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"WHAT THE LYON MENT": ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LION IN THE POETRY OF EDMUND SPENSER

Rice University

PH.D. 1984

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by

ELIZABETH FURLONG ALKAAOUD

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

"WHAT THE LYON MENT": ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LION IN THE POETRY OF EDMUND SPENSER

by

ELIZABETH FURLONG ALKAAOUD

Based on the primary assumption that Spenser's poetic imagery is indissolubly united to his conceptual meaning and that neither imagery nor meaning can be properly understood apart from each other nor apart from the poet's stated didactic intention, this study examines the resonances of the lion imagery (i.e., its visual rhyme) and the resonances of the meanings implicit in that imagery (its conceptual rhyme) in order to demonstrate that the unity of those resonances consistently reflects, in little, the architectonic unity of The Faerie Queene.

The function of the lion imagery in the minor poems lays the conceptual groundwork for Spenser's use of the lion as an icon for justice and love in his epic, where the image's concentrated significance can be exfoliated by ordered reference to the four traditional levels of allegory (literal, allegorical or mytho-historical, moral, and anagogical) and to the three literary traditions of Classical Antiquity, Christianity, and Romance.

By virtue of its commonplace identity as the king of beasts and as the heraldic device of British monarchy, the lion image is a succinct embodiment of the royal metaphor which informs so much of The Faerie Queene's mythohistorical allusiveness and which furnishes secular analogues to the sacred meaning associated with the Lion of Judah, the metaphoric image of Christ which arcs over scripture from Genesis to Revelation and epitomizes the entire purport of biblical narrative.

An accurate interpretation of Una's literal lion, of Redcrosse as Spenser's recasting of medieval literature's Knight of the Lion, and of Britomart, Redcrosse's feminine counterpart, depends upon these secular and sacred allusions, as do the significances emblematized in Cambina and Mercilla. During the epic's progress the many allegorical resonances sounded by the lion image are gradually consolidated by repetition and suggestion and eventually apotheosized in the leonine Dame Nature of Arlo Hill.

By focusing on the simple and clear surface of the lion imagery, this study demonstrates that the allegorical similitudes connoted by that simple and clear surface display a complex but ultimately unambiguous correspondence with The Faerie Queene's chief intellectual and thematic concerns.

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This study is dedicated to the Basilian Fathers, the parish of St. Anne's, and the staffs of Fondren Library and Rice University, whose swift and smiling dutifulness has greatly amplified the meaning of courtesy; to the magnanimous nation of Kuwait, where I first read Aristotle and saw true justice in action; to Dr. John C. Ulreich, Jr., Dr. Steve Magers and his wife, Priscilla, Ms. Connie Ericson, and the many others, too numerous to mention by name and too modest to feel slighted by the omission, whose affectionate interest has helped create a nearly perfect world of friendship; to my parents, for their lifetime of devotion to each other and to literature; to Dr. Edward O. Doughtie, who counselled me in temperance and whose ready encouragement never failed to raise my spirits; to Fr. Francis Burns, C.S.B., and Naomi Goodloe, living testimony that holiness is possible; to my husband, Ali, and his mother, Hussa, warm images of constancy; and to my son, Hassan, who has understood so much.

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Chapter I

LOGOS AND ICON

The Faerie Queene is notoriously elusive. Nearly four centuries of criticism have failed to make it "yield to consistent historical, . . .or mythological, or ethical interpretation."[1] James Nohrnberg's study, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene,[2] comes the closest, perhaps, to fulfilling Giamatti's recommendation that any critical approach to the poem which wishes to do justice to its "scope, its breadth of vision, and its inclusiveness of spirit" (p. 234) must realize that it is "a typical poem of the Renaissance which mingles the classical and Christian, the historical and mythical" in a manner "as various and varied as life itself" (p. 235). The major drawback of Nohrnberg's thoroughness, however, is that it erects a critical edifice as imposing as the epic itself, presenting a challenge to the reader's understanding that rivals Spenser's own. Based on the assumption that we already understand the poem well enough to be able to accommodate the additional intricacies such a study offers, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene draws on the tremendous amount of information available to this century with a breadth and inclusiveness that run the risk of outstripping the resources of Spenser's own time and of crediting the

poet with an erudition vast enough to have taken three or four lifetimes (of enforced leisure) to acquire.

It is this predicament that A. C. Hamilton refers to when he asserts that the poem "now . . . threatens to sink under its burden of meaning."[3] Hamilton is certainly not discrediting attempts to capture the complex essence of the poem but he does think that Spenser's epic is not so "immediately and directly informed and sustained by ideas and doctrine" as we currently assume (p. 11). In declaring Spenser to be "a poet of images rather than of ideas," he indicates a critical attitude which, while admitting that Spenser's images of "virtues, vices and passions have learned--often abstrusely learned--traditions behind them," prefers to direct its attention more toward the "simple and clear" surface of those images (p. 11).

It is this conception of Spenser's imagery that encourages me to apply the methods of iconography to a relatively straight-forward image in the poem: the lion. I have chosen a single image to examine rather than a tableau or series of tableaux for several reasons, the first being a remark made by Thomas Roche in his edition of The Faerie Queene: "the meaning of the lion is still a vexed question."[4] To deal with a question so specifically allied to both image and meaning seemed to invite an iconographical approach, while the idea of the question being "vexed" offered the likelihood that an attempt to

unvex it might prove a worthwhile contribution to Spenserian scholarship.

Beyond that initial stimulus lay an additional attraction: iconographical studies have usually dealt with the epic's emblematic "set pieces," and critical treatments of these have provided contextual backgrounds ample enough to support an elaborate analysis of a single image frequently found in one or more of these set pieces, or indirectly linked to them via sequence or concept. Existing commentary, in other words, furnishes a useful verbal matrix for extended discussion of an otherwise forlorn single image.

A more important motive was the hope that artificial restriction to a single image might serve as an aid to maintaining focus in the analysis. Since my intention is to indicate the consistency of Spenser's method with images, and since the poetry is replete with them, it seemed to me that the essential first step must be to narrow the range of possibilities to a workable number. The lion appeared most satisfactory for that purpose, both for its simplicity and its integrity; the firm existence in the natural world of an analogue to those in Spenser's creation seemed to furnish a kind of anchor for the myriad metaphysical significances evoked by Spenser's use of it.

Despite the fact that iconography originated as a

study of meaning in the visual arts, and that its status until fairly recently has been that of a stepsister to literary studies, it has been skillfully employed by a number of prominent Spenserians. C. S. Lewis, for instance, in his posthumous work, Spenser's Images of Life, praises Spenser as a master of emblematic description,[5] and on this basis, recommends that The Faerie Queene's historical allegory, for decades the focus of critical attention, be seen rather as the "point of departure" for iconographical analysis.[6] A pivot of Lewis' recommendation is the conviction that Spenser was very much concerned with getting the images of the learned tradition of iconography "right" (p. 10), for to the Renaissance poet, "[i]conographical art was not a comment on life, so much as a continual statement of it--an accompaniment rather than a criticism" (p. 11). The accuracy of traditional images was thus an essential index of their meaning. Inappropriate usage could lead to faulty interpretation and the defeat of any purposeful moral didacticism. Even more important than the issue of moral influence, Lewis implies, are matters of spiritual import, for those poets who "thought in the tradition" regarded poetry "as a veiled form of theology" (p. 13), in which inaccurate rendering of images could lead readers to perdition.[7]

Hamilton agrees that "the iconographical approach

should prove the most rewarding in the future," and, like Lewis, supports the judgment by observing that Spenser's poem is "central to several converging traditions."[8] While Lewis limits himself to listing preliminary categories of contemporary Renaissance forms (Pageant Proper, Tournament Pageantry, Masque, Traditional Images of Gods, Hieroglyphs and Emblems, and Philosophical Iconography),[9] Hamilton's version of the traditions (emblem, mythology, pagan mysteries, visual epistemology, symbolic images, and pageantry)[10] favors modern studies and analyses of those categories.

Although my own aims in explicating the lion image are only tangentially related to Lewis' concern over theological implications in Spenser's poetry, my interest in exhibiting the accuracy of the lion image is keen, for if consistency in his use of it can be ascertained, that consistency may be able to provide the beginnings of a standard of consistency against which other elements of his poetic may be judged. It is precisely consistency which has proved so elusive to critics so far.

Consistency is not to be confused with formal coherence however. Thomas Roche has already noted that the apparent lack of formal coherence in Spenser's imagery implies that formal coherence is not what Spenser was attempting. Roche thinks that Spenser's images owe "primary allegiance" to "the fundamental energy of which they are a sign," rather than to "the verbal pattern of

which they are a part."[11] They do not respond, therefore, to modern critical criteria which require "formalistic extension," because their "primal nature" is really one of "significant intensity" (p. 59).[12] Knowing that I assume the lion image to be a concentration rather than an exfoliation of significance (despite my several attempts to indicate that Spenser does, from time to time, achieve formal coherence in his image patterns) will assist the reader in following much of the subsequent discussion.

An additional justification for employing the severe methodology of an iconographical approach, which focuses squarely on the content of the poem itself rather than on the poet's era, friends, poetic precursors, or psyche (though it draws on all of these as legitimate extensions of its enquiry), is that it may result in less distortion of the poem than other approaches have imposed because its true function, when done properly, is to enhance what is already in the poem, rather than to replace it with some other analytic structure.

This issue of distortion has been a major impediment to the acceptance of iconographical studies, for in dealing with images that occur in passages (often) several thousand lines apart, iconography inevitably leaves out a great deal of intervening matter. The resulting lacunae, of which readers more attuned to reading The Faerie Queene sequentially are acutely aware, loom as major objections

to the all-encompassing conclusions the iconographical critic frequently draws. Paul Alpers succinctly registers this complaint when he observes that Alastair's Fowler's numerological analysis of The Faerie Queene, for instance, fails to make itself "answerable to the literary experience of reading the poem" because it imposes "inappropriate assumptions and expectations" on it.[13]

Fowler himself is conscious of this difficulty, for he admits that his attempt "to recover appreciation of literary numerology" might be taken to display "all the follies of which autonomous speculative criticism is capable."[14] He nevertheless asserts that his discoveries and conclusions vindicate "descriptive analysis as a heuristic [i.e., problem-solving] instrument" (p. x), and the genuine insights which result from his painstaking examination of the House of Busirane episode in Book III of Spenser's epic provide strong support for his claim.[15] So far as I can tell however, it is not the numerology, as such, which provides the insight. Because its action appears to unite principles of prosody and structure (p. ix), the numerology simply justifies his choice of that particular episode, and retreats before the parallels made with other, more important, patterns.

Alper's complaint does appear to be more justified by a reading of Fowler's "Emblems of Temperance" in The Faerie Queene, Book II"[16] though, for here, to readers

new to iconography, Fowler appears to be writing his own allegory of Book II. His dropping of conceptual stitches and arbitrary knitting-up of disparate images tend to illustrate the predominance of iconological ingenuity and intuition over the cataloguing preliminaries appropriate to iconography.[17] In this particular study he assumes both too much learning and too little skepticism on the part of his (and Spenser's) readers.

William Nelson's review of Fowler's later study, Spenser and the Numbers of Time,[18] acidly dismisses the book on these same grounds.[19] David Kalstone's review of it is less hostile,[20] but he does caution that the "interpretation of symbolic figures" becomes "an extra-literary concern" if not properly governed (p. 447), and dispassionately lists some of the typical exaggerations iconographical analysis tends to make: unnecessarily intricate interpretations, ignoring of the text of the poem (p. 449), and the forcing of the critic "into baroque adjustments" by the too-tightly-drawn net of iconographical schemes (p. 452). While crediting Fowler's analysis of Una's lion and its associations with the sol iustitiae as "one of the richest and most skilful bits . . .in the book" (p. 452), he nevertheless appears to endorse Thomas Roche as the superior guide to Spenser's iconography in that The Kindly Flame's treatment shows him to be "more flexible, more sensitive to the delicate

balances which must be kept between literary analysis and the recognition of emblems that have almost independent allusive power" (p. 452). He specifically praises Roche's analysis of Cambina's lions in Book IV for helping "to refine our notions of the Concord she represents" (p. 447).

Graham Hough's remarks on iconography[21] are as judicious as Kalstone's, for he too is receptive to the possibilities of such criticism, and equally mindful of its perils. In stating that "we shall for the most part interpret [Spenser's icons] best by attending to what the poem itself supplies," he reminds literary exegetes that the poem is, after all, the most appropriate focus of criticism, while his assertion that we also "need to know something of the prevailing iconographical habit" of Spenser's time (p. 235) acknowledges the usefulness of studies like Fowler's.

Paul Alpers does reluctantly corroborate the critical conclusion that iconography constitutes a valuable contribution to Spenser studies when he says that "it is unquestionable that a knowledge of the iconography . . . makes one a better reader" of The Faerie Queene, but he maintains that generally, and "on the simplest level," iconography does not "make any difference" to the reader (p. 212). He thus "places" the study as a kind of esoteric addendum: it is not essential for reading Spenser, but it helps.

The kind of help it offers is characterized by C. S. Lewis as the sophistication of a simple "moral,"[23] and by Fowler as "beautiful innovations" in the poet's language which are available only to those readers who possess the "iconographical accomplishments" Spenser assumes his readers to have.[24] Fowler further defends iconographical analysis of The Faerie Queene on grounds that since the poem is "a continued emblem . . . every descriptive detail is meaningful" (p. 236). This "meaningfulness" is the crux of iconography, and analysis by this method attempts to indicate complex and manifold meaning by tapping the accumulated resources of traditional significance associated with particular images.[25]

What iconography actually does when applied to The Faerie Queene is to establish resonances--a kind of visual rhyme--between episodes which apparently have little else in common. These resonances represent the plenitude of additional meanings embedded in an image, the appreciation of which does not interfere with, but rather enlivens, our response to the entire poem. If the reader wishes to skim the poem's surface, happily unintimidated by his inability to remember exactly what happened a canto or two before,[26] he is responding "on the simplest level" to the poem, and participating in what Lewis calls its "fairy-tale pleasure."[27] If he prefers to linger over certain passages, the more sophisticated pleasures of deliberate

meditation temporarily replace unadorned delight in a good tale. This multiplicity of reactions (which are by no means mutually exclusive) is what, by and large, makes the poem so elusive, and so maddeningly difficult to interpret. If our taste (or even our passing mood, for that matter) is for the simple, the fairy tale responds with its easy prolixity. If we prefer sterner stuff, we may concentrate on disengaging the moral allegory from its blithe vehicle. If our pleasures are philosophical, we may labor over the erudite metaphysics suggested by the poem; and even spiritual interests may be satisfied.

The resonance of images, or "visual rhyme," may thus also be seen, by means of this larger perspective, as suggesting a kind of "conceptual rhyme" as well. Because of the infinite possibilities suggested by such expanding perspectives, my purpose in confining this examination to the resonances of a single image is twofold: first, to prevent the confusion that would result from dealing with more than one image on the several levels of abstraction (or reaction, or resonance) just mentioned; and second, to show that widely separated passages are interconnected through "descriptive details" which at first glance seem "insignificant,"[28] but which, when linked to the conceptual motifs they embody or signify, grow considerably in importance. Therefore, rather than risk the error to which iconography is most prone (i.e., interpreting the entire

epic in a definitive and overarching manner which limits the poem to the schematic strictures of the analyst), I prefer to focus on a single detail--the lion--and, by discovering and displaying its minute consistency, to show that the iconography of a particular image may mirror, in little, the architectonic unity of The Faerie Queene and act as an element of continuity throughout all of Spenser's poetry.[29]

An important part of the theory which justifies demonstrating the unity of a poem or a canon by applying iconographical methods to it lies in the function of poetic imagery itself. For Northrop Frye, Spenser is, unlike Milton, "a poet of very limited conceptual powers" who is "helpless without some kind of visualization to start him thinking."[30] From this judgment Frye concludes that "it is self-evident" that for Spenser, "the imagery is prior in importance to [the allegory]" (p. 72). Although Frye's reasoning is reinforced by Hamilton's conviction of the "simple and clear" surface of Spenser's imagery, it emphasizes the image at the expense of Spenser's ability as a conceptual thinker, and arbitrarily separates image from concept for purposes entirely alien to Spenser's own. It is possible, indeed it is essential, to examine images in his poetry without divorcing them from the conceptual meaning which accompanies the use of those images. Since that is precisely the kind of

examination this study hopes to provide, the issue will reappear shortly.

Meanwhile, though it is true that images are more important to Spenser's technique than to Milton's--Spenser's images are almost always concrete and specific, while Milton's tend to be diffuse and vague--this phenomenon can perhaps be explained by recognizing that Spenser's "verbal universe" which is "at every point correspondent with the physical world in which we live,"[31] is inextricably linked to "the lively images of things"[32] as well as to conceptual understanding of them.[33] Such a technique does not imply that Spenser had "limited conceptual powers" however; the poem's thematic organization itself refutes such a generalization.[34]

A less violently dialectical estimate of his technique finds it to be the sort in which the progress of images slowly consolidates conceptual power by repeated suggestion rather than by overt statement.[35] His intention is not to preach or to justify by naked precept[36] but to "fashion" his reader in "vertuous and gentle discipline." In offering the possibility that Spenser "would have recognized that the image began with a prose concept which the rhetorical 'colours' of poetry intensify and make universally applicable," Maurice Evans indicates that the concept is <u>implicit</u> in the image, and that

Spenser, consciously or not, assumed it to be so, for "unless the image reminds us of the [concept], it fails to fulfill its purpose in the poem"[37]

Since Spenser's technique depends to such a great extent upon the consolidation of conceptual significance by means of recurrent images, iconographical analysis which discovers and displays that significance should, theoretically, be welcomed; but one of the reasons such an approach so often makes literary critics uneasy, as I mentioned earlier (p.6), is that analysis of particular images tends to ignore what takes place between selected images. Aside from the (overwhelmingly) platitudinous defense that human reason can properly function only within rather limited confines, and that any analysis of poetry as rich as Spenser's which sought to provide commentary on all its imagery and each of its conceptual formulations would be unlikely to be read, much less written, there is substantial justification for examining minor details of disparate passages. C. S. Lewis, characteristically, offers it:

> Widely separated passages may at any time turn out to be interconnected, and the connection will perhaps depend on descriptive details that at first seemed insignificant. Carelessness over such details, therefore, can vitiate far more than the interpretation of the passage immediately concerned. Reading The Faerie Queene is like following out the threads of a tapestry so intricately woven that a single mistake may tear the whole fabric. Yet it is with the descriptive details of the poem that critics are most often careless.[38]

Such careful weaving of detail on Spenser's part as Lewis' remarks imply does not necessarily depend on the poet's conscious control of minutiae, however, but on the role of traditional influences, from whatever source, which were available all around him:

> . . . many of the correspondences in The Faerie Queene between passages thousands of lines apart are not consciously contrived at all. If they were, they would imply a sort of conscious intellectual labor of which hardly anyone would be capable, least of all Spenser. But in fact the correspondences have just the reverse implication. They show the extent to which he left the images alone to manifest their own unity, a unity far more subtle than conscious contrivance could ever have achieved.[39]

In an early article on Spenser, Rosemond Tuve attributes this unity to the poet's "writing out of the commonplaces of his day" and the "store of impressions" received from numerous vividly illustrated manuscripts which he was very likely to have examined.[40] For Tuve, like Frye, visualization is an important element of his technique.

> He does not invent nor change radically as far as picturesque descriptive detail is concerned. He saw vividly and remembered accurately, he reproduces almost without loss. He merely adds, characteristically, more opulence or more sensitive feeling in the sense-images, and also characteristically, occasional associated details from similar pictures in his mind. The link is with striking consistency the linking of picture to similar picture in the mind. He seems to have written almost at the command of the visual images or visual associations in his memory. . . . That is, he is extraordinarily dependent upon accurately remembered tradition for visualized detail.[41]

The overwhelming importance, for Spenser, of tradition as it is expressed in visual materials, lies in the way it "worked upon him to make him choose certain figures, heavily weighted symbols, for crucially important roles in his allegory" (p. 173). His use of the lion with Una, for instance (which Tuve sees as associated with St. Jerome's grinning companion), or the figure of Cupid, might "not have sprung so inescapably to his mind had it not been so familiar in illustration" (p. 155). She later enlarges considerably on these early formulations in her book Allegorical Imagery, which refers a great deal to Spenser's poetry for examples that help to discover rather than to impose a definition of allegory.[42] Though her work eventually comes more and more to emphasize rhetorical figures, she continues to depend on the role of visual imagery in Spenser's poetic, maintaining that "there is opportunity for cooperation between the two fields of pictorial and literary art" and that "the use of evidence from iconography has entered English studies to stay."[43]

The meticulous discipline of Tuve's work is complemented by the researches of Samuel Chew, whose examination of the four Virtues (Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Peace, who figure in the Parliament of Heaven theme based on the eighty-fifth Psalm), is a particularly valuable contribution to Spenserian iconography.[44] His concentration on

a handful of personified abstractions, which he traces thoroughly from the first century A.D. through Stuart literature, suggests important possibilities relevant to Spenser's treatment of Truth, Justice and Mercy, for whom the lion is an associated image. Though Chew's study is more strictly confined to discovering "analogues and parallels" between "verbal image[s] in literature and . . . visual image[s] in . . . the graphic or plastic arts" than to proving "direct source relationships,"[45] like Tuve he bases his inquiry on a conviction of essential friendship between the various arts. Chew's work is further distinguished by its careful avoidance of the two extremes that so often plague iconographical studies--exaggeration and finicky intricacy.

Jane Aptekar's work is a natural extension of Chew's, and her focus on classical mythological themes rather than Christian theological ones demonstrates the assertion that "Spenser uses recurrent echoing icons as a unifying structural device and also as centers of allusive, emblematical imagery."[46] Her belief that "it has not been sufficiently recognized that in order to understand The Faerie Queene in its full richness the contemporary reader must rediscover the whole Renaissance iconological tradition" (p. 216) is one which all further Spenser studies must take into account, though I think it has lost some of its urgency today because so much

research along these lines has been done.[47] It is still largely true though, that "Spenser's art and allegory, in its general concept and in its details, was [sic] created out of his consciousness of the visual arts and their iconological interpretations" (p. 216). She, like Lewis, Fowler, and Tuve, is convinced of the important role traditional materials play in Spenser's creation of "motifs of recurring icons, chains of thematic imagery" (p. 217).

The poet's dependence on traditional materials may thus be understood as a commonplace of the iconographical approach, but there is still room for subtle distinctions between theories about how, exactly, the influence operates. For Tuve and Frye, visualization is the key; and for Aptekar, it is the parallelisms present in classical myth and suggested by Renaissance emblem books.[48] Lewis' conception, while not discounting visual materials, nevertheless tends, because of his profound learning in literature, history, and philosophy, towards a psycho-spiritual interpretation:

> Spenser's poetry is born out of deep brooding on his own experience and on the wisdom of the philosophers and poets and iconographers. It depends for its success on his obedience to the images that rise out of that brooding; and in that obedience he is a master.[49]

Lewis' judgment anticipates some of the grounds on which several other critics question Spenser's reliance on traditional "givens." Graham Hough, for instance,

while fundamentally in agreement that Spenser is influenced by traditional materials, and sharing Lewis' conviction that Spenser wrought many of his images out of their personal significance for him, is skeptical, as is Alpers,[50] of the degree of "obedience" Spenser displays towards them. He cautiously admits that Spenser's images "constantly resemble those we find in Renaissance visual art . . . in a general way," but asserts that "if we consider the richness and the idiosyncracy of his world we shall conclude that his particular icons are more likely to be his own, in detail and design, than drawn from stock."[51] This assertion is justified by the attitude that

> [w]e surely know enough about Spenser's habits by now to see that he was not the man to copy out iconographical formulas with exactitude. His dealings with Aristotle's virtues are enough to suggest a constitutional imprecision in reference to authorities (p. 234).

These reservations about Spenser's use of traditional materials (and about the iconographical analysis which depends on his use of them) reflect the distinction between icon and logos frequently made by literary critics, and are most clearly formulated by Michael Murrin, who claims that

> [i]conography serves as a useful guide only within certain limits because it does not really correspond to the techniques of allegorical poetry. The painter pours his meaning into his images, and his critics discover all they wish through his figures. In allegorical poetry, on the other hand, the critic

> must always be conscious of the poet's mind which controls these images. The poet may change them around at will, and the critic must watch the poet as well as his pictured veil.[52]

Murrin's claim is, in effect, the antithesis of Frye's ("it is self-evident" that for Spenser, "the imagery is prior in importance to [the allegory]"), for Murrin insists on the importance of the poet's mind as the agent controlling the imagery and so, contrary to Frye's estimate, emphasizes Spenser's conceptual powers. In requiring that the reader be conscious of how the poet's mind works, Murrin is not evincing an interest in Spenser's personal psychology or experience, but rather promoting an attitude which recognizes the firm conceptual grasp Spenser has of human psychological existence in general--the "facts" of "public" human psychology[53]--which permits and even encourages his skillful rendering of such states of mind as Despair, Jealousy, Besieged Chastity, Unrequited Love, Requited Love, Doubt, Unrestrained Anger, Mindless Arrogance, and Mindless Fear.[54]

What Murrin does object to, as do most opponents of iconographical analysis of literature, is iconography's frequent tendency (one which is a natural result of its methodology) to focus <u>only</u> on the image--on its sources and parallels and analogues and repetitions throughout a particular work--rather than on stating explicitly what the image may <u>mean</u>, conceptually and emotionally, to the

reader.[55]

Our pleasure in and understanding of the poem are not increased as much by knowing, for instance, that the lion who rescues Una may have been suggested to Spenser by a picture of St. Jerome in one or even several illustrated manuscripts,[56] as they are if we are also persuaded to understand that Jerome was famous for having a furious temper (a leonine irascibility his voluntary sojourn in the desert seemed only to exacerbate), and that he dedicated his entire life to attempting to protect the true church by correcting secular and ecclesiastical errors and abuses.[57] His angry denunciation of unchastity and his fierce championship of its opposing virtue are a famous contribution towards that end, as are his Latin translation of the Septuagint and his Biblical commentary. Both reflect the vigorous moral and intellectual service he rendered the medieval church in its spiritual efforts to disassociate itself from excessive worldliness by subduing the flesh. The substance of Jerome's fury, in fact, suggests a great deal about the struggles of Redcrosse and Guyon versus irascibility and concupiscence, and Guyon's eventual "triumph" over the Bower of Bliss. This triumph in turn suggests a reason for Spenser's choice of Chastity as the titular virtue of the next Book of the poem, though its subject is obviously Love: having "ensampled" the destruction of meretricious pleasure, Spenser's poetic

instinct is to justify the absoluteness of that destruction by creating something superior in its place, a motive which, even as it demonstrates the vicissitudes of legitimate love in a variety of contexts, results eventually in the spontaneous and orderly fecundity of the Garden of Adonis.

This string of conceptual "leads," though admittedly superficial, demonstrates how the pursuit of iconographical details may generate an increased awareness of significance in Spenser's poetry by bringing to light an entire historical context (as opposed to various unadorned historical "facts") attached to an otherwise obscure figure in the narrative, without arbitrarily restricting interpretation of the entire poem to the positing of a series of discrete and rigid one-to-one relationships between certain concepts. Such a pursuit proceeds by suggestion and implication, that is, rather than by formal or rigorous logic. Logic is not abandoned however; its principles are only extended to include various degrees of possibility and probability.[58] This extension of conceptual links is the source of Spenser's multiplicity, and is mirrored in the resonances of particular and recurrent images.

An example which demonstrates a number of important issues so far discussed (e.g., 1] the resonances sounded by linked imagery, 2] the relationships established

between those resonances and the conceptual background of some "insignificant" occurrences of lion imagery, 3] the idea of the concept being implicit in the image, and 4] the importance of traditional materials), is found in the seven emblematic cups which appear in each of the first four books of The Faerie Queene.

Cups are an essential motif in Guyon's quest, for instance, for the death of Mordant (which furnishes the impetus for Guyon's journey to the Bower) is directly linked to his drinking from Acrasia's accursed cup. Just before Amavia dies, she tells Guyon the wretched results of Mordant's seduction by the witch, and her own attempts to deliver him:

> Which when the vile Enchaunteresse perceiu'd,
> How that my Lord from her I would repriue,
> With cup thus charmd, him parting she deceiu'd;
> Sad verse, give death to him that death does give,
> And loss of love, to her that loves to live,
> So soon as Bacchus with the Nymphe does linke:
> So parted we and on our iourney driue,
> Til comming to this well, he stoupt to drincke:
> The charme fulfild, dead suddenly he downe did sinke.
> (II.i.55)

Though Acrasia's deadly cup is not mentioned again, its significance is heightened in the final canto of Book II, for as Guyon approaches her Bower, he is offered cordials by two of her ministers. "Pleasure's porter," identified by Spenser as anti-Agdistes, the "foe of life" (st. 48), sits in the Porch awaiting visitors. Beside him is "A mighty Mazer bowle of wine" which Guyon "disdainfully" overthrows. The determined knight also breaks

the porter's staff (49). Eight stanzas later he just as contemptuously casts to the ground the golden cup of wanton Excesse.[59] The two draughts of wine are clearly the prelude to headier intoxications, and Guyon is assisted in his quest by refusing them both.[60] If we recall Acrasia's cup at this point (and few readers do, without aid, I believe) we are alerted to the peril Guyon avoids through his rudeness, for we have already learned the cup's lesson from the deaths of canto i. Guyon's resistance to the preliminary seductions protects him, to a certain extent, from the ensuing ones because he remains sufficiently clear-headed to recognize them.

A second golden cup--that of Cambina in Book IV--helps to correct the negative connotations established in Guyon's narrative. While victory between the embattled (and exhausted) Cambell and Triamond hangs in the balance, Cambina appears, amidst cries and tumult, in a marvelous chariot

> ...drawne...
> Of two grim lyons, taken from the wood
> In which their powre all others did excell:
> Now made forget their former cruell mood,
> T'obey their riders hest, as seemed good.
> (IV.iii.39)

Learned in "magicke lear," and bringer of peace, Cambina "drives her angrie teame" (st. 40) at top speed right through the crowd in what may be a wry instance of Spenserian irony. Her emblematic tokens are the caduceus, "rod of peace...about the which two Serpents weren

wound,/Entrayled mutually in lovely lore," and a golden cup (48) "which was with Nepenthe to the brim upfild" (42). This Nepenthe is important, both for the contrast it offers to the "venim" and "secret filth" (II.ii.4) contained in Acrasia's charmed cup, and for the magical transformation it generates in the two champions.

> Nepenthe is a drinck of souerayne grace,
> Deuized by the Gods, for to asswage
> Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace,
> Which stirs vp anguish and contentious rage:
> In stead thereof sweet peace and quiet age
> It doth establish in the troubled mind.
> Few Men, but such as sober are and sage,
> Are by the Gods to drinck thereof assynd;
> But such as drinck, eternall happinesse do fynd.
>
> Such famous men, such worthies of the earth,
> As Ioue will haue aduanced to the skie,
> And there made gods, though borne of mortall berth,
> For their high merits and great dignitie,
> Are wont, before they may to heauen flie,
> To drincke hereof, whereby all cares forepast
> Are washt away quite from their memorie.
> So did those olde Heroes hereof taste,
> Before that they in blisse amongst the Gods were plaste.
>
> Much more of price and of more gratious powre
> Is this, then that same water of Ardenne,
> The which Rinaldo drunck in happie howre,
> Described by that famous Tuscane penne:
> For that had might to change the hearts of men
> Fro loue to hate, a change of euill choise:
> But this doth hatred make in loue to brenne,
> And heauy heart with comfort doth reioyce.
> Who would not to this vertue rather yeeld his voice?
> (IV.iii.43-45)

When Cambina's histrionic pleas and tears fail to prevent Cambell and Triamond from reopening their mutual assaults,[61] she first strikes them motionless with her caduceus, and then gives them the precious liquour to drink. Its magic causes them to kiss, embrace, and swear

vows of friendship, much to the vociferous delight of the crowd (st. 49).[62]

In much the same way that the two incensed warriors are calmed by Cambina's rod and by the fortunate lapse of memory her Nepenthe bestows, the two sovereign lions who obediently draw her car have been made to "forget their former cruell mood" by the sheer force of her will. The power of her rod and precious draught are inextricably mingled with the power of her presence and of her abstract function. The lions embody this force of character just as much as they represent the stern and sovereign justice of her demand for peace, which lies just below the surface of the overwrought tears, prayers, and reasons she initially offers (47). The demand--as opposed to the pleading request--for peace is demonstrated by the blows of her rod, and in witnessing its effects, we, like the combatants, are forced to recognize that the gift of Concord she insists upon giving is based on a kind of absolute knowledge that love and harmony are superior to hatred and dissension. This knowledge so penetrates creation, Spenser implies, that even the natural ferocity of lions must yield to it. In his discussion of Cambina, Roche refers (more accurately) to this knowledge as "the metaphysical mystery of love evolved from hate" (emphasis mine).[63]

The effects of Fidelia's cup,[64] associated with the

mysteries of scripture (betokened by the book she bears) rather than with magic lore, are equally healing, for they prepare Redcrosse for the vision he receives on the Mount of Contemplation and let him return to his quest with a firmer (if chastened) sense of his destiny. Like Cambina, Fidelia is also linked iconographically with the serpent, though hers is not immediately identifiable as an image of "louely lore."

> She was arraied all in lilly white,
> And in her right hand bore a cup of gold,
> With wine and water fild vp to the hight,
> In which a Serpent did himselfe enfold,
> That horrour made to all, that did behold;
> But she no whit did chaunge her constant mood:
> And in her other hand she fast did hold
> A booke, that was both signd and seald with blood,
> Wherein darke things were writ, hard to be vnderstood.
> (I.x.13)

Fidelia is steadfast before the horror inspired by the serpent in her cup, a horror which almost certainly springs from the creature's associations with the sin and punishment of Adam (Gen 3:1-24). A sinister snake also appears in a legend concerning St. John the Evangelist, who was purportedly challenged at Ephesus, by a priestess of Diana, to drink from a poisoned chalice. When the Evangelist took the cup, the poison congealed into a viper which then coiled away, whereupon the saint drank the cup's now-harmless contents (see Fig. 1). Fidelia's steadfastness before the threat of the serpent, like St. John's, is likely indebted to an imaginative conflation of iconic elements derived from the risen Christ's promise

that those who believe in the testimony of his apostles "will pick up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it will not hurt them" (Mk 16:18).

However, the cup Fidelia bears is, despite the horror evoked by its unnerving resident, an icon which anticipates Redcrosse's spiritual recovery, primarily because it signifies the Eucharist, but also because the serpent is, in both Classical mythology and Christian scriptural tradition, an emblem of restored health. Healing is the function identified with the Greek god Asclepius, for example, Homer's "blameless physician" (Iliad, (II.705-7), and cult images frequently present him with the iconographical attribute of a snake, curled, more often than not, about a staff. The image survives into our own day as the caduceus, emblem of the medical profession.

Similarly, in the Book of Numbers the brazen serpent is erected by Moses at God's command to cure the physical malady inflicted by the fiery serpents on the querulous Hebrews (21:6-9), an instance of healing which, according to St. John, Christ himself recalls and interprets spiritually when he reveals his salvific mission to the baffled Nicodemus (3:14). Such images of recovery are an important element of Fidelia's "louely lore."

Duessa's cup furnishes a profound iconographical contrast to the cups of Cambina and Fidelia (despite the

fact that she too is associated with a serpent-like beast when she bears it [vii.6]; see Figs. 2-6),[65] and a conceptual equivalence to Acrasia's. The implications of her golden cup are revealed when she sprinkles Arthur's squire with its contents as he attempts to prevent her, mounted on her "purple beast" (st. 13), from interfering with the battle between his master and the giant Orgoglio:

> Then took the angrie witch her golden cup
> Which still she bore, replete with magick artes;
> Death and despeyre did many thereof sup,
> And secret poyson through their inner parts,
> Th'eternall bale of heauie wounded hearts;
> Which after charmes and some enchauntments said,
> She lightly sprinkled on his weaker parts;
> Therewith his sturdie courage soone was quayd,
> And all his senses were with suddeine dread dismayd.
> (I.viii.14)

When the squire falls, the beast attempts to crush him until Arthur intervenes and seriously wounds it. Duessa, seeing the battle lost, attempts to flee and flings the cup to the ground, but she is nevertheless captured by the inexplicably-recovered squire.

Her cup, like the others, should be read iconographically as affecting the "inner" man, but instead of moving him either to an immediate and virtuous human affection, or to an eventual vision of heavenly beatitude, as do the cups of Cambina and Fidelia, its purpose is to quail his courage, to render him helpless and weak--exactly the symptoms produced by Acrasia's cup. The intention behind both of these cups, therefore, is the dealing of death rather than the giving of life. If we

read the primary connotations of Fidelia's cup as a Christian icon, Duessa's cup appears to be a parody of it. By the same token, if we read Cambina's cup in a classical context, Acrasia's cup furnishes a parodic parallel. Though Fidelia's cup operates through the mystery of Eucharistic water and wine,[66] and Cambina's through magic, the resultant healing concord, whether individual (as in the case of Redcrosse) or communal (as with Campbell and Triamond) unites the two in virtue.

The cups of Duessa and Acrasia, which sap the strength of their victims, represent a corruption of classical and Christian motifs. Acrasia, of course, is an emblem of pagan sensuality, and Duessa one of theological doctrines perversely interpreted by a proud spirit. These two invert the clear parallel between true mystery and good magic represented by the virtuous cups. In simple terms, the theological mystery which Fidelia's cup contains, and which is virtuously imitated by the magic of Cambina's classical Nepenthe, finds an infernal parallel in the enervating poison of Duessa's corrupt solution, which is in turn, viciously imitated by the charmed "venim" (II.ii.4) of sensuality in Acrasia's pagan cup.[67]

These two motifs are "commingled" in the satirical liturgy of the cup shared by Hellenore and Paridell (III.ix.27-31). The covert lasciviousness of their wine-bibbing shows, appropriately, the confounding of the

religious and the erotic which is a characteristic of romance narrative. The context parodies the mystery of faith represented by Fidelia (through whom God's power over, and love for, creation are revealed), and the harmony of mutual assent represented by Cambina. Paridell's writing in the spilt wine, for instance, "to let his love be shown," is characterized by Spenser as "a sacrament prophane in mistery of wine" (30), because it mocks the "darke things" written and "signd and seald with blood" in Fidelia's book (I.x.13). In the same way, the lewd glances exchanged between the pair of would-be lovers (28) and Hellenore's responsive spilling of wine (31) foreshadow their elopement and furnish an erotic parody of the chaste affection which prompts the friendly exchanges of Cambell and Triamond in the Cambina episode. This profane confusion of liturgical significance and the shared cup of friendship mimics, as a consequence, both the religious icons contaminated by Duessa's blasphemous use of them, and Acrasia's rendering the legitimate pagan comforts of Bacchus and Venus into instruments that foster mindless bestiality.[68]

In the Hellenore/Paridell episode Spenser provokes the reader's scorn for illicit "romantic love"[69] by displaying its conceptual genesis in a conflation of Christian and classical elements which illustrates the debasement of the highest human goods, both scared and

secular. Aptly enough, the conceptual link between all these episodes of the cup is the peril of concupiscence, which invites an irresistible pun on the word's second syllable--cup. A less facetious implication prompted by the cups is the underlying literary motif of the Grail legend which acts as a covert but nonetheless unifying factor.

The various allusions in these separate episodes continually revert to the customary wellsprings of Spenser's invention: the Classical, Christian, and Romance traditions. In sounding the resonances of cup against cup, I have attempted to demonstrate a consistent pattern of imagery and conceptual accuracy in his method--a coherence that incorporates a multitude of conceptual details within a limited number of icons, and which, for all its apparent wandering, seldom violates a conceptual standard of some rigor. His control of lions is similar, as I hope to show, though more diffuse, and thus more difficult to detect, primarily because he does not always emphasize the lions as central iconic features. Where he does, though, some of the correspondences are unmistakable.

Like the emblematic cups, the lion figures as a prominent icon in seven episodes of The Faerie Queene:

I.iii, where Una is rescued by a lion;

I.iv, where Wrath rides a lion in Lucifera's pageant;

III.xii, where Britomart witnesses the Masque of Cupid, in which Cupid himself is mounted on a lion;

IV.iii, where Cambina, whose chariot is drawn by lions, concludes peace between the embattled Cambell and Triamond;

V.vii, where Britomart, in her dream in Isis Church, gives birth to a lion.

V.ix, where Mercilla, enthroned above a chained and growling lion, sits in tearful judgment on Duessa; and

VII.vii, where Nature appears on Arlo Hill with, "some doe say," the face of a lion.

The image appears in Spenser's minor poetry, too (The Shepheardes Calender, "Muiopotmos," Mother Hubberds Tale, Daphnaida, and the Amoretti), where it helps to lay the conceptual groundwork for its later resonances in the epic. While this study concentrates on the major occurrences of the image, in the interests of exhaustiveness it also includes intermittent commentary on some of Spenser's more casual uses of it as well.

The interplay or resonance between individual episodes of The Faerie Queene that contain prominent lion images will necessarily entail the deletion of long stretches of narrative, but I think these unavoidable ellipses will be compensated for by the emergence of conceptual patterns which tend to be obscured by rigorously sequential analyses. An additional benefit of iconographical analysis is that its methodology, though as stringent in its way as strictly thematic or allegorical

approaches, permits a different way of looking at the poetry, and may refresh our more traditional interpretations. My purpose in focusing on widely-separated passages, therefore, is not to ignore the sequential narrative, but rather to elucidate some of the rarefied complexities of Spenser's poetic technique which have so far refused to yield to more widely-inclusive examinations. Some such examinations have had difficulty in discovering consistency in Spenser because they seem to expect it to be exhibited on levels and at extensions which the twentieth century finds significant. By applying a different method of analysis to the poetry, the kind of consistency Spenser offers, rather than th. kind we demand, may be revealed.

The traditional association of lions with sovereign pride and lordliness, for instance, is a firm and consistent conceptual foundation which maintains the relationship between romance elements of the medieval tradition and some of the formal features of classical epic. It serves as an unobtrusive appurtenance of the elevated style, noble matter, and high purpose connected with epic, that is, even as it functions within a frequently naive and often digressive narrative which, in some cases, may derive ultimately from folktale. At the same time, the lion's linkage with sovereignty preserves the notion of hierarchy and good order, a conception close to the

Elizabethan heart and figured most appropriately by Spenser on Arlo Hill. Even when the creature is defeated (as Una's lion is) or forcibly restrained by even greater sovereignty (as are Cambina's and Mercilla's lions), its presence implies the importance of maintaining stable degrees of authority and power, and intimates the disastrous effects if that authority and power are neglected or abused. The iconography of the lion is thus a complex of associations which shows the beast, despite its diverse and fairly obscure roles in Spenser's poetry, to present a meaning which is surprisingly unified.

The least-complicated way to understand the justification and procedure of iconographical analysis of Spenser's lions is to regard the images in terms of the distinction between denotation and connotation.[70] A lion--any lion--denotes a wild beast which exists in the natural world, and with this sense of lions Spenser is hardly ever, if at all, actively concerned. At most, it is a conception he merely takes for granted. In terms of connotation however, a lion takes on significances which are iconic; that is, based on conceptions of <u>similitude</u>. The idea of similitude stimulates the creative perception of analogous relationships between the denotative order of nature and the connotative order of human imagination.

This second order has been traditionally interpreted as a hierarchy of levels or modes of understanding: the

literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical.[71] It is when Spenser's lions are examined in terms of these four connotative modes that they take on the multivalent character of icons; that is, images with fixed and stable meanings which can be adapted to serve a number of poetic ends. Since iconic significance depends on the steady maintenance of intelligible analogies with the natural world and the customary mechanisms of human thought, to the extent that Spenser adheres to these principles of analogy, his lion images will consistently reflect traditional moral and intelligible truths.

Una's lion, for instance (I.iii.5-42), retains a number of characteristics (ferocity, ravening hunger, etc.) associated with literal or denotative lions, but like its literary forbears, it exists in the enchanted world of romance narrative, which immediately abrogates many of the natural restrictions governing animal behavior. Thus the creature spontaneously restrains its own instincts (iii.5), accompanies Una on her wanderings (9-42), and repeatedly protects her (13-15, 19-20), until it is killed by Sansloy (42). Each departure it makes from the behavior of literal lions is automatically an avenue into mytho-historical or moral or anagogical interpretation. In fact, Una's lion, though the most literal of all Spenser's lions, is in many ways the most interesting, in part because we see much more of it since

it participates in an extended narrative, but more importantly, because of the connotations generated by that narrative. Its adventures relate it very closely to the Helpful Lion of classical legend and medieval folktale, with the variations Spenser introduces acting as significant indices of his poetic technique. The general historical and religious context of Book I's theme of Holiness also suggests rich allegorical possibilities for the lion, many of which critics have already remarked, as will be seen. A survey of biblical types linked to lions reveals a wealth of anagogical connotations as well--particularly the lion of Judah and Samson, who prefigure Christ.

As with all the lions in Spenser's poetry, however, the most consistent allegorical connotations of Una's companion are strength, power, and energy. This energy is sometimes well-governed--as exemplified by the obedient animals which draw Cambina's chariot (IV.iii.39), and the one which "roynes" softly under Mercilla's throne (V.ix.33)--and sometimes not, notably in the beast, "loth for to be led," which is ridden by Wrath in Lucifera's pageant (I.iv.33). Obedience to a master is not enough to guarantee that the significance of a lion is virtuous, however, and Cupid's mount in the House of Busirane Masque (III.xii.22), though "Taught to obay the menage of that Elfe" is associated with Cruel Eroticism,

the perversion of an ideal of love which is more appropriately displayed in the white heraldic lion of Daphnaida.

Morally, several of the other lions carry connotations of sovereignty and magnanimity, and though the somnolent monarch of Mother Hubberds Tale displays the former characteristic somewhat unevenly, its representation of the latter virtue is unexceptionable. Britomart's lion (V.vii.16) is emblematic of both power and sovereignty, but its activity in the dream (it "shortly did all other beasts subdew") like the dream itself, is faintly troubling and reminiscent of the disquieting murmurs of the beast securely chained under Mercilla. The pair of lions in Amoretti 20 provides an additional instance of well-regulated lordliness, while the ambiguous lion of Arlo Hill (VII.vii.6) participates in most of the various (and virtuous) allegorical and moral connotations. In its official capacity as "the highest him, that is behight/ Father of Gods and men by equall might/ . . . the God of Nature" (VII.vi.35), or, obversely, as "[T]his great grandmother of all creatures bred" (vii.13) and "soveraigne goddesse" (16), it bears the anagogical connotations of deity as well.[72]

When these several degrees of connotative significance are considered as manifestations of a single entity, that entity, the lion image, appears to carry a single

primary significance--universality--because the various permutations on the image are emblematic of universal themes: Power or Strength, Wrath, Love, Sovereignty, Magnanimity. Spenser's treatment of these themes is consistently in keeping with traditional determinations of "right-mindedness." That is, though he may associate lions with his "ensamples" of vices (the abuse of Love in the Cruel Cupid, for instance, or of Strength in the ungoverned rampaging of Wrath) he violates none of the norms established by Classical, Christian or Romance writings and their related commentaries in doing so, as he would if he were to use the lion to evoke specific vices such as avarice, gluttony, mendacity or obsequiousness. The lordliness persistently associated with lions acts against such interpretations. Thus, when the lion represents viciousness, it is the viciousness of great passions rather than of petty ones. Though such viciousness inspires more awe perhaps, Spenser's method ends by causing the viciousness to appear even more reprehensible, because it deprives these passions, large as they are, of any hint of the heroic, and so reinforces, by indirection, traditional conceptions of truly admirable behavior.

In explicating the iconographical contexts of each of his lions, I am attempting, essentially, to manifest the significant content embedded by tradition in the image. My primary interest is therefore in what the lions mean; how the reader is affected by that meaning, though it

cannot be ignored, I have treated as an ancillary concern because it seems to me, in most cases, to be more or less self-evident. Reader-response theories, like theories of Spenser's "pictorialism," are based on exaggerated distinctions that tend to separate what is almost always unified in Spenser's technique; what is, in fact, the foundation of his epic's architectonic unity: his rhetoric and his imagery.

For Spenser and his readers, the image means what is suggested by the iconic significances evoked through the process of connotation, and qualified and refined by the rhetorical fluency of his argument. Focus on this iconic process, whereby word and image function as mutual reflections and indices of significance, avoids some of the shortcomings of the simple "pictorial" approach, which concentrates on a static device the poet uses to generate significance; and the simple "rhetorical" approach, which concentrates on myriad devices available to the poet for lifting the emblem or image to the status of verbal icon or charged vector of meaning. The images thus flesh out what would otherwise be the dead men's bones of rhetoric, while the rhetoric animates the otherwise "limited and inflexible" hieratic symbolism of images.[73] To separate the one from the other, even for analytic purposes, works, in the long run, to the detriment of the poetry and the analysis by imposing false assumptions and restrictions

upon both of them.

By shifting the restrictions or controls (which are inarguably essential to analysis) to a single image rather than displaying them in a general theory of images (or of rhetoric, for that matter), I hope to provide practical justifications for applying iconographical methods to Spenser's poetry, and to shed some additional light on the content or meaning of his work and on the poetic techniques through which that content or meaning is manifested.

Chapter II

THE MINOR POETRY

The lion images in Spenser's early poetry--and particularly in Mother Hubberds Tale and Daphnaida--are important in that their iconic significance foreshadows and helps to define two of the leonine themes central to The Faerie Queene: justice and love. The sovereign justice illustrated by Mother Hubberd's lion and the portrait of devotion idealized in Alcyon's lioness act as foreconceits of the more complex treatment Spenser accords justice and love in his epic, as well as furnishing the matter through which he displays his formal skills as satirist and elegist. While Mother Hubberds Tale deals with the moral and political underpinnings of English nationalism, Daphnaida and Amoretti 20 concentrate on the moral and emotional concerns of lovers. Because these minor poems thus reflect the public and private realms of human experience respectively, comparative analysis of the themes and techniques implicit in their lion imagery yields insights applicable in significant ways to the uses of lion imagery and associated conceptual meanings in the later and more important poem.

Despite difficulties in dating Spenser's early poetry precisely, it seems probable that one of the first

appearances of the lion occurs in Mother Hubberds Tale,[1] where its function as symbol of the realm of England and of its monarch, Queen Elizabeth, is transparent.[2] This is probably the most unambiguous representation of power and sovereignty displayed by Spenser's use of the lion, for it is not essential to a general understanding of the fable to know more about the lion than that it is the "king of beasts" (which has been common knowledge from Aesop's time), and more specifically, that it has been, from the twelfth century, "the favoured beast of the English royal family,"[3] continuously associated with their official coats of arms, crests and badges (see Figures 7-12). These traditions, far from being peculiar to Spenser's sixteenth-century satire, periodically reappear in British letters, even so recently as 1940 with George Orwell's essay on England, "The Lion and the Unicorn," bearing a title linked to the two beasts which act as supporters for the royal arms.

Most scholars agree that Spenser's satiric allegory has two parts, the first (ll. 1-942) being a general social survey of the realm's three estates (labor, clergy, and aristocracy), and the second a more minute inspection of noble and royal prerogatives and their abuses.[4] The lion figures more prominently in the second part, but its early brief appearances are equally important, for here it represents a diagnosis of the ills from which England

suffers, and there, specifies the cure. Because the satire apparently refers to the 1578-79 courtship of Queen Elizabeth by the Duke d'Alençon (second son of Catherine de Medici, Queen Mother of Catholic France, and, as brother of Henri III, possible heir to the throne), it has been credited as Spenser's attempt to warn Elizabeth of the dangers of such an alliance.[5] The function of the lion imagery is thus indisputably political, though the scholarly dust has yet to settle around whom, exactly, it represents.[6]

To summarize the tale briefly, the shrewd Fox and the gullible Ape, discontented with their mean station in life, undertake a social climb through the three estates. Disguised first as soldiers, they prey upon the honest peasantry, and then, disguised as priests, upon the corrupt clergy (ll. 45-569). The subsequent exposure of their true natures forces them to flee, and they wander aimlessly until they are directed by a very well-dressed mule to the Court, whose general corruption, relieved only by a paean to the "good courtier" (ll. 717-92), provides a temporary sanctuary for them (ll. 570-919). Eventually, despite their banishment from court, and spurred on by greed, envy, and ambition, they steal the hide, crown, and sceptre of the drowsing lion; protected by these accoutrements of sovereignty, they usurp the throne itself (ll. 925-1066). Predictably, their criminal

misgovernment of the realm causes great suffering until Jove, patron of Kings and Empires, takes note of the chaos and sends his emissary, Mercury, down to wake the sleeping monarch and charge it to restore order (ll. 1067-1332). The lion redeems its shame by punishing the Fox and the Ape and resuming its office, and the tale ends with a perfunctory four lines laying all blame for any offence it may cause at the door of Mother Hubberd (ll. 1333-1388).

To say that Spenser's use of the lion in Mother Hubberds Tale is probably the most unambiguous one he ever makes of the image does not confine the image to politics alone, however, for allegorical imagery is characterized by its capacity to evoke multivalent responses in the reader, and even in this relatively straightforward fable, the meanings associated with its lions exhibit considerable though always controlled shifts. The poem's opening lines are a case in point: though they are reminiscent of Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, they set a scene that evokes the plague-stricken Florence of Boccaccio's Decameron rather than England's burgeoning spring. The image of the retiring sun (always closely analogous to the lion as will be later demonstrated) is linked firmly to the poem's prevailing themes of laxity, oppression, and corruption, even as it prefigures the motif of monarchy.

> It was the month, in which the righteous Maide,
> That for disdaine of sinful worlds upbraide,
> Fled back to heaven, whence she was first conceived,
> Into her silver bowre the Sunne received;
> And the hot Syrian Dog on him awaiting,
> After the chafed Lyons cruell bayting,
> Corrupted had th'ayre, with his noysome breath,
> And powr'd on th'earth plague, pestilence and death.[7]

In these lines Spenser is indicating most obliquely that the sun, proceeding along its annual ecliptic, has left the sign of Leo the Lion and entered the house of Virgo (the zodiacal maid associated in the Elizabethan mind with Astraea, Justice, and their unwed queen).[8] The time of year is thus August, and Sirius, the Dog-star, is held responsible for the epidemic and doldrums[9] which have moved the anonymous and melancholy speaker of the poem to retire to his bed (11. 13-27). This concatenation of astrological, seasonal, and psychological information, which intimates a cause and effect relationship, alerts the reader immediately to the general atmosphere of malaise which is later expressed socially and politically as the consequence of an absent or somnolent monarch. The "bowre" into which the sun retreats foreshadows the "gloomy glade," and "secret shade" where the lion, dozing "for heate" (11. 952-4), will be found and pillaged by the corrupt Fox and Ape. These introductory lines provide, then, not only setting and themes, but also suggest a characterization of the lion image in a context appropriate to its later function in the poem. Through the sun's association with the Queen (Virgo), the lion (Leo), and

the pestilence in the kingdom (Sirius), its withdrawal to a "bowre" is analogous to Elizabeth's royal power retreating from its proper sphere of influence.[10]

Spenser first mentions the lion as an image of monarchy when the two rascals meet the gorgeous Mule, who tutors them in effective procedures for gaining and maintaining positions at Court. When the Ape, supremely conscious of the pleasures and perils of getting and keeping such prominence, asks who is currently most powerful, the Mule replies:

> Marie (said he) the highest now in grace,
> Be the wilde beasts, that swiftest are in chace;
> For in their speedie course and nimble flight
> The Lyon now doth take the most delight:
> But chieflie, ioyes on foote them to beholde,
> Enchaste with chaine and circulet of golde:
> So wilde a beast so tame ytaught to bee,
> And buxome to his bands is ioy to see.
> So well his golden Circlet him beseemeth:
> But his late chayne his Liege unmeete esteemeth;
> For so brave beasts she loveth best to see,
> In the wilde forrest raunging fresh and free.
> (II. 619-30, emphasis mine)

The undisguised pronoun clearly implies that the Queen is meant here, as both "liege" and, it seems to me, "lyon," though Grosart's reading of the passage interprets the lion as a reference to the Earl of Leicester.[11]

As I understand the passage, "The Lyon doth take the most delight" refers to the monarch's pleasure in the activities of her "wilde beasts" or courtiers. While she is not directly participating in their activities, "but chieflie, ioyes on foote them to beholde," she awards

them marks of her favor ("chaine and circulet of golde") and delights in seeing these tokens worn. The activities might include the expeditions of navigators like Raleigh or Drake, or the courtly attentions of Leicester, whom, among others, she encouraged as a possible husband.[12] Additionally, she delights in seeing the "beasts'" native fierceness restrained by these golden "bands" of royal gratitude, and only lately has repented of awarding such tokens because she has discovered that her gratitude was unmerited.

Grosart, on the other hand, understands the Lyon to refer only to Leicester, "who now in court doth bear the greatest sway" (1. 916), and is thus the chief recipient of the Liege's favors. Happily tamed by receipt of the golden circulet, Leicester the lion leaves off ambition for a while and delights in watching the "performances" of the other "beasts" at court. Grosart justifies this reading by claiming that the Dudley arms (Leicester being his title, and Robert Dudley being his actual name) bear the figure of a lion. The phrase "But his later chayne his Liege unmeete esteemeth," he assumes to refer to Elizabeth's rage at being informed by Simier (Master of the Wardrobe to Alençon, and probably the model for the Ape), of Leicester's secret marriage to Lettice Knollys, her cousin, and one of the women at court she most detested.[13] It is well known that the Queen's vanity was

violently piqued whenever any of her favorites thought to marry, so that the line which says she prefers to see her "brave beasts raunging fresh and free" may refer to this side of her character.[14]

The interpretation offered here, which agrees with W. L. Renwick's,[15] has one major difficulty. It lies in reconciling the plural "them" for the wild beasts "that swiftest are in chace," with the singular "wild . . . beast so tame ytaught to bee,/And buxome to his bands" (emphasis mine), but I think the problem occurs because the last six lines may be an interpolation added, presumably, just prior to the 1591 publication, while the bulk of the poem was probably written more than a decade earlier.[16] If it is true, as Greenlaw argues, that Spenser was under Leicester's protection when writing the satire,[17] it is unlikely that he would refer to the incident of Leicester's marriage and the Queen's anger when the wound was still raw. On the whole then, it is reasonable to conclude that the lion of l. 622 probably referred to the Queen in the first manuscript versions of MHT, and after revision, came to suggest Leicester as an additional resonance.[18]

The poem itself suggests that the metaphor "beasts" for the various courtiers is established by the conventions of fable, but a factual precedent for Spenser's metaphor lies in the Queen's whimsical custom of nicknaming

the men of her court--of creating a kind of menagerie out of them. Simier, himself dubbed the "Ape" by Elizabeth, acknowledges this custom in his coded despatches for the Continent.[19] Greenlaw characterizes her as "Circe" because of the habit.[20] Alençon, a painfully ugly little man some twenty-three years her junior, yet an engaging suitor by virtue of his Italian sophistication, she called her "Frog."[21] His mother, Catherine de Medici, was warily referred to as "Serpent."[22] Of the Englishmen, quiet Egerton was "Dromedary," and Burleigh, "Leviathan" (and in the Queen's more childlike moods, "Spirit"), while the complex Walsingham was "moor," and Oxford (Burleigh's ungracious and spiteful son-in-law) was "boar."[23] Most importantly, Leicester answered (on occasions whose emotional tenors are suggested by the epithets) variously to "Sweet Robin," "bear," and "lion."[24]

The effect on Elizabeth of Alençon's very capable wooing, coupled with Simier's flattery and Burleigh's tacit encouragement of their manoeuvring[25] may help to explain the mesmerized state of the lion when it is awakened by Mercury near the end of the poem.

> At last [Mercury] found, where sleeping [the lion] did ly:
> The wicked weed, which there the Foxe did lay,
> From underneath his head he tooke away,
> And then him waking, forced vp to rise.
> The Lion looking vp gan him auize,
> As one late in a traunce, what had of long
> Become of him: for fantasie is strong.
> (1320-26)

Mercury's function here may mirror the poet's purpose in writing the allegory: to rouse the monarch from the lethargy of foolish dreams which causes it to neglect the strenuous business of government.[26]

> Arise (said Mercuriee) thou sluggish beast,
> That here lies senseles, like the corpse deceast,
> The whilst thy kingdom from thy head is rent,
> And thy throne royall with dishonour blent.
> (1327-30)

If Burleigh tolerated the overtures of Simier and Alençon and winked at the Queen's apparent susceptibility to their blandishments, it was in the service of an intricate strategy which combined shrewd tactics of delay and blatant opportunism to preserve both English peace and his own security.[27] The Lord High Treasurer's policy toward the French alliance aimed at quieting Catholic threats from Ireland and Scotland as well as from France. If the Queen married and had children, the problem of the succession, a perpetual anxiety, would be naturally solved. And most important to the exercise of his own personal power, the glowing heat of Leicester's ambition to share the throne would be completely extinguished.

There is no hard evidence to prove that Spenser was aware of Burleigh's strategies, but his presence during most of the episode at Leicester House in the company of Sidney and other opponents to the marriage, and his probable allegorization of the events in the Shepheardes Calender[28] argue for almost certain exposure to Puritan

interpretations of Burleigh's motives. These interpretations would undoubtedly emphasize the sinister elements of greed, guile, and hunger for power in many of the actions of Burleigh and his son, Robert Cecil; and his daring to enunciate these elements through the characters of the Fox and the Ape probably resulted in Spenser winning the Cecil family's permanent enmity.[29] Though the poet naively thought to hide "behind the skirts of Mother Hubberd"[30] and imputed to her the various disturbances his tale might generate, he probably did not allow enough for the fact that his transparent literary subterfuge would be ignored by sophisticated readers bred on intrigue and anxious to see in the Fox and the Ape any number of prominent courtiers. These readers would be more than eager to infer, for instance, that Cecil's special fervor to enrich his own offspring was a prime target of Spenser's satire:

> Iustice he [the Fox] solde iniustice for to buy,
> And for to purchase for his progeny.
> Ill might it prosper, that ill gotten was,
> But so he got it, little did he pas.
> He fed his cubs with fat of all the soyle,
> And with the sweete of others sweating toyle.
> (1147-52)

This swipe apparently is a reference to Burleigh's manoeuvering to have Robert appointed to the Privy Council, and after Walsingham's death in 1590, to the Secretaryship.[31] A 1592 Deposition against Burleigh's "Machiavellian policy," though too late to be evidence for

Spenser's satiric reference, still supports what were certainly perceived as Burleigh's general tendencies.[32] Burleigh's framing of the customs and the frequent complaints which the Queen received about him also substantiate the egregious ambitions attributed to the Lord Treasurer as the Fox.[33]

But if Burleigh was predatory, Leicester was worse.[34] Renwick explains that Spenser "is playing the old game of attributing to the opposite party the commonplaces of crime, some known by contemporary practice, some traditional."[35] Aside from his early naked ambition to participate in royal power by marrying the Queen, it is known that Leicester was from time to time engaged in dealings with the Spanish Condé, hoping to arrange a Spanish alliance against France.[36] Greenlaw characterizes him as "able but reckless."[37] These intrigues, and whatever other attempts he made to augment his personal fortunes, are of less moment than the very real distress caused by the Puritan outcries over the imminent alliance, and as their acknowledged leader, Leicester was dangerously near to fomenting rebellion. The outraged sermons preached in London pulpits (occasionally to the Queen herself, much to her displeasure) about the infamous Frenchman who had condoned the murder of Protestants in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre some six or seven years before, and the riot of publications denouncing the

proposed marriage churned the entire kingdom up into factions.[38] Most notorious of the pamphlets published was "The Gaping Gulph," written by one John Stubbs, whose name was justified in a macabre pun when he lost his right hand as royal punishment for his invective.[39] The pamphlet was published by Hugh Singleton, happily spared the same disfigurement. The importance of this detail lies in the fact that Singleton, within a month of his pardon, printed Spenser's Shepheardes Calender, evidently due to the influence of religious and political compatriots at Leicester House.[40]

Spenser was thus clearly conscious of all the details in the dissension, so even had he not intended his satire to point specifically to either Burleigh or Leicester, but rather simply to indicate generally to the Queen the unfortunate results her present policy might lead to, his satire was bound to be interpreted most specifically by the many privy to court intrigue and gossip. The same readers delighted by Burleigh's skewering could thus be relied upon to note that Leicester was in many ways as great a danger to the realm as his powerful opponent; the conclusion that the general welfare of the country must suffer through their competitive greed could hardly be avoided. The quarrel between Burleigh's entrenched power and the vociferous remonstrations of the Puritans, in other words, appeared, to Spenser's misfortune, as worthy

of blame in preventing good government as the unwelcome attentions of the French. Although it is extremely unlikely that Spenser had intended to portray Leicester to his disadvantage, or even that he had Burleigh specifically in mind,[41] Elizabethan ingenuity could be counted on to supply sufficient imagination to Spenser's allegory to provoke not only Leicester's embarrassment at Burleigh's being mocked by a man under Leicester's protection,[42] but Leicester's own genuine anger at being himself exposed as a possible butt of his protege's wit. Spenser's abrupt departure for Ireland in the summer of 1580 could then be interpreted as the result of a more general wish, shared by minister and patron (and perhaps monarch) alike, to see him safely gone from the already sufficiently agitated centers of power.

When the "enraged" lion in MHT reaches out fruitlessly for its rough hide, crown, and sceptre, it chafes at the indignity implied in the theft of the royal paraphernalia (ll. 1333-1342).[43] By having the lion "forbear belief" in the mendacious Fox (l. 1365) and slay the foreign warders that keep the beasts from their monarch's palace, Spenser appears to be advocating a general policy of reform which the queen should undertake to reestablish her sovereignty and the concord proper to her realm. That he is certain such a policy of justified reform would be successful is indicated by the reactions

of both Ape and Fox to the display of the lion's literally naked power (1. 1343):

> And th'Ape himselfe, as one whose wits were reft,
> Fled here and there, and everie corner sought,
> To hide himselfe from his owne feared thought.
> But the false Foxe when he the Lion heard,
> Fled closely forth, streightway of death afeard,
> And to the Lion came, full lowly creeping,
> With fained face, and watrie eyne halfe weeping,
> T'excuse his former treason and abusion
> And turning all unto the Apes confusion.
> (1356-64)

Significantly, however, Spenser has the poem end with acts of comparative mercy towards the guilty pair. Rather than executing them for their felonies, the Lion

> The Foxe, first Author of that treacherie,
> ...did uncase, and then away let flie.
> And the' Apes long taile (which then he had) he quight
> Cut off, and both eares pared of their hight.
> (1379-82)

This aspect of power, its sovereign exercise of mercy, or more fittingly of magnanimity, is everywhere apparent in Spenser's use of the lion, as I shall show. Whenever lion imagery is present and the concept of mercy is absent, the situation is implicitly perverse, as in the Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Masque of Cupid, for instance. By examining the lion in Mother Hubberds Tale in a context of specific national policy (with all its implicit weaknesses), some foundations are laid for drawing conclusions about Spenser's other lions in similar political or quasi-political settings; certainly Mercilla's lion, for instance, and Britomart's are relevant here, and conceivably Una's lion as well.

Spenser's initial interest in political satire dwindles rapidly after Mother Hubberds Tale (perhaps due to the apparent effects it had on his career), and though his habit of allegorizing history never left him, he tends to emphasize the distant political history of chronicle,[44] largely (and safely) mythologized.[45] Where his allegorizations of contemporary events are fairly obvious, he invariably couples them with almost fulsome praise of the powers that be. Where they are less obvious, they are often so subtle as to be almost uninterpretable. This, no doubt, was protective coloration, that he who ran might be read.

Other early poems besides Mother Hubberds Tale contain lions too, however, and though their contexts maintain a certain dependence on heraldry to explain the presence of the lions, with political implications never far from the surface, the main inspiration of these minor poems is literary, and their matter is the right relations between lovers rather than between politicians and heads of state. In Daphnaida, which was written in imitation of Chaucer's Book of the Duchess, a quaint lioness betokens the much-beloved and much-mourned wife of a man Spenser probably knew of through Raleigh.[46] Where they appear in Amoretti 20, the lion and lioness signify the limits of power, as examples of "right attitude" in the poet's own fluctuating courtship of his mistress.

The Daphnaida, an elegy on Douglas Howard, was probably written between August 1590, and 1 January 1591, o.s.[47] Though it is addressed to the Marquess of Northampton (the "Mansilia" of Colin Clout's Come Home Again [11. 508-15], and Swedish aunt of Arthur Gorges, Douglas' surviving husband), there is no reason to doubt that Spenser's intention was as much to present a formal tribute to the widower's grief as to promote his own interests through praise of a prominent and powerful family. In Colin Clout's Come Home Again, written around the same time (and dedicated to Raleigh, Gorges' cousin, 27 Dec. 1591), the poet summons Alcyon to turn from tears to mirth (11. 384-391), and it is commonly assumed that this Alcyon is the same as the grieving Alcyon of Daphnaida.[48]

The dead woman was herself a grand-niece of the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was executed under Henry VIII in 1547 "on a frivolous charge of treasonably quartering the royal arms,"[49] and whose father, Thomas (Third Duke of Norfolk) had been executed in 1571 for his treacherous attempts to marry Mary Queen of Scots. The greater part of the evidence for the prosecution, however, consisted of the again rather frivolous matter of prophecy, in which the Norfolk arms, bearing a lion, were given fatal symbolic significance:

> At the exaltation of the moon (which was the rising of the Earl of Northumberland) the lion (which is the Queen's Majesty) shall be overthrown; then shall the lion be joined with the lioness (which is the Duke of Norfolk with the Scottish Queen, for they both bear lions in their arms) and their whelps shall reign (that is their posterity shall have the kingdom).[50]

Norfolk's eldest son, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, also came very near to execution on the evidence of

> an Emblem which was found in the Earl's Cabinet, wherein was painted on one Side a Hand shaking a Serpent into the Fire, with this inscription, If God be with us, who shall be against us? and on the other Side, a Lion rampant, his claws cut off, with this motto, Yet a Lion.[51]

Norfolk's younger brother, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, displayed a certain shrewdness in skeptically repudiating any esoteric meanings to "painted treatises garnished with sundry beasts and byrds" which his friends had urged him to interpret.[52] He wrote A defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies (1583) "in respect of some progenitours, and auncestors of mine which smarted, for presuming overmuch vpon their hopes,"[53] as a clear announcement of his utter lack of political ambitions and his reluctance to be even vaguely associated with those of his family who had been thus ambitious.

Both Henry and his daughter had reason to fear the Howards, the principal ones being their (generally) staunch Roman Catholicism, and their possession of the title to Norfolk, the premier dukedom of England, which ranked their heirs, after Princes of the Blood, next to the throne. The full implications of these political

matters will be made more manifest in the chapter on Britomart's dream, and its connection with Mercilla and the allegorization of the Queen of Scots' trial. For the present, the armorial lion of the afflicted Howards is significant in that Spenser specifically refers to it in the dedication of Daphnaida, and uses it as an "oddly imaginative metaphor"[54] for the dead woman in the elegy itself, where its political resonances are subdued and subordinated to the formal expression of the widower's grief.

Spenser acknowledges and honors the ancient lineage of the Howards, of which both Douglas and her husband are descendants, and courteously ignores the "blots" that the various treason trials, imprisonments, and executions have cast upon their name:

> I have the rather presumed humbly to offer vnto your Honour the dedication of this little Poëme, for that the noble and vertuous Gentlewoman of whom it is written, was by match neere allied, and in affection greatly devoted vnto your Ladiship. The occasion why I wrote the same, was aswell the great good fame which I heard of her deceassed, as the particular goodwill which I beare vnto her husband Master Arthur Gorges, a lover of learning and vertue, whose house, as your Ladiship by marriage hath honored [Helena, as the widow of the brother of Katherine Parr, wife to Henry VIII, had married Sir Thomas Gorges, Arthur's father, in 1571], so doe I find the name of them by many notable records, to be of such great antiquitie in this Realme, and such as have ever borne themselves with honourable reputation of the world, and vnspotted loyaltie to their Prince and Countrey.... And therefore I doe assure myselfe, that no due honour done to the White Lyon but will be most gratefull to your Ladiship, whose husband and children do so neerely participate with the bloud of that noble family ....[55]

It is clear from Spenser's phrasing that he means to honor the dead woman's family as much as to honor her, and this intention informs the choice of the lion image to represent her.[56] In the context of the elegy itself, the image is introduced as what the nonplussed narrator terms a "riddle," and he reflects our own bemusement at the quaintness of such a metaphor for a beloved spouse:

> Yet doth not my dull wit vnderstand
> The riddle of thy loved Lionesse;
> For rare it seems in reason to be skand
> That man, who doth the whole worlds rule possesse,
> Should to a beast his noble hart embrase,
> And be the vassall of his vassalesse.
> Therefore more plaine aread this doubtfull case.
> (175-82)

Since the lion image is confined to the beginning of the poem, and to a comparatively brief appearance, it is convenient to synopsize the poem here and to include the significant stanzas, in order to more plaine aread this riddle of Alcyon's lioness. After invoking the three fates and Hecate as muses more suitable to elegy than the daughters of Mnemosyne, the poet relates that on a cold autumn evening, as he walked meditating on the general misery of the human condition (and of his own particular though unnamed suffering), he saw an unkempt and melancholy man approach, dressed in deep mourning and bearing a Jacob-staff. Upon recognizing him as Alcyon, a much-altered friend, the narrator importunes the wretched man, for friendship's sake, to ease his grief by telling him the cause of it. After discharging some ill-tempered

comments on the profundity of his sorrow, Alcyon then relents, and more graciously recounts his early quiet days on the Sabrina [Severn] river, tending his flocks and playing his pipes in freedom and contentment. While thus occupied in the fields, he one day discovers "a faire young Lioness,/White as the native Rose before the chaunge,/ Which Venus blood did in her leaves impresse' (11. 107-09). Attracted by "Her youthful sports and kindlie wantonnesse,/ That did all other Beasts in beawtie staine" (11. 111-12), he endeavors to capture her, and is so successful in his strategy that he tames her and permanently wins her industrious loyalty:

> So well I wrought with mildnes and with paine,
> That I her caughte disporting on the grene,
> And brought away fast bound with silver chaine.
>
> And afterwards I handled her so fayre,
> That though by kind shee stout and salvage were,
> For being borne an auncient Lions haire,
> And of the race, that all wild beastes do feare;
> Yet I her fram'd and wan so to my bent,
> That shee became so meeke and milde of cheare,
> As the least lamb in all my flock that went.
> (11. 117-26)

This taming of the lioness, somewhat strained but seemly enough in a simple tale with a pastoral setting, reads slightly less well as an allegory of courtship and marriage. The tenuous line between loving companionship and undaunted servitude in the following stanzas seems crossed too often to offer a compelling similitude of amorous byplay. But the same note, though in a different key, sounds in the Amoretti too, as we shall see; however

Spenser has firmer control there of the emotional tensions between the various elements of exalted love and "beastliness."

The image of the lamb (l. 126) is equally important, for Spenser elsewhere pairs lion and lamb.[57] This pairing is doubtless a reflection of proverbial lore which has the lion and lamb lying down together to signify peace, though the likeliest source, the Bible, actually pairs the wolf and the lamb (Isa. 11:6-7; 65:25). The vision of the Apocalypse also pairs the lion and lamb, but the significance there is as terrifying as it is salvific,[58] and so is obviously not what Spenser is trying to emphasize here. The equation of Alcyon's helpful lion with the meek lamb of his flock evokes the presence of Una's helpful lion in FQ I.iii, where a similar linkage can also be made. Compare, for instance, Una's taming of the lion in the argument to canto three: "Forsaken Truth long seekes her love,/ And makes the Lyon mylde," which parallels Alcyon's subduing of his lioness, with the next stanza of Daphnaida (below), which, barring the final line, could apply equally to the behavior of Una's lion (I.iii. 5-55ff). This recurrent parallelism in Spenser's poetic reveals a semblance of pattern which depends upon the traditional significances attached to certain beast motifs.

For shee in field, where ever I did wend,
Would wend with me, and waite by me all day.
And all the night that I in watch did spend,
If cause requir'd, or els in sleepe, if nay,
Shee would all night by mee or watch, or sleepe;
And evermore when I did sleepe or play,
She of my flock would take full warie keepe.

Safe then and safest, were my sillie sheepe,
Ne fear'd the Wolfe, ne fear'd the wildest beast:
All were I drown'd in careless quiet deepe:
My lovelie Lionesse without beheast
So carefull was for them and for my good,
That when I waked, neither most nor least
I found miscaried or in plaine or wood.
(127-140)

The dignified pliancy of the lioness presents a view of marriage which is largely unpalatable to our current tastes, for its very idealism appears to us as distorted: most of the generous solicitude in the poem comes, in theory, from one party, and in practice, from the other. The most uncomfortable feature of these stanzas is the contrast between Alcyon's otiose life of sleep and play, and the diligent attentiveness of his mate. His taming of her has been spectacularly successful, it seems, and the depth of his affection, though undoubted, does not provide sufficient ballast to offset the weight of his sloth, however appreciative it might be. As an allegory of ideal marital affection then, what is lacking is reciprocity.

This apparent defect tends to retreat from view when the background of the couple represented by Alcyon and the lioness is examined, and the lines take on a more historical and personal and less strictly literary

significance. The care which the lioness takes for the flocks, for instance, can be understood as a reflection of the difficulties Douglas and Arthur had in maintaining possession of their rightful property. Though their mutual affection was apparently genuine, their six year marriage was troubled by the interference of avaricious relatives. Douglas' father, Henry Howard, second Viscount Byndon, a man noted for his violent temper and perpetual indebtedness, had attempted to prevent the match, in spite of the Queen's approval of it,[59] and continued to harass the couple until his death in 1590. Douglas' great uncle, Thomas Howard, successor to the Byndon title and also a disagreeable and greedy man, proved the extent of his affections by challenging the legitimacy of little Ambrosia (b. Christmas Day, 1588, and mentioned by her actual name in l. 290) in order to prevent her inheriting the large Howard estates.[60] These legal squabbles were in effect at Douglas' death in August, 1590, and may have helped speed it on. She died at eighteen, after a long illness,[61] which indicates that the deathbed speech of ll. 263-92 may be more than a conventional rhetorical trope.

Seen in this light, the odd character of Spenser's metaphors--the taming of the young lioness and her subsequent meek subservience--appear to make more sense. Little more than a child at her wedding (she was betrothed at

thirteen, on 12 Oct., 1584 and married to Arthur the next day),[62] Douglas was united to a member of the same family, with the matter of inheritance obviously a prime anxiety to all the various parties concerned. Arthur Gorges, a man only slightly younger than Spenser himself,[63] was about twenty years older than Douglas, and was thus given charge of a girl almost as much in need of raising as of marrying.[64] There is also some (not impartial) evidence that her father treated her very badly. The poem's emphasis on Alcyon's tenderness, his joy at the lioness' "youthful sports," and his "fayre handling" of her, as well as on his profound grief, seems to reflect a more poignant situation than the poem's rhetorical facility at first suggests. Similarly, the lioness' industry is an indication of their pressing mutual concerns under the duress of continuous animosity from without.

The "relegation" of the lioness to the status of a tamed creature who works while her mate reflects at leisure on her virtue has another source in literary and historical tradition: that of Praiseworthy Women, whose foundation lies primarily in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, both influences on Spenser's thought through Chaucer, if not directly.[65] In the image of the lioness Spenser has fortuitously captured the essence of the Valiant or Worthy Woman of Proverbs 31:10; strength (31:17),

fortitude (31:27), and clemency (31:26); and in comparing the lioness to the lamb, he has successfully evoked the meekness of Ecclesiasticus' Good Woman (26:19).[66] The two stanzas of Daphnaida quoted just above, for instance, echo Prov. 31:15 and 27:

> And she hath risen in the night, and given a prey to her household...[an inexplicable locution, but oddly apt when applied to Spenser's lioness];
>
> She hath looked well to the paths of her house, and hath not eaten her bread idle.

Similarly, lines 141-47 of the elegy reverberate with the implications of verses 23 ("Her husband is honourable in the gates, when he sitteth among the senators of the land"), and 28 ("Her children rose up, and called her blessed; her husband, and he praised her"):

> Oft did the Shepheardes, which my hap did heare,
> And of their lasses which my luck envide,
> Daylie resort to me from farre and neare,
> To see my Lyonesse, whose praises wide
> Were spred abroad: and when her worthiness
> Much greater than the rude report they tri'de,
> They her did praise, and my good fortune blesse.
>
> Long thus I ioyed in my happiness,
> And well did hope my ioy would have no end.
> (141-47)

Though Ecclesiasticus tends to emphasize simplicity and goodness as attributes of sanctity ("Such is a wise and silent woman, and there is nothing so much worth as a well instructed soul" [26:18], industriousness is not neglected ("The grace of a diligent woman shall delight her husband..." [26:16]). Verse 2 (as quoted in Miller, p. 396) suggests the sense of treasured company which

Alcyon praises in his lioness (ll. 159-60 below): "A virtuous woman rejoiceth her husband, and shall fulfill the years of his life in peace." The beloved beast's eventual fate, which Alcyon then sorrowfully relates to the narrator, is given an even greater poignancy by comparison with Prov. 31:12: "She will render him good, and not evil, all the days of her life."

> But oh fond man, that in worlds ficklenesse
> Reposedst hope, or weenedst her thy friend,
> That glories most in mortall miseries,
> And daylie doth her changefull counsels bend
> To make new matter fit for Tragedies.
>
> For whilest I was thus without dread or dout,
> A cruel Satyre with his murdrous dart,
> Greedie of mischiefe ranging all about,
> Gave her the fatall wound of deadlie smart:
> And reft fro me my sweete companion,
> And reft fro me my love, my life, my hart:
> My Lyonesse (ah woe is me) is gon.[67]

The lioness' virtues and Alcyon's grief take on cosmic proportions when the bereaved husband declares that on her death she was apotheosized, in an exaltation superior to the classical one of the Nemean lion slain by Hercules, which became merely a star.

> Out of this world thus was she reft awaie,
> Out of the world, unworthy such a spoyle;
> And borne to heauen, for heauen a fitter pray:
> Much fitter than the Lyon, which with toyle
> Alcides slew, and fixt in firmament.
> (162-68)

The presence in the same context of the cruel beast destroyed by Hercules and the mild guardian of Alcyon's flocks is, at first, jarring, and seems almost a slip of the poet's pen. The two lions are so obviously different

that the mention of the Nemean monster seems justified only because it too, is enshrined in the heavens as a kind of Herculean trophy. The sanctification of the lioness (11. 379-81) could be interpreted (rather cynically) as a "trophy" for the Howards as well, but Spenser's purpose here, I think, is rather to call up associations with the heroic grief of Hercules.

Though that grief has a distinctly antithetical source (Hercules, in a fit of madness inflicted on him by jealous Hera, had slain his wife and children), it led to the expiatory fulfillment of the famous twelve labors. The first of these was to slay the Nemean lion, to which Spenser plainly refers. Moreover, as a boy of seventeen, Hercules was reputed to have slain yet another lion, the creature who preyed on the flocks pasturing on Mt. Cithaeron. He had been sent to the mountain by his foster father, Amphitryon, to tend sheep, after the boy, in a rage at being struck by his music teacher, Linus, had killed the man with his own lyre.[68] The significance of the myths lies in the frequent conflation of the two lions in the various sources, and more importantly, so far as Daphnaida is concerned, in the linkage of the one tale's pastoral setting, and the other's heroic grief. Spenser seems to be including tacit reference to both tales to provide classical precedent for his use of the emblematic lion in a pastoral poem, and

for Alcyon's excessive sorrow.[69]

Renwick suggests that Daphnaida's lioness is Spenser's way of employing "the heraldic method of the Parlement of Foules" as a substitute for the "quasi-philosophical game of chess" which takes place in the Book of the Duchess.[70] Spenser certainly imitates Chaucer's elegy,[71] and it seems probable that in addition to the many other similarities between the melancholy situations inspiring both poems, the name of John of Gaunt's lady--Blanche--must have seemed a great stroke of good fortune to the poet intent on eulogizing Arthur Gorges' white lioness. It is even possible that Spenser played on the name of Gaunt in portraying the profoundly stricken Alcyon.[72]

Renwick's claim seems accurate then, given the armorial lion of the Howards, and the various significances extracted from it by this discussion. The distinguished praises offered the lioness in the quiet vignette, and continued throughout the complaints of the poem (though applied there to "Daphne," as Alcyon finally names her in l. 183), do not exist in isolation from Spenser's other poems, however. In the eighty-eight sonnets of the Amoretti sequence, which are commonly assumed to reflect Spenser's own courtship of Elizabeth Boyle, and which, with the Epithalamion, were published in 1595, the poet's idealistic exaltation of his mistress'

virtuous pride alternates with parodic admonitions to its cruelty, a cruelty he often characterizes through exaggerated conceits related to wild animals.

The image of the lion occurs only once in the Amoretti (in 20), but it has several feral companions throughout the sequence--some nameless, as "the beasts of bloody race" in 31, and others specifically identified: the panther of 53 and the tiger of 56.[73] In 31, the beasts are characterized by their "dreadfull countenaunce," which gives fair warning to all possible victims. The poet's proud mistress, however, while maintaining the same ferocity, is treacherously beautiful, and "doth worke the greater scath,/ through sweet allurements of her lovely hew:/ that she the better may in bloody bath/ of such poor thralls her cruelle hands embrew" (11. 9-12). This theme of proud and treacherous beauty is continued in 53, where the panther, again an emblem for the "cruell fayre," displays its proverbially attractive skin in order to trap unwary "beasts" who gaze upon it. The poet accuses his mistress of thus "playing" (1. 5) with him, and alluring him to his own decay "with the goodly semblaunt of her hew" (11. 6-7). The tygre of 56 is likewise a fair predator, "cruell and unkind" (1. 1) who "hunts after bloud, when he by chance doth find/ a feeble beast" (11. 3-4). All these images echo what is probably the best of the "beast" sonnets:

In vaine I seeke and sew to her for grace,
and doe myne humbled hart before her poure,
the whiles her foot she in my necke doth place,
and tread my life downe in the lowly floure.
And yet the Lyon that is Lord of power,
and reigneth ouer euery beast in field,
in his most pride disdeigneth to deuoure
the silly lambe that to his might doth yield.
But she more cruell and more saluage wylde,
then either Lyon or the Lyonesse:
shames not to be with guiltless bloud defylde,
but taketh glory in her cruelnesse.
Fayrer than fayrest, let none euer say,
that ye were blooded in a yeelded pray.
(20)

While the lover is compared to non-specific helpless creatures (thralls and feeble beasts) in 53 and 56, in 20 he is likened to a "silly lamb," thus repeating Spenser's habitual pairing of the two creatures. Significantly, the lady is not equated with the lion and lioness, but maintains, by means of the semi-allegorical comparison with them, a perverse humanness. She is not simply cruel, that is, but "more cruel and more salvage wylde/ than either Lyon or the Lyonesse" (emphasis mine), because she lacks their "natural" magnanimity--the disdain of virtuous pride, which prevents the truly strong from preying on the weak and helpless, the already yielded prey.

What moves these creatures to such pride is the power of love which Spenser expresses quasi-philosophically in the Hymne in Honour of Love:

> Great god of might, that reignest in the mynd,
> And all the bodie to thy hest doest frame,
> Victor of gods, subduer of mankynd,
> That doest the Lions and fell tigers tame,
> Making their cruell rage thy scornefull game,
> And in their roring taking great delight;
> Who can express the glorie of thy might?[74]

The lady of the sonnets, in refusing to submit to the "natural" law of Neoplatonic love, risks separating herself from the common condition of all creatures, and thus merits the poet's opprobrium: her pride is unnatural, hence reprehensible. In effect, he transforms what may be diffident reluctance (or something shrewder, perhaps) into mythical cruelty.

Una's reaction to the ramping and ravenous lion, who, instinctively recognizing her goodness, begins to fawn upon her (FQ, I.iii. 5ff.), provides an additional example of the kind of spontaneous magnanimity Spenser intends in the lions of Amoretti 20, and does so, moreover, in almost the same language (cf. 20:5-8). Her complaint exactly parallels the humble attitude and dejected reasoning of the lover in the Amoretti, and while the fictional situations of Una (who has been abandoned by Redcrosse) and the suitor are only vaguely similar, the tone of the passages is identical.

> The Lyon Lord of euerie beast in field,
> Quoth she, his princely puissance doth abate,
> And mightie proud to humble weake does yield,
> Forgetfull of the hungry rage, which late
> Him prickte, in pittie of my sad estate:
> But he my Lyon, and my noble Lord,
> How does he find in cruell hart to hate

> Her that him lov'd, and ever most adord,
> As the God of my life? Why hath he me abhord?
> (I.iii.7)

Even though the harsh emblems of the beast sonnets, when compared to the sequence's general atmosphere of tranquil sophistication, make an "unseemly" contrast, the animals may illustrate the lowest rungs on the Spenserian ladder of love. Or, to phrase the same idea in (more appropriate) Piconian terms, the presence of the lions evokes the elemental world, a stage of creation which is surpassed by the celestial and angelic or invisible worlds.[75] In the Dedication to Fowre Hymnes, Spenser registers a formal retraction of the doctrines of his earlier poetry and refers explicitly to the theoretical distinctions between earthly and heavenly love:

> Hauing in the greener times of my youth, composed these former two Hymnes in the praise of Loue and beautie, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which being too vehemently caried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then hony to their honest delight, I was moued by the one of you two most excellent Ladies, to call in the same. But being vnable so to doe, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolued at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reforme them, making in stead of those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall loue and beautie, two others of heauenly and celestiall.[76]

In "An Hymne of Heavenly Love," Spenser reiterates his intention to modify the presentation and doctrines of the earlier Hymnes in order to praise what he now considers the superior passion:

Many lewd layes (ah woe is me the more)
In praise of that mad fit, which fooles call loue,
I haue in th'heat of youth made heretofore,
That in light wits did loose affection moue.
But all those follies now I do reproue,
And turned haue the tenor of my string,
The heauenly prayses of true loue to sing.

And ye that wont with greedy vaine desire
To reade my fault, and wondring at my flame,
To warme your selues at my wide sparckling fire,
Sith now that heat is quenched, quench my blame,
And in her ashes shrowd my dying shame:
For who my passed follies now pursewes,
Beginnes his owne, and my old fault renewes.
(8-21)

J. W. Lever's excellent analysis of the Amoretti is thus justified, by Spenser's own precedent, in excluding the eighteen "inferior" sonnets,[77] but the exclusion reduces the breadth and depth of Spenser's poetic vision by emphasizing its austere purity. Lever deletes the eighteen "Tyrannesse" sonnets which describe the humiliation of the scorned lover because "a lady endowed with such virtues" as the poet's philosophical idealism bestows, "cannot degrade her lover or drive him to despair" (p. 120). The difficulty with such admirable reasoning is that it dismisses a fifth of the sequence, and with it, some elements important to the poetic, as opposed to psychic, discipline of the poet's suit: the admittedly exaggerated postures which Lever jettisons function paradoxically to create a degree of imaginative verisimilitude in the otherwise unexceptionable courtship.[78]

Spenser employs similar elements in Timias' thwarted love for Belphoebe (FQ IV.36-47) and opens the eighth canto of Book VI with an admonition to "gentle ladies" which shows that the condemnation of a proud mistress' tyranny and cruelty is an attitude worthy the attention of an epic poet as well as a sonneteer:

> Ye gentle Ladies, in whose soveraine powre
> Love hath the glory of his kingdom left,
> And th'hearts of men, as your eternall dowre,
> In yron chaines, of liberty bereft,
> Delivered hath into your hands by gift;
> Be well aware, how ye the same doe vse,
> That pride doe not to tyranny you lift;
> Least if men you of cruelty accuse,
> He from you take that chiefdome, which ye doe abuse.
>
> And as ye soft and tender are by kynde,
> Adornd with goodly gifts of beauties grace
> So be ye soft and tender eeke in mynde;
> But cruelty and hardnesse from you chace,
> That all your other praises will deface,
> And from you turne the love of men to hate.
> Ensample take of Mirabellaes case,
> Who from the high degree of happy state,
> Fell into wretched woes, which she repented late.[79]

Mirabella's "case" is an extended treatment of the consequences of perverse pride in the lady, and shows that Spenser gave the convention serious consideration. Hamilton claims she represents "bodily gifts" (FQ, p. 676, n. 20:1-4), using the Latin roots of her name as evidence: mira + bella = wondrously beautiful (p. 671, n. 35:1), and thus linking her to one of the prominent characteristics of the Amoretti mistress. When this proud beauty is coupled with an insolent heart, the effects are disastrous, both for her and for those who are unfortunate

enough to love her:

> [She] scornd them all, that love unto her ment,
> ....
> Unworthy she to be belov'd so dere,
> That could not weigh of worthiness aright.
> For beautie is more glorious bright and clere,
> The more it is admir'd of many a wight,
> And noblest she, that served is of noblest knight.
>
> But this coy Damzell thought contrariwize,
> That such proud looks would make her praysed more;
> And that the more she did all love despize,
> The more would wretched lovers her adore.
> What cared she, who sighed for her sore,
> Or who did wayle or watch the wearie night?
> She was borne free, not bound to any wight,
> And so would ever live, and love her owne delight.
>
> Through such her stubborne stifnesse, and hard hart,
> Many a wretch, for want of remedie,
> Did languish long in lifeconsuming smart,
> And at the last through dreary colour die:
> Whilest she, the Ladie of her libertie,
> Did boast her beautie had such soveraine might
> That with the onely twinckle of her eye,
> She could or save, or spill, whom she would hight.
> What could the Gods doe more, but doe it more aright?
> (VI.vii.28-31)

The seventh line of the last stanza would dim the twinkle of Amoretti 16 if Professor Martz had not so securely fixed its happy irony.[80] Similarly, Mirabella's delight in her liberty could be taken as an exaggerated version of the lady's qualms about the "captivity" of love and marriage in Amoretti 10 and 65. Even stanza 31's "stubborne stifnesse" finds a positive analogue in the "too constant stiffnesse" of Amoretti 84. Sonnet 49 too, echoes the language of the last stanza above:

> Fayre cruell, why are ye so fierce and cruell?
> Is it because your eyes have powere to kill?
> Then know that mercy is the mighties iewell,
> And greater glory thinke to save then spill.
> (1-4)

The same phrasing is also present in 38, the Dolphin sonnet, and repeats too, the words and sentiments of 11. 11-12 in sonnet 20:

> But in her pride she doth persever still
> All carelesse how my life for her decayse:
> Yet with one word she can it save or spill
> To spill were pitty, but to save were prayse.
> Chose rather to be praysd for doing good,
> Then to be blam'd for spilling guiltlesse blood.
> (38:9-14)

These lines, in turn, recall the poet's "humble" pleas for mercy in sonnets 53 and 55.

Such parallels can be endlessly multiplied, and they all reflect the male subjugated by love. The tone of the sonnet sequence is generally one of gentle parody, which modifies the brute power represented by animal images: the sonnet male is meek in love, and sues for mercy in a half-serious Petrarchan pose, while the lady is triumphant, due in large part to the power of his imaginative conception of her virtue. In the Masque, however, the cruel god is mounted on a lion, and though he makes the beast obey him, its fearsome aspect corresponds to Cupid's tyranny and recalls the "unrighteous lord of love" (Am. 10) described above in lines 47 and 48 of the Hymne to Love.

> ...the winged God himselfe
> Came riding on a Lion rauenous,
> Taught to obay the menage of that Elfe,
> That man and beast with powre imperious
> Subdeweth to his kingdome tyrannous:
> His blindfold eyes he had a while vnbind,
> That his proud spoyle of that same dolorous
> Faire Dame he might behold in perfect kind;

Which seene, he much reioyced in his cruell mind.
(III.xii.22)

This tyranny evokes passive suffering in Amoret and provokes active resistance in Britomart, so that the tone of the passage is markedly different from the Amoretti's playfulness.[81]

Though Lever's claim that Spenser "at this stage of his literary development . . . and perhaps at this point in his private life--was no longer imaginatively concerned with the wide range of erotic experience that had already been explored on the level of allegory" (p. 100) is undeniably astute, the close similarity in wording and subject matter between the public allegory of The Faerie Queene and the more private allegory of the Amoretti's "psychic discipline of courtship" (Lever, p. 121) shows that his mind continued nevertheless to move in the same patterns. Even if it is granted that the lover's postures of abnegation are immature and unworthy of Spenser's evocation of reasonable love, it must still be admitted that immaturity is nevertheless an ineradicable stage in the attainment of maturity. Thus the poet's inclusion of disproportionate psychological states, if not true to his philosophical idealism, still legitimately reflects the human condition in its less lofty moments. Spenser's treatment of the progress of human love thus tends toward the Miltonic rather than accomplishes it, for he does not so much justify the ways of God to man[82] as

articulate the ways of man toward God.

The poet "worships," for instance, the image of the lady which he has placed in the temple of his mind (22), a reverent and solemn parody of liturgical procedure which is protected from literal interpretation by the presence of the word "goddesse" in the penultimate line. The use of the word, far from being "careless" (Lever, p. 107), is calculated to temper rather than to "obliterate the cumulative effect of what has gone on before" (Lever, p. 107). Similarly, the effects of the lady's eyes in 8, though compared to the ministrations of angels, avoid "excessive sublimation" (Lever, p. 115) in that the service performed is a disciplinary one: "You frame my thoughts and fashion me within,/ You stop my toung and teach my heart to speak,/ you calme the storme that passion did begin,/ strong through your cause, but by your virtue weak." Even her "glorious" beauty, though proof of her derivation from divinity (79), and thus sufficient justification for him to make her his "soverayn saint" and "idoll of [his] thought" (61), is monitory, for it reminds him of his "dewtie" (61:3-2) to her and to the source of all fairness (79:10-13).

In none of these sonnets (all of which Lever finds acceptable) does the poet strike a Miltonic pose, for even when his "spirit doth spred her bolder winges,/ in mind to mount to the purest sky," his "fraile fancy . . .

mantleth most at ease" in thinking how it might please his beloved "here on earth (72)." Spenser anticipates Milton's conceptions--indeed prepares the way for them and may even be responsible for the eventual form they take--but he does not exhibit Milton's rigorous intellectual control over them. He consciously articulates specifically human behavior in all its ample imaginativeness, but makes few attempts to adopt a poetic stance that declares full knowledge of the prerogatives of divine justice.[83]

Those sonnets (including 20) that Lever repudiates, draw on Petrarchan conventions which the poet subtly alters to accommodate his own situation and temperament. Just as he qualifies the flights of spiritual allegory[84] which characterize his admiration of his mistress' pride, he lightheartedly tempers the emotional urgency of his abject submission to that pride by parodying its cruel effects on him. The ironic tone of the "beast" sonnets which epitomize his thralldom is the result of the sharp contrast, uncharacteristic of the sequence's general fluidity, between these images of gross and bloody bestiality and the incorporeal images based on celestial similitudes. The effect is so incongruous we conclude his intention is to make us smile. Though such violent contrasts are handled elsewhere in his poetry with obvious seriousness,[85] and invariably

raise critical eyebrows because of their departure from his usual serenity, we tend to view the beasts in Amoretti only as emblematic counters, as conventional dramatic contrasts, because the focus of the sequence is primarily on the truly admirable mistress and the never seriously-jeopardized mutual devotion between her and the poet.

The poet's devotion is expressed in two ways: up to the lady's capitulation (63), by the formal "tribute" of loyal suffering offered to her cruel power (which parodies both Petrarchan conventions of love and feudal conventions of loyalty), and afterwards, by his attempts to persuade her that her loss of liberty (65, 71) is more apparent than real. The "sweet . . . bands" which "true love" ties "without constraint or dread of any ill" (65) recall, in tone and intention, the "soft bands" of love in the sequence's opening sonnet, and indicate that traditional images of cruelty are present in the sequence primarily to balance the idealism and to point to the real issue, which is not so much her pride in wilfully opposing his suit as it is the necessity for mutual benevolence between the two lovers.[86] The idea of permanent rejection is as painful to him as the idea of permanent servitude is to her; and, of course, her freedom implies the possibility of his rejection:

> Vnrighteous Lord of love, what law is this,
> That me thou makest thus tormented be:
> the whiles she lordeth in licentious blisse
> of her freewill, scorning both thee and me.
> (10:1-4)

His initial pleas for mercy (i.e., devotion equal to his own) are transformed, therefore, in the later sonnets to promises to extend mercy. The formal posture of submission which he willingly assumes at the beginning of the courtship becomes the posture she too must formally assume as a necessary adjunct to that courtship's successful denouement. What emerges from this transformation is an attitude of genuine reciprocity,[87] of mutual submission which forestalls any sort of cruel "maistry," and postulates instead "the marriage of true minds." The abnegation of the lover thus shifts in tone as his suit progresses, just as the lady's "proud disdain" is modified.

The poet's own pride is implicit in the sonnets treating his rejection, and the exaggerated humiliation of his Petrarchan pose is revealed by comparing it to the posture of more genuine humility apparent in some of the others. In 66, for instance, his attitudinizing shifts to an entirely different key and emphasizes not only his conviction of good fortune in being loved by her, but also the "reflex" action by which the affection between them shall be increased:

> To all those happy blessings which ye have,
> with plenteous hand by heaven upon you thrown,
> this one disparagement they to you gave,
> that he your love lent to so meane a one.
> Yee whose high worths surpassing paragon,
> could not on earth have found one fit for mate,
> ne but in heaven matchable to none,
> why did ye stoup unto so lowly state?
> But ye thereby much greater glory gate,
> then had ye sorted with a princes pere:
> for now your light doth more itself dilate,
> and in my darknesse greater doth appeare.
> Yet since your light hath once enlumined me,
> with my reflex yours shall encreased be.

The same attitude of humility and reciprocity characterizes sonnet 82, and is epitomized in the epigrammatic couplet that closes 83: "Only behold her rare perfection,/and blesse your fortunes rare election."

He thus moves from the rueful admiration (3, 10, 19, 21) or admonishment (25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 38, 48) of her pride in the earlier sonnets to an admiration increased and intensified by having won her. He too is exalted by what he has chosen to exalt. Moreover, this attitude shows that he has kept his promise not to "constrain" her, but with "simple truth and mutual good will" seeks to preserve "the league twixt them" (65).

In terms of images, this transformation is marked by the shift from panthers, tigers, and lions (53, 56, 20) emblematic of power, aggression, and the desperation of thwarted love to various birds representing vulnerability, flight, and emotional delicacy. An examination of the distribution of bird imagery throughout the sequence is useful, for it demonstrates Spenser's customary evenness

and harmony. The cuckoo of 19, ribald harbinger of spring and "ydle" amorous pursuits, for instance, is matched by the witless cuckoo of 85, and both function as obvious contrasts to the gentle birds of sonnets 65, 73, and 89.

The first of these represents the lady's future within the "sweet . . . bands" of love: "without constraynt or dread of any ill:/the gentle birde feeles no captivity/within her cage, but singes and feeds her fill." We tend to bristle at the notion of a beloved woman being likened to a caged bird, redolent as it is of Patmoresque domestic bliss, but the image is a simple one, and is rendered inoffensive by the sequence's general air of subdued irony and the poet's smiling inclusion of himself in such captivity. In 73, he announces that the anxiety he experiences when away from his mistress is relieved by his heart--likened to a bird--being "gently encaged" or made a "thrall" in the "lodgings" of her bosom. In the last sonnet of the sequence the culver or mourning dove represents the poet pining because separated from his beloved.

The cuckoo images reinforce the conscious "merry" or "idle" elements of the sequence--its wry and meditative playfulness--while the encaged birds and mourning dove create an atmosphere of quaint delicacy in the courtship, which contrasts subtly with the passionate rigor

represented by the land and sea creatures.

An additional animal image that helps to illustrate the theme of reciprocity emerging from the lover's mutual submission is that of the deer. The lost fawn of 78 represents the subordination of the poet's pride, but it is a different subordination altogether from his earlier conventional servility. It occurs, appropriately, after the lady has been "goodly won with her owne will beguyld" in 67, and is evidence that his promise to share her submission (65) will be kept. The fact that he refers to himself as a hunter in 67 is almost overlooked because of the extraordinary air of detached wonder and tenderness the sonnet evokes. The epithet shows, nonetheless, that a shift in the balance of power between the two lovers has occurred. The absence of such power caused his earlier suffering; now its presence contributes to his triumph. The triumph is a sensitive victory in 67, but in 69 the lady reverts momentarily to "glorious spoyle," a less fortunate image representing the reward of his long and arduous labors; in effect, he congratulates himself on the completion of an Herculean task. The actual exercise of the newly-won power is, however, the antithesis of power as expressed in the beast sonnets and the Masque of Cupid. In the mutual benevolence that true reciprocity calls forth, Spenser dismisses the stormy rages and all the predatory formulations of Ovidian or Courtly love,

though the wounds of love, significantly, remain (6, 65).

The ferocious animals signify, then, the initial plane of the poet's imaginative approach to the conceptual "problem" of love, and the deer and birds represent increasingly elevated planes. The first is characterized by the comparatively vivid depiction of strong passions, and the second and third by tenderness and delicacy. All three are fully integrated in the sequence and neither can be eliminated without damaging the overall effect the sequence creates.[88] By the end of the Amoretti, both poet and lady are "captive" in love's soft bands, and a mutual abhorrence of the abuse of sovereign love, treated lightly here and more strenuously in the Masque of Cupid, has been established. Having dismissed the cruel eroticism of Ovidian convention and tempered the almost bathetic suffering of Petrarchanism with justifiable self-congratulation, the poet has succeeded in putting the civil wars (44) and inner storms (46) which resulted from his lady's "mercilessness" in proper perspective as a perhaps regrettable but nonetheless poetically essential stage in the development of reasonable and entire affection. The luminous theme of caritas which he extolls as the model and object of the most perfect love (68), unites the hyperbolic ends of the emotional spectrum displayed by bestial and heavenly images.[89] The same theme also foreshadows the principle uniting Britomart and

Artegall in Book V of The Faerie Queene: one of mutual assistance, mutual sacrifice, and mutual affection--none of it predatory or unreasonable.

Just as Amoretti's caritas theme intimates the conception of love motivating Britomart and Artegall, it also functions as a pronounced improvement on the ideal of marital affection portrayed in Daphnaida, which lacks, as has been stated, a satisfying reciprocity. Though Daphnaida, like the Amoretti, makes use of bestial and heavenly imagery (Complaint I, 208-17; IV, 379-85), the unmitigated grief of the elegy prevents it from resolving those images into an appropriately human conception of mercy. This mercy, or reciprocity as I have characterized it, is the practice of a virtue opposed to either erotic cruelty or inhuman piety (Lever, p. 109); it leads to an intellectual understanding of love and a dispensation for domestic affection whose intention is most literally to embody sacramental grace. Such an intellectual understanding of love permeates the sequence, permitting it to move the reader without disturbing him, despite the serious acknowledgment of love as a wound.[90] Aside from the horizontal movement implied by mercy as reciprocal affection, the Amoretti sequence includes images from the vegetable (6, 26, 63, 77), mineral (15, 18, 32, 51), and celestial (9, 60) worlds as well, and in its inclusiveness, preserves stable hierarchical planes of significance based

on natural similitudes, thus providing depth as well as breadth for Spenser's conception of human love.

These similitudes from nature furnish a kind of imaginative scaffolding from which the various levels of abstraction in the poem can be constructed by means of analogy. Within this framework the lions of Amoretti 20 indicate the attitude toward love the poet thinks most appropriate in a virtuous woman. The image functions just beneath the specifically human level of moral reflection, and by negating the mistress' present attitude, points out her failure to adopt the "right" response to the poet's suit;[91] the two lordly animals thus encourage the reader to construct a definition of overweening human pride.

The lady's generally ironic estimate of the poet's posturing (18, 29, 54, 71) is present at intervals frequent enough to balance the exaggerated accusations of her cruelty, of course, but the moralization is nevertheless embedded in the image, and Spenser uses it as a kind of rapid equation: "If even lions are capable of demonstrating mercy," it seems to say, "who are you, my lady, to share in their imperial pride and yet repudiate their magnanimity?" The image's effect is the result of centuries of history attributing specific conceptual formulations to the lion,[92] and Spenser furnishes a reminder of these attributions in the lines from the

Hymne to Love quoted above (p. 73).

When these two images on a similar theme are compared, the comparison assists the reader in deciphering the more delicate and fugitive allegory of the entire courtship. The significance of individual sonnets (and by cumulative effect, of the entire sequence) is revealed (or can be deduced), in other words, by the presence of images with fairly fixed and stable meanings. The "firm relevance . . . of the literal meanings of things" lends "conceptual solidity or continuity" to the sequence as a whole.[93]

It does not necessarily follow however, that the concepts thus revealed or deduced from the images must be univalent. The fixity of literal meanings does not prevent various interpretations of the sequence taken as a whole. It can be read as a more or less personal narrative, or understood simply as a poetic discipline--Spenser's formal contribution to the sonnet tradition, in which he conceives of a mistress who bears (most fortuitously) the same name as his mother and his monarch, and praises this beloved woman much as Raleigh importunes the Queen. Much of the perennial appeal of Spenser's poetry lies in its elusive and open-ended nature, which leaves readers free to draw such differing general conclusions about his allegories, however much they are agreed that a certain image probably "means" this or that. Because his poetry seems simple, dependent as it is on

conventional tropes, commonplaces, and even cliches, it invites (and often demands) complex analyses.[94]

Paraphrases of certain passages (battle scenes, perhaps, or the lengthy history lessons) are easy enough to deal with, but attempts to fix the conceptual status of major characters like Britomart or Artegall or Arthur start to flounder once they depart from the attributions given by the poet himself--that is, Chastity, Justice, and Magnanimity. These attributes of character function, to a great extent, like the fixed meanings of images. If the lion represents Power, in general, as Artegall represents Justice, in general, how to proceed beyond that generalization without becoming confused by the meanders the poems take turns into a major problem, one that can be dealt with only by refusing to stray too far from those more or less certain (because stated) frames of reference. Context is the only clue the reader has to the more diffuse significances generated by Spenser's repeated returns to certain images or virtues or conceptual complexes.

It is thus only a partial truth to imply, as Lever does, that Spenser simply "dissolves the image [or percept] in favor of the concept."[95] Images are essential as "stepping stones" through the morass of conceptual possibilities available to interpreters of his poetry. Or, to put it another way, a Spenserian image does not act

simply as a moral statement; rather, it lifts the mind to the level of moral conceptions and leaves readers free to draw their own conceptual conclusions. A great part of the pleasure in reading the Amoretti, for instance, comes from the conceiving of an "idea"[96] of love that is rendered as a universal experience, and yet protected from either foolishly vague or too severe abstraction by those sonnet conventions which emphasize elements of the personal as well.[97]

Waldo McNeir claims that the Amoretti sequence gains part of its unity from this "ascent to the universal idea" which prevents any "resting in the limitations of a subjective emotional response,"[98] and attributes the personal element present in the sequence to historical fact: Spenser "...intended [the sequence] as a record of his courtship" (p. 626). This attempt to make "realistic fiction" out of the poems is challenged by Robert Kellogg, who prefers to see the poem in terms of structure, with allegory and the Petrarchan conceit as the central analytic and rationalizing devices that Spenser (as typical Western Man) uses to "illuminate the dark secrets of his own nature."[99]

The phrase "dark secrets" seems to be a trifle melodramatic in the context of the Amoretti, however, and McNeir's claim that the sequence is inspired as much by Spenser's personal passions as by conventional

Neoplatonism and Petrarchanism, though attractive, is impossible to verify; we simply have too little biographical evidence for so concluding. The same critical difficulty exists with the final prayer of the Mutability Cantos (see below, p. 445 n367). What we can legitimately conclude, however, is that the quality of his thought in the sonnets, like his use of myth, conveys an attitude of spacious freedom in its open-endedness, and, because it leads to conclusions as different as those of Lever, Hunter, and Kellogg,[100] may cause the sequence to appear "tame and flat," a more "disappointing" experience to read than, say, Shakespeare's or Sidney's.[101] This is due to the fact that the focus of his abstractions is not so dramatic or vividly personal as that of Astrophel and Stella; but it is wise to keep the judgment in perspective by recalling that Spenser's quiet allegory of courtship just as resolutely avoids the almost totally disembodied atmosphere of a sequence like Greville's Caelica.

The Amoretti contains, as has been said, various general levels of abstraction which can be determined, at least in part, by analogies from the natural world. Each individual sonnet too, tends to include several of these levels, and within each may alternate between ascent to an abstract universal or descent to greater "physical and spiritual ease." These alternating motions G. K. Hunter characterizes as Spenser's technique of "interlocking" various planes of significance by "a blending and

smoothing of his materials," which "confuse the borderline between physical and spiritual."[102] For Hunter, this technique is opposed to Sidney's method of deliberately provoking sharp contrasts and emphasizing psychological tensions.[103] It seems to me that Spenser's sequence has its contrasts too, though they are muted and more finely modulated than the vigorous argumentation of Sidney. He may not establish any new planes of sharp relationship between the various elements of desire and chaste affection, but he does acknowledge those elements and their potential sharpness by deliberately refining the sharpness away. The quality of his thought keeps the passions remote enough for cool-headed observation, and yet near enough to evoke convincingly the unavoidable distress of wooing a modest woman. He portrays amorous experience and an intellectual understanding of it simultaneously.

The images (and particularly the beast images) function as an important analogical link between the various planes of significance and help to interlock them. The less ferocious images of deer and birds derive their symbolical relations to human affections from the presence of the lions, the first beasts to appear (after the cuckoo, messenger of spring in 19) in the sequence. The inclusion of both male and female lions is, of course, perfectly appropriate to a sonnet courtship. Through the implications of vigorous power traditionally attributed

to them, they may also be emblematic of the newly-emerging focus on personality and sense of the importance of personal perceptions and attitudes which are currently considered a prominent characteristic of the more famous sequences.[104] Spenser's lions indicate the virtuous uses such self-knowledge should be put to, and the "point" the creatures make with the little moralization embedded in their proud submission to the law of love shows that Spenser is "far more concerned" with the relationships between personalities than with the individual egos of either lover or lady.[105] The lions seem to represent Spenser's way of accommodating the elements of personal energy and independence which Shakespeare and Sidney put to other uses.

The lions thus work to "place" the subjective passions, for the magnanimity they spontaneously exhibit is a characteristic of their proverbially noble nature and reflects the inherent nobility of properly governed instincts. This secure frame of reference insures that the lovers' mutual education in reasonable affection, the learning of reciprocity or caritas, will proceed successfully (though perhaps unexplosively). In Spenser, the passions are not indulged (as in Sidney), nor cause for remorse and recrimination (as in Shakespeare), nor eventually renounced in the service of a different ideal (as in Greville), but integrated into decorous fulfillment

which forestalls any arbitrary separation of the physical and the spiritual.[106] The lions of Amoretti act, then, as emblematic illustrations of the typically Spenserian process of idealization: they are at once both literal and abstract.

They also help to corroborate Rosemond Tuve's distinctions between moral allegory (which teaches quid agas, or how to behave) and spiritual allegory (which teaches quid credas, or what to believe).[107] The triumph of noble impulses over baser ones is implicit in their behavior in the sonnet, and reflects the element of conflictus which is the groundwork of all moral allegory. The example they set on this moral level foreshadows the enunciation of Christian belief stated most unambiguously in 68, the Easter sonnet. Thus the "psychic discipline of courtship" which the beasts help to inaugurate can be interpreted as an avenue to the truths of human affection, and acts as a reassurance that these truths can be rightly understood. Spenser uses the lion image as a moral exemplum to fulfill Tuve's first definition, and the images of "saynt" and "idoll" to suggest the second, so that the psychological tug-of-war implicit in Petrarchan conventions is resolved into a synthesis which delineates the precisely and appropriately human. The poet deliberately invokes the contrast between beast and saint, in other words, to capture the emotional content of the vicissitudes of

courtship, and thus displays fidelity to all the conventions of love even as he creates something new and distinct out of them: the maintenance (with a rare perfectness) of the illusion of personal experience, and the (also nearly perfect) articulation of the idea of betrothal.[108]

His examination of human love, by including the beasts of Petrarchan convention, preserves "the complications which had been brought into [other such examinations] by Christian thought... [and as readers] we catch sight of philia and agape as well as eros or caritas when Amor seems to have inextricably entwined it with concupiscentia."[109] The lions are essential to the sequence then, for their presence implies both depth of passion and the right attitudes such passion must discover.[110] Their behavior in the sonnet is an example of the intangible borderline between the instinctual urges of human nature and the more complex abstractions which characterize any poetic treatment of the theme of love. Amoretti 20 thus contains in miniature the whole conventional debate for "maistry" between lovers, and helps to aim the sequence toward the conceptual formulation of reciprocity.

Given that the lions in the Amoretti represent both power and mercy, and that the sequence characteristically displays the "politics" of love insofar as reciprocity

seems to be the abstract universal it most often ascends to, the lions are an image whose importance is best manifested through comparison with the other lions in Spenser's minor poetry, and with the themes those other lions represent. On the whole, they act as a natural and universal symbol from which exfoliate the significances of political and erotic power.

In Mother Hubberds Tale the lion unambiguously represents English monarchy and its prerogatives and responsibilities; the purpose of the image is to exhort the Queen to vigilance and to suggest to her examples of mercy issuing from just government. The significance is primarily a public one and best characterized as heraldic. In the Amoretti, the lions represent the strength and obligations of sovereign love, and thus function as a universal symbol for a fundamentally private human experience. They convey a general significance of lordliness and sophrosyne (or self-government) rather than one attached to any specific national policy.

The lion in Daphnaida is medial, operating on a plane midway between those signified by the other two lions, for it is included in an English Renaissance version of classical elegy and is thus part of a public tribute (its source, like that of the lion in Mother Hubberds Tale is also heraldic, though representative of a prominent family rather than of the monarchy), but it stands for matters

essentially private, even to the point of obscurity. It does ascend to an approximation of the abstract ideal of love, but that affection is demonstrably different from the ideal promulgated in the Amoretti.

On the whole then, and based on the discussion so far, it seems reasonable to conclude that the lion acts as a kind of veil or envelope for two of the loftiest conceptions of the human mind: Justice and Love. Because it is a single entity, the image functions as a concentrated focus already invested by tradition with appropriate and significant historical and thematic contexts. It may serve, therefore, as a standard of consistency for interpreting Spenser's fictions and allegories, and for applying conclusions thus reached to any general theory of his poetic. As an image of Justice in Mother Hubberds Tale for instance, it bears the implications of authority for all social structures from monarch to shepherd, and as a gauge for Love in all the poems, it can express both public magnanimity and simpler and more private mercies and affections. Its concentrated significance assists the poet in representing the otherwise unrepresentable and in reconciling the otherwise irreconcilable.

Spenser continues to maintain a consistent pattern of associations between lions and these two principles throughout The Faerie Queene, where he uses the image to more fully amplify various abuses of Justice and Love, as

well as to further extoll them as virtues. It is this complex system of cross-references which contain both negative and positive connotations that tends to mask the consistent accuracy of his conceptual understanding of the lion, and his intentions in using it. The same complexity also makes the image seem either crudely obvious or randomly fortuitous. The image is neither, however, and the following chapters will attempt to explain why and how such cursory judgments are insufficient.

Chapter III

THE HELPFUL LION

While the lions of Mother Hubberds Tale and Daphnaida figure prominently in these poems, the lions of The Faerie Queene are comparatively obscure, with the exception, perhaps, of the hungry beast who leaps to devour Una as she rests from her wanderings in search of Redcrosse:

> It fortuned out of the thickest wood
> A ramping Lyon rushed suddainly,
> Hunting full greedie after saluage blood;
> Soone as the royall virgin he did spy,
> With gaping mouth at her ran greedily,
> To haue attonce deuour'd her tender corse;
> But to the pray when as he drew more ny,
> His bloudie rage asswaged with remorse,
> And with the sight amazd, forgat his furious forse.
>
> In stead thereof he kist her wearie feet,
> And lickt her lilly hands with fawning tong,
> As he her wronged innocence did weet.
> O how can beautie maister the most strong,
> And simple truth subdue auenging wrong?
> Whose yeelded pride and proud submission,
> Still dreading death, when she had marked long,
> Her hart gan melt in great compassion,
> And drizling teares did shed for pure affection.[1]

Una is profoundly moved by the lion's recognition of her helplessness, and woefully compares the animals' "yeelded pride" to Redcrosse's mystifying abandonment:

> But be my Lyon, and my noble Lord,
> How does he find in cruell hart to hate
> Her that him lou'd, and euer most adord,
> As the God of my life? why hath he me abhord?
> (I.iii.7)

When she mounts her palfrey to continue her search, the lion accompanies her as guardian and companion, keeping "both watch and ward" as she sleeps, and diligently following her will when she is awake (iii.9). Its sudden appearance before Abessa so terrifies the woman that she drops her pot of water, flees to the hovel she shares with Corceca and Kirkrapine, and bolts the door behind her. When the lion claws the door open so that Una can be admitted, the pair of women cower in a corner and dare not move even to let Kirkrapine in (iii.8-14). As soon as the thief forces the door, the lion pounces on him and rends him "in thousand peeces small" (iii.20).

Morning comes and the lion departs with Una, while Abessa, discovering the corpse of Kirkrapine, curses her unwelcome guests, hoping that Una might "in endless error ...ever stray" (21-25). She repeats her maledictions when Archimago, disguised as Redcrosse, inquires of her where Una has gone. The magician then overtakes Una, who is deceived by his armor and shield into thinking Redcrosse has returned to her. The lion, apparently taking his cue from his mistress, seems to accept the "knight" with equanimity. As Una relates her tale of "dreadfull late distress," Archimago asks her "what the Lyon ment" (32), but Spenser provides no direct answer to the question.

The three continue their journey and encounter the paynim Sansloy, who, spurred by the desire to avenge the

death of his brother, Sansfoy (earlier slain by Redcrosse [I.ii.18-20]), attacks Archimago and knocks him, wounded, to the ground. Ignoring Una's pleas for mercy, Sansloy prepares to finish him off when he recognizes the magician. Though his wounded "friend" is near death and in need of help, Sansloy immediately shifts his attention to Una instead, seizing her and attempting to pluck away her veil (39-40). The lion, in defense of its mistress, then attacks the paynim and is slain:

> O then too weake and feeble was the forse
> Of saluage beast, his puissance to withstand;
> For he was strong, and of so mightie corse,
> As euer wielded speare in warlike hand,
> And feates of armes did wisely vnderstand.
> Eftsoones he perced through his chaufed chest
> With thrilling point of deadly yron brand,
> And launcht his Lordly hart: with death oppresst
> He roar'd aloud, whiles life foresooke his stubborne brest.
> (iii.42)

After Sansloy kills Una's literal lion, "Eternal prouidence exceeding thought" (I.vi.7) intervenes in the form of satyrs or "wild woodgods" (vi.9) to pluck her, "the griped pray," from the "Lyons clawes" of Sansloy (vi.7). The satyrs in turn are compared, from Una's perspective of "double dread," to a running lion whose advent forces a competing predator to abandon its victim (vi.10). The satyrs treat her kindly, however, and Una remains with them until she has recovered "breath in many miseries" (vi.19). Nevertheless, when Sir Satyrane, tamer of lions (vi.25, 27), agrees to help her leave, she slips

away.

Satyrane, too, is leonine, for he has been "noursled vp in life and manners wilde" by his satyr father, who "taught the tender ymp . . . to banish cowardize and bastard feare" by forcing him to put his "trembling hand/Vpon the Lyon" (vi.23), and make it "stoup to him in lowly wise" (25), so that eventually even being pursued by a roaring lioness, whose cubs he has taken, does not frighten him (27). Like the lion, "lord of euerie beast in field" (iii.7), Satyrane, as wild man, is traditionally Lord of the Animals.[2]

Una and Satyrane soon meet a holy pilgrim (who is really Archimago in yet another disguise) and are told that Redcrosse has been slain by Sansloy. Satyrane immediately goes to challenge the paynim, and as they fight and Una recognizes him, her terror prompts her to flee "farre away" (vi.47), with Archimago in covert pursuit.

The lion which rescues Una has much in common with the heraldic lions of Mother Hubberds Tale and Daphnaida. Its rough justice in subduing Abessa and Corceca and dispatching Kirkrapine, for instance, displays an appropriate use of force that recalls the punishment meted out to the Fox and the Ape.[2] In Mother Hubberds Tale leonine force is eclipsed by the lion's initial retreat to the cave, however, and remains dormant until the tale's

end, where it is then united with the restraint of clemency; the pair of usurpers is simply banished, that is, with the Ape losing only his ears and tail instead of his life. Since the death penalty is not exacted, the lion of Spenser's satire posits a more complex attitude toward Justice than Una's lion displays, an attitude based on the creature's primary function in the satire as the restorer of political order.

The strength and magnanimity exhibited by the lions of Alcyon and Una, however, function rather to maintain order. These two are not sovereign in any overtly political sense, but rather mates,[3] companions,[4] and guardians, with Una's lion, of course, protecting her, and Alcyon's lion caring for his flocks.[5] Their function is ultimately one of service rather than rule. Daphnaida's creature shares the strength, valor, and magnanimity which characterize Una's lion, but perhaps because the animal is female, these ideals are expressed rather as the courage of submission, obedience, and endurance. Thus, although Alcyon's lioness protects the sheep against wolves and wild beasts (l. 135), she is never shown participating in any actual violence.

The two beasts do have the virtues of diligence and vigilance in common, however,[6] and the pastoral labors of Alcyon's companion can be seen as an obscure reflection of the larger pastoral significance, both poetic and

religious, generated by Una's lion in an allegorical pattern to be discussed presently. The resemblance which is established between the two lions through their attempts to maintain order is augmented by the fact that they are both slain by perennial threats to order; that is, by creatures outside the law; the "cruel Satyre...ranging all about"[7] and the bloody-minded Sansloy.

In terms of theme, the figure of Una's lion seems to unite a limited, primitive rendering of the ideal of magnanimous justice found in the sovereign lion of Mother Hubberds Tale, with the magnanimity of docile submission and undeserved death in Daphnaida's lion. An important implication in this union is that the presence and activity of Una's "strong gard" is no "mere" convention, but rather a convention which conveys specific and uncompromising moral attitudes, and a multitude of similarly charged allegorical and spiritual significances. Unlike the lions of Wrath, Cupid, Cambina, Britomart, Mercilla, and Arlo Hill, which function in an atmosphere of pageant and/or dream, and are thus largely emblematic, Una's lion is a literal and ferocious creature who participates in a relatively extended narrative where the sequence of events provides occasion for the various planes of the animal's iconic significance to be more fully displayed. It thus emerges as both an active agent in these events, and as a passive vehicle for the meanings those events are intended

to convey.

This particular icon is a "helpful" creature, and though it obviously has a will of its own, it quietly submits to Una, waiting "diligent,/With humble service to her will prepard" (I.iii.9). The ideal of service and/or obedience it exemplifies is signified by most of the other lions just mentioned as well, but with these, much of the idealism is generally muted by three factors: 1) the brevity of their appearances, 2) the emblematic pageantry in which the images are submerged, and 3) their submission being enforced rather than voluntary.

The characteristic of Una's rescuer which seems to separate it most obviously from actual lions is its spontaneous docility, which recalls the behavior of the lions with which the prophet Daniel was faced (Dn 6:16-27). This submissiveness also certainly owes a great deal to the fanciful inventions of medieval romances and folklore which furnished Spenser with models for his narrative. Such tameness in lions has precedents in classical antiquity too. Thoroughly domesticated lions are mentioned by Seneca[8] and Epictetus,[9] for instance, and Juvenal tells of an otherwise tight-fisted man named Numitor who managed to bear the great expense incurred by keeping one as a house pet.[10] The Emperor Elagabalus, noted for his extravagance, kept a great many, which he would loose from time to time on unwary dinner guests,

neglecting to tell them that the animals were declawed and toothless.[11]

Even more frequent are records of lions captured for the arena and subsequently tamed by regular feeding and daily human contact. Six of Martial's epigrams are evidence of the fascination the tamed creatures held for the poet,[12] and in one in particular, about a lion and a ram companionably eating (a hapless third party) together, he is inspired almost to rhapsody.[13] The Younger Pliny too, mentions arena entertainments with lions,[14] and a fuller account is given by Statius, who appears profoundly moved by the spectacle of a tamed lion killed by one of its wild cousins. He notes that its valor aroused the crowd's sympathy, and caused even Caesar to weep.[15] The Elder Pliny also writes of arena lions,[16] and Seneca relates an anecdote about one who "recognized one of the beast-fighters as the man who had formerly been his keeper" and "protected him from the attacks of the other beasts."[17] The tough-minded Stoic's conclusion--that there had been no real benefit conferred--seems to have carried little weight with the many story-tellers who delightedly adopted the vignette.

Apion, for instance, claims to have witnessed a similar incident, and recorded it in his lost Aegyptica. Aulus Gellius' account of Apion's story specifically refers to a man named Androclus as the runaway slave

spared by a lion from whose paw he had removed a thorn, and with whom he had dwelt in the desert for several years.[18] Certain details of Gellius' account (Androclus' eating of dried rather than cooked meat, for example, and the slender leash he uses to lead the lion when they stroll through the marketplace after his pardon) suggest a factual basis, and lend a kind of poetry to the tale. Aelian's version of Apion's tale, though more obviously sentimentalized and moralized, is still basically the same, and Aelian offers it as evidence that animals possess memory.[19] In an incomplete passage at the end of his account he names two other versions of the story, and these are fully recounted by the Elder Pliny.[20]

The hero of the first of these, Mentor of Syracuse, is a shepherd rather than a slave, however, a feature which, in conjunction with the lion distressed by a thorn, appears in a number of tales descended from this version.[21] The short biography of St. Jerome in Jacobus de Voragine's The Golden Legend[22] is one such example, and this account, which includes the thorn, was as influential in fixing the lion as a permanent feature of Jerome's iconography as was the holy man's irascibility (see Figs. 21-24).[23] The shepherd motif is glanced at in Jerome's role as spiritual pastor.

In Pliny's other version of the Androcles story, Elpis the Samian, the hero is a sailor who rescues a lion

from a losing battle with a serpent. This lion/serpent motif is preserved in a brief anecdote by Petrus Damianus,[24] appears in the legend of Golfier de Lastours[25] and the De Naturis Rerum of Alexander Neckham,[26] and is an important feature in Chrétien de Troyes' Yvain, the Knight of the Lion[27] and Malory's Morte d'Arthur.[28] The lion/serpent battle is thus present in all versions where the hero is a knight, and absent from those where the hero remains a shepherd. In all these versions, however, each lion has the motive of gratitude to the man who relieves its distress.[29]

Spenser's treatment incorporates familiar elements from almost every one of the known versions, though it includes significant changes as well. One similarity which Spenser's lion shares with Chrétien's and Neckham's for instance, is the action of standing guard while the protagonist sleeps.[30] The manner in which Una's wild champion acknowledges its submission to her is another: "he kist her wearie feet,/ And lickdt her lilly hands with fawning tong," which causes her to weep "drizling teares . . . for pure affection" (I.iii.6). The behavior of Yvain's lion is remarkably similar to that of Una's, for after bowing to Yvain, it joins its front paws in a gesture of obeisance

et vers terre ancline sa chiere,
S'estut sor les deus piez deriere
Et puis si se ragenoilloit
Et tote sa face moilloit
De lermes par humilite.[31]

In having Una rather than the lion weep, Spenser accomplishes several ends: he preserves some semblance of "realism" in the creature's reaction to her, thus establishing a pattern of more or less "natural" behavior for the lion to follow until the end of the story, and provides dramatic reinforcement of Una's unhappy straits as well.

More important than the resemblances between Spenser's lion and the others are the distinctions. This relatively minor action of Una (rather than her lion) weeping marks a definite departure from the knightly romances, and shows a tendency to conform to the Aristotelian conception of epic marvel.[32] That is, Spenser is deliberately confining himself to the delineation of an ordinary lion who, despite its raging hunger, spontaneously and for no "real" reason, restrains its natural instinct to devour a helpless girl.[33] The creature's action seems both possible and, because the reader already knows Una's nature, probable. One is surprised by the lion's restraint, and skeptical perhaps, but not utterly incredulous, as would be the case if the lion were to weep as it does in the romances. By transferring the motif of tears to Una, Spenser avoids the exaggerated

sentimentalization common to medieval romances and instead maintains a measure of epic decorum.[34]

For a similar reason his classicizing leads him to present the motif of battle between lion and serpent metaphorically rather than overtly. Though the battles fought between Redcrosse (Una's "Lyon and . . . noble Lord" [I.iii.7]), and the serpent-like Error and the dragon threatening Eden are obviously more indebted to romance than to epic, they reveal Spenser's adjustment to the requirements of epic decorum in that it is a man (to whom a lion's traditional powers of strength, ferocity, and courage are metaphysically attributed) rather than the lion itself who engages in battle. Spenser's use of the romance motif does epitomize the elements of psychomachia and apocalypse which help create the religious allegory and sustain the narrative's theme of holiness, but he balances these elements by keeping them in a more-or-less epic context.

The metaphoric distancing of the lion/serpent battle is closely related to fidelity to scriptural tradition as well, for the Bible, like the classical accounts of lions, "nowhere contains a representation of the fight between the lion and the serpent."[35] Though apocalyptic imagery is frequent in scripture, and though the lion figures in much of this imagery, the serpent as such, never appears in direct confrontation with the lion.[36] In fact the

lion itself is often used to represent the strength and ferocity of evil.[37]

Aside from the myriad impulses that may have prompted Spenser to conform to the classical and Christian traditions in his treatment of the lion/serpent opposition, a very pragmatic reason, based on the heraldic representations of the lion and the dragon and their political significance, likely influenced his alteration of the romance motif. As remarked earlier, the monarchs of England almost invariably used the lion to represent themselves on their shields, devices, and mottoes,[38] and jealously protected the use of these identifying emblems. The Tudors were particularly sensitive on this issue because so many of the nobility were linked by blood to the succession. The shields and devices of these noble families frequently bore similar lions which were sometimes troublesome indications of their competing legitimate hereditary claims to the throne. More than one nobleman, ambitious or not, was executed for treason because of ingenious interpretations, indebted in large part to Galfridian "prophecies," applied to his liveries and heraldic devices.[39]

The Cadwallader dragon was, of course, the emblem of the Welshman Henry Tudor, who, soon after his victory over King Richard III at Bosworth Field, rode in triumph to St. Paul's and formally established his new sovereignty

by presenting at the altar standards bearing the images of St. George and a red dragon.[40] His granddaughter's personal escutcheon was invariably supported by a lion or dexter and dragon gules sinister[41] (see Fig. 25), for though she had a variety of escutcheons which she was free to change at will, the two supporters acted as symbolic evidence that the power of the English monarchy was firmly united with the Tudor right to that power.[42]

Disguising the battle between lion and serpent was thus in Spenser's best interests because such dissembling avoided dangerous reminders to Englishmen that Henry Tudor's claim to the throne was, in fact, a distant and tenuous one (however volubly defended by royal historians like Polydore Virgil) that depended, in the manner of usurpers, on his military successes rather than on true legitimacy.[43] There were as yet too many of the Queen's subjects still sensitive to the doctrinal anxieties introduced by Tudor rule and angered or dissatisfied by current royal policies to justify dismissing as far-fetched the resemblance between the Welsh dragon and the emblem of Satan. To furnish even the remote possibility of such an identification is a course that Spenser, who had learned his lesson about the intricacies of power policies with Mother Hubberds Tale, was chary of taking.

A literal rendering of the romance motif of embattled lion and dragon was thus entirely out of the question

because of the unsuitable iconographic freight it carried. It was essential that Spenser avoid any foolhardy implications that the British lion could need "saving" from the Welsh dragon. But other significant implications in the idea of such a battle exactly fitted with the religious and political underpinnings that Spenser, as a maker of Tudor myth and a wary celebrant of English nationalism,[44] was interested in elaborating. His solution to the impasse lay in modulating rather than eliminating the motif's components. Una's lion, for instance, in its role as providential rescuer of Truth, fulfills a function quite different from that of the romance lions, who are themselves rescued, so that in Spenser, the salvific connotations suggested by lions as frequent symbols of Christ are preserved. In terms of the knight, once Redcrosse, the simple man (georgos) whose lion-like attributes have been subjected to the cleansing sanctions of Christian grace, becomes an appropriate rescuer for Truth, his identification with Saint George combines the religious significance of the New Testament lion of Judah with the political significances attached to the British lion.[45] Despite his frailties and failures (which are reflected in the fate of Una's lion),[46] his eventual triumph over the dragon and his union with Una are an heroic enactment of the similar meanings which are merely suggested by the primitive and literal lion who helps Una.

Another, and perhaps the most important, difference between Spenser's version and the others is that Una's lion has no motive of gratitude to justify its sudden tameness,[47] for unlike its legendary predecessors in the knightly romances, Una's companion assists her without itself ever being delivered from pain or danger: its help appears to represent a free and unstudied offering of the self, with all the strength of the creature's "Lordly hart" dedicated to the service of Truth. Since it offers no supernatural aid, however, and because its strength is limited to the normal strength of any lion, Spenser does not alter the "naturalness" of the beast when he furnishes it with an heroic motive.

The theme of "exuberant chivalrousness"[48] attached to the lion is extended to its formal limits when the creature dies in defense of its mistress. Its behavior throughout the narrative furnishes a primitive parallel to the zeal of early Christian service to Truth and the acceptance of the possibility of martyrdom as manifestations of the desire for sanctity. The lion thus represents, in its combination of brutish strength and noble aspiration, a rudimentary or natural form of religion, and its direct and uncomplicated pattern of endeavor imitates, and in a sense corrects, the more complex human pattern of Redcrosse's quest. The simplicity with which it fulfills its duty adumbrates a crude outline of the

attitudes and virtues accompanying Christian effort.[49]

Chastity too, has Christian sanction, and the lion's rescue of Una's "chast person" (iii.9) reemphasizes the contributions of Christian tradition to the ideals of chivalry. Oddly enough, however, though the three precise features which distinguish Spenser's narrative (the rescue of a distressed virgin by a chivalrous lion who has no motive of gratitude) are absent from the literature of antiquity and from the romances, they are found in a folklore analogue:

> Saynt Ierom tellis how on a tyme when a virgyn wolde not sacryfice the ydolis as the paynom commauns did hur, thai led hur vnto the bordell howse, and ther come thedur a yong man to hafe defowlid hur. And sodanlie ther come a lyon rynnand thurgh the cetie vnto the bordell & tuke this yong man & held hym an lukid on the virgyn & did hym no skathe, bod lukid what she wolde command hym to do. And he prayed the virgyn to command the lion to lat hym goo, and she did gude for ill and commaundid the lyon to lat hym go. And thus he was delyverd, and thai that saw had grate mervayle thereoff. And the lyon went his ways & and thai lete hur go.[50]

This folktale repeats the motif of Jerome and the lion in an altered context: instead of making the lion Jerome's companion, the creature is present under his auspices; that is, in a tale Jerome is reputed to have collected.[51] Spenser's version of the folk motif preserves the basic theme of chastity--which is a notable preoccupation of Jerome's actual writings--but enlarges the conception to include innumerable other virtues under the allegorical rubric of Truth.

Because of its association with Truth, Una's lion fulfills a number of complex iconographical functions, for though a simple image, it acts as an embodiment of multiple ideas. Each of its activities in her service provides a slightly different context for examining these iconographical functions, and each anticipates additional such functions carried out by lions that appear later in the poem. On the literal surface of the narrative, for example, its role as a rescuer of Truth corresponds to the fairy-tale traditions of romance in which lions spontaneously reverence virgins and/or true princes.[52] A moral interpretation, which supplies intellectual support for fairy-tale logic, sees the rescue as an image of justice or Truth subduing the violent passions by unqualified rectitude or sheer force of character.[53]

Allegorically, "Spenser has given a religious dimension to the romance motif of the lion who recognizes and protects the true heir to the throne,"[54] for the identification of Una, the True Church, with Elizabeth[55] signifies the Queen's religio-political role in maintaining the claims of the primitive English Church, and corresponds to mythic identifications of the Queen with Astraea, the goddess of justice, who is frequently associated with the astrological sign of Virgo, lodged in the heavens midway between the houses of Leo the Lion and the Libran scales.[56]

Since Spenser "often uses the same figure now as a part of a moral or political allegory, now as a symbol of an indefinable truth,"[57] the religious significance of the lion can be further amplified to register even as a type of God[58] by identifying it with the second person of the Trinity, prefigured in the Old Testament Lion of Judah (Gen 49:9, cf. Rev 5:5). More generally, it also signifies the grace of providential intervention on behalf of the Church or Truth.[59] The spiritual significance of the lion can also be understood, in terms of modern theories of psychology and personalism, as the "realities of feeling and attitude"[60] present in the reader's internal experience of his own paradoxical human nature, which he recognizes as containing the potential for the lion's fearsomeness as well as its compassion.[61]

Such various interpretations notwithstanding, critics are almost unanimous in identifying Una's lion with "nature generally,"[62] the law of nature,[63] or natural reason,[64] and in recognizing the ultimate insufficiency of natural ethics as protection for Truth. Donald Cheney's study of pastoral in The Faerie Queene is a particularly useful guide on the subject of natural ethics because he shows that Spenser links Una's malevolent abductor (Sansloy) and her series of protectors (the lion, the satyrs, and Sir Satyrane) through lion imagery.[65] Each succeeding rescue, despite the ascending hierarchy of

"reasonableness" which they assemble, emphasizes the ullage of "barbarous truth" (I.vi.12) or purely natural law, and Una is finally secure only after meeting Arthur, the representative of supernatural grace, who succors Truth as part of his narrative and allegorical function.

Since religious truth is founded not simply on the laws of nature but also on revealed law,[66] Spenser arranges the comparisons between ascending levels of natural law to indicate the inadequacy of purely natural religion as a permanent haven for divine truth. The satyrs, for instance, ignorant (or simply innocent) of revealed Truth[67] except as they dimly perceive it through Una's appearance and behavior, make the "natural" mistake of worshipping her person, and failing that, her ass, rather than what she really represents.[68] Even Sir Satyrane, despite his obvious self-mastery and his willingness to learn "her discipline of faith and veritie" (I.vi.31), is limited to the capacity of natural reason, for his instinctive right-mindedness cannot overcome Sansloy's perversity. Satyrane's training in the wilds and his stern control of beasts which serve as emblems of the passions,[69] furnish him with the strength necessary to resist, but not to conquer, the brutal power of Sansloy, who has been schooled only by appetite and self-interest.[70]

When Sansloy attacks Una, there is more than sexual innocence at stake. The entire conception of virtue as those habits of righteousness and goodness bestowed by grace or painstakingly acquired by conscious obedience to revealed law is also under attack. Natural reason may restrain the attacks of lawlessness on such a conception, but cannot overcome them. It may be as much an intuition of Satyrane's limitations as a fear of Sansloy's predatoriness that prompts Una to flee "farre away" (I.vi.47) from Satyrane's "benevolent protection."[71]

The evils of ignorance and of strength corrupted by self-interest are also represented from the perspective of specific events of Reformation history, by Abessa, Corceca, and Kirkrapine. When the episode is read only literally, the lion's defense of Una against the unholy family seems to have been inspired by similar features in the romances.[72] In terms of moral insight however, the lion's terrorizing of Abessa and Corceca suggests that they are receiving their just deserts for refusing common hospitality to Una, and may serve as Spenser's indictment of the monastic houses which had departed from the principles of charity and service under which they were originally organized. The "rude wench" Abessa, who does not answer Una's request for shelter because "she could not heare, nor speake, nor vnderstand" (I.iii.11), and the incessantly mumbled prayers and misapplied ascetic rigors

of her blind mother, Corceca, thus represent not only the absence (Lat. abesse) of spiritual light and understanding and "compulsive religiosity," but "an almost wilful deafness and blindness to the needs of others."[73]

Traditional interpretations which understand the lion that slays Kirkrapine (the "stout and sturdie thiefe" who robs "Churches of their ornaments,/ and poor mens boxes of their due relief" [iii.16]) as a representation of Henry VIII[74] reflect this condemnation of wilful insensibility by justifying Henry's dissolution of the monasteries on grounds of their many corruptions. Kirkrapine's pillage maintains the squalid superstitions and arrogance of Abessa and Corceca,[75] so that destroying him is the necessary first step toward eliminating them.

Aside from raising the issue of the dangers inherent in trying to achieve reform by violence,[76] interpreting the lion as Henry also suggests an identification of ecclesiastical abuses with the Roman hierarchy alone.[77] More recent scholarship presents evidence that Spenser uses the figure of the lion to indicate the necessity of ending any corruption or hypocritical piety (in clergy and laity, whether Roman, Puritan, or Anglican) that supported itself by plundering faithful Christians.[78] Truth or Una is, to a certain extent, "defended by the royal lion"[79] through Henry's action against the religious houses, and by his second daughter's accession to the English throne,[80]

but insofar as the king's own church-robbing "duplicates the Blatant Beast's violation of monastic houses in Book VI,"[81] and the Queen's "connivance" with "the spoliation of church goods"[82] detracts from Spenser's reforming purposes, an identification of Una's lion with either Henry or Elizabeth is only partially satisfactory.

A less single-mindedly political interpretation of the creature permits the greater resonances of anagogical parallels, for "the irruption of the wrathful lion . . . hints at apocalyptic judgment and, specifically, the avenging Christ" who cast out the money-changers from the temple (Mt 31: 12-13).[83] An additional Christian resonance is suggested by the similarity between Abessa's iconography (she bears "on her shoulders sad a pot of water" and at sight of Una's lion, throws "her pitcher down" [iii.10-11]) and that of the Samaritan woman whom Christ addresses at Jacob's well (Jn 4:7-28). Because of this link with the Samaritans, James Nohrnberg perceives Una's lion as "a descendant" of the lions in 2 Kings (17:25), who were sent to destroy the Samaritan idolators.[84]

The satyrs too, are guilty of idolatry, but because they respond to Una with merciful intentions and gentle behavior, the reader responds to them with a measure of tolerance, even though their worship of Una is typical of the ritual elements in religion which can degenerate into

superstition. The reader is to understand that their idolatry violates intellectual standards of righteousness, that is, but also that the violation is partially compensated by the creatures' emotional warmth and "gently grenning" benevolence (I.vi.ii). Their error in venerating Una is therefore one of degree rather than kind, for though they mistake her person for the Truth she represents, their intuitive reverence for her is essentially correct. It is the same attitude her lion displays, and is here shared by an entire community. Una's uneasiness among them indicates the limits of tolerance, however, and Sir Satyrane epitomizes the next step upward on the scale of rational understanding.

Abessa, Corceca, and Kirkrapine represent a more reprehensible idolatrousness in their response to Truth--an error of kind rather than degree--because their rejection of Una is absolute; it lacks the charity which mitigates the satyrs' guilt. Where the error of the satyrs is intellectual, the standards violated by the three thieves are both intellectual and affective. The satyrs, that is, do obscurely recognize and honor the truth that Una represents, though they cannot fully understand it; the three ruffians, however, are incapable of even recognizing Truth. The trio's worship is confined to the veneration of material goods and the mindless repetition of religious formulae devoid of any spiritual

content. Since the more reprehensible abuse demands severer punishment, Spenser condemns their malevolent ignorance by having the lion menace the women and destroy the man.

Kirkrapine and his companions represent the material and spiritual diminishment of Christian resources when ecclesiastical ideals are undermined by self-interest,[85] while the fauns and satyrs embody the results of inadequate education in rural parishes.[86] Una is rescued from these aspects of false religion by the lion (the instinctive right-mindedness of uncorrupted passion) and Sir Satyrane (the inherently noble though primitive rational faculty of specifically human nature). Her two greatest enemies however, are covert hypocrisy, in the person of Archimago,[87] and overt irreligion in the person of Sansloy.[88] In its simplicity, the lion fails to recognize Archimago, as does the guileless Una herself (iii.26-40),[89] but it does recognize the violent threat offered by Sansloy and leaps to defend Una against it.

Sansloy is kin to Kirkrapine and company by virtue of the fact that it is also benighted ignorance of Truth that prompts him to lawless acts.[90] His behavior represents the logical culmination of Kirkrapine's criminal attitude, and his association with wrath suggests an additional complexity in the iconography of Una's obedient

companion: wrath as an unmistakable aspect of the lion's own character. Spenser prompts the comparison between Sansloy and the lion in a number of ways. The ferocious knight's "fawning wordes" and "lovely" looks and sighs (I.vi.4) for example, because they are motivated by concupiscence (vi.3-5) and not by the lion's intuitive compassion, are a conceptual parody of the creature's "fawning tong" and sincere obeisances (iii.6).[91] Further, when "Eternal prouidence" finds a way to "pluck" Una from the "Lyon's clawes" of Sansloy (vi.7), Spenser suddenly and briefly invokes the lion image as a symbol of demonic evil,[92] with the wrath linked to it acting in fundamental opposition to the magnanimous function of Una's earlier leonine rescuer. The association of the lion image with evil is partially relieved by the fauns and satyrs (whom the poet compares to a lion [vi.10]),[93] but the image never completely sheds the negative connotations of wrath that ally it emblematically with Sansloy.[94]

Because the lion "is as fierce as Sansloy" their confrontation is as much "heroic combat"[95] between two kinds of wrath as it is apocalyptic confrontation between good and evil. The battle is yet another example of the mingling of Classical, Romance, and Christian motifs in Spenser's ethos. The lion's death is tragic and Homeric, for example, insofar as it recalls the death of Achilles.[95] In terms of Romance, Sansloy's designs on Una obviously make him the representative of "culpable

wrath"[97] while the lion's romantic motive of selfless devotion elevates it to the higher reaches of "chivalric heroism."[98] The Christian element is present in the similarity between the launching of the lion's "Lordly hart" and the "happy" martyrdom endured by those who are unreservedly dedicated to the service of Christian truth.

Though there are emblematic similarities between the lion and Sansloy, the conceptual differences separating them are profound. One major distinction is that the lion has instinctively consented to be ruled by Truth, and because of its magnanimity, participates figuratively in the New Law of Mercy inaugurated by the Gospel. Sansloy, on the other hand, is ignorant of this law of mercy and so is governed entirely "by his own mistaken and cruel law of wrath."[99] The lion's submission to Una reveals a redeeming gentleness in it--a portion of the lamb--which Sansloy cannot share.

The lion, Sir Satyrane, and Sansloy all represent the irascibility of the soul, but in the lion and Satyrane, this irascibility manifests itself as the faculty of "controlled indignation,"[100] and is governed by the instinctive and/or rational recognition of Truth, love, and goodness.[101] Sansloy is lawlessness "aroused to hatred by the mere appearance" of Truth or true faith, however,[102] and his lion-like attributes of strength and wrath are demonic and evil because of their excess rather

than because they are simply untutored and "natural" defects. Sansloy is thus an enemy in degree to the law of nature represented by the lion, and the natural ethics represented by Satyrane, but an enemy in kind to the revealed law of Christian holiness represented by Una.[103] Whereas the lion is iconographically equivalent to the primitive and passionate sources of religion, and the fauns and satyrs to false or inadequate religion, Sansloy represents irreligion and the obdurate refusal of appetite and will to accept any restraints.[104]

Spenser's conceptual control of the lion image is evident in his making use of the creature as an effective instrument of natural law and spontaneous justice against Kirkrapine, while emphasizing the limits of its effectiveness by having it killed by Sansloy. As simple faith in, or response to, Truth, its natural vigor is no match for the wrath of ungoverned perversity. Cheney sees in the death of the lion a reference to Henry's initiation of violent ecclesiastical reform and the evils such reform engendered,[105] and concludes that "[i]n appealing to his audience's sense of recent history, Spenser underscores the necessity of a holiness which goes beyond the natural piety of an instinctive alliance to virtue."[106]

Redcrosse's initial clownishness and his bucolic understanding of what it is to serve Gloriana are reflected in Cheney's comment; it is this simplicity, united with

strength, courage, and zeal, which provides the conceptual link between Redcrosse and the lion. While the lion's killing Kirkrapine may be "proleptic of Redcrosse's final victory,"[107] Sansloy's killing the lion is an index of the strength and deceptiveness of the foes, both external and internal, which the knight must overcome.[108] His own inherent lionliness, though sufficient to permit his defeating Error (I.i.14-26), Sansfoy (I.ii.12-19), and Sansjoy (I.v.6-13), is nearly extinguished after his humiliating retreat from Lucifera's castle (I.v.52), and his imprisonment by Orgoglio (vii.15; viii.38-41). Only the providential aid of Arthur, the uncompromising discipline of the House of Holiness, and the revelatory vision on the Mount of Contemplation (see Figs. 36-39)[109] restore his courage and reorient his understanding of chivalric ideals and epic high purpose within a clearly Christian context.

By the end of Book I, Spenser's equivalent to the Knight of the Lion in medieval romances has become not less of a lion, but more of a knight.[110] He now knows exactly what he is doing, which is not so when he first appears. At that point he is a raw recruit in the service of Gloriana, game but ignorant:

> . . . armes till that time did he neuer wield. . . .
> [And] . . . of his cheere did seeme too solemne sad;
> Yet nothing did he dread, but euer was ydrad. . . .
> And euer as he rode, his hart did earne
> To proue his puissance in battell braue
> Vpon his foe, and his new force to learne.
> (I.i.1.5; 2.8-9; 3.6-8)

He has, in a sense, come to understand his own lionliness by the time of the betrothal, and Spenser clearly indicates the difficulty of acquiring this comprehension by specifically likening him to a lion while he undergoes repentance and remorse in Coelia's House:

> . . . his torment was so great
> That like a lyon he would cry and rore,
> And rend his flesh, and his owne synewes eat.
> (I.x.28)

The ultimate frailty of Una's lion suggests those flaws in Redcrosse's own character which lead to his entrapment and near-defeat, and the pattern of lion imagery associated with Una's series of protectors helps to illustrate the various states of mind in Redcrosse after he abandons her, which he does because he believes the false dreams sent by Archimago (I.i.46-7; ii.1-6). Like Kirkrapine's robbing of church ornaments, Archimago's traducing of Una's character seeks to deprive her of her "spiritual ornaments"[111] of chastity and fidelity, and Redcrosse's credulity assists the slander even as it leads to the inevitable suffering which must follow the loss of her guidance.

Una's helpful lion enters the narrative as a surrogate for Redcrosse,[112] whose natural reason, insufficiently in control of his irascibility and concupiscence, is bedevilled by Archimago's illusions. Without the grace which eventually intervenes on his behalf, the knight grows increasingly unable to distinguish mere appearance from

reality, and so becomes a knight errant allegorically as well as descriptively; that is, he wanders farther into error even as he wanders in legitimate pursuit of the glory that is chivalry's meed. The fact of his errancy is reinforced by the lion's inability to detect the disguised Archimago, and the errantry is reinforced by the lion's willing accompaniment of Una on her wanderings.[113]

The helpful animal and its related successors fulfill the positive functions of rescue and consolation which Redcrosse himself, were he already the true lion of faith, should fulfill. The additional rescuers also represent primitive stages in the development of rational understanding which are a natural part of the knight's character, though he foolishly ignores them. He is forced to acknowledge them in the penitential suffering he undergoes in Coelia's house, however, and his courage, strength, and rational understanding are reinvigorated and made new by this painful process of self-scrutiny.

Una's rescue from Sansloy by the satyrs furnishes a commentary on the further illusions that Redcrosse, as the natural man prey to concupiscence as well as irascibility, entertains. William Nelson has noted that Redcrosse "does not suffer from the fatal defects of the lion and the satyrs,"[114] but this conclusion overlooks Spenser's characteristic technique of indicating conceptual contrasts by means of inverted parallels. Thus, though the wild

creatures err, the error is mitigated by the charitable motives which inspire them. When Redcrosse professes similar chivalrous and charitable motives for befriending Fidessa (I.ii.27), however, his sympathy is misplaced. Like those of the lion and satyrs, Redcrosse's motives are sound enough, at least initially, but his subsequent actions, like theirs, are waylaid by flawed understanding and consequent poor judgment. The whole lot of them succumbs to various illusions, but as the knight eventually discovers, he has knelt to wickedness, while the others have spontaneously served virtue. The forest creatures' willingness to protect Una provides an example (however imperfect) of what Redcrosse ought to believe about her, and of how he ought to behave toward her, so that their inadequate veneration functions as a corrective parody of Redcrosse's attentions to Fidessa. Each successive rescue of Una indicates some failure of chivalry or sanctity on the part of the Knight of Holiness.

Although analyses of the rhetorical and emblematic techniques Spenser uses to accomplish his didactic purposes frequently end in almost preternatural complexity, the effect of that technique is beautifully simple. The moral point he wishes to make is rarely confused, obscure, or ambiguous despite the often discontinuous narrative line and the many (intentionally) inverted iconic significances. Redcrosse's initial separation from Una, which is motivated

in large part by unsolicited erotic dreams that induce him to suspect her chastity (I.i.46-7; ii.1-6) is a case in point. This susceptibility to concupiscence peaks in his enervating dalliance with Duessa (I.vii.7) and contrasts sharply with the ideals of British chivalry and sanctity which largely define his character. The satyrs, on the other hand, are normally emblems of sexual libertinism,[115] but they nevertheless attempt to honor Una by enacting a ritual of worship which is genuinely reverent. The contrast between the moral and spiritual choices Redcrosse makes in the first eight cantos, and the relative innocence of the wild creatures, is unmistakable, and Spenser uses it to distinguish some of the effects of natural heat from the more meretricious consequences of human concupiscence.

Concupiscence is also an important factor in the events which take place in Lucifera's castle. The castle's attractions are not simply sexual (though that element is present) but rather the more insidious and sophisticated pleasures of worldly success. Redcrosse is largely unmoved by the gilded domestic trappings of power (I.iv.5), but when Sansjoy provokes him (39), the temptation to display his martial prowess is strong enough to blind him temporarily to the consequences of proudly living by the sword (I.iv.42.9).[116] Spenser teaches, by means of Redcrosse's impulsive response to Sansjoy's attack on his pride, how intimately and extensively wrath and

concupiscence are related (even in a good man) under Lucifera's influence. Though Redcrosse is initially prompted by legitimate motives of honor and the desire for praise (I.v.1,7), as soon as defeat threatens the unwary hero, he reveals less-elevated motives of wrath, shame, "ladies sake," and desire for vengeance (v.12). He slips imperceptibly into publicly acknowledging himself as Duessa's champion when he accepts Sansjoy's challenge (v.12-14, 18), and his victory over Sansjoy also then leads him to pledge, without reflection, allegiance to Lucifera (v.16).[117] Were it not for the agitated warning of his Dwarf (who represents the lowest order of common sense: simple self-preservation),[118] Redcrosse also runs the risk of ending up in Lucifera's dungeons with the other once-proud victims of wrath and concupiscence (v.45-53).

While the Dwarf rescues Redcrosse from the perils of Lucifera's castle, Sir Satyrane, the tamer of lions (I.vi.25-27) and a nobler personification of common human understanding than the Dwarf, rescues Una from the satyrs. Like Redcrosse, who "estranges" himself from the pageant of the seven deadly sins (iv.37), and from those courtiers attracted by them, Una too rejects the festive panoply of the satyrs' "worship" (vi.13, 16, 19) and seeks a way safely to withdraw (32-33). The mental and moral state of Redcrosse when he retreats from Lucifera's castle is

analogous to the mental and moral conditions represented by Satyrane and (less obviously) Sansloy. Like Satyrane, that is, Redcrosse maintains noble intentions and has demonstrated some of the rudiments of self-mastery, but his reasoning is still largely limited to the classical ideal of courage and self-sufficiency,[119] and beclouded by romantic illusions of physical strength and power over others as indices of self-worth (v.16-17). His initial dedication to Truth has wavered before these more attractive possibilities.

Sansloy exemplifies the less praiseworthy elements in Redcrosse's character and presents an exaggerated epitome of the knight's own headstrong passions. These passions are powerful enough to destroy the instinctive and natural leonine piety fostered by his descent from an "ancient race of Saxon Kings" (I.x.65) and his rural upbringing, and too strong to be overcome by the merely natural reason which Satyrane personifies. The struggle between Sansloy and Satyrane over the possession of Truth (I.vi.43-47) is thus emblematic of Redcrosse's state of spiritual paralysis and foreshadows his sorry decline in Orgoglio's dungeon. Satyrane is evenly matched against Sansloy and their stalemated battle corresponds to the only strength remaining to Redcrosse; mere passive resistance to the unrestrained forces of human pride and spiritual independence which struggle in his soul and undermine all his efforts to serve

Una and Gloriana. Without the grace of revealed law and divine mercy which Una and Arthur embody, he is desperately helpless.[120]

Spenser's narrative technique of entrelacement implies that the adventures of Redcrosse parallel those of Una.[121] Just as Una can be described as "a touchstone" for measuring the nature of Redcrosse,[122] intended parallels between Redcrosse's nature and the lion are also unmistakable. In terms of iconic significance, the two sets of distinct-but-related adventures are linked through the interplay of leonine concepts: strength and fortitude, magnanimity and justice. The first pair of virtues is represented by physical prowess in the knight and the lion, and moral perseverance in Una and the lion. The second pair appears in two examples which are inverted parallels of each other and reveal Spenser's subtle conceptual cross-hatching. In the first of these, the same lion that fawns compassionately on Una righteously kills Kirkrapine without a trace of compunction, thus indicating that it "understands" instinctively the conceptual polarities of magnanimity and justice and is able to maintain the necessary distinctions between them. This capacity for moral discernment is often lacking in Redcrosse, however, as when he unjustly abandons Una in fastidious disgust at her supposed lechery, and yet dallies nonchalantly with Duessa.

Where Redcrosse falls short of the ideals represented

by Una, he can be appropriately characterized by the negative associations suggested by Book I's lion imagery: great pride, strength, and fierceness, and ultimate insufficiency in the absence of grace. His genuine fortitude is weakened by misdirected ambition and self-interest, which lead him to failures in faith, hope, and love.[123] Una's moral and spiritual strength, by contrast, seldom falters, despite her obvious physical weakness and her bouts with grief and melancholy.[124] She continues to seek Redcrosse, and never loses sight of the quest to slay the dragon and free her parents. Though Redcrosse has valor and courage, without Una he lacks their true object, which she supplies.[125]

The characteristics of loyalty, strength, and sweetness in Una's lion reflect her own nature and her adventures as errant damozel.[126] As figures of the stricken Church and stumbling Christians, she and Redcrosse call up, via lion imagery, links with the solar hero Samson.[127] The association of Samson ("'Sun's man', from Bethshemesh or place of the sun',"[128] just opposite Zorah, the home of Samson's parents) with lions comes from the creature he slew on the road to Timnah (Ju 14:5-9). This exploit prompted him to compose the famous riddle ("Out of the eater came something to eat. Out of the strong came something sweet" [Ju 14:14 RSV]) which, though it literally refers to the honey which bees made in the slain lion's carcass, is also

reminiscent of the strength and sweetness of Una's lion.[129] Medieval exegetes considered the hero a prefiguration of Christ in that he was "consecrated from the womb"[130] to the service of God (like Mary, his mother was informed of the coming birth by an angelic vision [Ju 13:2-7]), and because his death in protest against the subjection of his people suggests that death which delivered all men from death and servitude. While the Old Testament hero's persecution at the hands of the Philistines corresponds to Una's allegorical role as the exiled Christian Church, the irascibility, self-sufficiency, and sensual weakness which characterize Samson figure as prominent features of Redcrosse's character, despite the Knight's attempt to live a life patterned after that of Christ. Though he oftener resembles Samson, his eventual admission to sanctity as an imitatio Christi reinforces the analogies "between the career of the Hebrew Solar hero and that of the Sun of righteousness," Christ, which St. Augustine discusses in his sermon on Samson.[131]

When the penance of Coelia's house finally purges Redcrosse of the leonine vices (pride and wrath)[132] that have contributed to his spiritual desolation in Orgoglio's dungeon, Redcrosse is at last prepared to take on the fully leonine role of the sun of righteousness, which has found one of its most compelling visual embodiments in Albrecht Dürer's engraving (see Fig. 40).[133] Aside from

whatever general influence the pervasive fifteenth century interest in the Apocalypse might have had on both painter and poet, the specific textual link between Dürer's engraving and Spenser's conception of Redcrosse as the sun of righteousness is a passage from Malachi (4:12).[134] Jan Van der Noodt commented on the passage in A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings:

> For he it is that treadeth the wine presse of the fierceness and wrath of almighty God. That is: he shall poure forth his vengeaunce vpon the proud and infidels, and shall punish them most grevously with his strong and mightie arme, stretched over their heads, striking them in his rage and furie, wherunder all things are set. And I saw an Angell standing in the Sunne, signifying the Apostles and al true ministers of the word of god which stand in the bright & cleare sunne of righteousness, which is Christ Jesu, that amiable and shining morning starre.[135]

Spenser translated some of the sonnets and epigrams for Van der Noodt shortly before matriculating at Cambridge in 1569, the same year the Theatre was published, so his exposure at an impressionable age to the attitudes and literature of apocalypse is virtually certain. As for Dürer, his godfather, Anton Koberger, first printed Pierre Bersuire's influential exegesis on the Malachi passage in 1489; the second edition, published a decade later, appeared simultaneously with Dürer's engraving.[136] Bersuire's commentary reads, in part,

> Further I say of this Sun . . . that He shall be inflamed when exercising supreme power, that is to say, when he sits in judgment, when He shall be strict and severe. . . . In summer, when he is in the Lion, the sun withers the herbs,

> which have blossomed in the spring, by his heat. So shall Christ, in that heat of the Judgment, appear as a man fierce and leonine; He shall wither the sinners and shall destroy the prosperity of men which they had enjoyed in the world.[137]

It is not unlikely that Van der Noodt, a volatile emigrant from the militantly Protestant Netherlands, was familiar with both Dürer's engraving and Koberger's edition of Bersuire.

In keeping with the characteristically agitated grimness of Northern Reformation interpretations of the Apocalypse, and with Bersuire's emphasis on the fierceness of the avenging Christ, Dürer has concentrated on the frightening aspect of the lion, and enhanced its terror-inspiring attitude by allying it to an image of Christ in which his customary aspect as the loving redeemer sent by a beneficent God is eclipsed by the inescapable certainty of judgment and retribution associated with the Second Coming. Insofar as the fearsome solar features of Dürer's Christ, and the even sterner expression of the lion on which he is seated, recall the righteous wrath displayed by Redcrosse in his battle with the Dragon threatening Eden and by Una's lion when it destroys Kirkrapine, the conceptions of both artists are similar. Spenser's treatment of the theme differs, however, by emphasizing the salvific connotations, muting the element of divine vengeance towards human beings, and keeping conceptions of vengeance restricted to the abstractions of evil as

embodied in imaginative personifications. Power in its cruelest leonine aspects, that is, is usually confined to the unambiguously evil characters such as Sansloy, Wrath in Lucifera's pageant, and Cupid in the House of Busirane masque. The poet's most effective rendering of leonine justice in conjunction with the potential for salvation is figured in Dame Nature on Arlo Hill, who pronounces judgment on Mutability, but does not condemn her (VII.vii. 58-59). On the whole, Spenser is more interested in, and more successful at, preserving the concept of magnanimity than in asserting the claims of vengeance.

Even in Book I he mitigates the terrifying connotations of Apocalypse by enveloping them in the joyous atmosphere of betrothal. Anagogically the betrothal of Redcrosse (figure of Christ, the Bridegroom) to Una (Bride, and figure of the Church Triumphant) signifies for Spenser the union of the lion of Judah (the deity in his aspect of power and invincible strength [Rev 5:5]) and the Lamb of God (the mercy and magnanimity which proceed from God's perfect love [Rev 5:6]). The poet reconciles the opposition between lion and lamb and prepares for it by the repeated parallels between Una and Revelation's "Woman clothed by the sun"(12:1, see Figs. 41-43),[138] a role which complements Redcrosse's role as Sun of righteousness.[139] When the lamb in Revelation (6:15-16) takes on fierce aspects (see Figs. 44-47) the function of the lion who

serves Una is recalled, for it replaces the lamb which is her initial companion, as evidence of a vigilant Providence supplying strength where strength is needed. The lion's redeeming gentleness toward Una, on the other hand, like its sacrificial gesture on her behalf, is evidence of its relation to the lamb.[140] The betrothal of Redcrosse and Una is thus an extraordinarily evocative culmination of the leonine and solar associations of Book I, and vibrates with significances that appear in later Books and are colored there with the associations of triumph that this context gives them.[141]

The literal sense of the fairy tale betrothal is particularly satisfying in its happy simplicity: the lion-like knight has finally achieved the heroic rescue of maiden, parents, and realm, which was earlier (and sketchily) intimated by the literal lion's role. Redcrosse's valor, aided by the ministrations of grace, has won the princess and her kingdom. On the moral level, his personal efforts to achieve virtue are successful, despite the internal setbacks and external obstacles that daunt his courage and sap his strength. By the end of Book I he has come to understand true lionliness and has experienced the trials and accepted the rewards of strength, courage, justice, and magnanimity.

Allegorically, the union of Truth (or Una, as the representative of the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth, whose

accession is evidence of God's gracious favor to England and the new English Church)[142] with the Knight of Holiness (who is also the representative of the English crown through the heraldic lion with which Redcrosse is identified) "conflates English history and sacred myth."[143] The correspondences between Una and the Queen, that is, and Redcrosse and the English crown show, by means of the betrothal, how English history "has followed the patterns of sacred myth,"[144] and permit Spenser to celebrate the temporal triumph of both Church and State.

The correspondence is extended even further by the allegorical parallels between the betrothal of Book I and the union of Britomart (who is delivered of a dynastic lion in the enigmatic dream she has in the Temple of Isis [V.vii.16, 32])[145] and Artegall (who bears the lion-embossed shield of Achilles [III.ii.25] and is mentioned numerous times in conjunction with lions).[146] The specifically Christian significance of their union is subsumed within the cosmic implications of the Egyptian setting, however, which acts primarily as a mythic rationale for the dynastic materials Spenser compiles as historical underpinnings for Tudor rule.[147] The more parochial and dynamic associations of Book I's betrothal, generated by the imagery of Christian apocalypse, act to assert the compelling efficacy of the combined religious and political ideals justifying Tudor hegemony.[148]

The key to understanding the various significances of Spenser's lion imagery--especially in Book I but throughout The Faerie Queene as well--is to recall that the iconographical weight of the images is a function of Spenser's poetic system and depends on the endorsement of traditional significances assigned to those images. His system, and it is a system despite its occasional unevennesses and lapses, "is less rigorous than that of Aristotle or Aquinas," however, "and is revealed inductively through the perception of relationships between the embodiments of concepts."[149] R. A. Horton uses the Sanskrit term avatar to characterize recurrent evocations or embodiments of particular concepts, and explains that

> an episode or the appearances of a character can function as an avatar in as many ways and on as many allegorical levels as it has facets of identity, and it can have as many of these as it has conspicuous features able to carry conceptual significance.[150]

Una's lion embodies the essences of strength, justice, and magnanimity as several aspects[151] of its universal significance, but some of the recurrent lion images also carry primarily negative connotations of meaning. The lions of Wrath and Cupid, for instance, are antithetical to the primarily virtuous aspects of strength, power, and courage that Una's lion represents. Far from showing Spenser to be inconsistent, however, his using the same image as both negative and positive moral indices demonstrates his conceptual control, for confusion between the

vicious and virtuous significances attached to any lion does not occur. As mentioned earlier, the analysis of the images is complex because the moral (and other) significances are concentrated in the image and only gradually reveal themselves through the context. The coherent exfoliation of significance may thus be tremendously involved and even tedious, but the significance itself is not, and it is the reader's experience of the incremental growth of unambiguous significance that, finally, determines the poem's unity:[152]

> The consequence of multiple opposition is the addition of another system of complex relationships to that of the multiple embodiment of essences. In fact, the most striking contribution to the unity of the poem is in the insistent antithetical parallelism of similar embodiments of virtue and vice.[153]

In a manner characteristically Spenserian, the technique of cumulative recurrences of images, which includes subtly different aspects as well as complete reversals, effects at the last a better and fuller understanding of the virtues signified by the images. Spenser obviously delineates the manifold contents and implications of single virtues (as the rubrics of the six Books indicate) but he also quietly and unobtrusively compares virtues with each other too, an end he accomplishes by showing single images in a variety of contexts. The effect is very similar to that of a kaleidoscope, which also makes use of a limited number of materials within a narrow

and restricted compass (cf. the demands made on the poet by the dual strictures of high rhetoric and the inherited symbolism of images), and depends on the presence of light and on the human faculties of perception and imagination to achieve its purpose. The kaleidoscope, however, is designed for distinctly aesthetic and visual effects, while the effect of Spenser's image goes beyond aesthetics and geometric visualization to embrace more fluid or ethereal matters of moral, metaphysical and spiritual import. His "gallery of pictures"[154] is seen and understood with the mind's eye, and the moral afterimage left there, far from being an "unpleasant surprise"[155] is a source of intense intellectual satisfaction.

The most useful term, to date, for characterizing the full retinue of significance implicit in Spenser's images is probably Horton's avatar,[156] which, because it is both descriptive and prescriptive, permits the more or less literal embodiments of an abstract concept in an image to co-exist simultaneously and peacefully with the epiphany of recognition that the embodiment elicits in the reader. That is, the reader realizes the embodiment contains something more than its relatively concrete self.[157]

The movement of the imagination stimulated by such avatars has cosmic implications that serve to encompass space and time, for in the case of Una's lion, for

instance, the reader understands the creature to exist as a specific agent--a doer of deeds--and simultaneously realizes or recognizes that its deeds as such an agent have an intrinsic meaning beyond their simple narrative function. The process of deriving connotations from the image leads to the discovery of additional meanings and a corresponding comparison with human moral and spiritual behavior; such a process of discovery and comparison is the "vertuous and gentle discipline" in which Spenser intends to fashion his reader. The moment in which this intention is recognized encapsulates time and space and places our consciousness, however briefly, at a fixed point somewhere beyond time. The firm and literal creatureliness of Una's lion is therefore a bond with the created natural world we daily participate in, but at the same time, the significance generated by its actions and the intellectual context of those actions create an avenue into eternal (or at the very least, trans-temporal) moral and spiritual verities.

When Una's lion and the lion on Arlo Hill are seen as the two poles--embodiment and epiphany--of Spenser's poetic technique, the usefulness of Horton's avatar is most clearly understood, for the term is capable of uniting both poles in a single conceptual embrace. As an avatar of strength, magnanimity, and justice, Una's lion primarily fulfills the function of embodiment and

inaugurates a sequence of leonine significance that culminates in the appearance of Dame Nature on Arlo Hill. The embodiment function is most aptly illustrated by the sequential movement of concrete events, which helps to distinguish the narrative role in which Una's lion appears from the more emblematic roles played by the poem's other lions. Since Nature is discreetly veiled, the only evidence given that her features are leonine is hearsay: "some doe say" she has the face of a lion (VII.vii.6), so this lion is therefore the most ambiguous of all of them, and its function is more appropriately and almost exclusively epiphanic. The epiphany of recognition that the lion image apotheosized in Dame Nature evokes in the reader participates in the timeless cosmic character of revelatory vision. While Una's lion embodies virtues in which some issues related to English history and religion are implicit, Arlo Hill's lion is a transfiguration (VII.vii.7) of such virtues--a further spiritualization of what is already idealized--proposing theological and philosophical considerations which transcend the frontiers of specifically British interests, and intimating a continuum between recognizably mundane matters and spiritual significances beyond this, or any, poet's powers of formulation.

Seeing the lion images in terms of essences, aspects, antitheses, avatars, and a sequential progression from

most literal to least literal, helps to distinguish Una's helpful lion from other lions who serve a more emblematic function. The essence of the Helpful Lion is reflected in Redcrosse as servant of Gloriana and eventual rescuer of Una's parents, in Una's desire to have her parents rescued, and in the rescue of Una by the satyrs and Sir Satyrane. The antithesis of the Helpful lion appears in Sansloy and in Redcrosse himself, when he abandons his true quest. The appearances of the other lions in The Faerie Queene are briefer and less noticeable, and the ease with which they are overlooked renders their significance more obscure, as well as more fixed and hieratic. Nevertheless, the images still continue to intimate a wealth of similar complex meanings.

Chapter IV

THE EMBLEMATIC LION

A number of very important issues are implicit in Spenser's declaration that "fierce warres and faithfull loues shall moralize [his] song."[1] The most obvious and probably the most important of these implications is the unambiguous announcement of the two great over-arching themes of the poem, an announcement which not only reveals the poles of his moral dialectic and the attitude he has adopted toward them, but also asserts the primarily lyric treatment with which he hopes to create and preserve, despite the heroic content of his narrative, the evanescent, dream-like atmosphere of Faerie. Needless to say, the statement thus implies the structural underpinnings of both epic and romance.[2] Much less obviously, though no less importantly, the announcement also provides a rationale for explaining the significance of the lions which accompany the figures of Wrath and Cupid in two of the most famous set-pieces of the poem (I.iv.33; III.xii. 22).

Because Wrath represents the particular evil against which professional warriors must ever be on guard, his lion functions as the negative embodiment of courage and

represents a perversion of the warrior's greatest virtue.[3] One of the most telling phrases in the three-stanza description of Wrath--that his lion is "loth for to be led"--exactly characterizes the conception of essential mindlessness associated with Wrath's fierce and inhuman energy. Cupid's lion, on the other hand, though no less ferocious, has been "taught to obay the menage of that Elfe," and represents the concentrated and diabolical energy of absolute control. This control is just as perverse and destructive as Wrath's randomness because it is dedicated to purely selfish ends, but the destruction Cupid wreaks is personal and pointed, as opposed to the relatively impersonal rampaging of Wrath. Because Spenser's chivalrous warriors are also heroic lovers, they must be as much on guard against the cunning snares of the malevolent Cupid as against the gross unruliness of Wrath.

Spenser exhibits great iconographical competence in having Wrath mounted on the lion, for while his doing so seems to mark a departure from the traditional medieval pairing of Pride and the lion,[4] the change indicates once again the fineness of his conceptual control of images. Redcrosse, that is, as the poet's version of the valiant Knight of the Lion who appears in the Romances, is very appropriately and subtly provoked by Sansjoy's challenge (I.iv.39) into the vice to which warriors are most prone.

The challenge takes place almost immediately after the account of Lucifera's pageant in which Wrath, mounted on his lion, is the last of her "sage Counsellors" to appear:

> And him [Envy] beside rides fierce reuenging Wrath,
> Vpon a Lion, loth for to be led;
> And in his hand a burning brond he hath,
> The which he brandisheth about his hed;
> His eyes did hurle forth sparkles fiery red,
> And stared sterne on all, that him beheld,
> As ashes pale of hew and seeming ded;
> And on his dagger still his hand he held,
> Trembling through hasty rage, when choler in him sweld.
>
> His ruffin raiment all was staind with blood,
> Which he had spilt, and all to rags yrent,
> Through vnaduized rashness woxen wood;
> For of his hands he had no gouernement,
> Ne car'd for bloud in his auengement:
> But when the furious fit was ouerpast,
> His cruell facts he often would repent;
> Yet wilfull man he neuer would forecast,
> How many mischieues should ensue his heedless hast.
>
> Full many mischiefes follow cruell Wrath;
> Abhorred bloudshed, and tumultuous strife,
> Vnmanly murder, and vnthrifty scath,
> Bitter despight, with rancours rusty knife,
> And fretting griefe the enemy of life;
> All these, and many euils moe haunt ire,
> The swelling Splene, and Frenzy raging rife,
> The shaking palsey, and Saint Fraunces fire:
> Such one was Wrath, the last of this vngodly tire.
> (I.iv.33-35)

The essential nature of the sin could hardly be made more explicit or concrete,[5] and the iconography which inspires Wrath's repellent clarity is the result of the poet's customary intertwining of iconic and conceptual elements from various Classical, Christian, and Romance treatments. Having Wrath mounted on a lion as evidence of the resemblance between the radical vice and the ferocious

beast's own temperament[6] probably owes something to Horace, for instance, whose own didactic inventions at one point include a short general catalogue of bestial vices remarkably like Spenser's longer and more specific one:

> Envious, wrathful, lazy, drunken men, lewd lovers too,
> None is so thoroughly a wild beast he can't be tamed,
> If only he'll lend for cultivation's sake an open ear.[7]

A generation later Cicero writes at length about Wrath, defining it as the "lust of vengeance."[8] In one place he characterizes its essence as the frenzy of mindlessness, a complete absence of rational control,[9] and in another, he carefully distinguishes between anger, rage, hate, and wrath.[10] Spenser's treatment is no less conceptually diverse and his method is emblematic as well as discursive, so that Cicero's painstaking distinctions could be profitably applied to expand the variety of negative meanings earlier implicit in Una's lion, Sansloy, and even Redcrosse himself, all of which meanings appear concentrated in the lion Wrath rides.

Seneca too includes a catalogue of almost identical vices[11] and compares Wrath, "the greatest of all ills" (II.xii.6), and the product of defective energy (II.xv.2), to beastlike behavior. Like Cicero, he discusses the different aspects of Wrath and describes the many sorts of angry behavior[12] which demonstrate that the vice is, in effect, a revolt against sanity (III.i.5). So far as the present discussion is concerned, his more extensive

analysis is notable for the distinction it makes between so-called anger, as the simple impulse to "madness, fierceness, [and] aggression" in animals, and true anger, which is specifically human in that it is the "foe of reason [though] born only where reason dwells" (I.iii.3). Therefore, says the Roman,

> it is wrong for one to hold up the creatures in whom impulse takes the place of reason as a pattern for a human being [which is done on the assumption that 'those animals . . . which are much given to anger are held to be the noblest']; in man reason takes the place of impulse. . . . [A]nger serves the lion . . . and those peoples which are, like lions, free by reason of their very wildness.
>
> (II.xvi.1; xv.4)

Seneca's advice is corroborated a millenium-and-a-half later by Marsilio Ficino's use of the lion as a metaphor for the untrained or badly trained human soul:

> Next consider that figure of the soul's nature. In which, under the figure of a lion, the vigour of the irascible nature; under the form of a man, reason. . . . Again, take the formula, by which you are able to interpret the crossing of souls into beasts, as meaning that they are said to migrate into the affections and habits of beasts rather than into the bodies of beasts as such.[13]

The old Stoic concludes therefore, that anger of any kind, because it lacks reason and does not so much "seduce as abduct the mind" (III.i.3), is a "substitute" for real valor, and by its own ungovernable behavior, "brings destruction on itself" (I.xi.2-3). Spenser's treatment of the leonine vice that appears before Redcrosse in the pageant emphasizes its profoundly irrational character,

thus reflecting the classical wisdom Seneca offers true warriors. Unruliness is precisely the characteristic of Wrath's lion, "loth for to be led," that Spenser draws to our attention, while Seneca's statement that "anger is enraged against truth itself if this is shown to be contrary to its desire" (I.xix.1) can be applied without difficulty as a comment on the jeopardy in which Una or Truth is placed as a result of the wrathful connotations so frequently associated with most of Book I's lion imagery. Sansloy's abduction of Una (I.iii.43-4) is the most obvious example.

As for Redcrosse, all the outward marks of the pageant's vices act as testimony to the inward condition they represent, so that the "good knight" of the Lion cannot fail to perceive that their fellowship is "far vnfitte for warlike swain," and he "estranges" himself from their company (iv.37). Such an attitude is an inadequate manifestation of righteousness in this servant of Gloriana, however, for Spenser is providing an ensample of how the actual temptation to the vice is far more insidious, existentially, than the surface clarity of the pageant implies. As was noted above (p. 151f), no sooner have the six counsellors and their sovereign returned to the palace than Redcrosse is challenged by Sansjoy, who, "Enflam'd with fury and fiers hardy-hed,/ . . . seemd in hart to harbour thoughts vnkind,/ And

nourish bloudy vengeance in his bitter mind" (38). When Sansjoy leaps to snatch away his brother's shield (the "gage of victors glory" [39] which Redcrosse had won after slaying Sansfoy [I.ii.19]), Redcrosse responds by "him rencountring fierce" and rescuing "the noble pray" (39), thus giving way to 'righteous' wrath and taking the next step on the slithering scale that leads downward to Orgoglio's dungeon.[14]

The subsequent clash between the two heroes is halted, ironically, by Lucifera, who is offended that such an encounter is taking place without her official sanction. Her active sponsorship is required to create the atmosphere in which Redcrosse thoughtlessly succumbs to Wrath from motives of Pride,[15] and shows that atmosphere to be one of sage and serious satire, for though Redcrosse is declared the winner (v.15), he has championed duplicity in the person of Duessa (14), and sworn fealty to Pride itself in the person of Lucifera (16), not to mention the characteristics of Wrath he personally exhibits in the course of the battle, so that he becomes, at its height, virtually indistinguishable from his opponent.[16] Redcrosse's "victorie" over Sansjoy is thus illusory, but not simply because Sansjoy disappears before Redcrosse can administer the bloody coup de grace that alone will satisfy his "greedie eye" and "thirstie blade" (15). Insofar as he has come to resemble the

paynim, he has also come to replace him as a frequenter of Lucifera's court. Moreover, as a metaphoric--and now wrathful--lion, he has also come to resemble the creature who helps to draw Lucifera's chariot. To the extent that his leonine strength and courage have run amok, he now begins to approximate that spiritual state which is signified by Wrath's bloodstained clothes, ashen pallor, and unruly lion.[17]

Although Spenser's pairing of Wrath and the Lion appears to alter the traditional literary correspondence between Pride and the Lion as it is demonstrated in the Ancrene Riwle,[18] Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt,[19] Lydgate's Assembly of the Gods,[20] and Gower's Mirour de l'Omme,[21] there is, at least in terms of number, an incontrovertible precedent for his manoeuvre in the Old Testament imagery of Wrath. The lion appears there as either an instrument or a representative of God's wrath some twenty-three times.[22] As an image of the victims of God's wrath, it occurs six times,[23] and as the figure for various sorts of angry threats from which God's protection is sought, it can be found thirteen times more.[24] Significantly for this discussion, it is also used several times as a metaphor for valiant men.[25]

Such a precedent indicates that the poet is not so much seeking to change the "traditional" association as he is attempting to enlarge its meaning to include both Wrath

and Pride as particular vices of the strong and courageous. Thus, although Redcrosse thinks to exclude himself from Pride and her companions, his reasons for so thinking can be found, ironically, in Pride itself, and show him to be as prone to that vice as to Wrath. This is not to say that he is wrong in considering all the "glorie" of Lucifera's court "vaine in knightly vew" (iv.15). The luxury and excessive brilliance which surrounds them all is obvious enough to warn off any truly hardy knight, but it is not Lucifera's glittering panoply, as such, which induces him to think her "too exceeding prowd" (15). Rather it is the fact that this princess has made no attempt to single him, a "strange knight," out for special notice or welcome: she to him "no better countenance allowd" than to any of the other courtiers present (15). For the knight to be so treated might be taken simply as damning evidence of Lucifera's inhospitableness and plain bad manners were the reader not to recall Redcrosse's rather recent mien at another princess' court, where, as a "tall clownishe younge man" he, being granted his boon, then "rested him on the floore, vnfitte through his rusticity for a better place."[26]

In one sense, of course, Redcrosse's pride is right; the nature of his true monarch, Gloriana, his sworn service to her and to Una, and his wearing of the armor of

Ephesians do render him intrinsically different from those who serve Lucifera. He is therefore merely recognizing the moral deficiency of this second court and passing judgment on the true state of affairs there, for despite his initial clownishness, Gloriana had nevertheless been gracious to him while Lucifera has not. What he neglects to acknowledge, however, is his own participation in the moral debility which he perceives and condemns in Lucifera's courtiers. He could not fail to notice the obvious inferiority of this court to Gloriana's, but he is not yet conscious of the sequence of bad decisions which has caused him to abandon his true quest and to be brought in confusion to this very court he has condemned. He fails to see, in short, that he, in a manner very like that of the others whom he despises, belongs there. His swearing fealty to Lucifera thus metaphorically reaffirms the medieval image of Pride upon a lion because Lucifera now rules the lionly knight who was "loth for to be led" by Truth.[27]

Spenser's rearrangement of the lion images is actually, then, a careful modulation of conceptual meanings drawn from Classical and Christian traditions, and restated, by means of the metaphoric Knight of the Lion, in a Romance narrative. The moral point the pageant makes through the implicit comparison of Redcrosse and the lions of Pride and Wrath is, though fairly complex, neither confused nor

obscure.[28] In the simplest possible terms, he is indicating how and why neither leonine Pride nor Wrath can be considered heroic virtues. The point needs to be so baldly stated, I think, for according to Classical ideals, a proper (i.e., rational) pride is the essential foundation and continuing support of true magnanimity.[29] Because magnanimity represents the perfection of the mind's government of itself and of the body, Wrath, which destroys such control, also banishes magnanimity; because Wrath causes this destruction and exile, it is "the greatest evil."[30]

Christianity, on the other hand, though it condemns Wrath as a foe of reason much as Antiquity does, aspires to an ideal of spiritual perfection,[31] to a state beyond the moral and intellectual ideals of Antiquity. This perfection, because it is modelled on the example of Christ, insists upon a radical humility[32] which alone can cooperate with the offices of divine grace in order to accommodate true obedience to God's will. In the Classical scheme, disciplined and rational pride leads to the most perfect state of unredeemed human nature, with Wrath's mindlessness being the most serious offense against this human nature. In Christian terms, however, Wrath is, at its worst, an offense against the perfect goodness of God and the reflections of that goodness in the creatures He has made in His own image. Thus Spenser

opposes Wrath (in the form of Sansjoy and the pageant's lion) not simply to Reason, but to Holiness;[33] that is, to Faith allied with Reason. In this context, pride of any sort becomes an impediment to spiritual perfection, and so, like the Wrath it frequently leads to, must be condemned.[34]

The unruliness of Wrath's lion represents the essence of the vice, that mindless strength which threatens the intellect's assent to matters of revealed Truth, and, as Chaucer's Parson counsels, "is mighty to destroyen alle spiritueel thynges."[35] Since Redcrosse fails to recognize his own figurative participation in the pageant and is not reminded by it of his own proud tendency to ungovernableness, his later strife with Sansjoy and Orgoglio, like his earlier strife with Error and Sansfoy, demonstrates that he "werreieth trouthe . . . and deffendeth his folye."[36] That is, his failure is not one of courage but of judgment, for he angrily leaps to attack Error, Faithlessness, Joylessness, and the swelling Giant of his own proud precipitousness, without realizing that these are all really more the effects of his sins than the sins themselves. What is required of him is rather the determination to utterly extirpate the sins by refusing to cooperate with them in any of their insidious manifestations.[37] To use a medical analogy, his precipitous anger is forcing him to deal with the symptoms

and not with the disease that produces the symptoms. Embattled engagement only partly expresses the arduous exertions required of warriors who have donned the armor of Ephesians; equally strenuous, and definitely more important, is the active, continuous, and unremitting practice of the virtues. It is in this portion of Christian endeavor that Redcrosse is remiss. His leonine energies are occasions of weakness rather than strength because he is still ignorant of the proper humility and spiritual courage that make truly Christian effort so difficult and dangerous.[38]

Spenser clearly owes a great deal to Classical ethics and Christian spirituality for the conceptual background of his pageant's figure of Wrath. He is equally indebted to Classical poetry, and particularly to the tales of Hercules, for the association between the vice and the lion image he has chosen to accompany it. The poetry consistently identifies Hercules with both lions and the impassioned mindlessness of Wrath; so much so, in fact, that a pattern which is both psychological and moral appears to associate the image and the concept, for those incidents of his story in which lions play an important part seems to be the immediate results of the occasions in which the hero is stricken with fury.

His killing of the predatory lion on the slopes of Mt. Cithaeron, for instance, comes about because his father

has sent him there (to cool his heels tending sheep) after the boy had angrily slain Linus, his music teacher.[39] The conquest of the Nemean lion (see Figs. 51-52), the first of the twelve great expiatory labors assigned him by Eurystheus, is likewise the result of the frenzy (sent by hostile Hera) which caused him to murder his children by Megara.[40] Again, when Omphale divests him of his trophies, which include the hide of the Nemean monster (see Fig. 53), it is part of the punishment he undergoes for inexplicably throwing Iphitus, innocent brother of coveted Iole, from the walls of Tiryns.[41]

In The Shield of Herakles, a laudatory account (attributed to Hesiod) of the hero's battle with the reprobate Kyknos, Hercules' fury appears slightly more rational, doubtless in order to justly reflect his prowess as a great warrior, but even here, the lion images are unmistakable icons of terror. As Hercules and Kyknos close for the last time, both combatants are compared to lions who "rage against each other and charge"[42] (see Fig. 54), and when Hercules prepares to engage Ares, the god of war and avenging father of the fallen Kyknos (see Fig. 55), Hesiod specifically likens the hero to a fearsome lion watching his victim with a heart "darkened within by anger," and a "terrible green glare in his eyes" (p. 217).[43]

The shield itself, in a foreshadowing of Hercules'

coming foray, pictures masses of boars and "glare-eyed lions" lined up and raging for blood, with the poet pointedly singling out one great lion standing victorious over two dead boars.[44] This emblematic conflict between lion and boar may be reflected in the fatal struggle between Polyneices and Tydeus, whom Adrastus likened to a lion and a boar[45] (see Figs. 56-57), and may also provide a rationale for one of the emblems which Geffrey Whitney drew from Alciati[46] for his Choice of Emblemes[47] (see Figs. 59-60). The lions, however, and the figure of Hate with its bloodstained clothes and glaring eyes that take "sense and perceptions out of . . . fighters" (p. 201) furnish the most important parallels with Spenser's conception of Wrath.

Despite Hercules' lapses into murderous irrationality, much of Antiquity considered him an epitome of leonine virtues: "strength, courage, endurance, good nature, and compassion."[48] The Stoics and Cynics in particular exalted him "as an ideal of human virtue" because of his exemplary fortitude.[49] When Valeriano versifies Lucretius' explanation of the lion's rages, it is not very difficult to see parallels between the Epicurean's rather sympathetic rendering of the beast, and the character of the irascible hero:

> Ceux ont plus de chaleur (dit-il) qui plus ont de courage,
> Plus du courroux au coeur, qui les provoque à rage.
> Cette ardeur notamment s'apperçoit au Lion,
> Qui fremit bien souvent de telle affection,
> Qu'il se creve le coeur; tant sa poitrine fiere
> Ne peut pas contenir les flots de sa cholere. . . .
> Chaleur est mesmement ce qui luy monte au coeur,
> Quand it boult de cholere, et que les yeux d'ardeur
> Paroissent flamboyans.[50]

It seems very likely that Spenser's use of the lion with Wrath indicates that he detects, and wishes his readers to detect, the element of greatness run amok which is so characteristic of Hercules, and which poses such a threat to the success of his own leonine heroes, Redcrosse, and, in a different context, Artegall.

The iconography of Dionysus, Greek god of wine and of the ecstatic celebration of elemental nature, also carries significant leonine features, which further extends the number of Classical sources Spenser may have drawn upon for his presentation of Wrath.[51] As well as suggesting several important parallels with Hercules, these features also imply some of the erotic connotations attached to the lion in the Masque of Cupid. The lion was considered sacred to Dionysus,[52] a result, most likely, of two related facts: the many legends concerning the god[53] in which lions, both actual and metaphoric, are present, and the prominence of the beast among those wild creatures that played such an important, if gruesome, role in the orgiastic rites associated with his worship[54] (see Figs.

61-62). So far as the tamer legends are concerned, there is a poem by Euphorion that commemorates a shrine on Samos which was dedicated to the god, curiously enough, "because of the gratitude and loyalty of a lion,"[55] and his chariot is frequently depicted being drawn by lions, in part because wild animals were reputed to submit willingly to him[56] (see Fig. 69).

Another, and more dramatic, example of the leonine associations occurs in the seventh Homeric Hymn, where the young god is taken from the island of Icaria by Tyrsenian pirates who plan to hold him for ransom. Infuriated by their presumption, he transforms himself into " a fearsome loud-roaring lion" who "scowl[s] dreadfully" on all the crew and then "swiftly lunge[s] upon the captain and seize[s] him."[57] As the terrified pirates leap over the side to escape this creature, the god restrains the only man aboard who had recognized his divinity and refused to participate in the abduction (the helsman), and identifies himself to him as the grateful and "loud-roaring Dionysus" (l. 56). He is also said to have taken on a lion's shape in the war against the Giants.[58]

His easily provoked anger is a major reason for his appearing in lion's form to the daughters of Minyas when they refuse his invitation to attend the revels held in his honor. Their preference for remaining at home and pursuing their domestic entertainments in peace arouses

his vengeance to such a pitch that he causes them to go mad and to fall upon Leucippe's son, Hippasus, and devour the boy, after which horror he changes them into bats.[59] Similar reasoning also prompts him to send madness upon the three daughters of Proetus and, eventually, upon most of the women of Tiryns.[60]

Yet again, he punishes the blasphemy against his divine nature implied in the rumors perpetrated by Semele's three sisters, Autonoe, Ino, and Agave, by causing them to go mad too. Envious of Semele's glory (but not, one guesses, of her fate) as the mistress of Zeus and mother of Dionysus, they insinuate that Semele simply invented the seduction by Zeus and had actually lain with a mortal. Predictably incensed, Dionysus induces in them such a frenzy as they participate in his festival that Autonoe and Ino assist Agave in the ghastly murder-by-dismemberment of her own son, Pentheus.[61] This crime serves as the grisly climax of Euripides' grim play, The Bacchae, and is accomplished only because the god contrives both to lead the self-righteous voyeur Pentheus to witness the Maenads' secret rituals, and to delude Agave into perceiving her son as a threatening lion.[62] The god himself is invoked by the chorus to appear as "a lion breathing fire" (l. 1017), which he certainly does, in spirit if not in fact.

The overwhelming leonine anger he frequently exhibits

is, finally, of a different order than that of either Hercules or Spenser's Wrath, however. Though Dionysus suffers, like Hercules, from Hera's active hostility and even goes briefly mad himself at one point in his career,[63] on the whole madness is for him an inexorable weapon which he uses with extraordinary mercilessness to punish all who refuse to bend to him. For Hercules, on the other hand, madness is an involuntary affliction for which he nevertheless experiences acute remorse, and which he subsequently makes prodigious efforts to expiate. It seems justified to assume that Dionysus' primary negative characteristic is, in fact, the vengeful retaliation of wounded pride when his furious imposition of himself is resisted. Since his malevolence is carefully focused and inexhaustibly egotistical, it seems to be a characteristic he shares with Spenser's evil Cupid rather than with Wrath, whose "vnaduized rashnesse" is indiscriminate and thus relatively impersonal.[64]

The form this Dionysiac vengeance takes in Spenser's epic is most acutely illustrated by the Masque of Cupid, in which the cruel god, "riding on a Lion rauenous" (III.xii.22; see Fig. 70), proudly oversees the torture of Amoret, whom Busirane has abducted from Scudamor at their wedding celebration and kept imprisoned for seven months in his house (III.xi.10; IV.i.4), where she is daily forced to participate in a diabolical ritual (III.xii.2-26).

The mounting of Cupid on a lion, and the fact that the creature has been "Taught to obay the menage of that Elfe" signify the "powre imperious" with which Cupid "subdeweth" both "man and beast" to "his kingdome tyrannous" (xii.22), and recall the similar attributions of power in the Hymne in Honovr of Love. The Hymne, like the entire House of Busirane, is a tribute to the "Great god of might that reignest in the mynd,/ and all the bodie to [his] hest doest frame" (11.43-44), with the poet acknowledging Cupid not only as "Victor of gods," and "subduer of mankynd," but also as capable of taming even "Lions and fell Tigers," and making "their cruell rage" his "scornefull game" (45-47).

Spenser recants this posture of submission to Cupid in An Hymne of Heavenly Love (8-21)[65] and subsumes the Hellenistic deity's erotic power, great though it is, under the chaster ideal of Agape (the absolute, spontaneous, and unmotivated love of God as evidenced in Christ),[66] advising his reader that

> All other loues, with which the world doth blind
> Weake fancies, and stirre vp affections base,
> Thou must renounce and vtterly displace,
> And giue thy selfe vnto him full and free,
> That full and freely gaue himself to thee.
> (262-66)

The recantation is important for it articulates, at the most comprehensive extension possible, Spenser's attitude toward Eros, and thus helps to provide yet another way of

understanding the several conceptions of love allegorized in Busirane's torture of Amoret and her eventual rescue by Britomart.

The moral dialectic of the entire epic--its "fierce warres and faithfull loues"--is, in fact, concentrated in the confrontation between Amoret and Busirane, for she, as "th'ensample of true loue alone,/ and lodestarre of all chaste affectione (III.vi.52), represents the epitome of unsophisticated womanhood, with her fidelity to Scudamore and to the ideals of uncomplicated sensuality and fruitful love in which she has been trained[67] standing in utter opposition to the conception of love embodied in her tormentor Busirane, the agent of an Ovidian Cupid who posits an "ideal" of love that insists upon vengeful and perpetual warfare between embattled males and females.[68] While Amoret is the offspring of a virgin birth (III.vi.5-10) and has been "trained vp in true feminitee" by Psyche in the Garden of Adonis (III.vi.51) and by Venus in her Temple (IV.x.5-58), Busirane is the bloody-minded namesake of a cruel tyrant (Busiris)[69] and the devoté of a conception of love that is the product of centuries of literary imagination analyzing and refining centuries of human passion into an abstracted mythical system which concludes that the origin of all love is ultimately sexual and that the object of all love is ultimately destructive.[70]

In his emblematic presentation of Amoret's tortured imprisonment[71] Spenser manages to emphasize the fundamental opposition between these two traditional conceptions of love--the naive or "natural" and the Ovidian or "literary"--without ignoring the somewhat limited intellectual scope offered by the one nor the tremendous intellectual control of the passions (despite the perverse ends of that control) implicit in the other. A subtler though no less important distinction made is that Busirane's idea of love, however compelling, is so much the result of calculation[72] as to be finally sterile, and requires the cooperation of "natural" lovers, whose pain, represented by Amoret's "liuing bloud" in which Busirane figures his "straunge characters" (III.xii.31) is essential to revivify and perpetuate his conception,[73] while Amoret's simpler version, though somewhat dull by comparison perhaps, is nevertheless spontaneous, orderly, and fecund.[74] Busirane's motive in keeping Amoret imprisoned is thus not only to make her "yield him the pleasure of her body"[75] or "make her him to love" (III.xii.31) but, more importantly, to force her assent to his cruel vision of erotic truth which the surrender of her body and her love would signify.[76] "Busyrane tortures Amoret in order to make her forswear her essential nature and become his own";[77] it is necessary that he gain her assent in order to legitimize his claim.

Her steadfast resistance to the demands of his "thousand charms" (31) is a telling parallel to the chaste resistance of the daughters of Minyas to Dionysus' demands, a parallel which casts into strange relief those critical interpretations of the Busirane episode which assert (or presume) that Amoret fears Scudamore's ardor and the physical penetration of the sexual act,[78] or, the obverse, that she is being appropriately punished for the venereal lust she entertains in anticipating the consummation of her marriage.[79] Both sets of interpretations posit something psychologically askew in her, and thus (unwittingly, perhaps) underwrite the Dionysian ethos, which declares that those who will not serve the god and participate in his cruel rites are justly punished with madness.[80] Spenser's allegorical point in the episode is clearly of a different order.[81]

The force of the passion which attempts not only to dominate Amoret but also to gain her allegiance, her very loyalty, is represented by the lion Cupid rides. This power, in itself noble and sovereign, <u>is</u> fearful under Cupid's malignant suzerainty,[82] and Amoret's introduction to it by forcible rape, lengthy sequestration, and daily torture, is hardly calculated to maintain her carefully nurtured and heretofore undisturbed notions of sexuality. Since she is in no way responsible for the conception of love to which Busirane is devoted,[83] this conception can

be called neither a figment of her own imagination nor the means of her further "education,"[84] much less a suitable punishment for her resistance to love.[85] On the simplest level of the poem, the literal narrative, she is subjected by an outside agency, and against her training and her will, to the power of perverse love. On the level of moral allegory her staunch though helpless resistance to Busirane's idolatry[86] is intended as a measure of her virtue: her chastity, her entire affection for Scudamore, and her loyalty to the ideal of love in which the whole delineation of her character consists.[87]

Beleagured virtue is never left unsuccored in Spenser's poetry, however, and he does not abandon her to the cruelly leonine power of Busirane. In true Romance fashion, he provides, through Britomart, a contrasting leonine image of virtue, one with sufficient perspicacity and vigor to penetrate, defy, and defeat the fraudulent claims of Cupid's "evil enchaunter."[88] The dart which transfixes Amoret's heart is Cupid's, but the keen knife which has riven her ivory breast (20) and later wounds Britomart's "snowie chest" (33) is Busirane's,[89] and represents the Ovidian cynicism about love[90] which serves Cupid's cruellest, most illegitimate, and most egotistical ends, and which both Amoret and Britomart rightly resist, though in characteristically different ways.[91] The Busirane episode is not, therefore, simply an allegory of

love imprisoned by love,[92] but of chastity rescued by chastity,[93] and thus justifies Spenser's rubric for Book III. The conceptual impasse created by the opposition of naive and literary ideals of love is shattered by a conception of love that preserves the natural fecundity of the one and the intellectual sovereignty of the other. This conception finds its exemplar in Britomart,[94] the feminine counterpart and companion of Book I's Knight of the Lion, and the eventual spouse of leonine Artegall.

The primary iconographical justification for dubbing Britomart a Knight of the Lion is heraldic, for her "goodly shield" is said to bear "a Lion passant in a golden field" (III.i.4; see Fig. 71) and is all we know of her until after she has toppled Guyon, at which point the poet then identifies her by name (i.8). Her shield appears to be deliberately modelled after that of Brute, Britomart's (and Britain's) eponymous Trojan ancestor (III.ix.38, 46ff; see Fig.72 and motto). A Tudor manuscript which was possibly available to Spenser preserves, in one of its folios devoted to fabulous arms, a description and (faulty) tricking of Brute's escutcheon: "Or, a lyon passant gules; 'The armys of Breute the ffirst yt ever conquered Yngleond.'"[95] The frontispiece to Drayton's Polyolbion, itself a tribute to Britain and its "history," likewise refers to the shield of Brute, which "bears/ In golden field the lion passant red," and suggests a rough

resemblance to the national arms of both Scotland and England, as well as furnishing a link between "the prophetical style" and the characterizing of countries and personae "by their ensigns,"[96] an imaginative stylistic manoeuvre that seems common to the major works of both Spenser and Drayton and reflects the importance of clear iconographical significance in creating and correctly explaining a national mythos.

Another justification for considering Britomart as Spenser's attempt to recast the Romances' Knight of the Lion in a feminine mold is the presence of a number of Romance motifs and their allied lion imagery in her legend. Grail material and Arthurian matter furnish particularly interesting parallels to events in the House of Busirane and the presence there of the leonine Cupid.[97] The Second Report (1594), for instance, recounts adventures of the English Wagner, who views pageants that include marvels and motifs which recall both Lucifera's procession and the Masque of Cupid and whose eerie rituals signal the idolatrous worship implicit in the two "idle shewes" (xii.29) of Spenser's poem.[98] The tales of Amadis of Gaul, too, contain the elements of strange ceremony and the breaking of enchantments characteristic of Busirane's house,[99] as well as mentioning several allegorical animals and a lion/serpent battle.[100] The knight Gawain also comes to an enchanted house, witnesses a mysterious

ceremony there, and fights a lion, as does yet another worthy knight errant, Sir Boors.[101]

So far as this discussion is concerned, the most important of the Romances is Arthur of Little Britain, which tells of a vigil the hero undertakes in Porte Noire, the enchanted castle of the fairy queen.[102] During the vigil he fights a lengthy battle with two lions and a giant, is wounded, and frees some "curiously bound" prisoners.[103] Edwin Greenlaw is convinced that "Arthur's struggle with the lions and . . . giant represents the proving of his claims for sovereignty," with the implications of the battle being political, "as in the allegorical animals of the Grail saga."[104]

Spenser appears to be emphasizing rather the politics of love in the House of Busirane, with Britomart's triumph over the magician and her freeing of Amoret being the means by which she and the poet assert the sovereignty of the kinds of love she and Amoret represent over the kind represented by Busirane and the leonine Cupid; but nationalistic concerns are quietly underscored by her victory too, for her leonine valor is fostered, in large part, by the confidence she has gained from Merlin's prophecy concerning her high destiny as daughter of a king, spouse of Artegall, future mother of a leonine son, and thus genetrix of the dynasty of monarchs eventually to issue in Spenser's own queen (III.ii.21-27; III.iii.3,22-

27ff 30,49). The tremendous erotic power which Cupid's lion signifies and which Busirane perversely manipulates is thus countered by the iconic function of Britomart's own heraldic lion and the providential mandate for sovereignty which it signifies[105] (see Fig. 73).

Insofar as Busirane represents the "religion of love degenerated into a cult,"[106] with love "the object of idolatry,"[107] and hence "no true religion,"[108] Busirane's house is a demonic temple dedicated to denaturing the natural and spontaneous love embodied in Amoret by binding and wounding her with his cruel enchantments and his cynicism.[109] The cruelty and bloodshed in the Grail materials (which invariably feature bleeding lance and blood-filled dish and are reflected in the most sensational details of Spenser's treatment, i.e., the dart, knife, and basin with Amoret's bleeding heart) parallel the cruelty and bloodshed of primitive Dionysian rituals,[110] and, as Spenser makes use of them, act as emphatic and terrifying assertions of the implicit power and sovereignty of elemental passions, a significance emphasized by the image of the "Lion rauenous" upon which Cupid rides.[111] Busirane's conception of love is confined to sexual passion, no matter how highly refined, and is, like the Dionysian conception, in the last analysis, murderous, and bent on the destruction of Amoret's gentler and more fertile conception. Britomart's purpose is not simply to crush

and utterly annihilate Busirane's conception of love, however, but rather to create from its ruins an entirely new conception by destroying the tyranny, not the substance, of the old one.[112] The leonine vigor in her assertion of power over the misgovernment of eroticism is formally indebted to the strength of her chaste and destined love, and acts as an emblematic demonstration[113] of her superior capacity to manage the lion Cupid rides. That her challenge to Busirane's house is not simply iconoclastic is indicated by her dismay at the thought of provoking Cupid's "monstrous enmity," and, though it never approaches idolatry, her reverential attitude toward the god she is about to "invade" (III.xi.22).

Cupid succeeds in controlling the lion (as well as his many devotees) in part because, as his idol testifies, he has permanently blinded the dragon, the Classical icon of vigilance that protects the virtue of chastity:[114]

> And at the vpper end of that faire rowme,
> There was an Altar built of pretious stone,
> Of passing valew, and of great renowne,
> On which there stood an Image all alone,
> Of massy gold, which with his owne light shone; . . . .
>
> Blindfold he was, and in his cruell fist
> A mortal bow and arrowes keene did hold,
> With which he shot at randon, when him list,
> Some headed with sad lead, some with pure gold;
> (Ah man beware, how thou those darts behold)
> A wounded Dragon vnder him did ly,
> Whose hideous tayle his left foot did enfold,
> And with a shaft was shot through either eye,
> That no man forth might draw, ne no man remedye.
>
> And uvnderneath his feet was written thus,
> Vnto the Victor of the Gods this bee:

> And all the people in that ample hous
> Did to that image bow their humble knee,
> And oft committed fowle Idolatree.
> (III.xi.47-49)

With Britomart as Knight of the Lion, Spenser restores the idea of vigilance standing guard over chastity through a different, leonine, icon, whose representative function is clearly indebted to Christian as well as Classical traditions.[115] Britomart's lonely vigil in the house, her refusal to succumb to the fascinating tapestries and infernal masque, the wound she receives in defense of Amoret, and her final triumph over Busirane, besides linking her to previous Romance narratives and leonine heroes, testify not only to her disinterested and self-sacrificing motives in the rescue, but also to the efficacy of that restored icon. Amoret's chastity and the ideal of love which it represents are preserved because the attacks on them are quelled by the spiritual vigor of Spenser's leonine heroine.

Beyond occasioning what might be called the "grotesque heraldry" of the Masque of Cupid,[116] Spenser's emblematic technique with the lion image also implies a metaphorical equation between the two heroical and British Knights of the Lion, Redcrosse and Britomart. The pair is linked not only emblematically, that is, but also, in terms of the literal narrative, by their friendship. They are further linked conceptually by the common possession of certain virtues implicit in their respective quests and

the aid they render others during the pursuit of those quests. Finally, the link is thematic too, because of the abstract relation the epic posits between Holiness and Chastity.

Spenser establishes their friendship through three important incidents, prime among them Britomart's assistance to Redcrosse against Malecasta's six knights (III.i.20-29), whose belligerence supports their mistress' fraud as they attempt to make Redcrosse forswear his fidelity to Una (i.24). Britomart, in a display of mild entreaty mingled with well-armed insistence that foreshadows Cambina's tactics, defeats three of the six, exhausts one, and intimidates two into yielding (i.29). She explains her victory by claiming that the principle she serves is the source of her strength. That principle, significantly, is love; not love as Malecasta with her hirelings, nor Busirane with his enchantments, understands it, but love allied with truth. As the Knight of Chastity explains, "truth is strong, and trew loue most of might,/ That for his trusty seruaunts doth so strongly fight" (29). She identifies herself, therefore, as a servant of love, and just as Scudamore's shield shows him to be Cupid's Man (III.xi.7; IV.x.8, 54-5, 58), and Redcrosse's indicates he is the Knight of Faith (II.i.27, 31), the leonine device on her shield signifies her appropriate and intelligent fealty to that power of love which Cupid mis-

governs for personal and cruelly arbitrary ends, and which lends such ferocity to Busirane's vicious attacks.[117]

Redcrosse, in turn, aids Britomart when she is caught off guard by Malecasta's knights and wounded (i.64-6).[118] The friendship between the two heroes is further strengthened by their companionable ride together, during the course of which Redcrosse tells Britomart "pleasing" things about Artegall (III.ii.9-17, III.iv.4-5) and she (presumably) confides her history to him (III.ii.17-52; iii.1-62). Besides providing mutual solace, the ride and conversation recall Britomart's similar companionship with Arthur and Guyon during which they travel through a wild and inhospitable forest, uninhabited except for "Beares, Lions, and Buls, which romed them around" (III.i.14). The two journeys establish her friendship both literally and allegorically with these two heroes as well. When Britomart and Redcrosse part, Spenser carefully indicates that they do so with great affection, with "friendship professed with vnfained hart" (iii.62), and bound in a "league of love perpetuall" (III.iv.4).

This league is supported by numerous narrative parallels between the pair, which reflect the allegorical analogies the two knights bear one another on historical and moral levels, and point finally toward the anagogical correspondences between their respective conceptual roles.

Both are from Britain, that is (I.x.61-5; III.i.8; ii.7); both are certain of their foreordained destinies as British heroes;[119] and both have those destinies confirmed (significantly) by the Palmer, or Reason (II.1.31-2; III.1.10), whose acknowledgement ratifies the prophecies offered by Christian revelation (I.x.67) and Faerie magic (III.iii.22-51). They both maintain fidelity to a single love, upon which fidelity their other virtues of fortitude, constancy, and perseverance depend (I.xii.40; III.i.25; i.8, 29; ii.42; iii.26; xi.2). They are either directly (i.i.3; x.63-4; II.i.1) or indirectly (III.iii. 22-4, 48-9) dedicated to the service of Gloriana and her realm, and within that context of service, seek praise and fame as their meed. In addition both subsequently fulfill narrative and allegorical roles which are salvific (I.x-xi; III.xi-xii).[120]

Finally, because the two knights have in common a salvific function, though in two ostensibly different orders (i.e., the "religious" sensibility as opposed to the "erotic"), the heroic stature of each contributes to the poet's intention to display at length the intrinsic natures of both Holiness and Chastity, and to demonstrate the inner-relatedness of both virtues as abstract entities. Holiness is not separated from love, therefore, as Stephen Barney's study of Books III and IV acknowledges by astutely declaring that Book I "is itself . . . a book of

love in another key."[121]

The distinction Barney refers to is ultimately that of Agape and Eros, the two essentially Hellenic motifs through whose means twenty centuries of Christian thinkers and theorists have sought to obey and to understand Christ's summary command to love.[122] In terms of the Agape motif, Holiness as friendship with God is most perfectly exemplified by absolute dependence on God's own "spontaneous,. . . unmotivated, uncalculating, unlimited, and unconditional love,"[123] which is freely rendered to the just and the sinner alike. The image through which man is made aware of this love that is available to all is the cross of Christ's Crucifixion, an emblem of the sacrifice made for creatures whose own merits are insufficient to make them worthy of such love, and yet who are inexplicably loved all the same. Agape is thus closely bound to the suffering which Christians undertake in imitation of Christ and which God's grace alone enables them to endure. The source and object of Agape are, therefore, God himself.

Chaste Eros love is closely related in that it seeks holiness or friendship with God (i.e., loves God) because God, as the infinite source and infinite object of all perfection, is infinitely loveable and infinitely desirable--the summum bonum, or greatest of all goods.[124] It is with man's own highest desires, which are compatible

with and absolutely dependent upon God's own creative love, that man loves God. In essence, Eros love thus culminates in the recognition and praise of the ineffable splendour, majesty, and power of Christ in God as the sum of all good that human nature can imagine, while Agape culminates in the recognition of and identification with Christ's sacrifice, which, given his majesty and power, is shown to be truly awesome and inexplicable. At the level of strictly human capacity and enterprise, which is what Spenser's poem treats of and attempts to ennoble, the conjunction of these two loves is allegorized in the Knights' pursuit of glory, legitimate erotic satisfaction, and desire for praise, intermingled with an ideal of selfless service.

Britomart, as servant of primarily Eros-love pursues a quest which is to resolve itself into an earthly crown, while Redcrosse, as servant of primarily Agape-love is given a quest whose crown is heavenly. Britomart's lion emblem recalls the appetitive and acquisitive nature of Eros-love[125]--its sovereign desire and infinite aspiration--so that her quest as spouse of Artegall and genetrix of a dynasty represents an earthly reflection of Christ's power and majesty.[126] Her understanding and accomplishment of the quest is imaged by the marriage of chaste Eros-love with Justice or Artegall, the epic's representative of justice. Because Christ himself renounced all earthly

power, however, Britomart's quest and its successful denouement, though retaining their sacramental character because of her virtue and Artegall's and therefore approaching sanctity, nevertheless remain, at the last, "uncanonized."[127] Because Redcrosse's emblem is the cross, and because so much of his quest involves the suffering of active renunciation (Mk 8:34; Lk 14: 27-33), he corresponds to the type of Agape sanctity.

Both knights are emblematically or metaphorically allied to the lion as an icon of Christ, or Christian holiness, and through this alliance they recall the admirable character of Una's lion. That is to say, just as Redcrosse gradually learns the virtues spontaneously, radically, and unreflectively exhibited by Una's lion (who acts as an allegorical emblem of Christ's power, humility, obedience, and sacrifice), Britomart too learns to put infinite human desire to its best possible use: she resolutely embarks on a journey in pursuit of what is, at best, a spectre (III.ii.18-26, 36-8, iii.6), maintains an almost unbroken vigilance (III.i.19, 42; iv. 5-12; ix. 38-46; x.1; xi; xii; IV.i.7), places herself in continuous peril in order to help others (III.xi.3-6, 7-55; xii; IV.i.10-12; iv.43-8; v.8, 13, 20, 29-32; vi.9-23, 38, 46), and valiantly attempts to throw off a tendency toward self-indulgent languishing (III.ii.27-52; iii.5, 51, 53, 57; iv.5-12, 18; IV.vi.40-7; ix.29-39; IV.ix.38). Her primary responsibility

is to maintain her chaste and active purpose despite obstacles within her own nature and challenges presented by the literal narrative. In her martial robustness and maidenly chastity she already possesses the internal rigor and spiritual innocence essential for acting according to Agape-love, and her trials during the course of the quest are the means by which she integrates the egocentric and acquisitive demands of Eros-love[128] into a complete and virtuous fulfillment of her destiny.[129] Redcrosse, on the other hand, begins with the givens of Eros-love,[130] and his trials serve to purge him of the selfish motives which (as an intrinsic part of human nature necessarily) plague all human desire, and to teach him the attitudes appropriate to genuine Agape-love.

The two motifs are as minutely intertwined in Spenser's epic as they are in Christian thought and in life, but because Spenser's emphasizes "an ideal--the Christian ideal--of selfless service to others," which "permeates the entire narrative of knightly adventure,"[131] the point of intersection between these two motifs is successfully and clearly resolved in the Augustinian conception of caritas:[132] the "league of loue perpetuall" which unites Britomart, the leonine knight of chaste or Christian Eros, with Redcrosse, the leonine knight of Christ's Agape. The two are united in the pursuit of Christian virtue--in the effort to unite purity of motive

with purity of action, and to endure trial and suffering as part of a destiny that requires personal desires to be appropriately fulfilled in the context of dutiful observance of extra-personal obligations. Britomart, as exemplar of Eros sanctity, is to succeed by working through--and thus redeeming--the limitations imposed on virtue by the natural order of creation.[133] Redcrosse is to succeed despite the limitations of the natural order, i.e., to overcome those limitations as evidence of the active presence of divine grace and favor.[134] Britomart's leonine vigor is thus not simply the chastity of renunciation (which Spenser examines at length in Guyon and exalts in Belphoebe) nor simply the chastity of faithful married love (which he exalts in Amoret), but rather something new; the chastity of an independent and noble spirit who willingly submits to a rigorous destiny in which both the visionary and the mundane are united in a love whose high purpose is "human and mediate, continuous with history and time."[135] Thus, when Britomart and Artegall are struck with unanticipated and irresistible love (III.ii.26ff; IV.vi.22ff), Spenser presents an image of Chastity enamored of Justice and of Justice enamored of Chastity which moves us to understand that we are being taught how virtue as an abstract conception may enter life and change it absolutely. We are affected in a similar way when Truth and Holiness are

eventually betrothed both in essence and in fact by the mutual sufferings they endure in Book I.

That the affectionate union of Agape and Eros in the theological synthesis provided by Augustine's caritas is the foundation of Spenser's moral ethos and anagogical similitudes is best illustrated by the fact that the two leonine icons of vice--Wrath and the demonic Cupid--are explicitly condemned by Book I's eponymous exemplar of caritas, Charissa, who counsels and fortifies the chastened Redcrosse immediately prior to his vision on the holy mountain:

> She was a woman in her freshest age,
> Of woundrous beauty, and of bountie rare,
> With goodly grace and comely personage,
> That was on earth not easie to compare;
> Full of great loue, but Cupids wanton snare
> As hell she hated, chast in worke and will. . .
>
> And taking by the hand that Faeries sonne,
> Gan him instruct in euery good behest,
> Of loue, and righteousnesse, and well to donne,
> And wrath, and hatred warely to shonne,
> That drew on man Gods hatred, and his wrath,
> And many soules in dolours had fordonne:
> In which when him she well instructed hath,
> From thence to heauen she teacheth him the ready path.
>
> (I.x.30.1-6; 33.2-9; emphasis mine)

Evidence that Britomart, as feminine Knight of the Lion, spontaneously follows Charissa's counsels to hate Cupid's snares and to shun wrath without benefit of explicit instruction is found in her motive for rescuing Amoret. That motive, is of course, amicitiae or friendship, which is the underlying theme of Book III's final

cantos and which furnishes the quiet transition to Book IV, the Legend of Friendship.[136] Spenser twice reinforces this thematic transition: first, by recapitulating the rescue from Busirane (III.xi-xii) in the first four stanzas of Book IV, and then by immediately having Britomart rescue Amoret, her "second care" (IV.vi.46), yet again--this time from the "iolly knight" at the Castle of Compulsory Lovers (IV.i.9-15).

Britomart functions throughout III and IV as a feminine counterpart of Redcrosse, and though no specifically religious sanction for the role of rescuer/redeemer[137] can be claimed for her as it can for Redcrosse (whose destined sanctity indicates that he is an imitatio Christi and thus allied unreservedly to religious interpretation), her narrative function as rescuer/redeemer can be understood as an emblematic version of Redcrosse's role which approximates a very similar, though not identical, sort of excellence. That is, because Books III and IV derive their narrative and allegorical substance from the familial, friendly, and erotic connotations of the word "love" rather than from its strictly theological ones; and because she, as Christian Eros-sanctity in the person of a Romance heroine, shatters the flagrant misconceptions of love frequently associated with Christian Eros by sometimes confused or indiscriminate theological, philosophical, and literary accretions,[138] her motives and

actions serve to divest the Christian tradition of certain inappropriate elements of erotic love which are periodically attached to that tradition through the influences of the mystery religions,[139] Platonism,[140] Gnosticism,[141] and Neoplatonism.[142] Spenser steadily acknowledges these accretions and just as steadily refrains from endorsing them.[143]

Britomart's motive in aiding Scudamore (III.xi.12-18) and Amoret (IV.vi.46) is clearly virtuous friendship as an aspect of caritas,[144] for when she promises "with proofe of last extremity" to deliver Amoret from Busirane "or with her for to dy," the echo of John 15:13[145] is not lost on Scudamore, who perceives the "huge heroicke magnanimity" that dwells in Britomart's "bounteous breast" (III.xi.19). The classical understanding of friendship as "one soul in bodies twain"[146] is also implicit in his recognition of her full and sympathetic extension of herself: "what couldst thou more,/If she were thine, and thou as now am I?" (19).

Unlike Una's lion, whose magnanimous love is unreflective and leads eventually to its death at the hands of Sansloy, Britomart's love is rational as well as spontaneous, and she very carefully considers the risks before attempting to "inuade" the god of love (IV.xi.22) by breaking through the wall of fire that surrounds Busirane's house and divides Scudamore from Amoret. In stating

flatly that "Daunger without discretion to attempt,/Ingorious and beastlike is" (III.xi.23), she voices Spenser's intention to distinguish the leonine courage of instinctive valor from the leonine courage of specifically human valor.[147] Her resolution to refuse to be daunted by the "shew of perill" before her, and her willingness to "Rather let try extremities of chance" than to forego praise because of "dread" (24), indicates those particulars in which human valor consists. Scudamore lacks this resolution and intent of high endeavor (even though it is his own beloved who is imprisoned) because he lacks the special kind of chastity with which Spenser has endowed Britomart--a noble motion of the soul which supplies the means by which she voluntarily asserts and maintains a separation between herself and the unqualified passions of desire and fear. Scudamore's is an uncomplicated and naturally virtuous character, but the very naturalness of the virtue in him partially explains why he lacks the intellectual and spiritual resourcefulness which Spenser sees as a prerequisite for true heroism.[148] He, as Cupid's man, obeys the law of Cupid, while Britomart obeys a higher conception of love than Cupid alone is capable of encompassing. Her character combines a vulnerability to the love frenzy which is the result of Cupid's darts (III.ii.23, 26; iii.3; iv.5-11) and common to all human lovers, with the stable self-mastery that permits her to

persevere successfully in her discipline of service. She recognizes both the lower and higher obediences of love and enlists the power of the one as a source of strength for the continuous demonstration of the other. In short, she manages the lionliness of her own character, but with an intention profoundly different from that of Cupid, whose "menage" of the lion he rides is selfish, careless of fidelity, and therefore unchaste and perverse.

Britomart's obedience to the laws of love is a fuller representation of the significances generated by Una's lion in its function as companion of innocence and truth, and thus reflects the same ideals (though on a more "natural" and less obviously theological though no less gracious level) that motivate Redcrosse's quest for holiness. As a Knight of the Lion who eventually delivers a leonine offspring to govern her people, her character and actions furnish a metaphorical transition from the Helpful Lion motif of Book I to the more emblematic lions of Cambina and Mercilla. These last, in turn, prefigure the lion-faced vicar of deity on Arlo Hill. Spenser's apparent conceptual shift from manifest theological sanctity to simple though compelling ethical virtue[149] thus exhibits not so much his having exhausted the highest of ideals[150] as it does his choosing to rigorously extend his poetic inquiry into the depths of the human (and specifically British) historical condition as it is

mythologized in the world of Faerie.

If Faerie and the Knights of Maidenhead can be understood as an imaginative analogue to spiritual brotherhood in Christ or to participation in Christ's mystical body, Britomart is, within that context, unquestionably united to sanctity in a "friendly league of loue perpetuall" (III.iv.4), with holiness implicit in many of her actions as she perseveres in her quest of that Truth which is her destined portion. Spenser certainly portrays her destiny as sacred[151]--initially only in the sense of the good magic of the Romance mirror which reveals Artegall to her. But later, through Merlin's prophecy, that destiny receives divine sanction (III.iii.24, 26) which reflects Spenser's poetic approximation of Christian doctrine, and her destiny is eventually ratified by the pagan (and more-or-less Classical) priest of Isis (V.vii.21-3). A degree of holiness is thus an undeniable part of her genesis and character,[152] while the mythical history of faerie is her testing-place. Her destiny implies that Spenser sees human civilization as something ultimately redeemable through the high intents and virtuous actions of its constituent members,[153] and that it may thus conform, at least partially, or in spirit, to the heavenly city which furnishes its ideal model.[154]

The first step toward achieving such a redemption is to establish good government within the individual soul;

the second is the mutual sufferance and assistance of a community of such well-governed souls; and the third is the extension of these ideals to a nation of such communities. Spenser's Book of Friendship is organized around a very precise examination of these three steps and its apparent structural confusion is the result of the poet's conceptual rigor rather than his narrative carelessness.[155] Book IV's complexity derives from the many plural devotions the poet attempts to examine, and the degrees of purity (or the lack of it) within each of these sometimes competing devotions.[156]

Concord is the greatest ethical abstraction under which the loyalties of chaste sexual love, fraternal affection, and disinterested (i.e., unselfish) friendship can be logically subsumed or bound, and, as Thomas Roche reminds us, concord, like amicitiae, "is a branch of charity, the highest virtue in the tree of virtues."[157] This concord is, of course, a major theme and image in Book IV (Dame Concord herself [canto x] being the most obvious example), and the desire to see concord securely established is what motivates Cambina, with her lion-drawn coach, to interrupt the futile combat between her brother, Triamond, and her future husband, Cambell.

Since most of Spenser's readers have been frustrated by the Legend of Friendship[158]--sometimes to the point of spluttering exasperation--they are likely to agree with

Kate M. Warren, for whom Book IV is "a riot of formlessness" which lacks "artistic unity of any kind."[159] So far as she is concerned, the book seems to defy analyses because it has "no representative knight . . . [nor] any one ethical or spiritual idea running clearly through [its] different incidents," deficiencies which rarely result in anything but "the most arbitrary connection between one incident and another, and sometimes apparently [no connection] at all."[160] This "patchwork" quality of Book IV, a consequence of its "fragmentary stories and reflections," leads her to conclude that the account of Cambell and Triamond, "two knights who only enter into a small part of the action of the book and are in no way vitally connected with any other story of the poem . . . might just as well have been placed in the twelfth canto for all the difference it would have made to the story."[161]

Though Miss Warren sees the role of Diamond, Priamond, and Triamond as something merely "pushed in as a new incident" among several other continuing stories, she does acknowledge that Cambina's reconciliation of the two warriors "may be called the keynote of the Legend of Friendship,"[162] a concession that has important implications for determining Spenser's reasons for interpolating the vignette at just that point in his narrative.

The most salient reason for assuming that the second

and third cantos of Book IV are an integral part of Spenser's treatment of Friendship is that the poet names the entire legend after the two warriors.[163] A second reason involves understanding the tales of Book IV as continuations of stories begun in Book III,[164] with the first appearance of Florimell (i.15) following close on the heels of our introduction to Britomart (i.8), and extending past the destined meeting of Britomart and Artegall (IV.vi) to Florimell's happy union with Marinell in the third canto of Book V.[165] Such an understanding of the continuing ensamples of III and IV and their resolution in V is reinforced by recalling that friendship, according to Aristotle, is perfected in justice[166] (which is, of course, the theme of Book V), for it is in the context of justice as a political necessity that Spenser chooses to resolve the difficulties of a local and relatively private community of characters whose thematic function is subordinate to that of the titular heroes of Books III and V.[167] Both the substance and the essence of V's third canto is dedicated to publicly distinguishing virtuous beauty and true knighthood from their irritating simulacra.[168]

The schematic account of Priamond, Diamond, Triamond, Cambina, Canacee, and Cambell is carefully placed almost exactly midway between the inception and the resolution of the "intermedled" adventures[169] of Florimell, Marinell,

and all those others who participate in the frantic tourneys and disgruntled beauty pageants, because Spenser wishes it to appear as an epitome of the resolution to be finally and fully fleshed out by the more familiar and more strongly delineated characters in V.iii.[170] The second and third cantos of IV are thus the thematic pivot point and diagrammatic crux of Friendship's component parts,[171] with the two cantos appearing as a beacon of conceptual clarity gleaming quietly through the foggy welter of "Accidents" to which the virtue is subject;[172] or, to use a natural metaphor, the episode is the conceptual seed which germinates in the fertile acreage of chastity, temperance, and holiness, and throws off one lone but fragrant blossom in the grim winter of public justice[173] before finally burgeoning into the full spring of the Legend of Courtesy.

Because Triamond's survival (a result of his "absorbing" the souls of his two brothers)[174] provides an emblem of concord within the individual soul,[175] and because the fraternal devotions and eventual marriages and friendships among the four characters provide an emblem of concord in a community of souls guided by affection,[176] they help to establish the pattern of traditional concord that Spenser desires to ensample in the larger context of Book V's mythic nationalism. This desire falls far short of successful accomplishment, however, because the overriding

themes with which he has bound the earlier episodes and books of the epic are almost eclipsed by the temporal exigencies of political power. That is, Classical magnanimity, Christian caritas, and the virtuous chivalry of Romance[177] are bent so far as nearly to break under the weight of a law which demands that wrath must be answered with wrath.[178]

For the moment, however, it is important to recall only that caritas, along with its classical and Romance analogues,[179] is the thematic kernel of Spenser's schematic conception of Friendship in the Cambell/Triamond episode,[180] and that the poet emblematizes that thematic kernel in the figure of Cambina and the two lions who draw her chariot.

> And drawne it was (that wonder is to tell)
> Of two grim lyons, taken from the wood,
> In which their powre all others did excell;
> Now made forget their former cruell mood,
> T'obey their riders hest, as seemed good.
> And therein sate a Ladie passing faire
> And bright, that seemed borne of Angels brood,
> And with her beautie bountie did compare,
> Whether of them in her should haue that greater share.
>
> Thereto she learned was in Magicke leare,
> And all the artes, that subtill wits discouer,
> Hauing therein bene trained many a yeare,
> And well instructed by the Fay her mother,
> That in the same she farre exceld all other.
> Who vnderstanding by her mightie art,
> Of th'evill plight, in which her dearest brother
> Now stood, came forth in hast to take his part,
> And pacifie the strife, which causd so deadly smart.
> (IV.iii.39-40)

The lions are particularly important in Cambina's pageant-like appearance (cf. st. 39 and see Figs. 76-78)

because their wild power and "former cruell mood" recall the negative leonine icons of Wrath and Cruel Eroticism which appear in the pageants of Lucifera (see Fig. 79) and Cupid (see Figs. 80-83).[181] Here, however, the potential for leonine perversity, destruction, and unmitigated selfishness is firmly controlled, for Cambina has made the lions "forget" their accustomed rapacity, and "obey their riders hest, as seemed good."[182] She thus functions iconographically as a metaphysical image of the well-governed soul and corresponds to the image of the well-governed soul provided by her brother, Triamond.

Within the complex but unambiguous conceptual framework represented by the four interrelated characters, Cambina, as Triamond's sister, almost certainly figures the combinative faculty of the rational soul, and her appearance acts to reaffirm--in both Classical and Christian terms and imagery--the theme of caritas.[183] That is, she, as the daughter of Agape or indisputably Christian love,[184] has learned by means of the "mightie art" in which Agape has instructed her, of her "dearest brothers . . . evill plight," and come to "to take his part/ and pacifie the strife" which threatens him (iii.40). Though Spenser indicates that Triamond also represents the rational soul,[185] the capacity of rational understanding displayed in Cambina is clearly superior to that of Triamond because she is able to generate concord out of

the desperate and destructive competition in which Triamond and Cambell are caught up.[186]

The reason she is able to effect this concord is revealed by the iconic function of her accompanying lions. Her control of the lions represents her control of the froward and forward passions, Wrath and Love, which passions suggest, in turn, the cruelly ironic situation of Cambell (who, for love of his sister is attempting to kill the stoutest and best of all those knights who wish to marry her), and Triamond (who, to win the love of Canacee finds himself attempting to kill the brother of whom she is so fond).

These counter-purposes--hardly apparent to the combatants themselves--are what Cambina's superior rational power discerns in their conflict, and they justify her use of the caduceus and Nepenthe to stop the violence (see Figs. 84-86).[187] Though her motives superficially resemble Cambell's (i.e., like him she wishes to protect a beloved sibling and to prevent bloodshed [cf. iv. 46-7]), her ethical superiority derives from her desire to establish real peace by creating an atmosphere where amiable cooperation rather than trial by combat determines the results. She, too, like the knights, has a decidedly personal interest in the outcome of the battle, for Spenser is careful to point out that her love for Cambell quickly becomes as important as her love of Triamond

(IV.iii.46), but unlike the two knights, her vision of just affection extends beyond the merely personal, and so is capable of embracing them all.[188]

The power of Cambina's two lions as the strength of rationally controlled passions finds an iconic parallel in the tokens with which she manages to pacify Triamond and Cambell: the caduceus and the Nepenthe, whose significances are drawn from Classical Antiquity[189] and which she uses to restore the knights to their right minds. As instruments of peace, the prominent Classical icons function within the Romance vehicle to reinforce the underlying theme of Christian caritas.

Cambina's own force of character and emblematic importance as an image of the well-governed soul render the two lions of her chariot benign through their obedience to her wishes. In the same way her rod of magnanimous and intelligent force (conceptually different from the force of Wrath because it prevents rather than foments discord)[190] and the cup of Nepenthe (conceptually different from, say, Acrasia's sensual cup because it restores the memory of reason by rescinding the privileges usurped from reason by the grosser memory of sense)[191] restore magnanimity to the wrathful Cambell and Triamond. She encourages them to think like rational beings, that is, rather than to fight mindlessly like beasts, oblivious to the imbecile consequences of their combat. In short,

as Spenser most beautifully declares, she calms their "troubled mynd" (43).

When the poet tells how Agape soberly inspires her three sons with principles of virtuous love,[192] he is preparing his readers for her daughter Cambina, who establishes similar principles within a community of souls.[193] She teaches the decorum of a reasonable affection that extends beyond the natural boundaries of the fraternal and the erotic, and teaches it well. Thus Triamond's appropriate love for the admirable Canacee,[194] and his courage in vying for her, are rewarded with his finally winning her hand and affections. The over-exertions of Cambell's rather foolish belligerence in defense of his sister are tempered and their "honour" is preserved. Canacee's diffident virtue is befriended and enlivened by Cambina's ardent nature, and Cambina, as the forceful female, is matched in love with the aggressive male, Cambell.[195] The two males, no longer bloody-minded, are united in a fair friendship (IV.iii.49).[196]

The lions pulling the chariot "Such as the maker selfe could best by art deuise" (iii.31)[197] also emblematize two different metaphysical understandings of the soul. Spenser, by means of Cambina's combinative power, unites in a single virtuous purpose these two understandings: the Classical or "natural,"[198] and the Christian or theological.[199] The first of these is more

clearly represented by Cambell and Canacee (natural, empirical, or experiential wisdom; cf. IV.ii.35-7), and seems to conform to the Aristotelian model of a virtuous mean existing hypothetically between the two extremes of defect and excess.[200]

The second metaphysics of the soul is that represented by the three sons of Agape, whose mutual affection, carefully fostered by their mother, emblematizes the Augustinian understanding of the Trinity,[201] and whose love for Canacee acts as a bridge[202] between the divine[203] and the realm of nature. In her self-sufficient virtue and retiring modesty, Canacee or human wisdom resists the attentions of human (i.e., the "many Lords and knights" [ii.36]) and divine (i.e., Triamond's) love, and Spenser ensamples this resistance through Canacee's diffidence and her brother's violent efforts to protect her. Nature's capacity to protect itself and its own realm in a kind of independent retreat from direct divine intervention is pictured in the magic ring Canacee gives to Cambell.[204] This protection is analogous to the Fates' boon to Agape, which protects Triamond. When the destructive effects of such resistance and such protection are made manifest to the combatants and to Canacee, via the battle itself and Cambina's restorative Nepenthe, the arbitrary resistance ends and all are eventually united in the affectionate concord of an imputed single soul existing in four

distinct bodies.[205]

Cambina thus not only represents the combinative faculty of the rational soul, but also suggests supernatural caritas, born of Agape and active in the world, as an embodiment or emblem of divine generosity.[206] Cambina thus loves Canacee, too (as well as Cambell and her sibling, Triamond), both because of Canacee's own virtue and because Canacee is beloved of Cambell and Triamond. As allegorical representations of the effects of divine love, the characters appear to be deserving of each other's love, in other words, and Spenser shows their initial virtue eventually perfected by their mutually extended devotion.

The conceptual resolution of discord between these two metaphysical understandings of the soul is indebted to a number of literary, philosophical, and theological traditions: to the ethos of tourneys, pageants, and valor of the Romances for the literal narrative; to Aristotle for the depiction of Friendship as a social relation which begins in virtue and ends in justice;[207] to Plato for the understanding of friendship as a spiritual state;[208] to Augustine for the synthesis of passion and intellect in caritas;[209] and to Aquinas for the systematic application of Aristotelian logical rigor to Platonic and Augustinian spirituality. The title of the legend is thus "Telamond and Cambell" because the "perfect world"[210] Spenser

portrays via the narrative vehicle of cantos ii and iii is the result of the union in friendship of Cambell and the tenor of Classical metaphysics he represents, with Triamond and the tenor of Christian metaphysics he represents.[211]

Because Cambina is the agent of this union, her function as a leonine emblem of caritas is central to the fourfold meaning of the vignette, and perhaps more importantly, to the function of allegory as Spenser understood it. On the literal level of the fairy tale, that is, she comes with the inexplicably perfect timing and salvific affection of a fairy godmother to stop the dissension and conjure up an enchanted circle of mutual benevolence.[212] Ethically, she emblematizes concord in the mirocosm,[213] and by enacting the dramatic role of a deus ex machina[214] and the mythical role of the Magna Mater,[215] reconciles Classical principles of love and wrath by rescuing her brother, making friends of enemies and strangers, uniting diffident and unhappy lovers, and finding her own spouse.[216]

In terms of specifically British history she recalls the hieratic function of Queen Elizabeth's role as an emblem of England's national unity, a function which focuses resistance to the omnipresent threat of political and religious instability. The lions that draw Cambina's chariot offer particularly fertile interpretive

possibilities in this respect, and a brief mention of some of these possibilities may enable readers of Spenser to enlarge upon hitherto undetected historical allegory in the Cambell/Triamond episode. The lions might be understood, for instance, to represent certain courtiers (e.g., Leicester and Raleigh)[217] whom the queen encouraged to entertain tantalizing hopes of a royal marriage. She did so, of course, not only to satisfy her private vanity, but also to advance her imperial designs by keeping a close eye and a tight rein on her suitors' powerful personal ambitions, thus ensuring that those ambitions served England as well as the gentlemen involved.

The most straightforward interpretation of the two lions is to see them simply as the heraldic representatives of England and Scotland, the two nations held in uneasy alliance by the British queen's exercise of sovereignty. When seen in this light, the lions also appear to represent England's religious and political uncertainties as epitomized in the ideological dispute between Elizabeth, the British lion, and Mary, the leonine Queen of Scots.[218] Elizabeth's role as Cambina herself, as well as one of the lions, figures the triumphant Anglicanism that drives the chariot of state, with the Queen's function as head of the English Church emblematizing the concord she establishes by simultaneously wielding both temporal and

spiritual power. A corollary to this interpretation is Spenser's apologetic purpose in defending his monarch's use of judicious force (which the caduceus figures) and her public protestations of love[219] (represented by the Nepenthe) to maintain English peace.[220]

Spenser was as likely using the emblematic Cambina to exhort his monarch and her people to continue in virtue, whether political or religious, as he was defending her exercise of power, however, and so Cambina, with her obedient lions, and the two embattled knights whom she pacifies, can be easily understood as a perhaps flattering but nonetheless adroit and necessary admonition to both the Queen and to the Englishmen she ruled, to persevere in magnanimity and mercy despite the myriad temptations to fall away from these high ideals.[221]

Anagogically, Cambina's type is perfected in the House of Coelia, where the counsels of Fidelia and Charissa restore Redcrosse's leonine soul, for through Cambina's well-disposed and ardent efforts, the tripartite soul emblematized in Triamond and united with Cambell in friendship and with Canacee in marriage, receives and enjoys a vision of peace in which all virtues are reconciled.[222] Though this vision differs from the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem which is granted to Redcrosse, it nonetheless intimates an important theological significance, for it refers not simply to the

visual equivalent of Christian beatitude which inspired St. Augustine's idea of the City of God, but rather attempts to represent the unrepresentable power that Christ attributes to God the Father when he declares that to God all things are possible (Mt 19: 26; Mk 10:27; Lk 18:27). This vision of peace and its anagogical significance are the key to Spenser's allegorical technique for they act as the conceptual point of reentry to the literal level of the romance narrative, that elusive world where anything is possible.[223]

The leonine Cambina is thus an emblem of concord[224] which, because it partakes of the natures of both natural law and of supernatural mystery,[225] links the sacred and the profane[226] in a metaphysical construct which Spenser fleshes out mythically and historically in the leonine Britomart and Mercilla, and presents transfigured in the epiphany on Arlo Hill.

Lions are significant features in the two core-cantos of Book V--the enigmatic dream-vision granted to Britomart in Isis Church (vii) and the pageantry of Mercilla's court (ix)[227]--and the interplay between the iconic meanings generated by these two lions helps to illuminate the paradoxes, and even to resolve some of the conceptual conflicts, inherent in the traditional dialectic between Justice and Mercy.[228] The lion to which Britomart gives birth in the dream, for instance, is intimately associated

with the lion she bears on her shield, and emphatically consolidates the mythic and historical significance of the heraldic British lion--its power and sovereignty--with her own titular and thematic identification as chaste love. Artegall too, by virtue of the conceptual importance Spenser places in their destined marriage, also figures in the leonine significances derived from the heraldic lion of her dream.

Mercilla's lion, in its relation to the transparent political and moral allegory of Duessa's trial, carries, in some ways, the most complex and weighty leonine issues of all,[229] for it is most closely and clearly associated with the actual praxis of history in a specific and well-documented historical moment, so that its presence attests to the pressures and ambivalences of a particular historical decision, with all the literal, ethical, and anagogical ramifications of that decision implicit in its carefully chained royning. The meaning of Arlo Hill's lion, who sits in judgment on Mutability, and recalls Mercilla presiding over the trial of Duessa, expands the perspectives of leonine allegorical speculation to cosmic dimensions, and is indebted to the visionary character and significance of Britomart's dream for this expansion, while the intense dynamics of Justice and Mercy revealed at Mercilla's court are equally influential on Nature's decision and cast into intelligible relief the discrepancy

between the magnanimity she manifests in dealing with Mutability, and that which Mercilla exhibits in dealing with Duessa.

Spenser chooses to place Britomart's dream within the thematic context of Book V, where the dream's occurrence and allegorical purport are "intermedled" with the narrative of Artegall's adventures as the allegorical Knight of Justice. She is, therefore, closely united to the Spenserian conception of justice despite her primary conceptual significance as chastity.[230] Though there is plentiful evidence that Artegall acting alone is a competent, if brutal, justiciar,[231] Spenser indicates such competence is insufficient without the interior condition of magnanimous equity which Britomart represents.[232]

While Artegall is sequestered in Radegone (v-vii), Britomart waits out the promised three months of their separation (IV.vi.43) and more, tormenting herself, by turns, with fear for his safety amidst the hardships of errantry (vi.4) and with jealous anxiety that he has willingly taken refuge from those hardships "[a]mongst loose ladies" (6); far bitterer than the idea of his possible sufferings is the notion of his being "lapped in delight" (6). These worst fears are apparently confirmed when the briefly and amusingly sentient Talus tells her of Artegall's imprisonment (10), causing her to give vent to yet another fit of tumultous passion (11-14).[233]

Eventually righting herself long enough to enquire closely into the details of her betrothed's capture, she then "streight her self [does] dight, and armor dons . . . [t]o seeke her Knight" (17-18).

She rides sadly and silently with Talus, "[c]hawing the cud of griefe and inward paine" and intent on "fierce auengement" against Radigund (18), a state of mind that prevents her from suspecting the hospitality of Dolon, whom they soon meet (19-23), but one that also protects her from his fatal bed-trap by compelling her to keep a weary night-long vigil, still dressed in full armor (24-27). She and Talus foil the trap (28-31), and when morning finally dawns, she does away with the two would-be assassins (35-40) without ever learning that they and their vengeful father, Dolon, had mistaken her for Artegall himself, who had earlier slain Dolon's eldest son, Guizor, at Pollente's bridge (ii.11).

It is in this melancholy mood, sick at heart, angry, and exhausted, that she comes, after a day's ride under lowering skies, to Isis Church, where she is received hospitably by the priests and guided to the idol itself, whose head is crowned with gold "To shew that she had powre in things diuine" and whose waist is encircled with the tail of the crocodile at her feet (vii.6).[234] When the statue apparently inclines her wand towards Britomart, the girl understands the gesture as a benediction and, in

humble reverence and and perfect security, disarms, prays, and goes to sleep (8) "[v]nder the wings of Isis" (12).[235]

In the midst of this "sweete rest...[t]here did appeare vnto her heauenly spright/ A wondrous vision, which did close implie/ The course of all her fortune and posteritie" (12). From the "linnen stole" and "mitre" which she initially wears as priestess of Isis in the dream, her garments are "sodainely . . . transfigured" to the red robes and golden crown identified with the goddess herself, a happy change with which she is greatly pleased (13).[236] Her felicity is short-lived, however, as "[a]n hideous tempest" rises up, scatters the embers of the sacred fire, and threatens to destroy both the temple and herself (14). The storm arouses the sleeping crocodile who, "gaping greedy wide, did streight deuoure/ Both flames and tempest,"[237] after which, overweeningly heartened by "his owne peerelesse powre," he begins to move hungrily toward Britomart until the goddess beats him back with her rod (15), the same "long white sclender wand" with which she had earlier blessed Britomart (7). This admonition turns all the crocodile's "swolne" pride "to humblesse meeke," and the creature assumes a different posture with Britomart, throwing himself at her feet and seeking "for grace and loue" (15-16).[238] His ploy is so successful "[t]hat of his game she soone enwombed grew/

And forth did bring a Lion of great might;/ That shortly did all other beasts subdew" (16).

Britomart wakes from the dream in terror and spends the rest of the night in yet another weary vigil, musing upon the dream "[w]ith thousand thoughts feeding her fantasie" (17),[239] an expense of spirit that leaves its mark on her features and thus elicits the compassionate attention of the priests, the chief of whom asks what is troubling her (18). When she reveals the dream to him, confident that his counsel will guide her "out of errour blind" (19), he is filled with the "heauenly fury" of prophetic knowledge (20), and addressing her as "Magnificke Virgin" (21), tells her that the crocodile is her "faithful louer" the "righteous" Artegall, who is "like to Osyris" (22), that same crocodile of "forged guile and open force" (7) who sleeps forever under Isis' feet and whose "sterne behests and cruell doomes" are restrained by her clemency (22). Artegall is to quell the enemies that will interfere with Britomart's "iust heritage" of her father's crown and country, and she is to marry the Knight, rule her kingdom jointly with him, and eventually bear him a son "[t]hat Lion-like shall shew his powre extreame" (23). Much relieved and encouraged by the priest's interpretation, the particulars of which ratify Merlin's prophecy (III.iii.21-49, esp. 29-30), she leaves rich gifts with him and proceeds without further

deliberation or delay to "seeke her loue" in the land of the Amazons (24).

When she finally encounters Radigund, who is "fild with. . .ioyous glee" at the prospect of armed combat after a long hiatus (25), Britomart scornfully disdains Radigund's undignified and unchivalrous "termes," and her show of spirit thus defeats the tactics that had undone the less wary Artegall (28). To the sound of trumpets, the pair of women close in fierce battle (29) and Spenser significantly maintains the leonine imagery associated with Britomart's character when he compares their struggle to that of wild felines disputing a prey:

> As when a Tygre and a Lionesse
> Are met at spoyling of some hungry pray,
> Both challenge it with equall greediness:
> But first the Tygre clawes thereon did lay;
> And therefore loth to loose her right away,
> Doth in defence thereof full stoutly stond:
> To which the Lion strongly doth gainesay,
> That she to hunt the beast first tooke in hond;
> And therefore ought it haue, where euer she it fond.[240]
> (vii.30)

The identification of Britomart as a lion is further reinforced by the leonine connotations of wrath Spenser calls up in describing her as the "wrothfull Britonesse" who, "with one stroke" cleaves Radigund's head and helmet from her body in acknowledged revenge for Artegall's distress and the physical and emotional wounds her cruelty has imposed on the pair of lovers (34).[241] Britomart is not entirely pitiless, however, and "ruth" prompts her to command Talus to end his slaughter of the routed Amazons

(36). Similarly, her heart begins to "grudge, for very deepe despight" (37) when she sees the subjected knights, Artegall among them, whose masculinity has been Radigund's "May-game" (40).[242] As the fruit of her victory and her now uncontested leonine might she restores their armor to the knights, and while recovering from her wounds, re-organizes the hierarchy of power in Radegone, dealing such "true Iustice" that her transfiguration to sovereignty imaged in the dream is fulfilled,[243] and the citizens of Radegone admire her wisdom, hearken to her "loring," and adore her "as a Goddesse" (42).[244] She proves the extent of her wisdom and magnanimity when, despite her private grief that Artegall must return once again to his quest to rescue Irena from Grantorto, she moderates "her owne smart" and defers to the requisites of his honor as greater than her own (44).[245]

In broadest iconic terms the lion Britomart delivers in her dream is an emblematic recasting of the heraldic lion of her shield.[246] While Spenser uses this heraldic lion primarily to demonstrate how "love . . . generates 'all vertue' . . . and heroic action," with the implication that the device is "an emblem of [Britomart's] total activity in the poem,"[247] the power her leonine offspring displays in "shortly" subduing "all other beasts" in the dream derives generally from its status as the Lion of England,[248] and specifically from its parents' formidable combination of knightly prowess and egregious irritability,

a combination which extends on more than one occasion to vengeful wrath in all its salvagesse.[249] The lion's subduing of the other beasts is also both an iconographical restatement of Merlin's promise that Britomart's offspring will survive his father and will scatter their enemies

> Like as a Lyon, that in drowsie cave
> Hath long time slept, himselfe so shall he shake
> And coming forth, shall spread his banner brave
> Over the troubled South
> (III.iii.30),

and a recollection of the sovereign lion in Mother Hubberds Tale, whose negligent drowsing ends in the punishment of the marauding Fox and Ape, and the restoration of order to its realm.[250]

Interpreted historically, the lion she bears in the dream may refer to Gildas' description of Constantine, "the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyonesse of Deuonshire," or even to Gildas' apostrophe to Aurelius Conanus, the "Lyons whelpe" who, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth (xi.5), reigned for three years after slaying his own uncle, the rightful her to Constantine's throne.[251] The beast also very likely anticipates the conquering Lion of Neustria, William of Normandy, an identification which coincides exceedingly well with Merlin's prophecy (in Geoffrey) of a "Lion of Justice" who is to come to England, and at whose roar "the towers of Gaul shall shake and the island Dragons tremble."[252]

The dream itself, like Britomart's leonine offspring and shield, was almost certainly suggested to the poet by the Galfridian Brute,[253] who, shortly after sailing from Greece, lands on an island called Leogetia, and in the deserted temple of the city reverently sacrifices to Diana. During the night's hour of "sweetest rest"[254] the goddess appears to him and promises him and his fellow Trojan exiles the safe refuge of an island "past the realms of Gaul" which will become "a second Troy" for his descendants, from whom will be born a "race of kings" destined to subdue "the round circle of the whole earth."[255] Spenser appears to have united this dream of Brute from the Romance mythos of chivalrous history with analogous classical precedents, for Britomart, like the mothers of Scipio, Augustus Caesar, and Alexander the Great, is "enwombed of a dragon" and delivered of a lion.[256] An anecdotal equivalent to Spenser's version is offered by Valerianus:

> le Roy Philippe [of Macedonia], apres auoir espousé Olympie, songea qu'il auoit seelé le ventre de la Roine sa femme, d'vne grand seau dont la sculpture portoit l'image d'vn Lion, a quoy les plus expers deuins respondirent, que la Roine estoit enceinte, & qu'elle accoucheroit d'vn fils plein de courage. Ainsi Alexandre pour l'amour de sa mere aima fort en suite a s'equipper d'vne peau de Lion & pour cette mesme cause ayant par l'advis d'vn sien songe basti la ville d'Alexandrie en Aegypte, l'appella Leontopolis, que nous pouvons dire Lionville bien que ses successeurs l'ayant mieux aymé nommer Alexandrie, du nom de son fondateur.

Britomart's leonine issue is most obviously indebted

to the ancient Egyptian mythos in that Spenser presents "the polysemous vision"[258] in the context of Isis and Osiris, whose offspring, Horus, has lions placed under his throne, according to Horapollo, as an emblem of his "spiritedness."[259] This spiritedness reflects that idea of courage and heroic "heart" to which Spenser "always relates" his moral dialectic of "fierce warres and faithfull loues,"[260] but the lion "commonly identified with Horus"[261] is, for Spenser, the primary image of fruition in an episode whose "final meaning . . . has more to do with time and temporal extent than anything else."[262] As Alastair Fowler points out,

> [t]he union of Arthegall-Osiris and Britomart-Isis has as its progeny the Lion of Horus--signifying not only the political generation of an 'hour' or era of justice through the mingling of righteousness and peace, justice and equity; but also, more largely, the creation of time by the interaction of sun and moon.[263]

What Fowler refers to, of course, is the movement of sun and moon generating the diurnal sequence, which sequence expands, upon observation, into recognizable cycles of lunar phases and solar seasons punctuated by vernal and autumnal equinoxes[264] and summer and winter solstices. Through an argument by analogy, the flux of human kingdoms and civilizations arising from specific human progenitors can be seen to follow a similar though far more desultory pattern of natural growth and dissolution;[265] in the leonine birth of Britomart's dream,

Spenser presents an image of this pattern entering a new phase--that of the British political dispensation.[266]

Spenser's choice of an Egyptian context is particularly effective for it suggests not only the natural law which governs the creation of pagan civilization but also that law revealed to the Egyptian Hebrew, Moses, and fulfilled by the incarnation of Christ, the Lion of Judah.[267] Osiris and Isis as sun and moon (vii.4) thus represent the physical laws of nature, and when interpreted as Justice and Equity, they signify the human and rational law of the body politic which seeks to establish and maintain good order among individuals, communities of individuals, and nations of communities.[268] The result of their hieratic marriage[269] and the divine mandate for peace and order the marriage implies, is the leonine "perfect prince"[270] whose rule will, ideally, generate an earthly and temporal peace whose Old Testament type finds its most appropriate image in David's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. This Old Testament type is, of course, perfected in the vision of peace implicit in the heavenly Jerusalem promised by Christ, the Prince of Peace.[271]

This promise is implicit in the eighty-fifth psalm's vision of peace, which refers both to a personal spiritual state and to a political simulacrum of that state[272] (both adumbrated in the peace instituted by Cambina), and as such, furnishes an Old Testament analogue to the

traditional Christian understanding of personal sanctity, and to the political ideals which accompany that understanding: "Mercy and Truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed. Truth is sprung out of the earth: and justice hath looked down from heaven."[273]

The allegorical underpinnings of Britomart and Artegall in Book V likewise derive in important ways from the Old Testament types implicit in traditional Christian motifs that characterize the knights' chivalrous endeavors.[274] Artegall, for instance, as a giant-slayer and the instrument of a prophetic destiny whose implications are ethically and politically salvific, recalls the Old Testament hero, David.[275] Artegall's virtues and excesses serve as a link with Samson, too, that leonine hero whose personal career, though not his prophetic significance, is defeated by his erratic rages and erotic mollescence.[276]

Artegall's virtues and excesses as justiciar and lover also find precedents in Dionysus and Hercules, the ancient leonine law-givers cited by classical antiquity,[277] while his armor, which is filigreed in "cyphers old" with an inscription--Achilles armes, which Arthegall did win" (III.ii.25)--shows him to be equally associated with the headstrong Greek warrior[278] whom Homer intends, claims Valeriano, to be a lion "enflé du fureur" whose attitude in battle "mette en arriere toute compassion, tout douceur

et clemence" (ch. III, p. 2). In this same context of ferocity, Valeriano also mentions Hylas, Hercules' son, "surnommé Lion de Cythero, pource qu'il estoit extremmemant fort" (ch. III, p. 2). Spenser directly identifies Artegall's strength, prowess, and salvagesse with lions in the description of the hero's triumphant butchery at Satyrane's tourney, where his fearsomeness is challenged by and succumbs to the equally leonine but more carefully controlled prowess of Britomart:

> . . . he [Artegall] ouerthrew
> Seuen Knights one after other as they came:
> And when his speare was brust, his sword he drew,
> The instrument of wrath, and with the same
> Far'd like a lyon in his bloodie game,
> Hewing, and slashing shields, and helmets bright,
> And beating downe, what euer nigh him came,
> That euery one gan shun his dreadfull sight,
> No lesse than death it selfe, in daungerous affright. . . .
>
> Then rushed forth out of the thickest rout
> A stranger knight, that did his glorie shend. . . .
> He at his entrance charg'd his powrefull speare
> At Artegall, in middest of his pryde,
> And therewith smote him on his Vmbriere
> So sore, that tombling backe, he downe did slyde
> Ouer his horses taile aboue a stryde;
> Whence little lust he had to rise againe.
> (IV.iv.41, 43, 44)

A less direct but no less telling association between Artegall and lions is made when Sir Sanglier is seized by Talus, Artegall's "yron page,"

> . . . who him pursew'd so light,
> As that it seem'd aboue the ground he went:
> For he was swift as swallow in her flight,
> And strong as Lyon in his Lordly might.[279]

This description of the pursuit implies an essential likeness between justiciar and deputy, and while the

swallow image here lends an unexpectedly graceful air to Talus, the nature of his errand is nevertheless intensely colored by the "Lordly" lion who signifies the single-minded ferocity characteristic of both master and servant. Spenser's Artegall, it seems, like Oliver Cromwell, "restless could not cease/ In the inglorious arts of peace." The mingling of sober righteousness and gratuitous cruelty in Artegall's temperament may be indebted to Geoffrey's description of Morvidus and his sons--Gorbonianus, Arch- or Arth-gallo, Elidurus, Ingenius, and Peredurus--whose various governments precede that of the Romans under Caesar in the Galfridian account.[280] The obvious similarity between the names Arthegall and Arthgallo has, of course, been noted,[281] but the ways Artegall's character as an idealized, if primitive, ruler suggests an amalgam of the characters of the five brothers have not yet received extended commentary.[282] The characteristics which Spenser's Knight of Justice has in common with the Galfridian princes and the heroes of Greek and Hebrew antiquity indicate yet another instance of Spenser's skill in drawing on Classical, Christian, and Romance literary traditions.[283]

Britomart's character, too, is reminiscent of Old Testament heroines, for like them, she is an important agent in the fulfillment of national destiny.[284] Her frequent emotional uncertainties, for instance, resemble

those of Esther "in the presence of the lion," Xerxes (Est: 14:13 [Douai]), and she, like the Hebrew woman,[285] perseveres, despite her fears and weakness, in the exercise of royal power and influence bestowed upon her, and eventually triumphs. Her freeing of Artegall and the other knights imprisoned by Radigund's tyranny (V.iv.29-32), and her subsequent just rule in Radegone (V.vii.43), recall the astute magistrate, Deborah (Jud 4-5), whose counsel heartens the Hebrew troops demoralized by Sisera (Jud 4:13),[286] while the leonine Britoness' fidelity and reverence, like her spirited denunciation of Radigund's arrogant demands (V.vii.28) and her swift decapitation of the Amazon (V.vii.34), furnish unmistakable parallels with the fiery Judith.[287] Britomart's attitudes and behavior clearly reflect the characteristics of Biblical women as instruments of divine providence, and suggest that in Book V the pattern of Spenser's allegory parallels the Biblical accounts of Israel's historical destiny in a manner that corresponds to Book I's obvious parallels with individual Christian salvation.[288]

Because Spenser chooses images from the pagan mythos of ancient and Alexandrian Egypt to figure the significance of Britomart's dream, interpretations of Britomart and Artegall are not confined to parallels with types of Greek or Hebrew heroism. In terms of male/female psychology, for example, the two knights can be understood as "primary

conjugates"[289] whose destined betrothal and sovereignty ensample a "cosmic amour" dependent on the "sexual mysticism"[290] implicit in the Hermetic union of goddess and crocodile and the bestial issue that proceeds from that union.[291] The dream's Hermetic sexual imagery[292] tends to obscure the ethical and anagogical planes of Spenser's "metaphysics of love,"[293] however, unless this "cosmic amour" is perceived as an enigmatic veil that parts to reveal the reconciliation of personal and/or political virtues personified in the eighty-fifth psalm,[294] and later philosophically systematized as the union of Christian Eros and Agape in Augustinian caritas.[295]

Spenser's mode of deliberate archaism reaches back to the spiritual ambience generated by medieval caritas, that is, in order to state, and to provide a poetic solution for, the "crying Renaissance problem, What is responsible Power."[296] In Mercilla that power is figured forth by unmistakable reference to a particular historical kingdom, while Arlo Hill's Dame Nature supplies Book VII's timeless and universal equivalent. The wintery atmosphere of much of Book V (an atmosphere directly related to the Book's almost exclusively secular and temporal concerns),[297] together with the enigmatic veil of Hermetic and Classical emblematizing, enshadow the luminous theme of caritas, which can be detected only in the faithful affection that continuously motivates Britomart and, eventually,

Artegall.[298] Spenser uses the dream's visual metaphors of generation and birth, in other words, as an emblem of that chaste desire which aspires to and is sanctified by Agape, the noblest and most selfless form of love. Thus, as Rosemond Tuve has discerned, Book V,

> the one most evidently concerned with the moral discipline of the bon chevalier and good ruler, shows as well, or shows primarily, man's quest for a divine condition--the union of Justice with Love.[299]

This quest is never quite fulfilled, however, as Tuve notes when she comments that "[a]ll the characters, hero and all, constantly only approximate it."[300] Even Mercilla, Spenser's personification of the virtues of mercy or magnanimity and justice ideally attributed to all beneficent monarchs and here, most specifically, to his own,[301] falls short of idealization, in large part because the historical underpinnings of the episode impinge so obtrusively upon our understanding of the literal narrative.[302] Though the reader cannot fail to see the leonine imagery's visionary significance as the central event of Britomart's dream, the fulfillment of that imagery and significance in Mercilla's court, where Britomart's lion finally comes to rest at the queen's feet,[303] is conceptually less satisfying, for the episode's rhetorical claim to present the union of justice and mercy in Mercilla, via her office, name, and tears, is not, in fact, borne out.[304] Spenser pairs the image of her leonine power and authority, for instance, with a

description of her "piteous ruth" to illustrate the union of Justice and Mercy she represents and he persists in affirming her clemency towards Duessa when even Arthur is forced by the evidence presented in the trial to abandon his initial pity for Duessa and to concur with Artegall and the court that she is guilty and deserves the penalty exacted.

> Thus did she sit in royall rich estate,
> Admyr'd of many, honoured of all,
> Whylest vnderneath her feete, there as she sate,
> An huge great Lyon lay, that mote appall
> An hardie courage, like captiued thrall,
> With a strong yron chaine and coller bound,
> That once he could not moue, nor quich at all;
> Yet did he murmure with rebellious sound,
> And softly royne, when saluage choler gan redound.
>
> All which when as the Prince had heard and seene,
> His former fancies ruth he gan repent,
> And from her [Duessa's] partie eftsoones was drawen cleen.
> But Artegall with constant firme intent,
> For zeale of Iustice was against her bent.
> So was she guiltie deemed of them all.
> Then Zele began to vrge her punishment,
> And to their Queene for iudgement loudly call,
> Vnto Mercilia myld for Iustice gainst the thrall.
>
> But she, whose Princely breast was touched nere
> With piteous ruth of her so wretched plight,
> Though plaine she saw by all, that she did heare,
> That she of death was guiltie found by right,
> Yet would not let iust vengenance on her light;
> But rather let in stead thereof to fall
> Few perling drops from her faire lampes of light;
> The which she couering with her purple pall
> Would haue the passion hid, and vp arose withall.
> (V.ix.33, 49-50)

Though such eloquence unreservedly asserts Mercilla's clemency, its persuasiveness is seriously vitiated by the "strong constraint" which requires the Queen to acquiesce,

however unwillingly, to the fact of Duessa's execution,[305] a "doome" (x.4) essential to the trial's dramatic denouement and to the conceptual delineation of true, if temporal, justice, Book V's overriding theme.[306] Spenser appears to be masking the unruly "fact" of Duessa's death, however, by referring to it obliquely and elliptically in yet another protestation of Mercilla's sensitive compassion.[307] Thus the damning judgment is much "praysed" by Arthur, Artegall, and the others, but is by Mercilla

> tempred without griefe or gall,
> Till strong constraint did her these to enforse.
> And yet euen then ruing her wilfull fall,
> With more then needfull naturall remorse,
> And yeelding the last honour to her wretched corse.
> (V.x.4)

While the visionary lion of Britomart's dream functions obviously as an important part of the maternal and dynastic aspects of the heroine's allegorical career, supplementing the iconography of Isis and Osiris and recalling details of the Magna Mater image previously suggested by Cambina,[308] the emblematic lion at Mercilla's feet allegorizes the risks inherent in the exercise of actual rather than mythic political power[309] and is the key to Spenser's apologetics for his own queen's decision at the trial of the Queen of Scots.[310]

The poet rhetorically affirms the heavenly origins of mercy, that is, in claiming that she "meriteth to haue as high a place" as justice, "Sith in th'Almighties euerlasting seat/ She first was bred, and borne of heauenly

race" and is "From thence pour'd down on men, by influence of grace" (V.x.1),[311] but he relies on the iconography associated with the decidedly earthbound cult of the Imperial Virgin to epitomize the conceptual union of Justice and Love in Mercilla/Elizabeth.[312] By means of this iconography, Elizabeth, as head of the English state, is intended to represent supreme temporal justice, and through the abrogation of papal supremacy initiated by her father, assumes control of the sacerdotal offices and functions traditionally associated with Christian caritas as well.[313]

In rendering the concept of love in terms of Mercilla's ineffectual personal pity for Duessa rather than as an objective act of royal clemency, Spenser therefore appears to distinguish the rights of imperial supremacy[314] and political justice from the Classical and Christian imperatives of magnanimity and mercy,[315] and to endorse his queen's understandable preference for the former. Mercilla's lion thus acts as an icon of political power and sovereignty, while its chain, collar and soft royning represent the temporal and spiritual perils that accompany such power.[316]

The literal level of the fairy tale is, of course, utterly straightforward, suggesting few or none of the moral complexities that discomfit historical interpretations.[317] Duessa, the avowed source of so much malice,

deception, and dissension in the poem, is inarguably guilty, and well deserves the "doome" meted out by Mercilla's councillors.[318] The lion at the monarch's feet thus supplies an appropriate literary icon of faerie justice and recalls the lion who is the agent of "just punishment" and "retributive justice" as aspects of political 'mercy' in one of Aelian's tales.[319] Similarly, the lion's subordination to Mercilla may figure Artegall's grim offices as the leonine servant of Gloriana's sovereignty,[320] a possibility which invites comparisons between Mercilla's lion and its relation to Artegall's character, and Una's lion as an aspect of Redcrosse's character. Both heroes learn much from their respective imprisonments and rescues, that is, and both emerge from their ordeals having tempered their leonine flaws of irascibility and concupiscence, thereby acquiring more rational understandings of leonine virtue.[321]

As a visual icon, Mercilla's lion is likely indebted to the historical pageantry of the Accession Day Tilts, for in 1595, and very probably in other years as well, Queen Elizabeth was honored as Astraea or Justice, the virtue primarily and actually personified in Mercilla and supported by the pageantry of her emblematic court.[322] Camden presumably depends on this mythic and astrological identification when he endorses a particular <u>imprese</u>, perhaps presented at this celebration, as a "very good

invention": a shield on which "the Zodiack with the characters on of Leo and Virgo" are embossed, along with the words, "HIS, EGO PRAESIDIIS."[323]

Also implicit in this literary and visual icon of Mercilla's lion is the general historical significance of the leonine British people ruled by Queen Elizabeth, and the specific political tensions associated with at least two important issues of her reign. These issues, in themselves discrete, were forcibly linked together by the crises of 1586-7: the intolerable competition for the throne introduced and maintained by Elizabeth's rival, Mary, Queen of Scots--a lion in her own right and here ominously royning at her enforced subordination[324]--and the equally intolerable incursions of an intransigent Parliament on royal and aristocratic judicial prerogatives.[325]

All this is not to say that Mercilla/Elizabeth is simply unmitigated justice, however, for Spenser takes special pains to emphasize the tears shed at the fate of Duessa/Mary.[326] René Graziani convincingly argues that elements of both Britomart's dream and the Mercilla episode have a factual basis in Elizabeth's own anxieties about Mary and the Parliament which demanded the Scottish queen's death.[327] Mercilla's tears reflect those tears shed by Elizabeth herself on at least two occasions,[328] for instance, while Mercilla's reluctance to condemn

Duessa finds its historical analogue in Elizabeth's personal efforts to keep Mary incarcerated but alive by deferring, more than once, her rival's trial and execution.[329]

So far as Parliament was concerned, Elizabeth's attempts to spare Mary implied not simply a conflict in the Queen's own mind between Justice and Mercy, but rather a conflict between two kinds of mercy: her "misguided pity for a traitor and the true compassion which she owed her people and her own person."[330] To spare Mary was a "cruel Pity," claimed Parliament, for "where there is no hope of amendment" (and Mary had shown no inclination to relinquish her claims nor to end her machinations), "to spare her is to spill us."[331] The Queen's "private pity" was, in other words, totally inadequate to the "public menace" constituted by Mary's continued existence as a focus for rebellion.[332] Within this context of political peril, Mercilla's lion is indeed the same lion Britomart delivers, and is in turn rescued by, in her dream, but whose salvage choler and power are here prudently restrained by "the law and the consultation of the nation."[333]

Such ethical issues indicate shifting gradations of significance between the literal, historical, and moral planes of interpretation, and prepare the reader for confronting the complex anagogical possibilities that

reflect the Queen's own moral and spiritual misgivings,[234] and some of the radical doctrinal anxieties of the reformed Anglican Church she represents equally with the English empire.[235] Her position as both political and religious head of England is, in terms of the City of Man, the ultimate image of leonine power, and anticipates the leonine authority of Dame Nature on Arlo Hill, for just as Duessa/Mary represents yet another threatening change to the uneasy English status quo--a presumably bloody reversion to the old religion of Rome, and her trial the means by which Parliament's powers, or the queen's, may be diminished--Mutability represents the challenge of change itself as the supreme law of nature. The truth here is as philosophically complex as the moral issues in the political imbroglios of Mercilla's realm, but the resolution Spenser supplies in the trial of Mutability avoids the temporal contingencies of institutionalized politics and religion and relies instead on a visionary understanding of eternal and immutable laws.

Although Spenser's Dame Nature is ambiguous in several important particulars, the most notable of them, so far as this study is concerned, is the capacity of her leonine face to inspire in "some" who see her an overwhelming terror, and in "others" an unself-conscious and thoroughgoing admiration for her mysterious, effulgent beauty.

Then forth issewed (great goddess) great dame Nature,
With goodly port and gracious Maiesty;
Being far greater and more tall of stature
Then any of the gods or Powers on hie:
Yet certes by her face and physnomy,
Whether she man or woman inly were,
That could not any creature well descry:
For, with a veile that wimpled euery where,
Her head and face was hid, that mote to none appeare.

That some doe say was so by skill deuized,
To hide the terror of her vncouth hew,
From mortall eyes that should be sore agrized;
For that her face did like a Lion shew,
That eye of wight could not indure to view:
But others tell that it so beautious was,
And round about such beames of splendor threw,
That it the Sunne a thousand times did pass,
Ne could be seene, but like an image in a glass.
(VII.vii.5-6)

The narrating poet himself is evidently one of the "others" for he goes on to compare Nature's bright garment to the linen raiment of the transfigured Christ (Lk 9:3; cf. Mk 9:3, Mt 17:2) and likens his own awed response to Nature's beauty to the response of Christ's dazed companions on Mount Thabor.[336] Apparently at a loss for words equal to his subject, he then refers the reader, by invoking the literary precedent set by Chaucer, to Alain de Lille's Complaint of Nature for an extended description of Nature's person.

. . . well I weene,
That this same day, when she on Arlo sat,
Her garment was so bright and wondrous sheene,
That my fraile wit cannot deuize to what
It to compare, nor finde like stuffe to that,
As those three sacred Saints, though else most wise,
Yet on mount Thabor quite their wits forgat,
When they their glorious Lord in strange disguise
Transfigur'd sawe; his garments so did daze their eyes.

So hard it is for any liuing wight,

> All her array and vestiments to tell,
> That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright
> The pure well head of Poesie did dwell)
> In his Foules parley durst not with it mel,
> But it transferd to Alane, who he thought
> Had in his Plaint of kindes describ'd it well:
> Which who will read set forth so as it ought,
> Go seek he out that Alane where he may be sought.
> (vii.7, 9)

Despite Spenser's acknowledged debt to Alain, it is difficult to regard the astrological lion image in the schoolman's poem[337] as inspiring Spenser's remarkable similitude of the Transfiguration. A source far nearer the mark is his own Book V, where the feminine Knight of the Lion, Britomart, dreams that her "linnen stole" and "Moon-like mitre" are "sodainely . . . transfigured" to "robe of scarlet red and Crowne of gold" (accoutrements almost identical to those of the deity, Isis) before she is delivered of a leonine son (V.vii.13, 6, 16). Though this dream only approximates Spenser's arresting account of Dame Nature, it nevertheless foreshadows that account by means of identical details--shining robes, leonine imagery, and the key word, transfigured--as well as a parallel though clearly subordinate visionary context.[338]

The synoptic compression of the dream, with its reliance on the first and last things of Spenser's mythical history as figured in the generation and triumph of Britomart's leonine offspring, may once again be indebted to the compressed iconic significance of the Lion of Judah, which arcs over Scripture from the establishment

of the type in the Book of Genesis to the fulfillment of the type in the Book of Revelation. Spenser's use of Christ's Transfiguration in conjunction with leonine Nature mimics this overarching significance, and by associating the Transfiguration with the divine wisdom represented by Sapience, who directs the beginnings and ends of creaturely existence, maintains the anticipatory significance of Christ, risen from the bonds of nature and death into immutable splendor, as the unassailable justification for Nature's sovereign judgment over Mutability.[339]

The astonishing sun-like brightness characteristic of Spenser's leonine Nature and so often linked through astrological lore to the lion, is also characteristic of Una. Significantly, this brightness is mentioned for the first time just before the lion bursts in upon Una's seclusion, and is the reason that the lion stops short in its tracks, "with the sight amazd" (I.iii.5).

> In secret shadow, farre from all mens sight:
> From her faire head her fillet she vndight,
> And laid her stole aside. Her angels face
> As the great eye of heauen shyned bright,
> And made a sunshine in the shadie place;
> Did neuer mortall eye behold such heauenly grace.
> (I.iii.4)

Una's radiance is further blazoned in her betrothal to the leonine Redcrosse. At her father's bidding she comes forth "as bright as doth the morning star appeare/ Out of the east . . ./ And to the world does bring long

wished light" (I.xii.21). Divested of her wimple, and dressed in "a garment . . ./ All lilly white, withoutten spot, or pride" (22), the "blazing brightness of her beauties beame,/ And glorious light of her sunshyny face" (23) are, the poet tells us, beyond the capacity of his "ragged rimes" to describe. Spenser's modest pose here is similar to that reference to his "fraile wit" in the Mutability Cantos which leaves the lion's share of description to Alain, while the wonder Redcrosse experiences at Una's "celestiall sight" is an anticipation of the wonder felt by those who have seen Nature's leonine face unveiled.[340] An Hymne of Heavenly Beavtie demonstrates Spenser's most satisfying amplification of this wonder, and though here the poet also acknowledges terror as an unavoidable consequence of looking with "feeble" (123), "unsound" (179), and "corruptible" (144) eyes on the "dred face" (195) of the Most High, he prefers to dwell at greater length on the light and beauty of that face, describing it in terms of unmitigated brilliance (e.g., 106-26). The chiefest significance of the Hymne in reference to Dame Nature is the image of Sapience, the "soueraine dearling of the Deity" seated "in his bosome" (185-4), from whence she "rules the house of God on hy," and manages "the euer-mouing sky . . . [and] lower creatures all" (193-5).[341] Since heaven, earth, and all the creatures which they both contain "obey vnto her will"

(197-8), Sapience bears an unmistakable resemblance to the Nature of Arlo Hill before whom flowers spontaneously blossom and rivers change their colors as tokens of joy (vii.10-11). Reverential wonder is displayed even by Mutability herself, who "lowe before Nature's presence feld,/ With meek obaysance and humilitie" (vii.13). Though Mutability seeks ultimately to unveil Nature, and even (though perhaps unwittingly) to usurp her place, Spenser indicates that the habit of awed obedience is an influence on her character which is stronger and far more deeply interfused than the rebellious blood of her titanic lineage.

The delight and/or terror which the leonine effulgence of Dame Nature universally evokes depends not only on the immediate context of Arlo Hill and the forum provided there for radical dialectic between visible and invisible law, change and steadfastness, time and eternity, but also on the developing contrast between the most literal lion of Book I and the subsequent decline in literalness with each succeeding occurrence of the icon. As the apotheosis of the lion image,[342] Nature epitomizes the gradual hierarchical ascent from emphasis on the physical to emphasis on the spiritual sense that takes place in Spenser's allegory, and as a vehicle of meaning, she is spacious enough to include in her particular iconic significance suggestions of almost all the leonine

significances which have preceded her.[343] This movement from most literal to least literal can be interpreted as simply linear and corresponding to the atmosphere of dramatic denouement which characterizes the elevated matter and style of Mutability's epic quest for dominion, a quest that contrasts strongly with the nearly abandoned quest of Book VI.[344] But the movement can also be seen as one that invites re-entry into the enchanted circle of Spenser's fiction,[345] for the anagogical sense of Nature, powerful though she is, as no more than a mediatrix between all creation and its creator, provides the logical transition from Spenser's epic venture to the lyric prayer of the final pair of stanzas, and like the prayer, solicits a return to the theme of Book I--holiness--with which the poet's epic venture began.[346]

Additional evidence for inferring that Spenser's accurate rendering of conventional lion imagery leads the reader to perceive the linear and circular structures of both his poetic fiction as it is represented by images and his conceptual "argument" in The Faerie Queene[347] includes recalling the current critical unanimity which identifies Una's literal lion as an allegorical vehicle for "nature generally," the "law of Nature," or "natural reason." The beast's metaphorical function as one of several leonine substitutes for the errant Redcrosse, and as the iconic equivalent to a primitive stage in

Redcrosse's quest for sanctity, is designed to ensample the insufficiency of natural reason alone as the means of achieving beatitude or holiness. This ensampling manifests the conceptual link between the current interpretation of Una's "natural" lion and the leonine Nature of Arlo Hill, for Mutability's challenge is precisely that of a natural or empirical reason for whom knowledge of the cyclical laws of the physical world obviates any dependence on a spiritual law acting as agent of an invisible deity and governing things unseen: "But what we see not, who shall vs perswade?" (VII.vii.49).

Mutability's presumptuous empiricism finds a rustic parallel in Faunus' lewd curiosity, and though comparing Mutability's sweeping challenge before Cynthia, Jove, and veiled nature with Faunus's conninving to ogle the unveiled Diana makes for an abrupt descent from the sublime to the ridiculous, Spenser's abating the "sternenesse" of his "stile" (vi.37) provides welcome comic relief. The rustic epyllion resides happily within the epic high seriousness of the philosophical and theological *débat* between Mutability and Nature, and provides an engaging, small-scale version of Mutability's rebellion.[348] The motives of both overreachers are hierarchically related to the anagogical dialectic of the *Eros*/*Agape* motifs as well as to the demands of empiricism, for both the motives and the demands are expressions of non-Christian *eros*.

Faunus' folly is based on epithemia, or eros-desire as simple lust, while Mutability's "idle claim" (vi.34) is a function of reason and is eros-desire as a search for power. Her motive reaches ultimately to the intelligible rather than to the simply physical, though the physical is implicit within the claim. Nevertheless, because this intelligibility is entirely self-directed and self-satisfying, it falls short of the eros whose true source is the agape of God and which is thus Christian rather than Classical or Romantic.

A further purpose served by this intelligibility is that Mutability's motive becomes subject to the intelligible (rather than empirical) resolution Dame Nature provides. Nature's response to Mutability's challenge is thus as far from Diana's primitive justice towards Faunus as Faunus' ribald laughter is from Mutability's eloquence.[349] The response of Nature is perceived through human reason, that is, and not via the barking laughter or feral vengeance of raw primitivism. While Faunus' untimely merriment resolves into terror, Mutability's ambition to rule resolves into servitude: since "all things . . ./ Doe worke their owne perfection so by Fate:/ Then ouer them Change doth not rule and raigne;/ But they raigne ouer change, and doe their states maintaine" (vii.58). While Mutability invokes empirical reasoning as the highest authority, Nature's brief

rebuttal invokes the groundless mystery of creation.

Nature's short, unruffled reply is, of course, the traditional Christian response of faith in the source of revealed law, which source, because it is itself the divine origin of all law, both physical and spiritual, supersedes the laws governing physical nature while neither contradicting them nor denying the goodness of nature.

> I well consider all that ye haue sayd,
> And find that all things stedfastnes doe hate
> And changed be: yet being rightly wayd
> They are not changed from their first estate;
> But by their change their being doe dilate
> And turning to themselues at length againe,
> Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate:
> Then ouer them Change doth not rule and raigne;
> But they raigne ouer change, and doe their states
> maintaine.
>
> Cease therefore daughter further to aspire,
> And thee content thus to be rul'd by me:
> For thy decay thou seekst by thy desire;
> But time shall come that all shall changed bee,
> And from thenceforth, none no more change shall see.
> (vii.58-9)

The same conceptual argument between Nature and Grace (i.e., the workings of divine providence) which furnishes the clear structural underpinnings for the first book of Spenser's epic[350] therefore fulfills the same function in the last book (i.e., where empirical nature represented by Mutability is apparently opposed to the nature which is transfigured by grace), and in both places, the lion image significantly figures forth the rhetorical strategy.

This strategy has a twofold task: to divide the realms of Nature and of Grace intellectually in order to

maintain the necessary distinction between a perfectly just and omnipotent God and the multiplicity of his created works, while simultaneously to keep the two realms united in a kind of metaphysical suspension by affirming the orthodox Christian doctrine of God's all-encompassing and paternal love for his creatures.[351] Spenser uses the leonine image of July in the pageant to reinforce the rhetorical ploy manifested in Nature's appearance and dictum, for July's stern control over the Nemean lion he rides and the sharp sickle and scythe he bears identify him not only with Classical conceptions of power but also recall the Book of Revelation's frightening image of a leonine Christ as the final judge and harvester, so to speak, of souls, some of whom will be bundled away and burnt while others will be gathered into the barn.[352]

At the same time, however, July's orderly participation in the procession of the months asserts the regularity of cyclical nature[353] and the mighty benevolence of the God who wills that regularity and who has condescended to participate in its historical concreteness. While the leonine suggestions of demonic control and ravaging anger in July recall the leonine iconographical significance of Book III's malevolent Cupid and the arbitrary destructive Wrath of Lucifera's pageant, as well as of Hercules, Spenser's context on Arlo clearly distinguishes these connotations related to human concupiscence from the sovereignty and

justice of "the highest him, that is behight/ Father of Gods and men by equall might;/ To weet, the God of Nature" (vi.35).

Thus the God of Nature is not the arbitrary Dionysian lawgiver of Antiquity who mirrors human egotism by establishing and breaking laws according to expedience, personal exigency, and policy,[354] and who provides one of several precedents for Artegall's alternate rages and slacknesses. Nor is the God of Nature the enfeebled deity of Job's friends and Mercilla's councillors, for whom God's infinite power must accommodate itself to the limits of human understanding in order to continue in perfect justice.[355] Instead, Spenser's wording indicates that the God of Nature Mutability refers to is closely identifiable with the Father to whom Christ appealed, the parent whose laws and justice are generated by his free and absolute will, and whose equally free, unconditional and absolute love maintains them.[356]

These two theological absolutes--divine justice and divine love--like the realms of Nature and Grace, are upheld in a kind of metaphysical suspension by the gifts of time and language. A great part of Mutability's attractiveness as a character derives from the fact that she argues, in effect, for the human rather than the divine understanding of the created world, with her demand for a hearing before the authority beyond Jove's power significantly

echoing Job's anguished remonstration with Zophar: "I would speak to the Almighty and I desire to argue my case with God" (13:3). Like Mutability's question, Nature's answer reaches into eternity for its justification, but because it assumes a knowledge of God's purposes available only to men like Milton, and a submission to his will available only to men like Thomas More, her answer seems, to ordinary earthbound creatures, only to dismiss the question, and thus to offer grounds for a renewed challenge.[357]

The general context of time versus eternity has already been figured in Britomart's dream where the Neoplatonic and Hermetic accretions in which Spenser dresses Britain's mythical history are paramount. The frightening lion Britomart delivers in the dream has been identified with the Egyptian god, Horus, and represents both "the political generation of an 'hour' or 'era' of justice through the mingling of righteousness and peace, justice and equity" and, "more largely, the creation of time by "the interaction of sun and moon."[358]

In terms of this Egyptian significance, the time and justice of the dream are political and physical entities. In the dialogue proper between Mutability and Nature, however, the abstract universals of time and justice, respectively, are implicit in the images of the two feminine personifications. Because these personifications are

themselves abstract universals whose interaction is based on the formal precedents set by Scholastic debate,[359] the poet has effectively preserved the concept of time by presenting its physical particulars in the astrological figures of the pageant, but has muted the references to the Queen which are so important to all the other books of the epic,[360] and thus reduced the potential for allegorically interpreting justice in terms of specifically English history.

It is possible, nevertheless, to infer historical allusion in the Cantos. S. P. Zitner identifies May and August, the two feminine figures of the pageant, with the Queen[361] whose motto is semper eadem or "always the same," and who therefore is an appropriate inspiration for a Book of Constancie. Even the Faunus episode furnishes a political reading, with the Irish landscape of Arlo Hill providing grounds for the assumption that Diana's punishment of Faunus finds its historical analogue in Elizabeth's policy towards the Irish kerns.[362] The fatal difference between the punishments applied by the two outraged maidens tends to intrude upon any attempt to identify Diana satisfactorily with Elizabeth, however.

It is also possible to infer Mary Queen of Scots' challenge to Elizabeth from Mutability's presumption before Cynthia, and even to see that inference reinforced by Nature's eventual silencing of Mutability, but the

judgment Nature gives is magnanimously, rather than fearfully, tearfully just and so corrects rather than imitates Queen Elizabeth's decision against the Queen of Scots.[363]

The serenity of leonine Nature and the brief simplicity of the judgment she offers are important iconic and rhetorical devices for unifying and summarizing not only the argument of the Mutability Cantos, but also for epitomizing the allegorical significance of the other feminine figures virtuously associated with lions throughout the epic.[364] The image of reconciliation presented in the eighty-fifth psalm offers a useful analogue to the function of Spenser's Nature, for the implicit relation she bears to Sapience, "soueraine dearling of the Deity," identifies her, too, as a daughter of God and thus a figurative sister to the Truth, Justice, Peace, and Mercy the Psalm describes: "Mercy and truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed."[365] In transcending human politics by refusing to condemn Mutability utterly, Nature also transcends the exclusive concerns of the City of Man and gathers into her own significances of Classical magnanimity and Christian mercy, the moral and anagogical significances associated with Una or Truth, Britomart or Justice/Equity, and Cambina or Peace.[366]

Moreover, as a prayer for deliverance from adversity, the psalm also resembles the poet's own prayer for deliverance from "this state of life so tickle" in the final

two stanzas of the poem:

> When I bethinke me on that speech whyleare,
> Of Mutability, and well it way:
> Me seemes, that though she all vnworthy were
> Of the Heav'ns Rule; yet very sooth to say,
> In all things else she beares the greatest sway.
> Which make me loath this state of life so tickle,
> And loue of things so vaine to cast away;
> Whose flowring pride, so fading and so fickle,
> Short Time shall soon cut down with his consuming sickle.
>
> Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd,
> Of that same time when no more Change shall be,
> But stedfast rest of all things firmely stayd
> Vpon the pillours of Eternity,
> That is contrayr to Mutabilitie:
> For, all that moueth, doth in Change delight;
> But thence-forth all shall rest eternally
> With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:
> O that great Sabbaoth God, graunt me that Sabaoths sight.[367]
>
> (viii.1-2)

Peace itself, as is reinforced by the Sabbaoth/Sabbath wordplay of the last line, is the "steadfast rest . . ./ That is contrayr to Mutabilitie."[368] While Cambina's peace is intimately human and communal, and Britomart's is national, the peace enjoined by Nature and the burgeoning creation that attends her is cosmic and is the universal and external equivalent of the internal and personal peace suggested by Una as Spenser's icon of revealed Truth.[369] With Nature's doom, Spenser apparently offers a theological solution to a philosophical problem[370] in such a way that Mutability herself becomes, in fact, Nature's very veil.[371]

As the least literal of Spenser's lion images, the figure of Nature subsumes the carefully structured significance of the creature the poet chooses as Una's

faithful companion within an equally carefully structured hierarchy of value which begins and ends in mystery.[372] While the epic's literal narrative exhibits a moral dialectic based on "fierce warres and faithfull loues," the senses in which characters like Redcrosse, Una, Britomart, Artegall, Cambina, Mercilla, and Dame Nature are leonine exhibit an anagogical dialectic between Eros and Agape.[373] Nature is especially apt as an emblem of Agape, for her presence at the pageant and her decision against Mutability's claims are based on a wisdom and a principle of supreme good which are not her own, but which she legitimately represents. Mutability's ambition, on the other hand, is completely self-determined, and as such, reflects the aspiration of Eros run amok--i.e., a desire grown exclusively self-oriented and hence presumptuous because it is not centered on the supreme good itself, as she believes it to be, but only on a limited understanding, based on appearances alone, of that supreme good.[374]

> Then since within this wide great Vniverse
> Nothing doth firme and permanent appeare,
> But all things tost and turned by transuerse:
> What then should let, but I aloft should reare
> My Trophee, and from all, the triumph beare?
> (vii.56)

In short, Mutability ensamples the human condition, not the human ideal. Her limited understanding, if left uncorrected, seeks to short circuit the motions of caritas[375] in which the descending movement of Agape or God's love for his creation, unites with ascending Christian

Eros, or redeemed creation's spontaneous desire for, and active aspiration after, the greatest of all goods--Agape itself. Mutability is finally silenced by the incontrovertible union of logos and icon which Nature represents, for Nature's pithy dictum rhetorically asserts the supreme good to be the ultimate changelessness of the beatific vision, while the brilliance of her leonine appearance and its emblematic similitude with the transfigured Christ act as the rhetoric's iconic equivalent. The mystery of the truth Nature voices thus exactly mirrors the mystery of the image in which Spenser clothes her.[376]

Zitner claims that the pageant on Arlo "suggests a hierarchy of love embodied in seasonal mutation" (p. 58), and that Mutability is "at last . . . subdued by Nature's love if not by Nature's wisdom" (p. 52). She is not so much subdued by Nature's love, however, as by the love of that deity whose vicar Nature is, the Agape of the God of Nature, who provides a place and a fate for the sacred discontent Mutability embodies, that even she might work her own perfection.[377]

By examining the repetitions of, and the resonances concentrated in, Spenser's lion imagery--what I earlier called the imagery's visual rhyme--and by indicating the indissoluble relation that exists between the lion imagery and the imagery's implicit meanings--i.e., its conceptual rhyme--this study has attempted to demonstrate the unity within diversity that informs a single significant detail

of Spenser's poetry as that detail appears throughout the entire Spenserian canon and especially in The Faerie Queene. An additional intention has been to show how the unity of iconographical significance within the lion imagery consistently reflects the over-arching structural and thematic unity of Spenser's lyrical epic. The simple and clear surface of the image (whose denotative function faithfully reflects the natural order of universal human experience and whose connotative functions within the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical significances generated by Spenser's poetic technique faithfully reflect imaginative patterns typical of Western literature) has provided the rationale for examining some of the various learned traditions which elevate the poetry's lion image to the status of verbal icon or charged vector of meaning. Though that meaning remains rhetorically complex, it is hoped that this analysis has helped to divest it of much of the obscurity which has prompted Professor Roche to characterize it as "vexed," and that if the meaning of the lion is not yet exactly simple and clear, it is, at least, a little less vexed than before.

RICE UNIVERSITY

"WHAT THE LYON MENT": ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LION IN THE POETRY OF EDMUND SPENSER

by

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F I G U R E S

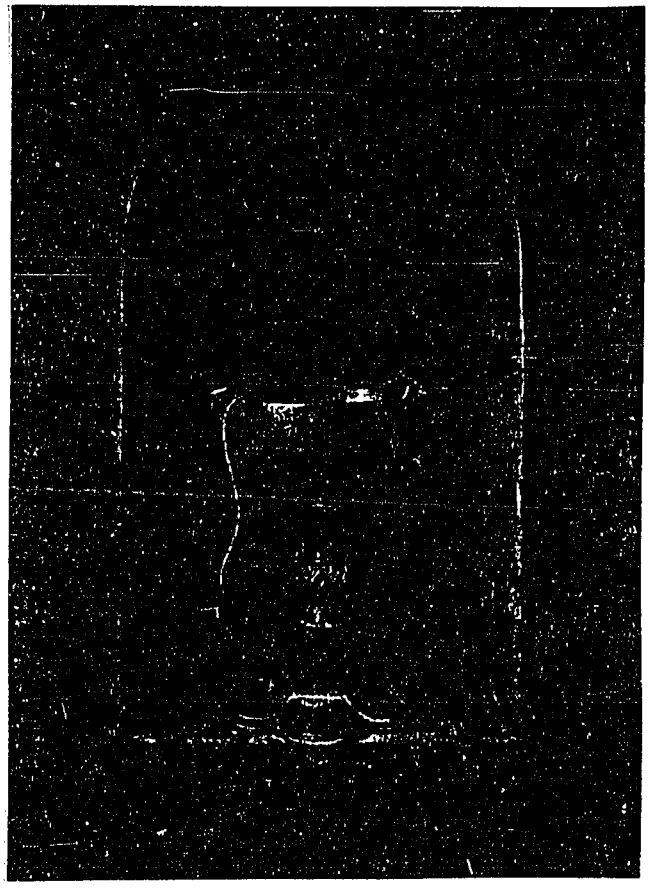

Fig. 1. Chalice of St. John the Evangelist, Hans Memling (ca. 1480); reproduced from Hugh T. Broadly, Flemish Painting in the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.: Beck Engraving Co., 1960), p. 23.

Fig. 2. The Whore of Babylon (ca. 1377-82) in André Lejard, Les Tapisseries de l'Apocalypse de la Cathédrale d'Angers (Paris: Albin Michel, 1942, pl. 63.

Fig. 3. Albrecht Dürer, "The Babylonian Whore," Apocalypse, 1498; intro. to facsimile edition by Erwin Panofsky (London: Eugrammia Press, 1955), fig. 21.

Fig. 4. "The Whore of Babylon," by Lucas Cranach the Elder, September Bible (1522) as reproduced in The Apocalypse: Exhibition Catalogue of University of Maryland Art Gallery. Kathryn Henkel, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Museum Press, 1973), p. 90, fig. 56.

Fig. 5. "The Whore of Babylon," by Melchior Schwarzenberg or Martin Schaffner in Luther Bible (Wittenberg: Hans Ruppt, 1534), as reproduced in Henkel, p. 50, fig. 27.

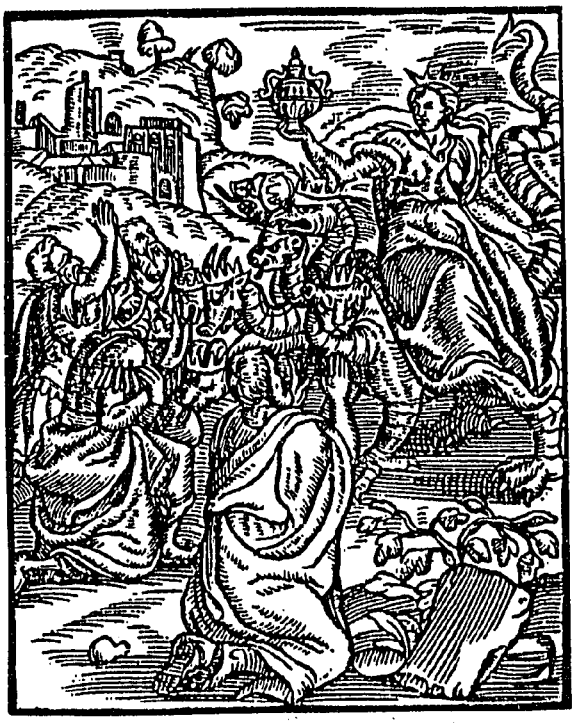

Fig. 6. "The Whore of Babylon," in Jan van der Noodt, A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings (London: Henry Bynneman, 1569), Sig. D.iv.

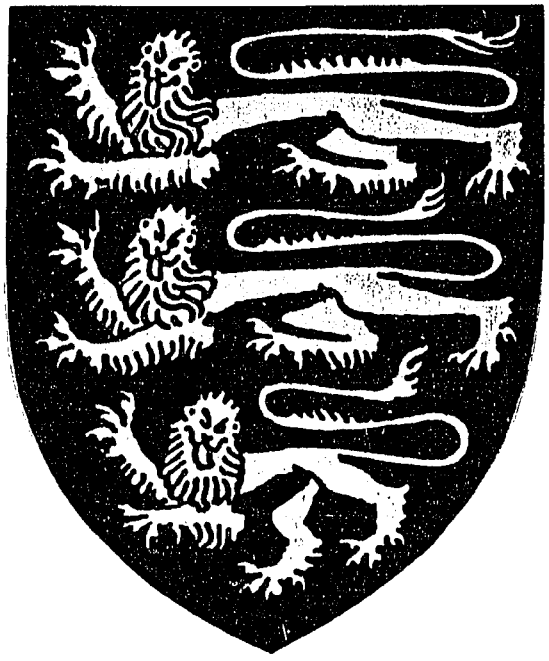

Fig. 7. Arms of England, first used by Richard I (1189-1199), and by all subsequent monarchs (after Brooke-Little, p. 3).

Fig. 8. Arms of Edward III (1327-1377), the "Black Prince"; Fleurs-de-Lys represent his claim to France (after Brooke-Little, p. 3).

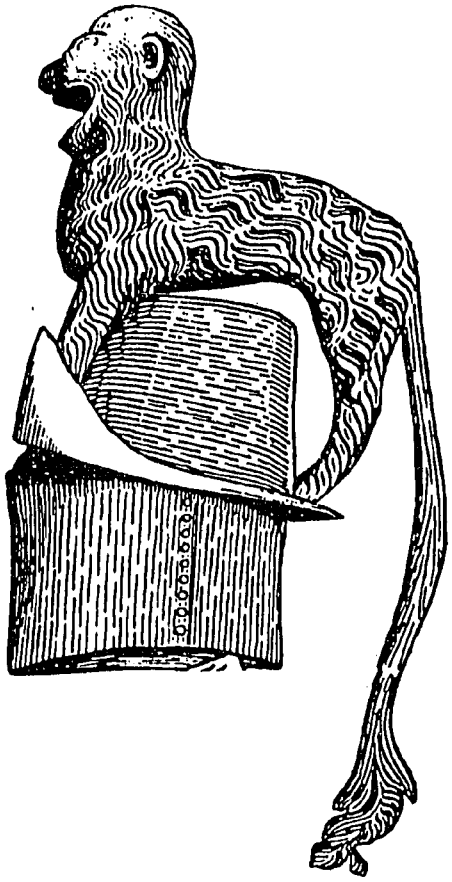

Fig. 9. Crest and helm of Edward III (after Brook-Little, p. 7).

Fig. 10. Helm, mantling crest, and feather badge of Richard II (1377-1399) (after Brook-Little, p. 16).

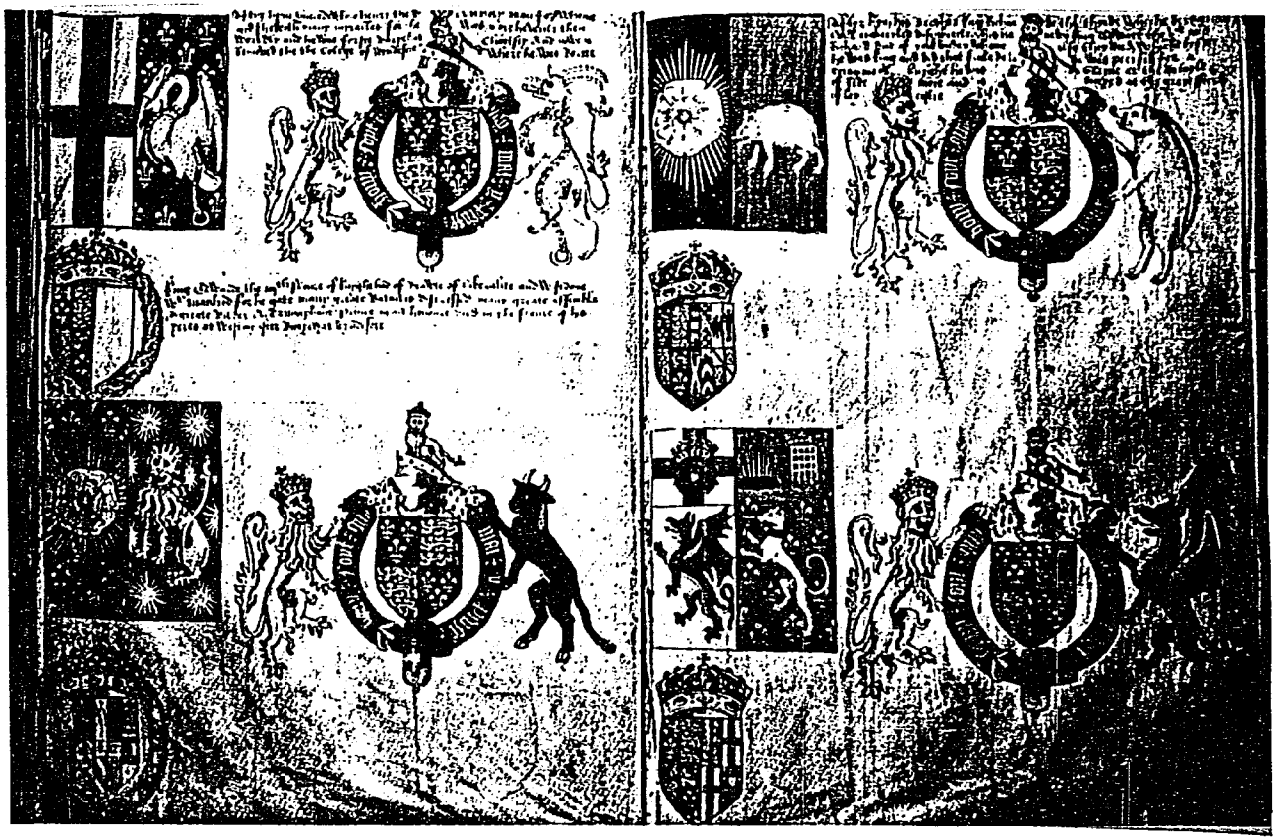

Fig. 11. The armorial bearings and badges of Henry VI (1422-1461), Edward IV (1461-1483), Richard II, and Henry VII (1485-1509). From Prince Arthur's Book, compiled before 1519 (College of Arms - Vincent MS, pp. 53-4; after Brooke-Little, p. 4).

Fig. 12. Crest of English sovereign (after Brooke-Little, p. 7).

Fig. 13. Crest of Scots sovereign (after Brooke-Little, p. 7).

Fig. 14. Arms of James I (1603-1625) (after Brooke-Little, p. 16).

Fig. 15. Twentieth Century Great Seal of Scotland (after Brooke-Little, p. 9).

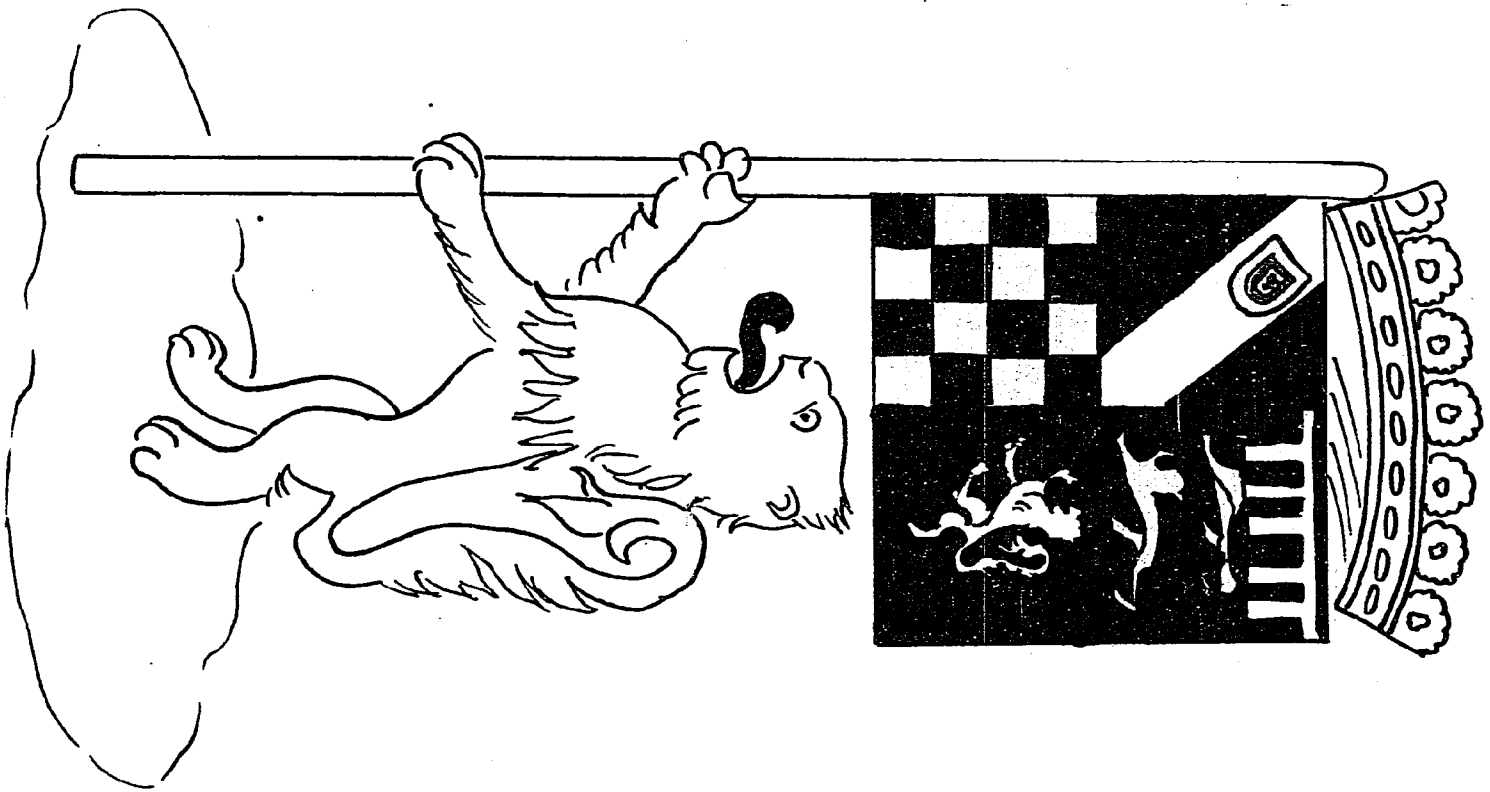

Fig. 16. Tricked banner of Thomas Howard (I), "2nd Duke of Norfolk, 1514, Lord Treasurer and Marshall of England . . . Arms [left to right] (1) Howard, with the augmentation for Flodden on the bend, (2) Thomas of Brotherton, (3) Warenne, (4) Mowbray. The staff supported by the white lyon of Mowbray" (after Lord Howard de Walden, Banners, Standards and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms [London(?): the De Walden Library, 1904], p. 35).

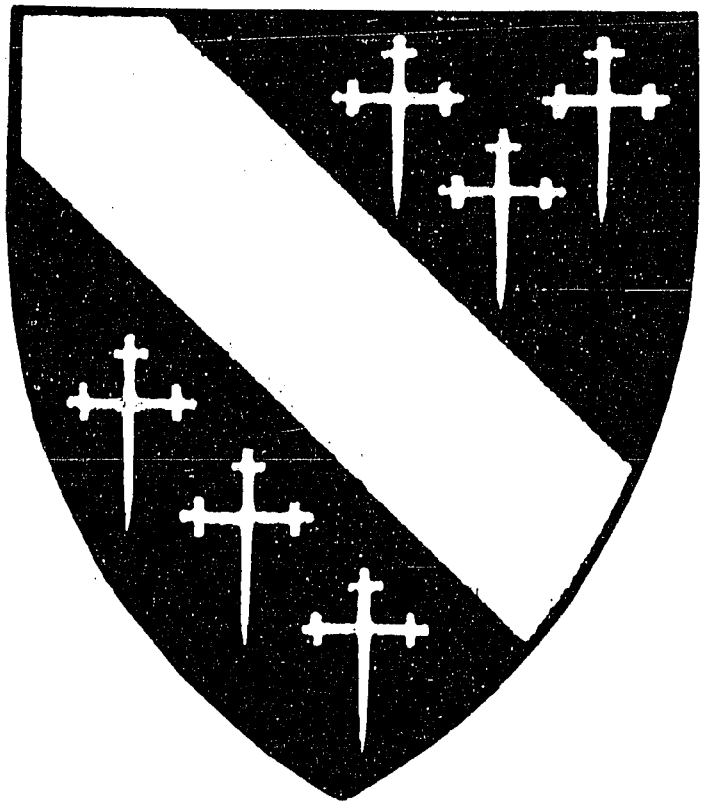

Fig. 17. Howard arms (from Boutell's Heraldry, rev. J. P. Brooke-Little [London and New York: Frederich Warne, 1978], pl. viii).

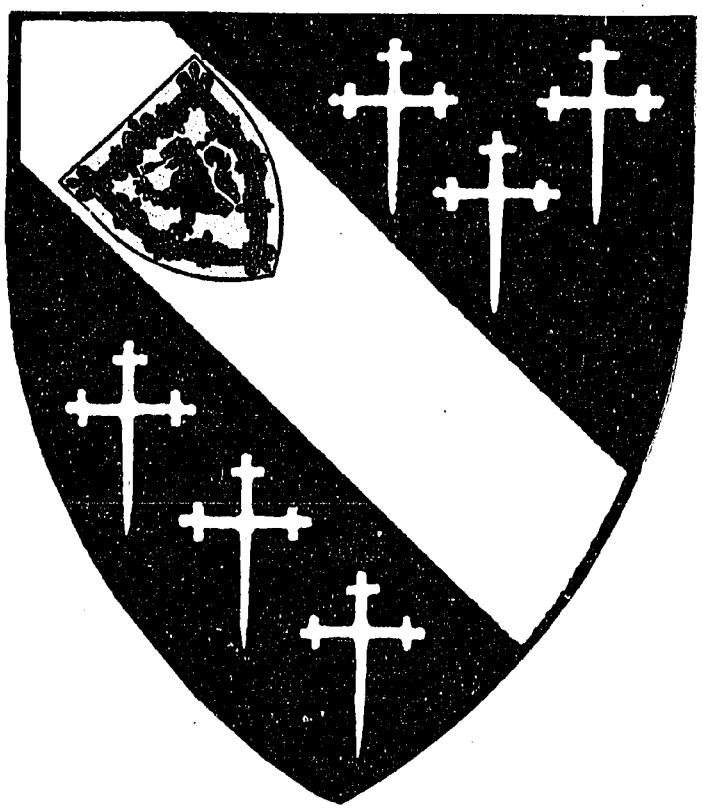

Fig. 18. Augmentation to Howard arms granted Thomas Howard (I), 1513: an escutcheon or, charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a double tressure flory counter-flory gules. From Boutell's Heraldry, p. 125.

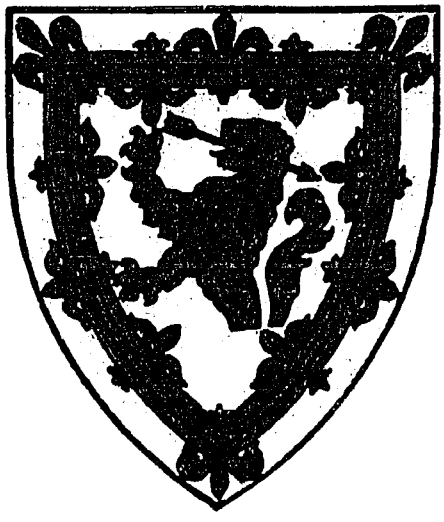

Fig. 19. Arms of "Thomas Lorde Hawarde, Duke of Norfolke" (Gerard Legh, The Accedens of Armory [London: Richard Tottel, 1576], fol. 43a, as reproduced in A. H. Nason, Heralds and Heraldry in Ben Jonson's Plays, Masques and Entertainments [New York: Gordian Press, 1968 rpt. of 1907 edn.], frontispiece).

To the Right Honourable and my ſingular good Lord HENRY HOVVARD *Earle of Northhampton, Lord Privie Seale. &c.*

HENRICVS HOVVARDVS Comes Northamptonienſis.
Pius, Caſtus huic meritis honor, merè honorandus.

A SNOW-WHITE Lion by an Altar ſleepes,
(Whereon of Virtue are the Symboles plac't,)
Which day and night, full carefully he keepes,
Leaſt that ſo ſacred thing mought be defac't
By Time, or Envie, who not farre away,
Doe lurke to bring the ſame vnto decay.

Great Lord, by th' Altar Pietie is ment,
Thus, whereupon is virtue ſeated ſure:
Which thou protecteſt with deare cheriſhment;
And doſt thy beſt, their ſafetie to procure
By howerly care, as doth this Lion white
Tipe of thy mildnes, and thy feared might,

Fig. 20. Emblem of white lion dedicated to the Howards (from Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna. London: Wa. Dight, 1612, p. 20).

Fig. 21. "St. Jerome and Lion," accompanying woodcut, s.v. "Hieromme" in Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend (London: Wm. Caxton, 1493), p. 285; Sig. ℓii^{v}.

Fig. 22. "St. Jerome in His Study," Bible Moralisé, ca. 1415 (reproduced from Herbert Friedmann, A Bestiary for Saint Jerome: Animal Symbolism in European Religious Art [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980], p. 40, fig. 14).

Fig. 23. Sano di Pietro, "Legend of St. Jerome," n.d. (after Friedmann, p. 207, fig. 146).

Fig. 24. Aretusi Pellegrino, "Jerome Legend," n.d. (after Friedmann, p. 247, fig. 168).

Fig. 25. Escutcheon of Elizabeth I (after Ottfried Neubecker, Heraldry: Sources, Symbols, and Meaning [New York, etc.: McGraw-Hill, 1976], p. 189).

Fig. 26. Albrecht Dürer, "Saint Jerome in His Study," 1511 (after Friedmann, p. 110, fig. 88).

Fig. 27. Albrecht Dürer, "Saint Jerome in His Study," 1514 (after Friedmann, p. 102, fig. 83).

Fig. 28. Colantonio, "Saint Jerome in His Study," n.d. (after Friedmann, p. 30, fig. 1).

Fig. 29. Nicolás Francés, "Saint Jerome in His Study," n.d. (after Friedmann, p. 232, fig. 154).

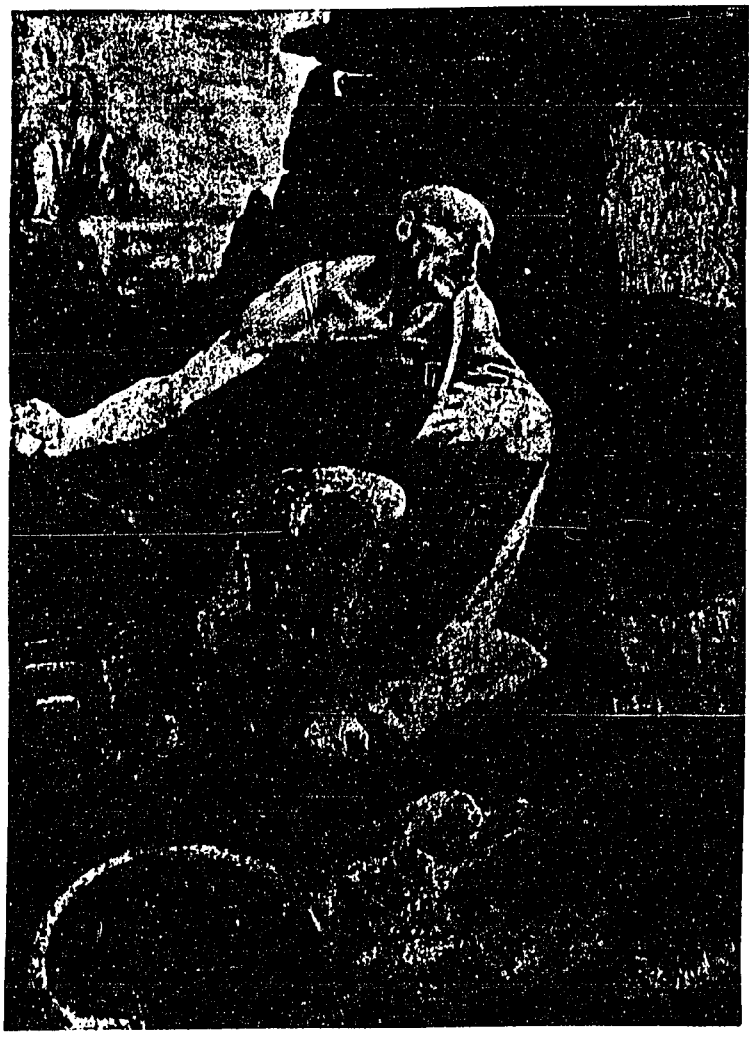

Fig. 30. Leonardo da Vinci, "Saint Jerome in Penitence," ca. 1481 (after Friedmann, p. 70, fig. 48).

Fig. 31. Lucas Cranach the Elder, "Saint Jerome in Penitence," 1525 (after Friedmann, p. 120, fig. 94).

Fig. 32. Albrecht Dürer, "Saint Jerome by a Pollard Willow," 1512 (after Friedmann, p. 111, fig. 89).

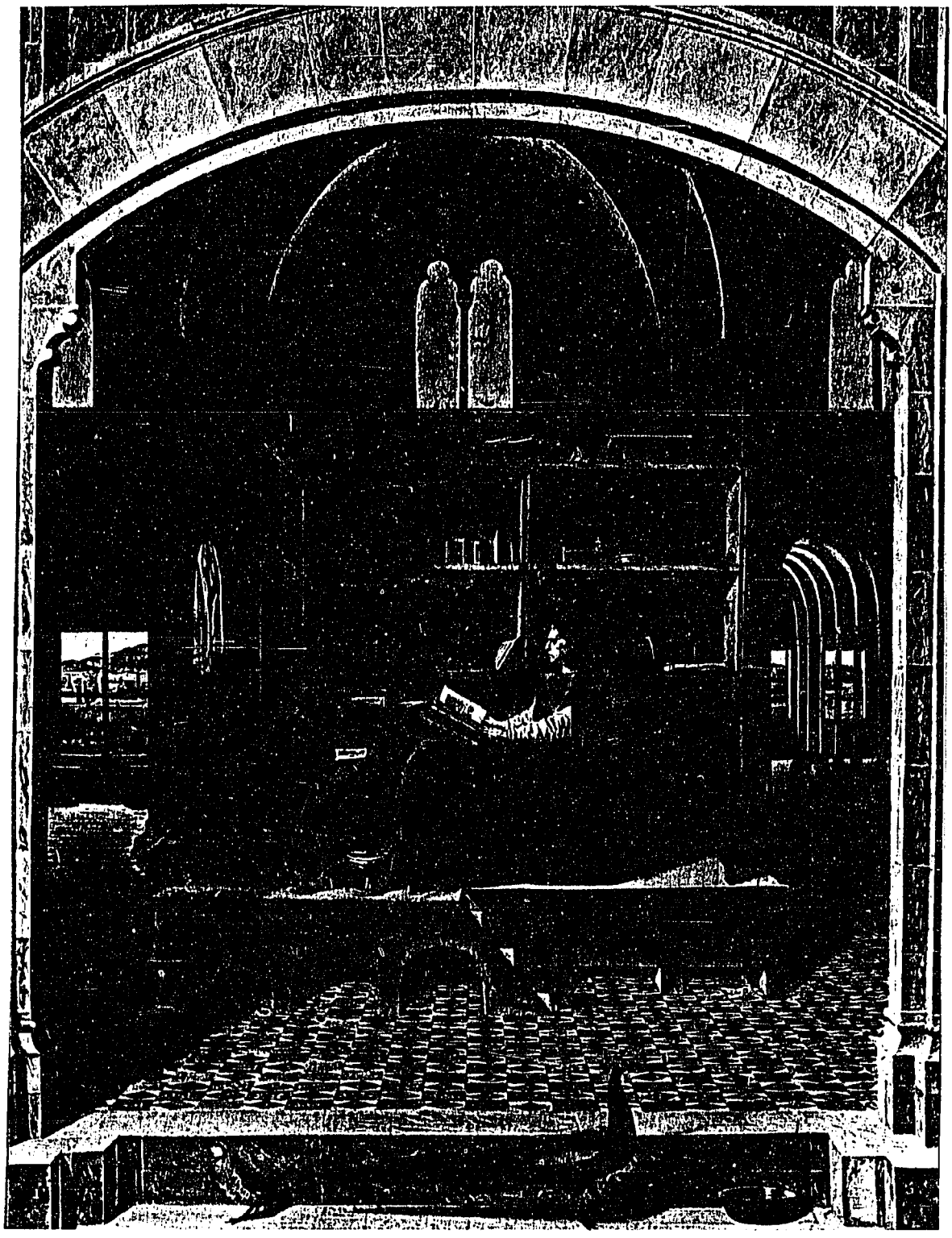

Fig. 33. Antonello da Messina, "Saint Jerome in His Study," n.d. (after Friedmann, p. 158, fig. 119).

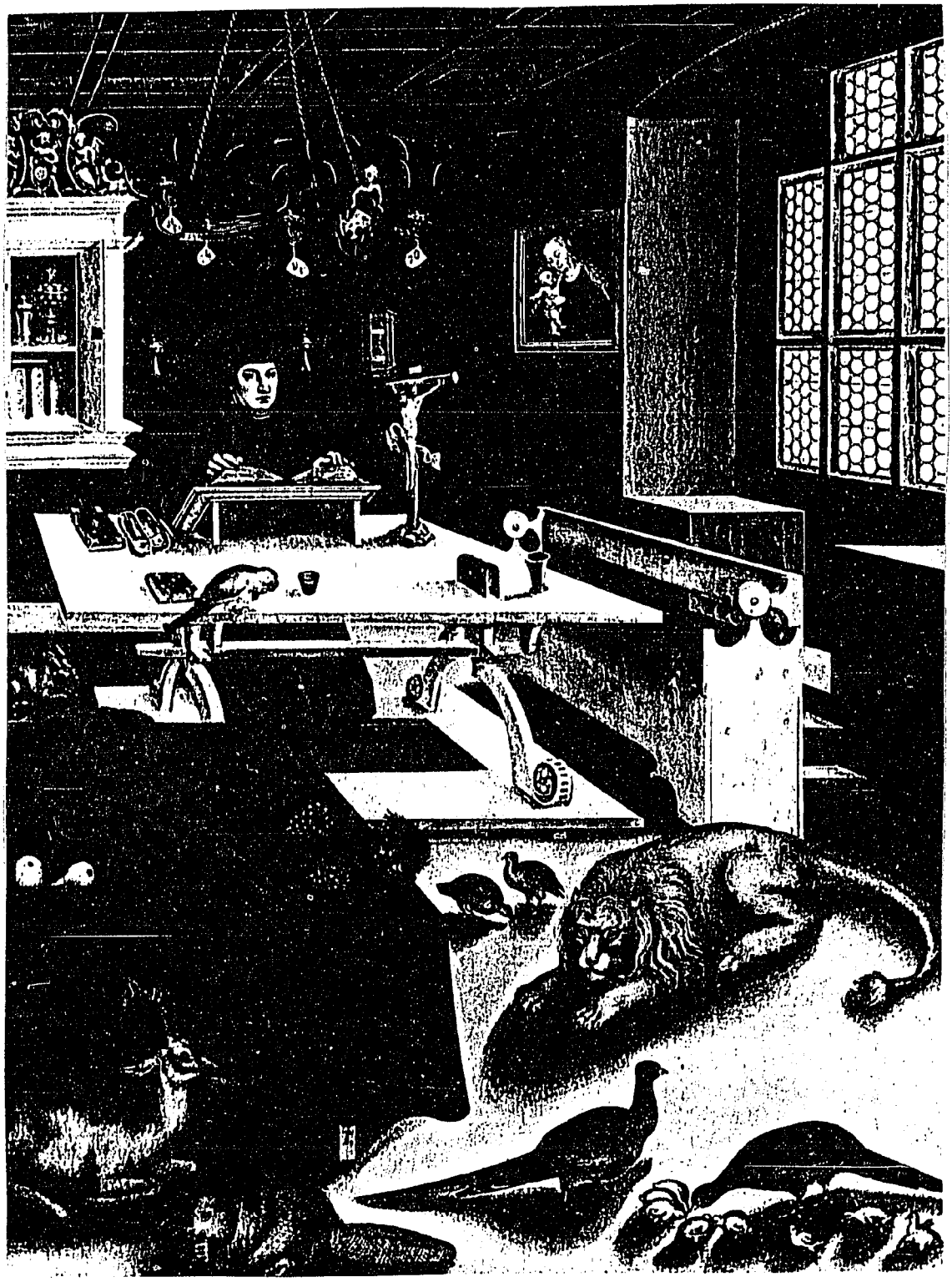

Fig. 34. Lucas Cranach the Elder, "Saint Jerome in His Study," 1526 (after Friedmann, p. 126, fig. 104).

Fig. 35. "Reverence a la Ivstice," in Ian Pierre Valerian, Les Hieroglyphiques (Paris: I. de Montlyart, 1615), I.xxx, p. 15.

Fig. 36. Albrecht Dürer, "The Angel with the Keys to the Bottomless Pit," 1498 (after Henkel, ed., p. 47, fig. 25).

Fig. 37.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, "The Angel with the Key to the Bottomless Pit," The September Bible, 1522 (after Henkel, p. 92, fig. 59).

Fig. 38.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, "The New Jerusalem," September Bible, 1522 (after Henkel, p. 92, fig. 60).

Fig. 39. "Revelation of St. John," accompanying woodcut, A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings, Jan Van der Noodt (London: Henry Bynneman, 1569), Sig. D.vi.

Fig. 40. Albrecht Dürer, "Sol Iustitiae," 1499, Houston Museum of Fine Arts.

Fig. 41. Albrecht Dürer, "The Apocalyptic Woman," Apocalypse, 1498; intro. Erwin Panofsky (London: Eugrammia Press, 1955), fig. 17.

Fig. 42.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, "The Woman Clothed with the Sun," September Bible, 1522 (after Henkel, p. 88, fig. 51).

Fig. 43.

"Woman Clothed with the Sun," Jan Van der Noodt, A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings, 1569 (Sig. D.iii).

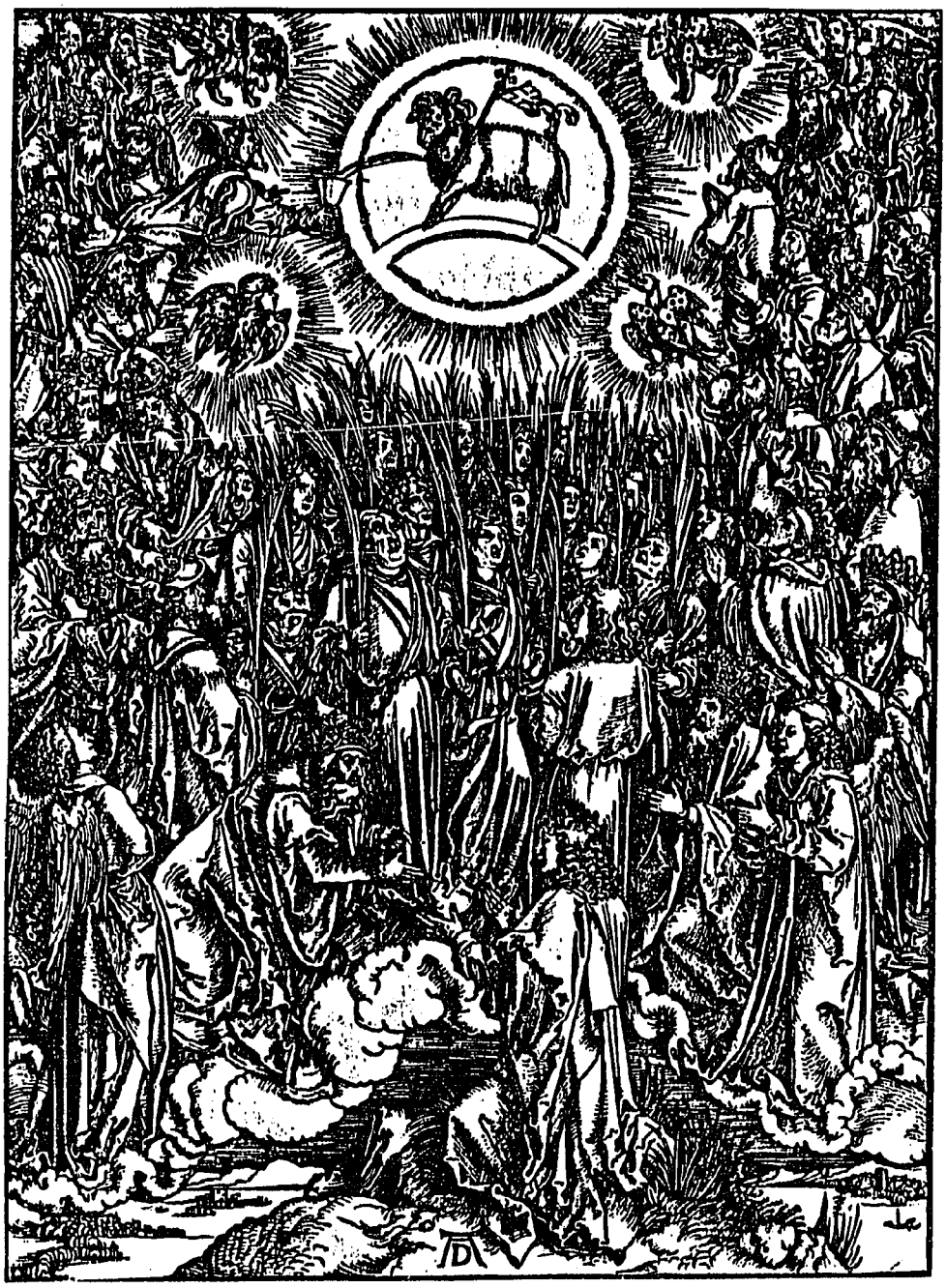

Fig. 44. Albrecht Dürer, "The Adoration of the Lamb," Apocalypse, 1498 (after Henkel, p. 45, fig. 24).

Fig. 45. Lucas Cranach the Elder, "The Lamb on Mount Zion," September Bible, 1522 (after Henkel, p. 89, fig. 53).

Fig. 46. "The Beast with Two Horns like a Lamb," tapestry, ca. 1377-82 (after André Lejard, Les Tapisseries de l'Apocalypse de la Cathédrale d'Angers [Paris: Albin Michel, 1942], pl. 41).

Fig. 47. Albrecht Dürer, "The Beast with Two Horns like a Lamb," Apocalypse, 1498; intro. Erwin Panofsky (London: Eugrammia Press, 1955), fig. 19.

Fig. 48. "Lamb on Mount Zion," Trier Apocalypse, ms. 31, fol. 43 v., ca. eighth century (after Henkel, p. 22, fig. 6).

Cholera.

NEXT *Choller* ſtandes, reſembling moſt the fire,
Of ſwarthie yeallow, and a meager face;
With Sword a late, vnſheathed in his Ire:
Neere whome, there lies, within a little ſpace,
A ſterne ei'de Lion, and by him a ſheild,
Charg'd with a flame, vpon a crimſon feild.

We paint him young, to ſhew that paſſions raigne,
The moſt in heedles, and vnſtaied youth:
That Lion ſhowes, he ſeldome can refraine,
From cruell deede, devoide of gentle ruth:
Or hath perhaps, this beaſt to him aſſign'd,
As bearing moſt, the braue and bounteous mind.

Fig. 49. "Cholera," in Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna ([London: Wa. Dight, 1612], p. 128 [Leeds: Scolar Press, 1966 facs.]).

Fig. 50. "Cholericus" (after Cesare Ripa, Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's 'Iconologia,' tr. Edw. Maser [New York: Dover, 1971], 107).

Fig. 51. Hercules and the Nemean Lion (after Dietrich von Bothmer, "Attic Black-figured Amphorae" in Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum [fascicule 3] [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1963], pl. 5.2).

Fig. 52. "Herakles fights the Lion" (after John Boardman, Athenian Black Figure Vases [New York: Oxford University Press, 1974], fig. 189).

Fig. 53. Hercules' trophies (after Boardman, fig. 252.1).

Fig. 54. "Heracles fighting Cycnus" (after J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, Archaic Greek Art: 620-480 B.C., tr. James Emmans, Rob't. Allen [London: Thames and Hudson, 1971], fig. 345).

Fig. 55. "Herakles fights Ares over Kyknos" (after Boardman, fig. 68).

Fig. 56. Warrior arming (after Bothmer, pl. 7.2).

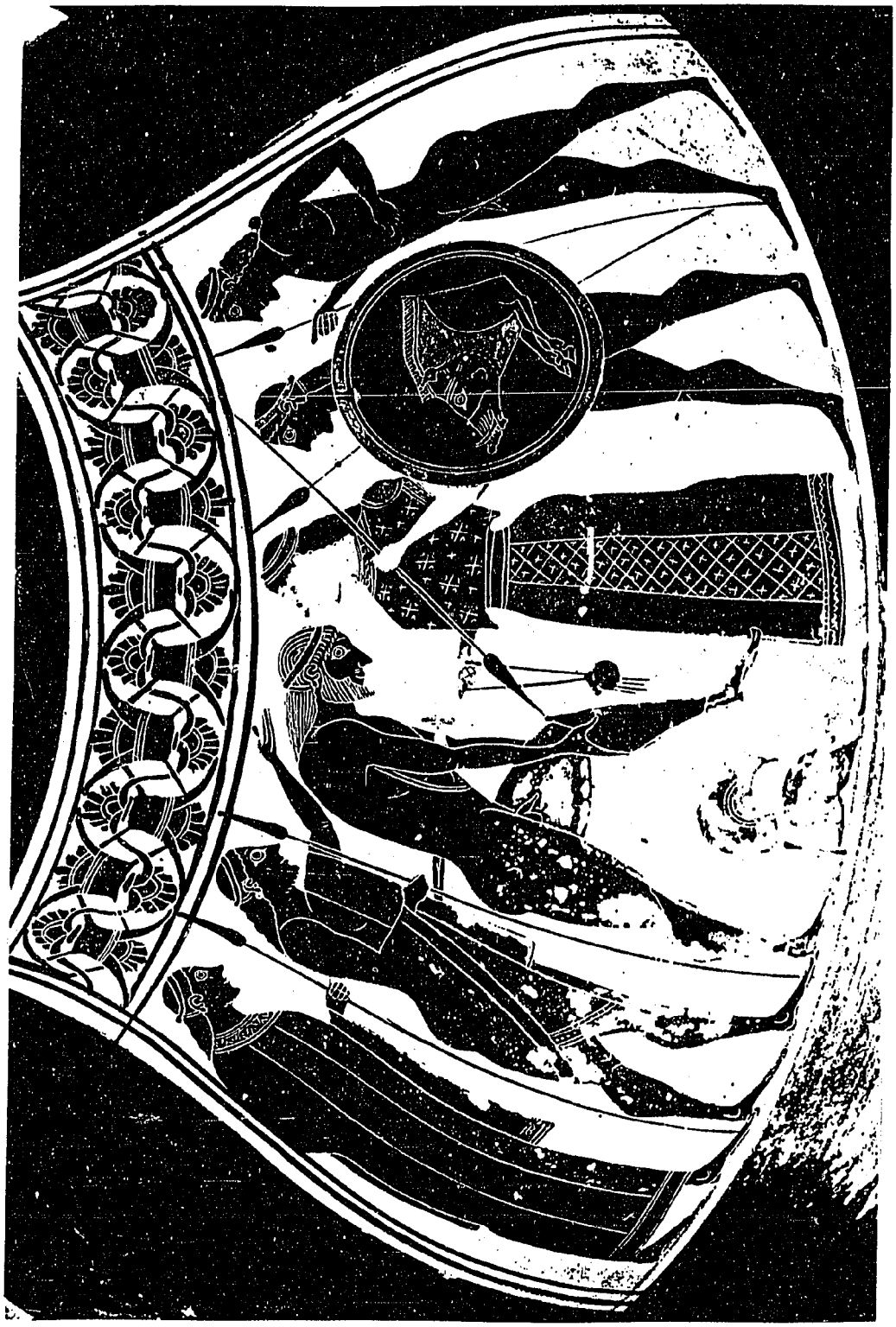

Fig. 57. Warrior arming (after Bothmer, pl. 7.1).

Fig. 58. "Robur" or Strength (after Ripa/Maser, 167).

Fig. 59. (After Andrea Alciati, Emblemata cum Commentarii [Padua: Peter Paul Tozzi, 1621], p. 541)..

Fig. 60. (After [Geffrey] Whitney's Choice of Emblemes: A Fac-simile Reprint, ed. Henry Greene [London: Lovell Reeve and Co., 1866], p. 119).

Fig. 61. Maenads with Lion (after Martin P. Nilsson, The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age. New York: Arno Press, 1975, fig. 30).

Fig. 62. Maenads with Lion (after Nilson, fig. 3).

Fig. 63. Maenads with Deer (after Ernst Buschor, Griechsche Vasen [Munich: R. Piper, 1964], fig. 174).

Fig. 64. Dionysus in Lion Skin (after Buschor, Griechische Vasen, fig. 190).

Fig. 65. Maenad in lion skin, holding lion (after Charbonneaux, et al., fig. 398). Early artists often show lions with spotted skins; cf. Figs. 53 and 54, where Hercules' lion skin is flecked.

Fig. 66. Maenad in lion skin (after Buschor, Griechische, Vasen, fig. 133).

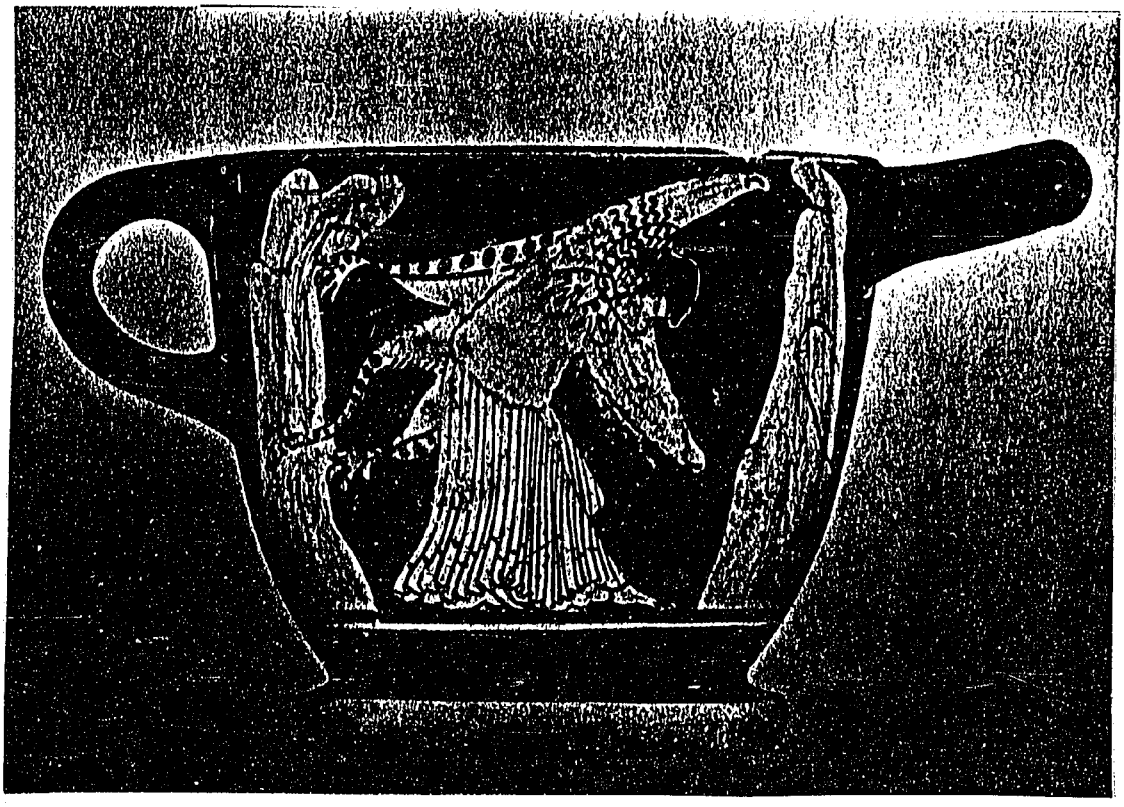

Fig. 67. Maenad dancing in lion skin (after Charbonneaux, fig. 397).

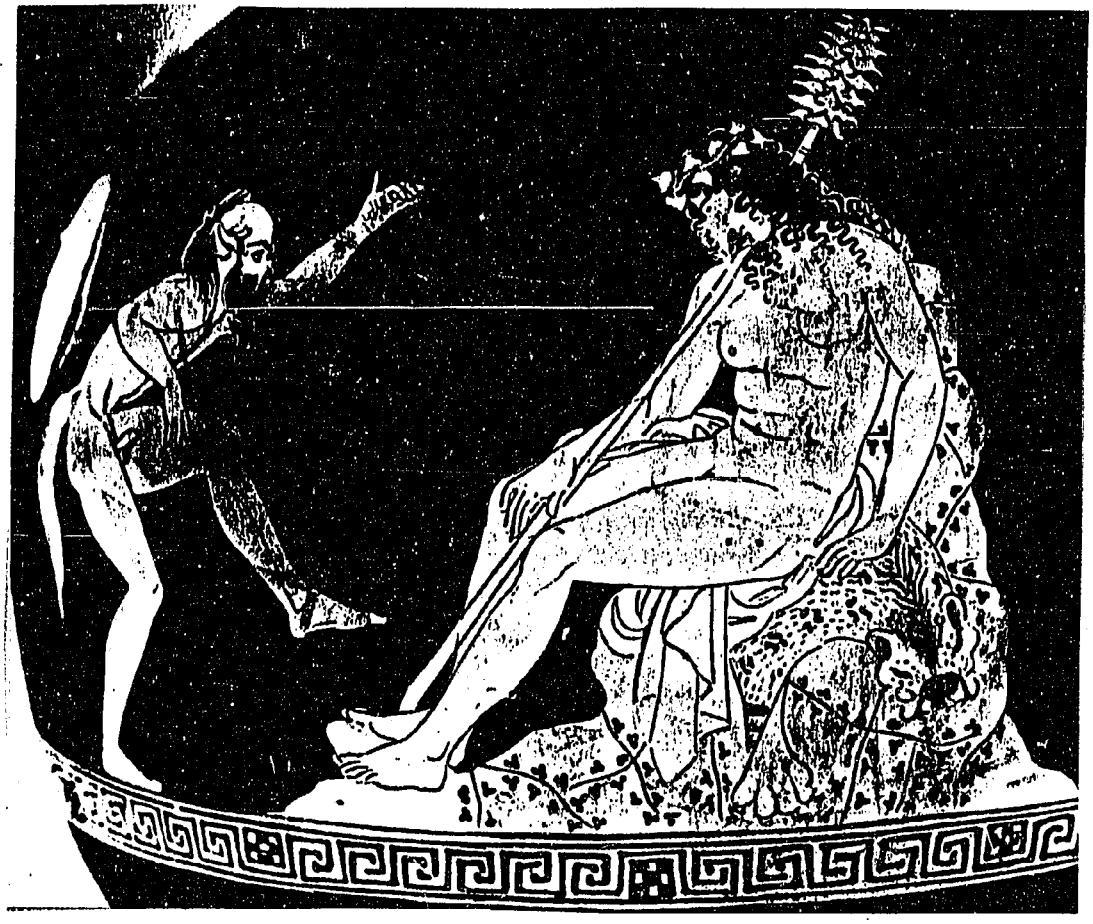

Fig. 68. Silenus trying to rouse exhausted Maenad on lion skin (after Buschor, Griechische Vasen, fig. 190).

Fig. 69. Dionysus and lion-drawn chariot (after Ernst Buschor, Greek Vase-Painting, tr. G. C. Richards [New York: E. P. Dutton, n.d.], fig. 74).

Fig. 70. "Omnia vincit amor," in Daniel Heinsius[?] (I. A. Timmerman's version), Emblemata Amatoria (n.c.: n.p., ca. 1607), fig. 1, (reproduced from Continental Emblem Books 10, ed. John Horden (Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1973).

Fig. 71. An approximation of the lion passant adorning Britomart's shield (after Graham Johnston's drawing in A. C. Fox-Davies, A Complete Guide to Heraldry (New York: Bonanza Books, 1978 rpt. of New York: Dodge, 1909 edn., p. 182, fig. 296).

WHEN Troian youth went out into the field,
With courage bold, againſt the Greekes to fight;
With * naked Sword they marched, and their Shield
Devoide of charge, ſaue only painted white:
Herein the Captaine with his hand did write,
(The Battaile done,) ſome Enſigne of his fame,
Who had by valour, beſt deſeru'd the ſame.

Oh Age of Iuſtice, yet vnlike to this
Wherein wee liue, where MOME and MIDAS ſhare
* In vertues merit, and th' inglorious is
Allow'd the place ſometimes in Honours chaire,
Wherein Armes, ill, but worſer, Artes doe fare,
Times haſt, be gone, with all the ſpeede ye may,
That thus we liu'd, no after Age may ſay.

Fig. 72. (After Peacham, p. 24)

Fig. 73. "Forza alla Giustitia Sottoposta" (from Cesare Ripa, Iconologia [Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1618], p. 207).

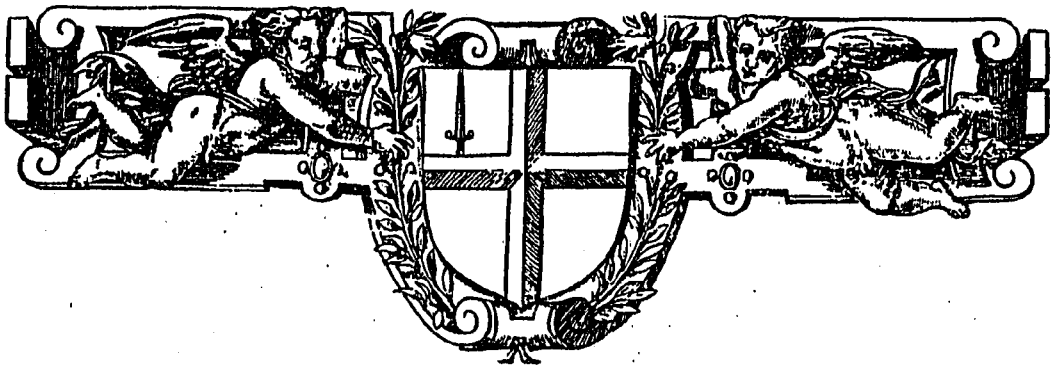

Fig. 74. The municipal arms of London (from the 'Agas' woodcut map [ca. 1560-70] in The A to Z of Elizabethan England, compiled by Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor [Lympne Castle, Kent, and London: Harry Margary and Guildhall Library, 1979], frontispiece).

THE valiant heart, that feeles the vtmoſt ſpight,
Of envious Fortune, who with Sword and fire,
Awaites his ruine; with redoubled might,
Takes courage to him, and abates her ire,
By reſolution, and a conſtant mind,
To deede of virtue, evermore inclin'd.

Whoſe ſp'rite, a ſparke of heavens immortall fire,
Inglorious Sloth, may not in embers keepe,
But ſpite of hell, it will at length aſpire,
And even by ſtrawes, for want of fewell creepe:
When fearefull natures, and the mind vnſound,
At every blaſt, is beaten to the ground.

Fig. 75. (after Peacham, p. 123)

Fig. 76. Cybele or Magna Mater (after Vincenzo Cartari, Le Imagini de i dei de gli antichi, sig. x_3^v, as reproduced in Roche, p. 25).

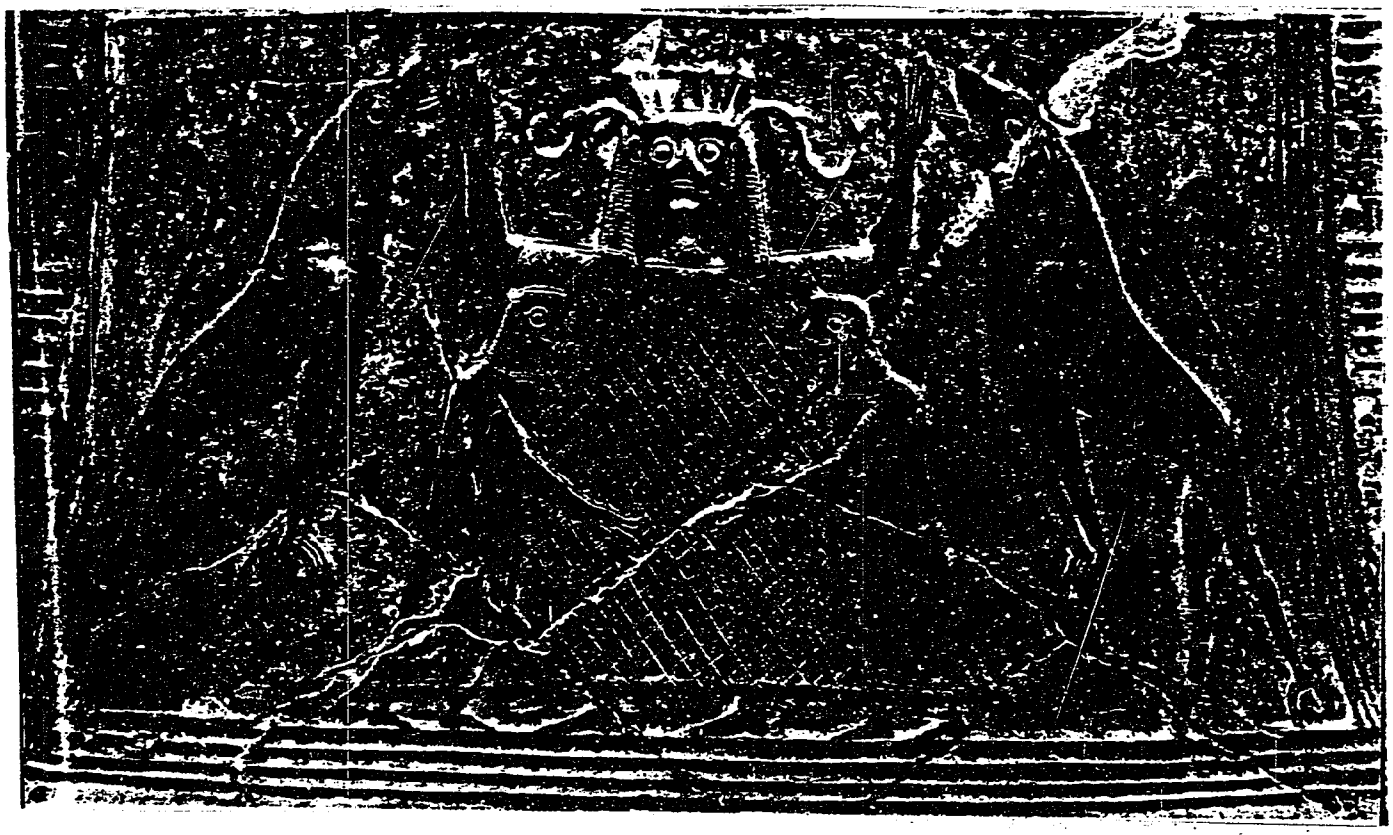

Fig. 77. The goddess Hera between two lions. Relief on neck of pithos from Thebes. Very early seventh century, B.C. Athens National Museum (reproduced from Maarten J. Vermaseren, Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult [London: Thames and Hudson, 1977], p. 145, pl. 1).

Fig. 78. Sketch of marble statue of Cybele between two lions (after Clarac, Musee de Sculpt. 664J in Vermaseren, p. 73, fig. 27).

Fig. 79. The Seven Deadly Sins (after Samuel Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life [New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1962], fig. 88).

Fig. 80. Amor (after Andrea Alciati, Emblemata [Augsburg, 1531, sig. A4^{v}], as reproduced in Roche, p. 24).

Fig. 81. "Potentissimus Affectus Amor" in Andrea Alciati, Emblemata Cum Commentarius (Padua, 1621), p. 441.

Fig. 82. "Potentissimus affectus, amor" (after Whitney, p. 63).

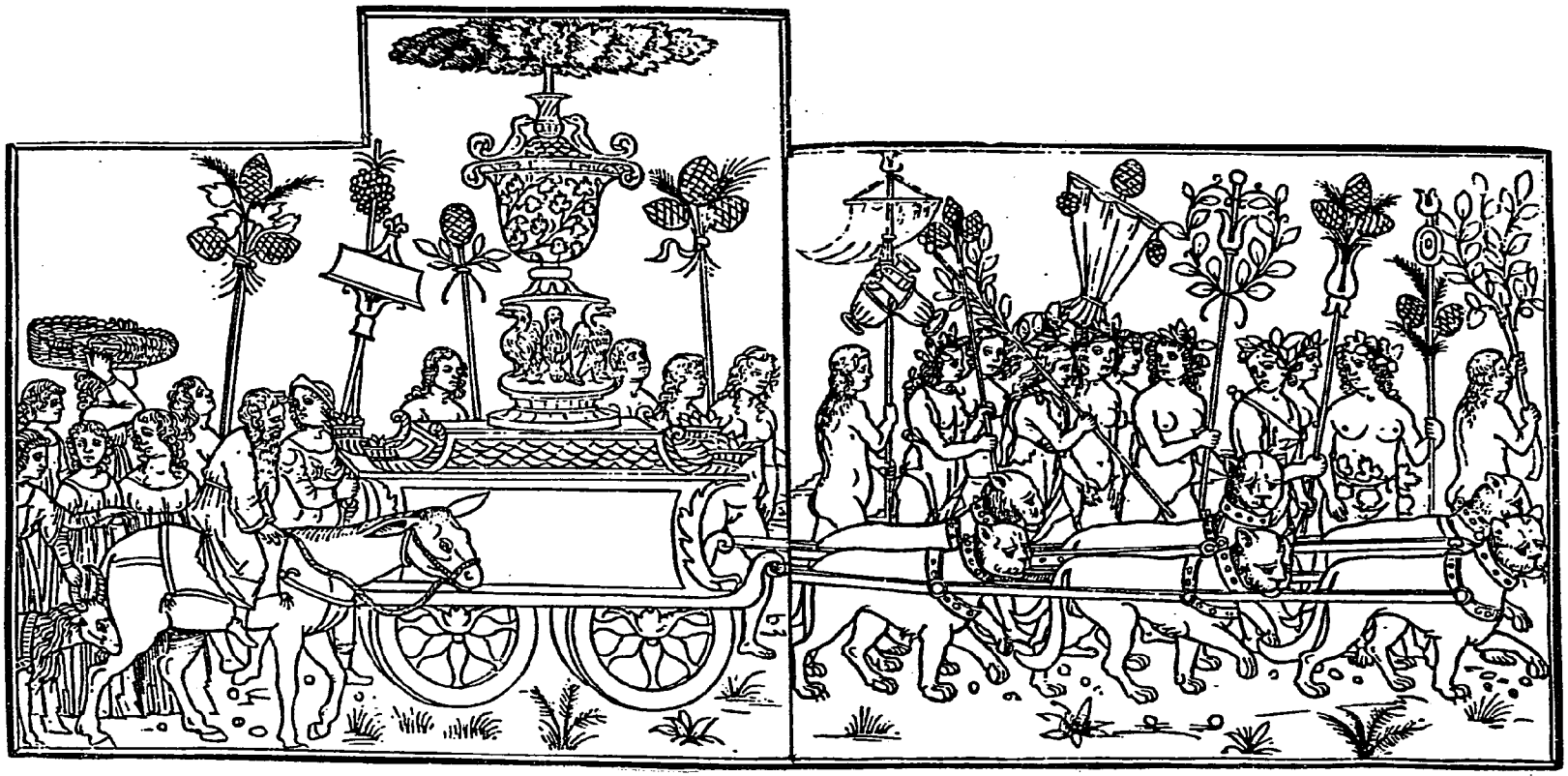

Fig. 83. Dionysian Procession (after Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili [Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499], sig. liiii -lv, in 1976 rpt. of Bodeleian ms Douce C, dubt. 174 [New York and London: Garland Publishing]).

FOELICITIE by IVLIA once deviſ'd
This ſhape doth beare, a Ladie louely bright
With Mercuries Caduceus, enthroniz'd,
Her golden haire with flowery girlonds dight:
The horne of plentie, th'other hand doth hold
With all the fruites, and dainties may be told.

For why? content, ſhe raigneth like a Queene;
Richeſt in Quiet, and the Muſes skill,
Without the which, wee moſt vnhappie beene
The * plentie that her horned cup doth fill;
Our labours fruite, the which when we poſſeſſe
Wee haue attaind our worldly happines.

Fig. 84. Seated figure with lions, caduceus, and cornucopia (after Peacham, p. 25).

Fig. 85. "Forza Sottoposta all'Eloqvenza" (after Ripa, Iconologia, p. 208).

Fig. 86. Caduceus (after Paolo Giovo, The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius, tr. Samuel Daniel [London: Simon Waterson, 1585], p. 136 in facsimile [Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1976]).

E N D N O T E S

ENDNOTES

Chapter I: LOGOS AND ICON

[1]A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 234.

[2]James Nohrnberg, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

[3]Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London and New York: Longman, 1977), p. 9. All quotations from the poem are taken from this edition.

[4]Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 1082, n. iii. 5.2.

[5]C. S. Lewis, Spenser's Images of Life, ed. Alastair Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 10. The phrase "meaning in the visual arts" has its origin, of course, in the work of Erwin Panofsky, see. n. 47.

[6]P. 17. Frances Yates' treatment of iconographical material in Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975) provides a good example of iconography and historical analysis operating in a complementary manner. The illustrations in her study are, she maintains, "inseparable from the argument in the text," and "do not so much illustrate the text as state the same argument in another medium" (p. xii). Though Lewis is attempting to loosen literary criticism's grip on Spenser's historical allegory and is far more concerned with literary interpretation of emblematic images than with visual analogues and sources, it is reasonable to assume Yates' notion that drawings "convey important information through their iconographical argument" (p. xii) is theoretically compatible with Lewis' ideas. For Yates, however, the meaning of Renaissance history is illuminated by images and Spenser's poetry; for Lewis, the meaning of Spenser's poetry is enlivened by images and history.

[7]See Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes Toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 128-31.

[8]The Faerie Queene, p. 10.

[9]Spenser's Images of Life, p. 4ff.

[10]The Faerie Queene, p. 10.

[11]Thomas P. Roche, Jr., The Kindly Flame: A Study of the Third and Fourth Books of Spenser's Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 58.

[12]R. A. Horton's assessment of the various castle images in the poem furnishes a moralizing equivalent to Roche's conclusion: "Castles represent enormous concentrations of the energy and intelligence that the reader learns to associate with good and evil in their continuing struggle to expand their frontiers in the human mind" (The Unity of The Faerie Queene [Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978], p. 171). The images of lions repeat, on a smaller scale, this same function.

[13]Paul J. Alpers, The Poetry of The Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 229 and n. 54. Alpers' comments on John Steadman's "Spenser's Errour and the Renaissance Allegorical Tradition" (Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 67 [1961], 22-38), seem to me less justified than his analysis of Fowler's work. Steadman provides elaborate evidence to support his interpretation of Errour as over-subtle rhetoric and makes his thesis clear, relevant, and (despite Alpers' insistence that there is a difference between "a feeling of struggle and oppression in the mind" and the "intellectual experience of sophistic argument" [TPoTFQ, p. 230, n. 55]), convincing. Steadman's article on the iconography behind the hammers of jealousy tormenting Scudamore (FQ IV.v.32-46) is equally persuasive, particularly as it distinguishes between likely and unlikely interpretations of the icons discussed ("Spenser's House of Care: A Reinterpretation," Studies in the Renaissance 7 [1960], 207-22).

[14]Alastair Fowler, Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. x.

[15]Triumphal Forms, pp. 47-58. Despite the fact that it is "sometimes unconvincing," Horton sees in Fowler's work "impressive support" for assuming the presence of architectonic unity in the poem (The Unity of The Faerie Queene, p. 7). He maintains, nevertheless, that "[t]he numerological system has no meaning without a conceptual structure to engage it" (p. 215, n. 3).

[16]Alastair Fowler, "Emblems of Temperance in The Faerie Queene, Book II," RES n.s. 11 (1960), 143-49.

[17]See Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York, et al: Harper and Row, 1972), Chapt. I, for a recondite analysis of the distinction I mention here.

[18]Alastair Fowler, Spenser and the Numbers of Time (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

[19]William Nelson, Review in Renaissance News (now Renaissance Quarterly) 18 (1965), 52-7.

[20]David Kalstone, Review of Alastair Fowler's Spenser and the Numbers of Time and Thomas Roche's The Kindly Flame in Essays in Criticism 15 (1965), 446-52.

[21]Graham Hough, "Spenser and Renaissance Iconography," Essays in Criticism 11 (1961), 233-35. In his Preface to The Faerie Queene (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963), Hough discusses the types of imagery available in Spenser's poem and shows how they range from that of "emblem or hieratic symbolism," the scope of which "is both limited and inflexible" (p. 111), to "naive allegory," where the image is "merely a rhetorical convenience with no life of its own," due to the dominance of theme (p. 106). It is only in "allegory proper," where, "though theme is still dominant," that "the image now assumes a vitality and interest of its own" (p. 108). It is specifically to the field of emblem or hieratic symbolism that Hough restricts iconography (p. 111).

[22]The Poetry of The Faerie Queene, p. 213.

[23]Spenser's Images of Life, p. 17.

[24]A. Fowler, response to Graham Hough's review of Spenser and the Numbers of Time in Essays in Criticism 11 (1961), 235-38, p. 238.

[25]W. K. Wimsatt's discussion of the "value" of a poem lying in the "maturity, or sophistication or richness or depth" of its rhetorical structure has close affinities with Lewis' brief statement, with Alpers' rhetorical analysis, and with the implications of content or meaning in general, when that meaning is expressed through words which create images (The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry [Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954], p. 82). The only major difficulty in establishing rapprochement between Alpers' position and that of the iconographers through Wimsatt's theories would be, perhaps, Wimsatt's conviction that what he calls "the Affective Fallacy" (which posits a standard of criticism derived "from the psychological effects of the poem" and ends all too often "in impressionism and relativism [p. 21]) is an obvious component in Alpers' reader-response approach to The Faerie Queene. Alpers, however, has taken Wimsatt's objections very carefully into account and his analysis attempts almost literally to fulfill Wimsatt's criteria for useful, objective analysis:

> The more specific the account of the emotion induced by a poem, the more nearly it will be an account of the reasons for emotion, the poem itself, and the more reliable it will be as an account of what the poem itself is likely to induce in other--sufficiently informed--readers. It will in fact supply the kind of information which will enable readers to respond to the poem (The Verbal Icon, p. 34).

For Alpers, the information supplied by close attention to Spenser's rhetoric is the most effective means of so "enabling" the reader. For Lewis, the analysis of Spenser's iconography best accomplishes that end. Both critics are interested in displaying the infinite riches of meaning in Spenser's poem, and any disagreement based on the "opposition" between readers' reactions to words and their reactions to images created by those words, seems to be more a critical convenience than a necessity. Both rhetorical and iconographical analyses deal with that "complexity of form" which is "sophistication of content," and both remain objective in their common reference to what Wimsatt calls "public" human psychology--those "facts" of the human mind which are well-acknowledged through common experience and without reference to the private idionsyncracies of poet and/or reader (Wimsatt, p. 82). It is these "facts" which establish the common ground of interest between Alpers and Lewis: that "moral realm" which is "the subject matter of poetry" (The Verbal Icon, p. 82). Both critics are thus interested in bringing the reader to a

consciousness of how he is being "educated" or "fashioned" by Spenser.

[26]Cf. Paul Alpers, The Poetry of The Faerie Queene, p. 112 ff.

[27]Spenser's Images of Life, p. 17.

[28]Spenser's Images of Life, p. 61.

[29]Cf. Kathleen Williams, "'Eterne in Mutabilitie:' The Unified World of The Faerie Queene" in That Soueraine Light: Essays in Honor of Edmund Spenser, 1552-1952, Wm. R. Mueller and Don Cameron Allen, eds. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1952), p. 35; and Donald Cheney, Spenser's Image of Nature: Wild Man and Shepherd in The Faerie Queene (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 110.

[30]Northrop Frye, "The Structure of Imagery in The Faerie Queene," in Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963), p. 71.

[31]Roche, The Kindly Flame, p. 7.

[32]Henry Peacham, The Garden of Eloquence (London: H. Jackson, 1577), p. 27, as quoted in The Kindly Flame, p. 4.

[33]The dilemma posited by Frye's comparison of the two poets finds its resolution in A.S.P. Woodhouse's assertion that "whatever be true of some other poets, the aesthetic patterning of Spenser and Milton is based on ideas, upon conceptual thinking" ("Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene" in Essential Articles: Edmund Spenser, A. C. Hamilton, ed. [Hamden: Archon Books, 1972], p. 60).

[34]Cf. Wm. Nelson's contention that the "governing principle of Spenser's poems is intellectual and thematic" (The Poetry of Edmund Spenser: A Study [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963], p. vii). Though Nelson is something less than sympathetic to the claims of iconography as an interpretive method, his acknowledging that he has "come slowly to accept" Spenser as "a learned moralist and an eloquent, highly sophisticated artist" (p. vii), indicates that he is of the Lewis/Wimsatt party without knowing it.

[35]See Horton, ch. 7, esp. pp. 142-3.

[36]He says as much in the Letter to Raleigh: "To some I know this Methode will seeme displeasaunt, which had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they vse, then thus clowdily enwrapped in Allegorical deuises" (A. C. Hamilton, ed., The Faerie Queene, p. 737).

[37]Maurice Evans, Spenser's Anatomy of Heroism: A Commentary on The Faerie Queene (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 48. I have substituted the word concept for the word precept which Evans uses in this sentence because the example he gives (of Phedria's boat) is obviously related to the prescriptive admonition Spenser intends; the precept itself implies a conceptual foundation. Horton's conclusions about the source of Spenser's architectonic unity deal with precisely this issue (pp. 183-4). John Bender (Spenser and Literary Pictorialism [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972]) credits Rosemond Tuve with being the scholar "most influential" in establishing the view that "imagery and conceptual substance are inseparable in Renaissance poetry--certainly in Spenser" (pp. 20-21), citing her "well-balanced argument" in Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 33-36, as evidence.

[38]Spenser's Images of Life, p. 61.

[39]Ibid., p. 139.

[40]Rosemond Tuve, "Spenser and Some Pictorial Conventions," Studies in Philology 37 (1940), 149-76; p. 157.

[41]Ibid., pp. 163-64.

[42]Rosamond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, rpt. 1966 edn.), p. 3.

[43]Ibid., p. 18.

[44]Samuel Chew, The Virtues Reconciled: An Iconographical Study (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947).

[45]Ibid., p. 4.

[46]Jane Aptekar, Icons of Justice: Iconography and Thematic Imagery in Book V of The Faerie Queene (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 217.

[47]The pioneering study of Renaissance iconography is, of course, Erwin Panofsky's Studies in Iconology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), and Panofsky supplements these earlier researches with materials gathered into the collection Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955). Important collateral researches include Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, tr. Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972 tr. of 1940 French edn.); Ernest R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973 tr. of 1948 German edn.); Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968 rpt. of 1958 edn.); and Don C. Allen, Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970). Most of the major studies on specifically Spenserian iconography are mentioned in the course of this chapter.

[48]Rosemary Freeman's English Emblem Books (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948) provides an important contribution to present-day understanding of the emblematic tradition.

[49]Spenser's Images of Life, p. 139. See also C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Excluding Drama) (London, et al.: Oxford University Press, 1973 rpt. of 1954 edn.), pp. 380-81, where Lewis interprets the structure of The Faerie Queene as evidence of this habit or attitude on the part of Spenser.

[50]"Spenser's interest in personifications, emblems, and the like did not at all entail adherence or obligation to conventional meanings and modes of representation . . . . When [the reader] uses his knowledge of emblem books and mythographies it is in a more flexible, a less pre-determined way than we have thought" (The Poetry of The Faerie Queene, p. 209).

[51]Graham Hough, "Spenser and Renaissance Iconography," p. 234.

[52]Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory, p. 143. Spenser himself would seem to corroborate Murrin's claim with the self-effacing praise he offers his monarch in the proem to Book III:

> But liuing art may not least part expresse,
> Nor life-resembling pencill it can paint,
> All were it Zeuxis or Praxiteles:
> His daedale hand would faile, and greatly faint,
> And her perfections with his error taint:
> Ne Poets wit, that passeth Painter farre
> In picturing the parts of beautie daint,
> So hard a workmanship aduenture darre,
> For fear through want of words her excellence to marre.
>
> How then shall I, Apprentice of the skill,
> That whylome in diuinest wits did raine,
> Presume so high to stretch mine humble quill?
> Yet now my lucklesse lot doth me constraine
> Hereto perforce. But O dred Soueraine
> Thus farre forth pardon, sith that choicest wit
> Cannot your glorious pourtraict figure plaine
> That I in colourd showes may shadow it,
> And antique praises vnto present persons fit.
> (2-3)

Spenser's demurrals here indicate that, for him, "Poets wit" is superior to painterly concerns, and that both are necessarily subordinate approximations of that "liuing art" which is the Queen herself.

[53]W. K. Wimsatt, The Verbal Icon, p. 82. See also n. 25 above.

[54]These are references to the following episodes: Despair (I.ix.33-54); Jealousy (III.ix.4-7; x.5.14-52, esp. 53-60; [these first two examples are probably the best]; Outraged Chastity (Belphoebe [II.iii.42-3], Amoret [III.xii.19-22, 31-40; IV.ii.4-34], and Britomart [III.i.31-67]); Unrequited Love (Timias [III.v.27-50; IV.vii.35-47; viii.2-18]); Requited Love (Scudamore and Amoret [III.xii.43-7 (1590 edn.); IV.x]); Doubt (Fradubio and Fraelissa [I.ii.28-44]); Unrestrained Anger (Phaedon [II.iv.16-33]; Pyrochles [II.v.3-13]); Mindless Arrogance (Braggadochio [II.iii.4-46; III.x.23-33; IV.iv.7-20; v.23-28]); and Mindless Fear (Florimell [III.i.15-18; vii.1-19; viii.1-43] and Trevisan [I.ix.29-32]).

[55]Murrin's objection seems to be answered most fully by John Bender: "Probably the greatest accomplishment of

recent studies of Spenser has been to show that his images are not merely decorative, but that they are integral to the allegory. They are part of a complex metaphorical system the effect of which depends upon rhetorical arrangement of language and upon iconography or meaning in the broadest sense" (Spenser and Literary Pictorialism, p. 20).

[56]Rosemond Tuve, "Spenser and Some Pictorial Conventions," p. 168.

[57]This protection is, of course, a conceptual resonance of the defense provided by Una's lion against the abuses represented by Corceca, Abessa, and Kirkrapine, and it achieves its significance through an allegorical understanding of Una as Spenser's figure of the true church. For a first-rate account of the egregiously irritable scholar, see J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, Inc., 1975). Kelly describes the man's character in robust detail and relates the difficulties in which Jerome's polemical and caustic mind involved him. A great number of Jerome's troubles arose from his insistence on the "Hebrew verity" of his translation of the Old Testament (p. 190; see also pp. 170 and 360), and the rest from his insistence on an oriental asceticism and unmitigated chastity that many of his contemporaries found stultifying. Kelly credits him with "unfolding . . . a systematic theory of sexuality and its place, or rather lack of place, in the earnest Christian's life" (p. 102) and examines at length the two works which reveal that theory most succinctly: the famous Letter to Eustochium (pp. 100-01) and the Letter Against Jovinian (pp. 182-86). Kelly's study also credits Jerome as a great man of letters as well as a churchman, and claims among other things, that he was "more learned and acute than Augustine," though he lacked the North African's "nobility and generosity" (p. 335). For a brief but thorough survey of Jerome's life and writings, see S. L. Greenslade, ed. and tr., Early Latin Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), pp. 281-89.

[58]Michael O'Connell provides a well-argued rationale, based on Spenser's imitation of Virgil's classical precedent, for perceiving history as a matter of general context and intermittent direct allusion in The Faerie Queene, rather than simply as "allegory":

> When the pressure of the moral allegory is relaxed and the issue of spiritual or psychological import is resolved, historical

> allusion unexpectedly broadens our range of vision from the realm of the individual psyche to the arena where historical forces have fought analogous battles. This pattern suggests that the individual is to find relevance to his own moral state in historical patterns, perhaps even that the individual soul is a microcosm where the events of the macrocosm are played out anew.

Mirror and Veil: The Historical Dimension of Spenser's Faerie Queene [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977], p. 40. See also pp. 12-14, 30-32, 67-8, 71-2, 115ff, and passim).

[59]Though resemblances between Armida's Palace in Tasso and Acrasia's Bower of Bliss have been frequently noted, one of the differences is, for purposes here, equally arresting: Spenser's substitution of the two porters, "Agdistes" and Excesse, for the lion and serpent guarding the entrance to the garden in Tasso (see Jerusalem Delivered, tr. Edward Fairfax (New York: Capricorn Books, n.d.), Bk. XV, 47-51. A reason for the substitution may be found in the likelihood that Spenser associated the two beasts more with political and theological matters than with a classical locus amoenus.

[60]Bernard F. Beranek identifies Genius as Sloth, Excess as Gluttony, and Acrasia as Lechery, the "epitome of all vice" toward which the first two sins inevitably lead (Forgotten Excellence: The Sins of the Flesh and the "Sententia" of the Bower of Bliss, 1979 Diss. Abst. in Spenser Newsletter 13 (Winter 1982), pp. 25-6. A. Kent Hieatt perceives a different, though related, parallel between Acrasia's false Genius and Mammon in "Three Fearful Symmetries and the Meaning of Faerie Queene II" in A Theatre for Spenserians, Judith M. Kennedy, James A. Reither, eds. (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 46. A really fine account of Book II which links Excesse and Perissa through cup imagery is James Carscallen's "The Goodly Frame of Temperance: The Metaphor of Cosmos in The Faerie Queene, Book II" (in A. C. Hamilton, ed., Essential Articles for the Study of Edmund Spenser (Hamden: Archon Books, 1972), 347-65. See also Lewis J. Miller, Jr., "A Secular Reading of The Faerie Queene Book II" in Essential Articles, p. 303.

[61]When Cambell later fights Satyrane and his fellow knights at the tourney of Florrnell's girdle, he is likened to a lion (IV.iv.32), as is Marinell in his wedding tourney (V.iii.8). Calidore likewise receives

the simile when he rescues Pastorella from the brigands (VI.xi.49).

[62]Cambina's rod and cup link her iconographically with the Anti-Agdistes at the Porch of Acrasia's Bower (see above, p.23). Spenser demonstrates the falseness of Agdistes by having Guyon break his staff and cup. He demonstrates the moral soundness of Cambina by having her powerful rod and cup the instruments by which she grants the pleasures of true Concord. This rendering of moral contrasts by converse actions centering around more or less identical images is typical of his method. Cf. Horton: "definition by contrast within similarity is an important complement to definition by analytical and cumulative association in Spenser's moral dialectic" (pp. 144-5).

[63]The Kindly Flame, p. 27.

[64]See I.x.21-24.

[65]Duessa's "fruitfull-headed beast" (I.viii.20) can be thought of as an analogue of the serpents previously mentioned; certainly it suggests the dragons defeated by Redcrosse.

[66]Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele, Books I and II of The Faerie Queene, The Mutability Cantos, and Selections from the Minor Poetry (New York: Odyssey Press, 1965), p. 41.

[67]A provocative study of many such parallels is Patrick Cullen's The Infernal Triad: The World, the Flesh and the Devil in Spenser and Milton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); see esp. p. 8.

[68]See Merritt Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia and the Circe of the Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas IV (1943), 381-99, for an intriguing discussion of the literary background of the suitors' descent into bestiality.

[69]He treats the disastrous effects of legitimate romantic love (when it is undermined by sensuality) in the Mordant/Amavia episode. Remarkably, his treatment of all four characters issues in implicit condemnation of only Paridell. Leaving judgment of Mordant and Amavia to

heaven, Guyon and the Palmer "tenderly" (II.i.60) bury them in an "honorable toombe" (58). Since Hellenore is already clearly victimized by Malbecco (and Spenser indicates she knows it in III.x.20), the poet releases her, too, from severe judgment. We are moved to feel a kind of rueful pity for her rather than scorn, exactly, because she is so easily taken in by Paridell's blandishments (III.ix.52; x.4-11), so abruptly and coldly abandoned by him (x.35-6), and so obviously delighted by her pastoral companions who, in their directness and simplicity, offer her their brutish equivalents of the honoring and cherishing (x.43-8) denied her by Malbecco. Paridell, however, is too hard to be touched in any way, and so we scorn him as he deserves. He possesses an exaggerated version of the "endurance" which Mordant and Amavia lack. They are too "soft" in respect of pleasure and pain, which leads, ultimately, to their destruction, while Hellenore and Paridell are too "hard" to feel compunctions or shame, or any instinct elevated beyond self-preservation (see Ernest Sirluck, "The Faerie Queene, Book II, and the Nichomachean Ethics," Modern Philology 49 [1951], 73-100, esp. p. 80). Hellenore appears to undergo a kind of mock-healing with the satyrs as a foil to the mock "wound" Paridell receives from her amorous glances (III.ix.29).

[70]W. K. Wimsatt, The Verbal Icon, p. 70. My thorough-going debt to this essay ("The Concrete Universal") is manifest.

[71]These four levels or modes can be differently arranged to produce, in some cases, radically different conclusions. I use this particular order, which is Aquinian (Summa Theologica, I.i.9-10), because it proceeds most logically from the realm of sense to the realm of spirit, and maintains a structural clarity in my discussion which more detailed analysis would serve only to obscure. The same order is preserved by Dante, of course (Convivio, Letter to Can Grande della Scala), and Boccaccio (Life of Dante, ix.x; Genealogy of the Gentile Gods, XIV. (The relevant excerpts from each of these writers can be found in Hazard Adams, Critical Theory Since Plato [New York et al.: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971], pp. 117-35). Tasso's Discorsi and the Prose Allegory written for the Gerusalemme Liberata also provide commentary on allegorical modes. Harington's Preface to his translation of Ariosto (in O. B. Hardison, English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963], 208-17) is an important English version of the theory, and his transposition of

moral and allegorical modes, which eliminates any specifically anagogical level by subsuming political, philosophical, and theological interpretations in the allegorical category, is retained by Michael Murrin in The Veil of Allegory, Ch. 5. Murrin's later study, The Allegorical Epic: Essays in Its Rise and Decline (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), continues to consider the same issues (pp. ix-xi, 97-99, 106, 132 ff, 185), and extends the scope of inquiry back to Homer.

[72]C. S. Lewis, Spenser's Images of Life, p. 15. The phenomenon of confused gender in deity is frequent in poetry, as Castiglione has Guiliano de Medici remark in The Book of the Courtier (tr. Chas. Singleton. New York: Doubleday, 1959), Bk. III, p. 216.

[73]Graham Hough, A Preface to The Faerie Queene, p. 111.

Chapter II: THE MINOR POETRY

[1]Those lions which likely precede it include the ones in the Visions of Bellay (3.10) and Ruines of Rome (14.188), both revisions of poems in Van der Noodt's 1569 Theatre for Worldlings. Though MHT appeared briefly in the 1591 Complaints (it was apparently suppressed until 1612 [see A. C. Judson, "Mother Hubberd's Ape," MLN 63 (1948), p. 145; Harold Stein, Studies in Spenser's Complaints (New York: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 79-86; and Edwin Greenlaw, ed., The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, VIII.1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1943), pp. 580-85]), scholars assume that a MS version was circulating among Spenser's associates in 1578-79, so that the lions in The Shepheardes Calender ("May," 1.169; "July," 1.21; "Dec.," 1.57), which came out in 1579, are probably only a few months "older" at most than the one in MHT. Since the composition dates of so much of Spenser's poetry are conjectural, it seems a wiser course to maintain the chronology of publication, which, despite this one exception, I will do.

[2]Edwin Greenlaw, Variorum, VII.1, p. 573. All references to the Variorum in this chapter come from volume VII.1. Cf. Puttenham's example of "Icon"--"resemblaunce by imagerie": "so we commending her maiestie for wisdome bewtie and magnanimitie likened her to the Serpent, the Lion and the Angell, because by common vsurpation, nothing is wiser than the Serpent, more couragious then the Lion, more bewtifull then the Angell" (The Arte of Englishe Poesie, ed. Gladys D. Willcock and Alice Walker [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936], p. 243; as quoted in John Bender, Spenser and Literary Pictorialism [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972], p. 51, n. 23.

[3]J. P. Brooke-Little, Royal Heraldry: Beasts and Badges of Britain (Derby: Pilgrim Press, 1978), pp. 3, 20.

[4]See S. K. Heninger, Selections from the Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 130; W. L. Renwick, ed., Edmund Spenser's Complaints

(London: Scholartis Press, 1928), 227-32; Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," PMLA 25 (1910), 546-48, 553; A. C. Judson, "Mother Hubberd's Ape," p. 146; B. E. C. Davis in Variorum, p. 566; E. N. Dodge in Variorum, pp. 561-62.

[5]Paul McLane, Spenser's Shepheardes Calender: A Study in Elizabethan Allegory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 22; Renwick, Complaints, p. 230; Heninger, Poetical Works, p. 129; Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," p. 549.

[6]The apparently later interpolation of ll. 615-30 includes a lion which has been interpreted as representing someone other than the Queen (see Greenlaw, Variorum, p. 590). Grosart understands it to signify Leicester, out of favor because of his secret marriage (Variorum, p. 567). Long, arguing that Grosart's use of heraldic evidence is inaccurate, claims Leicester cannot be the referent (Variorum, p. 576; see also this text, p. 5). Buck argues that the lion is Leicester throughout the poem, and that Spenser is satirizing the similarity between him and Burleigh (the Ape) (Variorum, p. 571). This interpretation leaves the identification of the Fox open to speculation, however, and is thus not very satisfactory. Mounts ("The Raleigh-Essex Rivalry and Mother Hubberds Tale," MLN 65 [1950]) thinks the initial lion reference is to a quarrel between Raleigh and Essex over the royal gift of "chayne" and "circulet of gold" (MHT, 624, 627), and that Spenser is showing his friendship for Raleigh by "stinging" Essex (p. 513). Mounts quotes Raleigh's Ocean to Cynthia to to justify his argument, and the quotation, despite its lack of success as evidence for his claim, does indicate that it was a commonplace to represent Elizabeth as a lion, though here the designation is as much amatory as political: "A qeen shee was to me, no more Belphoebe/ a lion then, no more a milke white Dove,/ a prissoner in her brest I could not bee/ she did untye the gentill chaynes of love" (ll. 327-30, as quoted in Mounts). As for the other two beasts, almost all critics are agreed that the Fox represents Burleigh in the latter half of the satire, and that the Ape is simultaneously Simier, Robert Cecil (Burleigh's son; see Harris, Variorum, p. 578), and James VI of Scotland. James was prime candidate for the English throne and ever in close correspondence with Burleigh (Stein, pp. 93-5). If we hang fire on the vexed issue of whether or not consistency is a legitimate criterion in assigning interpretations to Spenser's allegorical figures, most of the conjectures made about the lion which differ from that of its being the Queen appear to raise more scholarly doubts than they settle.

[7]Edmund Spenser, MHT (ll. 1-8) in Heninger, Poetical Works. All lines quoted from MHT come from this edition.

[8]Frances Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 29-87. See esp. 31, 47, 59, 62 n. 3-63, 69-71, 81, 85 n.1.

[9]Renwick, Complaints, p. 233. Spenser uses the same imagery in the SC ("July," 17-28), and though the duplication may be attributed to its being a commonplace, I think it might also indicate that Spenser was working on both poems simultaneously. The plague rampant in Europe and England during 1579-80 was a likely influence on the image as well (see Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," pp. 550-51, n. 1). A variation on this astrological imagery is present in TFQ V Pr 6, where it signals the melancholy contrast between the antique golden age and the present stony one in which the poet writes.

[10]This conclusion would seem to be reinforced by Simier's code name for her: "le soleil" (Greenlaw, ibid., p. 543). See text, pp. 49-50 for details. The April blazon of the queen in the SC also makes use of sun imagery (ll. 73-81; Michael O'Connell, Mirror and Veil: The Historical Dimension of Spenser's Faerie Queene [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977], p. 47; see also 6-7, 198-9, n. 11).

[11]See note 6. C. S. Lewis (English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama [London, et al.: Oxford University Press, 1957; rpt. 1973] claims that "The lion is certainly the queen in line 629 but probably not the queen when rated for sloth in line 1327" (p. 366).

[12]Raleigh was apparently awarded a gold chain by the Queen for his assistance in the Lisbon expedition of 1589, and this is usually cited as evidence that MHT was revised before the 1590 Stationer's Register entry of Complaints (Mounts, p. 513). Drake, however, had been knighted by the Queen in 1580 for being the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe, and in the intervening years had sailed successfully against Spain. His prowess in 1588 goes without saying. He, therefore, could be as likely a candidate as Raleigh, though I know of no record of her displeasure with him. On the theme of the Queen's various courtships, see note 14.

[13]McLane, p. 16. See also Grosart, Variorum, p. 567, and Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," pp. 546-47, 551.

[14]Greenlaw, ibid., p. 542. The reference to the "later chayne his leige unmeete esteemeth" may apply equally to Raleigh as to Leicester, for Raleigh too, suffered the Queen's anger by his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton. Essex is also considered a likely possibility through his secret marriage to Sidney's widow (Mounts, p. 512). For an entertaining account of the various ruckuses, see Elizabeth Jenkins, Elizabeth the Great (New York: Capricorn Books, 1967 rpt. of 1958 edn.), ch. 26.

[15]Complaints, p. 239.

[16]Heninger, p. 129; Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," p. 545.

[17]Greenlaw, "Leicester," pp. 549-50, 557, 558, 561; McLane, pp. 13, 19, 22.

[18]Greenlaw, "Leicester," p. 548; Stein, pp. 85-88.

[19]Greenlaw, "Leicester," pp. 539, 543.

[20]"Leicester," p. 545.

[21]"Leicester," p. 539; McLane, p. 14.

[22]Greenlaw, "Leicester," p. 544.

[23]"Leicester," p. 542.

[24]"Leicester," pp. 542-43.

[25]Heninger, p. 129. See also Greenlaw, "Leicester," pp. 539-40; McLane, p. 17.

[26]See also Robert A. Bryon, "Poets, Poetry, and Mercury in Spenser's Prosopopoia: Mother Hubberds Tale," Costerus 5 (1972), 27-33.

[27]Greenlaw, "Leicester," p. 541, n.1.

[28]McLane, p. 22.

[29]Greenlaw, "Leicester," pp. 545-6, 550.

[30]Heninger, p. 130.

[31]Greenlaw, "Leicester," p. 552; Harris in Variorum, pp. 579-80.

[32]See Judson, p. 146; Stein, pp. 89-91.

[33]Greenlaw, "Leicester," p. 552.

[34]Renwick, p. 231.

[35]Renwick, p. 231.

[36]Greenlaw, "Leicester," p. 550.

[37]"Leicester," p. 560.

[38]McLane, p. 17.

[39]McLane, p. 18.

[40]McLane, pp. 19-20.

[41]Leible ingenuously claims that there was "no personal or political implication in its satire" (Variorum, p. 592). Greenlaw thinks it merely unlikely that Spenser would risk his career by attacking the powerful ("Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," p. 547).

[42]E. de Selincourt, Spenser: Poetical Works, J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975 rpt. of 1912 edn.), p. xxiii; Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," p. 547.

[43]This rage suggests Prov. 19:12. 20:2.

[44]As in Arthur's and Guyon's encounter with Eumnestes (FQ II.ix.44-60; x.1-77), and Britomart's meetings with Merlin (III.iii.22-62) and Paridell (III.ix.32-51).

[45]See Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes Toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 117-19.

[46]Helen E. Sandison, "Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon and Raleigh's Friend," PMLA 43 (1928), 645-46.

[47]There are some speculations that the shift between old and new style calendars may make the date actually 1 January 1592 n.s., and that a printer's error may be responsible for 1591. (See W. L. Renwick, ed., Daphnaida and Other Poems by Edmund Spenser [London: Scholartis Press, 1929], p. 175; and Variorum, pp. 433-37.) Sandison, however, claims to have established "the fact that Spenser's dedication of the Daphnaida, as of January 1, 1591, is to be taken to mean 1591 new style, not 1592" (p. 645; see also p. 650).

[48]H. S. V. Jones, A Spenser Handbook (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1930), p. 314.

[49]The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 4th edn., Sir Paul Harvey, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 790.

[50]In Rene Graziani, "Elizabeth at Isis Church," PMLA 79 (1964), p. 385. See figures 12-15 for Scots arms, ancient and modern.

[51]Graziani, p. 385. This emblem recalls the monster in Belge's Church and Arthur's attempts to free his shield from her grip: "But when he could not quite it, with one stripe/Her Lions claws he from her feete away did wipe" (FQ V.xi.27).

[52]As quoted in Graziani, p. 385.

[53]As quoted in Graziani, p. 385.

[54]A. A. Jack, Variorum, p. 431.

[55]Dedication to Daphnaida in Spenser: Poetical Works, J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt, eds., p. 528. All lines from the poem are taken from this edition.

[56]Fig. 16 is a "tricking" or rough sketch of the 1514 banner of Thomas Howard (I), 2nd Duke of Norfolk, and illustrates the heraldic sources for Spenser's metaphor of the white lioness. The banner includes the three golden lions of England (in the Brotherton arms); the white lion of the house of Mowbray (emblematic of Thomas' link with that house through his grandmother, Margaret Mowbray, whose marriage to Sir Robert Howard united the two families and issued in Sir John Howard [see Fig. 17 for his arms], Thomas' father, the first Duke of Norfolk from the Howard line); and the red lion of the royal Scots arms (see Fig. 18), awarded by Henry VIII to Thomas for his valor in defeating James IV at Flodden Field, 1513. Spenser's reference to the white lion in Daphnaida's Dedication indicates that he was probably influenced by the Mowbray lion rather than by the royal lions of Scotland and England. The white Mowbray lion supports the banner as well as appearing on it, and indicates more than one hundred fifty years of loyal and distinguished service to the English crown. Fig. 19 (from Gerard Legh's The Accedens of Armory [London: Richard Tottel, 1576], fol. 43a in Nason, frontispiece) shows an unpigmented version of Sir Thomas Howard's arms. The presence of so many lions (two as supporters, one as crest, and five on the quarterings) is as large a pride of the emblematic creatures as can be found in British heraldry. Figure 20, from Henry Peacham's Minerva Britanna (London: Wa. Dight, 1612 [Leeds: The Scolars Press Ltd., 1966 rpt.], p. 20), features the white lion of the Howards too, as is indicated by the emblem's dedication and accompanying verse motto. [See A. C. Fox-Davies, A Complete Guide to Heraldry, rev. and ann. J. P. Brooke-Little (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1969), p. 457; A. C. Fox-Davies, The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopedia of Armory (New York & London: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1968 rpt. 1904 edn.), pp. 99, 247, 258 (fig. 699), 335 (fig. 823), 379; Alexander Nisbet, A System of Heraldry, Speculative and Practical: with the True Art of Blazon, According to the Most Approved Heralds in Europe, II (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1816), pp. 15-17. An early MS which might have been available to Spenser (Harleian 6163, d. approx. 1562-92) describes the quartered arms of Sir Edmond Gorge (a variant and prior spelling of Arthur Gorges' family name) which include the Mowbray lion; see Robert Cooke, ed., Two Tudor Books of Arms, illus., being Harleian MSS 2169 and 6163, Blasoned by Joseph Foster (London (?): the De Walden Library, 1904), p. 311.]

Spenser's use of the white lion may also be indebted to two literary precedents dealing with white deer. Petrarch's sonnet 157 on the candida cerva is one treatment of such a motif, and Wyatt's translation of the sonnet, "Whoso list to hunt," is another, though with a markedly different tone [see Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (Copenhagen: Rosenhilde and Baggar, 1956), I, p. 377, B105.1, B105.2]. Celtic folklore also yields analogous and fertile possibilities [see John Arnott MacCulloch, The Mythology of All Races, III: Celtic (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1918), p. 168; Charles Squire, Celtic Myth and Legend, Poetry and Romance (London: the Gresham Publ. Co., 191?), p. 208; and Robert Graves, The White Goddess (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1975 rpt. 1948 edn.), pp. 251-53, 411ff.], as do a couple of Grimm's fairy tales and several Tuscan and Sicilian stories [see Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography (Helsinki: Suomolainen Tiedeakatemia, 1961), p. 131:401; and Thompson's Motif Index of Folk-Literature, p. 16:D114.1.1.1. A sixteenth-century anonymous French ballad, "La Blanche Biche" (in The Penguin Book of French Verse II: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, Geoffrey Brereton, ed. [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958], pp. 299-300), is an early (and Grand Guignol) version of the motif. Later renditions include that of Dryden, who employs the motif in The Hind and the Panther, and, of course, mentions the lion as well (1.41), emphasizing political and religious connotations which recur in Wm. Wordsworth's "The White Doe of Rylstone." Wordsworth's poem is expressly influenced by the lion and lamb of the first book of The Faerie Queene, as the poet's dedication states. His treatment may owe more than is at first apparent to Daphnaida as well, in its two portraits of "female patience" (1.50): Emily Norton and her ungulate companion, the Lady Aäliza (1. 226). [See also "The Force of Prayer, or the Founding of Bolton Priory," which Wordsworth wrote as an "Appendage to the 'White Doe'" (in The Complete Poetical Works of Wm. Wordsworth, ed. John Morley [London: Macmillan and Co., 1909], pp. 386ff.); and Thompson, Motif-Index II, pp. 407: B 250 and 408: B251.2.6. James Thurber provides a twentieth century version of the motif, and preserves, with characteristic wryness, the shape and substance of the folklore from which it springs [see Thompson, Types of the Folktale, p. 131: 401; and Motif-Index I, p. 357: B15.3.2.1, p. 461: B611.5, p. 394:B184.4, and p. 467: B641.2; II, p. 16: B611.5, D 114.1.1.1.

[57]As in FQ IV.viii.31, for example, where, in grave contrast to the discontented railings of Sclaunder, Spenser praises the "antique age" (st. 30), when all delighted in virtue, and "The Lyon there did with the Lambe consort,/

And eke the Dove sate by the Faulcons side,/ Ne each of other feared fraud or tort,/ But did in safe securities abide,/ Withouten perill of the stronger pride" (1-5). The pairing appears again in Amoretti 20 as well, where it simultaneously evokes both struggle and the opportunity for peace.

[58]Rev. 5:5-6. In the SC as well, Spenser emphasizes their symbolic opposition rather than their mutuality. The indignant Piers, type of the Protestant pastor (if E. K. is to be trusted) utterly rejects the "false" pastors of Roman Catholicism, despite Palinode's suggestion that they all could be, with a little forbearance, good friends, since they share the same calling: "For what concord han light and darke sam?/ Or what peace has the Lion with the Lambe?" ("May," 168-69). See McLane for analysis of this eclogue (chapt. 8, esp. pp. 120-24). The comparison in FQ I.vi.10, where Una is rescued from Sansloy by the "wyld woodgods" (st. 9), is likewise a combination of relief and terror:

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

[59]Sandison, pp. 648-49.

[60]Sandison, p. 650.

[61]Jones, p. 314; Sandison, p. 650.

[62]Sandison, p. 648.

[63]See Sandison, Variorum, p. 434.

[64]Sandison, "Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon and Raleigh's Friend," p. 649.

[65]Spenser is presumed to have followed the Geneva Bible, which, as a Calvinist text, rejected several of the deutero-canonical books (including Ecclesiasticus or Sirach, the most important of them, because they were not

in the Palestinian Jewish Canon of the Scriptures [see New Oxford Annotated Bible, Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 128, Intro.]). The Roman Catholic Church retained them however, and of course Chaucer, writing well before the Reformation, would have been familiar with them. (See Perry Miller, ed., Chaucer: Sources and Backgrounds [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977], pp. 391-96). I have used the Douai translations in my quotations from both Ecclesiasticus and Proverbs with the exception of Eccles. 26:2, for its wording differs considerably from Miller's source. All the other quotations, however, are the same in both Douai and Miller.

[66]Miller, pp. 393, 396.

[67](11. 148-61). The comfort the helpful lioness has given to Alcyon recalls the comfort and assistance rendered Una by her helpful lion, and the death of each at the hands of perverse assailants reveals an additional similarity between them. Alcyon's lion is the victim of a lawless creature's unwarranted attack; satyres are traditionally associated with lust--ungoverned passion--(and emblematic in Daphnaida of the Viscounts Byndon, perhaps) which is the antithesis of the lioness' Pauline submission to her mate. Similarly, Una's lion is killed by Sansloy, also a representation of lawless lust (though as an intellectual perversion rather than simple heedlessness or blind cruelty), in his defense of chastity. Both deaths have classical precedent and theological implications.

[68]The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, Sir Paul Harvey, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969 rpt. of 1937 edn.), p. 210.

[69]Cf. the ancient lament for Linus, "whose untimely death . . . was celebrated in a dirge . . . sung annually from Homeric days at harvest time" (Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, p. 242). Daphnaida is, of course, an autumn lament on an untimely death as well. A similar classical reference to the Nemean lion is also present in Muiopotmos, though here it is made for comic rather than tragic effect (11. 65-72). This same lion also appears as July's mount in the pageant on Arlo Hill (VII.vii.36).

[70]Renwick, Daphnaida and Other Poems, p. 174; Jones, p. 317.

[71]See Nadal in Variorum, pp. 430-31.

[72]The description of Alcyon, surely the epitome of gauntness, seems to merit this supposition (see ll. 38-49 of the poem). Cf. Renwick's comment on the poem's style: "Gone, too, is the gentle courtesy of converse, the dignified restraint of Chaucer's mourner, and in their place Spenser has put the rhetorical violence of Alcyon and a rudeness not merely of the pastoral convention" (Daphnaida and Other Poems, p. 174); for C. S. Lewis, the poem is thus "radically vulgar" (Literature of the Sixteenth Century, 370), while Jones claims ". . . one can hardly miss in Daphnaida that overwrought rhetoric of melancholy in which the Teares of the Muses is largely written . . ." (A Spenser Handbook, pp. 318-19). This lugubriousness I take to be the result of deliberate "classicizing" on Spenser's part. Cf. Shepheardes Calender, "Nov.," as another attempt, which Kellogg and Steele regard as "the first classical elegy . . . in English" (Books I and II of The Faerie Queene [New York: Odyssey Press, 1965], p. 438).

[73]All quotations from the Amoretti are taken from Smith and de Selincourt, Spenser: Poetical Works.

[74]In Smith and de Selincourt, Spenser: Poetical Works, p. 587, ll. 43-49.

[75]Pico della Mirandola, Heptaplus, I.vi, Jessie Brewer McGaw, tr. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1977), p. 38. The doctrine of the ladder of love derives ultimately from Florentine refinements of Platonic dicta and the Great Chain of Being theory, and Spenser may have been influenced by any number of texts, including Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier (particularly Bk. IV), Ficino's commentary on Plato, and the writings of Pico and Bruno. The idea is a commonplace of Renaissance writers and, in conjunction with a discussion of the scale operating explicitly between brutes and angels, appears in Italian literature even as early as Dante's Convito. One critic (Richard Holbrook, Dante and the Animal Kingdom [1902], p. 82) "regarded this passage in the Convito as distinctly heretical in its view that the 'most perfect soul belonging to the brutes differs hardly at all from the worst human soul'" (in Merritt Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia and the Circle of the Renaissance" [JHI IV,1943], p. 391). Enunciating the logical conclusions such doctrines result in, Hughes shows that the new sciences of the sixteenth century "seriously challenged" the distinction between human reason and

animal reaction to sense impression" (p. 391). To conclude that the difference between cognition in animals and cognition in humans was one of degree rather than of kind (Theodore Spencer, Shakespeare and the Nature of Man [New York: Collier Books, 174 rpt. 1942 edn.], pp. 32-3) "often helped to confirm the habit of looking for animal characteristics in human behavior and of making practical morality consist in their control" (Hughes, p. 392). Spenser's use of the lions, within such a context of debate, adroitly manages to avoid the heresy even as it suggests the similitude.

[76]Dedication to Fowre Hymnes in Smith and de Selincourt, p. 586. R. M. Lumiansky mentions that Chaucer also made retractions of his devotion to the God of Love ("Chaucer's Parlement of Foules: A Philosophical Interpretation," RES 24 [1948], p. 85, n. 1). Chas. O. McDonald's references to the Parlement are evidence that Chaucer's "perplexity" about Love's "myrakles and his crewel yre" (PF, l. 11) is likely Spenser's starting point, not only for the Amoretti and Fowre Hymnes, but for a good bit of the rest of his poetry too (see "An Interpretation of Chaucer's Parlement of Foules," Speculum 30 [1955], pp. 445ff). That the Parlement presents Love as "a masculine tyrant, a lord and sire arbitrary and prone to cruel anger" is also the opinion of Bertrand H. Bronson ("The Parlement of Foules Revisted," ELH 15 (1948), p. 249. These remarks are also significant when related to the cruel Cupid of FQ III.xii.

[77]The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (London: Methuen, 1956), pp. 101-02.

[78]Louis Martz's analysis of the sequence ("The Amoretti: 'Most Goodly Temperature'," in The Prince of Poets: Essays on Edmund Spenser, John R. Elliott, Jr., ed. New York: [New York University Press, 1968], 120-38), amiably restores the eighteen exiles by emphasizing the highly sophisticated relationship between the lover and his mistress, a relationship in which the Petrarchan commonplaces are intended and understood playfully.

[79]Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, A. C. Hamilton, ed. (London & New York: Longman, 1977), VI.viii.1-2. All references to TFQ in this chapter are taken from this edition.

[80]Louis L. Martz, p. 127.

[81]Martz, pp. 125-34.

[82]"The poet's task, as Spenser saw it, was not so much to shape through his art an ordered pattern from the flux of actuality, as to demonstrate a pre-ordained design; not to hold the mirror up to life, but to justify the ways of God to men" (Lever, p. 135). Cf. Milton's Invocation to the "Heav'nly Muse":

> What in me is dark
> Illumine, what is low raise and support;
> That to the highth of this great Argument
> I may assert Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men.
> (Paradise Lost, 22-26)

[83]The Mutability Cantos may be one of the exceptions, but even here there is no danger of confusing Spenser's attitudes or methods with Milton's.

[84]Lever, p. 124.

[85]The rape of Pastorella (FQ, VI.x) and the near-sacrifice of Serena (VI.viii), for instance, besides other numerous events in Book V. Serena is rescued by Calidore, who is likened, significantly, to a lion (VI.xi.49), thus paralleling Una's rescue in Book I. Each of the major characters of TFQ is likened to a lion at some point in the epic.

[86]Lever, pp. 114-15. No one seems yet to have noticed that his sympathetic patience with the lady's misgivings about surrender (Am. 65, 71) may be rooted in similar misgivings of his own: "The doubt which ye misdeeme, fayr love, is vaine,/ That fondly feare to loose your liberty,/ When loosing one, two liberties ye gayne,/ And make him bond that bondage earst did fly (65: 1-4), though Lever does comment on 37 that "the poet still regards himself as a free man with hopes of escaping from love's entanglements" (p. 99).

[87]Lever, p. 124.

[88]Cf. Martz, p. 132.

[89]See also McDonald, p. 444.

[90]Love as a wound is a persistent motif in Spenser; it is mentioned in Amoretti 6, and again in 65, where it is salved "with sweet peace." The wounds Britomart and Amoret suffer (FQ III.i.65; xii.19-21, 30-33) have been discussed by Roche (The Kindly Flame: A Study of the Third and Fourth Books of Spenser's Faerie Queene [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964], pp. 55, 67, 70-88; see esp. p. 70), A. Leigh Deneef ("Spenser's Amor Fuggitivo and the Transfixed Heart," ELH 46 [1979], 1-20, and Iris Tillman Hill ("Be Bold, Be Bold, Be Not Too Bold," ELH 38 [1971], 173-87, esp. 178-79), but little has been said about Arthur's wound (I.ix.7-16); see Douglas Brooks-Davies, 86.7-8.

[91]She herself is not conceived of as a beast, that is, despite Lever's reading (p. 102).

[92]Rosemond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 31.

[93]Tuve, p. 22.

[94]Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory, pp. 133-34.

[95]G. K. Hunter, "Spenser's Amoretti and the English Sonnet," in A Theatre for Spenserians: Papers of the International Spenser Colloquium, Fredericston, New Brunswick, 1969, Judith M. Kennedy and James A. Reither, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 143. See also Lever, pp. 93, 103, 132, 137.

[96]Tuve, p. 126.

[97]Lever, pp. 103, 137.

[98]Waldo McNeir, "An Apology for Spenser's Amoretti" in Essential Articles for the Study of Edmund Spenser, A. C. Hamilton, ed. (Hamden: Archon Books, 1972), p. 529.

[99]Robert Kellogg, "Thought's Astonishment and the Dark Conceits of Spenser's Amoretti" in The Prince of Poets: Essays on Edmund Spenser, John C. Elliott, ed. (New York and London: New York University Press and University of London Press, 1968), pp. 142, 147. See also Lever, who thinks of Spenser's conceits as rather

subordinate or decorative devices "of minor importance" (p. 130) because the poet depends more on simple analogy and simile than on metaphor (p. 132).

[100]Lever sees the sequence as moving from a "pinnacle of idealization" (p. 116), "the highest spiritual plane" (p. 117), at the beginning to "a growing measure of physical and spiritual ease" (p. 136) at the end. Hunter detects a reverse movement: "the image of the lady" undergoes a "gradual transformation" from a physical to a spiritual conception (p. 142). For Kellogg, the public cultural masks donned by the poet result in a synthesis of spirit and flesh, which, "[a]s the fictional poet's vision matures," renders the lady "both more physical and more spiritual" (p. 149).

[101]Martz, p. 120.

[102]Hunter, pp. 144, 132, 140.

[103]Hunter, pp. 131, 143.

[104]Lever, pp. 103, 137.

[105]Hunter, p. 128.

[106]See Lever, p. 114.

[107]See Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, Chapt. I, esp. pp. 13, 15, 20-1, 45, 49.

[108]Lever, p. 94.

[109]Tuve, p. 50.

[110]See Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Conventions, Meaning, and Expression (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 170.

Chapter III: THE HELPFUL LION

[1]I.iii.5-6. All citations from the poem in this chapter come from A. C. Hamilton's edition (London & New York: Longman, 1977).

[2]Brooks-Davies, 67, 20-6.

[3]Cf. Daphnaida, l. 160; The Faerie Queene, I.iii.9.3.

[4]Daphnaida, l. 159.

[5]Daph., 132-40; TFQ, I.iii.9.2.

[6]Daph., 127-40; TFQ, I.iii.9, 15, 21, 26.

[7]Daph., 166-67.

[8]De Ira, II, 31-6.

[9]Discorsi, IV.i.25.

[10]Satires, VII, 75-7.

[11]"Elegabalus," in Scriptores Historiae Augustae, 21, 25; as quoted in J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 64, n. 30.

[12]Epigrams, I: 44, 48, 51, 60, 104.

[13]Epigrams, IX.71.

[14]Epistolae, VI.34.

[15]Silvae, II.5.

[16]Historia Naturalis, VIII.17-20.

[17]De Beneficiis, II.19.1; tr. John Basore (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958). See also Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, "Androcles and the Lion," MP 11 (1922), 197-213.

[18]Noctes Atticae, V.14.

[19]De Natura Animalium, VII.48.

[20]Historia Naturalis, VIII.20.

[21]A partial list of these descendants includes Ademar de Chabannes' The Lion and the Shepherd, two old French fables, an anecdote in Jacques de Vitry's Exempla, and stories in the Romulus and Gesta Romanorum (see A. G. Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion: A Study in the Development of Medieval Narrative," PMLA 39 (1924), pp. 504, 512, and passim.

[22]Printed by William Caxton, 1493 (Sigs. Lii^{v} -Liv^{v}). See Fig. 21 for reproduction of Caxton's accompanying woodcut.

[23]L. J. Guénebault provides the comment that "quelques érudits pensent que le lion ne doit être vu . . . que comme simple attribut de la force du style de Saint Jérome," Dictionnaire Iconographique des Monuments de l'Antiquité Chrétienne et du Moyen Age (Paris: Ch. Parquet, 1845), p. 86, n. 3.

[24]Epistolae VI.5. The anecdote is quoted in full by Brodeur ("The Grateful Lion," p. 499).

[25]The Legend of Golfier is recorded in Joufré de Vigeois' Chronicle. See also Arthur C. L. Brown, "The Knight of the Lion," PMLA n.s. 13 (1905), p. 675 and n.; O. M. Johnston, "The Episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent in Chrétien de Troies," Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 32 (1901), p. 111; and Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," pp. 486, n. 5; 493, n. 23; 494.

[26]De Naturis Rerum, II.148; the relevant passage is quoted by Brodeur ("The Grateful Lion," p. 496, n. 29).

[27]Ll. 3341-3484, and passim thereafter. See also O. Johnston, "The Episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent in Chrétien de Troies," Zeitschrift fur franzosische Sprache und Litteratur begründet von G. Koerting und E. Koschwitz (Chemitz and Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Gronser, 1907), pp. 157-66; and A. C. L. Brown, "Ywain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance," chap. VII, in Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature 8 (1903), pp. 125-33.

[28]Morte d'Arthur, XIV.6.

[29]Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," pp. 488 ff, 492, and passim.

[30]Yvain, 11. 3480-4; and Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," p. 496. In Western art and architecture the lion is often used to represent vigilance, presumably because it recalls Christ in the tomb, an association found in medieval bestiaries (see T. H. White, The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts [New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1960 rpt. of 1954 edn., p. 8] and Florence McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries in University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 33 [1960], pp. 137-40 and pl. VI) and probably indebted to Horapollo, who claims that the lion "when sleeping keeps [its eyes] open" (The Hieroglyphics, I.19, tr. George Boas [New York: Pantheon, 1950], p. 70). The alert solicitude of Una's lion reflects this tradition. See also E. P. Evans, Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1896), pp. 82-94, esp. 86-88; and Adolphe N. Didron, Christian Iconography: The History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages I, tr. E. J. Millington (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1965 rpt. of 1851 edn.), p. 57.

[31]Ll. 3396-3401, as quoted in Brown, "The Knight of the Lion," p. 698, n. 3. The lion rescued by Perceval in the Morte d'Arthur also fawns (XIV.6).

[32]Aristotle, Poetics, tr. Leon Golden (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), XXIV.57-100.

[33]Thomas Cain (Praise in The Faerie Queene [Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978]) characterizes the lion's motive for worshipping Una as "erotic" (pp. 59, 70; see also Ch. 3, passim, esp. 63, 69), a reduction of terms that fails to maintain the necessary distinctions between eros and agape, caritas, and philia which are everywhere essential components of Spenser's poetic.

[34]Cf. K. Williams, "'Eterne in Mutabilitie': The Unified World of The Faerie Queene," That Soueraine Light: Essays in Honor of Edmund Spenser, 1552-1952, Wm. A. Mueller and Don C. Allen, eds. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1952), 41.

[35]Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," p. 509.

[36]Revelation's text, for instance, keeps references to the lion (5:5) distinct from references to the serpent (12:9; 20:2). The Book's visionary suspension of the more usual categories of perception makes inferring a direct confrontation between lion and serpent easily possible, and, given the fifteen centuries of commentary available to Spenser's day, even likely.

[37]Cf. Ps 22:21; 1 Peter 5:8; and 2 Tim 4:17-18. St. Augustine posits the opposition most clearly: ". . . who would not rush into the jaws of this lion if the lion of the tribe of Judah should not prevail. It is lion against lion . . ." (Sermo de Tempore, 174 [in Evans, p. 87]).

[38]See above, ch. II, p. 43. The only sovereigns who did not use it were the Plantagenets Edward III and Richard II, and the Lancastrian Henrys IV, V, and VI (see John E. Cussans, Handbook of Heraldry [Detroit: Gale Research Co., Book Tower, 1970 rpt. of London: Chatto and Windus, 1893 edition], pp. 219-29.

[39]See René Graziani, "Elizabeth at Isis Church," PMLA 79 (1964), pp. 384-5, and chapt. II, pp. 58ff, above. The power of these prophecies was far stronger than our own age is willing to conceive. Henry VIII, though 'haunted' throughout his life by the spectre of his elder brother Arthur, seems nevertheless to have followed their father's precedent in setting much store by Arthurian legends as talismans of popular approval of the Tudors. He"clearly realized the power of Arthurian association in the mind of the people, for on December 4, 1531, he had young Rhys ap Griffith, the grandson of Rhys ap Thomas, beheaded 'for calling himself FitzUrien in commemoration of his ancestor Urien, the companion of Arthur and Lancelot.' Henry 'imagined that by adopting the word "Fitz," the boy was laying a claim to the sovereignty of Britain'"[from George Borrow, Celtic Bards, Chiefs and Kings, ed. Wright,

1928, p. 192, as quoted by Charles B. Millican in Spenser and the Table Round (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 22].

[40]Sir Richard Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England (London: for Daniel Frere, 1643), p. 139. See also Arthur H. Nason, Heralds and Heraldry in Ben Jonson's Plays, Masques, and Entertainments (New York: Gordian Press, 1966 rpt. of 1907 edn.), pp. 124-5, and Millican, pp. 9-15, p. 11.

[41]Cussans, p. 229.

[42]See Cain, 68, 200 n. 22.

[43]S. T. Bindoff, Tudor England (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964 rpt. of 1950 edn.), pp. 44-6.

[44]Michael O'Connell, Mirror and Veil: The Historical Dimension of Spenser's Faerie Queene (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 5.

[45]Henry Tudor's triumph over Richard, for instance, and his marriage to Elizabeth of York, are salvific politically in that they rescued England from the bleak prospect of continuing in the civil havoc wrought by the Wars of the Roses. His son's break with Rome freed England from continental hegemony, and his long-lived grand-daughter's policies were similarly intended to maintain an England free of both internal dissension and external coercion. See also Cain, pp. 52, 59.

[46]See below, pp. 128-32ff.

[47]Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," p. 488ff.

[48]Brodeur, "The Grateful Lion," p. 498.

[49]In terms of imagery, the idea of martyrdom links Una's lion with the Evangelist St. Mark, who is universally represented in medieval iconography by the lion. Thematically, the link is fostered by Mark's gospel being called "the martyr gospel . . . designed for the strengthening and encouraging of Christians facing martyrdom" (D. E. Nineham, The Gospel of St. Mark

[Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976 rpt. of 1963 edn.], p. 33). A stylistic link with the primitive lordliness of Una's lion is also suggested by the fact that Mark's account, the first of the four, is the most laconic and "crude":

> "the writing all through is vulgar, colloquial, unpolished, and is characterized by a singular monotony of style. . . . The Greek of Mark is essentially a non-literary Greek [as opposed to the highly refined and literary style of John, for instance] full of roughness and semitisms--the kind of Greek which might be spoken by the lower classes at Rome"

(A. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel According to St. Mark, pp. xxxi-xxxii, as quoted in Nineham, p. 40 n.). Redcrosse's initial rural clownishness (see "Letter of the Authors," p. 738 in Hamilton), though fictional, is a human resonance of this primitive element, and provides a rationale for the subsequent trials which refine his character. The derivation of the roaring lion as the icon for St. Mark has a complex genesis. Because Mark's aim is "chiefly to give a description of the resurrection of Christ . . . his gospel is read at Easter" (E. Durand, Rationale Divinorum Officiarum, ch. vii. Rubrica de Evangelistes, tr. E. P. Evans, in Animal Symbolism, p. 85), which reflects the commentary of Origen (In Genesium, Hom. 17) and the remark in the Physiologus that the whelps of the lion lie lifeless "until their father, coming on the third day, breathes in their faces and makes them alive" (White, The Bestiary, p. 8). E. Durand, as quoted by Evans, understands that the lion "roars over them" (emphasis mine) as "God the Father by his immense power called to life His Son on the third day" (p. 85), which is, of course, a figure of the Resurrection. Valerianus records Eucherius' comparison of the roaring lion to Mark's announcement of the Good News to the sleeping masses of Rome: "dés le commencement de son Évangile il tonne à plene bouche proférant haut & clair la voix de celuy qui crie au desert" (Hieroglyphica [Lyon: I. de Montlyart, 1615], p. 4, ch. V). The figure is heavily indebted to John the Baptist's use of Isaiah 40:3 (cf. Mk 1:3; Mt 3:3; Lk 3:4; Jn 1:23), and is probably the association through which A. Didron identifies St. Mark's lion with Christ, who "like the lion of Mark, filled the deserts with the voice of his Gospel" (Christian Iconography, pp. 56-7). No doubt because the animal rubrics of the four Evangelists were also often given to the Latin Fathers (Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose,

and Gregory), which must have generated at least occasional iconographical confusion (Herbert Friedmann, A Bestiary for Saint Jerome: Animal Symbolism in European Religious Art [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980], p. 235), Justus Brier has concluded that "in Germany, Jerome's lion stemmed historically from the apocalyptic lion of St. Mark" ("Riemenschneider's St. Jerome and Other Works in Alabaster," Art Bulletin 33 [1951]: 226-34, p. 228, as quoted in Friedmann, p. 235, n. 139). The combination of Jerome's Biblical studies and his fiery temperament are probably responsible for this identification of Jerome's and Mark's lions, while the "little apocalypse" of Mark's gospel (ch. 13), which links it thematically to the apocalyptic Book of Daniel (in which lions figure prominently), also probably appealed to the Gothic imagination (Howard Clark Kee [Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977), p. 44] synopsizes an article by Lars Hartmann that interprets Mk 13 as "a coherent exposition of or meditation on the Book of Daniel," esp. Dan. 7; 11;12). An additional possibility behind the identification of the lion with Jerome via Mark is suggested by Irenaeus, who links the four creatures of the Apocalypse in the "fourfold manner of operation of the Eternal word" (R. H. Lightfoot, The Gospel Message of St. Mark [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950], p. 4). For Irenaeus the lion "symbolizes the royal office, the sovereign authority, and the effectual power of the Son of God" (Lightfoot, p. 4), and Lightfoot comments that though

> ancient writers . . . differ widely in their distribution of the [four apocalyptic animal] symbols among the four evangelists, . . . this diversity is seen at its greatest when they are dealing with St. Mark; in a list of four writers drawn up by Dr. Swete [H. A. Smith, The Gospel According to Mark, p. 29], to St. Mark and to St. Mark alone among the four evangelists is assigned every one of the four symbols; thus to St. Irenaeus St. Mark represents the eagle, to St. Augustine the man, in a Synopsis wrongly ascribed to St. Athanasius he is the calf, and in the distribution favoured by St. Jerome he is the lion (p. 4)

[50]Mary M. Banks, ed., An Alphabet of Tales; An English Fifteenth Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Etienne Besencon, EETS. G.S., Nos.

126-7 (London: 1904-5) II, 517, as quoted in Irving Ribner, "Una's Lion: A Folklore Analogue," Notes and Queries 196 (1951), 114-5.

[51]Helen White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. 23. Jerome and Una share certain iconographical features linked to the extensive portraiture of the scholar and to the ideals of the Christian Humanists, like Erasmus, for whom he was an unofficial patron saint (Friedmann, p. 114). The association of Jerome with lions in the visual arts spans several centuries, reaching its height (probably as the result of Giovanni Andrea's biography [Hieronymanus, ca. 1342-48; Friedmann, p. 22 and n. 5]) in the nearly two hundred years between 1352 and 1540 (Friedmann, p. 32), which embraces the era of Christian Humanism. The early portraits concentrate on his reputation as a scholar, and the lion frequently appears in these Erasmian "Study" portraits (Friedmann, pp. 29, 101ff, 107) in conjunction with the thorn motif of The Golden Legend (see Figs. 26-29). In the Florentine art of the early fifteenth century, the other major conception of Jerome--as a Penitent in the Wilderness--appears for the first time (Friedmann, p. 65; cf. Figs. 30-32), and, though the "Study" portraits continue, inspires a great number of pictures in which the thorn motif is eclipsed by other and more esoteric iconographical considerations. The lion usually remains, but in many cases it is joined by myriad other beasts (see Figs. 33-34), which probably reflect Jerome's casual (if bitter) remark to Eustochium that his exile brought him into daily companionship with scorpions and wild beasts (Friedmann, p. 23). This reference to his exile seems to have provided artists already passionately interested in delineating natural forms with the incentive to include as many other creatures as possible in their depictions of Jerome (Friedmann, p. 23). The lion itself is included in over half of all the saint's portraits, and of those which show him at three-quarter to full-length (i.e., which include ground space, where the lion would normally be) the lion is absent from only two (Friedmann, pp. 29, 49). Parallels between Una and Jerome center on the lion image and the wilderness topos, with Una's attempts to teach the wild creatures of her exile "her discipline of faith and veritie" (I.vi.31) appearing as a pale reflection of Jerome's great learning and his association with the iconographical beasts of the paintings. The common desire of both Una and Jerome to overcome the power of Original Sin is a stronger (because thematic) link between them. Jerome is given the lion as an emblem of

his "zealous and vehement nature" (Clara E. Clement, A Handbook of Christian Symbolism and Stories of the Saints as Illustrated in Art [Boston: Tichnor and Co., 1971 rpt. of 1886 edn.], p. 156), and his solitude (Emile Mâle, Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century (New York: Pantheon, 1949), pp. 191-2; Clement, p. 4). Una and her fierce companion in the wilderness share this element of solitude: "Yet she most faithfull Ladie, all this while/ Forsaken, wofull solitarie mayd/ Far from all peoples prease, as in exile,/ In wildernesse and wastfull deserts strayd" (I.iii.3). Una can be interpreted as a personification of the spiritual ideals defended by Jerome, and her trials, when seen in their relation to Redcrosse's sufferings, suggest an equivalent to the penitential aspect of Jerome's voluntary exile. Similarly, an anagogical interpretation of the betrothal of Redcrosse and Una emblematizes the ideal of sanctity to which Jerome successfully aspired. For John Ruskin, Jerome's lion (and, for that matter, all lion imagery in Western art) descends from the Nemean monster slain by Hercules (The Bible of Amiens [p. 119] and The Pleasures of England [p. 501] in The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn [London: G. Allen; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908], vol. 33) and he makes no specific mention of the Androcles material. Ruskin does interpret Jerome as a "tamer" rather than a "slayer" of lions, however (Bible of Amiens, chapt. III), and concludes that "the simplicity of his faith" and his "eager charity . . . so easily wounded into indignation" make the old scholar the perfect type of virtue for Christians "who have tamed in their own hearts what was rampant of the lower nature" (Bible of Amiens, pp. 105, 120). His remark lends greater significance to Spenser's use of the lion simile for Redcrosse as he undergoes the rigors of penance in Coelia's House (I.x.28). Ruskin's discussion of the differences between "vital" and "decorative" art distinguishes five types of mythic lions: that of Hercules, the Egyptian or Zodiacal lion, and the three Christian lions of Judah, St. Mark, and St. Jerome (The Pleasures of England, pp. 500-01). The Northern or Gothic lion which drew on most of these mythic conceptions inspired, he claims, "all European warriors" until the close of the twelfth century, when the warriors "grew selfish and cruel: . . . the symbols which at first meant heaven-sent victory, or the strength and presence of some Divine Spirit, became to them only the signs of their own pride or rage" (Pleasures of England, p. 499). This analysis succinctly restates the general themes of The Faerie Queene's first Book and epitomizes the struggles of its warrior-saint against the same sort of

spiritual degeneration Ruskin laments.

[52]The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Chas. G. Osgood, Frederick M. Padelford (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932), I, Warton, p. 207.v ff; Greenlaw, p. 396; all future references to the Variorum in this chapter are to volume I. See also Douglas Brooks-Davies, Spenser's Faerie Queene: A Critical Commentary on Books I and II (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), p. 36.5-9.

[53]Brooks-Davies suggests that Una and the lion signify justice, and that Valeriano's Hieroglyphics I.xxx (see Fig. 35) emblematizes this meaning (p. 37). Paul Alpers, The Poetry of The Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) sees the rescue as rather triggering a response to beauty (p. 310).

[54]Michael O'Connell, Mirror and Veil, p. 50.

[55]Alastair Fowler, Spenser and the Numbers of Time (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 7; Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele, eds., Books I and II of the Faerie Queene, The Mutability Cantos and Selections from the Minor Poetry (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1965), p. 16; O'Connell, 48-52.

[56]Frances Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 29-87; Brooks-Davies, p. 37.

[57]Kathleen Williams, "'Eterne'," p. 38.

[58]Kellogg and Steele, p. 23.

[59]O'Connell, p. 50; K. Williams, "'Eterne in Mutabilitie'," p. 41.

[60]Alpers, The Poetry of The Faerie Queene, p. 310.

[61]Alpers, pp. 307-15.

[62]Kellogg and Steele, p. 23. Rosemund Tuve dismisses the idea of the lion "as Nature" because such an interpretation "would have astonished any

Elizabethan" (Allegorical Imagery, p. 123). She prefers to identify the creature with Pride, a formulation that reflects Alain de Lille's characterization of evil spirits, "called 'lions' because of their pride" (Elucidatio in Cantica Canticorum, PL CCX, 80, as quoted in D. C. Allen, Imagery and Meaning, p. 40). Nevertheless, her notion that the vice "is providing the differentia which define the virtue" of Holiness as Humility is in essential agreement with the argument of this chapter (see Tuve, pp. 120-25). The conception of the lion as Pride, and therefore vicious, does little to explain, however, how the lion that rescues Una, though limited, is obviously good. One way out of the impasse is to see the lion as natural pride spontaneously transformed by the recognition of virtue into unself-conscious humility--a kind of baptism of desire.

[63]Brooks-Davies, p. 61.7-10; K. Williams, "'Eterne'," p. 41; H. S. V. Jones, Var., p. 436; Hough, Preface, p. 150; A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," rpt. of ELH 16 (1949) article in A. C. Hamilton's Essential Articles: Edmund Spenser (Hamden: Archon Books, 1972), p. 65. Theodor Gang's quarrel ("Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene: The Problem Reviewed," ELH 26 [1959]) with Woodhouse's distinction between the realms of nature and grace, and his alternative positing of two realms of natural law--those of the jurists and the theologians (p. 8)--is less helpful, ultimately, than his tentative conclusion that "the Lion stands for men who are guided by instinct, Satyrane [for] the fully rational man, and the saytrs [for] an intermediate stage" (p. 10).

[64]R. A. Horton, The Unity of The Faerie Queene (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1976), pp. 67-8.

[65]Donald S. Cheney, Spenser's Images of Nature: Wild Man and Shepherd in The Faerie Queene (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 49, 54.

[66]Kellogg and Steele, p. 25.

[67]C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1958 rpt. of 1936 edn.), p. 239; K. Williams, "'Eterne'," p. 41; Alpers, TPOTFQ, p. 29.

[68]William Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser: A Study (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 156; James Nohrnberg, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 218-22; Brooks-Davies, pp. 65.19 67.20-6; Cheney, pp. 55, 61, 65.

[69]Brooks-Davies, p. 67.20-6.

[70]Brooks-Davies, p. 61.

[71]Thomas Roche, The Kindly Flame: A Study of the Third and Fourth Books of Spenser's Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 66.

[72]In Yvain, for instance, where the hero's lion kills the wicked seneschal and terrorizes his cronies (ll. 4524-32).

[73]O'Connell, p. 50.

[74]Upton, Var., p. 208.xviii, and Winstanley, Var., p. 461. Other possible interpretations of the lion include Thomas Cromwell (Greenlaw, Var., p. 467), the Netherlands and Belgic lion destroyed by Sansloy or Spain (Frank Howard, Var., 453), the Counts of Toulouse, "who protected the True Church against that of Rome" (Thomas Keightley, Var., 455), and Archbishop Stephen Langton, "who was forced upon England by the pope against King John's wishes and then protected the Church against the exactions of both the king and the papal legate Pandulph" (John E. Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 225).

[75]O'Connell, p. 51.

[76]Brooks-Davies, p. 42.40-4; Cheyney, p. 45; Nohrnberg, p. 218.

[77]Josephine Waters Bennett, The Evolution of the Faerie Queene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 118; Kellogg and Steele, p. 24.

[78]Mother Mary Robert Falls, "Spenser's Kirkrapine

and the Elizabethans," SP 50 (1953), 457-75; esp. pp. 450, 461, 468.

[79]Nohrnberg, p. 218.

[80]Frank Kermode, "The Faerie Queene, I and V," Renaissance Essays: Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne (London: Collins, 1973 rpt. of 1971 Routledge & Kegan Paul edn.), 33-59; pp. 41-2.

[81]VI.xii.25; see Nohrnberg, p. 218, n. 293.

[82]Falls, p. 470.

[83]Cf. the Argument to I.iii: "Truth . . . Marres blind Deuotions mart" (Brooks-Davies, p. 38). See also Kellogg and Steele, p. 24.

[84]Nohrnberg, p. 213. See also Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. Thomas Roche (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 1083, 10.9.

[85]Kermode, pp. 46-8; O'Connell, p. 51.

[86]John Steadman, "Una and the Clergy: The Ass Symbol in The Faerie Queene," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 21 (1958), 134-7; p. 135; Padelford, Var., p. 346.

[87]Nohrnberg, p. 218; Cheney, p. 45.

[88]Horton, pp. 67, 146.

[89]Padelford, Var., p. 346; Cheney, p. 45.

[90]Kellogg and Steele, p. 24.

[91]Brooks-Davies, 61.

[92]Don Cameron Allen, "'Muiopotmos, or the Fate of the Butterfly'" in Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1960), p. 40; and Steele, p. 24.

[93]Cf. Psalm 21:22, "Save me from the mouth of the lion." I.vi.10 is quoted in full in chapt. II, n. 58 above.

[94]Brooks-Davies, p. 42.40-4.

[95]Alpers, p. 313.

[96]Brooks-Davies, p. 14; Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard B. Trask (Princeton University Press; 1973 Bollingen rpt. of 1953 edn.), pp. 170ff.

[97]Brooks-Davies, p. 14.

[98]Alpers, p. 312.

[99]Kathleen Williams, Spenser's World of Glass: A Reading of The Faerie Queene (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 15.

[100]Hankins, Source and Meaning, pp. 72, 125.

[101]Hankins, Source, p. 30.

[102]Kellogg and Steele, p. 25.

[103]Horton, p. 67.

[104]Horton, p. 146. Cf. Ficino's translation of Plato (in Hankins, Source and Meaning, p. 125):

> Next consider that figure of the soul's nature. In which, under the figure of a lion the vigour of the irascible nature; under the form of a man, reason. And see how expressly he depicts the life of the ambitious, unjust, or lustful man as a life of miserable servitude. Again, take the formula, by which you are able to interpret the crossing of souls into beasts, as meaning that they are said to migrate into the affections and habits of beasts rather than into the bodies of beasts as such.

(The Republic, IX, Argument, in Opera Omnia, tr.

Marsilio Ficino [1551], p. 642).

[105]Cf. Brooks-Davies, p. 42.

[106]Cheney, p. 45; cf. Padelford's equation of the lion with "insufficiency of faith grounded in undisciplined emotion rather than in doubt," Var., p. 436.

[107]O'Connell, p. 51.

[108]Hankins concludes that Spenser's technique is, like Tasso's, that of "internal allegory: the internal struggle of the mind is presented in objective form, and we must guess at the external action which accompanies it" (Source and Meaning, p. 28). See also K. Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, p. 20.

[109]The Cranach woodcuts (Figs. 37 and 38), like his Jerome portraits, are obviously derivative. Dürer compresses so much material from Rev 20:1-3 and 21 in his interpretation (Fig. 36) that the later artist can afford to separate the two chapters into two drawings without adding anything new or distinctively different. The Van der Noodt woodcut (Fig. 39) is a yet more-simplified version of Rev 21.

[110]Cf. Cheney, p. 45, and Var., pp. 396ff.

[111]O'Connell, p. 51.

[112]See Hamilton's comparison of Una's "strayed champion," Redcrosse (I.iii.8.9), with her "wild champion," the lion (III.iii.26.2) in his edition of The Faerie Queene.

[113]See Angus Fletcher, The Prophetic Moment: An Essay on Spenser (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), ch. 1, esp. pp. 27-9; and Nohrnberg, pp. 198-222.

[114]Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser, p. 157.

[115]Cf. Hellenore's sojourn with them in III.x.36, 44, 48.

[116]The rhetorical and emblematic strategy that places Sansjoy's challenge to Redcrosse (I.iv.38) immediately after the Pageant in which Wrath with his Lion is the last sin to appear (st. 33), and is followed by Satan (36), Duessa, and Lucifera (37), is further evidence of the firm conceptual control Spenser exercises over his images.

[117]Though A. C. Hamilton's contention that Una "serves royal power in the lion as Redcrosse serves Lucifera" is true in one allegorical sense (i.e., politically, as the Church in England was placed under royal prerogative), this interpretation, as stated, confounds the literal narrative in which the lion clearly serves Una (see The Structure of Allegory in The Faerie Queene [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961], p. 86).

[118]A. S. P. Woodhouse, p. 65 in Essential Articles.

[119]K. Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, p. 4.

[120]Williams, Glass, pp. 19-21.

[121]That is, Una's narrative in iii and vi frames Redcrosse's in iv and v, just as his in ii and vii frame hers in iii and vi; see Cheney, p. 49; and Tuve, Chapt. 5, esp. pp. 562-3, 368.

[122]Cheney, p. 44.

[123]Williams, Glass, pp. 25-30.

[124]These are so frequent as to be almost continuous: I.ii.7; iii.6-8, 15, 27, 44; vi.6-12, 32, 37; vii.20-8, 38-9, 51-2.

[125]See Cain, 58.

[126]See TFQ II.1.19; III.i.24; and Nohrnberg, pp. 198-222.

[127]See Brooks-Davies, p. 24.32-33, for the progress of Redcrosse as solar hero.

[128]J. R. Dummelow, A Commentary on the Holy Bible (New York: Macmillan, 1975 rpt. of 1908 edn.), p. 168.

[129]Dowden in Cory, Var., p. 206.

[130]Raymond E. Brown, S.S., Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, S.J., Roland F. Murphy, O. Carm., eds., The Jerome Biblical Commentary (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 159.

[131]E. P. Evans, Animal Symbolism, p. 91.

[132]Brooks-Davies, pp. 97, 104.

[133]Brooks-Davies, pp. 36, 97; A. Fowler, Spenser and the Numbers of Time, pp. 67-71ff.; Erwin Panofsky, "Albrecht Dürer and Classical Antiquity," in Meaning and the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 257-65.

[134]

> For, behold the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch. But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings (as quoted in Fowler, Spenser and the Numbers of Time, p. 67).

[135]Jan Van der Noodt, A Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings (London: Henry Bynnemann, 1569), sigs. $67^{r\&v}$. The passage also cites Rev 20 and Heb 10; cf. the Theatre's Sonet D.v.

[136]Panofsky, pp. 261-2.

[137]Pierre Bersuire [Berchorius], Dictionarium seu repertorium morale (Nuremberg, 1489), s.v. "Sol" (vol. III, fol. $cxciv^{1}$), as transl. by Fowler (p. 67, n. 2); the Latin is found in Panofsky (p. 262, n.).

[138]Cf. the woodcut in the Theatre for Worldlings, D. iii^{r} (Fig. 43); and see Fowler, p. 66, and John E.

Hankins, "Spenser and the Revelation of St. John," PMLA 60 (1945), 364-81, pp. 370ff.

[139]Fowler, pp. 69-70. Didron also mentions a miniature in the Bible of Charles-le Chauve which contains "the Lion and the Lamb . . . standing face to face, the book of the Apocalypse lying between them" (p. 57. n.).

[140]"Christ is a lion in fortitude, a lamb in innocence, a lion because he is invincible, a lamb because he is meek and gentle," St. Augustine, Sermo de Tempore, 174 (as quoted in Evans, p. 88). "Since the lamb, the personification of gentleness, was the accepted emblem of the Son of God, Art, which delights itself in such contrasts, completed the symbolism by the introduction of the lion, the type of strength and energy" (Didron, p. 57). Fig. 48 (The Apocalypse: Exhibit Catalogue, University of Maryland Art Gallery, ed. Kathryn Henkel [Washington, D.C.: Museum Press, Inc., 1973], p. 23, fig. 6) may be a not altogether successful eighth century attempt to combine these feline and ungulate characteristics.

[141]See Cain, pp. 83, 24-25, and n. 109.

[142]O'Connell, p. 63; Hankins, "Spenser and the Revelation of St. John," p. 371.

[143]O'Connell, p. 63.

[144]O'Connell, p. 65.

[145]Cf. Iliad, 18.549-57.

[146]TFQ, IV.iv.41, and the comparisons with Hercules surrendering his lion skin to Omphale: V.v.24; V.viii.2.

[147]Cf. the history lessons in II.x.4-69, 70-77; III.ii.22-49, 54-61.

[148]Fowler, p. 69.

[149]Horton, p. 159. Cf. Cheney: the poem's "meaning lies in the juxtaposition of references and not in

the references themselves" (p. 7). I should amend this to: the poem's meaning lies in both the juxtaposition of references and the references themselves. Had Una been rescued by a penguin, for instance, and then by a band of monkeys, and finally by an eskimo, the symbolic logic these characters suggest would obscure that conceptual consistency which Spenser's use of the lion image reveals Book I to have. This is not to mention the important aspects of political and religious significance which would disappear, thus impoverishing the poem's larger implications concerning western history, philosophy, and theology.

[150]Horton, p. 159.

[151]Horton, p. 144ff, 148, 155, 158.

[152]Horton, 133, 142-43.

[153]Horton, p. 166.

[154]James Russell Lowell, "Spenser" (1875) in The English Poets (London: Walter Scott, n.d.), p. 59.

[155]Lowell, p. 65.

[156]Horton, pp. 143-45ff, 153-4.

[157]What it contains, of course, is meaning, which the mind consciously attempts to grasp (see Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p. 365). The conceptual significance is most often understood simply and intuitively as part of the normal response to highly rhetorical poetic construction and relatively fixed imagery, but it may also (as here, one hopes) benefit from conscious point-by-point analysis. Like the laughter-provoking elements of a good joke, however, the more delicate nuances of the poem may evaporate or dissolve under too-insistent or too-reductive probing.

Chapter IV: THE EMBLEMATIC LION

[1]The Faerie Queene, I, proem 1. All citations from the poem in this chapter come from A. C. Hamilton's edition (London and New York: Longman, 1977).

[2]Janet Aptekar refers to the poem as "a widely expanded metaphysical lyric" (Icons of Justice: Iconography and Thematic Imagery in Book V of The Faerie Queene [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1964], p. 3), an apt and even felicitous description of the peculiar delicacy of Spenser's Faerie, and one which does not really preclude, as Mrs. Aptekar believes, the elements of both epic and romance. Donald Cheney also places the poem, never less than heroic, well within the lyric tradition (Spenser's Images of Nature: Wild Man and Shepherd in The Faerie Queene [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966], p. 98).

[3]"The Nemean lion which Hercules slew is one with the lion which Wrath rode upon" (Maurice Evans, Spenser's Anatomy of Heroism [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970], 127).

[4]See Rosemond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 121-25, 429; her figures 21, 22, and 24 are good examples of the medieval understanding of the lion as the "beast of Pride." Henry Peacham's Minerva Britanna (London: Wa. Dight, 1612 [Leeds: Scolar Press, 1966 rpt.]), meanwhile, provides a nearly contemporary rendering of "Cholera" (p. 128) which is conceivably a result of Spenser's sixteenth century departure from medieval renderings of Pride and the lion (see Fig. 49). There could hardly be a more open admission of the ambiguity of lion imagery, due to the absence of a strong narrative line, than the last couplet of his accompanying motto.

[5]Though critical commentary on Spenser's figure of Wrath alone is negligible, Lucifera's House and Pageant, taken as a unit, have provoked predictably diverse reactions. John Ruskin, for instance, praises the sequence

as "one of the most elaborate and noble pieces in the poem" (The Stones of Venice, as cited in the Variorum Spenser I.423; cf. Samuel Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962], 79), and Hallett Smith describes it as "the clearest allegory in the book" (Elizabethan Poetry [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952], 336), a comment which echoes Hazlitt, for whom the whole thing is "as plain as a pikestaff" (as quoted in Edmund Spenser: A Critical Anthology, ed. Paul Alpers [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969], 135). Joseph Spence, who thinks the "account of each of [the] particular vices admirable," nevertheless dismisses the sequence as "too complex a way of characterizing Pride in general" (Polymetes [1747], as quoted in Alpers' Anthology, p. 9). Yeats, in a typically modern display of high dudgeon and low blows, goes so far as to view the poet's "arbitrary images" as evidence of "unconscious hypocrisy" on the part of Spenser himself (Poems of Spenser [1902], as quoted in Alpers' Anthology, 174). Less volatile critics see the sequence as "merely pictorial" (Graham Hough, A Preface to The Faerie Queene [New York: W. W. Norton, 1962], p. 153), and, though notably vivid (Derek Traversi, "Revaluation: The Vision of Piers Plowman," Scrutiny 5 [1936], as quoted in Alpers' Anthology, 217), too static for the heroic context in which it appears (H. Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, p. 333). Paul Alpers finds the pageant "relatively uninteresting" (The Poetry of The Faerie Queene [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967], 233). For a few readers, however, Spenser's figures of vice "become as real as the . . . fiends" themselves (C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love [New York: Oxford University Press, 1958 rpt. of 1936 edn.], p. 86), and remain an "incontrovertible demonstration of something definite in the world of sense joined with something equally plausible in the world of conceptual experience" (Rosemary Freeman, The Faerie Queene: A Companion for Readers [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970], p. 94). One major point which emerges from this critical diversity is, I think, that Spenser's emblematic technique here, no matter how well-wrought, seems inferior (i.e., too 'pictorial') when compared with the subtle visionary effects of other moments and places in the epic. The "grotesque heraldry" of the pageant (Hough, 153) appears to current sensibilities as excessively literal and thus uninspired (Alpers, TPOTFQ, 233), with the utter conventionality of the images provoking boredom rather than prompting the reader to conceive an appropriate metaphysical horror of sin, which had traditionally been the purpose of such presentations in the middle ages. See Fig. 50 for a seventeenth century emblematic rendering of

Wrath which is remarkably faithful to Spenser's description.

[6]Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices," II, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 27 (1964), 42-72, p. 61.

[7]Horace, Epistles, I.1.38-40, tr. Jacob Fuchs (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977). See also Morton W. Bloomfield, "The Origin of the Concept of the Seven Cardinal Sins," Harvard Theological Review 34 (1941), 121-28, for important distinctions between the "Cardinal" Sins as they developed from Classical literature, and the Judaeo-Christian "Deadly" sins. The article is reprinted in Essays and Explorations: Studies in Ideas, Language, and Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[8]Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, tr. J. E. King, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), III.v.11.

[9]Tusc. Disp., III.v.11.

[10]Tusc. Disp., IV.ix.20-22. Anger, according to Cicero, is "the lust of punishing the man who is thought to have inflicted an undeserved injury," while rage "is anger springing up and suddenly showing itself." Hate is "inveterate anger," and wrath is "anger of greater bitterness conceived in the innermost heart and soul." Spenser's generalized emblem resists the situational preciseness of Cicero's distinctions and more clearly corresponds to Seneca's discussion (see below, pp. 137-8 and n. 11).

[11]Seneca, On Anger, I.xxi.1-4. in Moral Essays, tr. John W. Basore, Loeb Classical Library (London: Wm. Heinimann, 1928).

[12]It could almost be asserted that Spenser took literally Seneca's suggestion to "picture anger," for the Cordoban's descriptions include almost all the details Spenser offers in his three stanzas: disordered clothing, trembling limbs and body, "eyes aflame with fire," brandishing of weapons, wild gait, ravaging and ranting (II.xxxv.3-6). Elsewhere Seneca outlines the grimness of fury's destruction (III.i.3), its tendency to rashness and lunacy (I.xi.8; xii.1-6), its pallor (II.iii.2), the

swelling (I.xx.4) associated with its "delusive inflation" (I.xvii.4-5), and the wilfulness which is wrath's "chief characteristic" (I.ix.2). All of Wrath's dramatic props or accoutrements (the "burning brond," dagger, and rags), as well as his physical characteristics and diseases, are intended, in Spenser's version, to present to the mind images of those sensations of wrath which Seneca describes, so that they may be recognized and avoided rather than indulged. Spenser uses many of the same details in his descriptions of Sansfoy (I.ii.12,14), Sansjoy (I.iv.38-40, 42; I.v.4, 6-10), Redcrosse (I.i.13-14, 17 [where his wrath likens him to a lion], 19, 22, 24; I.ii.16-17, 19; I.iv.40, 43; I.v.1, 7-9, 12, 15), Furor (II.iv.3, 6-8, 11, 15; II.v.21-23 [where he, like Wrath, is armed with a burning brand], Phedon (II.iv. 29-33), Pyrochles' squire (II.iv.37-38, 46), Pyrochles himself (II.iv.42; v.2-6, 8-9, 14 16 [a very Senecan passage], and even Guyon (II.v.7, 10 where he, too, is likened to a lion, beset upon by the unicorn of Wrath (cf. The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, B. M. Cotton MS., Cleopatra C.vi, E. J. Dobson, ed., Early English Text Society [London, et al.: Oxford University Press, 1972], fol. 83.12-13; 85.5-20; 85^{v} .5-14 [pp. 147, 150-51]). While the study of Seneca in Tudor and Marian schools is, after 1461, merely highly probably, from 1582 onwards, it may be safely assumed (T. W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke [Urbana: University of Illinois, 1944], I.418-9, 422-3). Despite the absence of conclusive evidence that such study was part of the curriculum Spenser followed under Mulcaster (Baldwin, II.560, 589, 611), Prof. Baldwin nevertheless concedes that "some moral crumbs in the form of sententiae at least must have fallen from [Seneca's] table" (II.610; cf. II.303). They fell, of course, in the process of being cut from the leavened loaf of Erasmus (cf., for example, Baldwin, I.92, 208 n.20), the origin of so much sixteenth century pedagogy. Spenser's acquaintance with Seneca can thus be presumed, not only from Erasmian influence via Mulcaster, but also through the poet's later friendship with the learned Harvey, whose familiarity with and admiration for Seneca as moralist and playwright just prior to the scholar's association with Spenser, is assured by at least three facts: his possession of a 1565 edition of Erasmus' Parabolae, a heavily annotated college text which is signed and dated 1566 in Harvey's own hand (Virginia F. Stern, Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], 137 and Plate A), his marginal salute to Seneca's Oedipus (Stern, 174), and his recommendation of "sharp Seneca" in a lengthy marginal note (Smith, Marginalia, 117-8, as quoted in Baldwin, II.67).

[13]Marsilio Ficino, "Argument," to his translation of Plato's Republic, IX in Opera Omnia (1551), p. 642 (as translated by John Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 125).

[14]This is not the first step Redcrosse has taken on the treacherous ladder of rash anger, but the fourth in a series of seven. The first takes place when he rushes heedlessly and "full of fire and greedie hardiment" (I.i.14) into Error's den, in spite of Una's warnings (12-13), and leaps "as Lyon fierce" upon the dragon (17). Later, in canto ii, he leaves Una because he is "prickt with wrath and fierce disdaine" (8) at her supposed unchastity. His wilfulness and grief then lead him sufficiently astray (12) that he advances his spear against Sansfoy without apparent provocation (14), thus casting doubts in the reader's mind about any real necessity for his encounters with Sansfoy or his paynim brothers. When Sansfoy shears away part of his helmet, Redcrosse grows "wondrous wroth" (19), an attitude which is, Seneca counsels, an extreme liability in good warriors, who ought to fight with clear heads if they intend to fight well (On Anger, I.ix.4; I.xi.8-xiii.5; II.xiv.3-4, xv.1-2, xvii.2). After the brief skirmish halted by Lucifera the sixth incidence of his growing wrathfulness occurs during the fitful night before their formal encounter, when his sleep is tormented by "restless passion" (I.v.i). Finally, when the outcome of the battle appears to be going against him, Redcrosse is "movd with wrath" and screws up his courage for purely selfish motives of "shame and ladies sake" and vengeance (v.12). With his pre-dawn flight from the castle, however, he manages to escape the fate of the many others, "provokt with Wrath" (v.46) who have served Lucifera. His adventures at the Castle seem to be a foreshadowing of Guyon's encounters with Furor and Pyrochles, where correspondences between the Palmer's advice to the knight of temperance and the counsels of Seneca are even clearer. In fact, there is much evidence in this discussion of Wrath to suggest that Orgoglio himself is a version of Wrath as the effect of the knight's uncircumspect pride in his own valor, rather than as another manifestation of pride itself. (Cf. Seneca, I.xvii.4-5 (on the swelling associated with anger), I.xx.1-4 (on its windiness and weakness), and III.v.7 (where he attributes Wrath to "an excess of self-esteem"), with TFQ I.vii.9-14. However, cf. Tuve, AI, 106, 123-4, and Wm. Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser: A Study (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963), 135.

[15]Redcrosse fights here for his own glory, that is, rather than to complete the quest granted him by Gloriana. Spenser is indicating not only the knight's fall from his original high intent but also his poor judgment, and is hinting at his eventual tacit acceptance of the adulation of those courtiers he had earlier, and rightly, scorned (I.v.16).

[16]See TFQ, I.v.7-9, where the syntax is sufficiently ambiguous to make the reader wonder which knight is which, and compare especially v.10 and 15. In the fray between Redcrosse and Sansfoy, the two knights are similarly equated (I.ii.15-17), which indicates that Spenser does not altogether endorse the engagements.

[17]The injuries Redcrosse suffers as a result of the confrontation with Sansjoy appear to demonstrate, in part, the catalogue of havocs that follow in the wake of Wrath; cf. iv.33-35 with v.17, and with Seneca's conviction that wrath's greatest fault is that "it refuses to be ruled" (I.xix.1).

[18]The English Text of The Ancrene Riwle, ed. E. J. Dobson, fol. 83.9-13, 18 (pp. 147-8 ff). That the Riwle's author links wrath to the unicorn immediately after mentioning the "monie leuns of prude" is noteworthy insofar as it recalls Guyon's struggle against Pyrochles (II.v.10); cf. R. Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices," II, pp. 62-3.

[19]Dan Michel, Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience (ca. 1340), ed. Richard Morris, Early English Text Society (London: N. Teubner, 1866), p. 17.

[20]John Lydgate, The Assembly of Gods or The Accord of Reason and Sensuality in the Fear of Death, ed. Oscar Lovell Triggs, Early English Text Society (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tribner and Co., 1896), 89.621-22 (p. 19).

[21]John Gower, Mirour de l'Omme, in The Complete Works of John Gower, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 11. 847-52. The similarity between Pride's lion here, "q'aler en coy/ Ne volt pour nu chastiement,/ Ainz salt sur la menue gent," (849-51), and the lion "loth for to be led" in Spenser's pageant is significant in that Spenser has included and enlarged upon the initial feature assigned by Gower to the lion of Pride.

[22]1Ki 13:24; 2Ki 17:25; Job 10:16; Isa 5:29, 15:9, 30:6, 31:4, 38:13; Jer 2:15, 4:7, 5:6, 49:19, 50:17 and 44; Lam 3:10; Dan 6:24; Hos 5:14, 11:10, 13:7-8; Joel 1:6; Amos 3:1-8, 5:19; Zach 11:3.

[23]1Ki 21:35-6; Job 4:7-11; Ps 34:10; Jer 51:38; Nah 2:11-13; Zeph 3:3.

[24]Job 28:8; Isa 35:9; Ps 7:2, 10:9, 17:12, 22:13 and 21, 35:17, 37:4, 58:6, 91:13; Prov 28:15; SofS 4:8; Dan 6:7, 12, 21 and 27; Amos 3:12. There are, as well, three occurrences of this last category in the New Testament (Heb 11:33; 1Pet 5:8; 2Tim 4:17). The image is ubiquitous in scripture for, aside from the above instances of wrath, it also appears as the literal victim of several heroic slayings (Judg 14:5-10; 1Sam 17:34-8; 2Sam 23:20; 1Chron 11:22), as a figure for the nation of Israel both in (Gen 49:8-12; Numb 23:22; Deut 33:20-22; Ezek 19:1-9; Mic 5:8) and out (Jer 3:30, 12:8; Ezek 22:25; Zeph 3:3) of God's favor, as a motif in sacred artifacts and architecture (1Ki 7:29, 10:18-20), and as a visionary symbol (Ezek 1:10, 10:14, 41:19; Dan 7:4; Rev 4:7, 5:5, 9:8, 9:17, 10:3, 13:2). These citations do not include its eleven other appearances in a variety of less easily categorized contexts (Isa 11:6-7, 65:25; Job 38:39; Ps 104:21; Prov 20:2 and 12, 22:13, 27:13, 30:29-31; Eccles 9:4; Ezek 32:2).

[25]Judg 14:18; 2Sam 1:23, 17:10; 1Chr 12:8; Pro 28:1.

[26]"A Letter of the Authors," in Hamilton, p. 738.

[27]This reluctance to be led is somewhat amended and shown to more purpose in the admirable cowardice which causes him and his Dwarf to flee the Castle (I.v.52-3).

[28]In light of the care Spenser takes with the delineation of the vices, and the pattern of lion imagery which links Redcrosse so intimately with Pride and Wrath, it is difficult to agree with Graham Hough's assertion that the sins "enter into [no] significant relation with Redcrosse, and . . . are in no way central to the action as the House of Holiness is" (Preface, 153). The quiet effectiveness of Coelia's house is profoundly influenced by the presentation of the pageant.

[29]Cf. Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics, tr. Martin

Oswald (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1962), IV.1123a. 34.8-1125a.35; and Seneca, On Anger, I.xx.3, where he distinguishes between the lofty (sublimem) and the haughty (superbum) soul. See also K. Williams, "'Eterne'," p. 14.

[30]Seneca, On Anger, II.xii.6.

[31]See Morton W. Bloomfield, "Some Reflections on the Medieval Idea of Perfection" in Essays and Explorations, 29-55.

[32]It is this understanding of holiness as radical humility which prompts Miss Tuve to insist that the lion represents pride alone (Allegorical Imagery), 119-25), though such an exclusive definition tends to ignore the fact that Spenser has explicitly associated the beast with wrath and violence as well.

[33]Tuve, AI, 107.

[34]Cf. Ayenbite of Inwyt, where the throat of the lion of Pride is cruelty "that will devour all" (p. 15).

[35]Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Parson's Tale" in The Canterbury Tales, ed. John H. Fisher (New York, et al.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), X.401. The Parson's comparison of ire and fire as destructive agents (X.546-9) finds an echo in William Dunbar's figure of Pride, who leads the Seven Sins in a frenzied dance through "skaldand fyre" ("Off Februar the fyftene nycht" in Poems, ed. Jas. Kinsley [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], p. 50, 11. 16-23); both conceptions are implicit in the "burning brond" of Spenser's Wrath.

[36]"The Parson's Tale," X.401.

[37]Rosemond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, pp. 89, 91, 96-7 ff.

[38]Cf. Angus Fletcher, The Prophetic Moment (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 62.

[39]See above, ch. II, pp. 68-9, and The New Century Classical Handbook, ed. Catherine Avery (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), 540.

[40]The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, ed. Sir Paul Harvey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969 rpt. of 1937 edn.), p. 202. Some accounts indicate that he killed Megara as well, and others that he did so because his despondency at having to serve the inferior Eurystheus brought on the fit of madness. Hera is usually presumed to be responsible, however, whether directly or indirectly. His name, in fact, (Herakles--the glory of Hera) was given him by Delphic priestesses "because he would obtain glory as a result of Hera's enmity" (Avery, p. 541). Both Euripides (The Madness of Herakles) and Seneca (Hercules Furens) produced dramatic interpretations of the story, and Horapollo writes of the Egyptians that their way of depicting "unmeasurable anger" is to "draw a lion tearing its cubs to pieces," explaining that the lion image is used to represent anger, and that the tearing of the cubs is symbolic of the 'fact' that "their bones when struck emit fire" (The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, tr. George Boas [New York: Pantheon Books, 1950], p. 92). That the description seems to be far more closely related to the leonine fury of Hercules is evident in Valeriano, who repeats the ancient hieroglyph with the lion turning on its own cubs, and explicitly refers to Hercules, "qui le fit tellement insensu qu'il ne tua pas les enfans de son hoste, mais traicta . . . cruellement les siens propre" (Les Hieroglyphiques, tr. I. de Montlyart [Lyons: Paul Frellon, 1615], ch. 9). An additional point of interest in Valeriano's commentary is the claim that the stories of Hercules were originally Egyptian, and only later taken over by the Greeks, who added the elements of his madness and slaughter (ch. 24).

[41]Edward Tripp, The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology (New York: New American Library, 1970 rpt. of Crowells Handbook), p. 289.

[42]Hesiod, The Shield of Herakles, tr. Richmond Lattimore (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978 rpt. of 1959 edn.), p. 215.

[43]The glaring of a lion's eyes is reflected, too, in Spenser's Wrath, whose "eyes did hurle forth sparkles fiery red" (I.iv.33), and is probably based on Horapollo's characterization of the lion's spiritedness, part of which is expressed through its "fiery eyes" (Boas, p. 70). Valeriano also mentions the power of the lion's eyes to inspire terror, though he distinguishes the effect from the beast's intentions: "Or tel est la naturel du Lion,

qu'encore qu'il ne medite rien de mauvais ou de cruel, il epouvante neantmoins ceux qui le regardent telle est la force de ces yeux telle sa majesté" (ch. 5).

[44]This idea of foreshadowing is implicit in Valeriano's comment that to hear soothsayers and auguners speak of a lion appearing indicates the coming of war, and inevitably, of tyranny: "Voir des fiers Lions les images,/ Sont d'horribles guerres presages" (ch. 17). He elsewhere records similar comments made by Sts. Ambrose and Basil (ch. 6).

[45]Tripp, 527. See Euripedes, The Suppliant Women, tr. Frank Jones (11. 131-46) and The Phoenician Women, tr. Elizabeth Wyckoff (11. 409-23) in The Complete Greek Tragedies, 4-5, David Grene and Richard Lattimore, eds., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958). Tydaeus is said to carry a lion pelt on his shield (The Phoenician Women, 11. 119-21), but no mention is made that Polyneices bears a boar; Parthenopaeus, one of his six lieutenants, does, however (11. 1106-9; cf. Figs. 56-57). Gower has Ire mounted "fierement sur un sengler" in his pageant of sins (Mirour de l'Omme, 878-9) and Ripa emblematizes "Strength" as a woman with a lion (?) skin wrapped around her midriff standing beside a discarded shield on which a lion and boar are depicted in combat (see Fig. 58). In the rear, Samson wrestles with the lion of Timnah. Ripa's commentary, translated and commented upon by Maser, draws on Valeriano (ch. 2) who "uses the lion fighting the boar as a symbol for the strength of spirit, and points out that the lion, . . . fights with thought, while the boar is too precipitate and heedless in battle" (Edward Maser, Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Cesare Ripa's Iconologia [New York: Valor Publications, 1971 Dover rpt.], 167).

[46]Andrea Alciati, Emblemata cum Commentariis (Padua: Peter Paul Tozzi, 1621), emblem 126, p. 541; in Garland Press (New York and London) 1976 facs. rpt.

[47]Geffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes (Leiden: Francis Raphelengius, 1586), p. 119; in facsimile rpt., ed. Henry Green (London: Lovell Reeve and Co., 1866).

[48]Harvey, p. 201.

[49]Harvey, 201.

[50]Valeriano, ch. 9. Samson's erratic fury furnishes an Old Testament parallel to these Herculean rages.

[51]There are also somewhat congested familial links between Hercules and Dionysus: they are half-brothers because both are sons of Zeus, while Dionysus, as the father of Deianira, Hercules' wife, is also the hero's father-in-law (Tripp, 208).

[52]Avery, 408; Walter F. Otto, Dionysus: Myth and Cult, tr. Robert B. Palmer (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1965), 110-11.

[53]Though Apollodorus (The Library, tr. James G. Frazer, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967], III.4.2-5.3 and passim) is credited by Tripp as having written the "most extended single account of Dionyus' adventures" (211), Nonnus, a fourth century A.D. Greek, also preserves them in his Dionysiaca (tr. W. H. D. Rouse, Loeb Classical Library. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1940), a "Greek epic in forty-eight books" on the god's adventures, which assembled "all the legends relating to the god" and "especially dealt with his expedition against the Indians" (Harvey, 288).

[54]Maenads, the god's votaries, were said to suckle young lions (Nonnus, Dionysiaca, XXIV.132) and subsequently to tear them and other beasts apart with bare hands (Otto, 108-9). They also dressed in the skins of lions and other predatory felines, as well as in those of deer and cows (Tripp, 206; see Figs. 63-68). In addition, the epithet omestes ("eater of raw flesh") is applied to Dionysus and his followers, though before the rise of his cult it had been restricted to descriptions of lions (Otto, 109) and to Cerberus and Echidna (mother of the Nemean lion and the partially leonine Theban sphinx [Otto, 113]). The brutal cruelty of his mysteries is also responsible for his being called "the bestial and wild one" (Otto, 110) and "the god of insane wildness" (Heraclitus, in Otto, 116). Martin Nilsson furnishes a detailed account of the violent rituals and mentions that the carrying of torches is an important part of them (The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age [Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957], pp. 17, 57); cf. the "burning brond" Wrath carries in Spenser's pageant to suggest his sheer destructiveness.

[55]Otto, 111.

[56]Avery, 405.

[57]"To Dionysus," The Homeric Hymns, 7, tr. Apostolos N. Athanassakis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1976), 11. 44-5, 47, 50-1. See also Tripp, 205.

[58]Otto, p. 111.

[59]Tripp, 207, 382-3; Avery, 720-1; Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV.35-43, 389-414; though Ovid makes use of most of the materials so far cited his versions of the stories nowhere refer to lions.

[60]Harvey, 147; Tripp, 207, 499.

[61]Tripp, 29-30, 204.

[62]Euripides, The Bacchae, in Greek Tragedies III, tr. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 11. 1106-45, 1173, 1195-6, 1212-15.

[63]Evidently he is purified of his madness by Cybele, the Great Mother, whose rites eventually begin to blend with his own (see The Bacchae, 11. 76-8; Nilsson, 47, 49; Otto, 92, 111; and Tripp, 205).

[64]Una's lion seems to represent a medial (if primitive) anger for it is careless of itself in the gesture of self-sacrifice against Sansloy, but this carelessness is a very different conception from the absence of self-control or carelessness implied in Wrath and his lion.

[65]See also the Dedication to the Fowre Hymnes: " . . . I resolued at least to amend, and by way of retractation to reforme" the two hymns in honor of Love and Beauty, "finding that the same too much pleased" the young, who, "being too vehemently caried with that kind of affection, do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then hony to their honest delight" (in Spenser: Poetical Works, J. C. Smith, E. de Selincourt, eds. [London, et al.: Oxford University Press, 1975 rpt. of 1912 edn.], p. 586).

[66]Anders Nygren, Agape and Eros, tr. Philip S. Watson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982 rpt. of 1953 edn.), pp. 51, 75-81, and passim.

[67]Stephen A. Barney, Allegories of History, Allegories of Love (Hamden: Archon Books, 1979), 251-2; Donald Cheney, Spenser's Images of Nature, 12, 122; Maurice Evans, Spenser's Anatomy of Heroism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 156, and "Platonic Allegory in The Faerie Queene," RES, n.s. 12 (1961), 137-43, p. 134; Theodor Gang, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene: The Problem Reviewed," ELH 26 (1959), 1-22, pp. 19-20; Ronald A. Horton, The Unity of The Faerie Queene (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 74-5, 110; C. S. Lewis, Allegory of Love (London, et al.: Oxford University Press, 1958 rpt. of 1936 edn.), 344; Wm. Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser: A Study (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963), 223; Thomas Roche, The Kindly Flame (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 117; Mark Rose, Heroic Love (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 113, 117, 120-21; Kathleen Williams, "Venus and Diana: Some Uses of Myth in The Faerie Queene," ELH 28 (1961), 101-120, and rptd. in Essential Articles for the Study of Edmund Spenser, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Hamden: Archon Books, 1972), 202-19, pp. 211-12.

[68]Barney, 232, 238; Cheney, 122; Evans, Anatomy, 160; G. Hough, Preface, 173-4; Lewis, Allegory of Love, 340; Nelson, 235; Roche, Kindly Flame, 74, 83; Rose, 121-3; Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, 168-70; Harry Berger, Jr., "The Faerie Queene, Book III: A General Description," Criticism 11 (1969), 234-61 (rptd. in Essential Articles, 395-424, p. 398); Thomas H. Cain, Praise in The Faerie Queene (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 167; A. C. Hamilton, The Structure of Allegory in The Faerie Queene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 145, 154; A. Kent Hieatt, "Scudamour's Practice of Maistrye upon Amoret," PMLA 77 (1962), 509-10 (rptd. in Essential Articles, 199-201); James Nohrnberg, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 475; Rose, 121-3.

[69]Ovid, Ars Amatoria, I.338ff; Roche, Kindly Flame, 81; Nohrnberg, 476-66; Williams, "Venus and Diana," 214.

[70]Alpers, The Poetry of The Faerie Queene, 18; Barney, 229, 232-3, 237; Peter Bayley, Edmund Spenser, Prince of Poets (London: Hutchinson University Library,

1971), 70, 130, 165; Berger, "General Description," 418-19, 422, 424; Cain, 103, 167; Cheney, 12, 118, 124; Evans, Anatomy, 156, 161-2, 164; Alastair Fowler, Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 48, 51, 58, and "Emanations of Glory: Neoplatonic Order in Spenser's Faerie Queene" in A Theatre for Spenserians, Judith M. Kennedy and James A. Reither (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 69; Mary Adelaide Grellner, S. C. L., "Britomart's Quest for Maturity," SEL 8 (1968), 35-43, p. 42; Edwin Greenlaw, "Britomart at the House of Busirane," SP 26 (1929), 117-30, pp. 129-30; Iris Tillman Hall, "Britomart and Be Bold, Be Not Too Bold," ELH 38 (1971), 173-87, p. 179; Lewis, Allegory of Love, 330, 340-1, and Spenser's Images of Life, A. Fowler, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 45; Nohrnberg, 471, 480, 483; Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery (Rome: Edizoni di Storia E Letteratura, 1964), 114, 120-21; Roche, Kindly Flame, 72, 83, 129; Rose, 126; Roger Sale, Reading Spenser: An Introduction to The Faerie Queene (Seattle: University of Washington, 1968), 145; Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry, 168, 170; Rosemond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 368; Kathleen Williams, Spenser's World of Glass (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 106, 108-9, and "Venus and Diana," 214.

[71]Alpers, 405; Nohrnberg, 479; Smith, 168-9.

[72]Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 368.

[73]Barney, 237-8.

[74]Cheney, 122, 124; Bayley, 147.

[75]"A Letter of the Authors," in Hamilton's edition of The Faerie Queene, 738.

[76]Barney, 242.

[77]Evans, Anatomy, 161; cf. Roche, Flame, 80; Barney, 228; Fowler, Triumphal Forms, 52. The key to distinguishing the subtle difference between the allegorical significance of Cupid and that of Busirane is to notice that Cupid sees Amoret as a conquest, while Busirane sees Amoret as a conquest.

[78]Roche, Flame, 76-77, 83; Alpers, Poetry of The Faerie Queene, 400; Nohrnberg, 475, 487; Hamilton, Structure, 154-55, 165; Nelson, 224, 230; Barney, 227, 232, 242-3, 255; Fowler, Forms, 52-3, 55-6; Janet Spens, Spenser's Faerie Queene (London: 1934), p. 105 (cf. Smith, 171, n. 101).

[79]While some commentators perceive Amoret as an incipient Wife of Bath in her apparent vulnerability to lust (Hamilton, 155, 159, 163; Barney, 132, 164, 237; Horton, 131; Evans, "Platonic Allegory," 136; Berger, "General Description," 424), others locate her difficulty in her fear of being lustful (Nelson, 249; Gang, 19-20; Nohrnberg, 480-3). The fact that she alone is capable of wearing Florimel's girdle would seem to refute any imputation of lust to her character (IV.v.19).

[80]In terms of Spenser's allegory, madness translates into theories of "psychic projection," with recourse to Spenser's phrase about "phantasies/ In wauering wemens wit" (III.xii.26) usually implicit in any claim that the masque, and indeed the entire House of Busirane, is evidence of this psychic projection of Amoret's personal fears (see A. Leigh Deneef, "Spenser's Amor Fuggitivo and the Transfixed Heart," ELH 46 (1979), 1-20, p. 15; Nohrnberg, 471, 475; Horton, 111, 131; Cain, 105; Barney, 227; Fowler, Forms, 51, 53; Bayley, 70; Rose, 117, 123-5; Nelson, 122-4; Berger, "Description," 423). Though Kathleen Williams argues that Amoret is personally responsible for her situation (Glass, 102, 105; "Venus and Diana," 214), most critics relieve Amoret of any culpability (Hieatt, 199-201; Alpers, 398; Hough, 175; Nelson, 231; Cain, 166; Cheney, 96).

[81]Rose, 110; Barney, 253; my position is thus contrary to that of Alpers, who holds that there is "no clear allegorical translation" of the episode (18).

[82]Hill, 184; Hough, 175; Alpers, 404; Nohrnberg, 475.

[83]Hough, 175.

[84]See Deneef, p. 13, on "reforming" Amoret.

[85]Roche, 75, 129; Nelson, 231; Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 51n.

[86]Hough, 174.

[87]Cheney, 122.

[88]"A Letter of the Authors." See Roche, 83; Alpers, 397-8; Evans, Anatomy, 156, 162-3, 165; Lewis, Allegory of Love, 339; Cheney, 49; Fowler, Forms, 52, 58.

[89]Barney, 231; Fowler, Forms, 54; the whole point of Britomart's woundings is to emphasize that the kind and degree of love she represents is invincible, not invulnerable; her wounds act to emphasize her heroism by reminding us (and her) of her imperfections.

[90]Alpers, 111.

[91]Cheney, 108.

[92]Rose, 121, 126; see also Nohrnberg, 480, 485-90; Hough, 175; Williams, Glass, 107.

[93]Hough, 176; Nohrnberg, 472; Nelson, 228; Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 368.

[94]Alpers, 399; Nohrnberg, 476, 480, 485, 490; Horton, 155; Nelson, 231, 234-5; Bayley, 130-31, 180; Barney, 231, 250, 252, 254; Fowler, Forms, 56-7, and Spenser and the Numbers of Time (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 154; Williams, "Venus and Diana," 215; Deneef, 5; Hough, 169, 172, 176; G. Wilson Knight, "The Spenserian Fluidity" in The Burning Oracle (London: 1939), 1-18, as quoted in Paul Alpers, Elizabethan Poetry: Modern Essays in Criticism (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 343; Michael O'Connell, Mirror and Veil (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 87; Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 164ff; Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 368.

[95]Folio 4b, no. 6, Harleian MS no. 2169 in Two Tudor Books of Arms, illus.; being Harleian MSS 2169 and 6163, ed. Robert Cooke, blasoned Jos. Foster (London[?]: DeWalden Library, 1904), p. 5. The date of this MS may be as early as 1562-1592, though 1593-1602 is suggested as slightly more likely (p. 311).

[96]Upton, Variorum III, 235; Angus Fletcher, The Prophetic Moment: An Essay on Spenser (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), chs. 2-4.

[97]The enchanted houses, the wondrous ceremonies within them, with their allegorical animals and symbolic woundings and healings, as well as the "perplexity of the hero, the vigil, and the storm" are prominent motifs in the Grail legends and Spenser alike (Edwin Greenlaw, "Britomart at the House of Busirane," 123-4; see also Nohrnberg, 483-4).

[98]Greenlaw, "House," 118-19.

[99]Greenlaw, 120.

[100]Greenlaw, 121.

[101]Greenlaw, 123-4n; Nohrnberg compares the episode to one in the Ywain (484).

[102]Greenlaw, 126.

[103]Greenlaw, 126-7.

[104]Greenlaw, 128.

[105]Deneef, 10; Cain, 124.

[106]Greenlaw, 129.

[107]Hough, Preface, 173.

[108]Greenlaw, 130; cf. The Faerie Queene IV.vi.22 as an apposite counter-example.

[109]Fletcher, Moment, 35; Barney, 227.

[110]See above, this chapter, pp. 165ff.

[111]Arthur F. Marotti, "Animal Symbolism in The Faerie Queene: Tradition and the Poetic Context," SEL, 1500-1900 5 (1965), 69-86, p. 75.

[112]A. Fowler, Numbers of Time, 154.

[113]H. Smith, 168.

[114]C. S. Lewis, Spenser's Images of Life, 22-23; Nohrnberg, 485.

[115]See Nohrnberg, 472, on Britomart's "Gorgonian shield" (III.ix.22). The Gorgon was frequently used as a symbol of vigilance and adorns both Athene's shield and the entrances to her temple on the Acropolis. See also Alpers, Poetry of The Faerie Queene, 16, 43.

[116]Cf. Hough, 153.

[117]The fact that Britomart's shield is identical to Brute's, founder of Troynouant (III.ix.46), the allegorical equivalent of London (III.ix.38, 44-6, 51; IV.xi.28), and that Redcrosse's arms mimic the municipal arms of London (II.1.27, 31, and see Fig. 74) further reinforces the analogous status of the two knights.

[118]A. C. Hamilton (Structure, 143) suggests that Britomart's predicament is a recasting of Redcrosse's solicitation by the false Una (I.i.49-54).

[119]Humphrey Tonkin, "Spenser's Garden of Adonis and Britomart's Quest," PMLA 88.1 (1973), 408-17.

[120]Hough, 176; Nohrnberg, 472, 475; Greenlaw, "House," 120; Hamilton, Structure, 158-9, and "Our new poet: Spenser, 'well of English undefyld'," in A Theatre for Spenserians, 108-9.

[121]Barney, 252.

[122]Mt. 5:43-6, 22:36-40; Mk 12:28-31; Lk 6:35-6, 10:25-8; Jn 12:34-5, 15:12-13. See Nygren, Eros and Agape, passim, for a thorough analysis of the historical background of these two motifs.

[123]Nygren, 91.

[124]Nygren, 157, 455, and esp. 503.

[125]Nygren, 175ff.

[126]However, cf. Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980, 178-9.

[127]Barney, 253.

[128]Nygren, 476-82.

[129]Nygren, 55, 289-348, passim.

[130]Because of his struggles against pride, wrath, concupiscence; see above, pp. 155ff.

[131]Bayley, 181. Bayley sees the greatest exemplar of the Christian ideal of selfless service in Arthur, "whose only function is to serve others" (181, emphasis his).

[132]Nygren, 452-8, 476-558.

[133]To this extent she corresponds to the demands made upon the human nature of Christ.

[134]He thus provides an emblematic approximation of Christ's divine nature.

[135]Barney, 253; Murrin, 164.

[136]Cf. Hieatt, "Maistrye," 199.

[137]Hough, 176; Hamilton, "'well of English'," 109, and Structure of Allegory, 158-9, 166-7.

[138]Nygren, 235-40, 659-62.

[139]Nygren, 160-65.

[140]Nygren, 166-81.

[141]Nygren, 289-316.

[142]Nygren, 186-99, 563, 668-80.

[143]Cf. his recantation in the Fowre Hymnes (see above, this chapter, n. 62) with Sr. Mary Grellner's estimate of the House of Busirane as a "pictorial delineation of the philosophy of false love" (p. 35).

[144]Nygren, 644-5, 652-8.

[145]"Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Cf. Tuve on the absence of self-regard as "the root of true friends' behavior" (Allegorical Imagery, 128).

[146]Lauren J. Mills, One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1937), is probably the most thorough study available of the motif.

[147]And recalls Seneca's dicta, too; see above, this chapter, pp. 153-4ff.

[148]Cf. Hill, 179, and see Fig. 75, particularly the motto.

[149]Horton, 63.

[150]"In the first book Spenser uses up so much of the structure of Biblical typology that he could hardly have written a second book in the area of revelation" (Northrop Frye, "The Structure of Imagery in The Faerie Queene" in Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology [(New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963 rpt. of article first published in University of Toronto Quarterly 30 (1961)], p. 70.

[151]Hill, for instance, sees her as a "sacred Hunter" (184, 186-87), though I suspect "quester" is a more accurate term, in the long run, than hunter." However, cf. V.vii.30, where Britomart, as a lion in combat with the tiger, Radigund, insists "that she to hunt the beast [i.e., Artegall] first tooke in hond."

[152]See Tuve for definitions of chastity which include holiness (Allegorical Imagery, 368 and n. 23, 369).

[153]Hamilton, Structure, 186.

[154]Cf. Cain, 113. This idea of the two cities is, of course, St. Augustine's, and is fully treated in the Civitate Dei, where he asserts the opposition between the two cities (of Man and of God) because each issues from two contrary loves, one selfish, one unselfish (XIV.28). The major intellectual contribution of Augustine was, however, the caritas synthesis (cf. Nygren, 449-562, esp. 450), and it is likely that Spenser understood the idea of civic concord as a secular analogue to Augustine's spiritual idea of caritas in the heavenly Jerusalem. According to this understanding, the two cities could be seen as united in a hierarchy of inferior and superior obediences to Christian love, an intellectual compromise that for Spenser, was infinitely preferable to the alternative of falling back into the incessant warfare from which England had lately emerged under Henry Tudor of Richmond, and which had ominously threatened to return under the reign of his granddaughter, Mary Tudor, during Spenser's own childhood. (Cf. De Doctrina, I.iv.4, and Nygren, 504-7)

[155]So far as Kathleen Williams is concerned, Book IV has "a strong conceptual spine" (Glass, 85), and Maurice Evans concurs when he states that behind the "colour and lyricism is a hard core of ideas expressed in allegorical form" ("Platonic Allegory," 143). Roger Sale, too, believes that despite Book IV's being "chock full of blemishes and flaws," its "design is sound, and even bold" (163), while Alastair Fowler goes so far as to claim that "in spite of critical opinion to the contrary, the fourth is in many ways the most unified of all the [poem's] books (Numbers, 156).

[156]Cf. Evans, Anatomy, 183-4. A key to Spenser's examination of love--whether that love be familial, friendly, or erotic--is his firm retention of the notion of "good order" in the love as a prerequisite for distinguishing true loves from their inferior imitations. A corollary to this key is that the object of the love must be a worthy one. Spenser is almost certainly indebted to the theological convictions of St. Augustine for both key and corollary (cf. Nygren, 504-9, 653-5, and n. 154), with the simplest, most obvious, and most far-reaching evidence for this assumption being the true and false Florimells, and the motives which prompt the various characters either to pursue her or to vie for her in the tourneys (see FQ III.i.15-18; iv.47-61; v.1-12; vii.1-27; viii.20-43; IV.v.5-6; xi.1-4; xii.5.-35; and V.iii, which last

furnishes the happy conclusion to her story).

[157]The Kindly Flame, 131; cf. Bayley, 151, and Charles G. Smith (Spenser's Theory of Friendship [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1935]), who sees Spenser's idea of Concord corresponding to Hooker's conception of law as "the bond that binds the whole creation to God" (Ecclesiastical Polity, I, as quoted in Smith, 22), a legal understanding easily assimilable to the caritas theme.

[158]Hough, for instance, complains of Book IV's formal deficiencies, and concludes that since Cambell and Triamond "who give their names to the whole are the heroes only of an episode that is not central and has no general consequences . . . [any] attempt to find an orderly narrative structure seems more completely doomed to failure here than in any other part of The Faerie Queene" (180). Barney suspects that the story of Telamond "too obviously spring[s] from an attempt . . . to portray agape and philia as well as eros, and [thus does] not possess the vitality of the rest of the books of love" (252). Sale attributes the metaphysical aridity of Spenser's treatment of friendship to the poet's unconcealed "lack of interest in the proceedings" (162). Bayley likewise concludes that, although IV is (with III) one of the most "populous," "imaginative," "symbolic," "human," and "'realistic'," of the poem's books (132), it is also "the thinnest in texture," with its matter "sometimes repetitious, sometimes thinly spread" (135). Kathleen Williams also notes the episode's "rather static quality" but defends that quality as "part of [the episode's] effectiveness for its particular purpose," which is to provide "a formal explanation of the nature of friendship, conducted through the familiar topics of love and war," where "the nature of concord and discord is stated rather than revealed" (Glass, 123). Thomas Roche, sympathetic to these analyses insofar as he acknowledges that there is "little material continuity" in the narrative (vii), nevertheless qualifies the estimate of formless disorder by calling attention to the diptych-like thematic inter-relatedness of III and IV (200-4), and to "the decorum that transcends clarity of narrative" (195). Attending to this decorum is the best means of ascertaining that the poet's conception of friendship is unequivocally associated with caritas.

[159]Kate M. Warren, in The Faerie Queene of Edmund Spenser (London: 1897-1900, ix-xxviii), as condensed in The Variorum Spenser, IV, p. 282; all further mention of

this volume of the Variorum in the present chapter will appear as Var. IV. Cf. Chas. Smith, vii.

[160]Warren, Var., IV, 282.

[161]Warren, Var., IV, 282. For Seabury Blair the tale is merely a "strange, digressive . . . intrusion" in Book IV ("The Succession of Lives in Spenser's Three Sons of Agape," MLQ 2 [1941], 114), while Edgar Wind interprets "the 'unfolding' of Agape into her three sons" as "no more than a didactic exercise . . . , a schoolroom lesson in mystical 'explication'" (Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance [New York: W. W. Norton, 1968 rpt. of 1958 edn.], 210). Northrop Frye yawns away the account of Agape and her offspring as "extremely tedious" ("Structure of Imagery," p. 84 in Fables of Identity) and summarily dismisses Agape as "so minor and dimwitted a character that one wonders whether Spenser knew the connotations of the word" (76).

[162]Warren, Var., IV, 283; this concession figures largely in Roche's defense of the unity of Books III and IV (see The Kindly Flame, 15-31, esp. 23-7, and 163-7).

[163]Miss Warren assumes that the presence of Telamond rather than Triamond in the subtitle is a printer's error that remained uncorrected until Upton's (Church's?) 1758 edn. (Var. IV, 282), but Roche ably defends the distinct names as part of Spenser's intention (16-17), as well as indicating that Jortin's 1734 edn. is the first to make the "sensible emendation" of Triamond for Telamond (16).

[164]See the concluding chapter of The Kindly Flame, esp. p. 200.

[165]Roche notes the possibility of extending this continuum back to Book II.iii, where Braggadochio and Belphoebe are introduced, and forward to VI.viii, where Timias last appears (199). The justifications for doing so are manifest, but would require far more space and time than are appropriate here to work out in detail.

[166]Nichomachean Ethics, VIII.1, 4, 9; IX.6; Cf. Mills, 6-7, and Erskine, 835.

[167]One bit of leonine evidence that helps to assert the primacy of Artegall, for instance (see IV.iv.41), is

that Spenser shows him rescuing Marinell on the wedding tourney's third day, despite the fact that Marinell "great deeds of armes did shew;/ And through the thickest [press of battle] like a Lyon flew" (V.iii.8).

[168]Artegall, as the Knight of Justice, is Spenser's instrument for vindicating Florimell (V.iii.24-7), restoring Guyon's horse (32-5), and condemning Braggadochio (35-9). The appearance of Guyon at this late date in the poem not only ties up the (apparently) loose end of Brigadore, but also links Book II thematically with V in that temperance as a classical virtue rightly finds its justification and reward at the hands of public justice, a virtue well within the realm of nature (cf. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," 59-63 and passim in Essential Articles. On the allegory of the true and false Florimells, see Chas. Smith, ch. 4.

[169]"A Letter of the Authors" in Hamilton's edition of The Faerie Queene, p. 738. Roche discusses the problems caused by the disparity between the "Accidents" and "Intendments" of Spenser's Letter (as articulations of the poet's narrative design) and his actual practice in the poem (196-8). He suggests that the "Accidents" are most easily understood "as attributes of the essence [Spenser] is trying to adumbrate" (198).

[170]The (only apparently) arbitrary insertion of the four "newcomers" into the narrative concerns of the more familiar characters is useful, for it indicates yet one more instance of thematic similarity between the different virtuous characters even as it reemphasizes the distinct contrast between vicious and virtuous "Accidents."

[171]Cf. its rigorous conformity with Aristotle's doctrines of friendship (see Nichomachean Ethics, VIII-IX, Mills, 227ff., and below n. 176.

[172]David R. Pichaske ("The Faerie Queene IV.ii and iii: Spenser on the Genesis of Friendship," SEL 17 [1977], 81-93) sees the two cantos rather as a preface (83) than an integrating crux.

[173]Canto iii being, by Spenser's own admission (V.iii.1), one of the few sunny intervals in the otherwise fierce and sombre gloom of Book V.

[174]See IV.iii.3-31 for the systematic traduction of their souls, and ii.50 for the narrative cause of this traduction.

[175]Spenser metaphorically exhibits this initial type of concord in the soul's three hierarchical faculties (vegetative, sensitive, and rational) by means of similes taken from the vegetable and animal kingdoms and the ocean itself, and couples them with the appropriate numerical order suggested by the names of the three brothers (IV.ii.41). Thus, when Priamond (i.e., earliest or original "world"; cf. Roche, 17; Nohrnberg, 624-5) is struck in the thigh by Cambell's spear, he reels "Like an old Oke" (IV.iii.9), which corresponds to the lowest or vegative faculty. Similarly, when Diamond (i.e., twice or double, twofold world) enters the fray after Priamond's death, he and Cambell are said to fight like "two Tygers" (iii.16), with Diamond being compared, at one point, to a "Vulture greedie of his pray" swooping down on "an Heron" (i.e., Cambell; iii.19), similes which serve to emblematize the sensitive soul. The rational or oceanic soul is rather more obscurely figured in Triamond (three, thrice, triple world) being compared to the ocean, and as such, eventually, during the give and take of battle, receiving the river Shenan's (i.e., Cambell's) "tribute . . . as to his soueraine" (iii.27). Cambell too, receives a beautiful vegetable simile in stanza 29, where he is compared to a "withered tree . . . full freshly to have florisht,/ And fruitfull apples to have borne" as a result of the virtue in Canacee's magic ring (IV.ii.39). Earlier, this same ring refreshes him so that "Like as a Snake . . ./ now feeling sommers might,/ Casts off his ragged skin and freshly doth him dight" (IV.iii.23), he is re-invigorated for battle. These tree and beast similes not only indicate Spenser's intention to present the vegetative and sensitive faculties of Cambell as a soul comparable to Triamond, but also to emblematize the cyclical renewal of and by nature--the kind of immortality engendered by Canacee's knowledge of "every secret worke of Natures wayes, . . In power of herbes, and tunes of beasts and burds" (IV.ii.35)--which corresponds to the supernatural renewal enjoyed by Agape's son (cf. Nohrnberg, 610-13). The tree image is an important link in this correspondence, for Priamond's likeness to an "Oke" recalls Spenser's assertion that Agape was "like that roote" from which the three sons "deriu'd their vitall sap" of "firme affection" (IV.ii.43). This affection "allies" the three "as if but one soule in them all did dwell" and "did her powre into three parts diuide" (43), bringing to mind the tree of charity of which concord and <u>amicitiae</u> are branches. (cf.

Roche, 131; Nohrnberg, 540-1; and this chapter, pp. 189-90).

[176]See John Erskine, "The Virtue of Friendship in The Faerie Queene," PMLA 30 n.s. 23 (1915), 831-50, 845; Frye "Structure," 84. Like the triune concord of the individual soul, the communal concord Spenser presents in these two cantos of Book IV is also composed of three types or levels of affection: fraternal (Cambell and Canacee [ii.35-40; iii.35]; Cambina and Triamond [IV.iii.40, 46], erotic (Cambina and Cambell iii.46, 52 ; Triamond and Canacee [ii.54, iii.53]), and friendly (in the feminine mode, Cambina and Canacee [ii.31; iii.50-1]; and in the masculine mode, Cambell and Triamond [ii.31; iii.49-52]). The metaphysical refinements of Spenser's argument in the Cambell/Triamond episode mean that the reader must pay very close attention to the literal level of the narrative in order to prevent the logical lines of the argument from becoming skewed. That this confusion is easy to fall into is confirmed by one's own initial readings of the poem and by James Nohrnberg's erudite but misleading interpretation of the episode. Prof. Nohrnberg's conclusions are an excellent example of the perils accompanying any effort to make the poem conform to the principles of an alien analytic structure, for though he avoids assigning Cambell's motive for defending his sister, Canacee, to the covert impulses of incest (despite the likelihood that Spenser was influenced by the classical Canacee, who is incestuous [Apollodoros, 1.7.3-4; Hyginus, Fabulae, 238, 242), who appears so in Gower (Confessio Amantis, III.142-360), and who presumably would have appeared so in Chaucer (Squire's Tale, 667ff), had Chaucer not broken off the tale before reaching this point (622-3), Nohrnberg has nevertheless inadvertently confused Cambina with Canacee (623), a slip which leads to conclusions manifestly inapplicable to the poem Spenser wrote. The error, uncharacteristic of the study, is nevertheless a happy one, for it presents a beautifully serendipitous refutation of Jonathan Goldberg's theory that "in [The Faerie Queene's] endless chain of names, one [name] will do for the other"(Endless Worke: Spenser and the Structures of Discourse [Baltimore,London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981], 115). It might be useful to add here that Spenser himself clearly indicates Cambell's motive for the tourney to determine whom Canacee will marry: to avoid the "greate mischief" (IV.ii.37) which would result from jealous quarrels among the suitors spurned by his "wondrous chast" and "modest" sister (35). Cambell proposes to find out personally which of the three challengers is superior in order to "prevent . . . perill" and "turne both him[self] and her to honour in this wise" (37). Spenser's logic in the two-canto narrative is

carefully maintained by the vegetable, animal, and water similes (see above), and he revels in the kind of rhetorical and numerical sprezzatura characteristic of the Renaissance by offering variations on the commonplace of "one soul in bodies twain." That is, he demonstrates in Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond the extension of the single soul to include three bodies rather than two, as well as maintaining the standard pairings in the context of fraternal affection. Cambell's love for Canacee, and Cambina's for Triamond, can also be seen in two different groupings: two pairs of single souls in two bodies, or one pair of these (Cambell and Canacee) and four souls in two bodies (Pri/Di/Triamond and Cambina). The attachments of Cambina for Cambell, and of Triamond for Canacee, act as further variations of the commonplace, as do the feminine friendship between the two ladies and its masculine counterpart between the two knights. The four "linkct in louely bond" (IV.ii.31) as a single unit go on to demonstrate the quaternary combination (See Fowler, Numbers, 24). Such exuberant exactitude may, perhaps, leave the poet open to charges of fussy pedantry, but the same precision also silences accusations of narrative carelessness. Though Wind's abrupt categorization of the episode as a "schoolroom exercise" (see above, n. 161) may justly reflect the influence of Scholastic conceptual rigor on Spenser's thought, it tends to slight the vignette's function as a kind of conceptual tour de force lodged unobtrusively within the gangling and frequently-interrupted stories of the more familiar characters. The very rigor of the treatment is an appropriate response to the abstruse but theologically significant conflict between the affection that supernatural concord in a single soul (finally epitomized in Triamond as Agape's surviving son and suitor of Canacee) has for the realm of perfected human nature (i.e., Canacee, the epitome of natural or empirical or classical wisdom), and the equally strong desire of Canacee to maintain a merely natural concord by resisting the intrusion of both unsublimated human nature (represented by the other clamoring suitors) and the supernatural (Triamond) as long as possible. Cambell, as the irascible or bellicose passion of the soul which seeks the arduous, defends the intelligible (Canacee) from all unworthy suitors. Their fraternal unity (represented by the protection of Canacee's magic ring) is the closed circle which supernatural love in the guise of Triamond's eros-desire wishes to penetrate, and which, by its very nature, resists such penetration. The stalemated battle between Cambell and Triamond emblematizes the resultant 'chaotic stasis' if this metaphysical conflict is left unresolved. Agape's daughter, Cambina, is the agent Spenser chooses to subsume the chaos into a nobler understanding of

affection.

[177]Erskine, 844.

[178]Rather than with those remedies suggested by Chaucer's Parson: "The remedie agayns ire is a vertu that men clepen mansuetude, that is debonairtee, and eek another vertu that men callen pacience or suffrance . . . ." (in Fisher, 375). It is, significantly, St. Jerome's description of debonairtee which the Parson claims to invoke when he explains that "it dooth noon harm to no wight, ne seith; ne for noon harm that men doon or seyn, he ne eschawfeth nat agayns his resoun" (375). Rosemond Tuve indicates the universality of the doctrine in medieval literature (60, 184).

[179]See above, pp. 188-89.

[180]Cf. Evans, Anatomy, 186; Roche, 22. Only by acknowledging the significance of this minute thematic kernel lodged at the heart of the conceptual crux which this episode emblematizes, are we able to recognize that Spenser's ethical and spiritual 'point' is deliberately hidden, and that he wishes thus to emphasize the immaterial and groundless tenor of his allegory by "clowdily enwrapping" its conceptual meaning in the apparently formeless riot of his "allegorical deuises" (cf. Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969], ch. I, esp. 9-11). As ordinary readers of Spenser, with no academic fish to fry, we need not always systematically and consciously attempt to drive through to the conceptual points he makes about love and friendship and their collateral virtues; it is usually sufficient to rest secure on the myriad passing implications he offers, which help us to consolidate his moral meanings unmistakably and almost effortlessly as we go along. Professional criticism has a peculiar appetite for rational certainty, however, and additional evidence that testifies to the poet's conceptual powers is found in the fact that the poetry can satisfy even the most intense critical scrutiny. This intellectual satisfaction, along with the rhetorical fluidity of the narrative, are doubtless what prompted Milton to praise Spenser in the Areopagitica as "a better teacher then Scotus or Aquinas."

[181]Whitney's emblem (Fig. 82) is obviously derived from Alciati's 1621 edition of Emblemata (Fig. 81), which is, in turn, a more sophisticated rendering of his 1531 version (Fig. 80). The derivative influence at work here

parallels that between Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder (cf. Fig. 27 with Fig. 34, for instance, or Fig. 36 with 37 and 38, or 41 with 42 and 43) with the pairings furnishing succinct visual examples of the cultural cross-currents of the Italian Renaissance and the Northern European Reformation to which educated Englishmen like Spenser were exposed. The Dionysian procession (Fig. 83) pictured in Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499), sig. liiiii^{v}-lv) is evidence of the lion-drawn chariot acting as an emblematic link between the Greek male deity and his feminine counterpart, Cybele, or the Magna Mater (see Fig. 76). This emblematic link reinforces the conceptual association between the two as, respectively, giver and maintainer of laws and civilization.

[182]The "forgetting" Cambina imposes on the lions is the result of conscious contrivance from the best of rational motives, and furnishes a further intellectual refinement of the spontaneous obedience displayed by Una's lion.

[183]Nohrnberg, 617.

[184]See Roche, 16; Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 50, 128-30; Nohrnberg, 616.

[185]Cf. the ocean metaphor as explicated above, n. 175.

[186]Williams, "Venus and Diana," 206-7.

[187]Cf. Roche, 23; Evans, Anatomy, 17, 185; Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 83. Chas. Smith mentions an entertainment given for Alençon in Antwerp in which Concord appears bearing a shield featuring "a crowned scepter with two little snakes" (Holinshed, 1808, as quoted in C. Smith, 16-17). He also argues very convincingly that the spirit of Spenser's conception of Concord as "the bond of the universe" (as opposed to Shakespeare's conception of law as the bond of the universe) corresponds more exactly to Hooker's definition of law as "the bond of the whole creation to God" (p. 22). If Cambina's caduceus (because of its link to intellect via Mercury [cf. Fowler, Numbers, 156, ff; Pichaske, 86] and its power to bring the combat to a standstill) is understood as the compelling force of law, her Nepenthe can be seen as the classical wisdom that quiets the logical urge of law as simple justice toward retaliatory vengeance, so that patience and reason rather

than wrath may govern. This intelligent understanding of law is, doubtless, what has maintained Cambina's control of the lions. Despite the fact that Jonathon Goldberg's understanding of the Cambell/Canacee/Triamond/Cambina episode sounds remarkably like current official Chinese policy on the 'Gang of Four,' the implication of his analysis--that 'love' can be used as an instrument of coercion--would bear some serious consideration were that analysis not marred by his reading of the narrative. He sees Cambina as a "prototypical tyrant" (114), for instance, an idea fostered, it may be, by a misunderstood resemblance to the Persian monarch, Cambesis (see Samuel Chew, The Virtues Reconciled [Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947], p. 99, or The Pilgrimage of Life [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962], p. 125, for the appropriate details), or, perhaps, by the erroneous assumption that Cambina marries Triamond (115). Though more than one current rhetoric is characterized by the force of its hatred of monarchy, Spenser's poem offers very little evidence that he shared any of these sentiments. Therefore to compare (as Goldberg does) Cambina's "mightie band" of Concord to "those 'bands of love . . . sad thraldomes chayne' (xi.1.5) that imprison Florimell" (118) is a flagrant misinterpretation of Spenser's didacticism (cf. rather, Nohrnberg, 649). Given Goldberg's apparent theoretical bias against Concord or Love as themes adequate to either Spenser's moral concerns or emblematic techniques, his interpretation of Braggadochio and the False Florimell "as latter-day incarnations of Triamond [are we actually to understand Triamond here, or will Cambell do?] and Canacee" (Cambina, perhaps(?),p. 46) is not, therefore, unusual, though it does offer an unprovoked and needless disturbance to several centuries of equally earnest criticism. Goldberg is almost right in assuming that "[r]epetition and sameness absorb differences" in reading Spenser (116), but he neglects to note that absorbing is not the same thing as obliterating, and that resolving the "differences" of a mindless and bloody quarrel is not quite the same thing as rather imperiously changing the names of characters in order to justify a clever pun (cf. difference, deference, differance [n. 5, p. 10]). When Cambell dons Triamond's armor in order "to purchase honour in his [wounded] friends behalue" (IV.iv.27), for instance, which leads to his being trapped "Like as a Lion that by chaunce doth fall/Into the hunters toile" (32), he does so from unmistakable motives of affection. He does not cease to be Cambell, brother of Canacee and spouse of Cambina, merely because he wears his friend's armor. He does, however, risk his life for Triamond, and in doing so displays the magnanimity, or caritas, or dutiful chivalry characteristic of Romance which is so closely related to the amicitiae that moves Britomart to help Scudamore and

Amoret (see above, this chapter, p.190). By the same reasoning, Triamond, who is required by circumstances to fight in Cambell's armor (IV.iv.27, 33), does not therefore become Cambell but rather also lays down his life for his friend in a parallel and reciprocal devotion. Though the tourney's prize that day is at first contested because each knight magnanimously defers to the other (which might lead a hasty reader to assume that "[d]eference blots out difference"(Goldberg, 28), Triamond does eventually receive the prize because he " sau'd [Cambell] the [earlier] victour from fordonne" at "his foemens hand" (IV.v.7). Dr. Goldberg is evidently reading the moral level, or tenor, of the allegory with a literalism which is appropriate only to the narrative level, or vehicle, of the poem. To the misapplied logical absolutism of this approach the poem refuses absolutely to yield up its meaning. Spenser is most careful to preserve the distinct names and characterizations of Cambell, Canacee, Triamond, and Cambina, for he knows that the reader's effective conceptual grasp of his allegory depends upon them. Careless disregard for those painstaking distinctions reveals a lack of sufficient interest in what the poet (as opposed to the critic) is trying to teach. In refusing to enter Spenser's world of faery enchantment (because he assumes Spenser "educates in frustration" [29] rather than in the thorny and arduous paths of virtue), and in refusing to recognize the ground rules of allegorical poetry (because the question, Who is Cambina? "cannot be answered by saying that she is herself or that she represents some idea other than herself" [114]) Goldberg seems clearly and ironically to identify himself as one of Spenser's readers who would be more comfortable with good discipline delivered plainly by way of precepts than thus cloudily enwrapped in allegorical devises.

[188]Evans, "Platonic Allegory," 138-9.

[189]Cf. Fowler, Numbers, 157-61; Evans, Anatomy, 17. Cambina does not wound the knights when she stuns them with her rod, that is; she simply stops them from continuing in violence. By a similar token, the Nepenthe does not drug them into stupidity, as is implied by Goldberg's comment that the "drink . . . satisfies desire in death and exalts the self-annihilated," so that ultimately Cambina really brings "astonishment, loss of memory, loss of mind; mindless absorption" (118). Roche encourages a more accurate, appropriate, and generous understanding of Nepenthe when he enlists Arnold Williams' study, The Common Expositor, to help "point . . . out that the Renaissance commentators" (a parallel to the sage and sober men to whom Spenser refers

in IV.iii.43, perhaps?) made "memory a faculty of reason and not of the senses" [Flame, 91n]). What Cambina's precious draught does is to calm the inflamed memory of sense which has generated the conflict, and permits the combatants to think, to assess rationally rather than emotionally, what has driven them to such extremity. She does not tyrannize over them in other words, but rather frees them (see Richard B. Onions, The Origins of European Thought About the Body, the Mind, the World, Time and Fate [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951], 472-80).

[190]Horton, 167.

[191]Roche, 26-7, 91n.

[192]Nohrnberg, 608-10; Evans, Anatomy, 184-5; Fowler, Numbers, 168-9; Williams, "Venus and Diana," 206.

[193]Cf. Roche, 30; Evans, Anatomy, 185.

[194]Fowler, Numbers, 27-8.

[195]That Cambina's character as peacemaker (cf. IV.iv.5) has been a benign influence on Cambell is signalled by his successful attempt to deflect the quarrels rapidly surfacing between Ferrau and Braggadochio over the False Florimell (IV.iv.12). Spenser indicates that Cambell's irascibility is in no way attenuated by his marriage to Cambina because the poet asserts the leonine courage with which Cambell, "Like as a Lion" responds to the attack by a hundred knights (IV.iv.32).

[196]The depth of this friendship, and its affiliation with caritas, are attested to by the willingness of each to lay down his life for the other (see n. 187), a magnanimity which recalls Britomart's succoring of Scudamore and Amoret as well as the underlying motive of most of the virtuous characters.

[197]See Evans, Anatomy, 147.

[198]This classical or "natural" idea is based on reasoning empirically from a personal and internal experience of the forward and froward passions to the (universal) conclusion that those passions must be governed. Cf. Nohrnberg, 350, and Chas. Smith, who links

Cambina to the Mutability Cantos via Lucretian Nature (1, 30, and n. 12).

[199]Pichaske aptly summarizes arguments from St. Augustine (84-5) and Nohrnberg does so from St. Thomas Aquinas (612-3), in order to demonstrate the scholastic understanding of the trinity and the soul to which Spenser is indebted for Agape's sons. Evans also sees two kinds of souls and identifies them as figuring Agape and Eros in a Neoplatonic scheme where the physical is in conflict with the spiritual. Pichaske attempts to adopt the manner of Aquinian synthesis by commenting that the "transfusion of souls among Priamond, Diamond and Triamond represents an Aristotelian set of values given a Platonic mode of allegorical expression" (91), but offers too little about Cambell and Canacee, who are equally important to Spenser's allegory. His explication that Christ is the "noble youthly knight" who "oppresses" Agape and begets the three sons upon her (IV.iii.45) is certainly "interesting dramatically," and it would be "appropriate allegorically," too, as he claims, were it not dependent emblematically and conceptually on the image of Christ as a rapist (92). Spenser employs a similar begetting of offspring in two other stories (Chrysogonee [III.vi.3-10] and Cymoent [III.iv.19-20]) and uniformly offers the "noble youthly knight," the sun, and the "noble peare" as anthropomorphic or natural images for Eros-love aspiring to the spiritual condition of Agape-love. This latter interpretation intimates a more decorous, and finally more accurate, approach to Spenser's meaning.

[200]Nichomachean Ethics, II.ii. Canacee's passivity may represent a type of "defect," while the activity of the belligerent brother, Cambell[icose], may represent the type of "excess." Spenser most clearly schematizes defect and excess in Medina's Castle (II.ii.12-46), which lays the metaphysical groundwork for the House of Alma, or soul, within an allegorical construct obviously dependent upon the physical human body. (cf. Pichaske, 93, n. 22; Nohrnberg, 290, 386-7). With Telamond, no such physical allegory is present or implied; it is a strictly metaphysical treatment and takes place in an atmosphere which is, to say the least, remote from the physical if not convincingly spiritual.

[201]Nohrnberg, 615-19; Evans, "Platonic Allegory," 138-9; Pichaske, 84-5; Williams, "Venus and Diana," 206.

[202]Pichaske, 87.

[203]A link with divinity is imputed allegorically by the knight's genesis from a fay by a mortal (cf. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 128-9).

[204]For a possible justification of Canacee as wisdom eventually spiritualized by means of Triamond's love of her, cf. TFQ, IV.ii.35-7.with the Book of Wisdom 7:17-22, and passim, esp. 8:17. See also Roche, 30, and Roland Murphy, O. Carm., Introduction to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament in Old Testament Reading Guide Series (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1965), pp. 46-53.

[205]See Pichaske, 89-91; Erskine, 847.

[206]Cf. Bayley, 151. For Maurice Evans, Cambina is "a figure of very complex symbolism" best understood as "a type of Venus Urania before whose knowledge . . . all unruly passion dies" ("Platonic Allegory," 138-9). For Erskine, the love Cambina represents is a kind of mystical communion of souls which is the means to friendship (842-3, 847); this friendship Spenser defends in its own right as a virtue (i.e., rather than simply as an Aristotelian social relation [834]). In acknowledging friendship as a virtue by uniting it to caritas, Spenser thus overgoes not only Ariosto (whose analogous magic potion turns love to hate [cf. IV.iii.45]), but also Aristotle (cf. Erskine, 83-5). See also Mills (7-8), and Roche, for whom Cambina is neither Love nor Nature, "though her function in the poem is amplified if we have these other figures in mind" (Roche, 26). This assertion Roche somewhat modifies by referring to Cambina's function as an emblem of discordia concors, in which "[s]he means the metaphysical mystery of love evolved from hate and many other related concepts that we need not name because she contains them all in the essence of her being" (27). Because Roche depends on "the relationship between mother and daughter," between Agape and Cambina, to explain the abstract quidditas which is Cambina (27), this quidditas, thanks to the metaphysics of the Cambell/Triamond episode, can be accurately named as caritas, an identification Roche himself tacitly acknowledges when he observes that Cambina symbolizes "the ultimate source of reconciliation, the imago Dei" (206). These remarks help to establish the full intellectual significance of Cambina's force, which

is, to Goldberg, simply "erotic" (118), a reductive estimate that recalls Cain's equally reductive but, in that particular reference, slightly more accurate estimate of the "erotic" motives of Una's lion (see above, Ch. III, n. 33)..

[207]Pichaske, 87-9; Mills, 7-8; Erskine, 845.

[208]Erskine, 835, 842-4, esp. 844; Evans, "Platonic Allegory," 142; Pichaske, 83; and Leo Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1963), 14.

[209]Nohrnberg, 615; Pichaske, 84; Nygren, 449-63, and passim thereafter.

[210]Cf. Williams, Glass, 127; Pichaske, 89, 91; Erskine, 831. Goldberg characterizes Telamond as the "name of an absence" (46), a view which recalls and challenges Nohrnberg's more tentative reading: "The Spenserian hero is not precisely absent from these books" (i.e., III and IV; p. 66). It seems to me that Spenser's intention is to emblematize and assert perfection as a metaphysical possibility, via Telamond. Perfection's rarity in the harsh world of sense and in much of Spenser's poem, might easily lead the beleaguered reader of The Faerie Queene to promulgate a theory of absence, but such a theory seems to miss the point Spenser made by actually writing the concrete poem--a point clearly didactic and one which affirms the claims of virtue as praxis as well as theory. One might well ask if the frequent and literal absence from the narrative of Arthur or Belphoebe, for instance, impugns their virtue in any way, or lessens the allegorical effects of the rescues they achieve.

[211]The naming of two titular heroes for the Legend of Friendship is less inappropriate and misleading, conceptually, than at first appears. The primary justification for Spenser's choice of two heroes is that a solitary hero is less fitting as an emblem of friendship than the logically necessary two. A secondary justification is Aristotle's assumption that the most perfect of friendship exists, ideally and practically, between two (Nichomachean Ethics, VIII.vi-ix; and Mills, 8). These notions serve to elucidate Spenser's syncretic attempt to capture the Trinitarian essence of Agape's triple-souled son, Triamond, and to epitomize the

"perfected world" of caritas engendered by Triamond's friendship with Cambell. Telamond thus refers to the united essences of two distinct but compatible metaphysics. [Cf. Spitzer on the Pythagorean justification for Spenser's numerical playfulness (14-16; see above, n. 176), and Erskine (846), for an epigrammatic summary of the reason such a metaphysical treatment has bored so many of Spenser's readers silly]. Pichaske attempts to solve the problem of a "mystical union of souls implying no action" (Erskine, 845) by offering, with limited success, the theory that Agape's oppressor is Christ in the figurative role of medieval knight and lover (see above, n. 199).

[212]Roche, 203.

[213]Pichaske, 92; Horton, 72.

[214]Upton, Var. IV, 186; Cain, 132; Alpers, 124.

[215]Roche, 24-6; Nohrnberg, 649-50.

[216]The similarity between the names of Cambina and Cambell reinforces their leonine similarities.

[217]Leicester as one of the lions is a particularly interesting possibility, given the likelihood that Spenser refers to him in leonine terms in Mother Hubberds Tale. Though Raleigh has no specific leonine link in the epic, the odd presence of the Timias/Belphoebe episode in IV.vii-viii, which is so often interpreted as an allegory of Raleigh and the Queen, may, because it is ultimately resolved by Belphoebe's testy magnanimity, reflect an aspect of Cambina's conciliatory powers as well.

[218]Earle B. Fowler (Spenser and the Courts of Love) mentions "the masque devised for the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1562," in which "Lady Prudentia [presumably Elizabeth] comes riding on a golden [i.e., English] lion, and Lady Temperantia [Mary] on a red [Scots] lion" (as presented in Var. IV, p. 358.

[219]Sir John Harington's simple recollection ("We loved her for she said she did love us" [as quoted in Elizabeth Jenkins, Elizabeth the Great: A Biography (New York: Capricorn Books, 1967 rpt. of 1958 edn.), p. 321])

is a reticent summary of the Queen's many formal protestations of love, and of their consequences. One of the most telling was delivered soon after the defeat of the Armada: "Ye may well have a greater Prince, but ye shall never have a more loving Prince" (as quoted in Jenkins, 289). Her affection initially found concrete expression in terms of tolerance and leniency in dealing with her sorely-divided subjects (cf. Jenkins, 66-7, 74-5).

[220]Cf. Tuve, 83; Cain, 132; Horton, 50, 167.

[221]In this case, the pair of lions would likely represent the High and Low parties of the Anglican Church itself, or, equally, the Puritan and Roman factions, all of whom, Spenser implies, would be well-advised to follow their Queen's political leadership. The poet displays the ease with which discord could be introduced into the body politic (if commoners, courtiers, or the Queen herself, give way to Ate's provocations) by means of the mutual discourtesies exchanged between Scudamore, Paridell, Blandamour, Braggadochio, the False Florimell, and Sir Ferraugh (IV.ii.1-29; iv.1-4, 6-11). The fact that these squabbles are quieted by Cambina on one occasion (iv.5) and by Cambell on another (iv.12) is, therefore, not without conceptual significance.

[222]Samuel Chew's study of the Parliament of Heaven theme where the four virtues (Truth, Justice, Mercy and Peace) are reconciled, invites a comparison with the spiritual significance rendered in ethical terms by the concord Cambina bestows. Chew observes that the Queen's portraits frequently associate her with the virtues of Power, Wisdom, Justice, Mercy and Peace (The Virtues Reconciled, p. 21), cf. Horton, 104.

[223]See Morton W. Bloomfield, "Episodic Motivation and Marvels in Epic and Romance" in Essays and Explorations: Studies in Ideas, Language, and Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 104, 106-8.

[224]Williams, "Venus and Diana," 207; Evans, Anatomy, 83-4.

[225]Roche, 27; Hough, 182-3.

[226]Barney, 254.

[227]While A. C. Hamilton sees Britomart's dream as "the allegorical core of Book V, both the focus and radiating center of its action" (Structure, 177), C. S. Lewis thinks Mercilla's court "should have been [the] heart" of Book V, had Spenser refrained from allowing himself "to be carried away by flattery and historical allegory," his "fatal Cleopatra" (Allegory of Love, 349). The result of Spenser's seduction is that canto ix "is his one great failure in this kind," and presents an "exquisite" feline mercy (349). Though Thomas Cain prefers the term "matrix" (p. 66) to the word "core," he also sees two matrices, "neither of them satisfying," together expressing "the disparity between ideal [Britomart's dream] and action [Mercilla's court]" (146), a conclusion which echoes Graham Hough's estimate of the Mercilla episode as "another attempt at an allegorical core" intended to improve the unsatisfyingly "rudimentary and somewhat confused" effort at Isis Church (200). See also Cheney, 165; Fowler, Forms, 36, 111; and Nohrnberg, 360.

[228]Cf. Samuel Chew, The Virtues Reconciled, p. 35; Nohrnberg, 401.

[229]Nohrnberg, 405.

[230]Williams, Glass, 167.

[231]Artegall manifests this self-sufficient competence in the initial three cantos and the final canto of V. He demonstrates solomonic wisdom with Sanglier and the Squire "in squallid weed" (i.13-30), for instance, and again reaffirms the dispositions of nature with Bracidas and Amidas (iv.4-20), as well as balancing the accounts of Pollente and Munera (ii.4-28) and the Egalitarian Giant (ii.29-54), rescuing the hounded Marinell (iii.9—12), honoring Florrell, and exposing the frauds of Braggadochio and the snowy Florimell (13-36). His defeat of Grantorto (xii.14-23), Spenser implies, merits a greater reward than the unwelcome attentions of Envy, Detraction, and their undomesticated sidekick (28-43). As an apparently necessary adjunct to the effective administration of justice (particularly after he succumbs to and is rescued from Radigund's tactics and his own misplaced chivalry), he is also paired with and subtly subordinated to Arthur (i.e., it is Arthur who actually defeats Soldan [vii.29-44] and Geryoneo [x.15-39; xi.1-14] while Artegall disarms Adicia, defeats the mob, and prepares Arthur's victory celebration [vii.48-50]), with whom he practices

the shrewdness essential to those who intend to govern the wilfully malicious (e.g., Malengin in ix.4-19). Despite Artegall's relative eclipse after he is rescued by Britomart (cf. Humphrey Tonkin, "Theme and Emblem in Spenser's Faerie Queene," ELH 40 (1973), 221-30, p. 227), his is the last and decisive word at Duessa's trial (ix.49), which reaffirms his emblematic and conceptual status as justice. Thus the ignominy of his return from Irena's realm has no effect, ultimately, on the material service he has rendered three queens--Gloriana, Mercilla, and Irena.

[232]See Judith Anderson, "'Nor Man It Is': The Knight of Justice in Book V of Spenser's Faerie Queene," PMLA 85 (1970), 65-77, p. 69; Aptekar, 55; Hough, 192; Tonkin, "Theme and Emblem," 223; and Williams, Glass, 168.

[233]Alpers claims such tempests highlight the conflict between heroic and pastoral ideals, and help render Britomart a comic figure (TPOTFQ, 371, 379-80, 393, 396) whose heroism is "the metaphor for human love" (398).

[234]The Temple of Isis episode offers a profound contrast to the Masque of Cupid at the House of Busirane, a contrast which gains our attention by means of the iconographic similarities between the two settings and the different attitudes Spenser encourages his reader to take towards each. The rooms adjacent to each place, for instance, are either pillared (V.vii.5) or walled (III.xi.5) with gold, and the silver idol of Isis, with its golden crown (6) recalls the "massy gold" idol of Cupid and its bright, peacock-colored wings (xi.47). Isis' "sclender wand" (7), the icon of her power, parallels Cupid's leaden and golden arrows (48), just as the tempest in Britomart's vision (14) corresponds to the whirlwind and earthquake that introduce Cupid's masque (xii.2-3). The most obvious contrast is that between the crocodile of guile and force upon whom Isis rests one foot, and whose tail wreathes Isis' waist (6-7), and the blinded dragon of vigilance and chastity, whose tail helplessly enfolds the malevolent Cupid's foot (48). This contrast within similarity reinforces Spenser's moral distinction between the worship of Cupid as "fowle Idolatree" (xi.49), and the commendable reverence Britomart's humble prostration in prayer before Isis displays (7).

[235]Cf. Rene Graziani, "Elizabeth at Isis Church,"

PMLA 79 (1964), 376-89, who compares the Temple of Isis to the Chapel of our Lady of the Piew in Westminster, noting that Westminster's Great Hall and surrounding chambers "were the principal courts of law, including the courts of equity" (386, and n. 55), a conflation of setting and themes that reinforces Spenser's argument for Britomart as both sacred and profane Equity/ Clemency.

[236]Fletcher, 266, 269.

[237]Graziani interprets the crocodile's assistance as the execution of the many plotters against the queen (382).

[238]Rosemond Tuve ("Notes on the Virtues and Vices") muses on the odd iconography of leonine strength and fortitude in a fifteenth century French MS where a maiden representing force "holds her tower and grasps the emerging serpent's tail" (pt. I, p. 280); this control is much like the equitable force of Britomart/Isis over the Artegall/Osiris crocodile. Tuve comments further on "the dragon which Amitié conquers" in Somme le Roi (pt. II, p. 61), a useful observation if we recall that Britomart's motives of amicitiae are very marked.

[239]Graziani compares Britomart's "nightmarish dream" to Elizabeth's anxious night in Westminster's Lady Chapel on 24 November 1586, just prior to her decision not to prorogue Parliament, a decision she knew would lead to Mary's death (p. 381).

[240]Spenser's imagery here reinforces Sr. Grellner's understanding of Britomart as a sacred hunter (see note 151 above).

[241]Radigund, too, is likened to a "lionesse" in her "furious fit" of vengeance against the helpless Sir Terpin (V.iv.39). Cheney sees Britomart's rage and her beheading of Radigund as evoking the image of Henry VIII (p. 45; cf. Cain, 150-52, Fletcher, 175-77). Graziani understands the slaying of Radigund as Spenser's veiled reference to Elizabeth's execution of Mary, written out of chronological order to deflect criticism (377), but in effect, the climactic assertion of the Queen's prerogatives, an examination of which begins in Isis Church (the Courts of Equity) and ends in Mercilla's sorrowful acquiescence to Artegall's stern constancy.

During the fight, Britomart comes very close to losing the power of her shield-arm (V.vii.33), a circumstance which figures the historical threat to Queen Elizabeth's leonine power and mercy in her rivalry with Mary, and the spiritual threat to leonine love represented by Radigund's self-sufficient prowess (cf. Bieman, 171). For Evans (Anatomy of Heroism), the "unnatural fury" of Britomart's battle with Radigund "threatens the very nature of love itself" (205), for there is no room for mercy in a situation created by misplaced mercy (205; i.e., Artegall's surrender to Radigund), a reading that is helpful in understanding Mercilla's acquiescence.

[242]Nohrnberg observes that under Radigund, Artegall "loses his ireful virtue, and with it his lion skin" (399).

[243]Hamilton, Structure, 185.

[244]Fletcher, 174.

[245]Elizabeth Bieman, in "Britomart in Book V of The Faerie Queene," University of Toronto Quarterly 37 (1968), 156-74, describes Britomart's "self-command" as "wise resignation" (172). C. S. Lewis prefers to compare her humility to Una's and sees her acting merely as "a woman in love, paradisially unaware of her high dignity" (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, 157; cf. Spenser's Images of Life, 107-8). For Evans, her profound and disciplined love enables her to resist the temptation to exploit her superior power" (Anatomy, 205). Dunseath concludes that her capitulation to Artegall shows how her journey "has led from love in nature to love in grace" (181), and that her real achievement is "perfection in virtuous love" (181).

[246]O'Connell, 150.

[247]Arthur F. Marotti, "Animal Symbolism in The Faerie Queene: Tradition and the Poetic Context," p. 74; cf. Clifford Davidson, "The Idol of Isis Church," SP 66 (1969), 70-86, p. 79.

[248]Fletcher, 271; O'Connell, 142; Humphrey Tonkin, "Spenser's Garden of Adonis and Britomart's Quest," PMLA 88 (1973), 408-17, p. 414.

[249]Although Spenser describes three of Britomart's martial encounters in terms that imply no hint of wrath or vengeance in her motives (the downing of too-eager Guyon [III.i.4-9]; the rescue of Redcrosse from Malecasta's knights [III.i.23, 28-9], the subversion of Artegall's inappropriate victory over the Knights of Maidenhead at Satyrane's tourney [IV.iv.44]), and relates two others in terms that are rather lighthearted and wittily playful (the toppling of Blandamour [IV.1.36] and Scudamour [IV.vi.9-10]), for the most part his feminine Knight of the Lion is as fierce, wrathful, and vengeful in battle as the male knights, and so displays the darker and destructive side of the warrior's virtue of leonine courage just as frequently as she figures forth leonine love. Her fierceness equals Satyrane's, for instance, when they give chase to Ollyphant (III.xi.4-5); and while she shrouds her anger at the "prowd and boastfull chalenge" of the "iolly knight" at the Castle of Compulsory Lovers (IV.i.10), her "exceeding wroth" earlier surfaces when, much to Paridell's discomfort, he and Satyrane refuse to share the shelter of Malbecco's shed with her during a storm (III.ix.13). The same rage flashes out, with good reason, when she is wounded by Gardante (III.i.65) and Busirane (III.xii.33). Her angry response to Marinell's challenge seems to lack sufficient justification, however, and Spenser explains rather than excuses its violent disproportion when he indicates the sudden conversion of her "clowdy care" about Artegall into the "wrathfull stowre" aimed at Marinell (III.iv.13). Though she does not slay Marinell, she does ride past his "tombled" body (16) without a trace of compunction or "lament" (18), thus exhibiting a side of her character we see again when Radigund is slain. Britomart's anger and vengefulness are shown at their fiercest and most "personal" versus Radigund, and though the Amazon has only imprisoned Artegall, as opposed to killing him, her taunts and extended cruelties to the Knight of Justice have inflicted a far deeper wound on Britomart than any threat yet offered her, so that she kills Radigund with chilling dispatch (V.vii.34). The first actual deaths she causes--those of Guizor's two brothers at Pollente's bridge (V.vi.36-40)--are less troubling than either Marinell's defeat or Radigund's demise, for though she is "wroth" with the two brothers (38), her anger is the legitimate and appropriate response to a treacherous attempt on her life, and she does away with the pair almost perfunctorily. Her prowess here brings to mind the relatively impersonal attack on Artegall at Satyrane's tourney, where the salvage knight sans finesse is routing the Knights of Maidenhead (IV.iv.38-9).

Spenser sends Britomart into the fray to indicate that Artegall, for all his leonine strength and skill (41), is nevertheless wrongheaded and must be stopped "in middest of his pride" (44). Because that pride is based on undeterred wrathfulness, it recalls the leonine connotations of pride and wrath associated with Redcrosse in Book I and is most evident in the tourney and after, when Artegall lies in wait for Britomart, nursing his resentment of her victory (IV.v.5-6). Though Artegall can be merciful (V.xi.65; xii.8), his exercise of that virtue is scarcely habitual, and at times resembles nothing so much as a lapse into stunned quietism (IV.vi.21-22; V.ii.25-6; v.12-18; xii.42-3). His penchant for bloodshed is steady enough, however (V.ii.11, 18-19; iii.10-12, 36; viii.7, 50; xi.57-8; xii.16-23, 25), and is coupled more than once with arrogant disdain for direct combat versus the hoi polloi (V.ii.52; iv.23), with whom he comes in frequent contact and against whom he prefers to loose Talus and his grim flail (V.ii.51-4; iv.23, 44; v.19; vii.35; xi.47, 59, 65; xii.5, 7, 26; see Aptekar, 41-54, on Talus as power, and esp. p. 46, where the claim is made that "[g]ood power is traditionally represented by lions;" and Hamilton, who defends Artegall's use of Talus on grounds that "no judge should serve as his own hangman" [Structure, 171]).

[250]See Chapt. II above. The astrological settings for MHT and Book V also bear striking resemblances to each other (see Cain, 148-49, who notes the reference to St. Radigund in the priest's advice to the Fox in MHT, 479-99 [p. 153]).

[251]Harper, Var. III, 229.

[252]Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, viii.3, tr. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966; rpt., 1982), p. 174. The "island Dragons" likely refers to the white and red dragons, respectively, of the Saxons and Britons under Vortigerne (p. 171). Graziani notes that the resemblance between the Galfridian prophecies and Britomart's dream is "unmistakable" (384).

[253]Upton, Var. V, 220; Graziani, 377.

[254]Cf. TFQ, V.vii.12, where the phrase "sweete rest" echoes Geoffrey's "sweetest rest."

[255]Geoffrey, i.11 (Thorpe, 65).

[256]Upton, Var. V, 220.

[257]Valerianus, ch. IV, p. 3.

[258]O'Connell, 140.

[259]The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, tr. George Boas, Bollingen Series XXII (New York: Pantheon Books, 1950), p. 70. See also Fletcher, 275, 195.

[260]Fletcher, 55.

[261]Fletcher, 275; Nohrnberg, 394 and note 229.

[262]Fletcher, 276.

[263]A. Fowler, Numbers, 216.

[264]Cf. Fowler, Numbers, 218-30, and Hamilton, TFQ, V.Pr4.n.

[265]Fowler, Numbers, 42; Williams, Glass, 180, 185.

[266]Nohrnberg, 378.

[267]See Alice Miskimin ("Britomart's Crocodile and the Legend of Chastity," JEGP 77 [1978], 17-36), who believes that Spenser carefully superimposes Egyptian structures on common Romish rituals and cult images forced underground after Henry VIII; cf. Fletcher, 264.

[268]Frank Kermode ("'The Faerie Queene', I and V" in Renaissance Essays [London: Collins, 1971], 33-59) interprets the dream as Spenser's reflection on "the current controversy between the courts of law [i.e., Commons] and the courts of equity" [i.e., Chancery and Star Chamber, the Queen's prerogative courts, whose decisions may overrule those of Commons] (p. 56). Within this context, Britomart's lion represents "natural law" which issues, "according to medieval jurisprudence," from the union of human law (i.e., simple justice or the sometimes rebellious common law) represented by the

crocodile, with equity (the Queen's discretionary and frequently autocratic powers; p. 56). The rationale behind designating the dream's lion as natural law is further clarified in the discussion of Mercilla's court.

[269]Hamilton, Structure, 186-7.

[270]Leo Kirschbaum, ed., Edmund Spenser: Selected Poetry (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1956, 1966 rpt.) xxxiv; cf. Aptekar, 62. Fowler ("Neoplatonic Order") compares the Isis/Osiris imagery of the dream to our contemporary issues of "'social justice' against 'law and order'" and explains that Spenser reveals in the dream the "interplay of fully realized conflicting values" whose "opposition of contraries" is "reconciled in the union" of Isis/Osiris, so that "the apocalyptic kingdom of peace, imaged by their issue Horus," might emerge (55).

[271]The name Jerusalem means, significantly, "Vision of Peace" (St. Augustine, The City of God, XIX.11, tr. Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., Demetrius B. Zema, S.J., et al [Garden City: Doubleday, 1958], p. 451) or "City of Peace" (Ur-u-salem), and thus can be, and has been, interpreted, despite St. Augustine's adamant insistence on their mutual exclusiveness,to encompass both spiritual and political ideals.

[272]Fletcher, 260; Fowler, Numbers, 129. The Jerome Biblical Commentary indicates that "salvation," parallelled with "justice" [cf. RSV, "righteousness], "seems to be the theme of the entire Psalm," and characterizes it as "a lament of the community, to which a divine oracle is given in answer" (Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm., p. 591.101.14), while the RSV refers to the psalm as a "[p]rayer for deliverance from national adversity" (722). Fowler observes that "the theme of Britomart's promised union with Arthegall is related to a traditional festival motif, the Reconciliation of Peace and Righteousness" (Numbers, 129),and notes that "[u]ntil the time came when Peace and Righteousness were united, justice was likely to be achieved only by conflict" (130). Spenserian peace, "as far as is compatible with Righteousness . . . is [therefore] a political ideal very like the one officially pursued by Elizabeth's own government . . . . [and] befits Spenser's patriotic Protestantism" (130). The motivation of this "flexible ideal of armed peacefulness" is, of course, "political convenience" (130). Cf. Chew, Virtues Reconciled, 99-101.

[273]Fowler, Numbers, 257. St. Paul unambiguously defines appropriate Christian attitudes toward civil authorities in Rom 13:1-7; Col 3:22-5, 4:1; and 1Thes 4:11-12, attitudes which the authors of 1Tim 2:1-3 and 1Pet 2:12-18 corroborate (cf. Mk. 12:17 and Acts 5:29). St. Augustine relies on just these Pauline dicta when he proposes to the panicked Romans (Enarr. in Ps., 61.8 in Henry Paolucci, ed., The Political Writings of St. Augustine [South Bend: Henry Regnery Co., 1962], p. 86) what Etienne Gilson refers to as Augustine's "great principle": "Take to yourself good Christians and you will be given good citizens" (The City of God, ed. Walsh, p. 19). The key to Augustine's conception of peace is stated in Book XIX, ch. 13, of The City of God: "Peace, in its final sense, is the calm that comes of order ('pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis')," (Walsh, 456 & n.) an order whose nature he expands on at great length throughout his work. Spenser's Book of Justice is particularly rich in conceptual parallels to Augustine's political thought, perhaps because both works are "provoked by religious controversy, social upheavals, or military disasters" (Paolucci, vii). Thomas Roche discusses Tasso's use of the Jerusalem motif ("Tasso's Enchanted Woods" in Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present, ed. Earl Miner [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977], 49-78), and it is not unlikely that Spenser's poem tacitly reflects some of the same implications found in Tasso's epic (see esp. pp. 54-55).

[274]Cf. Aptekar, who asserts that "one of the themes which Spenser manipulates in Book V is that of the relationship between the Old Law and the New" (54), and Williams, Glass, 183.

[275]Fletcher, 166. David, whose rule over the house of Israel and Judah (2Sam 12:8) fulfills Jacob's blessing on leonine Judah (Gen 49:9-10), kills Goliath (1Sam 17:46; whose challenge, incidentally, is identical to that imposed by Radigund [cf. 1Sam 17:8-10 with TFQ V.iv.49 and vii.28]), while Artegall kills Grantorto, "Like to a Giant for all his monstrous hight" (V.xii.15). Artegall is also indirectly linked to the slaying of the Egalitarian Giant of canto ii.30 via his agent, Talus (it is Arthur, however, who slays Geryoneo, "borne and bred of Gyaunts race" [V.x.9]). Further, just as David's fighting skill is first proved on the lions and bears who attack his flock (1Sam 17:34-7), Artegall is raised by Astraea "in the discipline of justice" (V.i.6) and is caused by her "to make experience/Upon wyld beasts, which she in woods did find,/ With wrongful powre oppressing others of their kind" (7).

Similarly, David's sovereignty and dynastic issue are prophesied by Nathan (2Sam 7:12-17) just as Artegall's future is told to Britomart by Merlin and the priest of Isis (III.iii.26-29; V.vii.21-23). Finally, David's reign is characterized by the administration of "justice and equity to all his people"(2Sam 8:15), a description paralleled by Spenser's description of Artegall in the Argument to V and in V.i.7.

[276]As Spenser notes, V.viii.1-2.

[277]Cf. V.i.1-3 for the parallel between Artegall and Bacchus/Dionysus, and V.v.24 for the likenesses to Hercules. See also Aptekar, passim; Fletcher, 97, 146-9, 153-5, 193-8, 261, 268; Dunseath, 47-59, 71-5, 131-39, 198-204, 232-5; Nohrnberg, 374-6; Evans, Anatomy, 17-18, 40; Cheney, 156; Bayley, 141-2, Fowler, Numbers, 205; and Calliope's lament in Spenser's own Teares of the Myses, 11. 421-80.

[278]In Homer, Achilles' armor is awarded to Ulysses rather than to volatile Ajax because, Nelson reminds us, Ulysses "was adjudged the most useful servant of the Commonwealth" (232), a decision that coincides very well with Artegall's theoretical importance in Spenser's epic. Cf. Williams, Glass, 157-8; Nohrnberg, 457; Evans, Anatomy, 21; and Fletcher, who defends "the heroes' emblematic armor" because it "notifies mankind of their heroic purpose in the profane world" (192).

[279]V.i.20. Sir Sanglier's name is, of course, French for boar, and his encounter with and defeat by the leonine Artegall and Talus recall the lion/boar imagery of many classical battles (see above, p. 164). Two of Talus's duties recall the protective role of Una's lion: his attack on Munera's door (V.ii.24) with that on the door of Corceca's hut (I.iii.13), and his guarding Britomart at Dolon's house (V.vi.26) as the lion guards Una against Kirkrapine (I.iii.19). Cf. Nohrnberg, 416.

[280]The History of the Kings of Britain, iii.15-19 (pp. 102-5 in Thorpe, who prefers "Archgallo" to "Arthgallo."

[281]Gough, Var. V, 161; Fletcher, 157-8; Nelson, 257.

[282]King Morvidus, the father, for instance, sets a blood-thirsty precedent (iii.15) for Talus, who is called

from his slaughter by both Britomart (V.vii.36) and Artegall (V.xi.65), while Gorbonianus' good government brings him praise: "no man alive was more just" or a greater "lover of equity" (iii.15). His brother, Archgallo/Arthgallo, is initially base, but is redeemed and restored to the equitable administration of justice by the compassionate and worthy Elidurus (iii.16-18) by means of a pattern of fierceness and laxity which Spenser recalls in Britomart's tempering of Artegall's wrath. The Galfridian emphasis on justice and equity is a telling detail insofar as it invites thematic comparisons with Book V of The Faerie Queene. Cf. Fletcher, 157.

[283]Fletcher, 157.

[284]See The Jerome Biblical Commentary on Esther (624-5, 626-22), Deborah (153.19.5;2-154.19.5;14-11), and Judith (629.31), and Wilfrid K. Harrington, O.P. Key to the Bible, II, s.v. 'Deborah' and 'Judith' (212-15). Spenser's fifth Book is only slightly less secular than the original canonical fragments of the book of Esther (cf. RSV, 96; JBC, 629; Harrington,II, 211), and while his imaginative projection throughout the entire epic generally reflects the fey operations of the gentile mind, the specific literary techniques he uses to defend and glorify England and its monarch frequently parallel those used by the authors of the Old Testament.

[285]Xerxes or Ahasuerus is, like Holofernes and Sisera, a composite personification of the powers of evil which corresponds to the Spenserian Archimago, Geryoneo, or Grantorto (cf. Harrington, II, 214). 'Esther' "almost certainly" (JBC, 629, 34: 2.7) derives from the name of the Babylonian goddess "Ishtar" (cf. Harrington, II, 211) or "star," and as a composite goddess-queen, corresponds to the transfiguration of Britomart in her dream and the subsequent partial fulfillment of that transfiguration in her government of Radegone.

[286]David Bergeron (English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642 [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971]) cites a pamphlet likely written by Richard Mulcaster, Spenser's teacher at the Merchant Taylor's School (13), which describes the queen's coronation entry of 1559, including details of the last pageant on Fleet Street, where, under an artificial palm tree sat "'Debora the judge and restorer of the house of Israel' . . . apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand'" (p. 54 in pamphlet, p. 21 in Bergeron). Aside from

thematic links with Britomart as ruler of Radegone and restorer of Artegall, the figure of Deborah also anticipates Mercilla, for "[s]urrounding her were six persons, two each representing the nobility, the clergy, and the commonalty--Deborah's advisors" (p. 21; cf. the six witnesses for the prosecution against Duessa: Zele, Kingdom's Care, Authority, Law of Nations, Religion and Justice, plus the People's Cry and Commons Sute" (v.ix.43-4). This figure of Deborah "taken from Biblical history," Bergeron concludes, "is presented to Elizabeth as 'a worthie presedent . . . a worthie woman judge'" (22).

[287]Fletcher, 276. Britomart's attitude of reverence before the pagan deities, Cupid (III.xi.22) and Isis (V.vii.3, 7-8, 12ff), for instance, as well as her many vigils and her faithful adherence to principles of love and friendship, recall Judith's rabbinical piety (Jdt 8:4-8; 9:1-14), while the tone of her abrupt dismissal of Radigund's "termes" (V.vii.28) resembles Judith's passionate rebuke to the disheartened elders and Uzziah (8:9-29). The close parallel between the dispatching of the tyrants Radigund (V.vii.34) and Holofernes (13: 1-10) is self-evident, with Spenser's narrative reflecting the primitive semitic conviction that such military activity is "a sacred function" (JBC, 54:36). By the same token, Spenser's almost machiavellian acceptance of "forged guile and open force" (V.vii.7) in Book V reflects Judith's invocation of God's blessing upon her own deceit and violence (9:10, 13; 13:4-7); cf. JBC, 626, 22.11ff) against the enemies of her people. Further significant similarities lie in the heroines' names--"Judith" or "Jewess," the "ideal representative of Judaism" (JBC, 626.22.1; Harrington, 214) and "Britomart," the British warrior-maid descended from the eponymous hero, Brute--and the obvious didactic functions of each narrative. Frances Yates remarks that "Judith is a name often used of Elizabeth" (Astraea, 77 n3), and in a progress taken by the queen during the late summer of 1578 through Suffolk and Norfolk, one of the pageant stages set up in Norwich's market place presents "[f]ive women representing the City of Norwich, Deborah, Judith, Hester [Esther], and Martia [cf. Brito- (or Brute) mart(ia)] 'sometime queene of England'" (Bergeron, 39-40). "Judith cites her own valour and asks the queen to 'hold for aie a noble victors part'," while Hester and Deborah recite various pertinent counsels to the queen, after which declamations her virtues are extolled in a final song of praise (40).

[288]One of the central events in Book V's Artegall/Britomart liaison is Britomart's deliverance of the Knight

of Justice from Radigund. In this context of deliverance, it is interesting to note that the ancient song of Miriam (Ex 15: 19-21) and the Song of Deborah (Jgs 5) are the "oldest pieces of Hebrew poetry" extant (JBC, 54.36). The dominant note of exultant victory in these two songs anticipates the triumphant Song of Judith (16:1-17), and the theme of national deliverance by praiseworthy women in Judges and Judith is echoed by Spenser's paeans to his own queen (I.Pr.4) and the providential mandate inspiring her rule (JBC, 624-5, Harrington, 214) throughout the epic, and particularly in the semitic severity of the fifth book. Cf. Williams, Glass, 95.

[289]Fowler, Numbers, 214.

[290]Fowler, Numbers, 213.

[291]Fletcher, 264, 275; Graziani, 384.

[292]Nohrnberg, 391; Cheney, 175.

[293]Fowler, Numbers, 213.

[294]Fowler, Numbers, 129; Jerome Biblical Commentary, 591; Chew, Virtues, 35 and passim.

[295]Cf. Nygren, 611, 619-25. It is possible to interpret Book I as individual apocalypse and Book V as political apocalypse by comparing Redcrosse and Artegall in terms of spiritual and temporal Eros linked to Agape by the distinct loves Britomart has for both knights. Her deliverance of both knights is an important part of her character as Agape-love assuming the temporal burdens of Christian Eros-love. To the extent that she risks much and suffers much she exemplifies the selfless devotion of Agape.

[296]Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 49. Clifford Davidson defends Britomart as a Christian heroine whose character incorporates pagan truths which are limited but "not to be condemned" ("The Idol of Isis Church," 74).

[297]Hough attributes the cold critical response to Book V to a number of factors: a weakening of "invention and narrative power," generally "flat" verse and allegory, and perhaps most tellingly, because the "thematic material is less deeply felt than in I or II" (191). It seems to

me that the nature of the material, with its heavy-handed emphasis on social and political matters and its "inescapable" historical allegory (Hough, 191) is responsible for the general distaste for V, rather than any personal attitude on the part of the poet. Tonkin judges "inexorability" to be the "dominant impression" created by the "well-wrought" book of Justice ("Theme and Emblem," 228), and Kit Williams finds it "disappointing" only "if we direct our attention too exclusively to the 'naive' allegory of topical politics" (Glass, 151). Samuel Chew's impression is that Spenser's imagination was "stained" by his "experiences as an official of the ruthless administration in Ireland" (Virtues, 119), a view shared by Lewis, who makes "no attempt to excuse" the way Britain's "detestable policy" in Ireland had begun "to corrupt [the poet's] imagination" (Allegory of Love, 349).

[298]Hamilton emphasizes the literary element of the marriage debate rather than the caritas theme in the affection between Artegall and Britomart but does conclude, nonetheless, that love is stronger than war (Structure, 180-5; however, cf. Kermode, Renaissance Essays, 38). See also Davidson, 70, 81, and Jean McMahon Humez ("This Richly Patterned Page" in Eterne in Mutabilitie: The Unity of The Faerie Queene, Kenneth J. Atchity, ed. [Hamden: Archon Books, 1972], 65-104), who notes that the love of Britomart and Artegall seems "perfunctory and unconvincing" as a romance but "appealing in the abstract" (p. 91).

[299]Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 49; cf. Bieman, 165, and Hamilton, who indicates that "the two virtues, and the two states of the Old Law and the New" are united "in the harmony of marriage," which results in a "higher state" where the pattern of solar and lunar imagery in Books III and IV "is resolved in Book V" (Structure, 186).

[300]Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 49. Britomart, of course, comes closest (Tuve, AI, p. 50), but as T. K. Dunseath (Spenser's Allegory of Justice in Book V of The Faerie Queene [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1968]) notes, "Spenser never sentimentalizes man's condition; no one succeeds completely" (229).

[301]Yates, Astraea, 65, 69. Lewis instructively characterizes justice as a civil art, "the grand principle of subordination" (Allegory of Love, 348), rather than a simple egalitarianism (AL, 347), and to the extent he is right, Spenser's Mercilla is ideal. Cf. Lewis, Spenser's

Images of Life, 104, and Fowler, who claims Mercilla is the reincarnation of Astraea (Numbers, 196-7), as does Fletcher (171).

[302]Joanne Craig, "The Image of Mortaility: Myth and History in The Faerie Queene," ELH 39 (1972), 520-44, p. 540; her relevant line is quoted by Hamilton, The Faerie Queene, 526.

[303]Graziani sees the "great strength" of English power in Britomart's lion as the result of the "union achieved through law [crocodile/Osiris/Artegall as common law] and the consultation of the nation [Isis/Britomart as equity]" (382), a union which "produces a righteous strength sufficient to confound all enemies" (376). Kermode claims that Mercilla's lion fulfills Britomart's dream in that it "is the common law in bondage to equity" (58); cf. Aptekar, 58-69, 108. Nelson concludes that "Mercilla is to the lion as Isis is to the crocodile" (269), which reading is confirmed by Williams (Glass, 176 and n. 20) and Nohrnberg, for whom the "crocodile modulates into a slightly bilious British lion" (364). Its rebellious murmur may again be evidence that it figures Spenser's strong-minded courtiers, Raleigh and Essex, as did the chained lion of MHT.

[304]Mercilla's mercy expressed as aid to Belge does have a factual antecedent in Elizabethan pageantry, however, which draws on the iconography of St. Jerome and his lion to make its point. For Leicester's 1584 entry into Utrecht, the third of three scaffolds erected in his honor presented "a figure personating Elizabeth before whom was a likeness of a lion with a sore foot. The 'queen' caused her handmaiden to bind up the wound of the Belgic lion" (Bergeron, 55). To reinforce the combination of religious and political elements of this iconography, the first scaffold "contained Faith who offered Leicester a gold ring" (Bergeron, 54). Mercilla as a figure of religio-political justice emblematizing Elizabeth may also be indebted to the pageantry of Leicester's 1586 visit to Haarlem, where one scene "contained the Maiden of Belgia bearing in one hand a scutcheon with England's arms and in the other a sword, 'and diverse persons lieng dead before her. . .' [Holinshed, IV] (p. 651)" while another scene "[f]urther in the town" included a person who "portrayed 'the queene of England with hir sword in her hand, under whome laie envie, tyrannie, and diverse other the like, all whom she had brought under. . .' [Holinshed, IV] (p. 651)" (Bergeron, 54). Bergeron comments on this scene

that "Elizabeth as a Justice figure has thus conquered vice and offers her hand in support of the oppressed Dutch" (54); the similarity between this pageant and Spenser's verbal evocation of the queen in Mercilla is manifest.

[305]This exaction of leonine vengeance is an official and more or less bureaucratic equivalent to the instinctive righting of wrong practiced by Una's lion versus Kirkrapine; cf. Marotti, 72.

[306]Evans perceives the irony of the Mercilla episode: "she is unable to exercise her own quality," for justice, "when softened by . . . normal humanity becomes less effective" (Anatomy, 201). However, cf. Cheney, 166.

[307]The source of Spenser's 'embarassment' lies in the perhaps unavoidable confounding of tenor and vehicle, for in the literal narrative Duessa is clearly guilty, and Mercilla's tears are the merest rhetorical excess unless the context is Christian, for in Classical or Romance traditions remorse or regret for the death of a wicked enemy is uncalled for. The moral significance is completely fulfilled by the dealing of justice alone, and the emotions of pity or anger have no place there. Historical interpretation is much more complex, however, for if Duessa represents Mary, Queen of Scots, Spenser is justifying two important legal points: first, the dreadful precedent of executing a crowned monarch, an act whose political (and personal) consequences cannot be lost on Spenser's own crowned monarch, and second, the implication that Mercilla's acquiescence to the general condemnation of Duessa figures (or at least implies) the subordinate status of Elizabeth's royal power to that of Parliament (cf. Kermode, 49 ff.; Jenkins, 186). Graziani thinks that the historical execution of Mary actually takes place when Britomart slays Radigund, with Spenser altering the chronology of events in order to mask the allegorical significance (377ff.). Roger Sale finds the canto break between Mercilla's tears and her honoring Duessa's corpse "very moving," though he acknowledges that Spenser "fussily and fraudulently . . . scurries around his subject" and "throws in a rhetorical smoke screen about the divine origin of mercy" (175). Cain epitomizes the reader's sense of moral impasse in the episode by noting that "the harmony of justice and mercy praised in the icon cannot be realized in political action" unless we "ignore" the kind of reading of the poem "Spenser has inculcated in us from the beginning" (145). Chew concludes with regret that evidently "Spenser regarded mercy as a private virtue, commendable in the individual but not in the state," where it appears as "weakness" or the

"ornament of royalty" rather than the foundation of a sovereign's rule (Virtues, 119). It is perhaps only fair to Spenser to remember that "mercy seldom appears in English imaginative literature as an individual personified abstraction" (Virtues, 109), with the result being that Spenser has very little tradition to go on in his depiction of Mercilla. Fletcher, however, in defending Artegall, also indirectly defends the Mercilla episode: "the one thing critics have held against his portrait [of Artegall] is the one thing that is most heroic and natural about it, its historic coloration" (189). Fletcher goes on to claim that what has been understood as Spenser's "reactionary . . . sadistic imperialism" is really "a peculiar ambivalence toward the interaction of force and right," an ambivalence whose function is "redeeming" (189).

[308]See Aptekar, 60. Commentary on the Isis and Osiris motif is included in Kermode (55-6), Davidson (85-6), Miskimin (21), Nohrnberg (388, 603), Fletcher (250-2, 261-2), Williams (Glass, 175-6), and Fowler (Numbers, 210, 212, 218). Beyond the 'natural' mythic significance of maternity for Britomart as Knight of Chastity and eventual mother, is her specific alliance to the historical cult of Queen Elizabeth as Imperial Virgin who metaphorically gives birth to the English nation (Yates, 59ff.). See also Bieman, 170, and Peter S. Hawkins, "From Mythography to Myth-making: Spenser and the Magna Mater Cybele," Sixteenth Century Journal 12 (1981), 51-64.

[309]Despite the fact that Book V's events very precisely mirror the "chief political events" of Spenser's England, Nelson considers the Book's "principal concern" to be ethice rather than politice (274). See also Williams, Glass, 176.

[310]Aptekar perceives the lion as representing "the just monarch's proper executive force, which the merciful monarch restrains" (65), and cites Ripa's emblem of Forza alla giustitia sottoposto as iconographical evidence (see Fig. 73). This figure also includes the sword of justice, an icon of force that Spenser presents in relation to both Artegall (though Radigund eventually breaks it [V.v.21]) and Mercilla; see Wm. Nelson, "Queen Elizabeth, Spenser's Mercilla, and a Rusty Sword," (Renaissance News 18 [1968], 113-17), and The Poetry of Edmund Spenser, where the rusty sword is a "sign of power so great it is rarely used. So too is the huge lion at

her feet" (267; cf. Williams, Glass, 178). As Horton notes, the image of a royal virgin accompanied by a lion (e.g., Una, Britomart, Cambina, Mercilla) is used for those patrons associated with the history of England (178).

[311]After Augustine, "misericordia became not occasionally but commonly and properly one of the forces of Justice" rather than its dialectical opposite (Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 67; cf. Williams, Glass, 163, and Nohrnberg, 300, 382). Dunseath claims, however, that "strictly speaking" mercy is not a part of Justice but of Temperance (214), a claim echoed by Sale: "Spenser has to call what Mercilla does merciful but cannot render it as such" (177). Cf. Cain, 143-44, and his pertinent query: "Why name the Queen's type Mercilla only to infect the name with ambiguity?" (146).

[312]Yates, Astraea, passim, but esp. 33-7, 82ff; Kermode, 58-9. Hough comments on V that "we are accustomed to find Spenser's themes based on something better than the wisdom of political expediency" (193) and concludes that "Spenser's general pitilessness in V "is plainly one of the corruptions of imperialism" (195), though he singles out the trial of Duessa as "an exceptionally fair and plausible piece of dialectic" whose "political atmosphere [does] not forbid the humanity of divided sympathies" (199; cf. Tonkin, "Theme and Emblem," 224-5), an understanding corroborated by K. Williams' opinion that "the one wholly successful piece of historical allegory" in V is the Mercilla episode" (Glass, 153).

[313]Kermode, 52.

[314]Yates, 39, 71; Fowler, Forms, 27-8.

[315]Fletcher, 161.

[316]"Mercilla's lion, like her sword, clearly represents the power which is the right hand of Justice" (Aptekar, 61), with the chains indicating that "the just queen controls and dominates hostile force" (65). Determining the eternal (as opposed to the proximate) results of such power is a heavy burden, however, and Spenser's pageant faithfully mirrors the complexities of the queen's judgments. The key to deciding the degree of his success in general in the episode seems to lie in

assessing the relationship between justice and mercy. O'Connell claims that for Spenser, equity "is not identified with mercy" (146) despite the fact that Nelson refers to Bodin and Aristotle to support his claim that equity is "the legal equivalent of the quality of mercy" (Poetry, 268). Hamilton offers a compromise when he indicates that Dunseath's study of Book V argues for a progression from justice to equity to mercy (TFQ, 525), a progression cogently explained in terms of Renaissance legal theory by James E. Phillips ("Renaissance Concepts of Justice and the Structure of The Faerie Queene, Book V," Huntington Library Quarterly 33 (1970), 103-20). Richard Hardin's recent essay ("A Whig Reading of the Mercilla Episode," Spenser at Kalamazoo: Proceedings of Special Sessions at the Seventeenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, 1982, ed. Russell J. Meyer [Clarion, Pennsylvania: Clarion State College, 1982], 36-49) imaginatively perceives Mercilla as "a mean between the excess of mercy in the historical Elizabeth and the defect of it in the tyrants of V" (45), with the allegory turning on "matters of the commonwealth" and conceptualizing the "relations between secular and spiritual law" (47). Fowler remarks the tension between Christian and political elements in Renaissance triumphs, the age's "dominant form of pageantry," and attributes "the visible honor," amounting to near deification, accorded the triumphator (Forms, 27) to the lofty Renaissance ideal that affirms "the mutable glory of the mundane world," while also noting the age's "deep uneasiness about the presumption of earthly glory" (28). Mercilla's pageant reflects these tensions and thus provokes a fuller understanding of the problems attending Queen Elizabeth's exercise of sovereignty (cf. Fowler, Numbers, 68). As K. Williams acknowledges, "The poem gives us no justification for supposing that Spenser complacently regarded matters of state in his own time as entirely adequate justice," and she reminds us that, "like us, he sees that what is is not what should be" (Glass, 153), in that he "stresses the absence of justice in a bad modern world, not its glorious reaffirmation in Elizabeth and her government" (Glass, 155). Hough laments that "in specific political cases" Spenser is apparently "not living up to the insights that his Christian and Classical training could have given him" (193), but Tuve counters this criticism by asserting that justice is "the most interesting virtue" and the one which "most violently resists the attempt to denominate virtues Classical or Christian" (Allegorical Imagery, 66).

[317]These complexities lead Alpers to conclude that since the Mercilla episode "leaves the conflict between

justice and mercy . . . unresolved . . . moral understanding in The Faerie Queene does not take the form of action in The Faerie Queene" (287), and he suggests that "perhaps we should regard it as a form of knowledge" (287). Fletcher, however, refers to the trial's outcome as "a triumph of truth" (144) and posits that "perhaps justice meets history proper in its relation to the persons of the trial and ritual in the forms of the trial" (145-6). Duessa is, of course, "the daughter of debate" (Fletcher, 240).

[318]But as Nohrnberg realizes, "the condemnation of Duessa as Mary Queen of Scots . . . effectively terminates her allegorical otherness" (657; cf. Cain, 144). In the last analysis, the critical consensus seems to be that Spenser is using the morality of the narrative's literal level to justify the morality of history.

[319]Marotti, 76; see also above, where the lion of MHT administers justice and mercy together as Spenser's idealized version, uncomplicated by actual historical exigency, of appropriate royal action. Roger Sale tellingly complains of Spenser's depiction of "prophetic history" in cantos viii-xi: though it attempts "a larger-scale reworking of contemporary events," the "result is that Faerieland only mirrors political and military events instead of illuminating them" (171).

[320]Nohrnberg, 657.

[321]Even Arthur is not exempt from this learning process for he, like Redcrosse and Artegall, is susceptible to misplaced pity and is deflected from it by Artegall's sterness.

[322]Miss Yates notes that in a play presented for the Queen in 1588 by Gray's Inn, the law students characterize themselves as "servants of Dame Astraea, or Justice" (Astraea, 62).

[323]Yates, Astraea, 62 n3. "The Fairy Queen myth was [also] an accepted part of Accesion Day Tilt Romance" (Astraea, 99; cf. Kermode, 58).

[324]Graziani, 384. There is a certain ironic truth in the heraldic prophecies of Merlin and the priests of Isis for, in fact, a lion does come to rule England via Britomart/Elizabeth--the Scots lion, James IV, son of Mary

and the successor designated by Elizabeth herself before her death. (Cf. Graziani, 385, n.52).

[325]Frank Kermode details the important legal and judicial precedents involved (33-59, esp. 52-4; cf. Graziani, 378ff). The contest between common law and courts of equity implicit in Duessa's trial vividly recalls the complex political tensions satirized in MHT; Northrop Frye identifies "the central image" of Book V's conception of equity as "the virgin guiding the raging monster" (85), a comment which reflects the leonine significances of Una and Cambina as well as Mercilla, and is thus useful and pertinent (despite Frye's intimation that "the lion under Mercilla's throne" may possibly be identified "with a human lover" [85]). Cain's reading of Mercilla's lion echoes Frye's when he states that the creature "has many meanings, all of them violent":

> justice controlling enemies; rebellion suppressed; royal power held in restraint; the lion couchant, a royal emblem; the potentiality for anger (the lion responds to "salvage choler"); the passions tamed, especially restraint of anger in judgement (140).

Aptekar offers various other leonine embodiments of hostile force in Mercilla's lion and suggests that the lion may complexly represent Elizabeth's own passions (66-67), with clemency acting as a kind of self-control (68). Dunseath concurs when he posits that the "magistrate cannot always diminish punishment, but must always suppress wrath, which is the moral meaning of the lion beneath Mercilla's throne" (216).

[326]Woodhouse appeals to the "specifically Christian note" of mercy as something distinct from and rectifying the "uncertain and unorganized sentiment of pity," the best notion of mercy available to natural ethics ("Nature and Grace," 77). Cheney too, see the actions of Britomart and Mercilla as "tempering influences" which help Spenser's vision pass to a vision of Christian justice (160).

[327]See Graziani, 377, 379-80; Aptekar, 69; Fletcher, 236-40.

[328]Jenkins, 275-6, 279. Since she "sheds a tear" instead of "pronouncing sentence" at Duessa's trial, Nelson concludes Mercilla emerges as "Queen Natural"

rather than "Queen Politic" (275), a theory which ultimately compares the queen's "two bodies" to the hypostatic union of "humanity and divinity in Christ" (125), thus effectively Christianizing Spenser's imperial virgin, at least, if not openly asserting the divine right of kings.

[329]Graziani, 379-80. Nelson argues, "the central purpose of the legend" is that it is "greater prayse to save then spill," despite the overt contradiction in the "side-long" sentence of Duessa's death (271). See Fletcher, 280-5.

[330]Graziani, 379; cf. Hamilton, Structure, 190.

[331]Graziani, 380. Phillips includes the engaging phraseology of Hursault in his discussion of "vain pity": "favor and mercy granted to naughty-packs, is nought else but crueltie towards good men" (Politike, Moral, and Martial Discourses, 191-2, as quoted in Phillips, 114); cf. Nohrnberg, 353, 383, and Cain, 142-3.

[332]Graziani, 382.

[333]Graziani, 382. Nohrnberg comments: "the final outcome [of the trial] makes the point that however clement the magistrate, his first function is to secure his sovereignty. This [is] the history-lesson" the characters learn (368), and indicates "the major idea of Book V--sovereignty" (378). Sale, on the other hand, claims that the Mercilla episode is "Spenser's most determined effort to show that his vision of justice is not simply a strenuous exercise in the wielding of power" (173).

[334]Letter of Venetian Ambassador, Paris, 8 December 1586 in Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1581-91, ed. Horatio Brown (London, 1894), p. 226 (as cited in Graziani, 386-7, n. 60).

[335]With the suppression of the cult of the Virgin Mary in England, other feminine archetypes of sovereignty resurface from classical literature to influence Spenser's imagery (Yates, 80, 86; cf. Williams, Glass, 176). The astrological Virgo, for instance, who has "a hint of Isis in her nature" (Yates, 32) is primary, as is the Carthaginian deity Atargatis, or Virgo Caelistis (later

Juno, patroness of Rome; Yates, 32 and n 9).

[336]Harold Weatherby ("Spenser's Dame Nature and the Transfiguration: The Possible Influence of John of Damascus," Spenser at Kalamazoo [1982] 9-21) credits the Damascene with providing for Spenser a "convincing theological rationale" (9) drawn from the Greek Patristic doctrine of theosis (11) for equating God and Nature. Spenser, claims Weatherby, "goes further" than the traditions which see Nature as "creatrix and as God's vicar" by "insisting that she be God himself--and not the god of the philosophers but the God of our Fathers, the glorified Saviour" (11). Because of Christ's victory in the flesh over mutability and death (12), "the rest of physical creation partakes of [his] deification" (12). Such a conclusion, however compelling, risks making Spenser a pantheist, and C. S. Lewis anticipates the problem when he asserts that the poet does not equate God with Nature: "He was a Christian, not a pantheist," and was "using mythological forms to hint theological truths," and so participating in a well-established poetic tradition (Allegory of Love, 355). The nature of the impasse represented by the above two critical positions is assessed by Northrop Frye and resolved (or evaded, perhaps) by recourse to the literary differences between metaphoric, metonymic, and descriptive langages (The Great Code: The Bible and Literature [New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982], 5-16, esp. 7-9, 11, 15).

[337]See Alanus de Insulis, The Complaint of Nature, tr. Douglas Moffat (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1972 rpt. of 1908 Yale University Press edn.), Prose I, 81-4 (p. 7), and cf. Edwin Greenlaw, "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," SP 20 (1923), 217-43, pp. 225, 228.

[338]Fletcher comments on the dream that "Spenser is almost systematic in his adherence to ideas of appearance, vision, and seeming, to indicate the wondrous sight that constitutes the prophetic moment in its purest form" (269).

[339]The justification cannot be assailed; it can, however, be dismissed; see Frye, The Great Code, xviii-xix. Spenser's use of the Transfiguration simile precludes identifying Nature simply as the Magna Mater (Peter Hawkins, "From Mythography to Myth-making"; Greenlaw, "Cults"; and Harry Berger, Jr., "The Mutabilitie Cantos: Archaism and Evolution in Retrospect," in Spenser: A Collection of Critical Essays [Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, (1968)], 146-76, pp. 167-8), as yet another

embodiment of Isis (Greenlaw, "Cults," 238-40), or as the celestial Venus (Josephine Waters Bennett, "Spenser's Venus and the Goddess Nature of the 'Cantos of Mutabilitie'," SP 30 [1923], 160-92; Helen Andrews Kahin, "Spenser and the School of Alanus," ELH 8 [1941], 257-72; Nelson, 306; and, to a certain extent, Cheney, 244. While characterizing Spenser as a mystic ("Cults," 241), Greenlaw curiously omits any reference to the Transfiguration, preferring here to emphasize Spenser's debt to Alanus as he had earlier emphasized the influence of Lucretius ("Spenser and Lucretius," SP 17 [1920], 439-64).

[340]See Nohrnberg, 753. At another point Nohrnberg claims that the epiphanic appearance of Nature "proves terminal for the poem as a whole" just as "the unveiling of Una marked the end of Book I" (776).

[341]See Bayley, Prince, 97, and Nohrnberg, 82.

[342]Cf. Nohrnberg, who sees the apotheosis and departure of Nature as "inevitably ironic" (776), and Cheney, who instead finds the "tone of the first third of the Cantos . . . one of detached, ironic wit" (241-2, emphasis mine). See also Horton, 169-70, on the meaning of Nature's disappearance.

[343]See Horton, 158-9.

[344]The only direct references to lions in Book VI are relatively casual and occur in the description of the Briton, Sir Tristram, who was "wont to launch the salvage hart/Of many a Lyon, and of many a Beare/ . . . in chase" (ii.6), and in the battle which Calidore fights "Like as a Lyon mongst an heard of dere" against the brigands who have stolen Pastorella (xi. 49). The latter reference indicates again the leonine association of Wrath, and its significance is amplified by Evans' remark that "Calidore is the spiritual son of Britomart and Artegall" the leonine heroes of Books III and V (Anatomy, 225). As for Tristram, his birthplace is "the fertile Lionesse," which Hamilton indicates is "the fabled land west of Cornwall, between Land's End and the Scillies" (ii.30 and n.), and which therefore furnishes a happy, if fortuitous, pun so far as this analysis is concerned.

[345]Isabel McCaffrey (Spenser's Allegory: The Anatomy

of Imagination [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976]), comments that "the poem ends with a repudiation of fictions and a confession of the human limits of imagining" (431), a conclusion which reflects the modern tendency to repudiate the truth of fictions in favor of the headier and more robust truths of science, but which bears little resemblance to the poetics of Spenser and of Sidney's Defence, where the poet's fiction is freed from the onus of being "untrue" because the poet "nothing affirmeth" (The Defence of Poesie, 1595, in Prose of the English Renaissance, ed. J. Wm. Hebel, Hoyt H. Hudson, et al., [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952 , 289.31). In truth, Spenser's prayer is not so much "a repudiation of fictions" or poetic approximations as it is a longing for a more perfect vision.

346 Cf. Evans, 238-9, and Nelson, 311.

347 See Bayley, 153-4, and Hough, 217-18.

348 Frye, Structures of Imagery, 80. Additional reasons for assuming that Spenser's interpolation of the Faunus episode is not arbitrary include the classical associations of the "foolish Faune" (vi. 46) with the Roman goddess, the Bona Dea. According to Varro and Macrobius, her proper name was Fauna, and she was either the wife or daughter of the god Faunus. Since her cult was followed exclusively by women, Spenser's Diana and her female retinue come to mind as a pertinent detail in this association, which is reinforced by the fact that Fauna was also related to Hygeia or 'Health,' Ascelpius' daughter, who was, like Diana, virginal, and yet frequently addressed as "Mother most high," much as Spenser has Mutability refer to Nature as "Great Grandmother" (vii.13; The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Second edn., ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 1970; rpt. 1978). The Roman feast of Lupercalia also sheds some interesting light on Spenser's Faunus' interpolation; first, in view of Diana's curse on Arlo, which makes the mountain a haven for wolves and thieves (vi.55), and second, because of the hunting hounds who turn against Actaeon because he is forced to flee in a deer's skin. Most significantly, the Lupercalia was held (on 15 February) in honor of Faunus and consisted in the sacrifice of goats and dogs, whose flayed skins were then worn by youths of the city as they raced around the Palatine inflicting mock cruelties on whomever they met (particularly women), as rites of purification and fertility (Oxford Classical Dictionary). The name of the feast derived from the Arcadian mountain, Lycaeus, which, in

turn was named for an ancient king who challenged Zeus' divine authority (cf. Mutability), and was changed into a wolf for his presumption. The Romans imported the festival and adapted Lycaeus into the Latin form of wolf; hence, Lupercalia. It also may be significant that Lycaeus' only daughter (after fifty sons) is Callisto, whose myth is suggested as one of Spenser's sources (see Richard N. Ringler, "The Faunus Episode," MP 63 (1965), 12-19; rptd. in Essential Articles, 289-98; see esp. 292). The third myth Spenser is presumed to have borrowed for the Faunus episode is that of Alphaeus and Arethusa (see Ringler, 292), with Alphaeus being the river that rises in Arcadia and runs clear and unmingled to join the spring of Arethusa at Syracuse. Since Callisto's son by Zeus was named Arcas, and furnishes the eponym for Arcadia, the geographic source of both Alphaeus and Mt. Lycaeus, and the mythic reference informing Spenser's pastoral scene on Arlo, the reference to the wolves appears to have a classical precedent in Arcadia itself, in addition to the factual one in the Irish history of Spenser's own day. The conflation of myths the poet subsumes within the story of Faunus thus belies its former critical status as a superficial or irrelevant digression.

[349]However, see Berger, "Retrospect," 163.

[350]A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," Essential Articles, 58-83, esp. 59-60. Though Professor Woodhouse confines the operations of Grace to the first book only (61), the motifs of Agape and Eros appear more or less systematically throughout the epic, as I have shown, with their presence shadowing forth the theme of caritas and implying the actions of grace or providence throughout Spenser's mimetic creation.

[351]Theodor Gang, 22.

[352]Cf. Mt 13: 30 and 43; Jn 4:35ff; Mk 4:29. The anagogical sense of July recalls Dürer's Sol Iustitiae (see Fig. 40), though the motif Dürer uses is the scales rather than the sickle. Nevertheless, the identification of Sol or the Sun and Leo, the astrological House of the Lion, implies, in Dürer, the height of solar and leonine power and according to Panofsky, abstracts into an "equation of the astrological notion medium coeli, with the theological notion, medium coeli et terrae, presumed to be the seat of the Judge" (Erwin Panofsky, Meaning and the Visual Arts [Garden City: Doubleday, 1955] 262; cf. Fowler, Numbers, 70). As both Panofsky and Fowler

indicate, the rhetorical adjunct of the images is indebted to Bersuire (see above, Chapter III). A matter of additional interest, because it relates leonine July to the Transfiguration image of leonine Nature, is the Old Testament feast of Tabernacles or Booths (Ex 34:23; Lev 23: 33-36, 39-43; Zech 13: 16-19) held at the time of the autumn ingathering and originally a nature festival. The name of the feast derives from the making of booths, or arbors, or bowers (cf. Nohrnberg, 774) from branches and boughs of leafy trees as a reminder that the Hebrews in Exodus dwelled in tents (Ex 34: 21-4). The feast was held, moreover, from the fifteenth to the twentieth day of the seventh month, or Tishri (cf. Spenser's astrological calendar where July is the fifth month, with the January-December method of counting which makes July the seventh month), and followed the high holy days of the New Year (Rosh ha-shanah; Tishri, 1-2) and the Day of Atonement (Yom ha Kippurim, Tishri 10; from Vergilius Ferm, ed., Encyclopedia of Religion [New York: Philosophical Library, 1945; 1981 rpt.], s.v. "Jewish Religious Festivals"). Sukhot or Tabernacles signifies the hopes of the Hebrews in the earthly rule of the Messiah, with "the symbolism of the arbours" acting as the "key to a most important New Testament happening, namely, the Transfiguration," which prefigures the resurrected Christ as prince of a heavenly kingdom (Jean Daniélou, S.J., Primitive Christian Symbols, tr. Donald Attwater [Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1964 tr. of Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1961 edn.], pp. 6, 9). Daniélou refers, of course, to the three booths, presumably of tree branches, which Peter desired to erect on Thabor to mark the event he had just witnessed and to honor Moses, Elijah, and Christ (Mt 17:4; Mk 9:2-5; Lk 9:33). The mountain image of Spenser's Arlo Hill, as well as the garlanding of Mole, the profuse burgeoning of plants at nature's coming, and the convocation of the months are all reminiscent of the Old Testament feast and its New Testament fulfillment.

[353]Cf. Fowler, Triumphal Forms, 58-60. Sherman Hawkins ("Mutabilitie and the Cycle of the Months" in Form and Convention in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser, Wm. Nelson, ed. [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961; rpt. 1967], 76-102), identifies July's lion with the danger and evil of the Nemean lion, but maintains that the control July has over the beast stresses Spenser's "ethical lesson: the obligation to bring the golden age to pass" (96-7).

[354]Fletcher characterizes this type of primitive law-giver as a "social bandit" (146-64).

[355]See Paul Ricoeur, "On Consolation" in The Religious Significance of Atheism, Alasdair MacIntyre and Paul Ricoeur (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 81-97, esp. 87-96. Ricoeur's position (very roughly, that the world, made into an entirely objective mental picture of itself by Descartes' theories, was then thrust into the background "as mere fact, with no value" while human will alone becomes the "origin of values" in the philosophies of men like Kant, Fichte, and Nietzsche [92]), is beautifully confirmed by the entire thesis of C. S. Lewis' The Discarded Image (London, et al.,: Cambridge University Press, 1964; 1979 rpt.), and particularly where Lewis notes "the characteristic virtue of good medieval work: . . . the absence of strain . . . [so that] we are at first hardly aware of a poet at all" (205). Michael Murrin, too, agrees with Lewis, in his discussion of the allegorical trope as a representation of "a value judgment made by comparison" (Veil, 65), for in allegory, "morality is the product of language" (66), the stuff of which "the allegorical poet molds the invisible standards by which society lives" (62).

[356]Cf. Cheney, 244.

[357]Wm. Nelson offers one of the most carefully worded considerations of Mutability's challenge and Nature's response (Study, 304-5). Susan Fox's reading of the cantos, however ("Eterne in Mutabilitie: Spenser's Darkening Vision" in Eterne in Mutabilitie, ed. Atchity, 20-41), assumes Spenser is defeated by the threat of recurrence implicit in Mutability's challenge (36, 39-40) because the answer Nature offers is simply "not . . . viable" (40). The source of such grimness is, perhaps, the confusion of poet as artificer with poet as private human being, a confusion not unfamiliar in much modern criticism, but in the case of Spenser, particularly unwarranted because of the paucity of information available about his private life.

[358]Fowler, Numbers, 216.

[359]Nohrnberg, 79. Much of the argument's matter probably derives from Pythagoras' lengthy speech in the last book of Ovid's Metamorphosis (Hough, 218-21; Nelson, 300-01). While the argument's form suggests that the debate is the denouement of a two-act drama (Lewis, Images, 74-5), the mode is dialectical (Cheney, 243), and even juridical (e.g., Mutability calls up her evidence in the pageant), with the tone being contemplative rather than

histrionic. The two-stanza prayer recapitulates the general outline of all the particulars that have gone before, foreshortens the perspectives on Time and Justice provided by the abundant detail, and acts as a fitting summation to the argument itself and to the entire poem as it has come down to us (cf. Nohrnberg, 85-6). Since the major issue of the Cantos is justice (what Mutability insists on as her right and what leonine Nature asserts in the prescriptive phrase "rightly wayd" [vii.58]), which is the titular theme of Book V and the chief substance of its two core cantos (Britomart's dream and Mercilla's judgment), the forum provided by the two stories in the Cantos of Mutabilitie, and the ideal determined upon in the two stanza prayer of viii find their most appropriate image in the astrological scales, the only abstract sign in the zodiac and the one frequently associated with Astraea or Justice. (It figures too, as an important motif in the Dürer engraving.) The poet's careful weighing of the issue is evident in the binary structure of his prayer's rhetoric. Compare the first line of the first stanza--"When I bethinke me on that speech . . ./Of Mutability,"--with the first line of the second--"Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd." Again, compare the loathing generated by the contemplation of Mutability's power in "this state of life so tickle" (st 1) with the "delight" in change so characteristic of "all that moueth" (st 2) when change is considered as part of Nature's concession to Mutability's claim: "I will consider . . ./And find that all things stedfastness doe hate" (58). These middle lines of each stanza are also the formal center of the chiasmic integration of apparent opposites. Spenser resolves the opposition in the final lines of each stanza where "Short Time," whose sickle consumes all that is quotidian (cf. July) is itself absorbed into the grand order implicit in the beatific vision of God; what is "vaine" and "cast away" in the first stanza is asserted to come to rest eternally in the second. His final petition is not, therefore, based simply on the impassioned conjectures of poetic syncretism nor simply on "the inward pangs of a divided response to eternal flux" (Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry [New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963 rpt., 1932 edn.], 115), but rather on a response of faith and hope in what the words of transfigured Nature have declared to be true and what she herself, as vicar of God, emblematizes. The entire prayer thus draws on the stoical disdain for the mutable world which is appropriate to epic and combines this classical feature with the personal intimacy of Christian devotional lyric and the visionary reach that so often typifies the medieval romance (cf. Nohrnberg, 70, and John Arthos, On the Poetry of Edmund Spenser and the Form

of the Romances [London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1956], 95-6). Moreover, in its self-abnegating aspiration after sight of the Sabbaoth God, the plea is a mimetic approximation of the mysterious movement of caritas, in which both exalted human aspiration and condescending divine response are implicitly intermingled.

[360]With the possible exception of VI; see Richard Neuse, "Book VI as Conclusion to The Faerie Queene" in Essential Articles, 366-88, esp. 368-71, 383.

[361]S. P. Zitner, ed., The Mutabilitie Cantos (n.c., Ontario: Nelson Press, 1968), 57.

[362]Zitner, 23-4.

[363]In part, this correction is the result of shifting levels in the poem, for Mercilla is quite right, within the narrative, to see that Duessa is executed, but the thinly-disguised apologetics of Spenser's historical allegory seem to encourage the critic's tendency to ignore the literal narrative in favor of the allegorical possibilities (see O'Connell, 153-4).

[364]See Horton, 143-4, 158-9.

[365]Psalm 84:11, Douai; 85:10 in RSV, which substitutes "love" for the Vulgate's "mercy," "faithfulness" for "truth," and "righteousness" for "justice," leaving only "peace" unchanged. Fr. Roland Murphy notes that "the meaning of [peace] is spelled out by "salvation" and "glory" (cf. Is 60: 20)," (Jerome Biblical Commentary, 591), a reckoning which corresponds to the significance of Spenser's petition for the "Sabbaoth's sight," i.e., rest and illuminated vision.

[366]Though acting within nature (and especially nature as the empirical wisdom figured in Canacee), Cambina is a daughter of Agape, and hence related to Christian tradition. Isabel MacCaffrey associates "Mutabilitie confronting Nature" with "the meeting between Agape and Atropos in Book IV" (428).

[367]The issue of whether or not the prayer is simply a rhetorical convention or a personal utterance has generated much controversy. Frank Kermode notes in the closing passages of Mircea Eliade's The Eternal Return,

where Eliade projects the "dialogue between archaic and modern man" and argues for Christianity (and the "archaic" sensibility) as the only antidote to despair (the "modern" sensibility; Renaissance Essays, 22), Frank Kermode notes the "striking though unconscious resemblance to the Mutabilitie cantos," and particularly to their fragmentary last stanzas. To Kermode, Eliade's argument "amounts to a prohibition of history" (22), however, and substantially differs from the bulk of Spenser's epic, which embraces history and the "actual, unique, critical" moments of his own time, and so "does not convert event into myth but myth into event" by diving into the archetypes and giving them "a context of Vergilian security" (22). The virtue of Kermode's analysis is that it reflects the critical concerns of modern "psychological" man without denying Spenser's traditional role as poet and so acts as a kind of arbiter between those critics who maintain that the prayer is a decorous addition to Spenser's conventional poetic persona (Alpers, 327; Evans, Anatomy, 229; Sherman Hawkins, 100; Nohrnberg, 79; cf. Murrin, Veil, 67-8, 70, 127-8), and those who interpret the prayer as the personal utterance of a man (Bush, 115; Fletcher, 221; Fox, 39; Humez, 96, 101; Lewis, Images, 77; O'Connell, 194; A. Bartlett Giamatti (The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966; 1969 rpt.]), p. 44, and Susanne Murphy ("Love and War in Spenser's The Faerie Queene," in Atchity, 127-43), 127. Harry Berger, Jr., too, helps arbitrate this division by indicating the shift Spenser makes in the Cantos between "the-man-as-poet" and "the-poet-as-man" ("Retrospect," 173ff). Fowler also identifies the prayer as both "poetic and personal, present and ultimate" (Numbers, 233), while Hough simply affirms the prayer as an "act of devotion" which ends the poem (222).

[368]Ernst Curtius remarks that such an ending--"seeking rest"--is a commonplace of medieval poetry (901), and Nohrnberg explains how the convention operates in Spenser (81-3, esp. 83 and n. 205). See also S. Hawkins (99 and n. 33), and Fowler (Numbers, 227-9, 233), for related commentary.

[369]Nelson, 314.

[370]But see Morton W. Bloomfield ("Some Reflections on the Medieval Idea of Perfection" in Essays and Explorations [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970], 34-5), who offers highly relevant comments on the idea of perfection as "a common bridge between various orders of thinking" (31),

and explains the systematic derivation from Greek thought and Hebrew practice of one of perfection's relative (as opposed to absolute) meanings: "rest" (34-5ff). Cf. Augustine's definition of peace as "The calm that comes of order" (n. 273).

[371]Nohrnberg, 743.

[372]See Frye's comments on evaluation as part of the critical process (The Great Code, xvi-xvii).

[373]Angus Fletcher's remarks on the anagogical level of the poem are pertinent here: "To counter the despotism of linear time Spenser adduces two higher laws: the final sovereignty of the Eternal God of Sabbath sight, and the immediate and present reality of anagogic vision, that fourth sense of meaning which opens a window on our wandering experience of life" (227).

[374]Despite her appealing beauty, she resembles the Communist Giant of V in that her arguments are substantially the same (see Hamilton, TFQ VII.vii.15.7-9 n, and 18.1-4 n), and her ambition, like the giant's, works her own decay, as Nature, fortunately no Talus, warns her (vii.59; cf. Fletcher, 217-18ff). Britomart, who is catapulted into destiny despite herself and then, once that destiny is made clear to her, pursues it singlemindedly, is almost as much an emblematic foil to Mutability as Nature is.

[375]See Etienne Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy, tr. A. H. C. Downes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 269-303, esp. 273-6 and 297-8, and compare this chapter, "Love and Its Object," with the chapter preceding, "Intellect and Its Object" (248-68).

[376]For Hough, however, Spenser's "formal principle is given by his theme, not by the sequence of his images . . . it is his thought that dictates the real form of his work" (226).

[377]Milton Miller, "Nature in The Faerie Queene," ELH 18 (1951), 191-200. My use of the epithet sacred discontent is indebted to Herbert N. Schneidau's study, Sacred Discontent: The Bible and Western Tradition (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1976), a work which offers insights comparable to those of Frye's in The Great Code.

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