definition of moral virtues in the Nicomachean Ethics, it is significant that he never establishes an arithmetical mean with which he could become completely objective and universal. The passions and actions which he analyzes are said to be excessive, defective, or intermediate in relationship to the particular person and the situation. The choice of the proper action for its own sake (to proceed from a disposition

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(continued) Study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as Revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the Period. As indicated by the title, this is a comprehensive study.

[207]Mills, op. cit., p. 25.

[208]Cf., H. S. V. Jones, A Spenser Handbook, pp. 249-61.

strengthened through the performance of good acts) always involves an element of deliberation. This deliberation is to be based upon practical wisdom (prudence) or intuition. The individual is obliged to steer his course of action against the winds and currents of changing situations, attempting to adjust the certain degree of yaw from the straight and moral path through his ability to see what is right, and, then, to choose it.[209]

For Aristotle, therefore, equity is a corrective of legal justice, requiring practical wisdom, as he explains in the following passage:

> . . . the equitable is just, but not the legally just, but a correction of legal justice. The reason is that all law is universal but about some things it is not possible to make a universal statement which shall be correct.[210]

In instances in which the law has oversimplified a case, when all of the facts are not taken into consideration by the law, Aristotle claims that it is correct for the equitable judge to

> . . . say what the legislator himself would have said had he been present, and would put it into his law if he had known. Hence the equitable is just, and better than one kind of justice--not better than the error that arises from absoluteness of the statement. And this is the nature of the

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[209]Adler and Cain, op. cit., pp. 55-60.

[210]Aristotle, Ethics, p. 392.

> equitable, a correction of law where it is defective owing to its universality.[211]

In Spenser, if one assumes that the magnanimous Arthur himself is to be carried to a greater degree of magnificence, one must conclude that Arthur's liberality is to be tempered by means of a feeling for equitable judgment. Clearly, as Aristotle indicates, Arthur would need to make a synthesis of a sense of friendship and this sense of equity in his deliberation of a course of action. As Aristotle wrote,

> . . . Friendship seems to hold states together, and lawgivers to care more for it than justice; for unanimity seems to be something like friendship, and this they aim at most of all, and expell faction as their worst enemy; and when men are friends, they have no need of justice, while when they are merely just they need friendship as well, and the truest form of justice is thought to be a friendly quality.[212]

Particularly in his role as a kingly aspirant mirroring the role of Queen Elizabeth and her advisors, Arthur would need to exemplify, in character, this union of equity and justice, through acts of friendship. As Aristotle points out, and as Spenser reflects in the roles of Britomart and Artegall, a ruler who is not merely a titular king or a tyrant must have an immediate sense of friendship, because

> . . . it is for the sake of advantage that the political community too seems to both to have come together originally and to endure, for

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[211] Ibid., p. 386.

[212] Ibid., p. 406.

> this is what legislators aim at, and they call just that which is to the common advantage. . . .[213]

Moreover, Aristotle sees that the relationship between a king and his subjects is similar to that which exists between a shepherd and his sheep (quoting Homer) and between a father and his children. A king must have the capacity to confer greater benefits upon his subjects than he can expect to receive from them. Because this type of friendship involves utility, although ideally mutual goodwill is its foundation, the greater share of admiration and love rests with the subject or the child, owing to the superiority of the king or father. The king or father is entitled to more honor; the subject and the child, to more gain or benefit. In other words, the son and the subject presumably must acknowledge a sense of debt in that they are unequal in merit or in virtue to their "superiors." Truly, Arthur would need to link this illustration of supreme friendship with all of the qualities illustrated by Spenser's other patron knights if he were to be "perfected" above all others in the moral virtues of Aristotle. And, as Craig attests, ". . . The political as well as the moral significance of the Faerie Queene has long been recognized."[214] Viewing the

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[213] Ibid., p. 412.

[214] Hardin Craig, New Lamps for Old, p. 198.

relationship of Britomart and Artegall as a supreme example of friendship manifest in the union of equity and justice tends to illuminate Spenser's intense political and moral significance in V, if not throughout The Faerie Queene. In this light, one can hardly label the allegory in V as "wooden" or "unconvincing."[215] Furthermore, even though Spenser bases many of his immediate political allusions on contemporary events and, perhaps, on a sympathy for the plight of Lord Grey in Ireland, these allusions do not prevent a clear reading of the moral allegory based upon Aristotle's treatise. If Artegall appears to stalk about (in company with his apparently heartless Talus) dispensing more punishments than rewards, one should keep in mind that this action is an example of Aristotelian justice based upon an Aristotelian system of ethics. Artegall, therefore, has a lesson to learn through action, and he has a union to consummate with equity through Britomart. An explication of V will substantiate the foregoing convictions. These recurrent motifs must be stressed in their importance to V, because they contribute to the ultimate meaning of The Faerie Queene.

In the prologue to V, Spenser complains that the world had lost its universal order because of a shift in

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[215]Bradner, op. cit., p. 92.

the cosmos:

> Me seemes the world is run quite out of square,
> From the first appointed scourse,
> And being once amisse, growes daily wouse and
> wouse.
>
> (Proem, I.7-9)

Consequently, he concluded that the cosmic order which characterized the golden age, ". . . When justice was not for most meed out dyred," has been turned "topside-turvid." (Proem, III) The implication is that Spenser felt that justice was needed in his time for the "most meed" or the benefit of the majority, because he believed his age to be a "stonie" rather than a "golden" one. (Proem II.2) Inherent in this implication is the concept from Aristotle which maintains that virtue and justice must be politically oriented and that the ethical man is the social man pledged to certain rights, but also to duties and obligations to the social order.

This concept was later to be developed more extensively by Hobbes in his Leviathan (1651).[216] The basic difference between Hobbes and Aristotle is that Hobbes emphasized power, while Aristotle emphasized virtue as the dominant human desire which develops man's wit and determines his

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[216] Adler and Cain, op. cit., p. 108.

worth.[217] Hobbes felt that ". . . neglect of equity is dishonorable," (i.e., in contrast to ". . . actions proceeding from equity, joined with losse. . ." if they arose from magnanimity), but he is here linking the "equitable-and-the-just" with the "powerful," and, hence, in his thinking, with the "honorable."[218] In the main, moreover, he sees that honor depends mostly upon power and has little to do with justice. According to Hobbes, the soverign who makes the law is above the law and cannot do anything that is unjust.[219] While it is feasible for one to think that ideas such as those of Hobbes's were contemporary in Elizabethan philosophy, a view to which actually Spenser fell heir to in Machiavelli's The Prince (1513) emphasized crafty power politics in the name of the state. The necessity of bloodshed and violence were not looked upon as deterrents in the view that The Prince expounded to the Medici family.[220] Machiavelli advised rulers involved in fifteenth century statesmanship to respect nothing but force in order to obtain

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[217] Ibid., p. 68; Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, Or, Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil, ed. by Wells Fuller, in Great Books of the Western World, XXIII, pp. 65-79, works cited as Hobbes, Leviathan.

[218] Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 75.

[219] Mortimer J. Adler and Peter Wolff, The Great Ideas Program, II (The Development of Political Theory and Government), p. 114.

[220] Ibid., p. 90.

domination.[221] One application of this extreme view may be seen in the description of life under a strict military regime, one similar to that which existed in Sparta and which Xenophon apparently admired so much.[222]

Yet, in Spenser, Artegall's very mission is expressed in terms of rectifying the passion for power:

> O SACRED hunger of ambitious minds,
> And impotent desire of men to raine,
> Whom neither dread of God, that devils bindes,
> Nor lawes of men, that common weales containe,
> Nor bands of nature, that wild beastes restraine,
> Can keepe from outrage and from doing wrong,
> Where they may hope a kingdom to obtaine.
> No faith so firm, no trust can be so strong,
> No love so lasting then, that may enduren long.
>
> Witnesse may Burbon be, whom all the bands
> Which may a knight assure had had surely bound,
> Untill the love of lordship and of lands
> Made him become most faithless and unsound:
> And witnesse be Gerioneo found,
> And right and wrong most cruelly confound:
> And so be now Grantorto, who no lesse
> Then all the rest burst out to all outragiousnesse.
> (V.xii.1-2)

Here, Grantorto is conceived of as an overly ambitious brink-of-war Machiavellian. On the other hand, in following Aristotle, Spenser's concept of justice stresses the paternal role in the monarch of protector and seer.

At the same time, however, the opening passages of the Proem to V also illustrate an Elizabethan disposition

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[221] Ibid., pp. 90-7.

[222] Nadas, op. cit., pp. 125-7.

to relate order and justice synonymously.[223] To a large extent, law meant order to the Elizabethan. Also, one must remember that in Elizabethan thought, the motion of the cosmos was held to be duplicated in the conduct of man's affairs, as Spenser succinctly points out:

> . . . As all things else in time are chaunged quight.
> No wonder; for the heavens revolution
> Is wandered farre from where it first was plight,
> And so doe make contrarie constitution
> Of all this lower world, toward his dissolution.
> (Proem iv.6-9)

Spenser, herein, is reflecting, as a fact of life, the central role of "motion" not of "rest," as in the old Aristotelian physics.[224] When Hobbes later adopted this point of view, he described human psychology in terms of bodily motion, accrediting man with an overall, strikingly mechanistic existence. Hobbes's view differentiates man from beasts only in man's capacity for the attainment of felicity by weighing, with foresight, the consequences of good and evil.[225] In this respect, the element of prudence or intuition emphasized by Aristotle comes to mean, for Hobbes, in the main, a residue of basic external motions and experiences in the memory. Aristotle makes allowance

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[223] Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass, p. 11; Eustace Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, p. 7.

[224] Adler and Cain, op. cit., p. 109.

[225] Ibid., pp. 75-6; Hobbes, The Leviathan, pp. 112-3.

for an ". . . incorporeal, indivisible, spaceless, sexless, passionless, changeless, perfect and eternal" divine providence as the total motive force in the world.[226] The individual is aided by intuition. In Hobbes's Leviathan, however, it is "imagination" that separates voluntary action or indifference from involuntary actions by the individual.[227] Yet this is an extreme view, and while the Elizabethans of Spenser's age tended to see correspondences everywhere, as in the influence of the planets and constellations on the parts of the body, this yet undefined theory of the cohesion of physical movement was, for the most part, perhaps a vague intuition.[228] However, this lack of definite theory did not keep England's national consciousness from sustaining a monarchy on the basis that this microcosm of earthly godhead best exemplified the macrocosm of the Godhead at the top of the "chain of being."[229]

Thus, Spenser pictures the "goddess" of virtue sitting ". . . high adorn'd with soleme feasts . . ./ Resembling God in his imperiall might" (Proem ix.3; x.2). Then, closing

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[226]William Durant, The Story of Philosophy, p. 57.

[227]Hobbes, The Leviathan, p. 112.

[228]Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass, p. 12.

[229]Ibid., pp. 11-2.

with an entreaty to the goddess of justice to pardon his boldness (Proem xi), Spenser introduces to the reader what must be called Spenser's Artegall and the goddess's Artegall.

In the opening stanzas to V, Spenser impresses upon the reader the "kingly power" (V.v.2.8) granted to the monarch when the citizen resigns ideological freedom to attain practical freedom. He pictures Bacchus oppressing wrongs with ". . . furious might" (V.i.2.1-3) and Hercules subduing ". . . monstrous tyrants with . . . the club of Justice dread. . . ." (V.i.2.5-9)

Next, he recalls Artegall's mission of deliverance, that of aiding Eirene (Ireland), who allegedly had asked Queen Gloriana for relief from Grantorto (the Irish clan organization). Clearly, there is an assumption made by Spenser, here, that the moral horizon is contained within the political horizon. He is assuming a judgment in favor of the greatest good for the greater number of people as seen from the point of view of headship.[230] Bradner points out that, in the prose View of the Present State of Ireland (1596), Spenser advised Queen Elizabeth and her officials to cast aside the Irish feudal system in the interests of Tudor buresucracy.[231] This view is not opposed to Aristotle,

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[230]Harry V. Jaffa, Thomism and Aristotelianism, pp. 31-2; 195-6.

[231]Bradner, op. cit., p. 46.

who was practical enough to see that expediency might become necessary, if not "just-by-nature," in a political bond.[232] As he reasoned, ". . . justice exists only between men whose mutual relations are governed by law. . . ."[233] Although, like Plato, Aristotle did not believe that power alone constituted authority, he felt that punishment of offenders was a necessary sanction of law, just as he thought that reward in honor and privilege to the law-abiding citizen or community within the state was necessary.[234]

In the stanzas which follow in V, one learns how Artegall, as an infant, had been lured from his peers and reared by Astraea, the goddess of justice, completely isolated from the influences of society. Gough interprets Artegall's education by the goddess as ". . . the growth through divine inspiration of the sense of right in the human heart. . . ."[235] This complete break with the world and its ways, may reflect an evangelical doctrine akin to that of the Calvinistic, Augustan view, which holds that man

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[232]Aristotle, Ethics, p. 382.

[233]Loc. cit.

[234]Loc. cit.; one should note that this section in the progressive argument of the Nicomachean Ethics precedes Aristotle's elucidation of equity.

[235]Alfred B. Gough, The Faerie Queene Book V, p. 165.

radically corrupt.[236] But, one wonders if Spenser had more faith in divine inspiration than did Aristotle. The Greek philosopher and tutor to Alexander the Great did admit that reason and reward are not enough to ennoble most men and that it was difficult to train a youth in contemporary society.[237] He did condemn the mass of humanity for being ". . . quite slavish in its tastes, preferring lives suitable to beasts. . . ."[238] However, he admitted that virtue might be a gift of God, affirming that happiness as a result of virtue might be god-given, and that one's nature might depend upon ". . . some divine causes."[239] Moreover, his theory of divine providence, if not coincident to all respects, is similar to Spenser's. His practical plan for moral perfection, however, involved the regulation of the "nurture" and "occupations" of youth by law, since he felt that mankind was adapted by nature to receive virtues and could perfect them through habit.[240] Moreover, he felt that, having acquired the potentiality for virtue, one must learn

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[236]Herbert John Clifford Grierson, Cross-Currents in Seventeenth Century English Literature, pp. 29-30.

[237]William Durant, The Story of Philosophy, p. 63; Aristotle, Ethics, p. 340.

[238]Loc. cit.

[239]Ibid., p. 348.

[240]Loc. cit.

to exercise virtue in action because, as Aristotle illustrated, ". . . men become builders by building. . . ."[241] Similarly, Astraea disciplines Artegall in justice by teaching him

> . . . to weigh both right and wrong
> In equal ballance with due recompence,
> And equitie to measure out along,
> According to the line of conscience,
> When so it needs with rigor to dispense.
> Of all the which, for want there of mankind,
> She caused him to make experience
> Vpon wyld beasts, which she in woods did find,
> With wrongfull powre oppressing others of
> their kind.
>
> (V.i.7)

Spenser appears to be emphasizing the Aristotelian belief in the necessity of action, here, as Artegall learns about justice through performing just acts. However, one should note that Artegall's experience under Astraea's tutelage involves "wyld beasts" in the absence of human beings, and that his education, consequently, only foreshadows the essence of the corporal world of men. Astraea's habitat is a cave (V.i.6.7-9), and one is tempted to reflect that Artegall's education conforms in essence to the famous allegory of the cave in VII of Plato's The Republic.[242] As an expedient to the realization of this correspondence, one

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[241] Loc. cit.

[242] Plato, The Republic, tr. by Benjamin Jowett, in Great Books of the Western World, VII, pp. 373-87.

might imagine that Artegall, as a youth, had been stationed deep within Aestrae's cave, behind a fire, and had been shown the shadows of real objects passing before him upon the walls of the cave (animals instead of men). As he is allowed to ascend into the upper world, he is dazzled and needs further practice before he is able to make out real objects, or come to an understanding of the true order of things. In all actuality, Artegall is compelled to descend into the "cave" of ordinary life, where, at first, his actions reveal that he is not extremely adept at dealing with the affairs of men. He lacks confidence and seems to be attempting to grasp the correspondences between the world of animals or shadows and the world of men. As Artegall descends into the world of men, Astraea arms him with a magic sword and assigns him the iron man, Talus (law or force), before she returns to heaven.

All of the episodes leading up to the crucial V.vi illustrate the pattern of Artegall's development. They must be presented here in order to reveal the significance of the friendship theme in V, in which, eventually, Britomart and Artegall become the champions of friendship and Spenser provides a clue to unlocking the entire work.

In his first adventure, the fledgling Artegall mediates a situation which demands both Aristotelian distributive and corrective justice. It is significant that in this first

case, Artegall anticipates the theme of liberality which motivates the ensuing episodes in the second canto. Sir Sanglier has abducted the Squire's lady and has beheaded his own lady as she begged not to be cast aside. The Miscreant, Sir Sanglier, personifies the extreme of ". . . taking more of what rightfully belongs . . ." to one.[243] He is plainly self-indulgent. When the squire is faced with trial by combat, and relinquishes his claim, he is ". . . accepting less than rightfully belongs to one."[244] He is a coward, but as Aristotle points out,

> Self-indulgence is more like a voluntary state than cowardice. For the former is actuated by pleasure, the latter by pain, of which the one is to be chosen and the other avoided. . . .[245]

Moreover, both Sanglier and the squire represent opposites of temperance implying a course of action which is a mean in relation to regard for pleasure and pain. Artegall, after hearing the case, devises a plan by which trial by oath, ordeal, or combat is not necessary. As he puts his plan into operation and sees that the squire will not allow the lady in question to be cut in half, he awards her to the squire and forces Sanglier to do penance for his act by

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[243] Aristotle, Ethics, p. 365.

[244] Loc. cit.

[245] Loc. cit.

wearing the decapitated head of the lady who was "his own." Artegall's plan has called for deliberation on the part of the judge. His own prudence has taken the active form of contrivance or calculation. In judging Sanglier, Artegall is judging the self-indulgent individual in society, for the intemperate Sir Sanglier had responded to the beck and call of appetite for the sake of individual pleasure. He had allowed his craving to overcome any rational principle, had become ill-tempered, and could not calculate his moves until after his humiliating capture by Talus. On the other hand, Spenser illustrates the disgrace accompanying cowardice--somewhat the opposite of self-indulgence--in the case of the squire. The squire is not to be blamed entirely for his cowardice, nor, at the same time, is he to be greatly admired even though the case is decided in his favor. One feels that the squire's concern for his own well-being had overshadowed any concern for his lady's well-being. Evidently his "friendship" with her had not been the purest, since it had at its basis, not the extension of goodwill alone for the other's sake, but rather the realization of an immediate sense of utility or pleasure. The lady had represented a "commodity" to the squire. Whether for this reason or for the purpose of illustrating true Aristotelian candor, Artegall, nevertheless, will not allow the squire to repay him by serving him, but ". . . forth on his journey far'd;/

ne wight with him but onely Talus went. . . ." (V.1.30.7-8) In his first experience as a judge, then, Artegall is liberal. The squire's lady represents a commodity, and the two adventures which follow in ii are both concerned with liberality, i.e., the distribution of goods or commodities. In a sense, liberality is the dimunitive form of magnanimity in Aristotle, just as Artegall is intended to be of Arthur in Spenser.[246]

The agent introducing the next complication is Doney, Florimell's dwarf, who tells of the Sarazin Pollente, who, as an extortionist, controls a bridge for profit. He has detoured Doney from his journey to the Castle of the Strond where Florimell's nuptials with Marinell were to be solemnized. Without recourse to contemporary allusions, Pollente personifies what in Aristotle is the wicked excess of taking and enduring even great dangers for the sake of booty. In even the prodigal man as opposed to the liberal man, this excessive grasping benefits ". . . no one, not even the taker himself."[247] Pollente, Spenser explains, takes all his own spoils

> . . . And to his daughter brings, that dwels thereby:
> Who all that comes across the bridge he doth take; and therewith fill

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[246] Ibid., pp. 368-9.

[247] Ibid., p. 368.

The coffers of her wicked thressury. . . .
(V.ii.9.2-4)

She is rich and ". . . many lords have her to wife desired;/ But she them all despiseth for great pride." (V.ii.10.3-4) Fittingly, no one benefits from Pollente's evil designs. It is this sordid love of gain and miserliness in the illiberal man, linked with bribery as epitomized in Munera, which Artegall and Talus must confront and overcome. Artegall meets and kills Pollente's groom "... . whose scalp is bare, that bondage doth bewray" (V.ii.6.7) ; rides against Pollente and falls through the trap door ". . . Through which the rider downe doth fall through oversight," (V.ii.7.9) ; fights in the water where the Paynim's courser can ". . . swim like to a fish," (V.ii.13.9); gains the advantage even there where ". . . the Paynim, who that use well knew/ To fight in water, great advantage had" (V.ii.12.6); and smites off Pollente's head as the villain touches bottom in his flight to shore. Artegall then places Pollente's head upon a pole ". . . To be a mirror to all mighty men,/ In whose right hands great power is contained. . . ." (V.ii.19.6-7) But Artegall is not finished, and he must, at this point, call upon Talus, his page, who serves here as an element of prudence, to devise some means of entry into the castle of Munera. As Talus flails the door, Munera throws rocks, conjures charms, prays, and, when all else

fails, she reverts to pouring sacks of riches over the castle wall to bribe Talus. Talus ignores these tokens, and having gained entry, he is so merciless in his treatment of Munera, ". . . That Artegall him selfe her seemeless plight did rew." (V.ii.25.8-9) It is important that, in this section of the episode, Spenser permits Talus to take matters more or less into his own hands. He emphasizes, ". . . Yet for no pitty would he Artegall change the course/ Of justice, which in Talus hand did lye; Who rudely hayld her forth without remorse. . . ." (V.ii.26.1-3) At this point in V, Spenser portrays Talus as being more than a groom to the inexperienced Artegall. Later, after Artegall has learned to temper justice with equity and mercy, Spenser depicts Talus in a more subservient role, executing only Artegall's distinct commands. Here, though, in the Munera episode, Talus cuts off the hands and feet of the suppliant woman and casts her ". . . by the sclender wast, / In vaine loud crying," into the flood below where she drowns in mud. (V.ii.27) He burns her spoils, and completely demolishes the castle, foundation and all. Spenser makes it clear that in this action, Artegall merely ". . . undid the evil fashion, / And wicked customes of that bridge reformed. . . ." (V.ii.27.7-9)

In the second episode in ii, Artegall accosts the giant with the scales who personifies the opposite extreme

of liberality, the practice of excessive giving. Whereas Munera had been miserly, the prodigality of the giant, as Aristotle explained, ". . . exceeds in giving and not in taking. . ." although the giant, too, would take recklessly from any source.[248] The giant, too, having gathered an an audience of ". . . Fooles, women and boys. . . ." (V.ii.30.9) proposes ". . . to weigh the world anew / And all things to an equall to restore. . . ." (V.ii.24.1-2) He would make the mountains level with the plains and distribute the riches of the wealthy to the poor so that everywhere there would be equality in terms of goods. Of course, this appeals to the ". . . raskall rout" (V.ii.54.8) which ". . . hoped to have got great good, / And wondrous riches by his innovation." (V.ii.51.6-7) Artegall debates the giant, arguing in favor of Aristotle's theory of the geometrical distribution of goods. Aristotle considers complete equalization of goods without regard to the merits of the recipients to be an injustice. For him, the proportionate distribution of any good must reflect a measure commensurate with the merits of those by whom the goods are to be shared. In terms of goods, alone, he explains that money, for example, is used as an article of exchange which equates goods and reflects their respective merits. He also

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[248] Ibid., p. 367.

illustrates that, if ten pounds of food are too much for one to eat, it does not follow that, if two pounds are too little, then, one must order six pounds (the arithmetic mean).[249] As Artegall reasons with the giant, he cites examples of God's creation which illustrate geometric proportion (V.ii.25;27), enlists the theory of the indestructability of matter (V.ii.39;40),[250] and points out what he sees as God's ordinance of kingship: ". . . he maketh kings to sit in soverainty; / He maketh subjects to their power obay. . . ." (V.ii.40.5-6) Artegall's point is that distribution must be made in terms of the recipient as well as in terms of the object which is to be distributed. The debate turns upon weighing truth as a mean between wrong and falsehood, but the giant, who would violate the Aristotelian mean with regard to wealth by taking indescriminately to ". . . make rich those who should be poor . . . and give much to flatters," becomes angry again.[251] At this turn, Talus, who had not voiced an opinion or tried prudently to assuage the giant's ire as Artegall had (V.ii.47), shoulders the giant off the higher ground into the sea below. Whereas

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[249]Ibid., pp. 352; 359.

[250]Spenser could have gleaned this theory from Lucretius as well as Aristotle; cf., Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and Lucretius," SP, XVII (January, 1920), pp.439-64, esp. p. 440.

[251]Aristotle, Ethics, pp. 367-8.

Artegall would have used logic and thereby have followed the Aristotelian procedure, Talus used force.

In iii, Florimell's wedding celebrations at the Castle of the Stround provide the next episode. Herein, Spenser's treatment of Braggadochio exhibits most of the "secret crimes" which Aristotle points out in the Nicomachean Ethics and which Spenser had foreshadowed in the episode with the giant when Artegall proclaimed:

> . . .'Be not upon thy balance wroken;
> For they doe nought but right or wrong betoken;
> But in the mind the doome of right must bee. . . .
> (V.ii.47.4-6)

Braggadochio's dominating trait, reflecting his name, violates the mean of "truthfullness in word." He is Aristotle's boastful man. His opposite would be the mock-modest man who is ". . . apt to disclaim what he has or to belittle it."[252] According to Aristotle, the man who observes the mean ". . . is one who calls a thing by its own name, being truthful in life and word, owning to what he has, and neither more nor less."[253] The boastful man, Braggadochio, ". . . is apt to claim the things that bring him glory, when he had not them, or to claim more than he has."[254] To Aristotle,

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[252] Ibid., p. 374.

[253] Loc. cit.

[254] Loc. cit.

Braggadochio would have been an especially contemptible fellow, both futile and evil, because, as Spenser portrays him, he not only enjoys the lie itself, but desires an unearned reputation or gain. He is not only boastful but rash as well. As a personification of Aristotle's "rash man," he violates the mean of courage between fear and confidence:

> The rash man . . . wishes to appear courageous, and so he imitates the courageous man in situations where he can. Hence, also, most of them are a mixture of rashness and cowardice; for while they display confidence, they do not hold their ground against what is really terrible.[255]

Time and again, Braggadochio feigns confidence but makes a hasty exit when real danger approaches. At the wedding feast of Florimell and Marinell, in iii, Braggadochio falsely claims the tiltyard honors due to Artegall for rescuing Marinell, who had been taken prisoner on the third day of the tournament. Artegall had used Braggadochio's shield in the encounter. When the trumpets shrilled and Braggadochio's name was cheered three times, Spenser notes, ". . . so courage lent a cloke to cowardise." (V.iii.15.5) He is, again, Aristotle's rash and vain man, displaying a false confidence.

Upon being praised by Florimell, Braggadochio violates yet another of Aristotle's means as he makes ". . . uncomely

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[255] Ibid., p. 370.

speeches" so that the lady ". . . turn's aside for shame to heare. . . . (V.iii.16.7-9) His tactless manner puts him in the category of Aristotle's vulgar buffoons who are boorish, unpolished, and lacking in taste.[256] Spenser sees that Braggadochio receives his just deserts.

Earlier, in the tournament held by Sir Satyrane (IV.v.27), Cambello had been surrounded by a hundred knights, also, and was rescued by Triamond. At this time, Braggadochio had refused to do battle when it came his turn. In that instance, he and the false Florimell were confounded by the magic girdle. This time, Artegall, who is neither mock-modest nor vain, sees Braggadochio's ". . . boasters pride and graceless guile," (V.iii.20.3-4) and exposes Braggadochio for what he is. The real Florimell is called forth, and when she sits beside the Florimell, ". . . Th' enchaunted Damzell vanist into nought. . . ." (V.iii.24.6) Sir Guyon, then, berates Braggadochio, naming Braggadochio a thief, a liar, and a coward, when he sees "Brigadore," his own stolen steed, and calls for judgment. Artegall, who judges the case, awards the horse to Guyon. At this turn, Braggadochio sins, again. He becomes a reviler (V.iv.25.7-9) His display of incontinence angers Artegall, and it is necessary for Guyon to pacify Artegall's temper:

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[256] Ibid., p. 375.

> Saying, Sir knight, it would dishonor bee
> To you that are our iudge of equity,
> To wreake your wrath on such a carle as hee:
> It's punishment enough, that all his shame doe see.
> (V.iii.36.6-9)

Accordingly, Braggadochio is punished. Talus shaves his beard, takes away his shield and armor, and breaks his sword. Braggadochio's groom, Trompart, is caught and scourged by the iron man. Spenser emphasizes that Braggadochio's actions had not been compulsory, nor had they been forced upon him. The "moving principle," as Aristotle would have it, was in the man himself. Since Braggadochio knowingly was the agent of crimes against himself and society, he should be punished.[257] Aristotle wrote that the judge should try to ". . . equalize by means of penalty, taking the gain from the assailant."[258] Braggadochio's ostracism from society reflects the Aristotelian dictates that ". . . the incurably bad person should be completely banished," and the punishments ". . . inflicted should be opposed to the pleasures such men love."[259] Braggadochio's banishment at Artegall's command is suitably Aristotelian, as Guyon's earlier statement to Artegall had illustrated.

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[257] Ibid., p. 386.

[258] Ibid., p. 379.

[259] Ibid., p. 434.

Next, in the first twenty verses of iv, Spenser links an illustration of voluntary with involuntary actions between two brothers over property rights. Involved in the situation are two islands; two women, Philtera and Lucy, the former with a large dowery, the latter with practically no dowery; a treasure chest; and a villain--the sea. The brothers, Bracidas and Amidas, each had been bequeathed an island of equal size by their father. The sea had washed away most of the land of the island of Bracidas and had deposited it on the island belonging to Amidas. Seeing this phenomenon, Philtera had left Bracidas and had sought the attentions of Amidas. Amidas, then, possessed most of the land and also the girl with the larger dowery. When Amidas took up with Philtera, Lucy had thrown herself in the sea, had alighted upon a bouyant treasure chest, and finally had landed on the island belonging to Bracidas. As Artegall comes upon the scene, Philtera has claimed that the chest is hers, that it had been lost in a shipwreck at sea. The situation is brought to Artegall for judgment. After hearing the case, Artegall declares that Amidas owns the land which the sea had brought to him, and that the treasure chest which the sea had brought to Bracidas is his to keep, assuming that the land washed away was equal in value to the treasure chest. It has been pointed out that Artegall's pronouncement was not earth-shaking for Spenser's readers

in his own day, and that Spenser appears to have been expressing the commonly held Elizabethan view of a happy union of civil and natural law.[260] Herein, too, he is recalling the theory of the indestructability of matter and illustrating the scholastic philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas which stresses that

> . . . God . . . the first unmoved mover . . . moves each thing to its end. Moreover, he moves them by his intellect . . . not by natural necessity . . . . He is the governor of the whole universe by his providence . . . .[261]

In this case, Artegall conveniently found that natural law did not need to be amended. It is important to observe, however, that in this episode, Spenser seems to be increasing Artegall's powers of judgment and decreasing Talus's role as an advisor; the iron man neither speaks not acts.

In the episode that follows, Spenser sows the seeds for the major complication of V. Having rescued Sir Turpine from the gibbet at the hands of ". . . a troupe of women warlike dight," (V.iv.21.8) Artegall learns that Turpine's plight had been willed by Radigund, a proud Amazon queen whose inner motivation is explained in detail. Evidently

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[260] Gough, op. cit. pp. 180-220.

[261] Quoted in Hiram Haydn, The Counter Renaissance, p. 131.

Spenser wanted his readers to think about inner motivations and the expression of will in this entire book. In summarizing V, in the prologue to VI, Spenser emphasizes, ". . . But Vertues seat is deep within the mynd, / And not in outward shows, but inward thoughts defynd." (Proem v.7-8) The ultimately fatal flaw in Radigund's character becomes increasingly clear as one of not mere selfishness, but rather of egomania. In V, she is described as proud (iv.23.3; iv.38.6; iv.40.8; v.27.7); shamefast (v.25.2); lewd (vii.22.8), and merciless (v.14.7). She not only gives her name (Radegone) to the city in which she dwells, but she always desires to extend her will over the will of others in order to satisfy her insatiable passion for dominance. Spenser is evidently castigating the dominating female type, here, but one should recognize, also, that Radigund has her masculine counterparts throughout The Faerie Queene. Will is, here, Spenser's key word. Spenser uses it again and again throughout this central section of V. For example, Spenser explains that Radigund's hatred for Bellodant the Bold was kindled, when,

> . . . she saw at last, that he ne would
> For ought or nought be wonne unto her will,
> She turn'd her love to hatred manifold,
> And for his sake vow'd to doe all the ill
> Which she could doe to knights: which now
> she doth fulfill
>
> (V.iv.30.5-9)

Radigund had been too bold in wooing Bellodant. Interestingly the words "Be bold," reminiscent of those inscribed over the doors that Britomart beheld in the House of Busirane, (III.xi.54) occur in this book twice again(V.v.21.8 and V.vi.10.1). Moreover, when Artegall finds himself imprisoned and chained by Radigund, he is, in effect, the masculine counterpart of Amoret at the House of Busirane, withstanding the will of a tormentor who is bent upon sensual fulfillment. How Artegall falls prey by misadventure to Radigund is, in the first place, indicative of the fact that justice is, as Aristotle determined, ". . . essentially something human."[262] This realization is pertinent to any understanding of Aristotle's interpretation of equity. In the Nicomachean Ethics, the section on voluntary suffering, containing the quotation concerning "gold for brazen," noted earlier, immediately precedes Aristotle's analysis of equity. It is significant that before Spenser employs an illustration of this kind of equity, he emphasizes a situation in which Artegall knowingly allows himself to be taken captive. Spenser points out that ". . . For never yet was wight so well aware, / But he at first or last was trapt in womens snare" (V.vi.1.7-9) As Radigund rationalized when

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[262]Aristotle, Ethics, p. 385.

she became romantically inclined toward Artegall:

> . . . 'Clarin,' sayd she, 'thou seest yound
> Fayry knight,
> Whom not my valour, but his owne brave mind
> Subjected hath to my unequall might. . . .'
>
> What right is it that he should thraldom find,
> For lending life to me, a wretch unkind,
> That for such good him recompence with ill?
> Therefore I cast how I may him unbind,
> And by his freedom get his free goodwill;
> Yet so, as bound to me he may continue still. . . .
> (V.v.22)

The paradox in her thinking is keenly illustrated, here. She wishes, like the moon, to be shone upon by the sun, and will reflect that illumination, but cannot shine upon another object, asking nothing in return. She wants Artegall's free goodwill, the essence of friendship, the perfect love in Aristotle, but her desire is limited by an ulterior motive--to keep Artegall enslaved to her through love. Fittingly, Spenser's Artegall, having disarmed and stunned the Amazon, had

> . . . to her lept with deadly dreadful looke,
> And her sunshynie helmet soone unlaced,
> Thinking at once both head and helmet to have raced.
>
> But when as he discovered had her face,
> He saw, his senses straunge astonishment,
> A miracle of Natures goodly grace
> In her faire visage voide of ornament,
> But bath'd in blood and sweat together ment;
> Which, in the rudeness of that evil plight,
> Bewrayd the signes of feature excellent:
> Like as the moone, in foggie winter's night,
> Doth seeme to be her selfe, though darkned be
> her light.
> (V.v.11.7 - V.v.12.9)

Spenser's imagery of the sun and moon, later to appear in different guise in the Temple of Isis, cannot be mere happenstance here. In the temple scenes, Isis represents both the moon and Britomart. Osyris, who also represents Artegall, ". . . signifies the sunne" (V.vii.4.6-7) Radigund is conceived as a moon without a sun, and Artegall, taking pity on her and possibly in awe of the divinity of nature and beauty, is consequently overcome by submission. But Spenser quickly adds,

> . . . So was he overcome, not overcome,
> But to her yeelded of his owne accord;
> Yet was he justly damned by the doome
> Of his owne mouth, that spake so
> warelesse word,
> To be her thrall, and service her afford.
> For though that he first victorie obtayned,
> Yet after, by abandoning his sword,
> He willful lost that he before attayned.
> No fuyrer conquest then that goodwill is gayned.
> (V.v.17)

Artegall is extending to Radigund the goodwill she lacks. One should note that this illustration of paradox is a direct reflection of that section in the Nicomachean Ethics in which Aristotle ponders whether the suffering of injustice may be voluntary. Artegall is the continent man, who, in the interests of honor and intrinsic nobility, will not slay Radigund but, as Aristotle would have him do, chooses to suffer ". . . nothing contrary to his own wish, so that he is not unjustly treated as far as this goes, but at most

only suffers harm."[263] Radigund, on the other hand, illustrates another point that Spenser, in all of the previous episodes in V, has not been able to bring out clearly. She acts unjustly because of the state of her character. She has become a misanthrope. To act outside of her state of character would be neither easy, nor believably in her power. It was within Sanglier's power not to covet the squire's lady. It was in Munera and Pollente's power not to grasp and bribe. It was within Braggadochio's power to restrain his vanity. These characters acted unjustly through their own volition. Radigund, one feels, is intrinsically motivated by her obsession to avenge her unrequited love. As Aristotle points out, ". . . Men think that acting unjustly is in their power, and therefore that being just is easy. But it is not. . . ."[264] Here is another mirror for Spenser's audience, and, obviously, for Queen Elizabeth in particular, if she were clever enough to lift the veil of overt action. However, Spenser is here careful to reflect, in the midst of his tirade against feminine domination, that ". . . vertuous women wisely understand / That they were borne to base humilitie, / Unless the heavens lift them to a lawful soveraintie." (V.v.25.7-9) Concerning another point,

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[263] Ibid., pp. 384-5.

[264] Ibid., p. 385.

it is significant that in this episode, Talus ". . . would not once assay / To reskew his owne lord, but thought it just t'obay. . . ." (V.v.19.8-9) As the canto continues, Spenser pictures both Radigund and her maid, Clarinda, conceiving a lust for the innocent Artegall. As Spenser comments at the canto's close:

> . . . Thus long while in thraldome there remayned,
> Of both beloved well, but little frended;
> Until his owne true love his freedome gayned,
> Which in another canto will be best contayned.
> (V.v.57.6-9)

This juxtaposition of friendship and decadent love is strongly intentional on Spenser's part. Artegall is to be rescued by his own true love, Britomart, who will prove to be not only a lover, but, of greater value, his friend. Neither Radigund nor Clarinda truly loves Artegall, although each suffers all of the pangs and goes through most of the antics inherent in the courtly love convention. Radigund wants Artegall as Munera wanted her treasure. Although, at first, she imagined Artegall as bound to her ". . . But with sweet love and sure benevolence, / Voide of malitious mind or foule offense" (V.v.22.4-5), she is enraged when Clarinda (who has also entertained a passion for Artegall) reports that he has been obstinate and has scorned her offers and conditions. She, then, determines to try again and says that she will ". . . a while with his first folly beare,/ Till Clarinda has tride again, and tempted him more

neare." (V.v.47.8-9) She instructs Clarinda to

> . . . 'Say and do all that may thereto prevaile;
> Leave nought unpromist that may him persuade,
> Life, freedom, grace, and gifts of great availe,
> With which the gods themselves are mylder made:
> Thereto adde art, even women's witty trade,
> The art of mightie words, that men can charme;
> With which in case thou canst him not invade,
> Let him feele hardnesse of they heavie arme:
> Who will not stoupe with good shall be made to
> stoupe with harme.
>
> (V.v.49)

She wants Artegall, but on her terms and in the miliatry metaphor of an Ovid, she conceives of herself not merely as a recruit in the army of Cupid, going forth to the lists of love, but at a conquest of wills, and she resolves, ". . . the seige not to give over." (V.v.51.4.5) Similarly, Clarinda knowingly allows greater harm to fall upon Artegall through selfishness. She, too, does not wish him well-being for his own sake, but

> . . . Ne ever did deceiptful Clarin find
> In her false heart, his bondage to unbind;
> But rather how she mote him faster tye.
> Therefore unto her mistresse most unkind
> She daily told, her love he did defye,
> And him she told, her dame his freedome
> did denye.
>
> (V.v.56.4-9)

Here, Spenser notes,

> . . . Yet this much frienship she to him did show,
> That his scarse diet somewhat was amended,
> And his worke lessened, that his love mote grow. . ,..
>
> (V.v.57.1-3)

Truly Artegall was ". . . but litle frended, / Untill his owne true love his freedom gayned. . . ." (V.v.57.7)

At this point, one must discern the significance of the friendship theme in Spenser's Book of Justice. Up to this crisis, Spenser has focused the reader's attentions upon Artegall. The author has established the pattern of Artegall's progressive le roman educatif, his trials preparing him for a major victory, but at this complication, the reader anticipates a dramatic turn of events. The hero has fallen prey to a tormentor in illustration that justice is basically human and that it involves the expression of goodwill. Here, now, Spenser alerts the reader that Britomart is to save Artegall. She is to exhibit the antithesis of Radigund and Clarinda. She is to be Artegall's friend. The vibrant example of friendship in The Faerie Queene is about to emerge. It is to be not simply a Platonic friendship. Instead, it will illustrate the specifically Aristotelian concept of friendship based on the expression of goodwill for another's sake. Up to this point in V, a harmonious overtone of friendship in connection with justice has been audible to the reader. Continence in all spheres of life and the sanctity of the individual have been laid bare by Spenser. One feels that Britomart's action in the episode to follow will explain Spenser's concept of the relationship between friendship and justice.

In order to acquaint the reader with the full impact and meaning of the friendship theme in V, one must turn his attentions to Spenser's immediate models for character and situation in this central section. The conclusion that Britomart and Artegall serve Spenser's friendship theme as no other allegorical representatives are able to do in the entire The Faerie Queene emerges from an analysis of this central section of V. Full attention to the analogue that Spenser uses in this section will bring out the intensity of the friendship theme in V, and in the entire work.

CHAPTER III

SPENSER'S USE OF HELIODORUS IN THE UNION OF CHASTITY AND JUSTICE

In assessing Spenser's indebtedness to the Greek romances for character and situation in The Faerie Queene, critics have overlooked the extent to which Spenser has made use of the Aithiopica (Ethiopian History) of Heliodorus (A.D. 400).

This work was available to Spenser in Thomas Underdowne's 1569 English translation from an intermediate Latin version.[265] It may also have been available in another form or forms. Craig and Dodds have pointed out that this ". . . most sensational Greek novel" was ". . . widely popular in both France and England in the sixteenth century and was certainly known to Shakespeare."[266] Lewis has observed that Underdowne's translation ". . . had in Sidney's and Spenser's time an importance which the successive narrowings of our classical tradition have since

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[265] C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 334; cf., Rowland Smith (tr.), The Greek Romances of Heliodorus, Longus and Achilles Tatius, p. xiii, lists the date of Underdowne's translation as 1587.

[266] Hardin Craig and John W. Dodds (eds.), Types of English Fiction, p. 86.

obscured."[267] Smith, who translated the work from the Greek in 1901, recalls that Tasso became absorbed in the Aithiopica when it was ". . . introduced at the Court of Charles the IXth of France, where it was read by the ladies and gentlemen in the translation made by Amiot."[268] Smith noted that Tasso transferred the circumstances of Chariclea's birth and early life, as depicted in the Aithiopica, to the heroine, Clorinda, in the tenth canto of his Gerusalemme Liberata, thereby keeping his promise to the French courtiers that ". . . they should soon see the work attired in the most splendid vestments of Italian poetry. . . ."[269] In addition, Lewis has indicated that both Sidney and Tasso mentioned the Aithiopica ". . . as a model of epic construction," among heroic poems.[270] One must not lose sight of the fact that Spenser emulated both Sidney and Tasso as experts in poetic theory. Spenser undoubtedly read this work in one form or another, and one must not dismiss lightly the possibility that he may even have read it in a Greek version.

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[267]C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 334.

[268]R. Smith, The Greek Romances p. ix.

[269]Ibid., pp. ix; x.

[270]C. S. Lewis, English Literature of the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 334.

Hughes has pointed out that Underdowne, like his contemporaries Spenser and Sidney, ". . . was moved by the desire to give England an epic that would contribute to the education of gentlemen and in the Aethiopica he felt that he had found such an epic."[271] Furthermore, Hughes has indicated that Underdowne's marginal notes describe the virtues in this work in terms which lead one to believe that ". . . he understood them as being much the same as those exemplified in the moral "legends" of The Faerie Queene."[272] The same critic points out that the formal topics of Heliodorus's ethic ". . . are identical with the six moral virtues which Spenser actually allegorized, minus the first . . . ."[273] Hughes expressed his belief that a comparison of Spenser's treatment of Chastity in Book III of The Faerie Queene with Heliodorus's treatment of chastity in the Aithiopica ". . . leaves no doubt that the two stories belong to one ethical tradition."[274] He believed that a ". . . rather morbid devotion to chastity characterized the Greek romances from their beginnings," but felt that ". . .

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[271] Merritt Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," MP, XXII (August, 1925), p. 75.

[272] Loc. cit.

[273] Ibid., p. 76.

[274] Ibid., p. 75.

Heliodorus, however, treated chastity in Spenser's lyric strain."[275] Nonetheless, Hughes sees ". . . not a single point of parallel contact between them the two treatments of chastity ."[276]

In the same article, Hughes cites the remarks by John Upton in his 1758 edition of The Faerie Queene in which Upton points out that the cave in which Pastorella is confined, in II of The Faerie Queene, is ". . . suspiciously like the cave where 'the Egyptian Thyamis confines the beautiful Charicles'" in Book I of the Aithiopica.[277] He recalls Upton's belief that for the pastoral cantos in The Faerie Queene, VI, Spenser was indebted to Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius.[278] Upton had cited Serena's escape from sacrifice by the "savage nation" (Faerie Queene VI.viii.38 ff.) as somehow related to the scene in Tatius's The Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe in which robbers attempt to sacrifice Leucippe on an altar before two contending armies.[279] As one may infer

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[275] Ibid., pp. 74-5.

[276] Ibid., p. 75.

[277] Ibid., p. 67, citing and quoting Upton (ed.) 1758 edition of The Faerie Queene.

[278] Loc. cit., R. Smith, The Greek Romances, contains the major works of all three Greek writers.

[279] Loc. cit.

from Hughes, the relationship in this case is certainly vague.[280]

Greenlaw, on the other hand, considers Longus' The Amours of Daphnis and Chloe ". . . the only true Greek pastoral which influenced English literature. . . ."[281] Yet, Greenlaw implies that any influence on even the Calidore-Pastorella episodes in VI of The Faerie Queene comes through Sidney's Arcadia.[282]

Moreover, Hughes urged that ". . . outside of the sixth book of The Faerie Queene . . . it is impossible to find any concrete resemblances between The Faerie Queene and any Greek romance."[283] Hughes had noted that equity is ". . . distinguished from justice" in the Aithiopica as he believed that Spenser "distinguished" equity from justice in V of The Faerie Queene. However, Hughes understood equity in Spenser to mean ". . . justice tempered with mercy" and concluded that Heliodorus had not handled equity in this

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[280]Cf., The Faerie Queene, VI, viii, 83 ff., and Clithopho and Leucippe, III, sec. 15 in R. Smith, The Greek Romances, pp. 399-418.

[281]Edwin Greenlaw, "Shakespeare's Pastorals," SP, XIII (1916), p. 123; cf., R. Smith, The Greek Romances, pp. 261-348.

[282]Ibid., p. 129.

[283]Merritt Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," MP, XXII (August, 1925), p. 72.

way.[284]

However, one proposes Heliodorus's Aithiopica had a much greater influence upon Spenser than previously has been recognized. Spenser is thoroughly indebted to Heliodorus for both character and situation in the crucial episodes that mark the turning point in V of The Faerie Queene, wherein Spenser conceives of friendship in terms of a union of equity and justice as represented by Britomart and Artegall. Indeed, throughout The Faerie Queene, even in the early books, there is evidence that Spenser was using Heliodorus's Aithiopica for concepts, descriptions, and characterization.

Lewis acknowledges in a single sentence that Spenser utilizes the ". . . Details about the "church" and priesthood of Isis . . ." in the story of Britomart's visit to the Temple of Isis in V.[285] Earlier, Greenlaw had analyzed the Temple of Isis scenes and had commented that ". . . Spenser's debt to Plutarch's treatise of Isis and Osiris has long been recognized."[286] He pointed out that ". . . Spenser modifies Plutarch greatly. . ." by changing the temple scene to fit

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[284]Ibid., p. 75.

[285]C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama, p. 334.

[286]Edwin Greenlaw, "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," SP, XX (April, 1923), p. 240.

the necessary allegory. He explained that ". . . none of the commentators works out the parallels to Plutarch in detail."[287]

Truly, it will be seen that Spenser modifies details to ". . . fit the allegory of his legend of justice. . . ."[288] But, on the other hand, overwhelming evidence indicates that Spenser's more immediate source was the Aithiopica, even if he also resorted to other sources. The Radigund episode of V of The Faerie Queene, which is prologue to the Temple of Isis scene, is a direct reflection of Heliodorus. Cameron has voiced his belief that Radigund is patterned after Rhodogune (wife of Rontes and daughter of Antaexes II) as portrayed by Plutarch and Philostratus.[289] However, it is clear to the careful reader that Spenser models Radigund and her maid, Clarinda, upon Arsace and her maid, Cybele, in the Aithiopica. Several passages of special significance warrant lengthy reproduction for the purpose of showing the reader Spenser's method of adaptation and reversal of situation.

The following passage in Smith's translation from the

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[287] Ibid., p. 239, fn.

[288] Ibid., p. 240.

[289] Allen Don Cameron, "Spenser's Radigund," MLN, LXVII (February, 1952), pp. 120-2.

Greek is retrospective narration in which Heliodorus explains the character of Arsace, a Persian queen who sees Theagenes and begins to lust after him:

> . . . Arsace was beautiful, and tall; expert in business; haughty because of her birth, as being the sister of the Great King; extremely blameable, however, in her conduct, and given up to a dissolute pleasure. She had, in a great measure, been the cause of the exile of Thyamis: for when Calasiris, on account of the oracle which he had received relative to his children, had withdrawn himself privately from Memphis, and on his disappearing, was thought to have perished; Thyamis, as his eldest son, was called to the dignity of the priesthood, and performed his initiatory sacrifice in public. Arsace, as he entered the temple of Isis, encountered this blooming and graceful youth, dressed on the occasion with more than usual splendor. She cast wanton glances at him, and by her gestures gave plain intimation of her passion. He, naturally modest, and virtuously brought up [Artegall], did not notice this, and had no suspicion of her meaning, nay, intent on the duties of his office, probably attributed her conduct to quite some different cause. But his brother Petosiris, who had viewed with jealous eyes his elevation to the priesthood, and had observed the behavior of Arsace towards him, considered how he might make use of her irregular desires, as a means of laying a snare for him whom he envied.
>
> He went privately to Oroondates, discovered to him his wife's inclinations, and basely and falsely affirmed that Thyamis complied with them. [Reversal of situation through Clarinda].[290]

In Spenser, similarly Radigund's passion for Artegall goes unnoticed by the innocent champion of justice, and that of Malecasta for Britomart is not recognized by that champloness

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[290]R. Smith, The Greek Romances, p. 149.

of chastity. On the other hand, one recalls that Spenser's Clarinda falsely reports that Artegall has learned the extent of Radigund's intentions and remains obstinate to her attentions. As Dodge pointed out in a one sentence paragraph (for emphasis), ". . . Spenser sometimes reverses situations."[291] Attention to the continuing story in Heliodorus will bear out this observation.

Having been banished by the trickery of Petosiris, as cited above, Thyamis returns, with the Greek Theagenes in his company, to reclaim the priesthood of Memphis. When confronted by his force of arms, Arsace porposes:

> . . . Let those who contend for the priesthood engage in single combat, and be the holy dignity the prize of the conqueror. Britomart and Radigund?[292]

In Spenser, Britomart is figuratively the priestess of friendship as she battles Radigund, who represents the priestess of enslaving passion. As Dodge has pointed out, however, their eventual battle may reflect the combat of Brademante and Marfisa (XXVI) in the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto.[293]

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[291] R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, X, n. s. 2 (1897), p. 153.

[292] R. Smith, The Greek Romances, pp. 151-2.

[293] R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, XII 2 (New Series Vol. X, 2), 1897, p. 177.

In Heliodorus, again, Petosiris protests, but he and Thyamis prepare to fight, and just as the two brothers are about to engage in combat, their father, Calasiris,

> . . . who had submitted to voluntary exile, and had supported innumerable perils, both by sea and land, in order to avoid the dreadful sight, was brought to the spot at that very hour, and compelled by inevitable fate to become a witness of the encounter of his sons, as the oracle had long ago foretold he should be.[294]

He intercedes, is finally recognized by his sons, and they receive their father after his ten year's exile, and

> . . . they hastened to crown and invest him again with the ensigns of that dignity, which had nearly been the cause of a bloody contest between them.[295]

In The Faerie Queene, Britomart similarly hastens to crown and invest Artegall with the ensigns of manly dignity. Radigund had caused him to wear women's clothing and to spin wool. Britomart feels that he has been "robde" of his ". . . manly hew. . . ." (V.vii.40.7) As Spenser explains:

> Thenceforth she streight into a bowre him brought,
> And caused him those uncomely weedes undight,
> And in their steede for other rayment sought,
> Whereof there was great store, and armors bright,
> Which had bene reft from many a noble knight;
> Whom that proud Amazon subdewed had,
> Whilest fortune favourd her successe in fight:
> In which when as she him anew had clad,
> She was reviv'd and joyd much in his semblance glad.
> (V.vii.41)

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[294] R. Smith, op. cit., p. 154.

[295] Ibid., p. 156.

Calasiris had been covered ". . . with beggars weeds," and his sons had at first taken him ". . . for some wandering vagrant, who was probably beside himself.[296] Meanwhile, Charicles, also disguised, had seen her lover Theagenes and

> . . . she ran frantickly towards him, and, falling on his neck, embraced him closely, breathing out her passion in inarticulate murmurs. He, when he saw a squalid face, disguised, and industriously discoloured, her tattered garments, and vile appearance, repulsed and threw her from him in disgust.[296]

This passage is obviously very similar to the one in The Faerie Queene in which Britomart can hardly bear the sight of Artegall after she rescues him:

> . . . At last when as to her owne love she came,
> Whom like disguise no lesse deformed had,
> At sight thereof abasht with secret shame,
> She turned her head aside, as nothing glad
> To have beheld a spectacle so bad.
> (V.v.38.1-5)

The lovers, Theagenes and Charicles, are united, although, as she gives him the verbal token which they had agreed upon when they were separated, and he embraces her. All of this time, Arsace has been feasting her eyes upon Theagenes, and she swells with displeasure at this exhibition.[297]

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[296] Ibid., p. 155.

[297] Loc. cit.

During a scene that follows at the Temple of Isis in which old Calasiris, the father, ". . . took the sacred diadem of the priesthood from his own head, and placed it on that of his son Thyamis," Heliodorus reveals, the ". . . keen stings of jealousy sunk deep into the breast of Arsace." Arsace cannot bear the attentions that Theagenes has shown by holding Chariclea's hand. After Thyamis is proclaimed his father's successor, all retire. Meanwhile, Arsace goes to her palace where she is described by Heliodorus as

> . . . a woman ever inclined to sensual passion: and was now inflamed by the beauties and grace of Theagenes, which excelled any she had ever beheld. She continued restless and agitated all night, turning from one side to the other, fetching deep and frequent sighs; now rising up, and again falling back on her couch; now tearing off her clothes, and then again throwing herself upon her bed; calling in her maids without cause, and dismissing them without orders.[298]

In The Faerie Queene, Spenser's Britomart laments for Artegall in a much more temperate manner:

> . . . A while she walkt, and chauft; a while she threw
> Her selfe uppon her bed, and did lament:
> Yet did she not lament with lout alew,
> As women wont, but with deepe sighes, and singulf few
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> (V.vi.13.5-9)

However, the similarity in the two stories, here may indicate Spenser's skillful adaptation of Heliodorus's account

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[298] Ibid., pp. 156-7.

to the immediate needs of his own characterization.

The definite parallels between the two stories become apparent when Heliodorus introduces an old crone, Cybele, the counterpart of Spenser's younger Clarinda, who comes to Arsace's bedchamber and entreats her mistress to disclose the cause of her sufferings, since, as she says to Arsace, ". . . you have more than once made trial of my skill and fidelity."[299]

In Spenser, one may recall that Radigund tests Clarinda's fidelity, but is foiled by the clandestine actions of her maid. Arsace tells Cybele of Theagenes and of the

> . . . Strolling hussy, whose home-spun made up charms have nothing more in them than common, but are, alas! much more fortunate than mine, since they have obtained for her such a lover.[300]

In Spenser, Radigund also discloses her passion to Clarinda. The passage which, then, follows in Heliodorus, makes a striking impression upon one who has previously noted Aristotle's influence upon Spenser's decision to involve Artegall in a situation expressing voluntary adversity:

> . . . The old woman smiled at this, and said, "Be of good cheer, my child; the stranger just now, perhaps, thinks his present mistress handsome; but if I can make him possessor of your

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[299] Ibid., p. 158.

[300] Ibid., p. 159.

> beauties, he will find himself to have exchanged brass for gold, and will look with disdain upon that conceited and saucy strumpet.". . . .[301]

Here, one must recall that passage in which Spenser writes, "So love of soule doth love of bodie passe, / No lesse than perfect gold surmounts the meanest brass." (IV.ix.2) Aristotle had illustrated the essence of goodwill in friendship by quoting the Iliad in the Nicomachean Ethics, noting that Glaucus gave Diomede ". . .Armor of gold for brazen, the price of a hundred beeves for nine."[302] He had used this particular excerpt to show that one may willingly suffer what is unjust, and it has been shown that Spenser followed Aristotle in involving Artegall in the Radigund episode to show that justice is essentially human and involves friendship. One recalls that Artegall had extended goodwill to Radigund and had suffered voluntarily. One might add, here, that Artegall had told Clarinda,

> 'Certes, Clarinda, not of cancred will,'
> Sayd he, 'nor obstinate disdainefull mind,
> I have forbore this duetie to fulfill:
> For well I may weene, by that I fynd,
> That she, a queene, and come of princely kind,
> Both worthie is for to be sewd unto,
> Chiefely by him whose life her law doth bynd,
> And eke of powre her owne doome to undo
> And als' of princely grace to be inclyn'd thereto.
> (V.v.41)

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[301] Loc. cit.

[302] Aristotle, Ethics, p. 384.

Cleverly, Artegall has told Clarinda that it is in Radigund's power to reform herself. Radigund's love is brazen, not golden. Again, she is a moon without a sun. Her love is cold.

The action that follows in Heliodorus is parallel to that which occurs in V.vi. of The Faerie Queene in which, Britomart, having overcome her initial fit of fearful jealousy, rides with Talus to rescue Artegall and encounters false hospitality in the House of Dolon.[303] Through Cybele's designs, Theagenes and Chariclea are removed from the priests' apartments and are taken to Arsace's palace:

> . . . Theagenes and Chariclea did as they were directed. Grief had so overwhelmed their faculties, that they hardly knew what they were about; and in their present forlorn state were willing to fly to any refuge. But could they have foreseen the calamities which awaited them in the house they were about to enter, they would have shrunk back. Fortune, whose sport they were, seemed not to promise them a short space for rest, and a prospect of joy, only to plunge them deeper in misfortune. They went voluntary prisoners; the young, stangers, and unsuspecting, deceived by the fair show of hospitality, they delivered themselves up to their enemy.[304]

Similarly, Talus and Britomart unknowingly allow the show of hospitality to deceive them. They, too, become "voluntary

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[303] R. W. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, X, n. s. 2 (1897) p. 177, points out that Britomart's jealousy corresponds to that of Bradamante when she learns that Ruggiero is betrothed to the warrior maiden, Marfisa.

[304] T. Smith, The Greek Romances, p. 161.

prisoners," just as Artegall knowingly had earlier become a voluntary prisoner. Old Dolon had appeared to Britomart to be most harmless:

> . . . She chaunst to meet toward the even-tide
> A knight, that softly paced on the plaine,
> As if him selfe to solace he were faine.
> Well shot in yeares he seem'd and rather bent
> To peace, then needlesse trouble to constraine;
> As well by view of that his vestiment
> As by his modest semblant, that no evil ment.
> (V.vi.19.3-9)

Dolon salutes Britomart ". . . with curteous words in the most comely wise;"(V.vi.20.ii) and entreats her and Talus to rest that night at his dwelling. Treason is intended, however, and one recalls that after an attempt is made on Britomart's life, she and Talus are required to battle their way out of the difficulty.

As the narration continues in the Aithiopica, Cybele seeks to win the confidence of Charicles and Theagenes once she has arranged for their quarters in Arsace's palace. However, just as Artegall had suspected some guileful treason when Clarinda tried to win him to Radigund (The Faerie Queene V.v.37), Theagenes is wary of Cybele, as the following passage indicates:

> . . . Theagenes, comparing in her [sic.] mind what Cybele now said, with the behavior of Arsace the day before; recollecting how intently she had fixed her eyes upon him, and calling to memory her wanton signs and glances, foreboded no good to himself from what was to follow: he prepared, however, to say something in answer to Cybele,

> when Chariclea whispered in his ear--"Remember that I am your sister in what you are going to say.". . . .[305]

Here, one may note the inventiveness of Chariclea. One recalls again that Britomart, eager to learn of Artegall's character, tells the Redcross Knight that she wishes to hear

> Tydings of one, that hath unto me donne
> Late foule dishonour and reprochfull spright,
> The which I seeke to wreake, and Arthegall
> he hight.
>
> (III.ii.7.7-9)

Britomart, too, is inventive.

Next, in the Aithiopica, Heliodorus has Arsace send for Theagenes, who, having been instructed in how he should address and converse with the Queen, arouses indignation at her court when he will not prostrate himself before her, as Artegall will not figuratively prostrate himself before Radigund. Arsace rationalizes that Theagenes is ". . . a foreigner, unaccostomed to forms, and above all, a Greek, infected with the national contempt towards Persians."[306] Radigund, one recalls, decided to ". . . a while with his first folly beare, / Till Clarinda has tride again, and tempted him more neare." (V.v.48.8-9) Arsace also sends her maid to tempt Theagenes "more near." Cybele goes to Theagenes and magnifies Arsace's goodwill towards him.

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[305] Ibid., p. 162.

[306] Ibid., pp. 163-9.

She extols ". . . the beauties of her person, as well those which appeared to every beholder as those which her attire kept concealed."[307] Finally, Cybele counsels Theagenes, unwittingly in Chariclea's presence, that his refusal of Arsace's offer of love might involve some danger:

> . . . "Women," says she, "tender-hearted and ardent in their desires, are enraged at a repulse, and seldom fail to revenge themselves upon those who overlook their advances. -- Reflect, moreover, that my mistress is a Persian, of the royal family, and has ample means in her hands of rewarding those whom she favours, and punishing those who she thinks have injured her. You are a stranger, destitute, and with no one to defend you. Spare yourself danger, and spare Arsace a disappointment: she is worthy of some regard from you, who has shown and feels such intensity of passion for you: beware of a loving woman's anger, and dread that revenge which follows neglected love. . . ."[308]

Clearly, Spenser has adapted this theme to his own needs. Cybele's advice is exactly that counsel which Spenser's Radigund ordered Clarinda to give to the captive Artegall. In Spenser, however, the handmaid Clarin,

> . . . whyles, heedlesse of the hooke . . .
> For seeking thus to salve the Amazon,
> She wounded was with her deceipts owne dart,
> And gan thenceforth to cast affection
> Conceived close in her beguiled hart,
> To Artegall, through pittie of his
> causelesse smart.
>
> (V.v.43.1-9)

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[307] Ibid., p. 169.

[308] Ibid., p. 171.

The actions of Spenser's Clarina thenceforth involve infidelity to Radigund, and, at the same time, plunge Artegall into a more dangerous relationship with Radigund, who is moved to fury at Clarinda's reports of his obstinancy. Radigund subsequently orders Clarinda to break Artegall's pride by having him put in chains, increasing his labors, and restricting his diet. (V.v.50)

Cybele's infidelity to Arsace, in the Aithiopica, takes another form. She is a Lesbian, and one cannot help feeling that she is jealous of the attentions which Arsace has bestowed upon Theagenes. Cybele had come originally from Lesbos, a Greek island off the coast of Northwest Turkey, where the inhabitants were homosexual women. She had been brought to Arsace as a captive, and she enjoyed ". . . the entire confidence of her mistress. . . ."[309] She encourages Arsace to punish Theagenes when his rejection has driven Cybele's mistress to despair. Then, Cybele advises Arsace,

> . . . when kindness is ineffectual, assume a tone of more severity; let punishments, and even stripes, force from him that compliance which favours have failed in doing. . . Try this method and you will find him give to force that which he refused to mildness.[310]

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[309] Ibid., p. 162.

[310] Ibid., p. 187.

In Spenser's direct reversal of this situation, Radigund instructs Clarinda to ". . . Let him feele hardness of thy heavie arme: / Who will not stoupe with good shall be made to stoupe with harme." (V.v.59.8-9) This similarity constitutes an almost free translation. Moreover, Spenser's Radigund had stormed and raged when she thought of being scorned by ". . . a base born thrall, / Whose life did lie in her least eye-lids fall. . ." (V.v.47.4-5 Heliodorus's Cybele warned Arsace, ". . . You are flattering this youth like a slave, when you should command him like a mistress."[311]

Spenser's Radigund had remained hopeful even after Clarinda's first report, urging Clarinda to use all of her arts before resorting to force. Heliodorus's Arsace also remains somewhat tender hearted. After Cybele suggests the punishment of Theagenes, Arsace replies, ". . . but how can I bear to see that delicate body, which I doat on to destraction, torn with whips, and suffering under tortures?"[312] At length, however, Arsace is persuaded by Cybele to deliver Theagenes to the chief eunuch, Euphrates, for ". . . a few turns of the rack."[313] While Artegall's hardships in his

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[311] Loc. cit.

[312] R. Smith, op. cit., pp. 187-8.

[313] Ibid., p. 188.

thraldom to Radigund are increased by the selfishness of Clarinda, the hardships of Theagenes are knowingly worsened by Cybele. In Heliodorus, Cybele urges Euphrates to increase the severity of Theagenes's tortures, ". . . contrary to the intentions of Arsace, whose object was by moderate chastisement, to bend, but not kill him. . . ."[314] Heliodorus had emphasized from the beginning of this section that Euphrates had received Arsace's instructions ". . . with a savage joy, ranking with the envy natural to his race."[315] He had put Theagenes

> . . . immediately in chains, cast him into a deep dongeon, and punished him with hunger and stripes; keeping all the while a sullen silence; answering none of the miserable youth's inquiries, who pretended (though he well knew the cause) to be ignorant of the reason why he was thus hardly treated.[316]

Heliodorus, then, explains that

> . . . He had increased Theagenes's sufferings every day, far beyond what Arsace knew of or commanded, permitting no one but Cybele to see him; for such were his orders.[317]

All of this time, Heliodorus notes, Theagenes's spirit remained, as Cybele clearly saw,

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[314] Loc. cit.

[315] Loc. cit.

[316] Loc. cit.

[317] Loc. cit.

> . . . unconquered, and seemed to acquire fresh force from the duration of his trials. His body, indeed, was torn with tortures, but his soul was exalted by the consciousness of having preserved its purity and honour. He gloried that while fortune was thus persecuting him she was conferring a boon upon his nobler part --the soul. Rejoicing in this opportunity of showing his fidelity to Chariclea, and hoping only she would some day become acquainted with his sufferings, for her sake he was perpetually calling upon her name and styling her his light! his life! his soul![318]

Similarly, in The Faerie Queene, Spenser makes it clear that Clarinda reports to Radigund that Artegall

> . . . was obstinate and sterne,
> Scorning her offers and conditions vaine;
> Ne would be taught with any terms to lerne
> So fond a lesson as to love againe.
> Die rather would he in penurious paine,
> And his abridged dayes in dolour wast,
> Then his foes love or liking entertaine:
> His resolution was, both first and last,
> His body was her thrall, his hart was freely plast.
>
> (V.v.46)

As one may observe, Spenser in this passage seems to forget, momentarily, that Clarinda is speaking. The last five lines seem to reflect the author's judgment at least as much as Clarinda's wiles. Furthermore, in the opening to Canto vi, following the episode dealing with Artegall's imprisonment at the hands of Radigund, Spenser stresses, ". . . Be well adviz'd that he stand stedfast still" (V.vi.1.7). Artegall remains true to Britomart, as Spenser explains:

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[318]Ibid., p. 189.

> . . . in the streightness of that captive
> state,
> This gentle knight himselfe so well behaved,
> That notwithstanding all the subtill bait,
> With which those Amazons his love still craved,
> To his owne love his loialtie he sayed;
> Whose character in th' adamantine mould
> Of his true hart so firmely was engraved,
> That no new loves impression ever could
> Bereave it thence: such blot his honour
> blemish should.
>
> (V.vi.2)

The striking similarity throughout this section cannot go unnoticed. Artegall is conceived in the image of Theagenes. Clearly, Spenser has adapted this theme to his own needs. These repeated correspondences indicate that Spenser was not vaguely reflecting a literary convention inherent in the Greek romance, but rather, that he was using the Aithiopica directly.

Most assuredly, moreover, Britomart is modeled, to a large extent, upon Chariclea, her counterpart as a championess of chastity. Spenser may have modeled Belphoebe, to some extent, upon Heliodorus's account of Chariclea's youth. Before Chariclea became ensmoured of Theagenes, she had disappointed her guardian, Charicles, by spending ". . . most of her leisure hours in that chase, and with her bow."[319] As a devotee of Diana, she had obstinately refused to marry and was inexhaustible in her praises of virginity, placing it ". . . next the life of the gods--pure, unmixed, uncorrupt. She had been equally skillful in depreciating love and Venus

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[319] Ibid., p. 59.

and marriage."[320] In The Faerie Queene, Belphoebe, like Britomart, is the embodiment of chastity, but unlike Britomart, Belphoebe is inexperienced in the power of love.[321] Like Heliodorus's Charicles, in her youth, Belphoebe rejoices in woodland activities with her bow and arrows and appears to be the type of an individual in whom any call of love is sublimated into boundless vitality. However, the romance of Charicles and Theagenes parallels that of Britomart and Artegall at many points in Spenser's poem.

Early in III, in Spenser's retrospective narration, one learns how the innocent Britomart had looked into her father's magic mirror, a present to him by Merlin, and had become enamoured of Artegall (III.ii.12-16). At this time, the reader was informed by Spenser that she did not realize the cause of her subsequent malady, and thought that she had been plagued with some melancholy. (III.ii.17) Her aged nurse, Glauce, observed her distress and feared that Britomart had been smitten with love. She comforted Britomart and begged her to reveal her secret. (III.ii.30-51)

In Heliodorus's retrospective narrative, through Calasiris one learns that Theagenes and Charicles unknowingly, almost unwillingly, became fascinated and fell in love at

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[320] Loc. Cit.

[321] Frederick M. Padelford, "The Women in Spenser's Allegory of Love," JEGP, XVI (1917), pp. 70-83.

first sight when they viewed one another at the Temple of Isis.[322] At the Pythian games, they are literally thrown together. Theagenes, in complete armor (like Artegall as he appears to Britomart in the mirror), falls upon Charicles's bosom. Then, the narrator, Calasiris, remarks, ". . . not, I imagine, without design, but in appearance as if unable to check on a sudden the rapidity of his pace."[323] Afterwards, Charicles goes home to pass a wretched night in distress. She, too, like Britomart, does not know what her affliction is. Finally, after physicians are sent for, one discovers her malady is not a physical one, but a ". . . mental one--that is, in a word, love. . . ."[324] Her guardian, Charicles, goes to her, begging her to conceal the cause of her sufferings. His counsel which follows is so similar to that which Glauce gives to Britomart in The Faerie Queene, that they may be juxteposed. Charicles had been describing how the thought of love was odious to her and its ". . . very mention contaminated the chast ears of a virgin."[325] However, Calasiris tells his adopted daughter:

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[322] Cf., Hardin Craig, The Enchanted Glass, pp. 43-6.

[323] R. Smith, The Greek Romances, p. 81.

[324] Ibid., p. 85.

[325] Ibid., p. 90.

". . .'I acquiesce, my daughter,' I replied, 'in your silence. I do not blame your reserve, and that for two reasons. In the first place I have no need to be told that which I have before discovered by my art; and then an unwillingness to speak of a matter of this nature, becomes well the modesty of your sex. But since you have at last felt love, and are manifestly smitten by Theagenes (for this the gods have disclosed to me), know that you are not the first, or the only one who has succombed to this passion. It is common to you with many celebrated women, and many maidens in other respects most irreproachable; for love is a very powerful diety, and is said to subdue even the gods themselves. Consider then what is the best to be done in your present circumstances. If it be the greatest happiness to be free from love, the next is, when one is taken captive, to regulate it properly: this you have in your power to do; you can repel the imputation of mere sensual love, and sanctify it with the honourable and sacred name of wedlock.'[326]

Basically this is the same advice that Britomart receives.

Spenser has Glauce tell Britomart:

'Daughter,' said she, "What need ye be dismayd,
Or shy make ye such monster of your mind?
Of much more uncouth thing I was afraid;
Of filthy lust, contrary unto kinde:
But this affection nothing strange I finde;
For who with reason can you aye reprove,
To love the semblant pleasing most your minde,
And yield your heart whence ye cannot remove,
No guilt in you, but in the tyranny of love.

(III.ii.40)

Later, Spenser has Merlin tell Britomart:

. . . 'It was not, Britomart, thy wandring eye,
Glauncing unwares in charmed looking glas,
But the streight course of hevenly destiny

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[326] Loc. cit.

> Led with Eternal Providence, that has
> Guyded thy glaunce, to bring His will to pas;
> No is thy fate, no is thy fortune ill,
> To love the prowest knight that ever was:
> Therefore submit thy wayes unto His will,
> And doe, by all dew meanes, thy destiny
> fulfill
>
> (III.iii.24)

Both Chariclea and Britomart are advised to accept their fates and to fulfill their destinies. Whereas Merlin attributes Britomart's fate to divine providence, the Egyptian priest, on the other hand, informs Chariclea that her plight is, similarly, the fate of the gods themselves.

Yet another parallel in the two romances may be observed. The reader learns that Britomart becomes bethrothed to Artegall after he overwhelms her in combat in the crucial central episodes in V. Artegall woos Britomart, and she relents, at last, and yields her consent ". . . To be his love, and take him for her lord, / Till they with marriage meet might finish that accord. (IV.vi.41.7-9) She agrees, though, ". . . at last." (IV. vi.41.6) She agrees only after he has made many vows and oaths. Theagenes, too, is required to swear oaths which obligate him to show respect to Chariclea after she consents to be his wife. He swears ". . . by the Pythian Apollo, by Diana, by Venus herself, and the loves, that he could conform to the will of Chariclea . . . ."[327]

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[327] Ibid., p. 98.

Also, as are Britomart and Artegall, Chariclea and Theagenes are separated several times. In addition to these parallels, there is a further correspondence in an episode toward the end of Heliodorus's Aithiopica which attests to the correspondences between Chariclea and Britomart. Just as the fire guarding the entrance to the House of Busirane will not burn Spenser's Britomart (III.xi.22-25), the fire at the altar to the sun god will not burn Chariclea. In this episode in the Aithiopica, one learns that the law had required ". . . a male to be offered to the Sun, and a female to the Moon."[328] Persinia, the king's wife, thinks that Chariclea is a Greek, like Theagenes, because her skin is white. The two lovers are among the prisoners to be sacrificed. The fire altar had been prepared and each of the captives

> . . . was then ordered to ascend it. It was furnished with golden bars of such mystic virtue, that whenever any unchaste or perjured person placed his foot upon it, it burnt him immediately and he was obliged to retire: the pure, on the contrary, and the uncontaminated, could mount it uninjured.[329]

Theagenes, in his turn, ascends the altar and is found to be pure.[330] At this point in the narration, Theagenes urges

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[328] Ibid., p. 234.

[329] Ibid., pp. 234-5.

[330] Loc. cit.

Chariclea to avoid sacrifice by revealing herself to be the king's daughter, urging that her intercession might preserve him, but pointing out that if it did not, he would know that she would be safe and he could die ". . . with comfort and satisfaction."[331] But, she remains firm, and says,

> ". . . Our trial now approaches--our fate trembles in the balance," --So saying, and without awaiting any command, she drew from out of a scrip which she had with her, and put on, her sacred Delphic robe, interwoven and glittering with rays of light. She let her hair fall dishevelled [Like Britomart in III.ix.10] upon her shoulders, and as under the influence of inspiration, leaped upon the altar and remained there a long time, unhurt.[332]

Her beauty, like Britomart's when it is revealed (as in IV.i.13), dazzled every beholder, for

> . . . visible to all from this elevated place, and with her peculiar dress, she resembled an image of the goddess Isis more than a mere mortal maiden.[333]

Here, one may recall that Britomart is conceived in the Image of Isis (V.vii.), and when Artegall sees Britomart's face after overwhelming her in combat (IV.vi.19-22), he thinks ". . . some heavenly goddesse he did see. . . ." (IV.vi.13,4) As the story continues in the Aithiopica, the multitude is confounded when it sees Chariclea in all her

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[331] Ibid., p. 235.

[332] Loc. cit.

[333] Loc. cit.

beauty:

> . . . An inarticulate murmur of applause ran through the multitude, expressive of their surprise and admiration, that with charms so superhuman, she should have preserved her honour, enhancing her beauty by her chastity. Yet they were almost sorry that she was found a pure and fitting victim for the goddess. . . .[334]

But like Artegall whose hand will not hold his sword after beholding ". . . so divine a beauties excellence. . ." in Britomart's face (IV.vi.21.9), the Gymnosophists refuse to carry out the king's order of sacrifice. They had judged ". . . from various divine tokens, and particularly from a kind of glory shed around these strangers that they were under the particular protection of the gods. . . ."[335]

In The Faerie Queene, Artegall sees

> And round about the same, Britomart's yellow heare,
> Having through stirring loosd their wonted band,
> Like to a golden border did appeare. . . .
> (IV.vi.20.1-3)

The striking similarity should not go unnoticed.

In the Aithiopica, again, the priests prepare to retire into the temple. Chariclea leaps from the altar and begs their president to stay and listen to her plea before the king and queen. Equity is the substance of her argument as she declares ". . . it is neither possible nor just that

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[334] Loc. cit.

[335] Ibid., p. 236.

I should be sacrificed to the gods."[336] She hastens to point out that the law does not command the king to sacrifice natives, but only foreigners, and she proves herself to be not only a native, but the king's own child whom he had been told had ". . . died as soon as it was born."[337] The king had been reluctant to ". . . enter into a judicial dispute with a slave," but a sage had told him that ". . . he is king in judgment who prevails by strength of argument," and had added,

> . . . your office gives you the right of deciding only when a controversy arises between the king and his subjects, not between him and foreigners," -- "Justice," said Sismithres, "is weighed among the wise, not by mere appearances, but by facts."[338]

One should recall, here, the Aristotelian precept that justice exists only between those persons whose actions are governed by mutual compact.

In the intricate denouement which follows in the Aithiopica, Charicles declares herself to be the wife of Theagenes in order to save him, even though she has been declared a virgin. Their spiritual union finally is accepted, and the practice of human sacrifice is abolished. The point

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[336] Loc. cit.

[337] Ibid., p. 239.

[338] Ibid., pp. 236-7.

to be made, here, is that as Britomart echoes Charicles throughout the book, she also exhibits a ". . . masculine firmness and presence of mind which she evinces in situations of peril and difficulty. . . ."[339]

Other correspondences between the Aithiopica and The Faerie Queene are sufficient to indicate that Spenser kept Heliodorus's work in mind as he composed his epic. For example, in an early chapter in the Aithiopica, old Calasiris tells that ". . . the fated revolution of the heavenly bodies altered every thing; the eye of Saturn scowled upon my family and portended a change in my fortunes for the worse. . . ."[340] As Spenser pointed out the revolutions of the cosmos, in the prologue to V, he stressed the insight of ". . . those Aegyptian wizards old," and noted that ". . . Saturne, that was wont be best," is next only to Mars in being shifted out of place. (Proem, viii). One may also recall that in the Aithiopica, the Thracian woman who had caused Calasiris to leave the priesthood rather than to disgrace it had come ". . . in 'revel-rout' to Memphis and that a particularly irresistable witchery had ". . . accompanied the eyes of this fair harlot."[341] In The Faerie

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[339] Ibid., p. xi.

[340] Ibid., p. 50.

[341] Ibid., p. 51.

Queene, Britomart tells Talus that she thinks Artegall is ". . . in harlots bondage tide. . . ." (V.vi.40.4-5) The chariot ornamented ". . . after the Persian Monarchs antique guize," upon which Canacee makes her entrance (IV.iii.38), bears a strong resemblance to the chariot which carries Chariclea from the temple of Diana in Heliodorus's Aithiopica. Although Canacee's chariot is drawn by two grim lions instead of two white oxen, a nearby stanza furnishes a clue to its possible adaptation in Spenser. The rod of peace which Canacee carries has two serpents wound about it ". . . Entayled mutually in lovely lore, and by the tailes together firmely bound." (IV.iii.41.2) Similarly, the girdle around Chariclea's waist in the chariot scene,

> . . . on which the artist had exerted all his skill . . . represented two serpents, whose tails interlaced behind her shoulders, their necks knotted beneath her bosom, and their heads, disentangled from the knot, hung down on either side as an appendage: so well were they imitated, that you would say they really glided onward. . . .[342]

The similarity, again, is striking. If one persists in doubting that Spenser used the Aithiopica to a great extent, he need only be shown that there is a strong resemblance between Spenser's Lady of Delight at Castle Joyeous in III.i. and Heliodorus's depiction of Arsace. Spenser's description

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[342] Ibid., p. 66.

of Malecasta parallels so fittingly Heliodorus's account of Arsace that one has little cause for doubt in matters of source:

> . . . Thence they were brought to that great ladies vew,
> Whom they found sitting on a sumptuous bed,
> That glistred all with gold and glorious show,
> As the proud Persian queenes accustomed:
> She seemd a woman of great bountihed
> And of rare beautie, saving that askaunce
> Her wanton eyes, ill signes of womanhed,
> Did roll too lightly, and too often glaunce,
> Without regard of grace or comely amenaunce.
> (III.1.41)

Malecasta thinks that Britomart is a man, and

> . . . gan enamoured to wex
> And with vaine thoughts her falsed fancy vex:
> Her fickle hart conceived hasty fyre,
> Like sparkes of fire which fall in slender flex,
> That shortly brent into extreme desyre,
> And ransack all her veines with passion entyre.
> (III.1.47)

Recalling that Arsace's maid was a Lesbian, the conjecture that Spenser is cleverly engaging in a double entendre, here, in the Malecasta-Britomart episode, leads to a highly intriguing supposition. One cannot help feeling that Spenser is suggesting what one might call a microcosm-macrocosm relationship between Britomart and Gloriana, who is Queen Elizabeth in the historical allegory. Spenser announced in the letter to Raleigh that he intended to shadow forth Queen Elizabeth in ". . . some places els," and identified Belphoebe as a reflection of the Queen.[343]

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[343] R. E. Neil Dodge, The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

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[343] R. E. Neil Dodge, The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh," p. 136.

He repeats the same idea at the end of the proem to III. De Moss not only observes that Britomart is Queen Elizabeth's counterpart, but also argues that Britomart represents Elizabeth as well as Chastity.[344] The logical extension of this hypothesis is amusing. There is no doubt, however, that Malecasta reflects Arsace. Malecasta is

> . . . given all to fleshly lust,
> And poured forth in sensuall delight,
> That all regard of shame she had discust,
> And meet respect of honor putt to flight:
> So shamelesse beauty soone becomes a
> loathly sight.
>
> (III.i.47.5-9)

Malecasta throws crafty glances at Britomart, but the championess is unaware of her intentions. It is a simple matter, here, to imagine Arsace as Radigund lusting after Artegall in the later episode in V.

It is obvious that Spenser throughout this passage is adapting situation and character from Heliodorus's Aithiopica. The only exception concerns Spenser's use of a crocodile to represent Artegall in the allegory. Nowhere in Heliodorus is Osiris conceived in the image of a crocodile. The only example of what might be labeled as animism or totemism in the Aithiopica concerns an optical illusion

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[344] William Penn De Moss, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues, 'According to Aristotle,'" MP, XVI (May, 1918), pp. 35-7.

in which a bull and a horse are involved. In an episode toward the end of the book, the priests are preparing to sacrifice four white horses, ". . . the swiftest of animals to the swiftest of the gods the Sun ; to the Moon, a yoke of oxen, consecrating to her, as being the nearest the earth, their assistants in agriculture."[345] Before the animals are sacrificed, however, Theagenes mounts a horse and overtakes a fleeing bull and mingles, ". . . the breath and sweat of both animals, and so equalizing their courses, that they who were at a distance might imagine their heads had grown together."[346] In the main, however, Heliodorus emphasizes that Osiris is connected with the sun and Isis with the moon. It is this element that Spenser's allegory dwells upon in the Temple of Isis scene in V. Possibly, he was intrigued by the fact that the crocodile was a sacred animal among the Egyptians. As Greenlaw has pointed out, possibly Spenser had Plutarch's crocodile, Typon, in mind when he portrayed Osiris as a crocodile.[347] With Spenser, however, Osiris clearly stands for the sun.

In any event, Britomart encounters priests in the

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345 H. Smith, The Greek Romances, p. 250.

346 Ibid., p. 250.

347 Edwin Greenlaw, "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," SP, XX (April, 1923) p. 241.

Temple of Isis in V.vii. wearing

> . . . rich mitres shaped like the moone,
> To show that Isis doth the moone portend;
> Like as Osyris signifies the sunne:
> For that they both like race in equall
> justice runne.
>
> (V.vii.4.6-9)

Perhaps the spectacle in Heliodorus's Aithiopica of Theagenes's "equalizing" the courses of the bull and the horse, animals to be sacrificed to Osiris and Isis, had something to do with Spenser's imagery in the description above. (". . . like race in equall justice runne.") Spenser's priests are vowed to celibacy (V.vii.9), and in Heliodorus, the priestly class ". . . despises common amours [Although the succession to the Egyptian priesthood was hereditary]."[348] Again, Spenser's priests, like Heliodorus's Charicles, are obliged to abstain from wine and all animal food (V.xx.10-11).[349] Osiris is pictured by Spenser as a crocodile with his tail wrapped around the goddess Isis. Spenser may have read in the Aithiopica Calasiris's following description of the gods which manifest themselves to the sages in human form:

> . . . You know them by their eyes; they look upon you with a fixed gaze, never winking with their eye-lids -- still more by their motion, which is a kind of gliding, an aerial impulse, without movement of the feet, cleaving rather than traversing the air: for which reason the images of the Egyptian gods have their feet joined together,

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[348] R. Smith, The Greek Romances, p. 20.

[349] Ibid., p. 74.

and in a manner united.[350]

The entertwining of Osiris with Isis, in Spenser, approximates this basic concept of union.

In Britomart's vision in the Temple of Isis, the crocodile also represents Artegall (V.vii.23). When Britomart sees herself in the image of Isis, Spenser establishes the concept of equality between Artegall and Britomart in the terms of equality between Osiris and Isis. After the dream is interpreted to Britomart by one of the priests, Britomart learns that she is to become "enwombed" by Artegall and bring forth a "lion-like sonne." (V.vii.12-23). In the Aithiopica, on the other hand, Thyamis, a pirate captain who has captured Charicleia, has a dream vision in which he, too, believes he is in the temple of Isis:

> . . . he saw it shining with the splendour of a thousand lighted lamps; the altars were filled with bleeding victims of all sorts [Amoret at the House of Busirane?]; all the avenues of the temple were crowded with people, and resounded with the noise of the passing throngs. When he had penetrated to the inmost sanctuary of the edifice, the goddess seemed to meet him, to give Charicleia into his hands, and to say, "O Thyamis, I deliver this maiden to you; but though having you shall not have her; but shall be unjust, and kill your guest; yet she shall not be killed." -- This dream troubled him, and he turned it every way in his mind; at length, wearied with conjectures, he wrested its significance to his own wishes. You shall have her, and not have her; that is, you shall have her as a wife, not

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[350] Ibid., p. 74.

> as a virgin: and for the killing, he understood it to mean: thou shalt wound her virginity, but the wound shall not be mortal. And thus, led by his desires, he interpreted his vision.[351]

One cannot be absolutely certain that this account had any bearing upon Spenser. Nevertheless, the fact that it was available to him in this source, and the obvious similarity in the interpretations involving the pregnancy of the respective heroines lead one to believe that Spenser may have been influenced by this passage.

All of the foregoing observations upon Spenser's indebtedness to Heliodorus point up one important conclusion. When Dodge assessed Spenser's indebtedness to Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, he noted that one might find Spenser adopting situations ". . . not infrequently, but giving them such a peculiar turn that they are hardly recognizable."[352] Dodge believed that

> . . . One has only to set these situations side by side with their originals to perceive that Spenser had small genius for situation. They are anything but vivid; indeed, we hardly think of them as situations at all; they are mere groups of narrative fact.[353]

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[351] Ibid., p. 19.

[352] H. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Aristo," PMLA, X, n. s. 2 (1897), p. 181.

[353] Ibid., p. 188.

Furthermore, Dodge concluded,

> . . . It is of course evident that Spenser did not need effective situations for the Faerie Queene. Ariosto, aiming at narrative variety and the like, would find them indespensible; Spenser in a poem chiefly reflective and picturesque, would find no use for them.[354]

Here, one must disagree emphatically with Dodge's conclusion. Because The Faerie Queene is a reflective poem, a highly didactic poem, Spenser did need effective situations. In borrowing from Heliodorus's Aithiopica for characters and situations for his Radigund episodes, Spenser highlighted the significance of his moral allegory of friendship and justice. His use of the Aithiopica for his Temple of Isis scenes, moreover, vividly illustrates the concept of equality between Britomart and Artegall. A quick review will show that Spenser is adapting Heliodorus effectively. He is permitting his moral allegory to guide him as he re-casts situations and character. For example, he involves Artegall in subjection to Radigund in order to reveal the concept that friendship has goodwill at its basis. Furthermore, he changes Cybele's character in order to present Clorinda as a second illustration of the faults which derive from a love that is not based upon the expression of goodwill for another's sake. The situation that he has created reveals

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[354] Ibid., pp. 183-4.

that equity and justice can only prevail where those involved wish one another well-being. To this situation, he has devised a means of adding an illustration to show that Britomart and Artegall not only represent equity and justice, but that they are equals in merit, a concept essential to the Aristotelian definition of friendship. Here, Spenser has laid the foundation for a realization that friendship in the domestic sphere of life can be reflected in the civil sphere of man's activities. Artegall represents justice. The continuing allegory of V bears out his message. One must credit Spenser with a genius for adapting character and situation, and also for organizing his adaptations into a meaningful allegory.

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITOMART-ARTEGALL UNION AS AN EXPRESSION OF DOMINANT THEME

As situation and characterization complement the function of Spenser's continuing allegory in V, the Britomart-Artegall union emerges as a touchstone to other relationships and episodes in The Faerie Queene.

Having discovered the meaning of her vision at the Temple of Isis, Britomart seeks Radigund in single combat. Britomart scorns the haughty Amazon's proposal that she should serve Radigund if overcome in battle. Spenser reflects, ". . . For her no other terms should ever tie / Then what prescribed were by lawes of chevalrie." (V.vii.28.8-9) Like Charicles in the Aithiopica, Britomart knows that justice and equity can be prescribed only within the fabric of the compact of state. Her allegiance is to chivalry, and she considers Radigund's rules foreign to her own and, consequently, inoperative. Moreover, she has learned the danger of voluntarily submitting to harm as a result of her experience at the House of Dolon. She has little patience with Radigund. In pain from her own would, in revenge of Artegall's distress, and in anger at the Amazon's taunts, Britomart chops off Radigund's head after

> . . . her so rudely on the helmit smit,
> That it empierced to the very braine,
> And Radigund's proud person low
> prostrated on the plaine.
> (V.vii.22-33.7-9)

It is paramount to the allegory, here, that Britomart overcome Radigund. True love in friendship (an attraction of virtuous equals who wish one another goodwill for the other's sake, yet benefit in turn from that expression) must overcome mere sensual enslavement. Radigund had been selfish, and, as Spenser earlier wrote of the Lady of Delight,

> . . . this was not to love, but lust inclined;
> For love does alwaies bring forth bounteous
> deeds,
> And in each gentle hart desire of honor breeds.
> (III.i.49.vii-ix)

Britomart is not selfish. She restores Artegall's masculine dignity. As the priestess of friendship, she overcomes the priestess of self-centered sensual captivity. Here, one must observe that Britomart's chastity is not mere feminine temperance, or continence, but a quality most necessary to pure Aristotelian friendship. Her chastity recognizes the sanctity of the individual. It is the pure and equitable agent of friendship in the community of souls in marriage that glorifies that domestic relationship and makes it, for Spenser, desirable. Her chastity is the equity in civil affairs that purifies and makes justice noble. Paradoxically, this chastity becomes the unlimited extension of the best

good that Artegall could have bestowed upon himself because it stems from the most valuable ingredient in love--selflessness. One is led to feel, moreover, that Britomart would not be the kind of bride who would find bodily communion a hindrance to spiritual communion.

The blossoming allegory here not only presents chastity triumphing over shamefastness, but it presents selflessness triumphing over selfishness, as well. Moreover, this involvement of Britomart and Artegall and Radigund has shown that while justice is basically human, equity cannot exist outside the realm of laws by which individuals seek to attain to felicity. On the domestic level, Radigund cannot gain Artegall's free goodwill under her conditions of dominance because her terms violate natural law. Britomart, whose love for Artegall operates within the laws of nature, can and does win Artegall's free goodwill.

This same basic motif is observable in the Mutability Cantos (VII) in which Spenser narrates the attempt of the Titaness, Mutability, to unseat Jove, who is the embodiment of spiritual government. Mutability would claim the power of change in the heavens as well as on the earth. Nature tries the case, and a victory is awarded to Jove, but Spenser makes it clear that the ". . . true victory is in the assertion of a law in nature that rules gods and men alike. . . ."[355]

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[355] Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and Lucretius," SP, XVII (January, 1920), p. 455.

Dame nature concludes,

> 'I well consider all that ye have sayd,
> And find that all things stedfastnes doe hate
> And changed be: yet being righly wayd,
> They are not changed from their first estate;
> But by their change their being doe dilate:
> And turning to themselves at length again,
> Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate. . . .
> (VII.vii.85.1-7)

Spenser, here, is acknowledging the power of natural law. Similarly, in wishing Artegall goodwill for his sake, Britomart, in turn, reaps the benefits of a naturally reciprocal relationship. One recalls that when Britomart, in III, had come upon Amoret, bound to a pillar in the House of Busirane, before her

> . . . the vile enchanter sate
> Figuring straunge characters of his art:
> With living blood he those characters wrote,
> Dreadfully dropping from her dying heart,
> Seeming transfixed with a cruell dart;
> And all perforce to make her him to love.
> Ah! who can love the worker of her smart?
> (III.xii.31.1-7)

As Spenser points out, in this counterpart to the Radigund-Artegall relationship, who can love the worker of one's smart?

It is significant that in the central book of friendship, Spenser plunges Amoret into the cave of Lust, where she later returns to free Aemylia from the wild man who

> . . . lived all on ravin and on rape
> Of men and beasts; and fed on fleshly gore,
> The sign whereof yet stain'd his bloudy lips afore.
> (IV.vii.5.7-9)

One may recall that the vivid contrast to friendship that this fiend exhibits, was foreshadowed in III by Amoret's imprisonment in the House of Busirane. The same situation has its counterparts throughout III in Florimell's escapades with the witche's son (III.vii), with the lusty old fisherman who tries to rape her (III.viii), and with Proteus, who, like Hadigund, tries every means to work his will upon his captive (III.vii.39-41). At the other extreme, in relation to V, Spenser illustrates the repeated situation in his book of Courtesy, wherein he has Sir Calepine rescue Serena from the savages who had lasciviously cast lots upon the parts of her naked body. (VI.vii.39) Clearly, ideal love in friendship, which involves courtesy, is a dominant theme in Spenser.

It is significant to the allegory in V, that Spenser creates Britomart and Artegall as virtuous equals. As counterparts to Isis and Osiris, they reflect the Aristotelain tenet that the most perfect friendship can only exist in those wedded to the highest virtue. In IV, on friendship, one may recall that the relation of Britomart and Artegall is set in sharp contrast to the barren relation of Sir Blandamour and the false Duessa. Spenser has emphasized at the opening of IV that . . .

> It often fals (as here it earst befell)
> That mortall foes doe turne to faithfull friends
> And friends profest are chaungd to foemen fell;
> The cause of both, of both their minds depends,

> And th' end of both, likewise of both their ends:
> For enmitie, that of no ill proceeds,
> But of occasion, with th' occasion ends:
> And friendship, with a faint affection breeds
> Without regard of good, dyes like ill grounded
> seeds.
>
> (IV,iv.1)

One may recall that Britomart and Artegall are betrothed in IV after they fight. Britomart had made hasty work of Artegall (the Salvage Knight), Cambell, Triamond, and Blandamour in Satyrane's tournament for the love of the snowy Florimell. (IV.v.44-7) Later, Scudamore had encouraged Artegall to win back the false Florimell for him, and, when Artegall and Britomart had fought for the second time, Artegall had overcome her. They become accorded, however, and Spenser has them vow their intention to marry, eight stanzas later. Even the account of their battles reflects their equality. Throughout Book IV, moreover, one finds negative examples of friendship which fail because they are not founded on virtue. Paridell and Blandamore, for example, ride along together

> . . . In Friendly sort, that lasted but a while,
> And of all old dislikes they made faire weather;
> Yet all was forg'd and spred with golden foyle,
> That under it hidde hate and hollow guyle.
> Ne certes can that friendship long endure,
> How ever gay and goodly be the style,
> That doth ill cause or evill end endure:
> For vertue is the band that bindeth harts most sure.
>
> (IV.ii.29)

Spenser makes it clear that virtue is the band that binds Britomart and Artegall.

The remaining cantos in V might seem somewhat anticlimactic if Artegall did not go forward in a series of successes. Almost immediately, he encounters Prince Arthur, and their equality is established. Not knowing that it is Arthur whom he is battling, Artegall gives his foe a "Roland for his Oliver":

> . . . So both anon
> Together met, and strongly either strooke
> And broke their speares; yet neither has forgon
> His horses backe, yet to and fro long shooke,
> And tottred like two towres, which through a
> tempest quooke.
>
> (V.viii.9.5-9)

As they draw their swords, Samient, the damsel whom they both had been seeking to defend, steps between them and informs them that her Paynim assailants both lie dead and that they have been addressing the same cause. Artegall had killed the one nearer the fleeing Samient, and Arthur the one farther behind. When Arthur arrived, Artegall had mistaken him for the second Paynim, and, conversely, Arthur had thought Artegall to be the first.

In description, the chase of Samient parallels that of Florimell at the beginning of III. Both maidens cast their eyes backward as they fled (III.i.16.1 and V.viii.4.9). Guyon, Arthur, and Timias had gone to Florimell's rescue. One may recall that prior to the Florimell chase, Britomart had unhorsed Guyon, and, after Guyon's palmer (reason) pacified Guyon:

> . . . Thus reconcilement was between them knitt,
> Through goodly temperaunce and affection chaste;
> And either vowd with all their power and witt,
> To let not others honour be defaste,
> Of friend or foe, who ever it embaste,
> Ne armes to beare against the others syde:
> In which accord the Prince was also plaste
> And with that golden chaine of concord tyde.
> So goodly all agreed, they forth yfere did ryde.
> (III.i.12)

Britomart, one may note, had already vowed friendship with Prince Arthur. After the chasing of Samient, Artegall, like Britomart, estsblishes the friendship of sworn brotherhood with Arthur:

> Either embracing other lovingly,
> And swearing faith to either on his blade,
> Never thenceforth to nourish enmity,
> But either others cause to maintaine mutually.
> (V.vii.14.6-9)

Here, once again, an agent of reason, this time Samient, has forestalled injustice through ignorance. Artegall, reflecting Aristotle's tenet which states that one is responsible for his actions even though he commits them in ignorance, begs Arthur's pardon, and Arthur acknowledges his own mistake (V.vii.13).[356]

In the episode that follows, Artegall and Arthur plan to put an end to the subversive tactics of the Souldan (Spain) and his wicked wife Adicia (injustice), who had been the cause of Samient's flight. Artegall disguises

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[356]Aristotle, Ethics, pp. 337; 378.

himself in the armor of one of the dead Pagan knights, and pretends to take Samient captive into the Souldan's court to present her to Adicia. Talus, here, becomes Prince Arthur's page by Artegall's order and is told to wait outside the castle until Artegall gains entry (V.viii.29.6-9). Once Artegall is inside with Samient, Arthur shouts his defiance and demands the prisoner. After devoting fifteen verses to the battle between Arthur and the Souldan, Spenser, then, has the Prince hang the Pagan on a tree before the castle door (V.viii.45). Adicia runs to avenge her husband upon the prisoner, Samient, but Artegall forces the knife from her hands. One may recall that in III, Britomart had forced the knife from Busirane's hand and had caused the knife to be removed from Amoret's bosom as she forced the enchanter to reverse his evil designs. (III.vii.32; III.xiii. 36-38) Overcome by hysteria, Adacia runs out of the castle into the woods, like Malbecco in III, where she, also, lives among the wild beasts in a den (V.ix.2.3). Spenser comments, ". . . Where none may be with her lewd parts defyled, / Nor none but beasts may be of her despoyled." (V.ix.2.4-5) Both the accounts of her transformation into a tiger and Malbecco's transformation into a personification of jealousy remind one of the episode at the end of II, in which Guyon, having destroyed the Bower of Bliss, instructs his palmer to reverse the work of the enchantress Acrasia and turn the

hideous beasts found there back into men. In this episode, Grylle, having forgotten ". . . the excellence of his creation," chose to remain in his hoggish form (II.xii.77.3). Since Spenser felt that Tigers excelled in boldness and were cruel and ferocious, he indicates that he felt he had done justice to Adicia's character (V.iii.49 - V.ix.2). There is an indication that the poet may have had in mind the end of the Malbecco episode which corresponds to this situation. As the Souldan's knights are put to rout, Spenser writes, ". . . like wyld goates them chaced all about." (V.ix.1.7) One may recall that in III.x. following Paradell's rape of Hellenore, Malbecco had tried to win his wife back as he found her among the Satyres, veritable rams of sexual vitality. (III.x.48) Malbecco had fittingly illustrated his goat-like indulgence toward his young wife when

> Upon his hands and feete he crept full light,
> And like a gote emongst the goates did rush,
> That through the help of his faire false
> hornes on hight,
> And misty dampe of misconceyving night,
> And eke through likenesse of his gotish beard,
> He did the better counterfeite aright. . . .
> (III.x.47.1-7)

At any turn, the imagery that Spenser used in the Adicia episode casts appropriate overtones. Adicia had over-indulged her passion for power and had been jealous, as had been Malbecco in a more domestic situation.

In ix., Artegall and Arthur do not immediately make their way to Mercilla's palace, but, upon learning of Malengrin from Samient, they plan to catch the villain by using Samient as bait. Malingrin is an ugly creature, like the wild man who abducts Amoret in III, but he uses guile instead of force. The hook that Malingrin carries might be interpreted as a symbol for erotic love. Spenser habitually uses this familiar term in reference to erotic fixation. Like Clarinda, many of his female types are ". . . heedless of the hook." (V.v.43.1) Malingrin, grinning like Lust in the Amoret episode, symbolically rapes Samient by catching her in his net after seducing her into tranquility by his charms. Paridell figuratively accomplished the same design when he charmed Helenore at the supper table in Malbecco's castle, where he employed Ovid's formula for conversing in the sign language of adulterous love before her husband.[357] He knocked over the fruit plate and poured his wine to overflowing ". . . Which well she redd out of the learned line, / A sacrament prophane in mystery of wine." (III.ix.30.8-9) In turn she had spilled wine into her lap, and, as Spenser commented, ". . . Thus was the ape / By their faire handling, put into Malbeccoes cape." (III.ix.31.8-9) Once Paridell

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357Ovid, The Art of Love, I, Elegy IV, in Rolfe Humphries (tr.), The Loves, The Art of Beauty, The Remedies for Love, and The Art of Love, p. 17-18.

had tired of Hellenore, however, he had cast her aside, ". . . For having filcht her bells, he up her cast / To the wide world, and let her fly along; / He nould be clogd, So had he served many one. . . ." (III.x.35.7-9) As Artegall chases this similar form of incontinent guile (V.ix.27.7), Malengrin changes forms. In III, Britomart had learned about the transformations of Cupid and the gods in the name of ". . . love, and al of lusty-hed. . ." from the tapestries inside Busirane's palace. (III.xi.29.3) In that episode, Britomart had been called upon to undo the engines of Amoret's torment, and in the present episode, Artegall is required to put an end to a similar form of incontinence. Finally, Talus destroys Malengrin, and Spenser emphasizes, ". . . So did deceipt the selfe deceiver fayle." (V.ix.19.7)

At the palace of Mercilla, Artegall and Arthur witness the trial of false Duessa, who is judged out of political necessity rather in vengeance. In x, Prince Arthur fights for Belgae (The Netherlands) and Artegall finally goes on his original mission. In xi., Arthur finishes with Belgae and Spenser turns the narrative back to Artegall. In xii., Artegall fights Grantorto and slays him. He has learned mercy, however, at Mercilla's court, and, having knocked his opponent to the ground,

> . . . Whom when he saw prostrated on the plaine,
> He lightly reft his head, to ease him of his pain.
> (V.xii.23.8-9)

Again, his mission is conceived in terms of political necessity, and at the end, as throughout the second half of V, Artegall is chastening Talus.

The impact of V, though, comes in a realization of the interrelationships of equity and justice, and of continence in both the domestic and civil spheres of life. In III, Spenser had urged

> And ye, faire ladies, that your kingdomes make
> In th' harts of men, them governe wisely well,
> And of faire Britomart ensample take
> That was as trew in love as turtle to her make.
> (III.xi.2.6-9)

In V, one realizes that Spenser has joined the most sacred of the domestic virtues with the chiefest social virtue. As he said he would do, he has "overgone" Ariosto's Orlando Furioso in which love leads to madness. Britomart is not an Ovidian Corinna, and Artegall does not seek an affair with her hairdresser. Spenser shows that friendship is the key to human relationships and that concord and discord tremble in the balance. Spenser shows that all ties can be seen to succeed or fail on the basis of whether friendship is pure or impure. Those relationships illustrated in The Faerie Queene which have pleasure or utility, commodity or material gain as their basis do not endure. The crowning relationship of Britomart and Artegall not only endures, but persists because it is founded upon the mutual expression and mutual recognition of goodwill. It is clear that Aristotle's

theory of friendship has been Spenser's guiding principle throughout.

Spenser has therefore provided the reader with sufficient incentive to make the broader realization that justice, equity, and friendship involve the worship of prudence, temperance, and sanctity of the individual. These are the dominant themes throughout The Faerie Queene. Justice becomes as much a part of III, where Spenser expresses a philosophy of love in the negation of Cupid, as it is a part of V, where he affirms friendship. Holiness, temperance, and courtesy all assume a affinity with chastity and justice. Spenser's theme of friendship becomes an elemental charge, stimulating the movement and action of The Faerie Queene. At its neural axis, both of allegorical intensity and artistic structure, is the Britomart-Artegall friendship story.

In seeking an emblem for The Faerie Queene, one may fittingly envision young Britomart, looking at her lover Artegall in the mirror of Venus. He is dressed in the armor of Achilles (III.ii.25). He is the sun, outshining all others on the battle field. In beholding him, Britomart is beholding herself as his mate: they are one soul in two lives, perfect friends, and Spenser has declared that their union has been destined by God (III.iii.24). Surely their travails are meaningful. Through them, Spenser applies

"Love's Cure," not in the Ovidian sense, but in the sense of all human relationships. With this perspective, one concludes that The Faerie Queene is not finished, yet not incomplete: the flower of friendship has blossomed.

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