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THE VISUAL ARTS AND SPENSER'S *FAERIE QUEENE*

by

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INTRODUCTION

Earlier Spenser critics ranging from Joseph Warton to W. C. B. Watkins have been struck by the poet's obvious delight in description, and they have compared *The Faerie Queene* to the work of many painters.[1] It did not matter that many of the painters so compared lived long after Spenser's lifetime, for these critics were interested in making comparisons on the simplest aesthetic grounds. Their reaction to Spenser's masterwork was akin to that of the little old lady who, after Pope had read a few cantos of *The Faerie Queene* to her, remarked that he "had been showing her a gallery of pictures."[2] Aubrey de Vere much later writes, "Spenser's exquisite sense of the beautiful at once shows itself when he describes art in any of its forms. Nothing in the 'Bowre of Blisse' surpasses the description of the ivory gate with the story of Jason, Medea, and the Argo graven upon it."[3] But such effusive appreciations of Spenser's descriptions of works of art, and indeed of his pictorialism in general, do not come to grips with the real problem, or even recognize the existence of a problem, concerning Spenser's works and the visual arts.

Modern critics have responded to these earlier remarks in two ways. A negative position is taken by Rudolf Gottfried, who states that "Spenser cannot, in his time and country, have known much of what we call the Fine Arts."[4] By Fine Arts, Professor Gottfried makes it clear that he means the art of painting, and in particular easel painting, just as did the earlier commentators whom he seeks to refute-- a narrow view that has for too long blinded critics to the crucial importance of the graphic arts and other so-called "minor" arts in relation to literature. Even in terms of painting, Professor Gottfried does not document his flat statement that Spenser cannot have known "much" of the Fine Arts. A careful reading of the accounts of foreign visitors to Queen Elizabeth's court and of the extant inventories of the collections of Henry VIII, Edward VI, the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lumley, and others-- unfortunately Queen Elizabeth left us only the inventory of her jewels-- serves to give a fairly good idea of what paintings Spenser might have seen, but Professor Gottfried, along with many others, seems merely to accept the general idea that there was not much to see in that line in Elizabeth's England. Although he admits the fact that Elizabethan England contained "many objects which displayed... English and Continental craftsmanship at its best," apparently he does not consider these objects as belonging to the Fine Arts. He notes that fruitful study has been made of Spenser's poetry in relation to illustrated emblem books, Tudor architecture, and tapestries, and refers to Frederick Hard's articles on the subject of the latter two. He does

not mention other forms of art, such as sculpture in wood, alabaster, stone, ivory, and bronze, or miniatures in illuminated manuscripts, some examples of which the poet must certainly have seen. The truly great achievements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the field of engravings and woodcuts of artistic quality, often made by the greatest painters themselves, seem to be totally ignored by Professor Gottfried.

Professor Gottfried objects, moreover, that much of Spenser's imagery is of processions and perambulations that pass, and that "Spenser's eye does not embrace the whole."[5] The forms of art most available in England at that time, however, use narrative just as Spenser does, in a progression of pictures: series of woodcuts or of engravings; series of tapestries; carved altar screens or series of ivory carvings; and even mural paintings, of which a few existed in England. Certain compositions achieve a narrative effect by combining a series of scenes that take place consecutively in time in a single composition. We are all familiar, for example, with such engravings as the one in which Eve offers Adam the apple in the center foreground, while the serpent, wound about the tree, looks on; in the left background, God speaks to Adam in the evening, and in the right background Adam and Eve are expelled from the Garden of Eden by the angel.[6] Indeed, something approximating this design is the standard iconography, from the Cologne Bible on, for woodcuts and engravings depicting the Fall of Man. Many compositions include more scenes than this, especially those designed for large works such as tapestries. Another technique, used

especially in early tapestries, shows successive scenes in a single composition by compartmentalizing them within different sections and separating them from one another by well-defined boundaries such as interior borders.

Professor Gottfried quite rightly wishes to refute the vagueness of earlier appreciations of Spenser as the painter of the poets. He has fled, however, to a contrary position from which he launches the assertion that Spenser's "visual imagination was subordinate to other faculties and relatively weak," adding that nine-tenths of his imagery is addressed to the ear, rather than to the eye.[7] Since Professor Gottfried is the respected editor of Spenser's Prose Works, which is the tenth volume of the Variorum edition, one cannot pass over his opinion in silence.

Let us examine briefly the general substance of the denials or caveats concerning Spenser's pictorial techniques, which consist in the main of three allegations. First, Spenser's verbal pictures are not consistent, in the sense that they are not consistently realistic; some detail is out of focus or exaggerated. Second, and this is alleged particularly in the cast of his first tableau of Red Crosse, Una, the lamb, and the dwarf, they are impossible from a realistic point of view. Third, we have Professor Gottfried's claim that nine-tenths of Spenser's imagery is addressed to the ear rather than to the eye.

The first of these points, it seems to me, is the most important, because it is quite true that Spenser sometimes introduces

a deliberate hyperbole, distortion, or shift into some element of his pictorial description. I believe, however, that this is a deliberate part of his technique, and in no way negates the pictorial nature of his materials in such passages, even though he may thus depart from literal exactness.

Michael Murrin, in The Veil of Allegory, calls the attention of his readers to a special kind of inconsistency in Spenser's descriptions, his "tendency to slide off from the symbol to the thing which it signifies."[8] In this connection Murrin instances the description of Spring in the "Mutabilitie Cantos"(VII.vii.28). "Lusty Spring"is dressed in leaves of flowers, freshly budded and bearing new blooms. He carries a javelin and wears an engraved gilt helmet. In the leaves of his garment, however, "a thousand birds had built their bowres"(4). As Murrin writes, "Who could imagine someone walking around with a thousand birds on his clothes? This distortion passes almost without notice because Spenser has just been talking about leaves and flowers, and birds in the trees seem a natural follow-up. Actually he has gone beyond his symbol to the general fact of spring, where a thousand birds do build their nests and chirp love songs.... This is a common technique with allegorical poets: to overwhelm the senses with a strong image and impress the memory and yet, at the same time, to distort the image and create a nonvisual effect."[9] It must be emphasized, however, that the overall effect is visual;the nonvisual, going-beyond effect is only a small part of the whole, and only received by the elite reader capable of penetrating the pictorial veil.

In this case, moreover, the hyperbole of the "thousand birds" is no more exact for the general idea of spring, the thing symbolized, than it is for the personage of the allegorical image; the season of spring holds many more than "a thousand birds," and the personage Spring could support only a few. In one sense the hyperbole simply means "a lot of" birds. In another sense it is, as Murrin points out, a signpost to the allegory. But however one takes it, it does not negate the fact of the pictorial nature of what Murrin calls the poet's "pictured veil."[10]

A similar use of hyperbole occurs in the first book (I.x.31), in the description of Charissa: "A multitude of babes about her hong"(31.1). "Multitude" is exactly the kind of generalizing hyperbole that is noticed by Murrin in the case of Spring, a hyperbole which slides off from the symbol to the thing symbolized, in this case Charity. Even the pictorial representations of Charity in woodcut, engraving, and tapestry, which the poet could have seen and possibly had in mind, can only show a few babies and children around the allegorical figure of Charity. Once more, "a multitude," used loosely, can be taken simply as meaning "a lot"; and once more, it also points to the large, general idea of Charity succoring multitudes. And once more the hyperbole does not negate the picture. It is, in fact, a deliberate technique which the poet uses to go briefly beyond the picture, while at the same time not destroying it. More will be said of the iconography of Charity later in the book.

Murrin writes, "The method of deliberate distortion should suggest a caveat on the many useful studies which have been made recently in iconography. For instance, Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele in their edition of Spenser's first two books (1965) relate the dragon fight to a picture of Vittore Carpaccio. They draw many ingenious and illuminating points of comparison between the two, saying that 'Carpaccio's fresco is detailed and very much in the apirit of Spenser's story.'[11] But in one crucial particular Carpaccio is not at all in the spirit of Spenser. His dragon is of the small, domestic variety, about the size of St. George's horse....Iconography serves as a useful guide only within certain limits because it does not really correspond to the techniques of allegorical poetry.... The poet may change [the images] around at will, and the critic must watch the poet as well as his pictured veil."[12]

This is, of course, true; but once more it does not invalidate the poet's use of the materials of the visual arts. Spenser employs his iconographic sources with great freedom, as why should he not? Murrin's caveat, if I understand him correctly, is that one should not take the study of iconography too literally in relation to poetry. I cannot see that there is any danger of one's doing so. The caveat which I should draw from the passage above, however,is one that seems not to have occurred to Murrin. It is that one should beware of making "useful studies" of iconographic sources, such as a Carpaccio fresco, except in connection with the work of a poet who could have seen those

sources. There is no evidence of any kind that Spenser ever went to Italy, and therefore he probably never saw the Carpaccio fresco in question.

The second allegation against Spenser's pictorialism is that many of his verbal pictures are, from a realistic viewpoint, not merely inconsistent, but impossible. Professor Gottfried writes, "But the best-known and one of the most telling of his lapses occurs on the very threshold of The Faerie Queene (I.i.1-6), where he describes a party of three wayfarers: Red Cross spurring forward on his angry steed, Una riding quite slowly on a humble ass, and a dwarf who lags on foot behind them both.This party,as any freshman is able to see, cannot remain a party long; and yet the poet assures us that they are traveling together on one quest. How account for the visual impossibility? The explanation lies in the moral meaning of the figures."[13]

Upton, in his 1758 edition of The Faerie Queene,was perhaps the first writer to deal with this perennial objection."Shall we say that 'pricking on the plaine' means no more than riding on the plaine,without any reference to the manner,whether slow or fast? . . . What adds some degree of plausibility to this notion is,that the knight is described as curbing his horse at the same time he thus pricks along,to which curb the generous animal unwillingly submits:

> His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
> As much disdayning to the curbe to yield."[14]

In other words, Red Crosse is curbing his horse, and making him walk,rather than "spurring forward,"as Professor Gottfried claims. I shall deal more fully with all the aspects of this scene when we discuss the iconography of the equestrian St. George in the engravings and woodcuts of the subject that were available to the poet.

The other alleged impossibilities in Spenser's pictorial scenes will,I am convinced,also be seen to be not really impossible--especially when one takes into consideration that willing suspension of disbelief under which the good reader labors. Professor Gottfried, however, accuses Spenser of "a certain heedlessness which is characteristic of his descriptions,"[15] instancing the scene in which Sir Calepine sees in the dim light of a fire the preparations of the cannibals to sacrifice a naked girl on an altar. Yet two stanzas later, when Sir Calepine rescues the girl, it is dark enough so he does not recognize her as his true love,Serena, even though he is of course much closer now than when he first saw the scene. What can one say of the poet's logic in such a succession of scenes as this? First, the alleged inconsistency does not change the fact that Spenser wrote an effective passage of description in which Calepine saw the preparations for the sacrifice.Second,the fire might have burned down or out and the night completely fallen during the progress of the rescue, which took a certain amount of time and two stanzas. Third, the development of the plot-line makes it necessary that recognition be delayed,since Spenser correspondingly

wishes to delay the conclusion of the incident. He ends the canto thus:

> But day, that doth discover bad and good,
> Ensewing, made her knowen to him at last:
> The end whereof Ile keepe untill another cast.
>
> (51.7-9)

To cavil at Calepine's failure to recognize Serena in the dark would be to cavil at a goodly number of situations in Elizabethan literature, usually situations in which one lover is substituted for another. Spenser did not have precisely the same reason as Sidney and Shakespeare did to delay the recognition of their unrecognized ladies; he simply wished to delay his conclusion because of his polyphonic narrative technique. Professor Gottfried's cavil on the subject does not in the least disprove the pictorial quality of the description.

The third point, that nine-tenths of Spenser's imagery is addressed to the ear rather than the eye, can best be approached, it seems to me, in terms of the brief passage which gave rise to it in Professor Gottfried's article. The passage describes Timon's dwelling in the wilds of Wales:

> His dwelling is low in a valley greene,
> Under the foot of Rauran mossy hore,
> From whence the river Dee as silver cleene
> His tombling billowes rolls with gentle roar:...
>
> (I.ix.4, 5-8)

I have prepared a table of the images in those four lines, listing them under the headings "Visual Images" and "Aural Images."

VISUAL IMAGES		AURAL IMAGES	
(line)	(image)	(line)	(image)
1	His dwelling is low	4	with gentle rore
1	in a greene valley		
2	Under the foot		
2	of mossy-hore Rauran		
3	from whence the river Dee		
3	cleene as silver		
4	rolls		
4	his tombling billowes		

It is quickly seen that the visual images total eight, while the aural images total one.

Of these four lines Professor Gottfried writes: "The reader's mind, I think, responds to these lines in a significant way. It visualizes a merely typical landscape, without precise detail or striking form, and yet there is no doubt that the passage also stimulates the imagination. How? Obviously by its sound and movement. The lines are a triumphant use of verbal melody, whose formal pattern melts into the river's gentle roar.

"The truth is that nine-tenths of Spenser's imagery is addressed to the ear rather than the eye."[16]

I must confess that I cannot agree with Professor Gottfried's interpretation of the four lines in question. First he reproaches the landscape with being merely typical. Second, he denies that it is functionally present;what stimulates the imagination is "sound and movement." He then concludes that the imagery is one part visual to nine parts aural, a conclusion that seems to disregard the number of undeniably visual images of the passage; for their being (or not being)"merely typical" cannot negate their visual qualities. If by "merely typical" Dr. Gottfried means that Spenser's landscape in this passage is composed in much the same manner as the landscapes in many woodcuts and engravings, I would certainly agree; although at the same time one must admit that Spenser's landscape in this instance is also a true depiction of many a real landscape in Wales, and could as easily have been drawn from nature as from art.

Carl Robinson Sonn takes issue with Dr. Gottfried some seven years later than the original publication of the Gottfried article. He writes, "Both the endeavor to reduce Spenser to paints and canvas . . . and the endeavor to deny sensuousness altogether betray a misunderstanding of the nature of Spenser's imagery. In the first, one fastens upon the sensuous aspect, and in the second upon the conceptual (for the latter is all that Dr. Gottfried's position leaves him). The difficulty lies in mistaking the relation of the sense to the sensible." An intermediate error, according to Sonn, is that "Spenser's visual images are invariably incomplete, insofar as they consist of details that have been appended for their emblematic significance. The latter view

is perhaps the best bridge to an examination of the universal and the particular in Spenser's imagery.... What is seen as incompleteness is stylization (a quality of expressionism). Spenser's images are not appendages or illustrations of meanings; they stand at the center, rather than on the periphery of significance."[17]

Carl Robinson Sonn's insistence on the centrality of Spenser's pictorial imagery is of the first importance. The function of that imagery is not mere decoration, although by its very exuberance it sometimes may produce that impression. It is, rather, an instrument of communication, of denotation and connotation the effect of which is of a different order than that of more abstract formulations of direct exposition or narration. When it is derived from traditional pictorial motifs, such as the iconography of Christian art, it brings a whole spectrum of connotation of great emotional intensity to deepen and extend the meaning. As A. Bartlett Giamatti well writes, of such connotations connected with the traditional iconography of the earthly paradise, "We cannot escape what we know in any context."[18] Indeed, connotative iconographic resonances resemble harmonic resonance in music, and one cannot doubt that Spenser deliberately played upon this extra dimension in creating his masterpiece. His own Christian and humanistic education, combined with a fine and discriminating eye, would have furnished the associative material necessary to such a literary method, while the rhetoric of his period furnished its justification.

Horace's phrase <u>ut pictura poesis</u> (taken out of context, to be sure) was considered by Renaissance theorists to enunciate the principle that "poetry [is, or should be] like a picture." The saying, moreover, that "painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture," a saying which Plutarch attributed to Simonides, was often quoted with approval.[19] Sir Philip Sidney, for one, in his <u>Defense of Poesy</u> writes that "Poesy... is an art of imitation...-- to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture.... Many infallible grounds of wisdom... lie dark before the imagination if they be not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of Poesy."[20]

The philosophical and rhetorical basis of Spenser's imagery thus represents a solid groundwork of principle upon which the poet builds, and it cannot be lightly dismissed. Certain recent critics have perhaps overreacted against the earlier view of Spenser as the painter of the poets, or against the "romantic view of Spenser's <u>Faerie Queene</u> as a dream world of shifting images," and have gone to the opposite extreme in denying that the poem has any pictorial imagery at all. In their denial of pictorial imagery, however, they have omitted to consider the tradition in which the poet was writing. Narrative poetry, like representational painting, needs a recognizable artistic frame of reference, a continuum of tangible visual experience that can be relied upon. Renaissance rhetoric recognised this need by furnishing schemes

for time, place, person, and action which were designed to assist the writer in furnishing descriptive material. It is difficult to believe that Spenser needed or employed these pictorial patterns after his school days, but his training would have supplied him with the conviction of the necessity of descriptive method. The importance of pictorial patterns in narrative poetry, as in painting, the graphic arts, and tapestry, must be understood by the critic who seeks fully to understand _The Faerie Queene_.[22]

Moreover one cannot easily dismiss the weight of more than two centuries of critical opinion that has been unanimous in emphasizing the pictorialism of _The Faerie Queene_. Not only the eighteenth century critics, but the Romantics as well, including Coleridge and Lamb, appreciated Spenser's work in this manner; and it cannot be denied that Spenser's influence on Keats' work is largely felt in his richness of pictorial description. Is it really conceivable that the great writers and critics of the past have, without exception, all been in error?[23]

In the argument which precedes "Februarie" in _The Shepheardes Calender_, Spenser's annotator E.K. writes that "the olde man telleth a tale of the Oake and the Bryer, so lively and so feelingly, as if the thing were set forth in some Picture before our eyes, more plainly could not appear." This testimony informs one, as directly as could be wished, what Spenser himself aimed at in his pictorial descriptions-- for Spenser must have approved his annotator's remarks, if indeed he himself

did not write them, as certain critics have suggested.

In no passage in the works of any of the Renaissance critics and aestheticians, so far as I know, does there occur any direct advice to a poet to turn to the visual arts as a source of the descriptive elements of his work. Yet such advice is surely implicit in the insistence upon poetry as a speaking picture. With all the encouragements that existed in literary theory to produce such speaking pictures, and with Spenser's own acceptance of that theory which, as we have seen, was spelled out in the Februarie argument of The Shepheardes Calender, it would be strange indeed if it had not happened that the poet, either consciously or subconsciously, drew upon the materials of the visual arts which he had available, or his memory of the examples of the visual arts which he had seen, for the pictorial details with which to flesh out the bare bones of his intention.

Professor Rosemond Tuve, implicitly accepting such a premise, has called attention to the richness of the pictorial tradition as it was available to Spenser in books, many of which served as sources for materials in his own work. She particularly emphasizes the possibility that miniatures in manuscript books of romance material might have influenced him, and claims that it is not merely coincidence that where a picture occurs in the romance material, a pictorial description is apt to occur in The Faerie Queene. She concludes, however, that "the treatment of such a source relationship as this cannot be exhaustive."[24] She is, of course,

correct in this judgment. The study of pictorial materials in Spenser's works can, however, be more nearly exhaustive than it has been up to the present time.

The "double audience" theory of Professor Michael Murrin should perhaps be mentioned here, if only to point out that it has but little bearing upon the question of Spenser's pictorialism. Murrin believes that "the poet causes a division in his audience, separating the few from the many, those who understand from those who cannot.... The allegory proper remains the property of the inner group.... The poet did not completely ignore the majority of his audience. Although he excluded them from truth by the veil of allegory, he yet wished to entertain them. In Horatian terms, he gave profit to the few and pleasure to the many."[25] Murrin's idea that Spenser thus wrote on two levels, for the illuminati and the multitude, does not in any way detract from the interest of the visual arts in connection with The Faerie Queene. The vast audience of ordinary people saw and enjoyed the pictures on the veil of allegory, while the illuminati presumably saw, enjoyed, and understood.

My thesis in this extended essay is that internal evidence in The Faerie Queene reveals that Spenser had an intimate familiarity with the materials of the visual arts, in particular the graphic arts of the woodcut and the engraving and the art of the tapestry. Although there is certainly evidence to the same effect in Spenser's minor poems, I believe that the full development of

the poet's artistic taste and knowledge is best seen in The Faerie Queene, and therefore I shall limit the investigations I propose to set forth to that masterpiece.

The two branches of the visual arts upon which I propose to concentrate my comments had, I believe, the strongest and most consistent influence on the poet's work throughout his career of any of the arts, if for no other reason than because they were the arts most available to him and to all educated Englishmen. If for purposes of comparison or amplification reference is occasionally made to some other branch of visual art, this will indicate in what direction I believe further research might go. The limits of the present essay, however, are well-defined, and I believe they are justified by the two considerations named above.

It is not, perhaps, generally realized that there was a very large corpus of graphic art of the highest artistic merit and sophistication flourishing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and that these riches were easily available to Spenser. Engravings by and after the greatest painters bodied forth the themes and motifs that were also seen in their paintings, and employed such mature and subtle techniques as chiaroscuro, manneristic dramatic devices and distortions, and a fully developed interest in landscape both intimate and panoramic. Book illustration was incredibly fine in the case of some of the greatest works, such as the Bible, Ovid's Metamorphoses, or

Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili with illustrations supposed to have been made by Mantegna. Such engravings and woodcuts were greatly superior to the rather crude so-called "emblems" of that period. Indeed, to call the graphic arts with which I intend to deal in relation to Spenser the "non-emblem graphic arts" would imply that in this realm the tail wags hhe dog, for emblems make up just one category of illustration in the large corpus of graphic material. It is a category, moreover, which did not reach its full flowering until the seventeenth century,[26] and which remained relatively simple throughout Spenser's period. I shall leave to one side, therefore, the consideration of the small picture that is properly defined as the emblem: that is, a woodcut or an engraving, quite simple in the sixteenth century and becoming increasingly sophisticated in the seventeenth century, which accompanies a motto, proverb, or short piece of verse of a moral nature. Since two doctoral dissertations have been written on Spenser and the emblem writers or emblem books,[27] further consideration of the influence of that category of graphic art on the poet's work or method may be assumed to be unnecessary. Moreover, the very interesting recent treatment of icons of justice in the fifth book of The Faerie Queene also depends to a large extent on emblem material.[28] Therefore, when I use the term "graphic arts," it is with the proviso that I shall not treat in any detail the material of the category called "the emblem book."

In the field of the tapestry, there is much more to be said than Frederick Hard wrote in his pioneering article on the subject,[29] especially since that article appeared in 1930 and a good deal has been published concerning tapestries since that time. Since the tapestry was of great importance in England, and of obvious importance to Spenser, who describes two large and complete series of tapestries in Book III of The Faerie Queene, I shall devote the second part of my essay to a study of the art of the tapestry in connection with The Faerie Queene.

It seems to me of the first importance to limit oneself, in such a discussion, to works of art which the poet could in truth have seen. This means that any works discussed must have been published before 1580 or 1585 at the latest, if one is going to discuss them in connection with the first three books of The Faerie Queene, and certainly not later than 1590 in connection with the last three books and the "Mutabilitie Cantos." Moreover, there is little point in discussing the iconography of easel paintings or frescos in Italy or the Low Countries, since as far as is known Spenser never journeyed to the continent and thus could not, so far as is known, have seen the paintings in question.

It ought to be superfluous to semark that the influence of one work on another cannot be retroactive, and that influence can proceed in only one direction in time; but there has of late been a tendency to claim that later pictures are "traditional"

in theme and therefore are admissible as evidence of influence in the discussion of works of art or literature which in actual fact antedate them. If a later picture is in truth traditional in iconography, it is in every case possible to produce an example of the same treatment of theme and motif early enough in its date of production to be of possible relevance in connection with the work of literature in question. Otherwise, loose claims of "traditionalism" are of no possible value. The Faerie Queene, for example, may have influenced later pictorial treatment of certain themes in emblems and elsewhere; to claim that later treatments influenced The Faerie Queene is plainly an absurdity.

If temporal impossibility thus makes the discussion of many works of art irrelevant in connection with Spenser, geographical impossibility must also be considered as adding to the limitations of relevancy. Since there is no evidence that Spenser ever traveled to the Continent, we must seek examples of the traditional iconography which he employed which could have been seen in England or Ireland, where it is known he spent his life. Such examples are abundant in the graphic arts of woodcut and engraving and in tapestries.

This essay, then, will deal in Part I with the large subject of the graphic arts of engraving and woodcut in relation to The Faerie Queene, and in Part II with the art of the tapestry in the same connection. Each part will begin with an introductory

chapter on the state of the art in question at the time which we shall be discussing; although such chapters cannot, of course, include a complete history of each art, enough can be summarized to provide a background for the ensuing discussion, or such is my hope. A final chapter will set forth any conclusions which it has been possible to draw.

INTRODUCTION

FOOTNOTES

[1] Carl Robinson Sonn, "Spenser's Imagery," ELH, 26 (1959), 156-70, p. 156. Sonn summarizes the sttributions mentioned by Gottfried (see below) as having been made smong thirteen critics, "ranging from Joseph Warton to W.S.B.Watkins: Rubens, Caracci, Correggio, Titian, Rembrandt, Raphael, Michelangelo, Giulio Romano, Guido Reni, Salvator Rosa, Poussin, Claude Lorraine, Albiano, Teniers, Veronese, Bellini, Tintoretto, Dürer, the Pre-Raphaelites, Chinese painters, the early Florentines, Carpaccio, Fouquet, Uccello, Lippo Lippi, Masaccio, Turner, Primaticcio, Bosch, Mantegna, Botticelli, Giorgione, El Greco, the French and Dutch Caravaggians, and the moderns." Such a list, of course, is in itself a _reductio ad absurdum_ of the comparative method applied without controls.

[2] Rudolf Gottfried, "The Pictorial Elements in Spenser's Poetry," ELH, 19 (1952), 203-13; rpt. in William E. Mueller and Don Cameron Allen, eds., _That Soveraine Light: Essays in Honor of Edmund Spenser, 1552-1952_ (1952; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), 123-33, p. 123.

[3] A.B.Grosart, "Characteristics of Spenser's Poetry," in _The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Edmund Spenser_, ed. A.B.Grosart (London,1882), 9 vols., I. 257-303, p.281; quoted in

The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition, eds. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, et al (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932-49), 11 vols., II, 371. Further references to to the variorum edition will be made as Variorum and the volume number. Moreover, all passages from Spenser's works which are quoted are taken from this edition.

[4] Gottfried, p. 128.

[5] Ibid., p. 131.

[6] Engraving by Charles de Mallery after Martin de Vos, reproduced in A. J . J. Delen, Histoire de la Gravure dans les Anciens Pays-Bas & dans les Provinces Belges des Origines jusqu'à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1935), 3 vols., II, deuxième partie, Planche XLI, 1.

[7] Gottfried, p. 132.

[8] Michael Murrin, The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 141.

[9] Ibid., p.142.

[10] Ibid., p. 143.

[11] Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele, eds., Books I and II of The Faerie Queene (New York, 1965), p.11.

[12] Murrin, p. 143.

[13] Gottfried, p. 130.

[14] *Variorum*, I, 176.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[17] Sonn, pp. 156-57.

[18] *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), p. 308.

[19] Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *Art Bulletin*, 22, No. 4 (Dec.,1940), 197-269.

[20] Hyder E. Rollins and Herschel Baker, eds., *The Renaissance in England* (Boston: Heath, 1954), pp. 608, 610.

[21] Judith Dundas, "The Rhetorical Basis of Spenser's Imagery," SEL, 8 (Winter,1968), 59-65, p. 59.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[24] "Spenser and Some Pictorial Conventions with Particular Reference to Illuminated Manuscripts," SP, 37 (1940), 149-76, pp. 149-50.

[25] Murrin, pp. 13-15.

[26] Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery (Roma: Editzioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964), p. 15. "Since every poetical image contains a potential emblem, one can understand why emblems were the characteristic of that century in which the tendency to images reached its climax, the seventeenth century. In need as he was of certainties of the senses, the seventeenth century man did not stop at the purely fantastic cherishing of the image: he wanted to externalize it, to transpose it into a hieroglyph, an emblem. He took delight in driving home the word by the addition of a plastic representation."[The emblem, in short, became a visual pun, a piece of visual wit, and even a game, as in Wither's famous collection of 16 .]

[27] Sister Mary Louise Beutner, "Spenser and the Emblem Writers," Diss. St. Louis University, 1941: MA 4 (1943), 115-16; Jack Willard Jessee, "Spenser and the Emblem Books," Didd. University of Kentucky, 1955: Dissertation Abstracts, 20 (1960), 3729A : Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, 1960.

[28] Jane Aptekar, Icons of Justice: Iconography and Thematic Imagery in Book V of "The Faerie Queene" (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1969).

[29] "Spenser's 'Clothes of Arras and of Toure,'" SP, 27 (1930), 162-85.

II

THE GRAPHIC ARTS OF WOODCUT AND ENGRAVING AND *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

CHAPTER I.

WOODCUTS AND ENGRAVINGS CIRCA 1460 - 1590

Both woodcuts and engravings on metal antedated the first European books printed from movable type (circa 1450) probably by at least several decades. A Florentine card-maker, "Antonio di Giovanni di Ser Francesco,... declared amongst his property in 1430 'wood blocks for playing cards and saints,'"[1] the two subjects which are those of the earliest known uses of block printing. The earliest date found on a woodcut print is 1418 on the Madonna with Four Virgin Saints in a Garden (S. 1160; fig. 46, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels),[2] while the first extant print made from a metal engraving bears the date 1446.[3] Thus from the very beginning of the arts of the woodcut and the engraving, single prints were important and were in demand.

It was natural, however, that the makers of single block prints, often with a text legend cut into the block, should think of using this process to make books. (Manuscript books, of course, had been made for centuries.) There is a

good deal of controversy concerning the date of the earliest block-books; but for our purposes it is unimportant in any case to settle whether any block-book actually preceded the first book set from movable type. The most famous block-books, in which relatively large woodcut pictures are wedded to a modicum of text also cut into the block, are those on the _Apocalypse_, the _Ars Moriendi_, the _Biblia Pauperum_, the _Canticum Canticorum_, the _Dance of Death_, and the _Speculum Humanae Salvationis_. They are all medieval in technique and feeling, and it is difficult to imagine how they must have appeared to Spenser a century after their first appearance, if he saw any of them; for Spenser also had available the flowing, highly sophisticated and Manneristic engravings of his own period. The woodcuts of the _Biblia Pauperum_ are distinguished by a complicated typological juxtaposition of scenes from the New Testament and their analogues or prefigurings from the Old Testament. Such typology is in a sense analogous to the concept of archetypal figures, but of typology as such there seems to be no trace in _The Faerie Queene_.

In the earliest printed books the illustrations are woodcuts because the woodcut was compatible with type. In woodcuts, the lines that are to print are left high and the rest scooped out, just as in the characters of type. Woodcuts could thus be locked into the printer's frame along with the set type and printed in one impression. Engravings were not used as illustrations in printed books until somewhat later, and their use was difficult because they had to be printed separately from the type. Engravings

are made by incising lines on a smooth metal plate; the lines which are to print are sunk into the plate, rather than being raised like those of woodcut and type. The printer's ink is put onto the plate in such a way as to fill the incised lines, and the smooth part of the plate is then wiped clean. It is then printed upon damp paper, in a process quite different from that of the printing press.

Printing was from the beginning a rather international affair. Latin was still the universal language of educated men in Europe, and therefore the publication and distribution of books in that language could be carried out on an international scale. Publishers moved easily from one country to another, and the works of an author were by no means invariably published in his own country. Pictures, moreover, were even more universally understood, since the beholder did not have to be able to read to understand them. Thus books, and in particular illustrated books, traveled easily between countries.

Printing in England was, of course, soon active; but in the first century of printing England produced almost entirely books in English, and depended on foreign imports for texts in Latin and other languages. Sir Thomas More's _Utopia_, written in Latin, for example, was published first in Louvain (Belgium) in 1516, by Thierry Martens; a Paris edition followed a year later. In 1518 the famous publisher Froben, at Basle, printed a third edition, and in 1519

the Juntine Press at Venice printed a fourth. The work was not published in England until Ralph Robynson made his English translation of it, which was published in 1551.[4] This delay in publishing the Utopia in England obviously had nothing to do with the religious situation, for at the time the early editions were published in the original Latin on the continent, the English break with Rome was still in the future; and in 1551, when the English translation finally appeared in London, the young Edward VI was still on the throne, carrying on the Protestant regime of his father.

Throughout the whole sixteenth century, English illustration was far behind that of the continent, and depended for the most part on foreign craftsmen and the borrowing or copying of Flemish or German blocks or engravings. A few beautiful illustrated books were, it is true, produced, among which undoubtedly the most beautiful of the century was A Booke of Christian Prayers, printed by John Daye in London in 1578; it is often called "Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book."

By Spenser's time, a large number of books with woodcut illustrations, and some illustrated with engravings, had been produced by the presses of Europe to satisfy the thirst of the learned population not only for more learning, but for pictures as well. In additôon to the continuing interest in religious works, the Renaissance brought an increasing production of classical works. There were also important books on geography,

military science, and other subjects, as well as editions of literary works both medieval and contemporary. Of all these books, the most important and the most beautiful were illustrated.

The Cologne Bible, with its iconographically important woodcuts, was printed in 1478-79; it was to be the major source of Bible illustration both in the North and in Italy. The illustration of the Malermi Bibles of 1490 and 1493, printed in Venice, depended to a large extent on those of the Cologne Bible, although the style was modified in the direction of greater classicism. If one compares, for example, the woodcuts of "Jacob's Blessing," one sees that the elements of the picture and their disposition in the design are practically identical. The illustrator of the Cologne Bible, however, saw things in a more detailed, medieval manner. A whole medieval town and castle, with moat and large gate, is introduced into the center background--elements that do not appear at all, of course, in the Bible story. The chair in which Isaac is sitting is an elaborately medieval piece of furniture of heavy carved wood, with what appears to be a tapestry back. Isaac, Jacob, and Rebekah wear medieval costume; they are grouped in the left foreground of the picture. Esau strolls toward a little wood at the right, blowing a hunting horn, and with his bow and arrows at his side.[6] The two later Italian illustrations are similar in content and design, but differ in style, being far more classical. That of 1490 follows the general design of the Cologne woodcut, with

the three major personages grouped at the left, while Esau with his bow and arraws is seen a little further back and to the right. The Italian artist omits the castle and the walled town from his picture, and the costumes and the furnishings have lost their medieval character and taken on a classical aspect. The little wood at the extreme right, toward which Esau seems to be moving, is retained.[7] The 1493 illustration rearranges the design somewhat, placing the three major personages in a room in the center foreground, with Esau seen through a wide doorway, outside in the left background. A little dog is introduced to the left of the central personages.[8] It is interesting to note that the essential composition of the Cologne woodcut persisted at least for several centuries in woodcuts and engravings of this and other subjects, though in widely varying styles.

The greatness and originality of Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg, whose woodcuts and engravings on all subjects served as models during the sixteenth century and even later, cannot be overemphasized in the field of Biblical illustration. In this field, only a few artists introduced anything new and forceful; most were content to copy what had been done before them. Hans Holbein the Younger was another seminal figure, with his Dance of Death and Icones Veteris Testamenti, both published in 1538. Most of the important graphic artists of the century published Bible illustrations, as for example Bernard Salomon in

France and Virgil Solis in Germany. In engraved Bible illustration, the print publishers of Antwerp took the lead, and Hieronymus Cock, whose publishing house was known as "Aux Quatre Vents," and Philippe Galle, as well as the artists under the wing of the house of Plantin, produced countless prints singly and in series, as well as books, which flooded the markets of Europe in Spenser's time. The tremendous vitality and dynamism of these prints, so often characterized by Manneristic distortions in the figures of the personages, made them enormously popular in their own day.

In the illustration of classical and mythological works in the Renaissance, it is natural that Italian influence should be prominent. Artists had for centuries devoted themselves to religious works, but now the Renaissance suddenly freed them to glorify the beauty of the human body. As Panofsky writes, "It was the privilege of the Renaissance proper to reintegrate classical themes with classical motifs after what might be called a zero hour."[9] Italian influence was felt all over Europe as Northern artists studied in Italy and returned to France, Germany, and the Low Countries to practice their art.

The works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others were all published with striking illustrations in the various publishing centers of Italy before 1500. Petrarch's Trionfi stand out as perhaps the most influential of these illustrations, for their

allegorical interpretation in lavish pictures of triumphal pageantry was typical of the Renaissance imagination. Another landmark of illustration was the beautiful edition of Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, printed by Aldus in 1499, with haunting woodcuts in the classical style. A French edition of 1546 was illustrated with recreations of the original woodcuts, with a few additions, but done so completely in the French style that they are an achievement in their own right. It seems probable that this later edition, closer to Spenser both geographically and temporally, would have been the one he would have been the more likely to see.

Along with literary works by great (and not so great) writers, works on science and geography were also illustrated. Military science and fortifications were extensively pictured, as for example in Robertus Valturius' De Re Militari (Verona,1472). Hartmann Schedel's Weltchronik, popularly known as The Nuremberg Chronicle (Nuremberg, 1493), included pictures of historical and scriptural incident, genealogy, maps and views of towns, portraits, and other subjects, among its numerous illustrations. Muenster's Cosmographia (Basle, 1544, and many subsequent editions) probably helped to form the poet's ideas of geography, as well as of monsters and the flora and fauna of the world; and he may well have been familiar also with the great Ortelius Atlas (Antwerp,1570 et seq.),which remained for a century at least a major

source of geographical information and ideas.

The illustrations in all these major books were primarily, of course, pictorial in their motivation, rather than merely decorative. That is to say, they aimed to present a visual imitation of a being or of an action. In scientific works and to a certain extent in other works, the purpose was mainly to furnish information. Certainly the pictures were usually taken as visual evidence. From the beginning, the artists worked with a lesser or greater degree of license, putting in visual embellishments that became traditional as their pictures were copied or adapted by later artists; and their vision of the physiognomies and physical attitudes of the personages, as well as of the environment in which the action of the stories took place, became so fully a part of the "received" complex of dogma and physical images that their contribution could hardly be separated from that of the written sources. Map makers pictured gloriously unlikely monsters in their seas, particularly at the ends of the known world, where the ocean waters might be shown tumbling over the edge of the world, although the world was already known to be round; and they embellished their maps with coats of arms and scenes of mythology in rich cartouches. The vessels under full sail pictured sailing their seas were usually copied from earlier pictures rather than from current sailing ships, and this was so long the case that Admiral Croft's incredulous comment, in Jane Austen's

Persuasion, as he was looking into a printshop window, remained true of most early engravings or woodcuts of ships: "But what a thing here is, by way of a boat!...Did you ever see the like?" Only the most original artists, for centuries, drew traditional subjects from actual living models; instead they copied from earlier woodcuts and engravings. The few original artists soon saw their renderings become traditional and join the canon of models that were copied by the numerous anonymous woodcutters and engravers who earned a living by supplying the popular demand for pictures.

Engravings, as we have seen, developed alongside woodcuts from the beginning. Because they were difficult to print on a page that also included type, they were relatively infrequently used for book illustration. They were therefore sold separately or in series, as art prints. Because in this technique the lines could be finer and closer together than in woodcut, and therefore shading and other fine effects were more possible, the connection of engraving with painting was made early. Of the early engravings, A. Hyatt Mayor writes, "The most fascinating of anonymous printmakers gets his name from his drawings of household gear in a manuscript known as the Housebook.... He began the painter's dominance over the silversmith, which was to transform printmaking. As an artist, he vibrated to the medieval world of the young, shaken between extremes of passion and early death, the bare house without window glass and the jeweled infinity of the cathedral, the days of processions and the days of beheadings."[10]

In the fifteenth century, the great painters of the Netherlands naturally influenced the printmakers who were making prints after their works. Israhel van Meckenem was probably the last of the medieval engravers, and his production was so immense that examples of his work are relatively plentiful and are offered for sale even today. His satirical engraving of "Hares Roasting the Hunter" is quite modern in spirit, though he probably had a model in one of the "drolleries" found in late medieval manuscripts.

Great painters early realized the advantages to be derived from reproducing their paintings and drawings by means of engraving and sometimes even by means of woodcut. Fascinated with the method and possibilities of the technique, Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg and Lucas van Leyden of the Netherlands made their own engravings and also experimented with the technique of etching, in which acid is employed to dig out the engraved lines rather than the burin. Other great painters, who did not wish to do their own engravings, employed master engravers to do their work. Of these, Raphael was probably the first to realize the sheer market value of his renown, and he employed a fine engraver to do his work.[11] The engraver in question is Marcantonio Raimondi (ca. 1480- ca. 1530), whose earliest work consisted of copies and adaptations taken from Dürer, and who later was closely associated with Raphael until the painter's death in 1520.

There had been a number of earlier engravers of talent and originality both in Germany and in the Netherlands, in one of which countries the art, like that of printing, is thought to have originated. There were also earlier engravers in Italy, among them the great Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506). Often both in the North and in the South these early engravers are anonymous, being known today only by the monograms with which they signed their plates, or being identified with some outstanding print upon which an identification is based, as for example "The Master of the Beheading of John the Baptist." In connection with Spenser we shall be concerned both with the early anonymous engravings and woodcuts and also with engravings made somewhat later after the works of the great painters.

In Italy, in 1566 Titian received a privilege for the publication of engraved reproductions of his work made by Niccolo Boldrini and Cornelis Cort, a Fleming who had migrated to Rome. But it was the print publishers of Antwerp who made the craft of printmaking into big business. They published not only works engraved after paintings and drawing of Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Breugel the Elder, but also works by Italian painters, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and others. A.J.J. Delen writes, "Cock favorisait par ses éditions les deux grands courants artistiques du XVIe siècle. Par ses gravures d'après les grands maîtres italien et les Flamands italianisants, il

appuya la tendance des romanistes. Mais parallèlement il cultiva le gout de l'époque pour les paysanneries et les diableries se nourissant des traditions du terroir. Guicciardini l'appelle 'Hierosme Cock, inventeur et publieur (par le moyen de l'imprimerie) des oeuvres de Hierosme Boys, et autres peintres de nom.' Eclectique, en effet, Cock donna une diffusion énorme, non seulement aux maîtres italien et italianisants, mais aussi à la tradition mystico-réaliste de Jerome Bosch et de ses imitateurs anversois."[12] The enormous circulation of Cock's engravings of great paintings which Delen emphasizes meant that they were well-known in all the countries of Europe, including England. Thus such works as Corneille Metsys' engravings of Raphael's "La Pêche Miraculeuse" and others from the famous set of cartoons for the tapestry series on Les Actes des Apôtres, or of Michelangelo's Pietà in St. Peter's in Rome, were probably available to Spenser, and it is likely that his acquaintance with the great painters of his own and the previous century was almost entirely made through the medium of engravings. His reference to "Michael Angelo" in the third letter of "Three Proper and Wittie, Familiar Letters"[13] is thus seen in all probability to be founded on some knowledge of the artist's works gained through engravings, since as has already been noted, he probably never traveled to the continent and therefore could not have seen any original works by Michelangelo.

When emblems began to be published, first with Alciati in 1531,[14] followed by Guillaume la Perrière's Théâtre des

Bons Engins (Paris, 1539) and Gilles Corrozet's Hecatomgraphie (Paris,1540), not to mention a number of other emblematists whose collections were published inn Germany, the Low Countries, France, and elsewhere before 1590,[15] allegorical figures in art, including the graphic arts, were already well-known. The emblems, with their close relation to epigrams and conceits, carried allegorical figurization a step further than pure picture. In illuminated manuscripts, pictorial puns had already been known, when, for example, ermines and castles occurring in the borders of a manuscript might indicate that it was made for someone named Hermine du Chasteau. The emblem was related to pictorial punning, as well as to the moral lessons that were so often the point of their elaborate conceits.

Since the influential work of Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery, first published in 1939, brought emblem books to the attention of scholars, as if to make up for previous neglect there has been a disproportionate emphasis upon this kind of book, this kind of graphic art. The fact is that emblem books constitute a special and limited field in the midst of the larger corpus of graphic art made up of single prints and book illustration.

The graphic arts that must have been seen by Edmund Spenser, then, were of all sorts. Some were pictorial-informational, such as the pictures in De Re Militari. The largest number were probably religious and religio-moral in subject, many of these

of very high artistic quality. Many others had classical mythology as their subject, and the great works of classical writers. Yet others had as subject the secular literature of more recent date. Almost without exception, these pictures added visual details to the written literature they illustrated, and a few of them, at least, furnished a completely imagined visual scene drawn from the scantiest verbal suggestion.

Spenser himself was connected with the publication of illustrated books in England, first as a youthful collaborator with Jan van der Noodt on his Theatre for Worldlings, and then as the author of an illustrated work, his Shepheardes Calender. An apparent reference (made by E.K. in his "Dedicatory Epistle" to The Shepheardes Calender) to The Kalender of Shepherdes, a translation of a famous French compendium of agricultural, religious, and moral wisdom, and copiously illustrated, indicated that the poet was familiar with that work. These are the only three illustrated works that we can be sure the poet knew, and therefore they require especially close scrutiny. The woodcuts in The Shepheardes Calender must be English work, judging from the portrait of Queen Elizabeth in the "Aprill" woodcut; but they are probably copied and adapted from French or Flemish originals. The woodcut illustrations in Van der Noodt's Theatre for Worldlings must be either Flemish woodcuts brought to England by Van der Noodt,

or English copies of the Flemish originals. It must also not be forgotten that there is one woodcut, of St. George and the dragon, which appears at the end of Book I of The Faerie Queene.

Spenser, first at Cambridge and later through his connections with the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, and his noble relations the Spencers of Althorp, moved in the most cultivated circles in England until 1580, the year in which he departed to Ireland. After 1580, he made at least two protracted visits to England; and although times had changed for him with the death of Sidney and Leicester, it is probable that he still was in a position to see the best in art that England had to offer. Moreover, in Dublin he knew a circle of literary men and undoubtedly had access to books, both his own and those of his friends.

There had been "practically free trade in the English book market"[16] from 1484 to 1534, under an act first promulgated by Richard III which gave foreign printers and booksellers the right to settle in England and print and sell any books they pleased. The printed sheets of books printed abroad were usually shipped in barrels, because of their ease of handling, and the books were bound in the country of destination. The English act permitting this free trade was annulled in 1534, mainly because of the official desire to keep Papist books out of the country; the new act prohibited any but the wholesale purchase of foreign books. The Stationers' Company was licensed in 1557, under Mary,

and the charter was confirmed two years later under Elizabeth. English booksellers were still free to import foreign editions and seèl them, but foreign craftsmen and booksellers were no longer free to settle and sell what they pleased in England.

Of engraving, Eric Mercer writes, "It had a potential mass-market.... Thus when the engraved print appeared in some numbers as a self-sufficient entity it had both a wide public to appeal to and a wide range of subject-matter to appeal with. By the end of the sixteenth century the importance within the craft of book-illustration was proportionately less, and the existence of the self-sufficient print as a major form is testified to by the appearance of such print-sellers as Sudbury and Humble, and Compton Holland. The tendency had been apparent for many years before...."[17]

It seems, therefore, that it is not stretching probability too far to consider that the poet could have seen many examples of the graphic arts of the continent, as well as of England, both in book illustration and in separate engraved and woodcut prints. I propose to examine groups of visual material incconnection with The Faerie Queene according to category: first, individual prints; and second, book illustration, including first the illustration of the Bible and religious works, second the illustration of classical and mythological works, and third the illustration of Medieval and Renaissance works. In the chapter or section

on each category, I shall take up individual cases in the order in which analogues occur in *The Faerie Queene*; thus the organization within each section will proceed seriatim, from the first appearance of Red Crosse to the last of Mutabilitie.

CHAPTER 1.

WOODCUTS AND ENGRAVINGS CIRCA 1460-1590

FOOTNOTES

[1] Arthur M. Hind, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut (1935; rpt. New York: Dover, 1963), 2 vols., I, 80.

[2] Ibid., p. 96.

[3] Arthur M. Hind, A History of Engraving and Etching (1923; rpt. New York, Dover, 1963), p. 20.

[4] J. Churton Collins, ed., Sir Thomas More's Utopia (Oxford: Clarendon House, 1904), xlix, 1.

[5] David Bland, A History of Book Illustration (New York: World, 1958), p. 137.

[6] Hind, History of Woodcut, I, 361.

[7] Ibid., II, 471.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology (1939; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 27.

[10] Max Lehrs, *Late Gothic Engravings of Germany and the Netherlands: 602 Copperplates from the "Kritischer Katalog"* (with a new essay, "Early Engraving in Germany and the Netherlands," by A. Hyatt Mayor (1908-1934; rpt. New York: Dover, 1969), pp. 2, 3.

[11] Hind, *History of Engraving*, p.97.

[12] A.J.J. Delen, *Histoire de la Gravure dans les Anciens Pays-Bas et dans les Provinces Belges, des Origines jusqu'à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1935), 3 vols., II (deuxième partie), 61.

[13] *Variorum*, X, 18.

[14] *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531).

[15] *Cf*. Praz, pp. 36-47.

[16] Mumby, Frank A. *Publishing and Bookselling: a History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), p.45.

[17] Eric Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625*, Vol. VII of *The Oxford History of English Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 258.

CHAPTER 2.

INDIVIDUAL PRINTS AND THE FAERIE QUEENE

It seems to be generally agreed that in his depiction of the Red Crosse Knight and Una (I. i. 1-4), "Spenser was following the ancient legend [of St. George] rather than contriving a subtle allegory of truth and innocence."[1] The Variorum gives as possible sources Caxton's translation of The Golden Legend (1487); A Festival, compiled from The Golden Legend by John Mirk and published by Caxton in about 1482; Barclay's Lyfe of the Glorious Martyr St. George, a poem published by Pynson of which no copy has survived; Mantuan's poem on St. George, of which Barclay's was said by Warton to be a translation; Lydgate's so-called tapestry poem on the life of St. George; and several manuscript chronicles describing fifteenth-century pageants. In addition, several representations of the legend in art are mentioned by George Sharf (Archaeol., 49, p. 244), but these are mentioned simply as additional evidence that Spenser was following the St. George legend.

It seems probably that in the opening passage of Book I Spenser must have had in mind the St. George legend as depicted in art as well as in literature, and in

particular as shown in certain engravings and woodcuts of the end of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, with some of which, at least, he was bound to be familiar because they were very widely disseminated. Representations of St. George were, of course, particularly popular in England because he was the patron saint of the land. The standard iconography of the equestrian St. George shows the knight sitting a spirited horse and reining in the horse so sharply that the head is pulled up and sometimes turned. The princess whom the saint is in the process of saving from the dragon is usually in the picture, sitting or kneeling on a little hill to one side of the dragon fight, and she is usually accompanied by a small white lamb on a leash. The dragon is ordinarily depicted writhing beneath the horse's feet as St. George pierces him with his lance.

An engraving of exceptional interest in connection with Book I, Cantos i and xi, is the St. George by Master I A M of Zwolle (Fig. 1),[3] which shows the knight stabbing a flying dragon with his long lance; the princess, with her lamb on a leash, kneels on a little hill at the left; and the horse is rearing high as if to help his master to reach up to the air-borne dragon. This engraving dates from the second half of the fifteenth century.

An engraving by the Master of Mt. Calvary (Lehrs No. 94) shows a St. George with a cross on his breastplate; an engraving

by the Master E S (Lehrs. No. 207) depicts the knight with a cross on his shield. The woodcut of St. George in Book I of The Faerie Queene (Fig. 2) also shows a cross upon the knight's shield. Other woodcuts, all except the last published as single prints, and showing the standard iconography of the equestrian St. George, with the princess and her lamb, are those by Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Burgkmair, Lukas Cranach the Elder, and Wolf Traut;[4] that by Albrecht Dürer;[5] a xylographic woodcut by an unknown master;[6] and a woodcut in Hore Virginis Intemerata, a printed book of hours.[7]

An example which shows the importance of this standard iconography of the equestrian St. George in connection with England is the folio Sarum Missal printed by Merlin at Paris in 1555 for export to England-- the last official Sarum Missal, printed during Mary Tudor's brief reign. The title page of this volume is embellished with a large, slightly oblong woodcut showing, top left, the royal arms of Mary, crowned and held by two angels, and top right, the Tudor rose crowned. The lower three-fifths of the woodcut is devoted to a lively depiction of St. George slaying the dragon, his horse tightly reined, and a very large cross prominent on his shield. The princess is seen on her hill, with her lamb, in the right background.

At the beginning of The Faerie Queene, the knight is presented as "pricking on the plaine"(1.1). "His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,/ As much disdayning to the curbe to yield"(1.6,7). Obviously Spenser's knight is reining in his steed as sharply as the St. George of the picture.

The first six lines of the second stanza are devoted to the red cross which Spenser's knight wears on breastplate and shield. I have not found any woodcut or engraving in which the cross is visible in both places; if the cross occurs at all, it is usually to be seen either on the breastplate or on the shield, but not on both. It would be natural, however, for the poet to combine the two in one figure in order to intensify the significance of the image.

The third stanza identifies the dragon as the Red Crosse Knight's foe, and might as easily stem from ligerary as from pictorial sources; the dragon is present in both, except in pictures or stories of the martyrdom of the saint, in which the dragon did not figure.

The fourth stanza is devoted to the lady who accompanies Red Crosse, ending "And by her in a line a milke white lambe she lad"(4.9). The identification of her companion animal as a "lamb" is important here in identifying Spenser's source as pictorial, for the pictures all clearly show a little white lamb rather than the sheep of the legend. In Caxton's translation of The Golden Legend, "The people of the city gave him [the dragon] every day two sheep for to feed him... and when the sheep failed there was taken a man and a sheep. Then was an ordinance made in the town that there should be taken the children and young people... by lot."[8] The lot fell to the king's daughter, and it

was she who was led out with a sheep to the sacrifice on the day when St. George appeared. F. M. Padelford and Matthew O'Connor write, "Almost certainly Spenser would have been familiar with The Golden Legend."[9]

They continue, "An equally important presumptive source for Spenser's St George is the life written as a so-called tapestry poem by John Lydgate." Lydgate writes, of the princess whom St. George was to save:

> Þis cely mayde quaking in hir dreed;
> Upon hir hande a sheep she did leed,...[10]

Thus we see that in the two prime literary sources for the legend it is a sheep that is led by the princess. If Spenser had been thinking of either of these, it would hardly have been a lamb that Una led.

The accounts of fifteenth-century pageants cited in the Variorum are from manuscript sources and were only printed in the nineteenth century. It is highly unlikely, in my opinion, that Spenser could have been familiar with such obscure manuscript material; and of course the pageants described took place a century before Spenser's time, and he cannot have seen them. These accounts mention that the princess in the pageant led forth a lamb, and it is probable that the planners of the pageants, like Spenser a century later, planned their spectacle with regard to the pictorial rather than the written sources in this respect.

It seems likely that Spenser would have been familiar with the works of Caxton and Lydgate, but the elements that he emphasizes in the opening stanzas of Book I seem in the main to be drawn from the standard iconography of the engravings and woodcuts of the equestrian St. George. The reined-in horse fighting the bit, the red cross on shield and breastplate, and the lamb led "in a line" (i.e., on a leash) by Una, all occur in the engravings and woodcuts of the scene that Spenser could have seen.

Una's lamb has evoked various comments from critics. J.B.Fletcher writes, "The Faerie Queene is packed with emblematic imagery. It is the least successfully managed. At the very outset we see the Lady Una leading a lamb in leash. Illustrated, it would form an emblem of Innocence led by Truth. But, on the literal side, for Una to drag that poor lamb along with her on her long quest would be an outrage."[11] This comment is the more astonishing in that an emblem of Truth leading Innocence does not make any particular sense in this context, and would be unlikely in any context; an emblem containing these personages would be more likely to be the other way around, with Innocence leading Truth, and related to the idea that " a little child shall lead them." Spenser indeed compares Una to her lamb in innocence (5.1,2), but this is merely a natural elaboration on his introduction of the lamb and her companion. The introduction

of the lamb is certainly dictated by the iconography of the equestrian St. George, rather than the comparison that follows in the next stanza. Fletcher was not able to cite any actual emblem like the one he suggests, nor was he acquainted, presumably, with the St. George pictures.

Once the lamb has served its pictorial purpose in the further identification of the personages of Red Crosse and Una with St. George and his princess, Spenser drops it from the story. Fletcher's misunderstanding of the poet's method is revealed in his comment that"for Una to drag that poor lamb along with her on her long quest would be an outgage." The poet has no such intention, for he is not writing a realistic work. The disappearance of the lamb after it has served its purpose of pictorial reference ought to alert the reader to the poet's method.

In the eleventh book, Spenser once more alludes to the standard iconography of the equestrian St. George when he writes:

> Then bad the knight his Lady yede aloofe,
> And to an hill her selfe with draw aside,
> From whence she might behold that battailles proof
> And eke be safe from daunger far descryde;
> She him obayd, and turnd a little wyde.
>
> (5.1-5)

In almost every engraving or woodcut that includes the princess, she is placed to one side upon a little hill.

The engraving by the Master I A M of Zwolle (Fig.1) to which we have already referred is unusual in that it shows the dragon flying. Spenser employs the motif of the flying dragon in his narrative of the struggle of Red Crosse with the dragon; and the dragon which Red Crosse kills is about the size of the dragon in the engraving, During part of the narrative, however, the dragon swells to an immense size. Murrin writes of it, "Spenser must insist on the gigantic size of his dragon because he wants it to represent the apocalyptic dragon, but at the same time St. George must kill his own mythic beast.... He [Spenser] must contract the size of his serpent for the realistic details of his fight, while he expands its size for the symbolism."[12] Once again, however, one should not expect photographic realism from Spenser. The shifting size of the dragon may in part be due to the subjective reaction of Red Crosse; but also Spenser's method often has something in common with modern surrealism and magic realism. Even though he begins from the premise of the standard iconography, and returns to it again with further allusions or developments, he does not feel bound by it, and does not hesitate to bend it to his needs.

*

* *

As the adventures of the Red Crosse Knight and Una unfold in the first canto of Book I, they arrive at the little hermitage that belongs to Archimago. The exercise of Archimago's magic arts, which takes place after his guests have retired to their chambers for the night, is one of the episodes in _The Faerie Queene_ which seem related to the traditions of terror and _diablerie_ mentioned by Delen as typical of the native art of Flanders, especially in the works of Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Bruegel the Elder. As soon as Archimago has dismissed his unsuspecting guests to their bedchambers,

> He to his study goes, and there amiddes
> His magick bookes and artes of sundry kindes,
> He seekes out mighty charmes, to trouble sleepy mindes.
> (1.35.7-9)

The whole terrifying atmosphere of Archimago's magic resembles an engraving after a drawing by Bruegel. It is "St. Jacques et le Magicien Hermogène," engraved by Pierre van der Heyden and published by Hieronymus Cock in 1565[13] (Fig.3). At the right side of the engraving, in the foreground, the magician, bearded and in a long gown, sits in a Renaissance chair with his large book open upon his knee; Spenser's Archimago is described as just such a figure, and he too has a book. Bruegel's magician does not look down at his book, but seems to stare out of the picture at the beholder. The figure of St. James stands

almost in the middle of the picture, with a brilliant halo, looking rather like a representation of the Deity against whom Archimago blasphemes. A naked woman rides a dragon in the darkness above the figures-- could she be "Plutoes griesly Dame"(37.4)? Scores of weird demons cluster about the magician, and the air is full of flying "sprights"; at the right, in the darkness above the center foreground, what might be two frightful eyes glare out os a barely suggested face. This might well be:

Great Gorgon, Prince of darknesse and dead night,
At which Cocytus quakes,and Styx is put to flight.
(37.8,9)

Such fantastic scenes of witchcraft and magic were pictured often in engravings and woodcuts, and were widely distributed all over Europe to a public that for the most part firmly believed in the existence of the black arts. They were an important part of the imaginative environment that made possible the creation of such a scene as that of Archimago working his spells.

*

* *

The theme of Prince Arthur's magic shield, the supreme weapon that blinds or stuns his opponents and renders them helpless when it is unveiled, occurs in three passages: I.viii.33-36; V.viii.37-42; and V.xi.26-32. Such a shield has numerous precedents in literature. Upton cites "the aegis

of Jupiter, filled with the dreadful figures of Horror and Flight, which Minerva the goddess of wisdom usually bore (Od.17,330),...the shield which Minerva gave to Perseus, when she sent him to attack the Gorgon (Ovid,Met.4.782)."[14] He and others also cite "the magical shield of Atlant, which came afterwards into the possession of Ruggiero (Ariosto 22.81,82)."[15] Other literary precedents suggested are Ephesians 6.16, the "shield of Faith," cited by J. J. B. Pienaar, and "the dazzling white hauberk... originally the property of Brunehaut" in the French Auberon (1067), cited by Rosemond Tuve.[17]

Spenser writes of Arthur's shield:

> His warlike shield all closely coverd was,
> Ne might of mortal eye be ever seene;
> Not made of steele, nor of enduring bras,
> Such earthly mettals soone consumed bean:
> But all of Diamond perfect pure and cleene....
>
> (vii.33.1-5)

Atlanta's shield, on the other hand, is red, being "a guisa di piropo" (Orl. Fur.2.56.1), or ruby. And Jupiter's aegis is carved with pictures representing "horror and flight," unlike that either of Atlanta or that of Arthur, which are without pictures.

A similar theme is found in an Italian engraving which was made after a drawing by Leonardo da Vinci which is

now in the Louvre, in Paris. This engraving, entitled by Hind "Combat of Animals in the Presence of a Man with a Shield" (Fig. 4),[18] is by the Italian "Master of the Beheading of John the Baptist," an engraver whose name is unknown; it is dated by Kristeller as probably between 1507 and 1521. Hind writes that there has been no satisfactory explanation of the subject of this engraving.[19]

In this composition, a godlike human figure (Jupiter?) is seated at the left on an outcropping of rock, looking toward a combat between various animals which is taking place at the center and right of the picture. The man holds up a round, sunlike shield which is visibly emitting rays of light toward the fighting animals; everything in the picture is, of course, caught in a moment of stillness, which could be the moment when everything is brought to a halt by the magical properties of the unveiled shield. The shield, incidentally, has no carvings on it, as Jupiter's aegis had; it is simply characterized, like Prince Arthur's shield, by its extreme brightness.

The central animal of the fight taking place in the picture is the dragon. A bear, behind it, bites the dragon; while the dragon in its turn, its long neck horribly contorted, bites a lion which is in front of it. At the left of the three central animals is a large, catlike animal, perhaps a female lion,

getting ready to spring, while at the right, caught at the moment it is charging directly at the combattants with its horn lowered for battle, is a unicorn.

It is noteworthy that Prince Arthur's shield makes its first appearance in what is in part at least essentially a dragon fight, the Orgoglio episode, when the seven-headed beast which is in reality a dragon, ridden by Duessa, has overcome the Prince's squire, and the Prince himself is hard besdt by the combined force of beast and giant. The giant, who has come to the aid of the beast and Duessa, strikes Prince Arthur with his club and fells him.

> And in his fall his shield, that coverd was,
> Did loose his vele by chaunce, and open flew:
> The light whereof, that heavens light did pas,
> Such blazing brightnesse through the aier threw,
> That eye mote not the same endure to vew.
> Which when the Gyaunt spyde with staring eye,
> He downe let fall his arms, and soft withdrew
> His weapon huge, that heaved was on hye
> For to have slain the man, that on the ground did lye.
>
> And eke the fruitfull-headed beast, amaz'd
> At flashing beames of that sunshiny shield,
> Became starke Blind, and all his senses daz'd,

That downe he tumbled on the durtie field,
And seem'd himselfe as conquered to yield.
Whom when his maistresse proud perceiv'd to fall,
Whiles yet his feeble feet for faintnesse reeld,
Unto the Gyant loudly she gan call,
O helpe Orgoglio, helpe, or else we perish all.

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

In these lines, the "blazing brightnesse... of that sunchiny shield" strikingly resembles the brightness of the shield pictured in the engraving. In the original drawing by Leonardo, the sun is out and the shield is portrayed as reflecting its light; but in the engraving the sun has been omitted, and the shield itself is the source of the light, "sunshiny" as it is. In the engraving it is turned upon the dragon fight; in the poem, upon the"fruitfull-headed beast." In the simile that closes

the twenty-first stanza, its brightness is compared to "th'Almighties lightning brond," which recalls that in the engraving the godlike figure resembles a Jupiter figure. But the word Almighty has a Christian connotation which would tend to support J.J.B. Pienaar's suggestion that the Shield of Faith of Ephesians may also be meant.

It would seem that any treatment of the possible sources for the passage in The Faerie Queene that have to do with the shield, which is unveiled, and which therefore functions, in Books I and V, would have to include a consideration of the appearance of the theme in the visual arts, and in particular in this engraving.

It is interesting that the shield actually functions only in the first and fifth books, in both of which the Biblical connections are particularly strong. In the first book,it is the seven-headed beast of Revelation, as well as the Whore of Babylon (Duessa) and the giant of pride and vainglory (Orgoglio) who are thus overcome by the "perfect pure and cleene" brightness of the shield. In the fifth book, it is used to overcome the Souldan in viii.37-42, and the "cursed feend" beneath the altar in xi.26-32. It is notable that in all three episodes it is the enemies of true religion that are overcome by the bright rays from the shield.

The engraving in question, however, obviously has no connection with Bible illustration, whatever may be the story

to which it refers. If there is a moral implication in Spenser's use of the image, it is due to the poet's overall purpose in the poem rather than to anything in the picture. It is an extension of a classical image to a Christian moral which is often typical of Spenser's method. That is, he borrows the image purely qua image, disregarding if he chooses so to do its whole frame of reference, and places it instead in whatever frame of reference he is working in at that moment.

*

* *

A motif used by both Bosch and Bruegel is of special interest in connection with the ninth canto of Spenser's second book: it is that of the anthropomorphic house, a visual fantasy of startling power. In the right wing of "The Garden of Earthly Delights," Bosch paints one example of this motif, which is repeated in an engraving by an imitator of the painter(Fig.5).[20] In the engraving as in the painting, through a great opening at the back of the body-house one sees a large, round table where guests are at a banquet, as in Spenser's Hall (27). In the engraving there is a pitcher at the top which suggests Spenser's turret (44.8) pictorially, though the intention seems somewhat different.

In "La Tentation de Saint Antoine," an engraving by Pierre Van der Heyden after a drawing by Bruegel now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and published by Cock in 1556 (Fig. 6),[21]

the central motif is a sort of houseboat in the form of the head of a gypsy or of a brigand. A large nose ring decorates the nose, and a pipe is being smoked through one eye, which is in reality a window with leaded panes; smoke is coming out of the mouth in the shape of a tongue. The upper teeth are visible, and three personages are seen in the lower part of the entrance-mouth; a bird sits perbhed on the lower lip as on a doorsill.

In "Gula" (or "La Gourmandise"), one of Bruegel's series on the seven deadly sins, also engraved by Van der Heyden, and dated 1558 (Fig. 7),[22] there are several examples of the theme. In the right background of the picture stands a windmill, a building in the form of a giant head with windmill wings at the back like a fantastic ornament. The mouth is again the main entrance, and the eyes are windows. There is also a dormer window in the forehead. At the left of the picture stands a combination person-house which is made up of a kneeling personage entrapped in a structure rather like a strait jacket; his face protrudes from the top front of the structure, and his kneeling right leg is visible through an opening at the side.

"The Temptation of St. Anthony," by Bosch,[23] has two anthropomorphic houses among its numerous nightmare themes. One shows the wide entrance of the mouth, rather as Spenser describes it in II.ix.26; the other is even more striking, being a house in which the famous back door described by Spenser is rather realistically rendered. Unfortunately I have not been able to locate an engraving after this painting,

which is in the collections of the Museu Nazional de Arte Antigua, in Lisbon.

*

*   *

The first chamber in the turret of the House of Alma belongs to the first of the three "honorable sages"(47.8), Phantastes, who "could things to come foresee"(59.1). The walls of his room are painted with fantastic figures in a mural which Spenser describes as "Infinite shapes of things dispersed thin"(50.3). They are figures:

> Such as in idle fantasies doe flit:
> Infernal Hags, Centaures, feendes, Hippodames,
> Apes, Lions, Aegles, Owles, fooles, lovers, children, Dames.
>
> (ix.50.7-9)

Such figures, "dispersed thin"-- that is to say, represented like single sketches strewn at random over the compositional field-- are to be seen in a group of four engravings reproduced in the catalogue of a 1967 exhibition in Holland.[24] All are signed, the first three "Hieronimus Bos invẽ H. Cock excul.," the fourth "Jer. Bossche Invent. Aux Quatre Vents." The first (Fig. 8) has a fantastic elephant as its central figure; the second, of St. Martin's feast (Fig.9), has numerous figures; the third, "Musikanten in een Mosselschelp" (Music-makers in a mussel shell)

(Fig.10), includes the dame and the owl, among other figures; and the fourth has scattered figures and is called "De Bedelaars," or "Beggars"(Fig. 11). The fourth has an engraved legend that must have appealed to Spenser's Protestant feelings if he saw it:

> Al dat op den blauwen trugelsack, gheerne leeft
> Gaet meest al Cruepele, op beijde sijden,
> Daerom den Cruepelen Bisschop, veel dienaars heeft,
> Die om een vette proue, den rechten ghanck mijden.[25]

It seems appropriate that the shapes painted on the wall of Phantastes' chamber should recall the figures and technique of the most fantastic painter of the entire period, whose work was available to Spenser in engravings.

But many other engravings of the subjects he mentions here were also available, and if he examined a small album or collection of early engravings from Germany and the Netherlands he might have found them in abundance. If one takes the ninth line of the fiftieth stanza, one finds such engravings as these that might have furnished the list of themes: "A Family of Apes," by the Engraver with the Monogram b g;[26] "Four Monkeys with Their Young," and "Four Monkeys,"by Israhel van Meckenem;[27] "The Large Coart of Arms of Charles the Bold," which has two lions, by Master W with the sign Y;[28] "Wild People and a Lion," by the Master of the

Nuremberg Passion;[29] "The Lion of St. Mark," and "The Eagle of St. John," by Martin Schongauer;[30] "Coat of Arms with an Eagle," by Master h w ;[31] "The Man with the Owlet," by an artist of the School of the Master of the Playing Cards;[32] "The Woman with the Owl," by Master M Z ;[33] "The Power of Women," which has four fools going ahead of the woman, by an artist of the School of the Master of the Playing Cards;[34] "A Dancing Fool and an Old Woman," by the Engraver with the Monogram b g ;[35] "A Pair of Lovers at a Fountain," by the same;[36] "The Knight and His Fair Lady," by Israhel van Meckenem;[37] "Two Children Playing," by the Engraver with the Monogram b g :[38] "A Lady and her Servant" and "Two Women on a Bridge," by Master L Cz.[39] It is these themes that are strewn in sketches across the compositional field of Phantastes' mural.

In the second room, the walls

Were painted faire with memorable gestes,
Of famous Wisards, and with picturals
Of Magistrates, of courts, of tribunals,
Of common wealthes, of states, of pollicy,
Of Lawes, of iudgements, and of decretals:
All artes, all science, all Philosophy,
And all that in the world was aye thought wittily.

(ix.53.3-9)

The "magicien Hermogène" of Bruegel which was described

in connection with Archimago's magic was a famous "Wisard" whose "memorable geste" was pictured in an engraving. Magistrates, courts, and tribunals were often pictured. Among engravings after Bruegel one might cite "La Justice," in which a small court of justice is in process in the right foreground, although the major emphasis of the picture is upon the variety of terrible punishments which are being administered to those convicted of misdoing.[40] Another Bruegel engraving is "Le Jugement Dernier," in which Christ is shown judging the world on doomsday-- surely the apotheosis of all judgments.[41] On one side, angels are seen shepherding the saved souls up toward heaven, while on the other, devils drive the damned into a gaping Hell's Mouth, represented as a large and horrible mouth of a monster. Such other subjects as "The Judgment of Solomon," by Gerard de Jode,[42] or "The Judgment of Paris," by the Master with the Banderoles,[43] are often found in engravings; nor are representations of the personified arts and sciences lacking(Fig. 12). There can be little doubt that the poet is referring to such representations as these in this passage.

*

*   *

At the beginning of the sixth canto of the third book, Venus is searching for her little boy, Cupid, who is lost:

> At last she her bethought, that she had not
> Yet sought the salvage woods and forrests wyde;
> In which full many lovely Nymphes abyde,
> Mongst whom might be, that he did closely lye,...
> (vi.16.3-6)

The beautiful woodcut by Niccolo Boldrini, "Venus and Cupid in the Forest," was made after a drawing by Titian; it is signed in the lower left corner "Titianus Inv. Nicolaus Boldrinus Vincentinus incidebat 1566"(Fig. 13).[44] Perhaps the best-known work of Boldrini, this woodcut was one of the first made after Titian obtained his "privilege" from the Senate of Venice to cover such reproductions of his work. In it, we see a beautiful nude figure of the goddess, seated on a bank by a path on a gracefully disposed drapery. She leans to the left, embracing a small, winged Cupid who is seated on an outcropping of rock just a little below the level of her shoulder. The landscape background shows a number of trees, with two squirrels seen in the pines immediately behind the goddess, and a bird with spread wings in the tree above her. The two figures lean toward one another affectionately, and the winged child Cupid touches his mother's cheek with one plump hand. As in the Garden of Adonis (49), he has laid his "sad darts" aside; he is without accoutrements such as his usual bow and arrows and the blindfold he so frequently wears.

The woodcut presents a lovely picture of the affection between mother and child, and suggests the relationship to which Spenser refers when he has Venus searching for her beloved little boy in the woods. It is perhaps noteworthy that no architectural element is present in the woodcut; there is only the landscape background, just as in the woodland where Spenser has Venus carry out her search for Cupid, and in the Garden of Adonis.

This pastoral, peaceful Cupid is in complete contrast to the baleful figure in the House of Busirane (III.xi.48), which will be discussed in Chapter Five, when we consider representations of Petrarch's Triumphs. Not all the Cupids of illustrations of the first Triumph are blindfold, but all are provided with the bow and arrow with which the godling shoots his darts of fatal passion abroad into the world.

The Venus figure of this woodcut is that of a surpassingly beautiful and loving woman, perhaps as much a model for the figure of Amoret as for Venus. For Amoret is adopted by the goddess and brought up in the Garden of Adonis "To be th'ensample of true love alone"(vi.52.4). Presumably in the Garden she is brought up in the state of nature, like a goddess or an Eve figure, or like the Venus of the woodcut, beautiful and unclothed. Spenser does not say so, specifically, but doubtless when she came "To Faery court"(52.7) she would

have donned for the first time the conventional outward garments of society.

The sense of grace and beauty that is special to Italian woodcuts and engravings, together with the whole atmosphere of this woodcut, seem close to Spenser's picture of Venus and Cupid in the sixth canto of the third book. It is the kind of picture that would surely have lingered in the poet's memory if he had seen it, because of its beauty and its sense of rendering the fullness of a painting; and since Italian prints were made in fairly large editions, there is some chance that Spenser could have seen a copy of this one.

*
* *

The theme of the savage man, or wild man, in both literature and art, is of ancient date, and it is therefore not surprising that Spenser employs it in his poem, so much of the action of which takes place in precisely the kind of wild country where wild men might logically be expected to be found. The theme occurs in two passages in particular, one in the fourth canto of the fourth book, where Sir Artegall appears disguised as a "Salvage" knight, and one in Book VI, where from the fourth through the eighth cantos the gentle "Salvage Man" is one of the main personages of the action.

Todd writes, "This wild man resembles, in some respects, the celebrated Orson of romance."[45]

The passage in which Sir Artegall enters in disguise is a pictorial one:

> Till that there entred on the other side
> A straunger knight, from whence no man could read,
> In quyent disguise, full hard to be descride
> For all his armour was like salvage weed,
> With woody moss bedight, and all his steed
> With oaken leaves attrapt, that seemed fit
> For salvage wight; and thereto well agreed
> His word, which on his ragged shield was writ,
> Salvagesse sans finesse, shewing secret wit.
>
> (IV.iv.29)

It is interesting that his disguise resembles that of a mummer in an anonymous woodcut made after a drawing by Bruegel, with the signature at the lower right "1566. BRUEGEL" (Fig. 14). The subject is "La Mascarade d'Ourson et de Valentin,"[46] precisely the Orson of romance mentioned by Todd in his note on VI.iv.2. Here, however, the theme is taken from the large painting called "Le Combat de Carnaval et de Carème," and represents not the real Ourson, but personages dressed up in masquerade costumes representing him and his brother Valentin, just as Artegall is dressed up in a similar costume which is

also an obvious disguise.

In the woodcut, the personage dressed as Ourson, the "salvage man," wears a suit covered with some material drawn as scalloped leaves or petals, and he has larger leaves, which seem to be of both oak and ivy, on his head and in his flowing false beard. He carries a large club, studded with thick nails, over his shoulder. It is interesting that even in a picture, the representations in which ordinarily carry literal conviction, the muffled, disguised look of a mummer is brilliantly achieved.

Artegall's disguise is described as moss covering his armor "like salvage weed," which presumably looked very much like the petalled leaves covering the garment of Bruegel's personage. He has oak leaves on his steed rather than in his own hair and beard, which are of course covered by his helmet. Both Spenser's personage and Bruegel's are obviously in disguise. Neither one looks like the pictures of genuine wild men that were common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A genuine wild man was usually naked, or nearly so, and he could be identified by his animal-like hairiness.[47]

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* *

"La Parabole du Bon Pasteur," engraved by Philippe Galle after a drawing by Bruegel,[48] shows in the upper right

background a scene in which a doglike beast attacks the shepherd and his flock (Fig. 15). Lebeer writes, "Dans le champ de la gravure, au haut, à gauche, au dessus du bon berger attaquant un loup de sa houlette, l'inscription: Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis" [The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep].

The pastoral scene and the attacking doglike beast (the wolf) remind one that the Blatant Beast is "this Hellish dog"(VI.vi.12.2), the animal that disturbs the virtuous pastoral world of the sixth book of The Faerie Queene. In choosing the Blatant Beast as the main enemy of this world, Spenser may well have had a Christian prototype in his mind, as well as the classical pastoral tradition. Lebeer writes of Bruegel's engraving, "Sauf le Christ encore representé d'une façon traditionelle, toute la figuration de cette création très animée est rendue vivante par son caractère d'actualité. Rien n'y est conventionnel.... Tout au plus pourrait-on y découvrir encore une certaine persistance de la tradition mediévale dans la simultanéité avec laquelle sont representés-- racontés!-- dans une seule composition, les divers episodes d'un récit."[49] This is one of those pictures in which the narrative method of a series of vignettes is like Spenser's pictorial method.

The Blatant Beast, in short, is far more like the traditional predator of the Christian pastoral world than

like the dragon to which he has sometimes mistakenly been compared.[50] Spenser represents the Beast as eternally living, as is indeed the scriptural predator; he gets into the world again, even though Sir Calidore catches and confines him:

> So now he raungeth through the world againe,
> And rageth sore in each degree and state;
> Ne any is, that may him now restraine,
> He growen is so great and strong of late,
> Barking and biting all that him doe bate,
> Albe they worthy blame or cleare of crime:
> Ne spareth he most learned wits to rate,
> Ne spareth he the gentle Poets rime,
> But rends without regard of person or of time.
>
> (xii.40)

Possibly the pictured beast in the Bruegel engraving had something to do with the form taken by the Blatant Beast, whose main function is barking and biting with his poisonous tongues and fangs. Or possibly some other depiction of "The Good Shepherd," using the same iconography that Bruegel used, may have been recalled by the poet.

*

* *

One of the main themes of the middle portion of Book VI is the story of Mirabella (VI.vi-viii). When first seen,

she is:

> ... a faire Mayden clad in Mourning weed,
> Upon a mangy jade unmeetely set,
> And a lewd foole her leading thorough dry and wet.
> (vi.16.7-9)

After this first tantalizing glimpse, Spenser characteristically postpones telling us more of her until the next canto:

> But turne we now backe to that Ladie free,
> Whom late we left ryding upon an Asse,
> Led by a Carle and foole, which by her side did passe.
> (vii.27.7-9)

She is a "Ladie of great dignitie.... Though of mean parentage." (27.1,4), whose crime is that she has refused to accept any lover, and scorned them all. Her crime is a kind of discourtesy, in the context of this book of <u>The Faerie Queene</u>, a discourtesy that is no doubt explained by her low birth. In the structure of the book, she is the opposite of Pastorella, who appears in Cantos x-xii. Pastorella, the ideal shepherdess, is exquisitely courteous, despite her apparently mean parentage. In accordance with Spenser's conviction that blood is important, Pastorella turns out in the end to be of high birth.

Mirabella is called to account for her crimes at Cupid's court, and condemned to wander in penance through the world with the personification of Disdaine leading her donkey and the

"foole," Scorne, following with a whip. She must wander thus until she has saved as many individuals as she formerly slew by scorning their love, as she explains in viii.2.

The moral of this story is found at the beginning of Canto viii:

> Ye gentle Ladies, in whose sovrraine powre
> Love hath the glory of his kingdome left,
> And th'hearts of men, as your eternal dowre,
> In yron chaines, of liberty bereft,
> Delivered hath into your hands by gift:
> Be well aware, how ye the same doe use,
> That pride doe not to tyranny you lift:
> Least if men you of cruelty accuse,
> He from you take that chiefedome, which ye doe abuse.
>
> (viii.1)

The theme of the story of Mirabella is thus seen to be the power of women-- a power that is obviously resented by its victims, men, unless it is abdicated.

A famous early engraving by an artist of the School of the Master of the Playing Cards, "The Power of Women"(Fig. 16)[51] interprets its theme in pictorial terms to which Spenser's are akin. In the center of the picture a beautiful and well-dressed woman is seen riding upon a donkey. She is riding across a meadow, and one sees flowers and grass underfoot. Before the

beast, at the right of the picture, four fools, recognizable by their fool's caps, face the lady on the donkey, who is obviously going to have to ride through them-- unless they are walking backward ahead of her. On her left hand, held in front of her, sits a bird. Her right hand, reaching behind, holds four monkeys in leash. It seems at first glance that the woman's beauty turns men into fools or monkeys. But above the personages, in a looped banderole, is the legend in Cologne dialect:"Eynen esel reyden ich wan ich weil/ Ein gauch dat is myn federspil/ Da myt fangen ich naren ind affen vyl" (I ride a donkey whenever I wish/ A cuckoo is my lure/ With which I catch many fools and monkeys).[40] The ass is traditionally the humblest of steeds, and it is ironic that the proud woman should have to ride it. The apes which she leads signify, inter alia, lust; and the fools are the fools of the world. Obviously, her attractions captivate only lustful men and foolish men. The cuckoo is connected with cuckoldry and the well-known habit of that bird of laying its eggs in other birds' nests.

Mirabella, too, rides an ass,and in the past-- in the crime for which she is atoning-- made fools of men,and in a figurative way monkeys as well. The symbolic cuckoo is absent from her attributes, since her sins are disdáin and scorn rather than lasciviousness. She leads her Squire on a hempen cord, as the woman in the engraving does her apes. In her penance she is accompanied

by her two sins personified, Scorn as a fool and Disdain as a giant. They are rough with her and her Squire, the fool going behind with a whip and often whipping both the fair rider and her Squire. The giant carries a great club. Thus Mirabella's sins are turned upon herself. The fact that it is Prince Arthur himself who wants to liberate her shows her importance in the structure of the book. Her case seems hopeless as she rides off into the distance, after she has refused to be rescued and has explained the necessity of her doom to the regretful Prince.

Commentators on the passage have speculated upon a possible connection of Mirabella with the poet's youthful beloved, Rosalind, but Ray Heffner, editing the notes for the Variorum edition, has effectually put this conjecture to rest.[53] Other commentators, notably E.B.Fowler, have written on the Court of Love aspect of Cupid's judgment.[54] Williams sees the episode "entirely as an emblematic procession, which is Spenser's adaptation of the quasi-theatrical pieces often produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as court masque, royal progress, pas d'armes, or civic spectacle."[55] He also writes that "the churlish Disdain with his black hair, turban, and iron club derives from the representation of 'Daungier' in illuminated manuscripts of the <u>Roman de la Rose</u>,"[56] but does not tell us which manuscript, nor how "daungier" became transmuted into Disdain. There are, moreover, other representations of personages

in turbans, such as "The Turkish Warrior," an engraving by the Master F V S,[57] which the poet might easily have seen. No previous critic has noted the similarity of pictorial theme to the engraving "The Power of Women," with all that such a similarity implies of extension of meaning. The whole question of the power of women tantalized writers and exacerbated sore feelings in the sixteenth century as now. Spenser reverts to it in many passages, and as is often the case, most memorably in his most pictorial vein. The similarity between Spenser's passage and the engraving called "The Power of Women" is among the most striking of the many similarities between passages in The Faerie Queene and various engravings or woodcuts.

*

* *

The numerous prints that I have cited as bearing some possible relation to themes and motifs in Spenser's Faerie Queene are important as part of the imaginative environment in which the poet lived. They are important because it is in this form that Spenser could have known the work of the most renowned painters and graphic artists of his period. I believe that one can scarcely avoid the conclusion, after studying the series of seeming relation and resemblance between The Faerie Queene and these prints, that Spenser was intimately familiar with the materials of the art of engraving and woodcut as embodied in such individual examples.

CHAPTER 2.

INDIVIDUAL PRINTS AND *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figs.1-16

Fig. 1. "St. George," engraving by the Master I A M of Zwolle.

Second half fifteenth century.

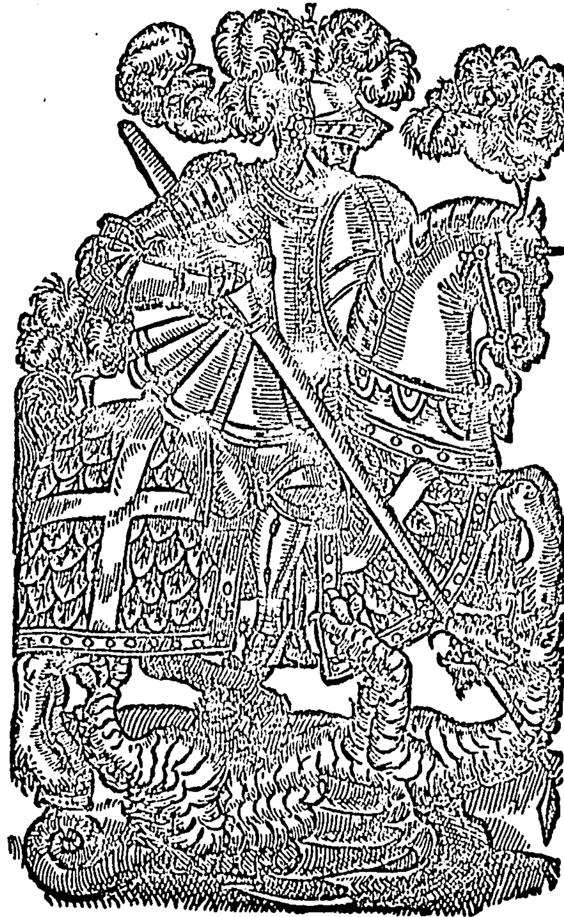


Fig. 2. "St. George," anonymous woodcut from the 1596 edition of The Faerie Queene.

Fig. 3. "St. Jacques et le Magicien Hermogène," engraving after Pieter Bruegel the Elder. 1565.

Fig. 4. "Combat of Animals in the Presence of a Man with a Shield," engraving by the Master of the Beheading of John the Baptist,after Leonardo da Vinci. c.1507-1521.

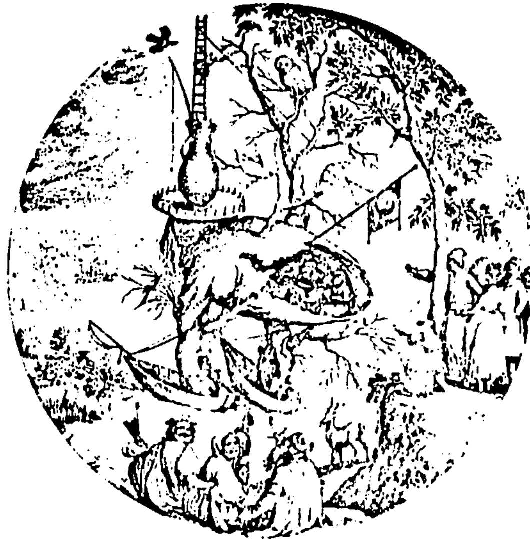
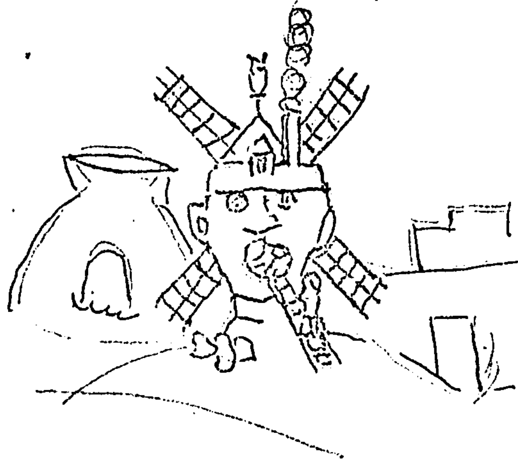


Fig. 5. "Motif from 'The Garden of Earthly Delights,'" engraving after Hieronymus Bosch. n.d. but probably c. 1562.

Fig. 6. "La Tentation de St. Antoine," engraving by Cock after a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. 1556.

7 a



7 b

Fig. 7. Two motifs from "Gula," engraving by Cock after a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. 1558.

Fig. 8. "Fantastic Elephant," engraving by Cock after a drawing by Hieronymus Bosch. c. 1562.

Fig. 9. "St. Martin's Feast," engraving by Cock after a drawing by Hieronymus Bosch. c. 1562.

Fig. 10. "Musikanten in een Mosselschelp," engraving by Cock after Hieronymus Bosch. 1562.

Fig. 11. "De Bedelaars," engraving by Cock (Aux Quatre Vents) after Hieronymus Bosch. c. 1562.

Fig.12."Musica,"from series of "The Liberal Arts," engraving by Hieronymus Cock and Frans Floris. 1550-51.

Fig. 13. "Venus and Cupid in the Forest," woodcut by Niccolo Boldini after Titian. 1566.

Fig. 14. "La Mascarade d'Ourson et de Valentin," woodcut after Pieter Bruegel the Elder. 1566.

Fig. 15. Detail from "La Parabole du Bon Pasteur," engraving by Philippe Galle after a drawing by Bruegel. 1565.

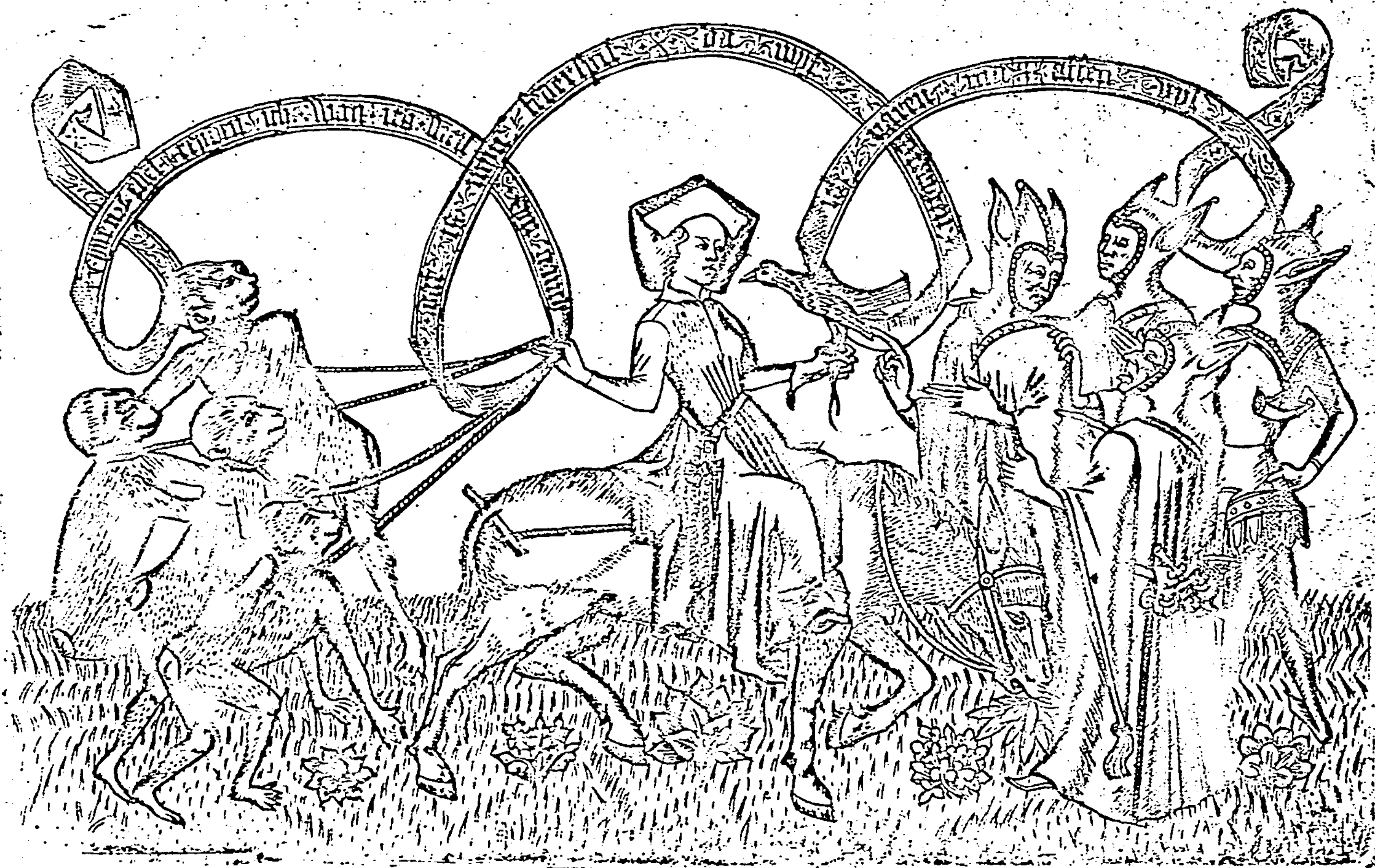


Fig. 16."The Power of Women," engraving by an anonymous engraver of the School of the Master of the Playing Cards. Second half fifteenth century.

CHAPTER 2.

INDIVIDUAL PRINTS AND THE FAERIE QUEENE

FOOTNOTES

[1] Edwin Greenlaw, "Una and her Lamb," MLN, 42 (1927), pp. 515-16, quoted in Variorum, I, 389.

[2] Variorum, I, 379-90.

[3] Max Lehrs, Late Gothic Engravings of Germany ond the Netherlands: 682 Copperplates from the "Kritischer Katalog" (with a new essay, "Early Engraving in Germany and the Netherlands," by A.Hyatt Mayor) (1908-1934; rpt. New York: Dover, 1969), No. 30.

[4] Max Gaisberg, Bilder-Katalog: der Deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt in der Ersten Halfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Munich: Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1930), Nos. 35, 463-65, 596-97, and 1411.

[5] Albrecht Dürer, The Complete Woodcuts(New York: Dover, 1963), No. 138.

[6] André Blum, Les Primitifs de la Gravure (Paris: Librairie Grund, 1956), No. 17.

[7] *Hore Virginis Intemerate* (Paris: Guillaume le Rouge, 1510), F. E7[v].

[8] *Variorum*, I, 379-80.

[9] *Ibid*., 379, 386.

[10] *Ibid*., 387.

[11] J.B.Fletcher,"The Painter of the Poets," *SP*, 14 (1917), p. 164, quoted in *Variorum*, I, 178.

[12] Murrin, 143.

[13] Louis Lebeer, *Catalogue Raisonné des Estampes de Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1969), No. 57, pp.141-142.

[14] *Variorum*, I, 254.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] *Ibid*.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1938-1948), 8 vols., VI, Plate 630.

[19] *Ibid.*, V, 99.

[20] Jheronimus Bosch [Catalogue of an Exhibition Sept. 17 - Nov. 15, 1967] ('s Hertogenbosch, Netherlands: Noordbrabants Museum, 1967), No. 104, with plate. *Cf.* also Charles de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1965), plates 18c and 18d.

[21] Lebeer, pp. 52,53.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 70,71, No. 22.

[23] De Tolnay, p. 437, Plate 54.

[24] *Jheronimus Bosch* [Exhibition Sept. 17-Nov. 15,1967], Nos. 95, 96, 99, and 101, all with plates.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 226. The quatrain may be translated as follows:

All who live willingly under the blue heavens
Go mostly as cripples, on both sides,
Wherefore the Bishop of Cripples has many dinars,
Who for a fat profit doesn't follow the right path.

[26] Lehrs, No. 538.

[27] *Ibid.*, Nos. 672,673.

[28] *Ibid.*, No. 460.

[29] *Ibid.*, No. 74.

[30] *Ibid.*, Nos. 381, 379.

[31] *Ibid.*, No. 561.

[32] *Ibid.*, No. 31.

[33] *Ibid.*, No. 594.

[34] *Ibid.*, No. 30.

[35] *Ibid.*, No. 549.

[36] *Ibid.*, No. 534.

[37] *Ibid.*, No. 675.

[38] *Ibid.*, Nos. 536,537.

[39] *Ibid.*, Nos. 445, 444.

[40] Lebeer, pp. 99, 100, No. 34.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75, No. 25.

[42] *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti* (Antwerp: Gerard De Jode, 1585), [No. 153]. [The engravings in this collection were published singly at various times before the date of the collection.]

[43] Lehrs, No. 330.

[44] William H. Schab, _Old Master Prints and Drawings: Catalogue 42_ (New York: William H. Schab Gallery, n.d.), p. 15.

[45] _Variorum_, VI, 201.

[46] Lebeer, pp. 146-48, No. 60.

[47] Lehrs, Nos. 34, 35: "King of Wild Men" and "Queen of Wild Men," by an anonymous artist of the School of the Master of the Playing Cards.

[48] Lebeer, pp. 144-46, No. 59.

[49] _Ibid._, p. 146.

[50] Cf. Williams, p. 123. "An illustration in a manuscript of the famous _Ovide Moralisé_ (Lyon 742, fol. 166r) shows a dragon-like beast with legs, wings, and a curled tail, which could easily be the prototype of the Blattant Beast."

[51] Lehrs, No. 30.

[52] _Ibid._

[53] _Variorum_, VI, 221.

[54] *Ibid.*, p.222.

[55] *Op.cit.*, p. 123.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[57] Lehrs, No. 478.

CHAPTER 3.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE: THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE BIBLE AND RELIGIOUS WORKS

Since the first book of The Faerie Queene is the one that is most fully and directly concerned with Christian doctrine, one might expect that it would be more deeply influenced by Christian iconography than the later books; and I believe that this will be seen to be true. The influence of Christian iconography, however, is pervasive as well as specific throughout The Faerie Queene; and incidents without any connection with religion often seem to have a pictorial relation with some Bible illustration.

The authority of religious pictures was taken for granted. That such works were understood as visual evidence is made clear by the reports of foreign visitors to Queen Elizabeth's court. Von Wedel, for example, remarks on a picture of "the face of Moses...which...is said to be a striking likeness"[1]; and John Ernest, Duke of Saxe Weimar, reports that at Nonsuch Palace he saw a carved bust said to be an exact image of Christ."[2]

The rich corpus of Biblical illustration and related graphic material-- for example, A Booke of Christian Prayers

(1578), with its beautiful historiated woodcut borders; printed *Horae*, or books of hours, with woodcut and metal cut illustrations and borders; books on the saints, such as *The Golden Legend*; and the pictures in pious writings such as Brother Claus, which was illustrated by Dürer-- all these gave the sixteenth-century beholder an authoritative visual conception of the specific subjects depicted. But more than that, this corpus of material served as a reservoir of pictorial images that might be related to many subjects. All giants might be subsumed in Goliath, all beauty spied upon in the bath in Bathsheba or Susanna, and so on. The visualization of such archetypal personages was influenced probably more than a modern man can realize by the wealth of Biblical and other religious pictures available in the sixteenth century. Moreover, all the elements of these compositions, not only the central subjects, but the attendant attributes, the architecture of the buildings, and the landscape backgrounds, must have helped to form the inner eye of the pictorial imagination, and served as a major source for the pictorial descriptions that came into vogue in English literature in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The hermit, a holy man who has rejected the world and retired to a solitary place for the purpose of meditiation and prayer, is one such archetypal figure; and it is not long before Red Crosse and Una meet with a hermit in the first canto of Book I:

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

(I.i.29)

A little lowly Hermitage it was,
  Downe in a dale, hard by a forests side,
  Far from resort of people, that did pas
  In travell to and froe; a little wyde
  There was an holy Chappell edifyde...;
  Thereby a Christall streame did gently play,
Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway.

II.i.34.1-5,8,9)

When the Red Crosse Knight and Una meet this aged hermit, who later turns out to be in reality Archimago, the arch magician, they accompany him to his hermitage to spend the night. In this scene Spenser employs the simple and standard iconography of hermits that is found in an early woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, from the series of five, of which it is the first, illustrating a book on the life and miracles of the holy

Brother Claus (Fig. 17).[3] In the woodcut, the holy man, garbed in a long, monklike robe, with bare feet, his beard long and apparently gray or white, his eyes downcast, sits before his little hermitage deep in thought. A little stream runs beside him, and to the right, beyond the stream and on higher ground, stands the chapel. Every element mentioned by Spenser in the twenty-ninth stanza, in which Red Crosse and Una meet the hermit, and the thirty-fourth, in which the hermitage and its surroundings are described, is thus present in the small woodcut, except for the forest in the background and the book hanging at Archimago's belt.

Spenser's forest is undoubtedly still the "wandring wood"(i.13.6) from which Red Crosse and Una only emerge in the twenty-third stanza, just before they meet Archimago. Its presence in the background is a symbolic note of warning.

The book hanging from Archimago's belt may possibly exist in some other woodcut or engraving of a hermit, but it seems more likely to be the necessary appurtenance of the magician, as shown in Bruegel's engraving of "Saint Jacques et le Magicien Hermogène"(Fig.3),[4] which has already been discussed in connection with Archimago's magic arts.

Concerning possible literary sources for the hermit, H.H.Blanchard "observes that whereas Ariosto, in common with Spenser, mentions the hermit's beard and his seeming piety, Tasso, like Spenser, emphasizes the hermit's age and his downcast gaze,

and pictures him as travelling on foot."[5] Padelford adds, "While Spenser may have had these passages in mind, one must not forget that the aged sire is a commonplace of the romances."[6] This is true, but the "aged sire" is not often represented as a hermit, nor described so fully as Spenser describes him and his locus.

Far more closely and more completely than to any partial literary prototype, Spenser's aged hermit and his environment conform to the traditional religious iconography employed in Dürer's woodcut. It seems probable that the poet would have seen Dürer's woodcut, since Dürer was one of the best-known and most widely copied and disseminated artists of the entire period. It is interesting to note that the stream and the chapel in Spenser's passage have no function in the poem; it is possible that such an inclusion of gratuitous descriptive elements, functionless in the poem, is a sign that there may be a pictorial source behind the passage in question, as well as the possible literary sources. The poet was fully conversant with the works of Ariosto and Tasso, and may well have been inspired by their use of such a figure as Archimago. Dürer's woodcut, however, contains more of the elements mentioned by Spenser than the literary sources; in fact, it lacks only two, the book and the forest background. It would seem that any consideration of a possible source relationship should include the consideration of examples of the theme in graphic art-- and in this case, in particular, Dürer's woodcut.

The hermit Contemplation, in I.x.46-67, like the false hermit Archimago, is provided with a hermitage and a chapel as in the standard iconography; but these are located at the top of a hill" both steepe and hy," rather than in a valley and near a forest. The symbolism of the high hill, which must be equated with spiritual elevation, is opposed to that of the low valley of Archimago's hermitage, complicated by the evil connotations of the "wandring wood"; doubtless elements of the landscape are meant to symbolize the respective qualities of the two hermits. But Contemplation is obviously not a standard hermit, for instead of possessing a modest and downcast eye, he looks into the distance, and sees the heavenly Jerusalem. He seems to be a composite figure, part standard hermit complete with hermitage and chapel, part the visionary St. John as depicted in a plate by Virgil Solis to which I shall return in discussing the vision of the New Jerusalem.[7]

A hermit also appears in the sixth book (VI.v.34-41 and vi.1-15), a figure whose function is very different from that of Archimago, for he performs only good actions; he heals Timias and Serena from the wounds made by the Blatant Beast. He is also different from Contemplation, who exists in the realm of pure spirit. The beginning of the passage concerning this hermit is reminiscent of the introduction of Archimago:

...towards night they came unto a plaine
By which a little hermitage there lay,
Far from all neighborhood the which annoy it may.

And nigh thereto a little Chappell stoode,
Which being all with ivy overspred
Deckt all the roofe, and, shadowing the roode,
Seem'd like a grove faire braunched over-hed;...
(v.34.7-9; 35.1-4)

Like Archimago's hermitage, this hermitage is both small and removed from populous neighborhoods; and it has a little chapel nearby. There is no stream, however; and the scene is on a plain, rather than in a valley. Once again the locus may mirror the spiritual quality of its inhabitant, a kind of middle ground where this hermit devotes himself to helping mankind, rather than to the lofty spirituality of Contemplation or the low machinations of Archimago.

The description of Archimago as hermit, then, apparently uses the standard iconography rather fully, whereas the two later hermits are described with only the absolute necessities of hermithood, a hermitage and a chapel. It is interesting to note that Spenser, after having established the standard iconography of hermits in his introduction of Archimago, does not find it necessary to repeat himself, and indeed plays subtle variations upon the iconography in the two later occurrences.

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In the seventh canto of Book I, Red Crosse is attacked by the giant, Orgoglio:

> But ere he could his armour on him dight,
> Or get his shield, his monstrous enimy
> With sturdie steps came stalking in his sight,
> An hideous Geant horrible and hye,
> That with his talnesse seemd to threat the skye,
> The ground eke groned under him for dreed:
> His living like saw never living eye,
> Ne durst behold: his stature did exceed
> The hight of three the tallest sonnes of mortall seed.
>
> (I.vii.8)
>
> ...his stalking steps are stayde
> Upon a snaggy Oke, which he had torne
> Out of his mothers bowelles, and it made
> His mortall mace, wherewith his foemen he dismayde.
>
> (10.6-9)

Young Red Crosse, taken by surprise without his armor or arms, must look rather like the young David going forth to slay Goliath; but he has not even a slingshot with which to give battle, and moreover he has just drunk of the spring of feebleness.

The meeting of David and Goliath is often pictured in miniatures in manuscript books of hours and in woodcuts and engravings made after the new techniques of printing became available. A picture of their encounter is usually included in the printed books of hours and missals which were made in Paris and elsewhere at the end of the fifteenth century and in the early sixteenth century. It would not be surprising if the poet had pictures of David and Goliath in mind as he describes his similar pair of antagonists. His comment that "living eye" never saw the giant's "living like" may simply mean that Goliath lived a long time ago, so of course nobody now living has seen any such being alive. Orgoglio, like Goliath, will be destroyed, although because of the exigencies of his plot Spenser must have Prince Arthur as the victor rather than Red Crosse-- Prince Arthur, whom Una brings to the rescue after she learns that Red Crosse has been overcome.

In Biblical illustration of the seventeenth chapter of I Samuel, the most frequently illustrated scene is the one in which the valiant little hero David faces the huge giant. Like Red Crosse, David has put off his armor, which in David's case King Saul gave him. Goliath is fully armed and in armor; he has "a sword,...a spear,...and a shield"(I.Sam.17.45). Some of the miniatures, notably that in the Grimani Breviary,[8] show the giant with a nobby club that resembles the "snaggy Oke" that was Orgoglio's weapon. The woodcut of the scene by Holbein[9] and the engraving which

is one of a suite by Martin Heemskerk(Fig.18)[10] follow the Bible more closely, but the spear that is shown is a long, thick pike that is almost as thick as a young tree.

In all the pictures, miniatures as well as woodcuts and engravings, Goliath is twice as tall as David, and roughly about three times his size in bulk. The proportions of the design would not permit such a disparity in height as Spenser states; but it seems possible that in the poet's memory three times the hero's bulk may have become translated into three times his height. In both mediums, the hero, David or Red Crosse, seems a brave pigmy beside the giant.

The next engraving of the series by Heemskerk (Fig.19) shows David cutting off the giant's head with his sword, after the giant has been brought down and is lying on the ground. Just so does Prince Arthur cut off Orgoglio's head (viii.24).

But Orgoglio's body vanishes as soon as his head is cut off, and is left "like an emptie bladder"(viii.24.9). This collapse of a body that has up to then been physically enormous seems to be a function of the allegorical meaning of the character; I suggest that he represents Vainglory, or puffed-upness. Vainglory surely is nothing more than pompous nothingness or hollow air, which would explain Spenser's emphasis upon wind as an element in the giant's conception, and also his ultimate collapse. It is one of the seven deadly

sins as illustrated in diagrammatic form in The Kalender of Shepherdes,[11] a translation of a famous French work which went through repeated editions from 1506 on. An apparent reference to this work by E.K. in his "Dedicatory Epistle" to The Shepheardes Calender supports the theory that Spenser was acquainted with it. I shall take up the picture of the "tree" of the seven deadly sins, with "Pryde" as the root of all, and "Vainglory" as one of the seven, in my fifth chapter, which is concerned with illustrations of medieval and Renaissance literary works.

*

* *

Cpnnected closely with Orgoglio is the Duessa of this episode, who becomes the giant's "leman" in return for his sparing Red Crosse's life. Why Duessa should wish Red Crosse to be spared has never been fully explained; it may be assumed that she is not yet finished with him, and wishes him preserved for her own nefarious purposes. As long as an attractive young man still thinks Duessa is an attractive young woman, and has not guessed her dreadful secrets, she might presumably wish him preserved for future dalliance.

After Duessa comes to her agreement with Orgoglio,

From that day forth Duessa was his deare
And highly honourd in his haughtie eye.

He gave her gold and purple pall to weare,

And triple crowne set on her head full hye,...

(vii.16.1-4)

Upon this dreadfull Beast with sevenfold head

He set the false Duessa, for more aw and dread.

(18.8,9)

In the eighth canto, when Prince Arthur is brought to the rescue by Una, Orgoglio comes forth from his castle:

And after him the proud Duessa came

High mounted on her manyheaded beast,

And every head with fyrie tongue did flame,

And every head was crowned on his creast,...

(viii.6.1-4)

When Orgoglio cries out for help, Duessa on her manyheaded beast goes to his aid. Prince Arthur's beloved Squire intervenes and tries to fight the beast.

Then tooke the angrie witch her golden cup

Which still she bore, replete with magick arts;...

(viii.14.1,2)

and she sprinkles the baneful liquid on the Squire and thus overcomes him.

Except for "every head" of the beast being crowned, the elements in this description agree with those detailed in Revelation 17.3,4: "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet colored

beast,...having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations...."

In Chapter 12 of Revelation, another beast has appeared: "behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads."

These two beasts are customarily illustrated in two pictures, since they are two separate animals, five verses apart in the New Testament book where they appear. I have examined a number of illustrations, including those in an Apocalypse reproduced in facsimile as Number I in a series Monuments de la Zylographie,[12] originally published circa 1470; those by Dürer;[13] those by Virgil Solis;[14] those in a series of small woodcuts appended to Volume II of the Thesaurus Sacrarum;[15] and others. The only woodcut or engraving I have seen which presents the beast ridden by the Whore of Babylon as wearing crowns is the one in Van der Noodt's A Theatre for Worldlings, first published in English in London in 1569 (Fig. 20).[16] It is known that Spenser translated a number of poems for this publication, since he later published revised versions of them under his own name; whether the blank verse sonnets on visions from Revelation are from his pen is not known, but certain critics have considered them, from internal evidence, so to be. Whether or not the poems drawn from Revelation are his, however, it is certain

that he knew the book intimately and would have been familiar with all the illustrations. It is significant, then, that he describes his Duessa in terms of the illustration in A Theatre for Worldlings,[17] as sitting on a crowned beast. Duessa's prototype, the Whore of Babylon, is pictured by the other artists I have cited as she is described in Revelation 17, as well as in the sonnet that accompanies the illustration in Theatre, as riding a seven-headed beast, but no crowns are mentioned or shown. The coincidence of the woodcut illustration in Van der Noodt's Theatre with Spenser's description of Duessa riding the Beast, then, would seem to prove rather conclusively that the poet remembered this picture vividly and drew his pictorial description from it rather than from the other written and pictorial sources. In this instance it is clearly demonstrated that the poet used a pictorial source for his description.

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* *

The famous passage on Despaire in Canto IX of Book I could well be discussed in relation to religious illustration. Despaire himself, with his "hollow eyne"(35.6) and his "raw-bone cheekes" that were "shronke into his jawes"(35.8,9), is a figure influenced by that of Death himself; and his "table," in which are painted "The damned ghosts that doe in torments waile,/ And thousand feends that doe them endlesse paine/ With fire and brimstone"(49.7-9), is a picture in the graphic

tradition of the depiction of hell and its punishments.

I shall discuss this iconography primarily, however, in terms of two works that fall into Chapter 5: Holbein's Dance of Death, and The Kalender of Shepherdes, with its popular woodcuts of the Seven Deadly Sins and their punishments. Therefore I shall place the entire discussion of this passage in Chapter 5, including the subsidiary references to Biblical illustration.

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* *

Louis Réau, writing of the attributes of the Virtues and the Vices in the first volume of his Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, states that in the Iconologie de Ripa several of the virtues receive new attributes; among them, "la Charité recueille ou allaite des enfants."[18] The first illustrated edition of Ripa was published in 1603; and the first appearance of the unillustrated Ripa was in 1593. Actually the image of Charity as Réau describes it had appeared in engravings well before that time; by the time of Ripa's publications there was nothing new about the image of Charity with children around her, or nursing babies. The first three books of The Faerie Queene, published in 1590, antedated any edition of Ripa. Spenser could, however, have known, for example, the engraving entitled "Caritas" made after a drawing by Martin de Vos and published by Johannes Sadeleer, which shows Charity in the midst of war and pestilence (Fig. 21).[19] The young woman of the engraving is bare-breasted, with one baby in her

arms and three others close to her, at her right, beimg fed and asking for food. This engraving in its way is a descendant of the medieval depictions of the Virtues either in combat with or opposed by their antithetical Vices. Here Charity is shown simply with her antitypes, the dreadful creatures of War and Pestilence that maim and destroy, whereas Charity nurses and preserves mankind.

It is apparent from what Réau writes that the picture of Charity as presented by Spenser was in part at least just coming into currency in the second half of the sixteenth century. Spenser describes her as follows:

> She was a woman in her freshest age,
> Of wondrous beauty, and of bountie rare,
> With goodly grace and comely personage,
> That was on earth not easie to compare;
> Full of great love, but Cupids wanton snare
> As hell she hated, chast in worke and will;
> Her necke and breasts were ever open bare,
> That ay thereof her babes might sucke their fill;
> The rest was all in yellow robes arrayed still.
>
> A multitude of babes about her hong,
> Playing their sports, that ioyed her to behold,
> Whom still she fed, whiles they were weake and young,
> But thrust them forth still, as they wexed old:

And on her head she wore a tyre of gold,
Adornd with gemmes and owches wondrous faire,
Whose passing price uneath was to be told;
And by her side there sate a gentle paire
Of turtle doves, she sitting in an ivorie chaire.

(x.30,31)

Of the last couplet of Stanza 31, Leigh Hunt writes, "This... brings at once before us all the dispassionate graces and unsuperfluous treatment of Raphael's allegorical females."[20] Spenser, however, could only have seen engravings copied from Raphael's works, and none comes to mind that includes this particular symbolism. It is interesting, in this connection, that the "turtle doves" which Spenser describes as sitting beside Charissa are symbolic of Chastity as well as of Charity. Réau writes: "La colombe, qui est dans la mythologie grecque l'oiseau de Vénus, déesse de l'Amour, devient, au contraire, dans la symbolique chrétienne, l'emblème de la Chasteté. D'après le Bestiare, la colombe, qu'on appelle aussi touterelle [turtle dove, Spenser's term] vit chastement: turtur caste vivit. D'autre part elle est sans fiel, donc sans colère. Aucun oiseau ne se prêtait mieux à incarner les vertus chrétiennes de la Charité et de la Douceur."[21] Spenser has been careful to emphasize the chastity of his fecund figure of Charity; she is "Full of great love, but Cupids wanton snare/ As hell she hated, chast in worke and will"(30.5,6). Therefore at the end of the

passage the poet places her with a pair of turtle doves, the symbol of Chastity, and in an ivory chair because ivory, being white in color, is also a symbol of purity.

I shall discuss the Virtues and the Vices in more detail in the chapter on tapestries and The Faerie Queene. These figures have been prominent in Christian art from the twelfth century on, in the statues that adorn cathedrals, on baptismal fonts in English churches, in funerary sculpture, in miniatures and paintings, in the graphic arts, and in tapestry, in which perhaps the last really great use of the subject occurs in the sixteenth century.

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In the tenth canto of Book I, the Red Crosse Knight, led by Contemplation to "the highest mount" (53.1), sees a city that has "wals and towres... builded high and strong,/ Of perle and precious stone"(55.4,5), and the "Blessed angels" descend and ascend, to and fro, between it and heaven. The knight asks:

> What stately building durst so high extend
> Her lofty towres unto the starry sphere,...
> (56.7,8)

Contemplation, his hermit guide, answers that this is "The new Hierusalem, that God has built"(57.2).

Many series of illustrations of the Apocalypse were made, and ordinarily they show the New Jerusalem as it is described in Revelation as having twelve gates, three on each side of a rectangular city wall. The Bible text does not mention towers, but the illustrations commonly show the gates as towers; and in each gate stands an angel.

Réau writes that no other book of the Bible, unless it is the Psalms, has inspired so many works of art in sculpture, painting, or engravings, not to mention tapestries and stained glass windows.[22] Of Dürer's treatment of the subject in a series of fourteen woodcuts, Réau writes, "En somme, malgré les difficultés d'une pareille tâche, encore accrues par la mode d'expression qu'il avait choisi, il réussit dans cet essai de jeunesse, qui est peut-être son chef-d'oeuvre le plus original et le plus authentiquement germanique, à éclipser ses davanciers et à imprimer à ce sujet sa marque: au point que tous les Apocalypses postérieures: en Allemagne, en France et jusque dans la lointaine Moscovie, n'en sont guère que le reflet."[23]

Dürer's woodcut of the New Jerusalem shows John and the angel on a hill at the right, with the angel pointing to the city, which is in the middle distance to the left. As Réau points out, the city resembles Dürer's native Nuremberg; but every gate has an angel in it, as in Revelation. The entire city is not shown; only a part of the facing wall and the right wall with its gates are depicted, but Dürer has managed to include eight gates in

these two stretches of wall. It is notable that several of the buildings within the city have lofty towers (Fig. 22).[24]

In many other illustrations of the New Jerusalem of the same or a slightly later period, the entire rectangle of the city is depicted, with all twelve gates-- three on each side. Such are the woodcut by Virgil Solis illustrating Apocalypse XXI,[25] the engraving after a drawing by Hans Bol on the Parable of the Good Shepherd published by the house "Aux Quatre Vents" in Antwerp (Fig. 23),[26] and the small engraving in the extra series on the Apocalypse added to the second volume of my copy of Thesaurus Sacrarum. In none of these are there any lofty buildings; only the gate towers have any height at all. The fourth woodcut in the book by Virgil Solis[27] represents John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos, with his eagle beside him. Both evangelist and eagle look toward the right background, where a beautiful city with numerous towers shining one behind the other rises in the distance. Above the city, in the clouds, is seen the striking figure of Christ in glory, the index finger of his left hand lifted as if in admonition, while his right arm is flung out in a wide gesture. It is as if the artist had confounded John the Evangelist with the John of Revelation, and had transferred the vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem to the former.

The illustration in Jan Van der Noodt's Theatre for Worldlings (Fig. 24)[28] resembles the Dürer woodcut, but in reverse, as copies of woodcuts often are. It shows three gates instead of the seven or eight shown by Dürer, but an equal stretch of wall;

as in Dürer's woodcut, the entire rectangle of the city is not visible. John and the angel (like Red Cresse and Contemplation) are depicted on a high hill at the left foreground; and in the distance, a little to the right, is seen the city. As in Durer's woodcut, one sees several lofty towers within the city, and the whole scene, except that the angels are standing in the gates rather than flying through the air, fits the description given by Spenser. Since we know that Spenser was closely associated with Van der Noodt's book, it is of special interest that his description tallies with the picture in that book. Indeed, he departs from the text of Revelation[29] in the same respects that the artist who made this woodcut does. Spenser does not mention the twelve gates at all; and the artist merely sketches in three of them. Whereas the Bible text does not mention any lofty towers in the city, Spenser emphasizes this image.

*

* *

The first theme in the Bible has been often illustrated, but of it there is no trace in The Faerie Queene, at least in Bible terms; it is the Creation. The second great theme of Biblical illustration is the earthly paradise, the Garden of Eden, where mankind, in Adam and Eve, was tempted and fell, and from which the primal pair were then expelled. Although the written account, in Genesis 2 and 3, is simple, bare, and

nondescriptive, this is the most frequently illustrated theme of the Old Testament. The artists have given it pictorial form by elaborating the scanty details mentioned in Genesis and by adding further visual details not mentioned at all in the Bible. One who turns back to Genesis after a study of the iconography of Eden in painting and the graphic arts is amazed at how much the artists added-- indeed, at how completely unrealized, from the visually descriptive point of view, the Bible account remains.

That the concept of the earthly paradise influenced Spenser in the creation of the Bower of Bliss and the Garden of Adonis is not a new idea. Both Josephine Waters Bennett, in connection with the Garden of Adonis,[30] and A. Bartlett Giamatti[31] have written on the subject. Neither, however, has devoted any attention to the probable influence of the very numerous depictions in art, especially in graphic art, of the theme of the earthly paradise.

Giamatti concludes that Spenser used the earthly paradise topos in two manners, both of which had already been been employed in other Renaissance epics. The Garden of Adonis is an "earthly paradise used as a conscious myth or metaphor as an image of order or stability-- even if of a precarious sort." The more prevalent image is of the earthly paradise as a locus where passion overcomes reason, pleasure overcomes duty, and so forth; in short, Acrasia's Bower. Although Giamatti does not say

so, it is obvious that the earthly paradise which is the "image of order" must, in Biblical terms, be the prelapsarian garden; whereas the other "paradise," where pleasure overcomes duty, is the garden where man is in the process of falling, a garden already full of the premonitions and symptoms of evil.

We are interested here, however, in the pictorial aspects of Spenser's gardens and their relation to the pictorial tradition rather than to literary sources.

A woodcut which was used in the Cologne Bible, circa 1478, to illustrate the story of the Garden of Eden, adds to the fact of a garden the pictorial elements of the wall and gate (Fig.25);[32] these are not mentioned at all in the information given in Genesis, which specifies nothing but the trees and the rivers. Medieval man was used to walls and gates, and the medieval artist found it natural to add them as visual elaboration to the bare bones of the Genesis account, not only because the medieval mind like to conceive of topoi in the familiar terms of a walled castle or walled town, but also because these elements add pictorial definition. The qualities of interiorness and exteriorness, and the action of passing from one to the other, as in the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden, are made pictorially explicit by the presence of the wall and the gate.

In the Cologne Bible, moreover, the woodcut brings out "the contrast between the fertility of the Garden and the

barrenness of the outside wilderness.[33] An examination of many of the woodcuts and engravings on the subject of the Garden of Eden from the latter part of the fifteenth century and all of the sixteenth -- those by Holbein, by Dürer, by Bernard Solomon, by Virgil Solis, and by the prolific aggregation of Dutch and Flemish artists whose work was especially influential in England -- leads to the conclusion that this exceptional luxuriance of vegetation is a feature common to them all.

The two paradisal gardens of The Faerie Queene have several iconographic affinities with the Garden of Eden as pictured in the graphic tradition represented by the woodcut in the Cologne Bible and its later analogues.

In Book II, Sir Guyon and his Palmer, having landed on "the sacred soile"(xii.37.8) and having passed through a herd of fearsome wild animals, come to the place where the Bower of Bliss is "situate" and view it from the outside. Note that the outside is wild and barren, as in the woodcut. Like the pictured Garden of Eden, the Bower is enclosed by a wall with a gate; and like that garden, it has no buildings in it, no house or temple that needs to be protected. This lack of buildings is an important feature in the iconography of Eden, which not only has no buildings of its own, but is not dependent on any building; its denizens live in the open air. The wall and gate are its only archtectural features. Spenser himself underlines the

practical uselessness of both wall and gate:

> Goodly it was enclosed round about
> As well their entred guestes to keep within
> As those unruly beasts to hold without;
> Yet was the fence thereof but weake and thin;...
> And eke the gate was wrought of substaunce light,
> Rather for pleasure, than for battery or fight.
> (43.1-4,8,9)

It is clear that the wall is too weak to serve any but a pictorial purpose, and the gate, which stands wide open, is "rather for pleasure" (that is, aesthetic pleasure) than for any other end. As in the 1478 woodcut and its later analogues, the gate also serves the purpose of definition of movement; in this case, the movement is entrance rather than exit or expulsion, but that difference is unimportant. If the wall and gate were not there, the "going in" would hardly be possible; the movement would merely be "going along."

The exceptional fertility of the pictured Garden of Eden is also a feature of the Bower of Bliss. Indeed, Spenser not only emphasizes it, but even caricatures it, _inter alia_ in the artificial ivy, made of gold and colored so cunningly that one might mistake it for the real thing (42.1-5). Giamatti writes, "the delicacy of the poet must not be taken as simply a means for describing the garden; it must also be understood as

Spenser's way of condemning the garden.... To create this false Eden, the witch's art has created a blasphemous imitation of the true earthly paradise."[34]

Spenser makes certain his readers will not miss his intention that the Bower of Bliss should be compared to the Garden of Eden, should indeed be understood as a kind of anti-Eden, by employing, in order to make the initial identification, the pictorial materials of the graphic tradition with which all his readers were doubtless familiar. Lest anyone miss the likeness, he climaxes a stanza of classical comparisons by comparing it with "Eden selfe, if ought with Eden more compare"(52.9).

In the sixth stanza of Book III, Venus brings the babe Amoret to the place described as:

> her joyous Paradise,
>
> Where most she wonnes, when she on earth does dwel.
>
> (29.1,2)

In addition to having a wall and two gates, this garden, too, is noted for the luxuriance of vegetation that is common to graphic representations of the Garden of Eden. It, too, has no building, and depends on none, its sole architectural feature being the wall and its gates. The gates serve the usual function of definition of action, as the gatekeeper, old Genius,

> letteth in, he letteth out to wend
>
> All that to come into the world desire.
>
> (22.1,2)

As the Garden of Eden was the site of the creation of Eve, so Spenser's Garden of Adonis is the origin of life: "All things from thence do their first being fetch"(37.1). Here nothing is made "by art," but grows naturally and freely. Here as in prelapsarian Eden, lovers are free and without shame, as "franckly each paramour his leman knows"(41.7).

Here, too, then, Spenser establishes at the beginning of his passage, through the use of universally recognizable pictorial elements, the comparison he wishes his reader to make, and the pictorial associations of the entire passage. If, in the case of the Bower of Bliss, Acrasia is seen as a "depraved Eve,"[35] here it follows that Amoret must be seen as in some sense a dewy-fresh, innocent Eve figure, who learns about the primal goodness of innocent sexual love as she observes the life of a prelapsarian garden. This view of Amoret will cast light upon her experience as she learns what evil is, and resists it, in her trial in Busirane's house; for like Eve, she must learn that there is evil in the world.

*

* *

We know from the imitation of the Judgment of Solomon in the first canto of Book V that Spenser had the Old Testament very much in mind in writing this book, in addition to other sources. Indeed, this incident, paired in Canto i with the

classical explahation of the source of Artegall's function in Astraea's succession, ought to alert us that both classical and Old Testament ideas of justice are here involved, both classical and Old Testament paradigms to be used as points of reference.

I think the poet may have had in mind a number of engravings depicting stories from the Old Testament, not only the Judgment of Solomon, but many other scenes. Artegall's judgment of Sir Sanglier and the knight from whom he had stolen his lady, however, is presented mainly in dialectic terms rather than in pictorial images. It is not until one comes to the episode of Britomart's adventure at Isis Church (V.vii.1-24) that the iconography of Bible illustration is recalled in any detail.

Although it is undoubtedly likely that the poet drew on such written sources as Plutarch's De Iside, Diodorus, and others,[36] the use of any or all of these authorities does not explain why the passage on Isis Church, with its altar and statue, has the strong pictorial impact it has. Indeed it is one of the most visually memorable passages of the entire Faerie Queene. One explanation may be that the poet was in part aided by pictorial sources such as Old Testament engravings in picturing the strange and beautiful idol and her attributes, in the flaring light from the altar fires. The scene is both haunting and troubling, and one understands how it leads to Britomart's disturbing dream. The church itself is obviously a Gothic

structure, for its pillars flow into "arches over hed"(vii.5.5); perhaps it is a memory of Westminster Abbey, a Gothic church with pillars which Spenser must have known well. But he could only have seen such a statue as he describes as being in his church in some work of art; and engravings are the only works of art containing such a representation which he is likely to have seen.

Three engravings after Martin De Vos, probably engraved by Johannes Sadeleer before 1580, have to do with the false gods worshipped by the Israelites. The first of these is identified as illustrating Numbers 25 (Fig. 26).[37] (1. And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab. 2. And they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods: and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods.) The main focus of the engraving is a goddess, probably Isis, who stands on an altar in the center, in an outdoor setting. She wears a crown, undoubtedly made of gold like that of Spenser's Isis, surmounted by a kind of sunburst or halo. She holds a branchlike wand in her right hand, like the poet's goddess, and a large ring in her left hand. She is draped from the waist down. As attributes she has a number of tiny animals, including a tiny lion standing on her outstretched left arm and a small stag standing beside her. The lion, it should be remembered, appears in Britomart's dream.

A second engraving after a drawing by De Vos illustrates 4 Kings 19 (II. Kings according to the title and numbering of the King James version)[38] (Fig. 27). Dominating the picture, at the left, sits the same goddess pictured in the other engraving, wearing the same crown, presumably of gold. Here she is seated in a chariot on an altar. Branch-wands are fixed around her; she holds the sun in her left hand and the same large ring as in the other picture in her right hand. She too is draped from the waist. Before the altar, two large braziers contain flaring fires, altar fires like those in Spenser's Temple of Isis.

Another De Vos engraving,[39] on Judges 10, shows a female idol in the background wearing the moon on her head as a crown, recalling the moon mitres of Spenser's priests of Isis. The moon mitre, on the other hand, might have been suggested by the tall moon mitre worn by Melchizedek in another engraving after De Vos, on Genesis 14.[40] In this engraving, the mitre is tall and cut out in a moon shape in front, with a small crescent moon mounted on the edge.

The combination of pictorial elements described at Isis Church thus is reminiscent of the material of the corpus of Old Testament engravings concerning the false gods overthrown by the Israelites and other related stories which was a part of the poet's imaginative environment. It is impossible to know, of course, which engravings and woodcuts he might have seen; but it seems likely, in the light of his use of similar material,

that he was familiar with motifs that appear in these and other Bible illustrations.

*

* *

In a number of cases, Spenser's eclectic method of drawing upon various sources and various associations has been noted in relation to written material. To the list of possible written sources, it seems to me logical to add certain pictorial treatments of related material-- treatments,moreover, that because of their ready accessibility and their pictorial vividness are at least as likely as written sources to have inspired the use of similar material in The Faerie Queene. Such a case seems to be that of the Souldan, in the eighth canto of Book V.

> Wherewith the Souldan all with furie fraught,...
> ... mounting straight upon a charret hye,
> With yron wheeles and hookes arm'd dreadfully,
> And drawn of cruell steedes...
>
> (viii.28.1,4-6)

Such chariots as the one Spenser describes, made of iron and armed with hooks, are, according to Jortin, the "currus falcati" described in Q.Curtius 4.9.[41] Upton cites Cambden's statement that in the Netherlands the Prince of Parma built ships "and prepared piles sharpened at the nether end, armed with yrpn and hooked on the sides."[42] He writes further,

"These kind of chariots, here alluded to, armed with hookes and keene grapples, were called by the Latins, 'Falcati currus,' and by the Greeks δρεπανηφόροι [drepanephoroi]. Xenophon describes them, both in his Cyropaedia (6.1.30,50) and in his Anabasis (1.7.10; 1.8.10). They seem to be much older than the times of Cyrus; and perhaps are called in Scripture 'chariots of iron!'"[43]

Spenser's heavy, iron chariot, the crowned pagan figure of the wicked tyrant, and the fierce horses that draw the chariot, are all pictured in an engraving of Pharaoh pursuing the Hebrews illustrating a text from Exodus 14: "Itur, atrox Pharao perit dequore, transit Hebreus. Sicut in exultae per loca plena vitae"[44] (Fig. 28). The engraving is signed IHEW, for Hieronymus Wiericx, who was born in 1553, and was thus almost exactly contemporary with Spenser himself. Like Spenser, Hieronymus Wiericx was precocious;at the age of fifteen he was already a professional engraver. This powerful piece of work is an early engraving from his hand. In it, Pharaoh is a huge, crowned figure sitting high in a chariot that can only be of iron, it is so thick and heavy. The sea is already around the horses' legs, but has hardly touched the chariot as yet. Both Pharaoh and his horses wear expressions of the wildest emotion, emotion that could easily be read as the fierce cruelty or "furie" described by Spenser, although actuallly here it must be meant also to depict the extreme fear of the tyrant just before he is

overcome by the rushing Red Sea.

Spenser has already in this book mixed Old Testament material with classical, and he has already dealt with Egyptian material possibly influenced by Old Testament illustration in the Isis Church episode. That his Souldan should be visualized in terms of the Biblical Pharaoh is not at all extraordinary; and that classical similes should be brought in at the end of the episode is quite in keeping with the eclectic, associative method that the poet uses throughout.

Fig. 17. "Brother Claus," woodcut by

Albrecht Dürer. 1488.

Fig.18.Figures from "David and Goliath," sketched from engraving after Martin Heemskerk. Before 1571.

e peremit, Hoc cæso fugiunt agmina tota procul. 1.Reg

Fig. 19. "David Cutting Off Goliath's Head," detail from an engraving after Martin Heemskerk, published by Cock before 1571.

Fig. 20. "The Whore of Babylon," anonymous woodcut from Jan van der Noodt's Theatre for Worldlings. 1569.

Fig. 21. "Caritas," engraving after Martin de Vos, published by Sadeler; engraved by Hieronymus Wiericx? (Detail.) c.1570-1580.

Fig. 22. "The New Jerusalem," detail from a woodcut by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528).

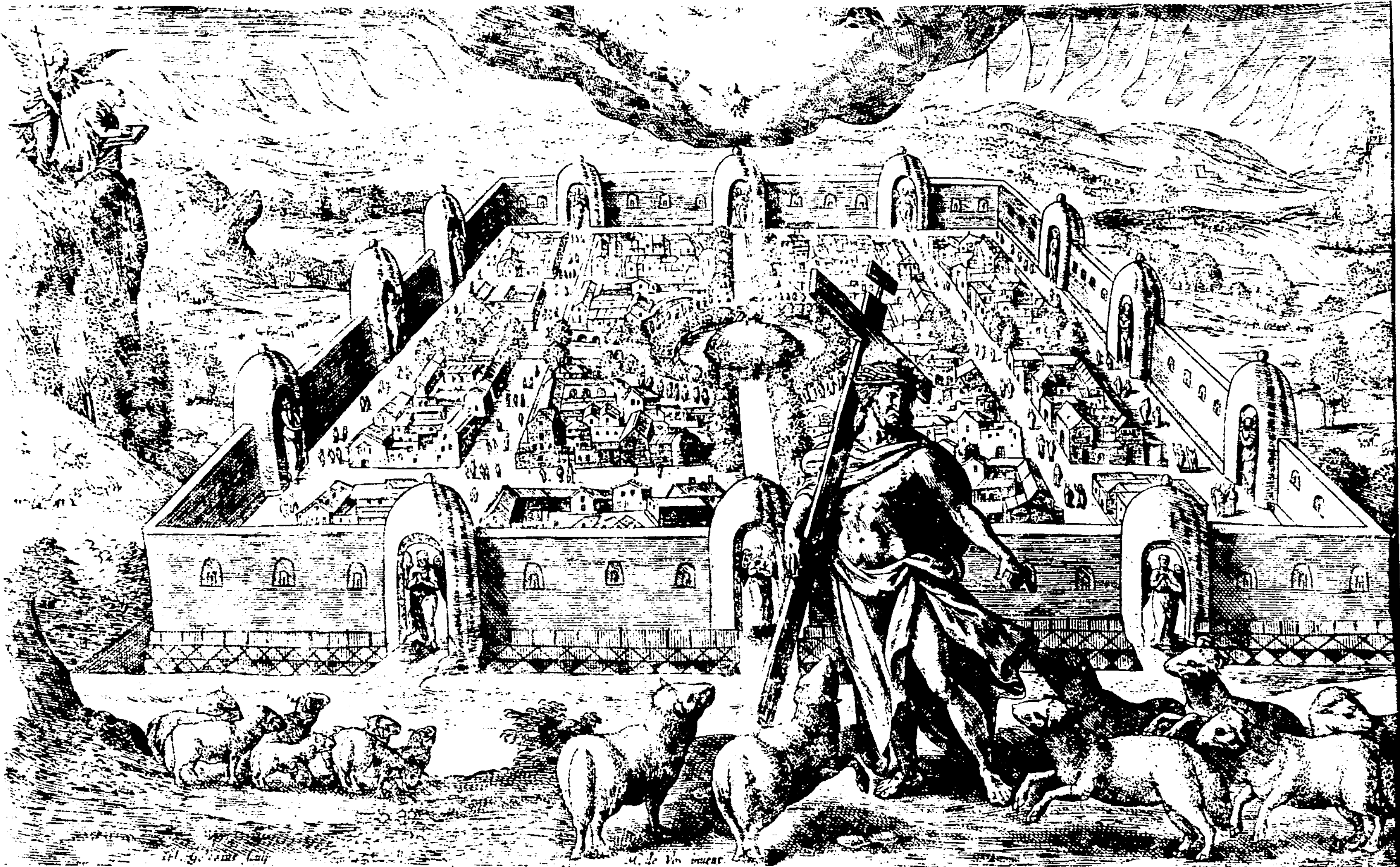

Fig.23."Parable of the Good Shepherd,"engraving by Hans Bol,Aux Quatre Vents. Before 1571.

Fig. 24. "The New Jerusalem," anonymous woodcut from Jan van der Noodt's Theatre for Worldlings, 1569.

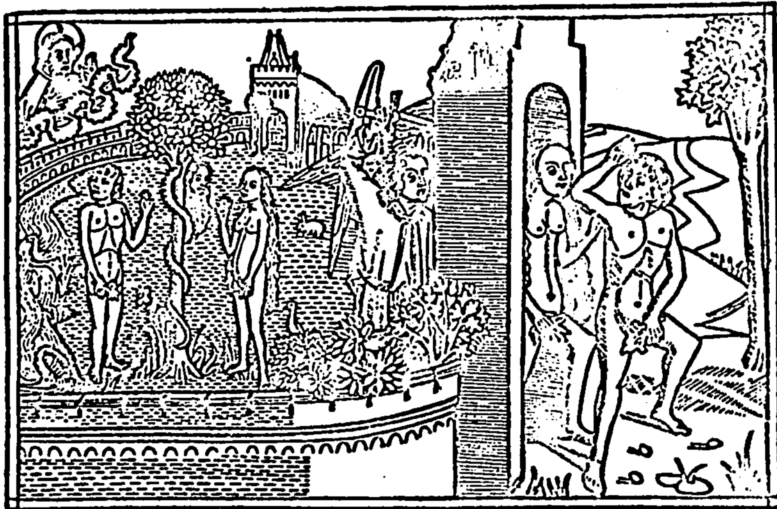

Fig. 25. "The Fall of Man," woodcut from the Cologne Bible. 1479.

Fig. 26. "False Worship of the Israelites: Isis," detail from an engraving after Martin de Vos (?). c. 1570-1580.

Fig. 27. "Isis on an Altar," detail of an engraving after Martin de Vos(?). c. 1570-1580.

Fig.28. "Pharaoh Fleeing in his Iron Chariot," engraving by Hieronimus Wiericx. c.1570-1580.

CHAPTER 3.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE: THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE BIBLE AND RELIGIOUS WORKS

FOOTNOTES

[1] Victor von Klarwill, Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners, trans. T.H. Nash (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd., 1928), p. 320.

[2] William Brenchley Rye, Ed., England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First (London: John Russell, 1865), p. 166.

[3] Dürer, Op. cit., No. 1, reproduced from Nikolaus Van der Flühe, Bruder Claus (Nuremberg, 1488).

[4] Lebeer, pp. 140-42, No. 57.

[5] "Imitations from Tasso in The Faerie Queene," SP, 22 (1925), p. 199, summarized in Variorum, I, 188.

[6] Variorum, I, 188.

[7] Virgil Solis, Biblische Figuren des Newen Testaments (Franckfurt-am-Main, 1565), Plate 4.

[8] A Glance at the Grimani Breviary: Reproductions of the Miniatures (Venice: Ferd. Organa, 1903).

[9] Hans Holbein (the Younger), The Images of the Old Testament, Lately Set Forth in Englishe and Frenche (Lyons: 1549), No. 34.

[10] Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti (Antwerp: Gerard de Iode, 1585), 2 vols. (I.Old Testament Engravings, II. New Testament Engravings), I, No. 129; No. 6 of series by Martinus Heemskerk, published separately at some time before 1570.

[11] Somer, H. Oskar, Ed., The Kalender of Shepherdes, 3 vols. in one: II. The Edition of Paris 1503 in Photographic Facsimile; III. A Faithful Reprint of R. Pynson's Edition of London 1506 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1892), II, fol. g 4^{v}, III. 93.

[12] (Paris: Adam Pilinski et Fils, 1882), Nos. 19 and 36.

[13] Op. cit., Nos. 115 and 119.

[14] *Op.Cit.*, Nos. 17 and 21 in Solis's series on the Apocalypse.

[15] Nos. 15 and 19 in an unidentified series added to the volume by some early owner; it is apparently a Flemish series of an early date.

[16] *Variorum*, VIII, 1-25.

[17] *Ibid.*,p. 23.

[18] p. 188.

[19] *Thesaurus Sacrarum*, II, No. 128 (No. 2 of a series by Martin De Vos).

[20] Leigh Hunt, *Imagination and Fancy*, p. 98, wuoted in *Variorum*, I, 288.

[21] Réau, I, 102.

[22] *Ibid.*,II, ii,670.

[23] *Ibid.*, II, ii, 677.

[24] Dürer, No. 120.

[25] *Biblische Figuren des Newen Testaments* (Franckfurt, 1565).

[26] Thesaurus Sacrarum, II, No. 106.

[27] Op. Cit.

[28] Variorum, VIII, 25.

[29] Revelation 21.12. "And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels...."

[30] Josephine Waters Bennett, "Spenser's Garden of Adonis," PMLA, 47 (1932), pp. 46-78; "Spenser's Garden of Adonis Revisited," JEGP, 44 (1942), pp. 53-78.

[31] A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 232-290.

[32] James Strachan, Pictures from a Mediaeval Bible (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 17.

[33] Ibid., p. 16.

[34] Giamatti, p. 271.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Variorum, V, 214-17.

[37] Thesaurus Sacrarum, I, No. 82.

[38] Ibid., No. 190.

[39] Thesaurus Sacrarum, II, No. 53, in a series on the martyrdom of various saints.

[40] Thesaurus Sacrarum, I, No 24.

[41] John Jortin, Remarks on Spenser's Poems (London;1754), quoted in Variorum, V, 226.

[42] John Upton, Ed., The Faerie Queene (London, 1758), note on V.viii.28, quoted in Variorum, V, 227.

[43] Variorum,V, 230.

[44] Thesaurus Sacrarum, I, No. 71.

CHAPTER 4.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE: THE ILLUSTRATION OF CLASSICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL WORKS

The illustration of classical and mythological works and themes had not, of course, been forgotten in the Middle Ages, but as Panofsky points out, "It was felt that an insurmountable gap existed between a pagan civilization and a Christian one.... The high-medieval beholder could appreciate a beautiful classical figure when presented to him as the Virgin Mary, and he could appreciate a Thisbe depicted as a girl of the thirteenth century sitting by a Gothic tombstone. But a classical Thisbe sitting by a classical mausoleum would have been an archeological reconstruction entirely beyond his possibilities of approach."[1]

Although the Renaissance reintegrated classical theme and motif as the Middle Ages had not, "this reintegration could not be a simple reversion to the classical past. The intervening period had changed the minds of men, so that they could not turn into pagans again; and it had changed their tastes and

productive tendencies, so that their art could not simply renew the art of the Greeks and Romans. They had to strive for a new form of expression."[2]

Moreover, one must remember that the great watershed which was the invention of printing, bringing with it the rise of the illustrated printed book and the easy accessibility of the single print, was a major element in the evolution and acceptance of the change, since by its means a dissemination was attained which had never before been possible. Through printing, too, of course, major currents of late Gothic imagery were disseminated alongside the newer trends of the Renaissance. In general, one can say with confidence that the Renaissance style was manifest first in the treatment of classical themes, and somewhat more slowly took over the field in the treatment of religious subjects.

Classical and mythological works were not merely charming and playful stories; they were taken as a symbolical part of philosophical thought. Venus and Cupid, for example, were symbols in Platonic thought, and the "two Venuses" are discussed in Plaoto's Symposium. For such a writer as Spenser, mythology offered a complex of symbols for eternal truths that was second only to Christian iconography. It extended the range and richness of allegorical reference. Although most realms of life were susceptible to rendering in Biblical terms,mythological imagery provided an alternative complex, often with quite different resonances than those that could be gained by

means of specifically Christian reference.

This chapter will scrutinize possible relationships between the material of classical and mythological illustrations in woodcuts and engravings and The Faerie Queene. In order to do so in the most organized and intelligible manner, I shall employ several sets of illustrations for Ovid's Metamorphoses as my primary continuum of reference, and shall bring in as secondary references certain other illustrations which also help to shed light upon the subject under discussion.

The major reason for proceeding in this manner is that Ovid's Metamorphoses was the primary source for classical themes for both painters and writers of the sixteenth century. Professor Roger d'Hulst points out that the artists of the Low Countries employed the Metamorphoses as a source of picturesque themes all during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries-- and this was certainly true of the artists in most other countries of Europe as well. Ovid was the best-known writer of antiquity, and his works were published in numerous editions, often with illustrations, either woodcuts or copper engravings. It would not be incorrect to say that Ovid's Metamorphoses played the same role in relation to mythological pictorial art that the Bible and The Golden Legend played in the case of the representation of religious subjects. The materials of classical mythology were rather completely represented in Ovid's Metamorphoses, and it is no wonder that the work was popular for centuries both with readers and with artists.

Moreover, artists found that the illustrations of some editions of Ovid's narrative poems on the metamorphoses of the gods and others could be employed as source material for their paintings, adapting their motifs to the requirements of another medium. "Ovid was thus a veritable arsenal of mythological subjects for artists, and that the publishers counted on this fact is shown on their title pages, upon which repeatedly appear such explanatory indications as "Schildersbijbel, Bible des Poètes, Malerbibel [Bible of the Painters, Bible of the Poets, Painter-Bible]. Moreover, Carel van Mander, too, in his Schilder-Boeck (Book of Painters) speaks of a 'Bible of Painters.'" Thus is is clear that Ovid is in fact the source of the vast majority of mythological subjects employed in the arts of painting, sculpture, and the graphic arts, as well as in the applied arts of tapestry and others.[3]

The two best-known illustrated editions of Ovid's Metamorphoses went through various editions in the sixteenth century. The earlier, the Metamorphoses d'Ovide Figurés, was published at Lyon by Jean de Tournes in 1557 illustrated with 186 woodcuts by Bernard Salomon, known as "le petit Bernard."[4] The other had 178 woodcuts by Virgil Solis which were copies of those by Salomon, in a slightly larger size and with a few variations; it was published in Frankfurt-am-Main a few years later.[5] The Salomon volume also has extraordinarily fine woodcut borders, each one cut in a single block, rather than being assembled of four pieces, as is usually the case;

the Solis volume is without borders. The woodcuts by Bernard Salomon are outstanding in the field of book illustration in their century,being one of the most original and most finely made series on any subject; and the volume containing them is one of the most famous in the history of illustrated books. Salomon's period of activity was from 1540 to 1561. André Linzeler reports that his publisher, "enchanté de lui, l'appelle 'peintre autant excellent qu'il n'y a point encore en nôtre hemisphère.'"[6] In style, his work belongs to the School of Fontainebleau.

Virgil Solis, a slightly later artist, and a German, was also a capable woodcutter, but of course cannot be compared with Salomon as an original artist. His copies of the Salomon woodcuts, however, served to make the series even better known. He has copied them in a slightly larger size, which is in some respects an advantage; but the Salomon woodcuts have the charm of very fine miniatures, their small size making them a kind of tour de force in the woodcut medium.

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In the first book of The Faerie Queene, classical mythology plays a lesser part than in the later books; yet here too, the pictorial motifs associated with classical illustration are often employed, and the complete visual resonances of a

scene can often only be fully understood by reference to the connotations of such motifs.

Duessa, when first seen, is:

> A goodly Ladie clad in scarlet red,
> Purfled with gold and pearls in rich assay
> And like a Persian mitre on her head....
>
> (I.ii.13.2-4)

This mitre recalls the one worn by the beautiful Sibyl in one of the woodcuts in Sebastian Brant's illustrated Aeneid (vi.236-263) (Fig. 29).[7] In it, the Sibyl stands before the yawning cavern of Avernus, from which a thick vapor issues. She is wearing a mitre, or possibly a mitre-like tiara. The atmosphere of threat and brooding evil is intensified by the sacrificial fires that burn on several altars, and the sacrifices that are in the process of being made upon them. The fact that Duessa wears something "like a Persian mitre" ought to suggest to Red Crosse that she is not merely an ordinary "goodly Ladie"; for Spenser's readers, it was perhaps meant to be associated with its occurrence in some such woodcut as that in the Brant Aeneid, as the kind of crown or headdress worn by sibyls or witches.[8] Thus the dramatic irony of the situation, in which the reader is aware of Duessa's wickedness and Red Crosse unaware, is reinforced by visual connotations.

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* *

A few stanzas later, Red Crosse, wishing to please Duessa (who has told him her name is Fidessa, and whom he thinks to be "The fairest wight, that lived yit" [ii.30.4]), plucks a branch from a tree nearby to make her a garland. From the spot on the tree trunk from which he has plucked the bough, blood trickles forth, and at the same time "a piteous yelling voyce"(31.1) is heard. It is the tree complaining, and immediately one recalls those illustrations so numerous in Ovid's Metamorphoses which show people who have been changed into trees. If one objects that Spenser could as easily be drawing upon the text as the pictures here, it may be replied that the text invariably describes the metamorphosis as a process at the end of a story; it does not present a description of the personage in question already turned into a tree. The latter is precisely what the illustration shows: the person as a tree. For example, the Heliades, the three sisters of Phaeton, are changed into poplar trees in the second book of the Metamorphoses; in the woodcut by Bernard Salomon (35)[9] or that by Virgil Solis (58) (Fig. 30), one sees them standing around the tomb of their brother as complete trees. Branches grow from their heads and arms, and their bodies have become like the trunks of trees, although they remain at the same time recognizable as bodies. No doubt one is meant to see Fradubio and his beloved Fraelissa in the form of trees like these as Fradubio relates

the story of their unfortunate metamorphosis.

Various other woodcuts which also show people as trees occur among the illustrations of both editions of the Metamorphoses which have been chosen for close comparison with Spenser's imagery in The Faerie Queene. Among them, Daphne appears in the first book as a laurel tree after she is saved from Apollo's pursuit by her metamorphosis (BS 26, VS 31); Cyparisso is shown as a cypress tree in the tenth book (BS 136, VS 357); Myrra, the mother of Adonis, is pictured as a tree in the same book-- in fact, she gives birth to Adonis when she is already a tree (BS 143, VS 376) (Fig. 31); and the shepherd Apulus appears as a wild olive tree in the fourteenth book (BS 188, VS 521).

The phenomenon of a bleeding tree also occurs in Ovid's Metamorphoses, in Book VIII, Fabula 8; but the story is quite different from the one told by Spenser. The wicked and godless Erisichthon attacks the tree with an axe in the woodcut (BS 121, VS 505), and the tree pours forth its blood in a torrent rather than in a few drops, as in The Faerie Queene. The tree so brutally attacked in Ovid is indeed the "habitation" of a nymph, but that is different from being a metamorphosed human being. The tree is hung with garlands and signs, and has no resemblance to a person-tree.

The enchantments connected with trees are of very ancient date throughout Europe, from the Greeks to the Druids,

and it is not surprising that Spenser should employ the theme. The "wandring wood" of error in the first book, in which Spenser makes the pun on the Latin root of the word error that Milton was later to borrow, is one example of an enchanted wood. And the trees upon which Timias engraves the name of Belphoebe in IV.vii are perhaps another example.

Of the poet's use of the tale of the bleeding tree Merritt Y. Hughes writes, "We may suppose that Ariosto's example was responsible for the appearance of the story at all in The Faerie Queene, and we can see that his treatment of it was vividly in Spenser's memory as he wrote, but we may surmise that Spenser was haunted by boyhood recollections of Aeneas' shocking discovery of the murdered Polydorus."[10] I should like to submit that the pictures which the poet carried in his memory, pictures showing people already turned into trees, were most likely to be those illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses by Salomon or Solis or both.

*

* *

Sir Satyrane, who saves Una by conducting her out of the forest where she is at once worshipped and held prisoner by the satyrs and other woodland creatures, is an example of the crossing of satyr with human blood:

A Satyres sonne yborne in forrest wyld,
By straunge adventure as it did betyde,
And there begotten of a Lady myld,
Faire Thyamis, the daughter of Labryde,
That was in sacred bands of wedlocke tyde
To Therion, a loose unruly swayne;...

(I.vi.21.1-6)

The forlorne mayd did with loves longing burne,
And could not lacke her lovers company,
But to the wood she goes, to serve her turne,
And seeke her spouse, that from her still does fly,
And followes other game and venery;
A Satyr chaunst her wandring for to find,
And kindling coles of lust in brutish eye,
The loyall links of wedlocke did unbind,
And made her person thrall unto his beastly kind.

(22)

The satyr keeps Thyamis in the forest until she bears his child, then allows her to go home, leaving the baby behind as ransom. The child grows up in the woods, becoming famous for his prowess as a hunter. As he grows older, he travels far afield, proving himself in "straunge adventures"(29.7) in which he is never worsted, and his fame spreads "through all Faery lond"(29.9). It is plain that Satyrane is a human being, for

if he had inherited the goat's legs and feet of a satyr he could hardly have been accepted and become famous as a knight. He inherits his humanity and his claim to gentle birth, such as it is, from his mother.

Padelford writes, "The interesting episode of the parentage and training of Satyrane is clearly reminiscent of the fairy lore. A being from the other world becomes enamored of a mortal, begets a child, and then trains the child to distinguish himself in heroic emprise, until all Fairy land is ringing with his exploits. The mortal parent from time to time comes to visit her offspring, and is amazed at his conduct and fearful for his safety. The union of a mortal with a fairy, the domestic attraction which brings the mortal back to the fairy country, and the training of a young knight for distinction in arms are commonplaces of the fairy-mortal tradition. Moreover, as in this legendary material, the ordinary moral considerations are ignored, and the young knight is not the victim of a bad inharitance. The fairy lore, then, explains an episode which would otherwise seem a moral anomaly in an allegory of holiness."[11]

Jortin refers to the upbringing of Achilles by Chiron as comparable to the upbringing of Sir Satyrane by his father.[12] But Chiron is a centaur, and the wisest of centaurs at that. No particular wisdom is attributed to the satyr who is

Sir Satyrane's father. The virtue of his method of education seems to reside in its inculcation of strength and endurance through confronting natural foes like wild beasts, rather than through imparting any deeper wisdom.

Why, then, did Spenser choose a satyr to be the father of his wildwood knight? I think the answer to this question may lie in the popularity of illustrations of satyrs at about this period, from the end of the fifteenth century on to Spenser's time. The tradition of the lasciviousness of satyrs is developed in one of the extraordinary page borders in the Symeoni Ovid with illustrations by Bernard Salomon to which we have already referred. The borders in this book are unusually fine, each one apparently being made in a single block, rather than in four moveable (and interchangeable) strips. A number of the borders of this book consist of very fine, nonfigurative patterns, no doubt influenced by the famous printed books of hours by Geoffrey Tory. A few of the borders are figurative, or historiated. The first two borders that occur in the 1559 edition, on the first two illustrated pages, are borders historiated with grotesque figures and animals, but it is not until page 28 that the famous border with the satyrs occurs (Fig. 32).

This border shows, in the horizontal across the top of the page, a satyr who is about to rape a beautiful woman

lying on a classically designed couch; a second satyr crouches at the head of the couch. The subject of this border-top is an unusually erotic one. Another satyr, this one a grotesque in that his legs are developed as long horns rather than the usual goat's legs of a satyr, appears in the bottom border at the right; like the one at the top-- and as all satyrs were popularly supposed to be permanently-- this satyr is also depicted in a state of sexual arousal. Various animals and other grotesque figures appear at the sides of the border, and in the center of the wide bottom portion a human figure of great beauty places a wreathed branch upon a sacrificial fire that is burning in an urn in the exact center. What is of interest to us in connection with Sir Satyrane's father in this border is the extreme lasciviousness of the two satyrs portrayed in the top and bottom borders, and the imminent coupling of a satyr and a human woman at the top.

Such borders as this could hardly fail to be well known to scholars and art lovers, as much for the outstanding fineness of their work as for the striking nature of their subject. Familiar as he must have been with such a tradition in art, Spenser would naturally, it seems to me, have thought first of a satyr as the begetter, in such circumstances as he describes, of such a figure as his rude and virtuous son of nature.

In addition to this border, I should like to refer also to certain single pictures which depict satyr families, as well as to a noted decorative woodcut illustrating a later book. Of single prints, there is first a woodcut "Design for a Tapestry with Satyr Family," by Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550).[13] This cut shows a satyr and his wife, a human woman of great beauty, and his child leaning against his wife's knee. Both satyr and wife are seated on the thick stalks of some woody vines, amidst large leaves. The child, a plump baby one or two years of age, stands in such a way that his legs are in the main hidden behind his mother, but enough can be seen of the outline of his right leg to suggest that they are normal human legs. Two little whirls of hair, on either temple, suggest that a satyr's horns may be about to grow there, but that is the only pictorial suggestion that the child is of satyr paternity.

Benedetto Montagna's engraving of a "Satyr Family"[14] shows a satyr playing his pipe, and his wife, a lovely young satyr woman, sitting on a rock nearby. Their child is beside her, a child with the goat's legs and tiny tail of a young satyr. It is notable that here both wife and child are satyrs, unlike those in the Beham woodcut or Sir Satyrane and his mother in The Faerie Queene.

Another example, which Spenser might well have seen, is in the Kerver edition of 1546 (Paris) of the Hypnerotomachia

Poliphili. It represents the frieze on the architrave of an amphitheater on the Island of Cythera, and shows a bull, a nude woman, and two satyrs-- whose excessive virility is not left in doubt.

These examples show that the motifs of the lascivious satyr, the coupling of satyr and human lady, and the satyr family were employed in the arts of woodcut and engraving of Spenser's period, and may well have inspired the poet in his creation of Sir Satyrane and the story of his parentage and training. While it is true that the story has points of resemblance with the fairy-mortal tradition and with certain passages in classical literature, the specific motif of the satyr and his family cannot be said to stem from these literary sources. The coincidence of the motif in art and in The Faerie Queene would seem to show that the poet was indeed thoroughly acquainted with the materials of the tradition as expressed in the graphic arts of woodcut and engravings.

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* *

In the third canto of Book II, Spenser compares Belphoebe to Diana:

> Such as Diana by the sandie shore
>
> Of swift Eurotas, or on Cynthus greene,

> Where all the Nymphes have her unwares forlore,
> Wandreth alone with bow and arrowes keene,
> To seeke her game:...
>
> (iii.31.1-5)

Illustrating the story of Mercury, Chione, Apollo, and Diana, in the eleventh book of the Metamorphoses, is one of Salomon's most exquisite miniature narrative woodcuts; besides four incidents, in the tiny space of his woodcut, which is one and five-eighths inches high by two and one-eighth inches wide, he manages to include a wide landscape of mountain, plain, and sea, as well as the aloof goddess standing surveying it all in the left foreground of the picture (BS 154). In the Solis woodcut (VS 404), the goddess stands at the right and the picture is entirely reversed, as in the case of most of his copies of the Salomon woodcuts. The artist copied the earlier picture directly on his block, and when it was printed his picture came out as the mirror image of the original.

Diana is pictured with her blonde hair caught back; she wears a white garment which is short and draped in the classical manner. Her skirt stops well above the knees, and on her legs she wears buskins which have the same kind of petalled decoration around the calf of the leg that is described by Spenser in 27.4 as "All bard with golden bendes." She holds her long bow in her left hand in the Salomon woodcut, her right

in the Solis one; the bow rests upon the ground and comes about as high as her waist. Her draperies blow back from her shoulder at the edge of the picture; if she is wearing a quiver of arrows on her back, as Spenser writes that she is, one cannot see them, for she is turned toward the beholder.

This Diana is a traditional representation, and is very much as Spenser, too, describes Belphoebe. There is a suggestion (by Upton) in the Variorum notes[15] that the description of Belphoebe owes something to that of Pyrocles as an Amazon in Sidney's _Arcadia_, but this suggestion seems doubtful on several counts. Diana and Belphoebe are all in white and gold, whereas Pyrocles wears blue, red, and gold in his Amazonian costume. Moreover, the influence of the _Arcadia_ appears strongly in Books V and VI of _The Faerie Queene_, the composition of which was after the 1590 publication of the _Arcadia_. If the poet had read the _Arcadia_ earlier, in manuscript, it would seem that its influence would have been felt earlier in _The Faerie Queene_ in more than this passing detail. Any similarity between Sidney's Amazon and Spenser's Belphoebe in Book II may easily be explained by their common dependence upon the same pictorial sources.

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The gate of the Bowre of Blisse, in II.xii.43-46, is embellished with a work of art which Spenser describes in

some detail:

It framed was of precious yvory,
  That seemd a worke of admirable wit;
  And therein all the famous history
  Of Jason and Medea was ywrit;
  Her mighty charmes, her furious loving fit,
  His goodly conquest of the golden fleece,
  His falsed faith, and love too lightly flit,
  The wondred Argo, which in venturous peece
Forst through the Euxine seas bore all the flowr of Greece.

(II.xii.44)

Obviously the wall of the Bowre is too weak to serve any but a psychological and pictorial purpose, and the gate, which stands wide open, is "rather for pleasure" than for any other end. It is framed of "precious ivory" in which "all the famous history of Jason and Medea" is "ywrit." Spenser's word _ywrit_ by a poetic extension of meaning refers here to carving not in alphabetical characters, but in plastic forms, for the ivory is obviously carved in scenes in bas-relief or high relief.

Ye might have seen the frothy billowes fry
  Under the ship, as thorough them she went,
  That seemd the waves were into yvory,
  Or yvory into the waves were sent;...

(45.1-4)

As he often does in describing works of art, Spenser here insists on the realism of the portrayal and the reality of the work of art he is describing. In the concluding lines of the stanza he mentions the effective use of crimson and touches of gilt on the ivory to imitate the red of blood and the gold of flames.

E.B.Fowler writes, "The gate to the Bowre of Bliss is distinguished among Spenser's portals in that it is the only one on which we find portrayed mythological or other characters or scenes. This story is especially appropriate to adorn the entrance to the Bower of Bliss, for Acrasia, like Medea, was an enchantress, and the allusion to Medea's passion for Jason and her revenge for his disloyalty constituted at once an invitation and a warning to him who sought access to the pleasures of the garden and the favors of its lady.

"The idea of ornamenting the doors with paintings or carvings representing figures or stories from mythology is of classical origin. For example, see the description of the doors to Ovid's Palace of Apollo, Met.2.5-18.... The gate to the castle of the goddess in Chaucer's Hous of Fame (1293-1304) is splendidly adorned with carvings, but apparently they tell no consistent story."[16]

Such carvings as are seen on Spenser's gate are also found in Virgil's Aeneid VI.9-42, and they are pictured in the woodcut illustration of the scene in Sebastian Brant's illustrated Virgil of 1502 (Fig. 33).[17] The woodcut shows

Aeneas and two followers engaged in examining the pictures on the wide doors of the Temple of Apollo. Four pictures are arranged to cover the interior surface of each door, which is exposed when the door is opened wide, as it is in the woodcut. Of the panels, three relate the story of Daedalus and Icarus, and others are devoted to the story of the Cretan tribute, the Minotaur, and the suicide of Aegeus. The woodcut shows the panels so clearly that one can easily make out the subjects. Spenser may have seen this popular illustrated edition of Virgil, and it is possible that this woodcut suggested his gate with its carved ivory panels.

Rosemond Tuve suggests, "It is quite possible for Spenser to have seen the story of Jason and Medea in ivory. It was a fairly well-known subject for carvings in that medium. There are, for example, four elaborate examples of it among the ivories at the Victoria and Albert Museum."[18] The examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum, however, are rather recent acquisitions, and there is no record of such objects' having been in England in Spenser's day; the Victoria and Albert examples are all Italian. It is conceivable, of course, that such a set of ivory carvings was imported into England at some time during the sixteenth century, and that Spenser saw it; but this can only be a totally unsupported conjecture.

Whereas such a work of art as a series of carved ivories must have been rare and expensive, books, on the other

hand, were printed in quantity and were freely available in England. The myth of Jason and Medea is the first subject of Book VII of Ovid's Metamorphoses, and is fully illustrated in both editions with which we have been working. The illustrations by the two artists may be listed as follows:

1) Medea and Jason are shown walking together, she leading him by the hand, before a circular seven-columned temple within which is a seated figure of a goddess (Diana?) holding a strung bow in her hand (BS 95, VS 226). In the right background, out at sea under full sail, is seen the Argo. The scene of the ship at sea is thus combined as a second subject with the pair in the foreground (Fig. 34).

2) Jason puts the dragon to sleep with Medea's herbs. In the background stands a ram with long (presumably golden) fleece (BS 96, VS 230) (Fig. 35).

3) Incantations and charms of Medea: a night scene, beneath a crescent moon, and with stars (BS 97, VS 233).

4) Medea is shown rejuvenating Jason's father, Aeson, with her magic arts (BS 98, VS 237).

5) At the right side Medea dupes the daughters of Pelleas by rejuvenating an old ram, which is pictured leaping from her cauldron as a frisking lamb. At the left side, they kill Pelleas thinking to rejuvenate him; the woodcut shows Medea slitting his throat. Through a large open door, in the

right background, Medea in her cloud-borne, dragon-drawn chariot is shown departing (BS 99, VS 240).

6) In the Salomon woodcut, Medea is shown taking her revenge for Jason's ingratitude in a bloody interior scene. At the right, she drives away from the scene of slaughter in the same cloud (or flame) borne chariot drawn by two dragons (BS 101).

The Solis woodcut in this case is not a copy of the Salomon one, but an entirely new scene. In it, Medea emerges from a doorway at the left, into a street or outdoor scene. She is engaged in plunging a sword into the body of a struggling child whom she is carrying. In the background one sees a citadel and a castle or temple at the top of a mountain (VS 245).

The sixth woodcut marks the last appearance of Medea in the series; after this, the illustrations depict other events. Though the story of Medea continues with her marriage to Aegeus, she is no longer a central personage.

All these scenes are not listed by Spenser, for he omits specific reference to the two scenes of rejuvenation-magic and deceit; but these two scenes might be meant to be covered by Medea's "mighty charmes"(44.5), to which he does refer. Her "furious loving fit"(44.5) might be either the first or the third woodcut; in both, she is mad with love for Jason. "His goodly conquest of the golden fleece"(44.6) is depicted in the second woodcut. "The wondred Argo"(44.8) in the "frothy billowes"(45.1)

appears in the first woodcut, and the "boyes blood"(45.6) in the sixth; and there is much "enchaunted flame"(45.9) in several of the woodcuts. Jason's "falsed faith"(44.7) is not pictured in the woodcuts, but it is assumed, since it is the cause of Medea's dreadful revenge.

If the series of ivory carvings described by Spenser was imaginary in the form in which he describes it, it is nevertheless probable that its content was suggested by a pictorial source such as the series of woodcuts I have described.

Despite Spenser's insistence on the reality of the ivory carvings as he describes them, it seems to me likely that he is drawing on the imagery of this series of woodcuts rather than upon any actual ivory carvings. Ivory comes in relatively small pieces, and seems an unlikely material for the decoration of a large structure such as a gate. The poet may well have specified ivory as the material of his imaginary panels simply because it was one of the most precious materials that could be used. The touches of color which he describes might easily be explained if the woodcuts he had in mind had been touched with color, as they often were in the books of the period.

The problem of the gate of the Bowre of Blisse cannot be solved with certainty; all that critics can do is consider all the possible influences upon such a piece of imagery as the panels described by the poet. To the possible

literary sources, I have suggested that possible pictorial sources should be added: first the woodcut from the Brant edition of the Aeneid (VI.9-42) which shows the similarly decorated doors of the Temple of Apollo, and second the two best-known series of woodcuts illustrating the story of Medea and Jason, which is the subject of Spenser's series of ivory panels carved in bas-relief.

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* *

The fountain or spring has always been a powerful symbol, both in Christian iconography (for example, Mary as a "well of living water") and in mythology. The fountain in the twelfth canto of Book II is decidedly a pagan fountain. It is decorated with sculptures of "naked boyes"(60.6) sporting and "playing their wanton toyes"(60.8). "Infinit streames"(62.1) pour from the fountain, making a little pool shaded with laurel. As Sir Guyon is strolling by, two naked damselles are bathing there, wrestling and playing in the water in such a way as to hide, then reveal, "th'amarous sweet spoiles"(64.9), as Spenser puts the matter. When Guyon sees them, he draws nearer, slows his pace, and begins "secret pleasaunce to embrace"(65.9). One maiden displays herself alluringly, while the other lets down her hair like a garment. When they see Guyon "relent his earnest pace"(65.8), they increase their "wanton merriments" (68.7) and beckon to him. He is obviously kindled, and wants to

go, but the Palmer rebukes him and draws him past temptation-- the first temptation that Sir Guyon has found really tempting in the whole book. Obviously it cost him no pangs of self denial to refuse Mammon's gold, though his sojourn in the underworld exhausted him; and he did not mind-- in fact he rather enjoyed-- casting the wine cups of Genius and Excesse to the ground; but if it had not been for the Palmer, he would certainly have yielded to the temptations of the eye and the flesh and would have joined in the play of the nymphs of the fountain.

I think that Spenser might well have had in mind, in describing this scene, another of the series of woodcuts by Salomon or by Solis illustrating the Metamorphoses, this one of 3.3 (BS 54, VS 96) (Fig. 36). Here, in a beautiful fountain, three nude young women are bathing; the third of the trio is almost hidden behind the other two, who are in the foreground, so it would have been easy to remember the scene as having two figures. The narrative itself is not Spenser's story, yet it has a eertain similarity, for it concerns one of the universal themes, as does Spenser's incident: the theme of beauty spied upon in the bath (Susanna, Bathsheba, Diana, etc.). In Ovid's story, Actaeon sees Diana as she is bathing in the fountain. The trees about the pictured fountain flare up with a splendid freedom; instead of sculptured naked boys, a lion's head spouts water from the mouth in the best Renaissance fashion.[19] But the

similarity of the situation and the attitudes of the personae in the woodcut and The Faerie Queene are sufficient to indicate that Spenser may have had this woodcut well fixed in his memory before releasing the stream of his fancy. Actaeon has here just been changed into a stag by the angry goddess; the artist has caught him at the moment of his metamorphosis. Sir Guyon is all but changed into a goat by his spying as "the secret signs of kindled lust appeare"(68.6), so that even the animal's head that appears on Actaeon's shoulders has a certain appropriateness to the story of Guyon as well. If Spenser had this woodcut in mind, possibly by extension it contains a threat of what might have happened to Sir Guyon had not his Palmer intervened. No ghoulish creature is here following Sir Guyon, as there was in Mammon's realm, ready to pounce upon him should he yield to one of the carefully presented temptations; but one has the feeling, nevertheless, that retribution would follow swiftly, just as it did for Actaeon, if Guyon were to give in to his inclination to join the nymphs.

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The Palmer reminds Sir Guyon that it is Acrasia whom they are seeking, and that they must take her by surprise or she may slip away and elude their grasp. Continuing on their way, they soon hear "a most melodious sound"(70.1), a harmony

"Birdes, voyces, instruments, windes, waters, all agree"(70.9).

At the center and source of the music-- and it is remarkable how Spenser brings in more senses than that of sight, particularly that of hearing, in his most fully developed descriptive passages-- they find the "faire Witch her selfe" (72.2) with a new lover:

> There she had him now layd a slombering,
> In secret shade, after long wanton ioyes:
> Whilst round about them pleasauntly did sing
> Many faire Ladies, and lascivious boyes,
> That ever mixt their song with light licentious toyes.
> (72.5-9)

Acrasia hangs over the sleeping young man, kisses him, "And through his humid eyes"(73.7) sucks

> his spright,
> Quite molten into lust and pleasure lewd;...
> (73.8,9)

Another woodcut among these two series for the Metamorphoses might have suggested this scene: it is in 1.3, and shows the Golden Age, under the rule of Saturn (BS 15, VS 6). The couple in the foreground are disposed as Spenser describes Acrasia and the knight. She is bare-breated, slightly bent over the young lover who slumbers with his head in her lap. In The Faerie Queene, Spenser writes of the lover "whose sleepie head she in her lap did soft dispose"(81.9). Four other couples stand or

or sit nearby, in the foreground and background; in Spenser's scene there are also other "faire Ladies" and "lascivious boyes"(73.8). The only element of Spenser's scene that is lacking in the Ovid woodcut is the knight's armor hanging upon a tree (80.1-4). It will be remembered that in a similar scene of seduction in I.vii, Red Crosse is "Disarmed all of yron-coted Plate"2.8) as he rests beside the fountain of feebleness ripe for Duessa's seductions. The woodcut illustrating Ovid, since it depicts a scene at the beginning of the world, long before the age of chivalry, naturally would not include any armor in a Renaissance representation, when classical scenes were rendered once more in classical terms; but this is only a detail, and the resemblance between the two scenes is otherwise close.

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*   *

The Palmer's net, with which he and Sir Guyon capture Acrasia and Verdant, is a motif of considerable interest:

> The noble Elfe, and careful Palmer drew
> So nigh them, minding nought, but lustfull game,
> That sudden forth they on them rusht, and threw
> A subtile net, which onely for the same
> The skilfull Palmer formally did frame.
> Fled all away for feare of fowler shame.

The faire Enchauntresse, so unwares opprest,
Tryde all her arts, and all her sleights,thence out to
wrest.

(II.xii.81)

And eke her lover strove: but all in vaine;
For that same net so cunningly was wound,
That neither guile, nor force might it distraine.

(82.1-3)

The commentators on the eighty-first stanza quoted in the Variorum edition[20] are several. Jortin simply writes that the net is from "the well-known story of Vulcan's net." Upton traces it to Ariosto, whose "giant Caligorant... used to entrap strangers with a hidden net." The situation in which Ariosto's giant employed the net, however, was nothing like Spenser's or like the classical situation in which Vulcan employed the net. C.W.Lemmi compares the net to a spider's web, and the editor of the volume, Edwin Greenlaw, adds a note on Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part 2, 3740-43, in which "a naked Lady in a net of golde" is mentioned.

While it is true that the use of a net to catch transgressing lovers could easily stem from the text alone of the story of Venus and Mars in either Homer or Ovid, it does not stand out particularly in the text, as it does in the illustration. It seems possible that Spenser remembered it

especially well because of the striking woodcuts in the two series with which we are dealing illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses. The woodcut in the Symeoni volume illustrated by Bernard Salomon is particularly arresting, for the adulterous couple are quite clearly depicted in flagrante delicto; Solis, working somewhat later and under the influence of a more puritanical Northern society, has softened the realism of the woodcut by having the bedcurtains cover all but the heads and twining arms of the lovers (Fig. 37). In any case, in both these woodcuts Vulcan is arriving full speed bearing the net held high and spread out in the moment before he flings it over the lovers; and the curious multitude peers in at the window upon the scene. The net is one of the most salient features of the pictured scene, and is quite as unforgettable as the rest.

In his main source for the twelfth canto, which is Tasso, and other Italian sources such as Ariosto and Trissino, there is no net used for the purpose of catching adulterous lovers. It seems to me that throughout the canto, the poet seems to be thinking also in terms of Ovid, and in particular of either one or both of these sets of illustrations.

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The lovers transformed into beasts by Acrasia (II.xii.85-87) have reminded all readers of the victims of Circe in Homer, and so obvious is this likeness that I hesitate to

belabor it with a reference to a striking woodcut on the subject. Book 14, Fabula 3 in the Metamorphoses, however, is well illustrated by both Salomon(184) and Solis(511) (Fig.38). One gentleman with the head of a pig half kneels before Circe, who seems to be in the process of enchanting (or disenchanting) him; she holds a magic wand toward him. Another knight in a crested helmet stands next to the first, and a man in ill-defined garments, carrying a pole, is fleeing out of the door at the right back. Unlike Spenser's scene with Acrasia, which is out of doors, the scene pictured in the woodcut is the interior of a lofty room. About the personages in the scene crowd the brutish swine, realistically depicted.

The fact that this scene, too, appears in both sets of Metamorphoses illustrations is of importance if one thinks of them as a part of the imaginative environment of the poet. I think that he knew them both well, and invented some of his more spectacular set pieces-- especially in Book II--in scenes which recall not only the passage from Ovid, but more particularly the illustration.

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Florimell's flight, in III.i.15,16, and III.vii.1-27, is one of the main themes of the third book:

All suddenly out of the thickest brush,
Upon a milk-white Palfrey all alone,
A goodly Ladie did foreby them rush,
Whose face did seeme as cleare as Christall stone....
(1.15.1-4)

Not halfe so fast the wicked Myrrha fled
From dread of her revenging fathers hond;
Nor halfe so fast to save her maidenhed,
Fled fearful Daphne on th'Aegaean strond,
As Florimell fled from that Monster yond,...
(vii.26.1-5)

The poet himself writes of the pictures he has in mind in the second of the passages quoted above; Myrrha and Daphne are prominent among all those fleeing girls in the illustrations to Ovid's Metamorphoses. Bernard Salomon pictures Apollo pursuing Daphne (BS 27, VS 17) (Fig. 39) in a charming woodcut in which the girl runs through a lovely landscape toward a wood. Io flees from Jove in BS 27, VS 32; Arethusa flees in BS 86, VS 187; Coronis is pursued by Neptune at the sea's edge in BS 42, VS 71; and Myrrha flees from her enraged father in the background of BS 142, VS 373.

Florimell's main function, until she is imprisoned by Proteus under the sea in III.viii, is flight from would-be suitors. She is pictured very much like the girls of these woodcuts, two of which Spenser directly recalls in his lines.

The theme which is emphasized in the illustrations is clearly flight, though that is not the main theme of the story being illustrated. That Spenser emphasizes the same theme in his treatment of Florimell leads one to think that he was more influenced by the woodcuts than by the stories in this instance.

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The Venus and Adonis tapestries in the Castle Joyeous (III.i.34-38) will be discussed in the seventh chapter, which takes up the question of The Faerie Queene and the art of the tapestry. It is appropriate here, however, to notice that these tapestries, which Spenser describes in detail, are on an Ovidian subject, and that their cartoons, if they were real tapestries, were most probably influenced by or even copied from the woodcuts by Bernard Salomon.

The first woodcut of the Venus and Adonis sequence (BS 144, VS 378) (Fig. 40) shows, in the left center foreground, Venus seated on a grassy bank beneath a tree. Adonis is seated at her feet and leans against her, and she is obviously engaged in caressing him. In the right background in a second scene the young Adonis with his dogs goes off in pursuit of a stag; Venus, behind him, is obviously trying to persuade him to stay.

In the second woodcut (BS 147, VS 388), Venus has alighted from her chariot drawn by two swans and kneels next to

the handsome dead Adonis, her arms raised in lamentation. The hillside rises above them at the right, and clouds roll about the chariot at the left. Two dogs chase the fleeing boar at the right, part way up the hillside. The metamorphosis into a flower has not yet taken place.

As in the case of the Venus and Adonis tapestries, the tapestries on "Cupids Warres" (III.xi.28-46) in the House of Busirane are also on Ovidian themes and could in the main have been imagined from a set of Ovid illustrations; if they were tapestries that really existed, it may be conjectured that their cartoons were drawn with the inspiration of such illustrations.

The loves of the gods were a favorite subject for stories and for illustrations, and it is noteworthy that in the Ovid illustrations that we have been considering, Cupid with his bow and arrows usually plays a part. For example, in the woodcut of Pluto, Venus, and Cupid to which we have already referred, Cupid is shooting at the god of the underworld the arrow that will pierce him with fatal love for Proserpina.

We shall return to this subject in the seventh chapter, when tapestries will be discussed in detail.

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* *

The kidnapping of Amoret by the giant Lust takes place in the fourth book:

The whiles faire Amoret, of nought affeard,
Walkt through the wood, for pleasure, or for need;
When suddenly behind her backe she heard
One rushing forth out of the thickest weed,
That ere she backe could turne to taken heed,
Had unawares her snatcht up from the ground.
Feebly she shriekt,....
(vii.4.1-7)

The sense of rushing action and the brutal seizure which this stanza describes are pictured in the woodcut illustrations of the Metamorphoses in the picture of the rape of Arithyia by Boreas (BS 94, VS 223), as well as in the one showing Hercules attacking Nestor, who is engaged in kidnapping Deianeira (BS 126, VS 318). In both, the terror of the maiden is well depicted, and her captor is of terrifying size and obvious strength. Neither captor in the woodcuts, however, resembles in any way Spenser's figure of "Lust,"with his gross and bestial visage and his grotesquely large and pendulous ears.

Another scene of abduction which has the sense of terror and flight which Spenser conveys is the famous etching on iron by Albrecht Dürer which shows a nude maiden being carried off by a bearded man mounted on a unicorn (Fig.41).[21] The engraving is dated 1516 in the plate. It could possibly have been seen by the poet, since free trade prevailed in the realm of books and prints in England in the first third of

the century;[22] and presumably once having entered the country, such items would have gone on being handled by second-hand and antiquarian dealers, just as they are now. Amoret's captor in The Faerie Queene is not mounted, as is Dürer's kidnapper in the etching. The unicorn is a symbol of chastity and purity in Christian iconography,[23] but there must throughout its history have been an undercurrent of phallic symbolism in its single horn; why else does it lay its head in the lap of a virgin? Thus there is a strange appropriateness in the steed of Dürer's etching, which is lacking in the attributes of Spenser's Lust.

Amoret soon escapes from Lust's cave and begins to flee, at which point in the narrative she begins to remind readers of the Florimell of the previous book. The poet makes the same Ovidian comparison that he made in the case of Florimell: she is "more swift than Myrrh or Daphne in her race/ Or any of the Thracian Nimphes in salvage chase" (22.8,9). Amoret in Book IV, as the prey of Lust, in fact echoes the theme of feminine terror and flight which Florimell exemplified in Book III, and the fact that she alone can don Florimell's magic girdle emphasizes the parallel between the two in this book. In the third book, Amoret is quite distinct from Florimell; she is an example of the natural goodness of fearlessly loving womanhood, and does not flee from anything. In fact, she courageously withstands Busirane's tortures without giving in

to them in the great scene of her testing at the end of Book III.

Among the possible roles of women that the poet was exploring (inter alia, goddess, queen, dedicated maiden, warrior maiden, ideal wife), the role of the virtuous yet helpless beauty whose only recourse is flight is exemplified in the highly pictorial sections on the flight of Florimell in Book III and of the kidnapping and subsequent flight of Amoret in Book IV. These verbal pictures refer, both overtly and implicitly, to some of the best-known woodcuts and other illustrations of the period, which were very much a part of the imaginative environment with which Spenser lived.

*

*   *

"A troupe of Ladies dauncing" is the theme of Colin's vision on Mount Acidale, which Sir Calidore unfortunately interrupts:

> Unto this place when as the Elfin Knight
> Approcht, him seemed that the merry sound
> Of a shrill pipe he playing heard on hight,
> And many feete fast thumping th'hollow ground,
> That through the woods their Eccho did rebound.
> He nigher drew, to weete what mote it be;
> There he a troupe of Ladies dauncing found

Full merrily, and making gladfull glee,
And in the midst a Shepheard piping he did see.
(VI.x.10)

In the illustration of the story of the shepherd Apulus, who is turned into a bitter olive tree, the main element off the picture is the group of nine lovely nymphs who are dancing in the foreground (BS 188, VS 521) (Fig. 42). Indeed, they fill the pictorial field to such an extent that they seem to be a much larger number. The shepherd stands a little to the left, in the middle ground; and instead of piping, like Spenser's shepherd, he is turned into a tree. A wide landscape, in the French style, is seen in the background; obviously this scene takes place on a little hill, with a view.

As Spenser elaborates his scene, he departs from this simple picture of nymphes dancing and a shepherd standing at a little distance. In the next stanza, the nymphes become "an hundred naked maidens lilly white"(11.8), and in the next he invents the lovely fancy of the three graces in the center, and in the very center of all, "Another Damsell, as a precious gemme"(12.7). I think, however, that the genesis of the scene was very possibly in the tenth stanza, which might well have been influenced by the Salomon or the Solis woodcut of such a scene.

*

* *

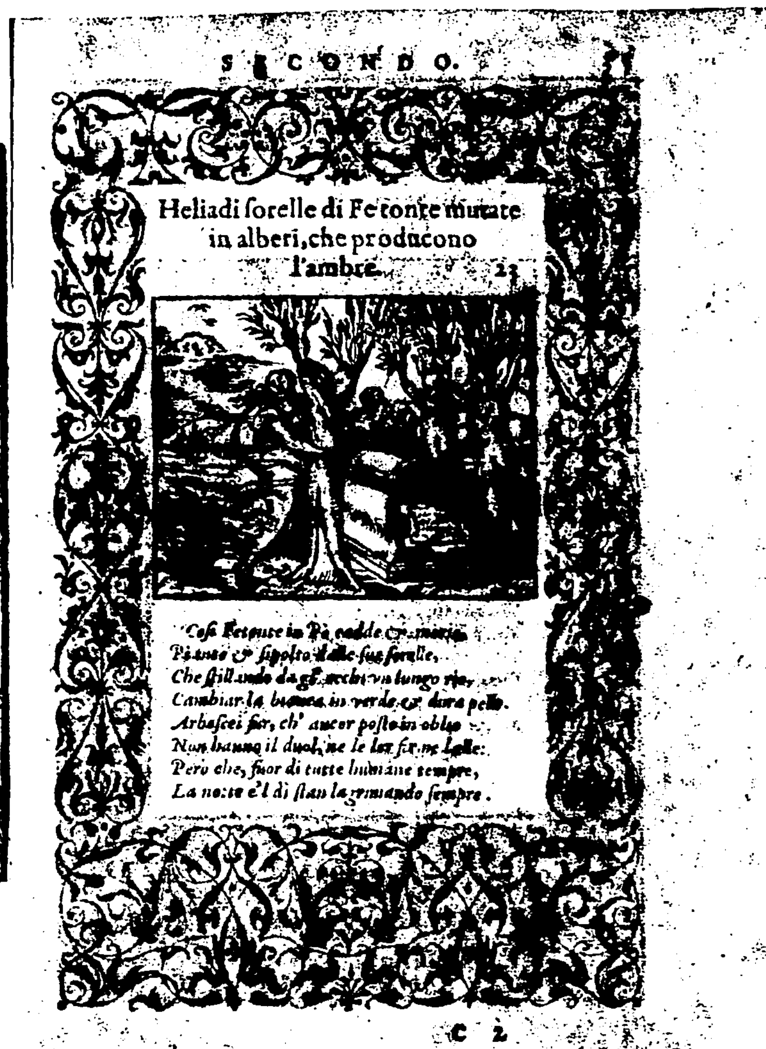
In the "Mutabilitie Cantos," the fragment of Book VII that is extant, there is a description of Jove in his heaven :

> ...his Lord; who now in th'highest sky
> Was placed in his principall Estate,
> With all the Gods about him congregate;...
>
> (VII.vi.19.3-5)

When Jove, in the early pages of the Metamorphoses, decides to come down to earth, he holds a coucil first in heaven. There, in the woodcut (BS 19, VS 12) (Fig. 43), one sees Jove seated on his throne, on a cloud, in the middle of a circle of August Personages also seated on clouds. Below, at the left, in the Salomon woodcut, is a crowd of humans, like those in the fifteenth stanza who run and beat at Jove's gate to ask what the sudden darkness means. Still further below is a landscape of sea, mountainous shore, buildings, and a ship.

Spenser's description of Jove in his heaven appears to have much in common with the images in the Salomon or Solis Ovid. The picture of Jove in heaven is of great and straightforward naïveté from a philosophical viewpoint; but pictorially it could hardly be better. The sense of great distances, and of layers of life in both earth and heaven, is accomplished as well in the miniature size of the tiny woodcut as in many a monumental painting or tapestry. And it is upon such a picture that the poet has based the structure of his "Two Cantos of Mutabilitie."

Fig.29."The Sibyl before the Cavern of Avernus," anonymous woodcut from Sebastian Brant's Aeneid.


SECONDO.

Heliadi sorelle di Fetonte mutate in alberi, che producono l'ambre. 23

Così Fetonte in Pò cadde & morio,
Pianto & sepolto dalle sue sorelle,
Che stillando da gli occhi un lungo rio,
Cambiar la bianca in verde & dura pelle.
Arbuscei sur, ch' ancor posto in oblio
Non hanno il duol, ne le lor [illegible] belle:
Però che, fuor di tutte humane tempre,
La notte e'l dì stan lagrimando sempre.

C 2

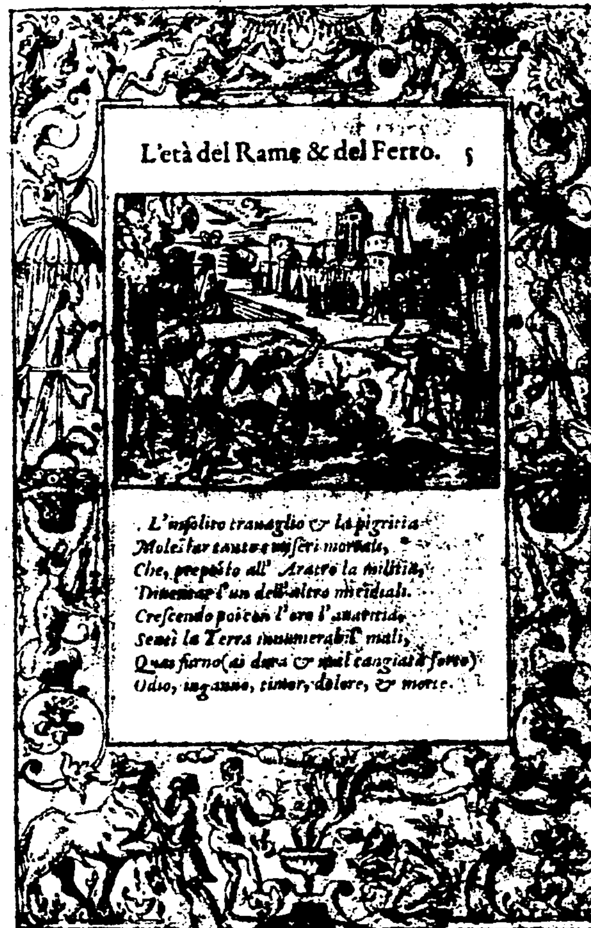
Fig.30."The Heliades Turned into Trees,"woodcut by Bernard Salomon illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1557.

DECIMO. 143

Myrra mutata in Arbore, parto-
risce Adone. 131

Mentre [illegible] la figlia il padre irato,
Et [illegible] in van dell'error suo si pente,
Il corpo sol cagion dei suo peccato,
Alzarsi & duro diventar si sente:
Ecco ch' e' apre un arbuscel già nato,
Che s'apre, & fa stupir chi lo pon mente,
Per che così fisso in terra espone
Un fanciul, no minato il bello Adone.

Fig.31."Myrra Turned into a Tree," woodcut by Bernard Solomon illustrating Ovid's Met. 1557.



PRIMO. 87

L'età del Rame & del Ferro. 5

L'insolito travaglio & la pigritia
Molestar tanto e miseri mortali,
Che, preposto all' Aratro la militia,
Divennar l'un dell'altro micidiali.
Crescendo poi con l'oro l'avaritia
Sentì la Terra innumerabil mali,
Quai furno (ai dura & mal cangiata sorte)
Odio, inganno, timor, dolore, & morte.

b

Fig. 32. "Satyr Border," woodcut by Bernard Salomon used repeatedly in his Ovid's Met. 1557.

Fig. 33. "The Doors of the Temple of Apollo," anonymous woodcut from Sebastian Brant's <u>Aeneid</u>. 1502.

Giasone & Medea si promettono la fede. 83

Fig.34. "Medea and Jason Walking by a Temple, with the Argo Seen at Sea in the Background," woodcut by Bernard Salomon illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1557.

Fig. 35. "Jason Putting the Dragon to Sleep," woodcut by Bernard Salomon illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1557.

Fig.36."Actaeon Changed into a Stag as he Sees Diana and her Nymphs in the Fountain." Woodcut by Virgil Solis illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1579.

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Adulterio di Venere & di Ma[illegible] scoperto dal Sole.

Apollo, à cui mal volentier si cela
Ciò, che qua giu tra noi hà luogo & parte.
Al Fabbro Siciliano ratto riuela
Che nel suo letto è Cytere[illegible] con Marte.
Quel più [illegible] d'Aragn[illegible]
Fatta vna rete, [illegible]
Per coprire ai due amanti il corpo e [illegible]
Mouendo il Cielo & gli Dei tutti a riso.

Fig.37. "Vulcan Capturing the Guilty Lovers (Mars and Venus) in a Net," woodcut by Bernärd Salomon, Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1557.

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Fig. 38. "Circe and the Swine," woodcut by Bernard Salomon for Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1557.

Fig.39. "Daphne Fleeing from Apollo," woodcut by Virgil Solis illustrating Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1579.

Fig.40."Venus Trying to Seduce Adonis,"woodcut by Salomon for Ovid's Metamorphoses. 1557.

Fig. 41. "Abduction on a Unicorn," etching on iron by Albrecht Dürer. 1516.

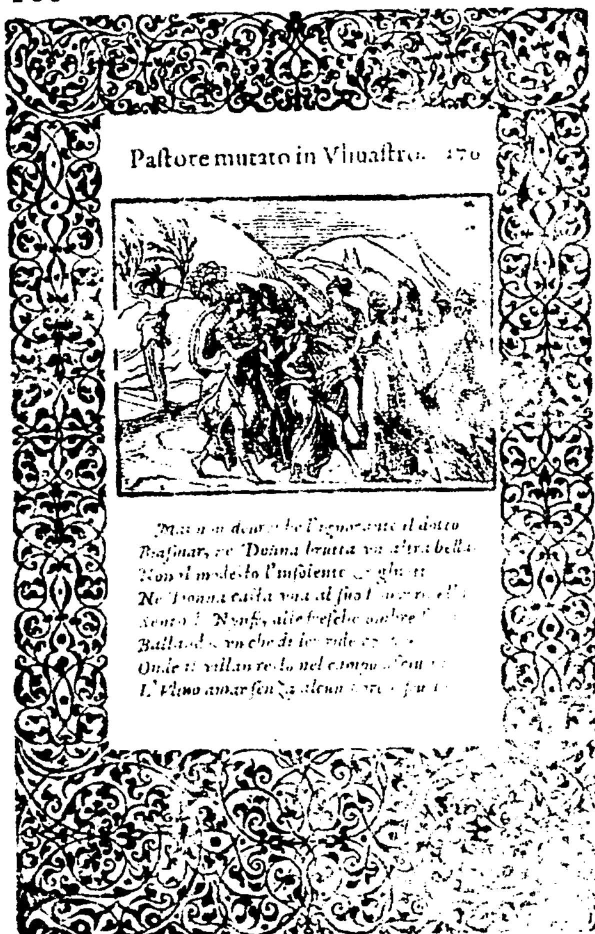

Fig.42."Circle of Nymphs and the Shepherd Apulus,"woodcut by Bernard Salomon for Ovid's <u>Metamorphoses</u>. 1557.

Fig.43."Jove in Heaven,"woodcut by Bernard Salomon for Ovid's <u>Metamorphoses</u>. 1557.

CHAPTER 4.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE:

THE ILLUSTRATION OF CLASSICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL WORKS

FOOTNOTES

[1] Panofsky, pp. 27,28.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 30,31.

[3] Roger d'Hulst, *Flemish Tapestries*, trans. Frances J. Stillman (New York: Universe Books, 1967), p. 213.

[4] An Italian edition followed the French edition in 1559, also published in Lyon; and I have been working with this 1559 edition.

[5] Pub. Ovidius Nasonis, *Metamorphoseon* (Frankofurti ad Moenum: Feyrabend, 1579); here I have been working with the edition of 1587, which is identical with the 1579 edition. This volume has the complete text of the *Metamorphoses*.

[6] *Inventaire du Fonds Français: Graveurs du Seizième Siècle* (Paris: Maurice La Garrée, 1932), 2 vols., II, 95.

[7] Anne Cox Brinton, Ed., Descensus Averno: Fourteen Woodcuts Reproduced from Sebastian Brant's Virgil, Strassburg MCII (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1930), Plate 4.

[8] H.M. Percival, in his edition of The Faerie Queene, Book I (London, 1905), writes in his note to line 4, "Herodotus (1.195) mentions the mitre as the head-dress of the Babylonians, and (1.132) the tiara as that of the Persians when they solemnly worship their gods. The mitre was a sign of effeminacy and lasciviousness (Aen.4.216), and the tiara of Pagan worship. Spenser means to join both attributes here." (Quoted in Variorum, I, 200.) The association with witchcraft or traffic with the occult and powers of darkness is easily made from its pictorial use in such cases as that of the Sibyl in this woodcut.

[9] Henceforth the page number of the Ovid woodcut in question will be placed in parentheses immediately after the mention of each; if necessary the indication BS for Bernard Salomon or VS for Virgil Solis will precede the page number.

[10] Variorum, I, 203.

[11] Frederick Morgan Padelford, Ed., Variorum, I, 245.

[12] John Jortin, Remarks on Spenser's Poems (London, 1734), quoted in Variorum, I, 246.

[13] William H. Schab, Catalogue 38, p. 14 (No. 13).

[14] Arthur M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1938-1948), 8 vols., VII, Plate 760, No. 35.

[15] II, 216.

[16] Spenser and the Courts of Love (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1921), pp. 37,38, quoted in Variorum, II, 373.

[17] Brinton, Plate 1.

[18] "Spenser and Medieval Mazars, with a Note on Jason in Ivory," SP, 34 (1937), pp. 138- 147, 144.

[19] Water issuing from any statue was only permitted, according to Renaissance dictates of decorum, to emerge from a natural orifice (such as the mouth or breasts) from which liquid might issue in reality. Cf. Buxton, p. 35.

[20] Variorum, II, 393,94.

[21] Wilhelm Waetzoldt, Dürer und Seine Zeit (Vienna: Phaidon Verlag, 1935), Plate 173.

[22] Cf. Munby, p. 45.

[23] George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 26.

CHAPTER 5.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE: THE ILLUSTRATION OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE WORKS

Since it will take up other illustrated works than those having to do with Biblical or religious subjects on the one hand and classical literature and mythology on the other, this chapter will necessarily deal with a disparate series of works, ranging from the fiction of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* to the fact (or more or less fact) of *De Re Militari*, by Robertus Valturius, or the *Buch der Chroniken* [The Nuremberg Chronicle] of Hartmann Schedel.

Some of the most famous illustrations of the century before Spenser's lifetime had no discernible influence upon *The Faerie Queene*, either because the poet did not see them or because he did not find them germane to his purpose. The woodcuts that the young Dürer[1] designed for Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* in the edition published at Basle in 1494 were not, apparently, particularly memorable to the poet if he saw

them, although he appears to have remembered and used certain others of the artist's works. The illustrations of Dante's Divina Commedia, memorable as they are to us, seem to have had no more influence upon The Faerie Queene than the text of that masterpiece.[2] Ariosto's Orlando Furioso went through a number of illustrated editions, but the woodcuts are not particularly distinguished, and in any case Ariosto's work is so fully descriptive that they add nothing to the written text. The best-known edition, that of Valgrisi of 1556, has one large woodcut for each canto, with numerous crowded scenes arranged in receding planes (from bottom to top) to cover the action of that canto.[3] Spenser's borrowings from Ariosto's text seem unrelated to any of the illustrations. If he saw the illustrated Orlando Furioso, however, it might have inspired in him a desire to have his own Faerie Queene illustrated. The woodcut of "St. George and the Dragon" which is placed at the end of Book I may represent the printer Ponsonby's response to the poet's urging.

An illustrated work which is of interest in relation to Mother Hubberds Tale is Aesop's Fables, in the German edition of 1477-78 or any other of the early editions which in the main copied its iconography.[4] For The Faerie Queene, however, the humor of this animal imagery was not as appropriate as the heraldic tradition or the emblematic one. It is a curious fact that the manuscript bestiaries for which England was famous in the Middle Ages had no descendants in the first centuries of printing,

unless one considers that the illustrated books of fables took their place; and the latter were, of course, quite different. Printed books of hours continued the tradition of the manuscript _Horae_, but no such continuation took place in the case of the bestiaries.

It has not been possible, of course, to examine more than a small fraction of the illustrated works that the poet could have seen; and more often than not in the case of those I have examined, I have been unable to find any possible connection between their woodcuts and engravings and _The Faerie Queene_. The evidence that I have been able to assemble is decidedly heterogeneous, including some from works of the imagination and some from informational works, Basic in the group of works to be discussed in this chapter, of course, are the only three illustrated works that we know Spenser knew well: _The Kalender of Shepherdes_ in the 1503 Paris edition printed for the English market or a later edition of the same work printed in England; Jan Van der Noodt's _Theatre for Worldlings_, for which the youthful Spenser made translations; and the poet's own _Shepheardes Calender_, which, beyond its poetry, has importance as an early example of English illustrated work.

Among the illustrations of works neither religious and Biblical nor classical and mythological, that masterpiece of illustration, the _Hypnerotomachia Poliphili_, by Francesco Colonna, printed in Venice by Aldus in 1499, stands out as among

the best. Hind writes of the book, "The theme of the author's love for Polia is set in a most elaborate embroidery of classical lore, filled out with the lengthiest descriptions of real or imagined works of art. The Elizabethan translation of 1592, 'The Strife of Love in a Dream,' covered less than half the work, and omitted much of the elaborate embroidery, but even so it was regarded by its contemporaries in an age of literary conceits as precious to excess. Little wonder that the book now lives only for its beautiful illustrations and printing."[5]

Brand writes, "It would be hard to exaggerate the influence of the Poliphilo at this juncture [i.e., the middle of the sixteenth century]. In 1546 Kerver produced a French edition called the Discours du Songe de Poliphile in which the cuts are very closely modelled on the originals, but yet with a difference that makes this book a work of art in its own right.... The French cuts...are...technically more accomplished with their increased use of shading. But although they stick closer to the text they have lost some of the mystery of the earlier work."[6] The Italian woodcuts are made in a simple line technique, without shading; but their mysterious quality, which Brand comments upon, has nothing to do with technique. Although it is probably the French edition which Spenser was more likely to know, it would have made no difference as far as any possible iconographical influence is concerned which edition he knew,

since the content is the same, and the difference is in the style, rather than in the iconography.

These remarkable illustrations begin with the one which is probably best-known among them, that showing Poliphile in the forest. Hind reproduces the Italian woodcut from the Aldine edition of 1499,[7] which may be compared with the French woodcut of the 1546 edition which I reproduce (Fig. 44).[8] The two are actually very much the same, the French forest being only slightly more realistically rendered, and the personage of Poliphile being presented in a slightly Manneristic way. The chapter facing the woodcut is headed "Poliphile craignant le peril de la forest fait son oraison a Jupiter." The forest is pictured as pathless, very deep, and with tall, tortured looking trees. Poliphile, of an exaggerated height, wearing a long robe which he picks up in his right hand so that it will not trail on the ground, and in his bare feet, is obviously proceeding in a gingerly fashion through this threatening place.

Spenser's "wandring wood" at first seems welcoming to Red Crosse, and he enters it with confidence. Una, however, has known of its dangers from the beginning, and when they have lost their way she warns the knight:

> Be well aware, quoth then that Ladie milde,
> Least suddaine mischiefe ye too rash provoke;
> The danger hid, the place unknown and wilde,
> Breedes dreadfull doubts....
>
> (I.i.12.1-4)

The _Hypnerotomachia Poliphili_ woodcut, of course, is only one among many pieces of evidence that in Spenser's time the forest was regarded as a dangerous place, but one which heroes or protagonists nevertheless entered. So memorable a woodcut, however, may well have reinforced the poet's use of a symbol which recurs throughout _The Faerie Queene_.

The dangers of the forest appear early in Book III, as Sir Guyon, Prince Arthur, Timias, and Britomart are riding together at the very beginning of the action.

> At length they came into a forrest wyde,
> Whose hideous horror and sad trembling sound
> Full griesly seem'd: Therein they long did ryde,
> Yet tract of living creature none they found,
> Save Beares, Lions, and Buls, which romed them around.
> (i.14.5-9)

> All suddenly out of the thickest brush
> Upon a milk white Palfrey all alone,
> A goodly Ladie did foreby them rush,...
> (15.1-3)

> So as they gazed after her a while,
> Lo where a griesly Foster forth did rush,
> Breathing out beastly lust her to defile;...
> (17.1-3)

The peril of the forest is here spelled out immediately in all its "hideous horror and sad trembling sound"-- the latter a particularly good phrase, since it realistically describes the sounds that the leaves make in a light breeze at the same time it conveys the subjective mood of gloom and fright connected with the forest. Since this is an English epic, the personae ride through the forest instead of walking, like Poliphile, or running, like Ovid's nymphs. One notes that not only is the forest full of "hideous horror," but the forester is "griesly."

Britomart stays behind while the other three pursue Florimel or the "griesly Foster," and when she sees that they have ridden out of her sight, she continues her own quest for Artegall.

In Book IV, Canto vii, the trusting Amoret enters the forest, as she:

> of nought affeard,
> Walkt through the wood, for pleasure, or for need:
> When suddenly behind her backe she heard
> One rushing forth out of the thickest weed,...
> (4.1-4)

The implication, of course, is that she ought to have been "affeard"; she should have avoided walking in the dangerous forest, of which the giant Lust is one of the denizens. Alone in the forest, she is his natural prey, and he seizes her and carries her off to his cave.

In the sixth book, the Blatant Beast rushes out of the

forest to carry off Serena; once more the forest is the lair of the worst villain:

> All sodainely out of the forrest nere
> The Blatant Beast forth rushing unaware,
> Caught her thus loosely wandring here and there,
> And in his wide great mouth away her bare,...
> (VI.iii.24.1-4)

The Beast makes off into the forest, but drops the lady when he is pursued by Sir Calidore. Later, in viii,44, the Cannibals set up in a grove the altar upon which they mean to slaughter the fair Serena. Here once more, the fell deed is to be performed in the woods. Fortunately Sir Calepine, her true lover, happens in this direction, "by chaunce, more than by choyce," and Serena is saved.

Certainly I do not mean to suggest that the "peril of the forest" woodcut in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili is the direct inspiration of these scenes in The Faerie Queene. I only wish to advance the woodcut as a part of the ambience, both literary and artistic, in which Spenser lived and worked, and to say that perhaps it had a part in forming the poet's attitude toward its subject.

*

* *

In the middle of the first book, in the fourth, seventh, and eighth cantos, we encounter the problem of the two kinds of

pride personified by Lucifera and Orgoglio. F.M.Padelford writes, "The opposite of Holiness is represented by such characters as Archimago (Hypocrisy), Lucifera and Orgoglio (Material and Spiritual Pride)...."[9] He continues, "At the court of Lucifera we have already seen the Red Crosse Knight, in his own strength and unaided save by common sense, overcome the temptations of carnal pride, with their hollow gaiety, and the contrary temptation to turn from the pleasures of life with a morose and bitter spirit. Now, in the events of these last two cantos, we see him, lulled by a false philosophy, and with no objective in life, his irksome armor laid aside, surrender to complacency and soft living his noble spirit, built for high emprise. Deceived as to his own power to resist temptation, and weakened in body, for the first time he yields to sensuality. Then it is that he is attacked by the most dreadful foe of mortality, spiritual pride. In the face of such a foe he is completely powerless, and he is saved only by the unlooked-for aid of that Heavenly Grace which intervenes at the difficult moment to save him whom God has chosen for his own. Then when this miracle of salvation has finally been performed, he sees falsehood in all its ugliness."[10]

A glance at the woodcut entitled "The Tree of Synns" in The Kalender of Shepherdes (Fig. 45),[11] with which we know Spenser was familiar, shows us immediately two things about the

sin of Pride, which one had previously thought of simply as one of the Seven Deadly Sins. Here, in this diagrammatic picture, two sins of pride figure instead of only one. As we see from the box at the bottom of the tree trunk, just above the title "The tre of synns," "Pryd" is the "rowt of al ewyl," and exists at the root of the entire tree. The seven deadly sins sprout from the tree trunk, three on each side and one at the top;the sin at the middle right is "Wayngloyr," or Vainglory, and has growing out of it seven other subordinate sins, among them boasting, obstinacion, and hypocrisy. The other six deadly sins, starting at the lower left, are: envy, ire, gluttony, lechery, sloth, and avarice.

Lucifera is a female Lucifer, a female incarnation therefore of the devil himself. This fits in with the fact that she represents the Pride which is the root of all evil, as indeed Satan is the root of all evil. A "Broad high way" (2.8) leads to her "house," just as in the picture of "The Tree of Pride" the trunk is labelled "The large way." Lucifera's "sinfull house of Pride," as the epigraph to Canto III calls it, is thus the house of all seven of the deadly sins, not merely the house of one of them; "sinfull" in the epigraph may be taken literally as "sin full," or full of all the sins. In the structure of Book I of _The Faerie Queene_, it is balanced by the House of Holinesse in Canto x, just as in _The Kalender of Shepherdes_ "The Tree of Synns" is

balanced by "The Tree of Vertues" on the facing page (Fig. 46).[12] The trunk of "The Tree of Vertues" bears the legend "the narrow way"; to pass into Spenser's House of Holinesse, "streight and narrow was the way"(I.x.5.9).

Because Lucifera's house is thus the dwelling place of all the seven deadly sins, it is the proper place from which a traditional procession of the seven deadly sins might be expected to set forth, as they do in this canto. This procession, however, differs from most (and perhaps all) other processions of the seven deadly sins in that Lucifera, representing Pride, rides in her chariot and is drawn by the other sins riding their emblematic mounts. As Samuel C. Chew writes, "In most processions of the Sins, Pride rides with the other Six."[13] Chew, however, had not considered "The Tree of Synns" and its relationship to the scene. For it would seem that the pictured "Tree of Synns" in the Kalender of Shepherdes is the diagrammatic rationale for Spenser's brilliantly imagined scene. So long as one thinks of pride in the narrow sense, as merely another one of the seven deadly sins, one cannot understand Spenser's imaged schema here. As soon as one considers the episode in the light of this pictorial diagram, one sees that Lucifera, the female Satan, is the "root" of all the deadly sins, and her house assumes the dimensions that the poet must have intended.

The further figure of Orgoglio then can be understood

as well. He represents the "Vainglory" of the tree of sins, the overconfidence, obstinacy, and even hypocrisy into which Red Crosse falls after he drinks of the Spring of Slothfulness. In one sense Orgoglio is a psychomachia, the personification of an inner weakness in the character of him who suffers from it. In a sense it is the "vainglory" of Red Crosse himself which stuns and imprisons him. Orgoglio is at the same time exteriorized as an allegorical figure. It is appropriate both to his significance as an allegory of vainglory, of the quality of being puffed up with the empty air of overconfidence and perhaps boasting, and of his significance as a psychomachia, that when he is overcome he should collapse, that:

> That huge great body, which the Gyaunt bore,
> Was vanisht quite, and of that monstrous mas
> Was nothing left, but like an emptie bladder was.
>
> (I.viii.24.7-9)

*

*   *

In I.ix.33-54, the allegorical figure of "Despaire" is introduced. He has already persuaded Sir Terwin to commit suicide, and caused Sir Trevisan to flee. Red Crosse seeks him out for retribution, but instead is himself confronted and reproached with all his sins and weaknesses. (In a sense, Despaire is Red Crosse's own conscience speaking.) Overcome with

remorse, Red Crosse is about to plunge Despaire's dagger into his breast to end it all when Una stops him.

Let us look for a moment at the figure of Despaire:

> ...his hollow eyne
> Lookt deadly dull, and stared as astound;
> His raw-bone cheekes through penurie and pine,
> Were shronke into his iawes, as he did never dine.
>
> (ix.35.6-9)

> His garment nought but many ragged clouts
> With thornes together pind and patched was,
> The which his naked sides he wrapt aboute;
> And him beside there lay upon the gras
> A drearie corse....
>
> (ix.36.1-5)

Who is Spenser's Despaire but Death himself, whose iconographical attributes he displays completely? The "hollow eyne," the "raw-bone cheekes" sunk into his jaws, are those of the skull-faced death's head pictured by Holbein in his <u>Dance of Death</u>.[14] Number 31 (Fig. 47) shows Death vanquishing the Knight, who is unable to resist Death effectually despite all his former successes. Holbein's Death uses a long sharp weapon, perhaps a pike, and runs the Knight completely through. Spenser writes:

> The Knight was much enmoved with his speach,
> That as a swords point through his hart did perse.
>
> (ix.48.1,2)

Spenser's simile ("as a swords point") translates the literal action of Holbein's woodcut into the moral effect of Despaire's speech on Red Crosse, who is not in actual fact pierced by the sword of Death, as is the Knight in the woodcut.

In Number 40 (Fig. 48) of Holbein's series, "Death and the Soldier," a "drearie corse" lies on the ground in the foreground, and several others less distinctly drawn are to be seen in the background. Spenser's scene thus recalls certain elements of this woodcut as well as of "Death and the Knight."

Holbein's woodcut series, of course, was the culmination of a long tradition; Death was personified in both ancient and medieval times as a skeleton. Also close to Spenser's time, though not all as close as the Holbein woodcuts, were the various series of small "Dance of Death" woodcuts that were used in some of the printed books of hours (Horae) made from about 1480 onwards, mainly in Paris. For example, a 1501 Horae[15] printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre shows a figure of Death similar to that later drawn by Holbein. The Death pictured here resembles Despaire in being a tireless talker, for in every one of the little woodcuts of the borders Death is depicted with open mouth, obviously haranguing his victim. The tiny woodcut labelled "Le Chevalier" on leaf H ii^{r} (Fig.49) shows a voluble Death turned toward the Knight in discourse, and one notes that the cheeks"shronke into his jaws" do not in the

least impede his talk. Spenser may well have had such a woodcut as this in his memory, as well as the Holbein series, when he created his own figure of Despaire.

A Booke of Christian Prayers,[16] often called "Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book," also has a series of woodcuts on the Dance of Death, cut by an English woodcutter. In the vignette labelled "The Knight,"(Fig. 50) the Knight is dressed as an Elizabethan gentleman rather than in full armor, as in Spenser, Holbein, and the Pigouchet Book of Hours; but the grisly-smiling Death is the same personage. Samuel C. Chew writes, "It is altogether likely that he [Spenser] knew A Booke of Christian Prayers... either in the original edition or in one of the reissues...; it is in fact almost inconceivable that so ardent a lover of beauty did not admiringly contemplate the embellishments in the most beautiful of Elizabethan books."[17]

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* *

Sir Guyon visits Mammon's underworld in the second book, and while there has a glimpse of the damned souls in hell:

Which to behold, he clomb up to the banke,
And looking downe, saw many damned wights,
In those sad waves, which direfull deadly stanke,
Plonged continually of cruell Sprights,

> That with their pitteous cryes, and yelling shrights,
> They made the further shore resounden wide:...
> (II.vii.57.1-6)

This word picture seems to combine the content of two woodcuts from The Kalender of Shepherdes. The first, on leaf E 2v of the Paris 1503 edition for the English market (Fig. 51), shows the second vision of Lazarus, "a flode of frosone yce in the whiche envyous men & women were plongyd." Note that Spenser uses the word "plonged" in line 4 of the stanza above. The "flode" of the woodcut is shown as a mass of "sad waves," and the illustration shows vividly the dicomfort of those condemned to be "plonged" therein. The other woodcut recalled here is the one on E 4v (Fig. 52), the fifth vision of Lazarus, showing devils (cruell Sprights, no doubt) pushing yet other sinners down into a cauldron of liquid; these are the covetous being pushed down into boiling oil and lead, but of course one cannot tell from the picture that that is what the liquid is.

Spenser's mixture of the classical Hades and the Christian Hell is of a piece with his mixture of references throughout The Faerie Queene. Here we have Pilate washing his hands alongside Tantalus eternally dying of thirst and hunger. Here we have a river, as in Hades; but what goes on in that river has nothing to do with classical mythology. Kitchin writes, "Spenser somewhat enlarges upon this river. The old writers do not describe the souls as wallowing and wailing in it, as a penalty."[18] Henry G. Lotspeich, the authority on

classical mythology in Spenser's works, writes, "In Spenser the damned souls are represented as immersed in the flood. This conception is not common in classical tradition.... The idea may come from Dante, Inferno 7,109, although Spenser's use of Dante has not been proved unless we accept it here and in the case of Phlegethon."[19]

It seems to me that it is not necessary to look to Dante as the source of Spenser's imagery here. A memory of the woodcuts of The Kalender of Shepherdes would have given the poet all he needed to picture the damned souls "plonged" in the "flode." And if The Kalender of Shepherdes was part of the reading of his boyhood, how much more likely it is that the memory of its woodcuts should be particularly vivid!

*

* *

Thomas P. Roche, Jr., writes, "Unlike Belphoebe, the image of Amoret does not declare itself through familiar archetypes.... As an image her encounters exemplify the education of woman for her role in society."[20] As I have written elsewhere, it seems to me that Amoret is in a sense an Eve figure, who moves from her education in an Eden-like Garden of Adonis, where she learns of the goodness of natural sexual love, to the perverse and unnatural House of Busirane, where she receives her education in evil and manages to withstand the power of evil (and the

temptation to give in to it) until rescue comes.

In connection with the Garden of Adonis, one should not omit consideration of the woodcut title page by Holbein the Younger (Fig. 53) which is reproduced as the frontispiece of Roche's study of the third and fourth books of Spenser's The Faerie Queene, The Kindly Flame. It is reproduced from a copy of the Lexicon Graeco Latinum (Basle, 1545). The woodcut "shows a walled garden presided over by Genius, who stands at a gate at the bottom of the picture. Outside the gate and clustered around the lower wall are many naked babies, apparently trying to gain entry into the world represented by the garden. Logically these babies should not yet be babies, but the exigencies of representation necessitate depicting them in a form that the viewer will understand; hence they are represented as naked babies. [Apparently Roche is thinking of these babies as representing immortal souls. My guess is that they represent actual human babies in the womb, about to be born and to receive the gift of life. In actuality they already have the bodies of babies. This would be perfectly logical; the gate over which Genius presides is the gate of birth into life.] Within the garden... we see a progress of allegorical figures depicting the virtues and vices, and at the top of the picture is a female figure called 'Felicitas.' The figures surrounding her make it clear that this is heavenly

felicity, and we are faced with the incongruity of Genius presiding over a garden that includes an area of experience that does not rightly belong there. Holbein was illustrating the progress of human life. He and the publishers of the books using his woodcut were apparently unbothered by the incongruities of space, time, and logic plaguing his picture."[21]

Actually, the figure which Roche calls Felicity, seated on a draped throne, has a kneeling human figure before her. She is seated before the gate of a large and splendid medieval castle, and the word Felicitas appears over the gate to the castle. Interestingly enough, the castle is within the walls of the garden. Here I should judge that the seated woman is the wardress of the gate to the Castle of Felicity, through which she admits her petitioners. Perhaps the woman is a kindly figure of Death. The explanation of this seeming paradox is that Death and the passing to the Castle of Felicity (heaven) was thought of as a part of life; one does not pass out of life by dying, for all life is a part of life eternal. One passes into the Castle of Felicity. As one remembers not only from the teachings of the Church (including the Church of England), but from Spenser's Epithalamion, the children that one conceives in marriage are to live not only in this world but in heaven, and the two are really one immortal life. Seen in the light of this belief, Holbein's picture is not illogical.

The seeming similarities between Holbein's title cut and Spenser's imagery in the Garden of Adonis consist in fact of three elements: the garden with its wall; Genius who keeps the gate; and the "babes" who wait at the gate-- in this case waiting outside rather than inside. For Spenser's Genius lets the babes _out_ of the garden into the world, and when they are old and tired lets them in again at the "hinder gate." In spite of the fact that the essential concept is very different, however, the likeness between the situation of Genius in the woodcut and in Canto 6 of Book III of _The Faerie Queene_ is very striking.

*

* *

In the tapestry room of Busirane's baleful house, in the eleventh canto of Book III, stands a statue of Cupid:

> And at the upper end of that faire rowme,
> There was an altar built of pretious stone...
> On which there stood an image all alone,
> Of massy gold, which with his owne light shone:...
>
> (47.1,2,4,5)

> 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;...
>
> (48.1-4)

The illustration of the "Triumph of Love" from Petrarch's _Trionfi_ printed in Venice by Capcasa in 1492/93 [22] shows Cupid blindfolded and in the act of shooting a large arrow from a large bow. Hw is standing on a pedestal that is mounted high above the ceremonial chariot drawn by horses and accompanied by numerous personages on foot. Indeed, the pedestal is so high that Cupid seems"all alone," like Spenser's Cupid, in the top half of the woodcut. Although this Cupid is shown as a chubby child, he has something terrible in his determined stance and in the force with which he pulls the arrow back against the bowstring; he seems marked by the true _terribilità_ of the _enfant terrible_, an uncomprehending gusto in the mischievousness of what he is doing. His blinded face is turned toward the spectators with a kind of perverse triumph, as if to glory in the amount of the effect he has. It seems possible that the idea of Cupid standing on an altar which is like the pedestal of the _Trionfi_, at one and the same time a statue and a being endowed with sufficient motion to shoot his deadly arrows, derives directly from such an illustration. The ambiguousness of the living statue is carried over from the woodcut, where Eros is necessarily, because of the nature of the art, depicted as motionless as a statue, but caught in a timeless moment of perpetual readiness for action. The ambiguousness, indeed the near-confusion, of Spenser's Cupid-- is he a statue or is he a living god in his most malevolent mood?-- may well stem from the static quality of

a source in pictorial art.

Two more illustrations which may be of some interest here occur in Frezzi's Quadriregio del Decorse della Vita Umana, printed in Florence for Piero Pacini at least in part by Filippo Giunta in 1508.[23] These two woodcuts show a Cupid who is a young man rather than a chubby child; and he has here removed his blindfold, although he still carries his bow and arrows. He is not blindfolded, but his face nevertheless has a look of blindness that contrasts with the expressions of the other personages, a young man and a young woman. The grown-up Cupid is perhaps the one who is capable of being the lover of Psyche and the father of the child Pleasure, with whom Amoret was brought up (III.vi.50). Cupid, in Spenser's poem as in illustration, has several aspects and several ages, all of which seem capable of coexistence.

In the twelfth canto, Cupid appears in person in the so-called "Masque of Cupid":

> Next after her the winged God himselfe
> Came riding on a Lion ravenous,
> Taught to obey the menage of that Elfe,
> That man and beast with powre imperious
> Subdeweth to his kingdome tyrannous:...
>
> (22.1-5)

The only connection I can find between Cupid and a lion is a pictorial one, an emblem which appears in the 1531 edition

of Alciati. Headed "POTENTISSIMUS AFFECTUS AMOR," it shows the blindfolded infant god driving a chariot to which are harnessed two lions.[24] The point of the emblem is obviously the same as a part, at least, of Spenser's point in the masque: the all-powerful king of beasts is subdued and ridden or driven by the god of love. A later emblem by Heinsius in 1615[25] shows Amor actually riding a lion, and it is possible that Spenser's image influenced this later conception. I mention the Alciati emblem as a possible influence on Spenser, despite the fact that we are not in general dealing with emblems, to show how Spenser characteristically develops the image further than the emblem: the bloodthirsty ravenousness of the lion is symbolic of the cruelty of the godling in this scene. The lion ridden by Cupid does not merely demonstrate that Cupid can master lions, but is symbolic of the savagery of one aspect of love-- just as the "huge great Lyon" that lies under Mercilla's feet, the lion that "did murmur with rebellions sound, And softly royne,"(V.ix.33.8,9) is symbolic of the savagery of the mob rebellion (or possibility of mob rebellion) which the monarch keeps in check.

*

* *

The action that takes place previous to the disclosure of Amoret's torture in the House of Busirane

(III.xi and xii) is important in understanding that torture, so I shall turn back somewhat from the passage that will concern us most closely. In Canto xi of the third book, Britomart, while pursuing a giant, encounters Sir Scudamour lamenting Amoret's captivity and torture. Britomart persuades him to arise and accompany her, and at length they come to the castle where Amoret is held prisoner. The entrance is protected by a wall of fire through which Britomart is able to pass by virtue of her magic sword; Scudamour cannot penetrate it and has to turn back. We know from the epigraph to the canto that this is "the house of Busyrane, Where Loves spoyles are exprest." Professor Nelson writes that this house is adapted from that of Busiris, a legendary king of Egypt. This king attempted"to rape the chaste and beautiful daughter of Atlas, an attack which Hercules frustrated. But it is chiefly as the type of tyranny that Busiris is known, an appropriate figure, therefore, for the tyrant Cupid."[26] I wonder, however, whether the name Busirane might not have been suggested, at least partially, by the word abuse, or abuser, the first letter being dropped perhaps for reasons of meter. King René d'Anjou, with whose works I am convinced Spenser was familiar, was the author (or was supposed to be the author) of a work entitled L'Abusé en Court, in which appeared a wicked character named Abus. Printed as early as 1480 by Colard Mansion of Bruges, this work was

available to Spenser in several edition. Busirane's function, it seems to me, is education through abuse; he is the satanic figure who must provide Amoret, an Eve figure, with the knowledge of evil.

Structurally in Book III, Busirane's House is the opposite of the Garden of Adonis, and along with its master it provides the negative side of Amoret's education. The Garden is natural, whereas the House is artificial; the Garden is nurturing, whereas the House is torturing; the Garden is open to the heavens, whereas the House is completely closed. Above all, in the Garden Cupid is disarmed and loving, but as the tutelary deity of Busirane's House he has become a scourge.

Spenser draws upon the visual arts for much of the iconography of his baleful House of Busirane. The first room beyond the curtain of fire is hung with an immense series of tapestries that depict the loves of Jupiter and other gods of Olympus, in which the metamorphosed gods as lovers assume various forms, such as those of bull and swan. The tapestries will be discussed at length in Part II; here it is necessary only to notice their subject matter. The depiction of perverse and even criminal sexual activity is their function in the House of Busirane.

The statue of Cupid on the altar of the tapestry room resembles a Renaissance bronze from Italy, a popular kind of

small sculpture that Spenser may well have magnified in his imagination to suit his purpose here. Cupid has his foot upon a wounded dragon-- wounded with Cupid's own arrows. The dragon represents archetypal evil throughout The Faerie Queene, and its presence beneath the feet of Cupid shows that evil itself is wounded and subdued by his arrows. All the people of the House "bow their humble knee" to him, often committing "fowle Idolatree"(49.5). Britomart is dazzled by the sight of the statue, but continues unharmed into the next room, which is panelled in gold engraved with grotesque scenes.

As the twelfth canto opens, the Masque of Cupid emerges and marches thrice around the room. It includes numerous allegorical personages, as well as Cupid himself, Busirane, and Amoret. Amoret's naked breast displays a "wide wound"(20.5) which gapes open:

> At that wide orifice her trembling hart
> Was drawne forth, and in silver basin layd,
> Quite through transfixed with a deadly dart
> And in her bloud yet steeming fresh embayd:...
> (21.1-4)

The heart drawn out of the breast and offered for sacrifice is a familiar theme of primitive religion. As a motif in art, the heart taken from the breast is found in at least one emblem with which Spenser may have been familiar, the

eighth in Le Théâtre des Bons Engins, by Guillaume de la Perrière, published in 1539. It shows a man whose naked chest is cut open, like Amoret's, in a gaping wound. The man holds his heart in his hand, up near his mouth, rather than holding it in a silver basin, as Amoret does hers; the reason for this position is the subject of the emblem, "Mann, der das eigene Herz isst." Amoret's heart is being practiced upon by the enchanter, rather than eaten by herself, but there is a similarity of situation in that the heart removed from the breast remains near or in connection with its owner. The heart in the emblem is shaped like a St. Valentine's heart cut from colored paper; no effort is made by the artist to show the heart with anatomical realism.

Another and vastly more important possible source of the motif of the heart removed from the breast and subject to torture is found among the illustrations in The Kalender of Shepherdes, both in the edition of Paris in 1503 and Pynson's edition of London in 1506 (Fig. 54).[27] The woodcut accompanying the meditations on the Passion shows a large shield upon which is depicted the Sacred Heart, attached to the upright of a cross by what seem to be two large, dagger-like or even arrow-like blades, with both ends protruding as if they had been pushed through the heart in an "X" formation. The heart is very large in relation to the cross, occupying more than one-third of the vertical measurement of the upright. It is surrounded with a large crown

of thorns. Two of the instruments of the passion are depicted on the shield; they are the vessel of vinegar and the dice. The shield is supported by two angels kneeling in what appears to be a meadow, for clumps of grass are indicated below the shield. Other instruments of the passion appear in the background, outside the shield. The essential element of this seemingly simple but actually rather complex composition is the heart nailed to the cross. The heart, like the heart in the emblem, is shaped like a paper valentine, with no attempt made by the artist to achieve realism. Like Amoret's heart, it is "Quite through transfixed with a deadly dart"(xii.21.3), or in this case two "darts"; but the number is unimportant.

A third possible source of the iconography of the heart removed from the breast is to be found in Le Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance, an allegory by King René d'Anjou composed and illustrated with miniatures in about the year 1453.[28] In Le Mortifiement, the heart, again pictured like a red valentine, is removed from the breast in order to be educated through mortification. The resumé that precedes the story explains the action: "Et pour donner a entendre la matiere fictionnellement, racompteray comment lame devote a seule Crainte de Dieu et a parfaite Contrition [se complaint piteusement du Cuer plain de vaine plaisance qui le tourmente fort. Et lors seule Crainte et Parfaite Contrition] se saisirent du Cuer et puis le baillerent a Souveraine Amour et Vraye Esperance et a Ferme Foy.

lesquelles pour du tout le joindre a la passion de son Sauveur la clouerent sur l'arbre de la croix, et Grace Divine pour mortifier sa vaine plaisance lui met le fer de lance au coste. Et par ainsi lame devote vit en ce monde en grant contentesse et repos avec son Cuer."

Amoret's heart, like that of l'âme (the soul), is taken out of her body, though in Amoret's case the heart remains close to its owner, perhaps even attached. Amoret's heart and that of l'âme are both "mortified" by being pierced with a sharp metal weapon, Amoret's with one of Cupid's metal-tipped darts and l'âme's with "le fer de lance." As King René points out in his resumé, quoted above, Vaine Plaisance is driven out by a process resembling "la passion de son Sauveur." Amoret's trial, too, as her heart is removed from the breast and pierced with the cruel metal dart, has something in common with the Passion.

In Amoret's case, she has to withstand the trial--withstand it indefinitely if necessary. The "vile Enchaunter" (31.1) sits before her trying with all his magic arts to make her give in, "yet thousand charmes could not her steadfast heart remove"(31.9). Perhaps the most important insight afforded by considering René's Mortifiement and its miniatures in connection with Amoret and Busirane is that Spenser, too, must have meant his lady's experience to figure as part of her education. Indeed, he imagines that education far more artistically than René d'Anjou did for his protagonist, for the two episodes

that concern Amoret in Book III show an exquisite balance in the two contrasting aspects of her education: the loving fostering in the Garden of Adonis as the positive element and the cruel trial and mortification in the House of Busirane as the testing, or negative element. Amoret must learn from Busirane the existence of real, active evil. In the original version of Book III, these two episodes are appropriately concluded by the loving reunion of Amoret and Scudamour as the denouement of the book, after Britomart has overcome Busirane and saved Amoret. In The Faerie Queene as it stands revised for the 1596 edition, Amoret and Scudamour never are reunited; doubtless the poet meant to conclude their story in one of the later books that never was written.

Of the possible visual sources I have mentioned for the motif of the heart removed from the breast, the central and most basic one is, of course, the woodcut depicting the Sacred Heart pierced by iron blades and fastened to the Cross, a woodcut which is one of the most striking illustrations in The Kalender of Shepherdes. One of the basic images of the Catholic church, it is the prototype, in the Christian era, of all similar images. And we may be sure, because of EK's reference in his introductory remarks to Spenser's Shepheardes Calender, that the poet was acquainted with it.

Whether the poet was also familiar with René's

Mortifiement is a question that we cannot settle here. No record exists of the work's ever having been printed, although its miniatures would have been easy to render as woodcuts, and one is amazed that it never was done. It is conceivable, though hardly probable, that it existed in a printed version now lost to us. If Spenser knew the work, however, we must assume that he knew it in manuscript form.[29] Since we are not dealing with manuscript sources, it must not detain us longer.

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* *

Artegall approaches the city of Radegone, in V.iv.35, without fear or foreboding:

> The badges of reproch, he threw away,
> And nimbly did him dight to guide the way
> Unto the swelling of that Amazone.
> Which was from thence not past a mile or tway:
> A goodly city and a mighty one,
> The which of her owne name she called Radegone.
>
> (iv.35.4-9)

The Nuremberg Chronicle, one of the main sources of historical and geographical lore throughout the sixteenth century, pictures three beautiful "Amazones"(so labelled) in a separate woodcut placed just above an even larger woodcut of a city (Fig. 55),[30] presumably theirs. The city gate is a

prominent element of this composition, as it is of the account which Spenser gives of the city of the Amazons.

In considering why Spenser chose the city as the locus of his Amazon queen, rather than a "pallace" or fortified castle, as in the case of most of the noble antagonists of his protagonists, one cannot well omit this striking pictorial example. The fact is that few of the Amazons of literature live in cities. Only two instances are given in the voluminous Variorum notes. Upton notes, of this passage, "The city of the Amazons was named Themiscyra, near the river Thermodon. Though we are now in Fairy Land, yet our poet does not altogether lose sight of history."[31] Gough writes, "Diodorus Siculus, an author whom Spenser apparently follows in Canto 7, and to whom he refers four times in his Veue of the State of Ireland, recounts the exploits of a Queen of the Amazons in Pontus, who formed an army of women, enslaved the men of the country, conquered neighboring nations, and died heroically in battle (Bibliotheca Historica 2.45). He also (Bibl. Hist. 3.53 ff.) describes an earlier race of Amazons in Libya, whose Queen Myreina founded a city and named it after herself."[32]

Sir John Mandevile's account of the Amazons, which may have been known to Spenser, since East brought out a translation in London in 1568,[33] does not mention a city of the Amazons, but describes their land as an island.[34] The woodcut illustration

shows two Amazons in female dress, one bearing a bow, the other a lance and shield. The chief point of the illustration seems to be that each lacks one breast, the one on the side where it might interfere with her weapon. There is nothing of this rather sensational account in Spenser.

Spenser may well have seen the Chroniken, for it was a standard work of reference; and he may well have remembered the striking page concerning the Amazons. Although he would probably have had a Latin edition of the work, and read it with ease, the pictures in this case are self explanatory and probably more memorable than the text.

Cities are rare in The Faerie Queene; aside from the vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem and references to Cleopolis in Book I, one thinks of the cities of Book V, Radegone and that "citie farre up land"(V.x.25) which apparently is Antwerp. Anyone who has ever made the long voyage up the Scheldt River to the port of Antwerp knows what the poet meant when he called it "farre up land." He must have heard an account of the voyage from someone who had made it. As for Radegone, the pictorial tradition of Amazons living in a city probably reinforced the instances in story.

*

*   *

The Souldan, in V.viii.28, rides in a chariot armed with iron hooks:

> Wherewith the Souldan all with furie fraught,
> Swearing, and banning most blasphemously,
> Commaunded straight his armour to be brought,
> And mounting straight upon a charret hye,
> With yron wheeles and hookes arm'd dreadfully,...
>
> (28.1-5)

Jortin notes that these chariots are called "currus falcati" in Q.Curtius 4.9.[35] Upton also notes the Latin name for them, and adds the Greek, from Xenophon's Cyropaedia and his Anabasis. Moreover, they may be the "chariots of iron" of the Bible.[34] A.S.Cook writes, "Silius Italicus (17.417-8) assigns the sythe-bearing chariot to the barbarians of the North.... In 2 Maccabees 13.2 we have a mention of 'three hundred chariots armed with hooks.'"[35]

Certainly it might have been possible for Spenser to draw his knowledge of "hookes" as the armament of chariots from the writings of classical authors or the passage mentioned from the Bible. If there had not been pictures of such hooks to impress them vividly upon his mind, however, one wonders whether they would have lingered in his memory to appear on the Souldan's chariot. But these sythe-shaped hooks were clearly pictured in Robertus Valturius' De Re Militari. Hind reproduces the woodcut from the edition printed in Verona by Joannes Nicolai in 1472.[36]

I reproduce (Fig. 56) two woodcuts from the edition printed in Verona by Boninus de Boninis of 1483. It would have been easy for the poet to know one of these woodcuts or a later copy of one of them.

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* *

In the tenth canto of Book VI, Sir Calidore sees Colin piping while the graces and a group of a hundred nymphs dance:

> That jolly shepheard, which there piped, was
> Poore Colin Clout (who knows not Colin Clout?)
> Pype jolly shepheard, pype thou now apace....
> (16.3-6)

> But soone as he appeared to their vew,
> They vanished all away out of his sight,
> And cleane were gone, which way he never knew;
> All save the shepheard, who for fell despight
> Of that displeasure, broke his bag-pipe quight,...
> (18.1-5)

The shepherd's pipe thus is identified as a bagpipe in 18.5, and that fact may come as a surprise to some readers. The woodcuts showing Colin with his pipe in The Shepheardes Calender (those for April, September, and November) do not show a bagpipe, but rather a long oboe-like pipe which is obviously a kind of woodwind. The pipes in the Salomon woodcut illustrating Ovid's story of Polyphemus and Galatea shows a goatherd sitting upon a hill playing a set of small pipes in

a row, with one pipe for each tone, rather like a mouth organ made of separate pipes bound together.

The initial woodcut of the shepherd dancing and piping in The Kalender of Shepherdes (folio A 2^r and repetitions throughout the volume) (Fig. 57) depicts the instrument being played as a bagpipe. This is the standard woodcut in various editions of The Kalender of Shepherdes, and it seems possible that Spenser may have had it in mind when he identified Colin's instrument in this passage as a bagpipe. Shepherds playing bagpipes also appear in the woodcuts or metal cuts of some French Horae of the same period as The Kalender of Shepherdes; but since we know that the poet was familiar with the latter it seems unnecessary to search further for a pictorial source.

It seems unlikely that real shepherds would carry about so unwieldy an instrument as a set of bagpipes. Though we know that the bagpipes existed in the folk music of the British Isles, France, and other countries from the earliest times, they were probably played at festivals and on special occasions. The simple whistle type of pipe would be more likely to be carried about at his work by a shepherd. One doubts, however, that Spenser's shepherds have much to do with real life shepherds; they are a part of the pastoral tradition in literature and in art.

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* *

Spenser introduces the Three Graces in the tenth canto of Book VI as the givers of "all gracious gifts," including "all the complements of curtesie"(23.1,6). This is peculiarly filling in a book the main theme of which is Courtesy.

Edgar Wind's treatment of the subject is a particularly good one. After demonstrating that allegory is a sophistic device, he continues that allegories, like rituals, seem subject to a rule that almost always applies: those which appear to be most ridiculous at first sight turn out upon further study to be the ones that have the most vitality. The Graces are an example of this rule. "The easy symmetry of the group... should have saved it, one might think, from moral vagaries. But its very transparency made the design a suitable target."[39] The simplicity and attractiveness of the group made it inevitable that various meanings should be read into it.

Seneca's theory of the graces, derived from a lost work by Chrysippus, according to Wind, is that they are gracious in the offering, accepting, and returning of benefits; and to each Grace one of these functions is assigned. It was Servius who added the interpretation that because one Grace is pictured from the back, while two are facing the beholder, the meaning is that two benefits are supposed to come back to the giver (the two facing the beholder) for every one that is given (represented by the Grace facing away from the beholder).

It sounds like one of those specious encouragements to generosity that urge the giver to be generous in order to get back twice what he gives. At any rate, this interpretation was popular, and was repeated by Fulgentius, Boccaccio, Perotti, and Spenser, the latter in the passage where "Calidore sees the Graces Daunce"(VI.x.24):

> And eeke themselves so in their daunce they bore,
> That two of them still forward seem'd to bee,
> But one still towards shew'd her selfe afore:
> That good should from us goe, then come in greater store.
> (24.6-9)

The Shepheardes Calender, in the "Glosse" to "Aprill," attaches the names of Theodontius and Boccaccio to these ideas, but says that the two graces facing us signify that "double thanke" is due us for the benefit.

The representation of the Graces as nude (because they must be free of deceit) is more recent, dating from Servius and the fourth century, than the Senecan idea; for Seneca imagined them as clothed. Although the nude Graces of Servius became the accepted triad, Seneca's arguments continued to be read into this antithetical group; and Spenser, as we have seen, combines the two interpretations.[40]

Spenser also describes the Graces as "Handmaides of Venus"(15.2), thus bringing in the Neoplatonic idea that the

Graces symbolize love. Panofsky writes that although the mythographical writers of the day presented the Three Graces as the handmaidens, or ladies in waiting, of Venus, the "Platonizing humanists of the Renaissance had come to interpret their relationship to Venus in a more philosophical way. The Three Graces were thought of as Qualifications of the entity that was Venus, so much so that they were termed a 'Trinity' of which Venus was the 'Unity.'"[41] Spenser, however, here keeps to the simpler explanation: the Three Graces are Venus' Damzels who "doe chiefe on her attend"(21.9).

It has become a commonplace to say that Spenser's Three Graces repeat "the traditional representation both in ancient times and in the Renaissance (Botticelli, Raphael) and could easily derive from some pictorial representation."[42] The mention of Botticelli and Raphael is typical, although the writer must know that Spenser probably could not have seen either one of their famous paintings which include the Graces. I agree, however, that it is likely that, in addition to the written sources of the image, Spenser must have seen pictorial material on the same subject. The pictorial material available to him was undoubtedly in the form of a woodcut or engraving. Some such woodcut as the one by Giacomo Mazzochi, published in 1521 (Fig. 58),[43] which is the first known rendering in this medium of the bas-relief of the Three Graces that inspired Raphael's painting, probably reinforced the image

for the poet. Certainly there was a great deal of visual material on the theme, and it would be impossible to be sure just which woodcut or engraving Spenser might have seen.

Fig. 44. "Poliphile in the Forest," woodcut from the Kerver edition of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphilo. Paris, 1546.

Fig. 45. "The Tree of Sins," from The Kalender of Shepherdes, Paris, 1503, Folio G 4 verso.

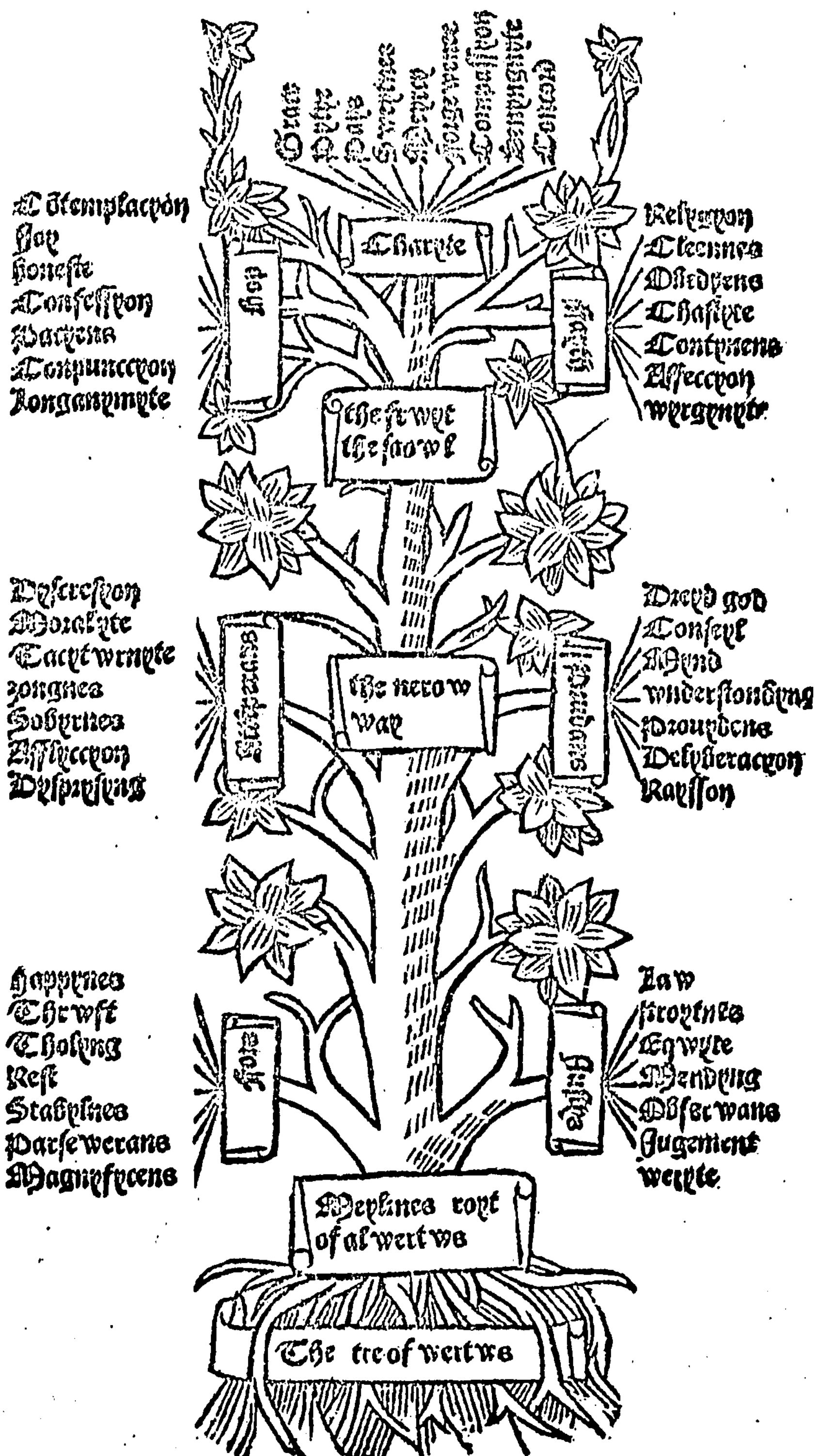


Fig. 46. "The Tree of Virtues," from The Kalender of Shepherdes, Paris, 1543, Folio G 5 recto.

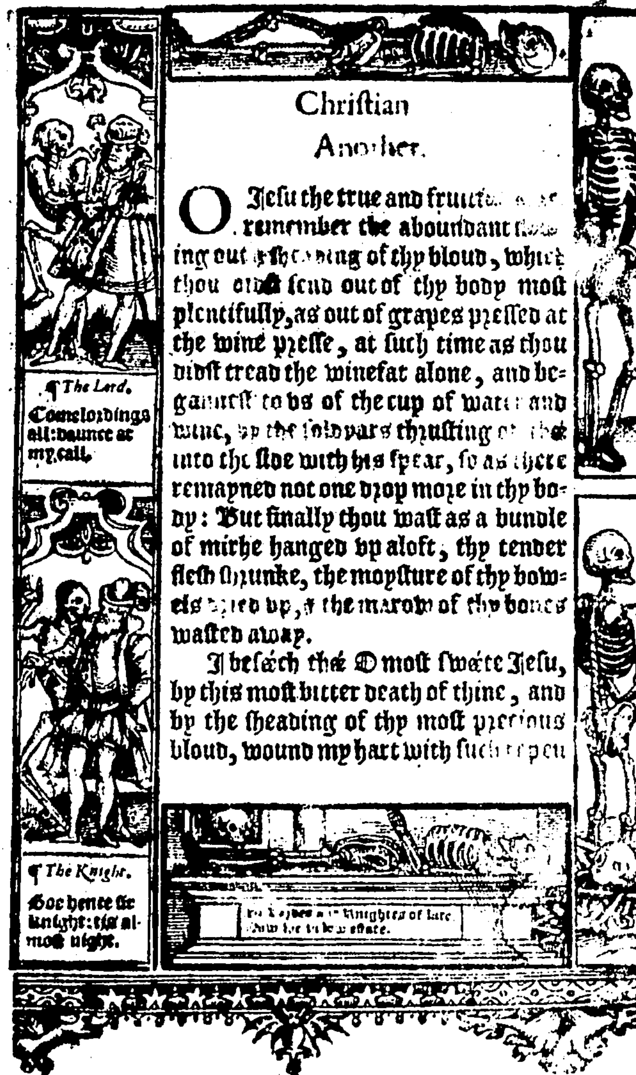
Fig. 47. "Death and the Knight," from Holbein's

Dance of Death, woodcut 31. 1538.

Fig. 48. "Death and the Soldier," from Holbein's

Dance of Death, woodcut 40. 1538.

Fig. 49. "La Mort et le Chevalier," border from a Pigouchet _Horae_ of 1501 for the use of Laon, Folio H ii recto.



Christian

Another.

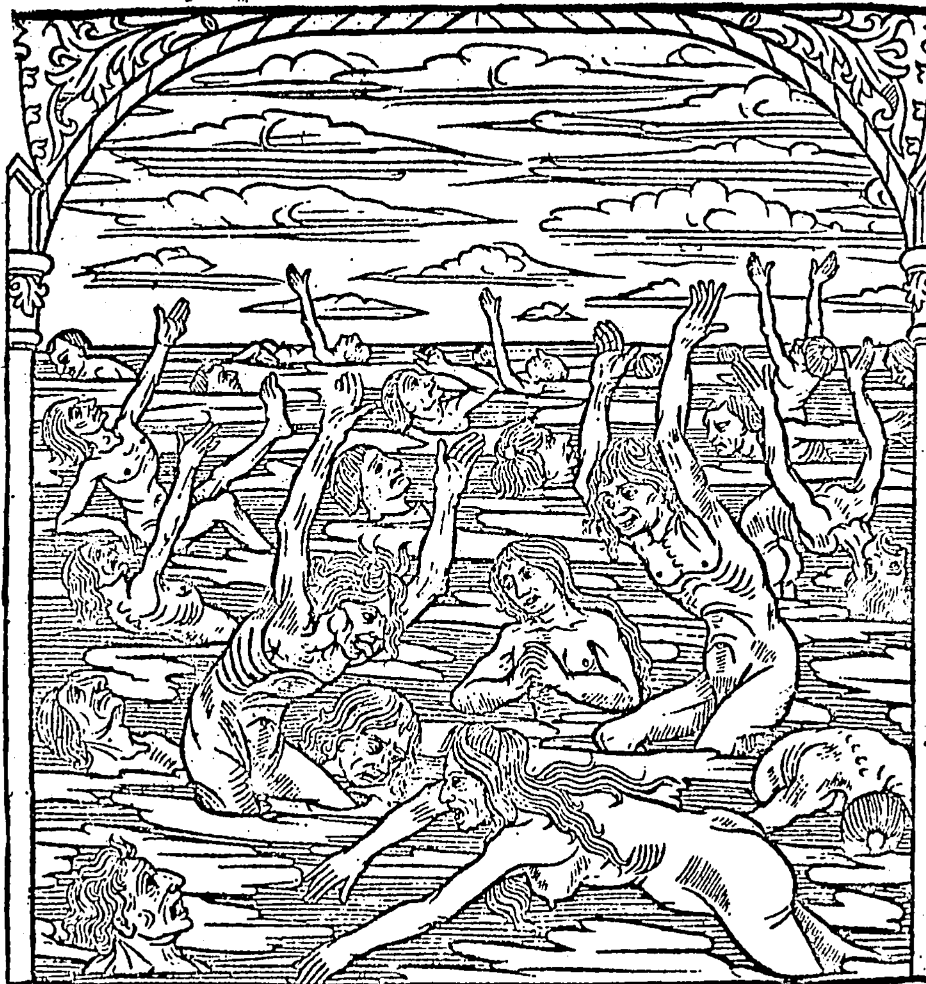
O Jesu the true and fruitf[illegible] remember the aboundant [illegible]ing out [illegible] of thy bloud, which thou didst send out of thy body most plentifully, as out of grapes pressed at the wine presse, at such time as thou didst tread the winefat alone, and begannest to us of the cup of wat[illegible] and wine, by the souldiars thrusting [illegible] into the side with his spear, so as there remayned not one drop more in thy body: But finally thou wast as a bundle of mirhe hanged up aloft, thy tender flesh shrunke, the moysture of thy bowels [illegible] up, & the marow of thy bones wasted away.

I beseech thee O most sweete Jesu, by this most bitter death of thine, and by the sheading of thy most precious bloud, wound my hart with such [illegible]

¶ The Lord.
Come lordings all: daunce at my call.

¶ The Knight.
Goe hence sir knight: tis almost night.

Fig. 50. Page from A Booke of Christian Prayers showing at lower left "Death and the Knight." 1578.



they ar sorowful wyth hym. The en wyo ws ar sych wys infelyt & corrū-
pyt that the good ode wrs felys them ewyl & thyngys swept ar to thē beyt-
tyr & ar the goodys renamyt the psperyte of others. Bot thyngys stynkant
and bytter thyngys the q wych ar to them swept ar wyces/dyffamytez/ad-
wersytez & fortwn contrary the q wych wnderstondys & eyrys the resyn-
nyng of others. Theen wyo ws selzys thayr good in the ewyl of others
q wen of the ewyl of others wylland to seyk theyr ewyllys reioyāt them.
Bot they hool thē so not of new bot tormētys thē self. Qweyr for q wo sey
kys ys good i the ewyl of others he proffytys as he that selzys the fyer i the
watyr or the rayssyns aboue the thornys the q wych thyngys to do ar folye

Fig. 51. Woodcut from The Kalender of Shepherdes (1503) showing the second vision of Lazarus of the punishments of sinners in hell. Folio E ii verso.

consyderant that syndry ewyllys cummys be swernes of the q wych thayr ys two ryght dangerowe thys ys to con wert & twrn them self from owr lord swernes to shrywe them self the q wych ewyllys the dewyl procwrys in so mych as yt ys to hym possybyl. Indesserens to shrywe them self oft iyndry deys in gret danger & perylof theyr saowlys. For yt ys oon thyng ryght dyffycyl to leyf weel & to hawe leyffyt e wei.

The. v. mayner says lazarws I hawe seyn cawderons fwl of playant oyllys & of leyd & other metals zettyng i the q wych ar deyp-pyt the awarycyows mē & womē for to fyl thē of theyr ewyl awaris

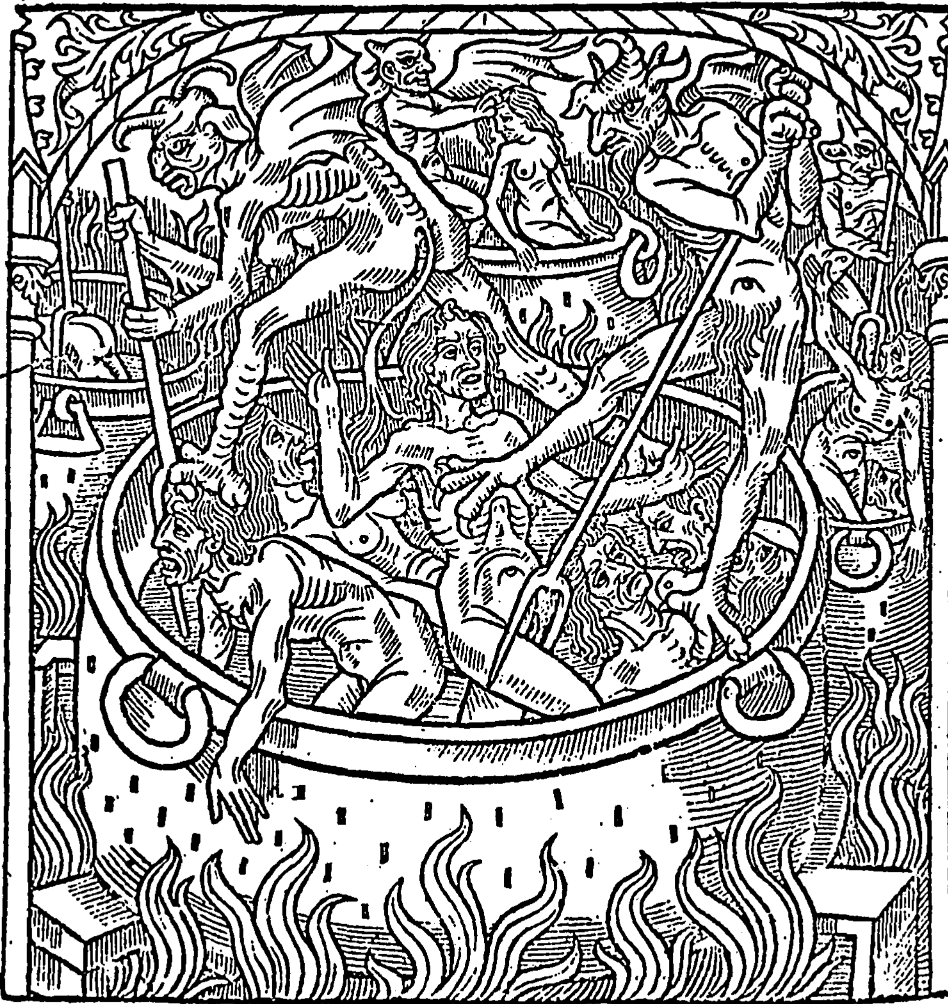
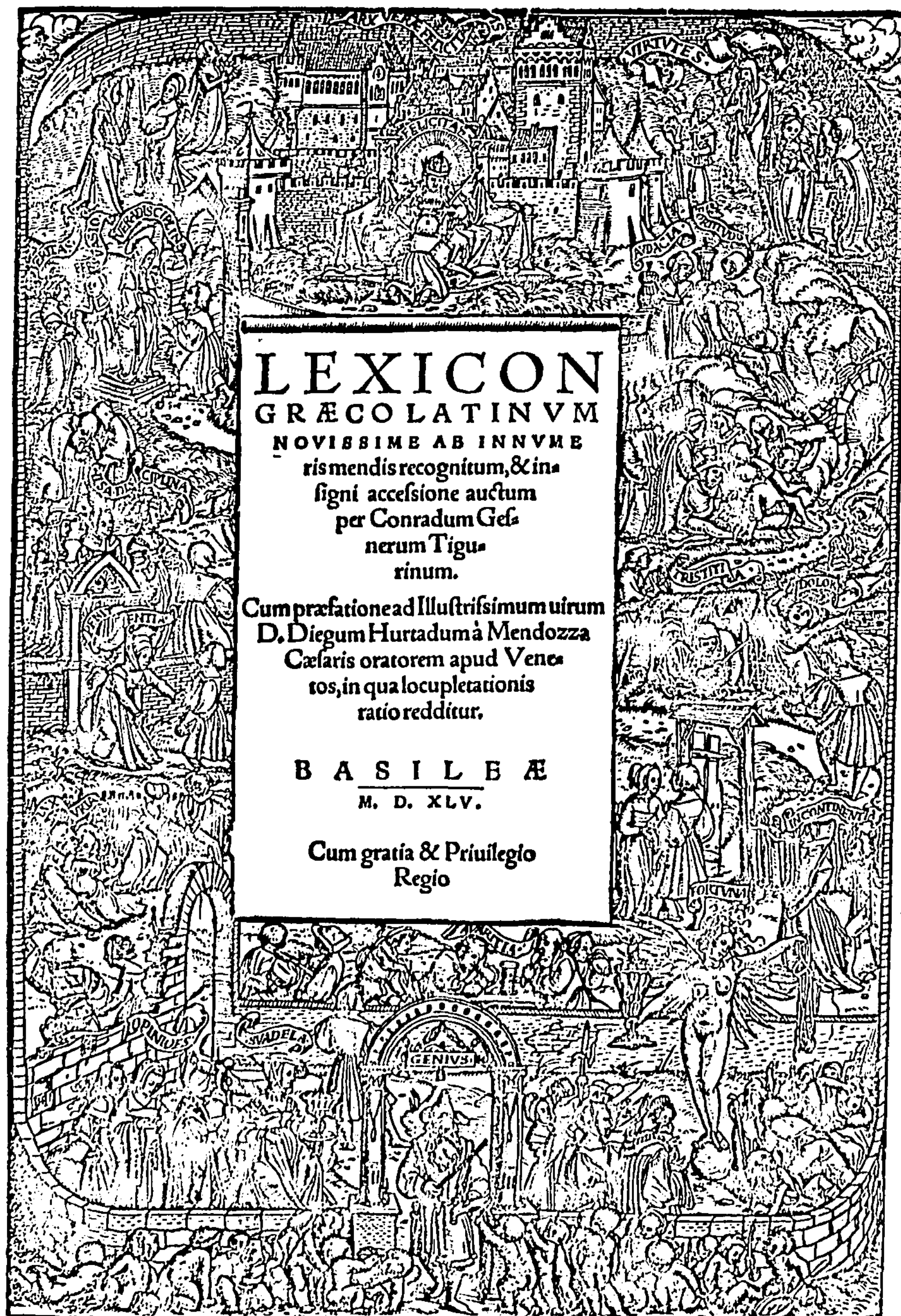


Fig. 52. Woodcut from The Kalender of Shepherdes (1503) showing the fifth vision of Lazarus of the punishments of sinners in hell. Folio E iv verso.



LEXICON
GRÆCOLATINVM
NOVISSIME AB INNVME
ris mendis recognitum, & in-
signi accessione auctum
per Conradum Ges-
nerum Tigu-
rinum.

Cum præfatione ad Illustrissimum uirum
D. Diegum Hurtadum à Mendozza
Cæsaris oratorem apud Vene-
tos, in qua locupletationis
ratio redditur.

BASILEÆ
M. D. XLV.

Cum gratia & Priuilegio
Regio

Fig. 53. Holbein Title Page border (woodcut) showing the Garden of Life. 1545.

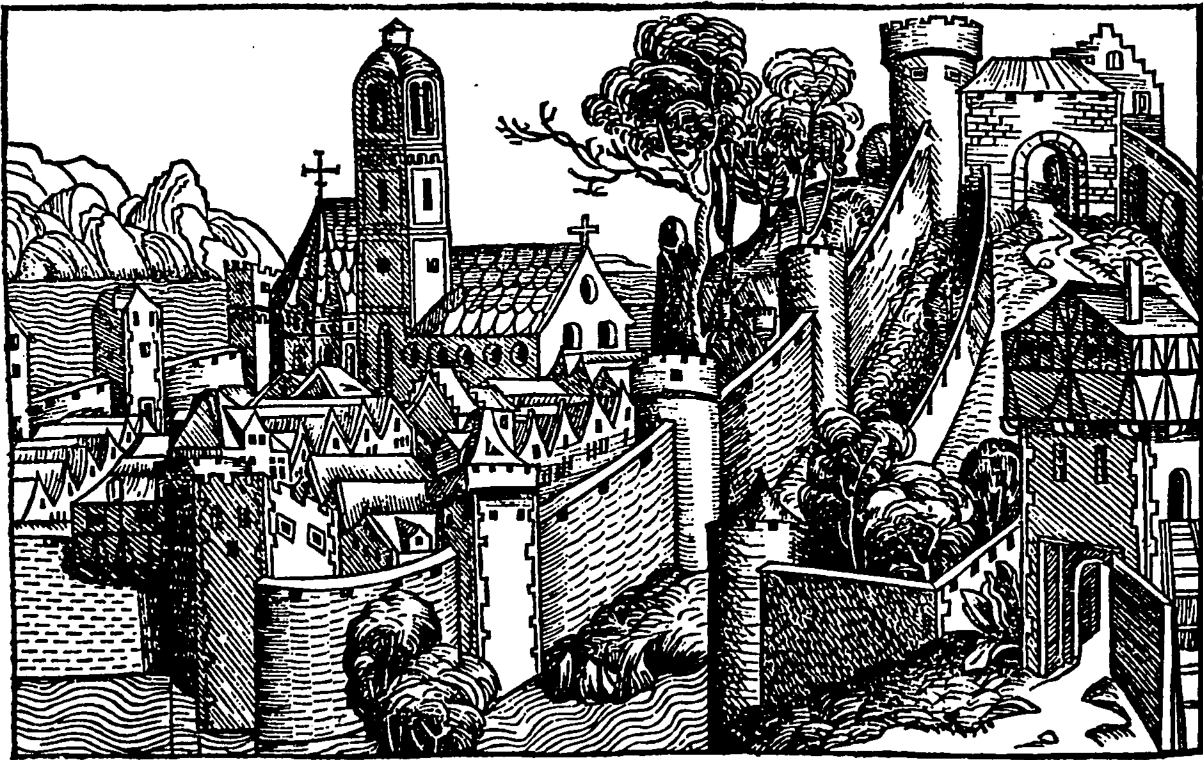
In the world ys lytel ioy. For the half goyes be nyght
That man sleppys and lefys ys tym. Vn to .xv. zear ys in dyand
Other .v. zear lefys of sayson. By seykness or by pryson
Half of the tym goys be nyght. That man sleppys and lefys ys tym
xxxvi. zear that slep ascendys. Et. xv. and. v. of that caonty rebat
xvi. thayr ys of the remanant. No mor goyes man ryngand
Yf folyshly he marys hym: Newyr he mor shal ioy in the lywe
Qwen he as had al ys wyssys. In the eynd he wynnys bot ys dedys.

¶ Followys the medytacyons of the passyon of owr
lord iesu chryst that sheppars shoold haue e sempyl
pe wyyl qwen they say thayr matyns.

¶ It sagHanăt to thynk
be for that they begyn ma
tins of the holy woord that
iesus sayd in the gardyn
befor ys bleshyt passyon
Father yf yt be possybyl
tayk thys callys from me
Alwayes not my wyl
most be doyn bot thyn
most be doyn. Et that say-
and thys he suffryt oon
sych payn that he swet as
droppys of blood in sych
habondans that they ran
wn to the erth ¶ Et say-
and matyns yt ys ghauăt
to thynk how iudas drou
neyr to iesus and brayssăt
hym sayd I hals the may-
ster. Et that the sweyt
iesus drow not abak ys
fays sweyt of the traytur
iudas. Et how he dyd lat tayk hym and bynd as oon the yf and put hym to
erth by syndry tymys and spyt of hym/and beleyft of hys dessypyls. ¶ In
the lawdys yt ys ghatant to thynk iesus to be in the hows of anne and
cayphas hardly smyttyng, blaphemyt and sweyttyng in hys precyows
wysage ys eyn bandyt and as they pulland wnthred hym wyth theyr seyt

Fig. 54. "The Sacred Heart," woodcut from <u>The Kalender of Shepherdes</u> (1503).

Fig. 55. "The Amazons," woodcuts from <u>The Nuremberg Chronicle</u>. 1493.



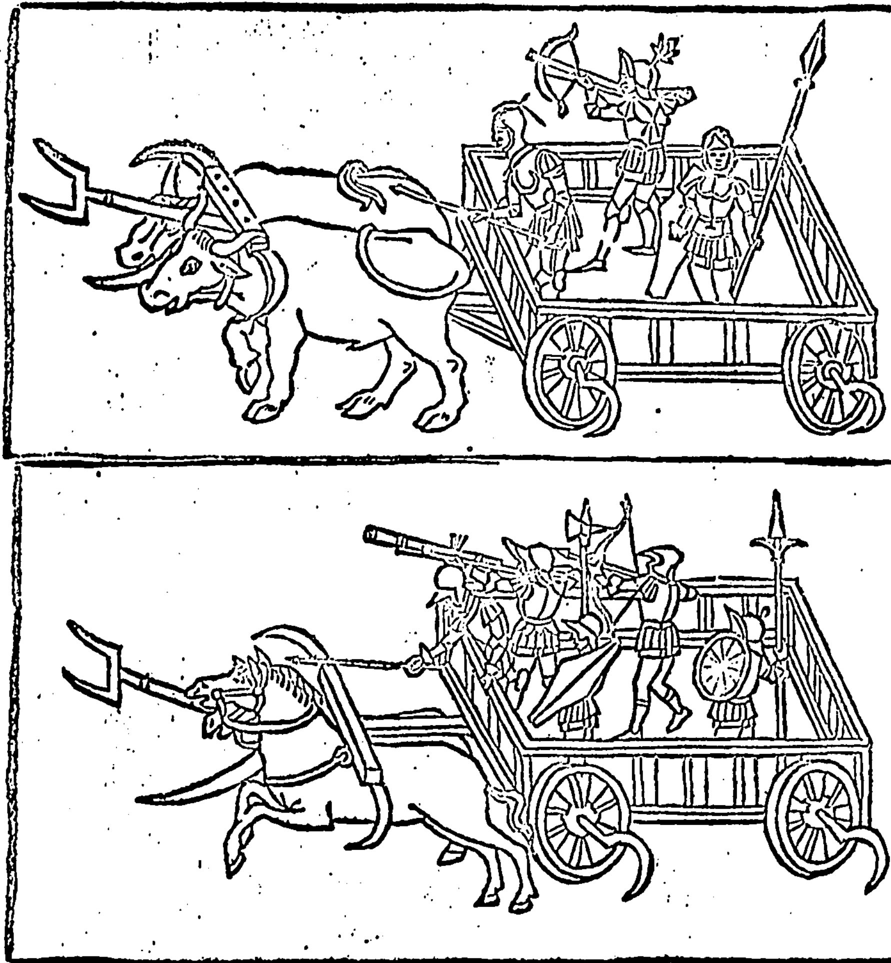


Fig. 56. "Chariots with Iron Hooks," woodcuts from

De Re Militari, by Robertus Valturius. 1483.

¶ Celum celi domino terram autem dedit filiis hominum. Non mortui laudabunt te domine neq; omnes qui descendunt in infernum. Sed nos qui viuimus benedicimus domino. Quoniam videmus celos tuos opera digitorum tuorum lunam et stellas que tu fundasti. Quia subiecisti omnia sub pedibus nostris oues & boues vniuersas insuper et pecora campi. Volucres celi et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris. Domine dominus noster q̄ admirabile est nomen tuum.

wo wyl as shypars q wych kepys shepp i the feyld wyth owt ony kenyng of lres bot oonly be sum fygurs q wych ar in lytel tabyls of wod haue wndestondyng of the hewyn of the syngys of the sters of the planetz of theyr cowrs mowyngs and propryetes. Et sundry thyngys contenyt in thys present compot and kalendar of shyppars the q wych ys drawyng and composyt of theyr kalendars and put in letter

Fig. 57. "Shepherd Playing Bagpipes," woodcut from <u>The Kalender of Shepherdes</u> (1503).

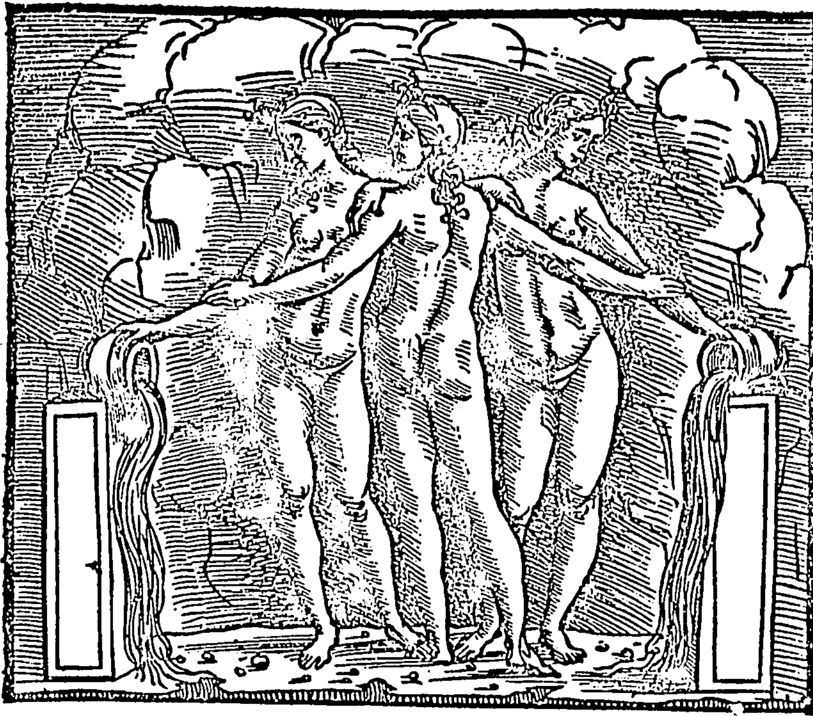


Fig. 58. "The Three Graces," anonymous woodcut from Mazzochi's Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis. 1521.

CHAPTER 5.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE:

THE ILLUSTRATION OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE WORKS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figs.44-58

CHAPTER 5.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND THE FAERIE QUEENE:

THE ILLUSTRATION OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE WORKS

FOOTNOTES

[1] There is come question whether it actually was Dürer who designed these woodcuts.

[2] Lotspeich writes (quoted in Variorum II,267), "Spenser's use of Dante has not been proved."

[3] Cf. Brand, pp. 140-41.

[4] Esopus, Uebersetzt van Heinrich Steinhomel,Gedruckt von Gunther Zainer, Augsburg, um 1477/78: Die Incunabel in Ihren Hauptwerken [a series of facsimiles] (Potsdam: Müller & CO. Verlag, 1921).

[5] Hind, History of Woodcut, II, 491.

[6] A History of Book Illustration, p. 170.

[7] Hind, History of Woodcut, II, Fig. 253.

[8] Francesco Colonna, Discours du Songe de Poliphile,: Facsimile, Paris edition, Kerver, 1546 (Paris:Payot,1926), p.2.

[9] Variorum, I, 432.

[10] Ibid., p. 438.

[11] (Paris, 1503), Folio G iiii^{v}.

[12] Folio G v^{r}.

[13] "Spenser's Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins," in Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene, ed. Dorothy Miner(Princeton: Princeton University Press,1954), pp.37-54, p.45.

[14] Hans Holbein, The Dance of Death (Lyons: Trechsel, 1538).

[15] The title page, beneath the beautiful large woodcut printer's mark depicting a wild man and a wild woman, bears the printed legend:"Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Rome furent achevees le xxvii du moi de Juillet l'an cinq centet un pour Simon Vostre Libraire demeurant a Paris a la rue neuve nostre dame a lenseigne sainct Jehan levangeliste."

[16] (London: John Daye, 1578). The title page has the Tree of Jesse in the border, and the verso bears a portrait of Queen Elizabeth kneeling (but with figure so elongated she might be standing) at her private altar.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p.40.

[18] C.W.Kitchin, *Spenser: Book I of The Faerie Queene* (Oxford:University Press, 1895), quoted in *Variorum*, II. 267.

[19] *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 40, quoted in *Ibid*.

[20] *The Kindly Flame* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 116.

[21] *Ibid*., p. 121.

[22] Hind, *History of Woodcut*, II, Fig. 251.

[23] *Ibid*., Figs. 295 and 300.

[24] Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schön, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), p. 385.

[25] Ibid., p. 386.

[26] William Nelson, *The Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 229.

[27] Sommer, Ed.: Paris edition, Folio L 5^v; London edition Folio N 5^r.

[28] Frédéric Lyna, Ed. (Brussels: Oeuvre Nationale pour la Reproduction de Manuscrits à Miniatures de Belgique, 1926).

[29] René's daughter, Margaret of Anjou, was the wife of Henry VI of England. Because of this dynastic connection, it is probable that manuscript copies of René's _Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance_ were to be found in England.

[30] Hartmann Schedel, _Buch der Chroniken: Nuremberg, Anthon Koberger, 1493_ (Facsimile edition, New York: Brussel and Brussel, Inc., 1966), Folio xix^v.

[31] _Variorum_, V, 199.

[32] _Ibid_.

[33] _The Voiage and Travaile of Syr Iohn Maundevile, Knight_(1568; rpt. Oxford: University Press, 1932).

[34] p. 153.

[35] *Variorum*, V, 226.

[36] *Ibid*., p.230

[37] Ibid., p. 226.

[38] *History of Woodcut*, II, 411.

[39] *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance*(New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,Inc., 1958, 1968), pp.27,28.

[40] Ibid., pp. 28-30.

[41] Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 168.

[42] *Op. cit*., p. 122.

[43] Giacomo Mazzochi, *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Roma: Giacomo Mazzochi, 1521), Folio 100^{v}.

PART II.

THE ART OF THE TAPESTRY AND *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

CHAPTER 6.

THE ART OF THE TAPESTRY

The art of the tapestry, though a very specialized art, was yet an important part of the great body of pictorial expression during the centuries when it flourished. It was the first "flat" art (flat or two-dimensioned, as opposed to the three-dimensional art of architectural masterpieces such as cathedrals, or sculpture in the round) to be made on a large scale in the North of Europe, and as a matter of fact tapestries were, in the beginning, at least, even larger than the mural paintings that partially filled the same need for wall decoration in Italy. The same could not be said, of course, after the completion of the paintings in the Sistine Chapel. The sheer size of tapestries, however, is an element that has not been sufficiently emphasized by modern critics. They were of an imposing grandeur and importance that we can hardly imagine. They were made to hang from ceiling to floor of immense cathedrals and baronial halls, and to cover the

facades of buildings for outdoor processions such as the "joyous entry" of a monarch. One of the reasons few modern men have seen any of these tapestries in their full glory is that they are too large to hang in modern rooms, and are no longer hung in the medieval cathedrals that remain to us even for special occasions. Most of the fortified castles where they once hung are in ruins, though many Renaissance houses survive, and tapestries may be seen in them. Because tapestry is one form of visual art that employs narrative, rather than the single scene frozen at a point of time, and because tapestries are connected with the grandeur and prestige of princes, it is no wonder that poets wrote about them in their poems, and that describing a tapestry was often a device for telling a story in Medieval and Renaissance poetry.

The iconography of tapestry designs, of "cartoons," oddly enough, was early drawn from an art as small as the tapestry was large: the jewel-like miniatures and decorations in manuscript books. The crowded structure of such designs transferred well to a large scale, and the flowers and foliage and the droll figures in the borders in which illuminators delighted translated well into the medium of tapestry. Perhaps because the medium was a hand-woven fabric, the tapestry-weavers felt the need for the compositional field to be filled with pattern, so spaces were filled with verdure and flowers, garments

worn by the personages had patterns, and a wealth of fruit, flowers, and animals covered the ground in profusion, up to what was always a high horizon line, if a horizon line existed at all. It was not until the sixteenth century, under the influence of Raphael, that the horizon line was lowered, and expanses of sky were seen in tapestries.

Paris, Arras, and Tournai were the early tapestry centers, producing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. So famous were the tapestries from the ateliers of the town of Arras that the word arras came into English and other languages to mean any tapestry hanging. The kings and nobles of England vied with their opposite numbers in France and Burgundy in acquiring these rich works of art.

Before the turn of the sixteenth century, the center of the tapestry industry had shifted to Brussels, one of the main seats of the Court of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1513, Leo X became Pope, and in 1515 he placed an order with a Brussels atelier for a series of ten tapestries, to be hung in the Sistine Chapel.[1] The cartoons for the tapestries were ordered from the painter Raphael d'Urbino, and the subject was to be "The Acts of the Apostles." Raphael conceived his cartoons as fresco paintings, with dynamic and realistic figures placed in a vast setting, beneath a wide and empty sky. The scenes had the perspective of paintings. This series of tapestries, so

different in style from the narrative manner of medieval tapestries, with their series of relatively static and perspectiveless pictures, revolutionized the whole art of the tapestry. It had an immense success all over Europe. Henry VIII was one of the rulers who ordered another set to be woven from the same cartoons, so one edition of the famous series went to England and it is possible that Spenser might later have seen them. Seven of the original cartoons belong to the collection of H.M. the Queen of England, and may now be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in London. They were acquired for copying by the tapestry atelier at Mortlake, England, which was founded early in the seventeenth century.

Another source of inspiration for the cartoons of tapestries was found in the sixteenth century in the graphic srts, and in particular the illustrations of Ovid's Metamorphoses, which furnished so many mythological subjects for artists in all mediums.

England was particularly rich in the field of tapestries, and Spenser must have seen many gorgeous series, whose bright colors were unfaded and whose silk, gold, and silver threads still shone with undimmed brilliance. It was the tapestries belonging to the royal collection or the greatest noblemen which were thickly woven with these expensive threads. Less wealthy individuals, although of course one had to be

wealthy to purchase tapestries at all, often acquired equally beautiful editions that were made only with wool thread. More ordinary well-to-do bourgeois households were likely to have "painted cloths" instead of tapestries for hangings, since painting pictures on cloth was a much less expensive process than the time-consuming work of weaving them in. An erroneous idea that tapestries hung in every well-appointed home seems to have got about, perhaps through a natural American misunderstanding of British terminology. Tapestries were still fairly monumental in quality, size, and price, and except for a few small map-weavings, cushion covers, table covers, and the like, made at the Sheldon atelier, had to be imported. Buxton writes, "The walls of the rooms in the country houses were hung with tapestries, which served both to adorn them and to keep them warm. Sometimes, as at Hardwick, a room might be designed for a famous set which the owner already possessed, but more often they were bought to furnish as existing room. in the most luxurious houses they would be changed from time to time, but in few, we may suppose, so often as once a week, as were the hangings in Cardinal Wolsey's rooms at Hampton Court."[2] The "country houses" of which Buxton writes were the country mansions of the aristocracy, with lofty rooms and galleries, as his examples, Hardwick Hall and Hampton Court make clear.

The heroic subjects of most tapestries, whether religious, historical, or mythological, must have been profoundly congenial to Spenser's habit of allegorizing abstract moral qualities in larger-than-life figures. Allegory is itself an important part of the method of tapestry, and personages are frequently depicted bearing labels such as "Blasphemia" or "Roma." The landscape of tapestries, the fields, flowers, trees, hills, and an occasional river, or castle, or fountain, is like that of The Faerie Queene.Seldom is a city seen in a tapestry, although of course one does occasionally occur. In The Faerie Queene, too, there are few cities: the Heavenly Jerusalem in the distance, and Cleopolis in various references, in Book I; and several towns-- Radegone, and that "citie farre up land" (V.x.22)-- in Book V.

That the tapestry subjects of Spenser's period are heroic is an effect no doubt of their size. It was only after the middle of the seventeenth century that the genre subjects of the Teniers family of painters introduced peasant life and a smaller scale of thought into the corpus of the art of the tapestry.

The color and the richness of tapestry survived the great change that occurred at the time of Raphael's "Acts of the Apostles," when tapestry moved into the High Renaissance and almost into Mannerism in one stride. Most of the older iconography continued to be used, as in sixteenth-century

tapestries of the Apocalypse, but it was interpreted in the new style, on a wider and more dynamic scale. At the same time, the Italianate sense of personal beauty, as in the depiction of Adam and Eve in "The Forbidden Fruit," one of the series on "The Creation of Man and Original Sin," woven in Brussels between 1540 and 1550, became predominant; and harmonious, flowing forms replaced the rather stiff and formal, though charming, figures of Medieval tapestries.

All this was undoubtedly not lost on the "New Poet," whose sense of beauty was in no way inferior to that of the Italians, and whose Faerie Queene, for all his oft-proclaimed and very real devotion of Medieval words and themes, more often follows the new model than the old.

CHAPTER 6.

THE ART OF THE TAPESTRY

FOOTNOTES

[1] Roger d'Hulst, Flemish Tapestries (New York: Universe Books, 1968), p. 132.

[2] John Buxton, Elizabethan Taste (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 93.

CHAPTER 7.

THE ART OF THE TAPESTRY AND THE FAERIE QUEENE

When Frederick Hard in 1930 published his article entitled "Spenser's 'Clothes of Arras and of Toure,'"[1] critics had for several centuries been commenting on Spenser's pictorial qualities without suggesting any clearly defined relationship to any particular artist or art-- or rather, suggesting too much, too vaguely and too all-embracingly to be meaningful. The importance of Hard's article, therefore, was immediately recognized, and it was extensively summarized in Variorum III[2] when that volume was published in 1934. Since that time it has remained the last word on the subject of The Faerie Queene and tapestries. With brilliant insight Hard makes clear that Spenser's tapestries are more "real" than any preceding tapestries of literature, and perhaps were suggested to the poet by tapestries he had actually seen. The article does not attempt to survey the field of tapestry motifs and devices that appear in the poem's imagery, unidentified by the poet with the art of the tapestry. The two tapestry series described in Book III of The Faerie Queene receive all of Hard's attention, except for a closing passage on the

possibility of the further influence of tapestries on the poem, as perhaps in the figures of Fidelia, Speranza, and Charissa.

Considering the mass of further research and publication in the field of the tapestry in the forty years since the publication of Hard's article and the present time, it is perhaps strange that nothing further has been written on the subject. But such is the article's excellence that even now one feels a certain temerity in attempting to add to it. One must believe, however, that Professor Hard was sincere when he concluded that "it is hoped... further research in the same field may result in a more thorough understanding of the spirit and technique of this 'painter of the poets.'"[3]

Hard in his article first shows that although there is nothing unusual in a poet's use of the pictured-wall motif, Spenser uses that motif with a difference. Although in a sense his use of the motif must be admitted to be an example of his tendency to follow medieval tradition, "yet a comparison of Spenser's tapestry passages with those of any of his predecessors will show a marked advance in the elements of reality and impressivemess in the descriptions. At the very least, this would prove a distinct refinement, on Spenser's part, in the use of such decoration as a phase of narrative technique. I believe, however, that the fact has a much deeper significance; it means, as I see it, that Spenser was not only a very skillful painter of

pictures employed for the sake of heightening the narrative, but also that he was a keen observer whose natural response to sensuous impressions furnished him with a firm basis in actual experience for his seemingly imaginary compositions. In other words, Spenser, like Keats and every true poet, drew primarily from his own experience-- particularly sensuous experience-- rather than from literary sources. Thus it is that the literary sources just reviewed [Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton, Hawes, Barclay, and Bradshaw] are not sufficient to explain the evident sympathy and appreciation which Spenser displays in his descriptions of the hangings.... He seems to be directing our attention to real tapestries, such as he might actually have seen."[4]

Hard lists the elements in "tapestry lore" that he believes would be congenial to the mind and spirit of Spenser: 1) General magnificence of ornament and decoration, with the appeal of sensuous beauty; 2) Aristocratic motifs, courtly productions, the glorification of the lord or secular prince. the spread of fame; 3) Intellectual subjects, didactic elements; 4) Historical and classical compositions; 5) Pastoral episodes; 6) Subjects from medieval romance; 7) Allegory and emblem.[5]

Hard sees the tapestry in the Castle Joyeous, in the first canto of Book III, as being in four "panels: first, the meeting of Venus and Adonis and its immediate effect upon the

goddess; second, the blandishments of Venus; next, the death of Adonis; and finally, the metamorphosis of the young boy into a flower." He refers the reader to the reproduction of "The Death of Adonis"-- one panel in a series made in Fontainebleau circa 1545-- in H. Göbel's Wandteppiche (Leipzig,1923), II, Plate 23.[6]

After the discussion of the Venus and Adonis tapestries, Hard turns immediately to a consideration of the tapestries in the House of Busirane, which Spenser describes in an extensive passage (xi.28-46). These tapestries depict the loves of Jove (30-35), the loves of Apollo (36-39), the loves of Neptune (40-42), the loves of Saturn, Bacchus, Mars, Venus, and Cupid himself (43-45), and finally a scene in which:

> Kings Queenes, Lords Ladies, Knights and Damzels gent
> Were heap'd together with the vulgar sort
> And mingled with the rascall rablement
> Without respect of person or of port,
> To shew Dan Cupid's powre and great effort;...
>
> (46.1-5)

Hard writes, "Inasmuch as the opinion of Upton [i.e. that Spenser had in mind the tapestry woven by Arachne in her contest with Minerva] seems to be, at best, only a partial explanation of Spenser's inspiration, I shall now attempt to throw additional light on the matter by emphasizing the four following points: 1) These pictures belong to the mythological order of

painting, popular on the continent and in England; 2) The subjects,based on Ovid, represent another phase of the wide popularity of illustrations to Ovid's stories; 3) A number of tapestry subjects similar to those of Spenser are to be found in actual tapestries of the sixteenth century; 4) Spenser's insistence on the reality of the tapestries described affords convincing evidence that he was writing with his mind's eye upon examples which he had actually seen."[7] Professor Hard then proceeds to develop these four points, a development which we need not follow in detail here.

He concludes, "I have attempted to indicate the plausibility of Spenser's sympathetic comprehension of contemporary tapestries in general, and the probability of his having drawn largely upon that source of inspiration for his own tapestry representations. It appears to me reasonable to expect, further, that Spenser's imagery in pictorial compositions not regarded in the poem as tapestry figures was likewise influenced by this source; for example, the emblematic personages Fidelia, Speranza, and Charissa."[8]

Having looked briefly at the content of Hard's article, we may now turn to an examination of a few lacunae in his findings. Certain pertinent information remains to be added to what he has offered, as well as certain conclusions stemming from a further study of the primary materials of the art of

the tapestry itself, and of the secondary materials of more recent publications in the field. After discussing Hard's article, I shall turn, in the body of the chapter, to evidence concerning the numerous instances in which it seems possible that Spenser's imagery may have been drawn from the iconography of known tapestries which he might have seen.

Let us turn, then, to Hard's list of elements in "tapestry lore" which would be congenial to Spenser's mind. There are seven of these, and aside from the first desideratum, the general magnificence of ornament and decoration of the art of tapestry, the list is concerned with the subject matter of tapestries. The first item in the list seems to be of a different order than the rest, referring more to style than subject. Certainly the magnificence of tapestries must have been important to Spenser's Renaissance taste. Another consideration of the same order must have been extremely influential with the powt: the use of color in the art of the tapestry, color of glorious depth due to the depth and texture of the woven material and the way it catches the light. As I shall show, Spenser's references to motifs well-known for their use in tapestry usually are characterized by an emphasis upon color that is lacking in his other references, such as those to motifs in the graphic arts.

Hard's numbers two through seven in this list assemble six categories of subject in tapestries which would be

of interest to Spenser-- or rather seven categories, for the historical and the classical are in reality two separate classifications. There is, however, one surprising omission. Religious and Biblical tapestries form one of the two most important subject-matter groups, the other being tapestries with subjects drawn from mythology. Just as in the graphic arts, these two great streams of story and imagery furnished the majority of tapestry subjects. It would be hard to decide which was of the greater importance to Spenser the artist; to Spenser the man, the most deeply felt passages of his poetry seem to indicate the greater importance of religious and Biblical themes.

A further consideration not mentioned by Hard in his list is the great prestige of tapestries in England, collected as they were by the Tudors and by the greatest noble families. This meant that they were generally admired, and that the acquisition of a new series of tapestries by the queen or by a great nobleman would be a subject of fairly wide interest. Tapestries as art were taken far more seriously than they are today; in our age, painting has so far taken the center of the stage that we are likely to overlook the importance of other forms of art.

In commenting upon Hard's treatment of the tapestries in the Castle Joyeous, one might first mention that the so-called "panels" are the separate tapestries of a "chamber," as a series

was called which was designed for the decoration of a single room. Each tapestry would be of considerable size and would have a magnificent border on all four sides (except in the unusual cases when the tapestry was designed not to have a border). To call such tapestries "panels" gives an insufficient idea of their individual importance.

It seems to me, moreover, that Hard underestimates the number of tapestries in the "Venus and Adonis" series. If one follows Spenser's description closely, in addition to the four tapestries Hard lists, it is apparent that there were probably two further scenes, one of the departure for the hunt in which Venus tries to dissuade Adonis from going (37.3-6), and one of the hunt itself (37.7,8), before the final scene which depicts the death of Adonis and his metamorphosis into a flower. This would make a set of six tapestries in all, two for each side of the room and one for each end. These six coincide with the generally recognized iconography of the story in the graphic arts; and certainly the popularity of hunting as a theme for tapestries makes it unlikely that they would be omitted. The importance of the boar as a symbol, moreover, makes it likely that he would appear in more than one of the tapestries.

Since the theme of Venus and Adonis recurs in quite a different context in the sixth canto, I think it is important to notice here that the "great wild Bore"(38.2) is the

instrument of death in the fable, and therefore may quite properly be considered as a symbol of death. It seems an inescapable conclusion that in Canto vi, referring back to the tapestry of Canto i, it is Death as the wild boar that is confined beneath the Mount of Venus in the Garden of Adonis, Death that cannot be eliminated entirely, but is held in captivity beneath that one enchanted garden that is "eterne in mutabilitie." Various critics have suggested that the boar represents the power of brute lust, the same from which Florimel and Amoret are in flight. William Nelson, for example, writes,"In Spenser's version, if not in Ovid's, mons veneris, the arbor, and the rock-bound cave beneath which the boar is imprisoned are as anatomical as the scepter of Priapus....

"If Amoret's way is the less noble [than Belphoebe's] it is the more treacherous. Her sister is free; she must be rescued from her agony in Busirane's prison. That agony is the fear that gives wings to the fleeing Florimell, it is inflicted upon womanhood by the foul forster, by Proteus, by the beast like a hyena 'That feeds on womens flesh, as others feede on gras'(vii.22), representations of the unbridled ferocity of sexual passion, a ferocity which may manifest itself in brute force or in subtle deceit, too strong and too cunning for women's defences.... In the Garden of Adonis the wild boar is safe in his prison and 'Franckly each paramour his leman knows.'

But in this world the boar is loose and the course of sexual love full of peril. The boar is figured again in the Greedy Lust whom Spenser describes as 'The shame of men, and plague of womenkind'(IV.vii.18)."[9]

In the light of the role of the boar in the Venus and Adonis narrative as related in the traditional manner in the tapestries of the first canto, it is hard to see how the boar as lust is a tenable identification in the sixth canto. On the contrary, it is the boar which, by killing Adonis in the myth, cheats Venus of her love. In the Garden of Adonis, Spenser's captive boar cannot get out to kill anybody at all; and the beings in the garden, so long as they stay in the garden, are immortal. The fact that one hears the boar roaring down beneath the ground is doubtless meant to be a reminder of our mortality.

If the captive boar beneath the Mount of Venus is also-- as it well may be-- connected with the system of sexual symbolism in the passage, I would suggest that it is as a rather far-fetched semantic pun. The boar symbolizes death on the primary plane, but death and sex are linked, and as we know, the verb "to die" had a sexual meaning as well as a literal one. Thus the boar as death, imprisoned beneath mons veneris, may have a punning sexual meaning, a meaning that is rather far from the baleful sense suggested by Nelson and others.

It is interesting to note how the narrative of the

tapestry in the Castle Joyeous announces a major theme of the whole book, besides obliquely commenting ironically on the life style of the castle which contains it. (Malecasta, like Venus, makes fruitless advances to young men, as witness her attempt upon the disguised Britomart.) The theme that is the subject of the tapestry is taken up in a different key in the sixth canto. The theme of the Castle Joyeous itself, that is, of a closed interior housing an important tapestry series, which is the abode of courtly love, is sounded again in the House of Busirane in the eleventh and twelfth cantos, where both the house and the tapestries it contains are far more frightening and perverse than in the first canto. Thus at the pivotal parts of Book III, at the beginning, the middle, and the end, an important structural element consists of the imagery of the visual arts.

Returning to the beginning of the tapestry passage in Canto i, let me pause to comment on the poet's meaning when he identifies his tapestries as "of Arras and of Toure"(34.2), a point upon which neither Hard nor any other critic has written. Those two tapestry-making centers must be the neighboring towns of Arras and Tournai, in Flanders. Roger d'Hulst writes, "In a brief survey of Flemish tapestry, Arras, Tournai, and Brussels are always mentioned as the main centers, in chronological order. This indicates that the most beautiful tapestries which are preserved and about which we are informed were made in these towns.... The Tournai tapestry reached its peak when the flowering

of Arras was on the wane."[10] Certainly the French town of Tours, a minor source of tapestries, would not be mentioned in the same breath as Arras, which was so important that its name was adopted in English and other languages as a synonym for "tapestry." In fact, as Professor d'Hulst shows, Arras and Tournai were often mentioned together, then as now, in the field of the tapestry. Since the chamber of tapestries which Spenser describes, however, could not very well be from both Arras and Tournai, it seems obvious that the poet meant simply that the tapestries were Flemish, and indicated this by mentioning the first two famous names, truncating the second, to be sure, for the sake of rhyme. Rather than being from either Arras or Tournai, however, it seems more likely that the Venus and Adonis tapestries which he describes were actually made in Brussels, for by the time the Ovidian vogue had been translated into the form of tapestries, it was Brussels that was the main tapestry center. Spenser's identification of the tapestries as "of Arras and of Toure" must be taken seriously insofar as it identifies the tapestries as Flemish; as usual, the poet knew quite well the subject upon which he was writing, and was familiar with the general provenance of his tapestries.

As to Hard's development of the four points concerning the tapestries on "The Wars of Cupid" in the House of Busirane, it seems unnecessary to belabor the point that the tapestry subjects are mythological and that mythology was in the

Renaissance a major source of subject matter both pictorial and narrative. That the subjects are drawn from Ovid illustration is also very clear to anyone who has studied the famous illustrated Metamorphoses of Bernard Salomon or of his imitator, Virgil Solis. (Hard is only familiar with the latter, one of whose editions he cites.) Hard's third point is very important; he cites a number of single tapestries with subjects similar to those described by Spenser, tapestries which are illustrated in Göbel or Thomson, or which were listed in the inventories of Henry VIII or of James V of Scotland. That similar tapestries did in fact exist and were in England is very important evidence. In the development of his fourth point, Professor Hard seems occasionally to confuse the poet's insistence on the reality of the tapestries with his insistence on the realism of the scenes depicted in them; but there is sufficient emphasis on the reality of the tapestry qua tapestry to be impressive.

Hard does not, however, touch upon Spenser's technical knowledge, one evidence of which is his specification of the kinds of thread employed in his tapestries. He writes that they are "Woven with gold and silke"(28.3) and also silver, for the "white fomy creame" of the sea foam "Did shine with silver" (41.4,5). The basic thread employed to make all tapestries was wool, and that the poet does not need to mention. Only in the most luxurious tapestries, the most costly and choice, woven for

monarchs and the wealthiest noblemen or prelates, were gold, silver, and silk employed. Gold and silver, perhaps, would be obvious to a careful observer, even if uninstructed in the art, though it would require a keen eye to comment upon them as Spenser does. The use of silk is less obvious to the untrained eye. Spenser mentions all three. It seems that,being well-versed in the technical aspect of the art, he wishes to emphasize the richness of these tapestries.

Spenser's knowledgeable comment on the border of the final tapestry shows a fine appreciation of the subtlety and unusualness of an appropriate border:

> And round about a border was entrayled,
> Of broken bowes and arrowes shivered short,
> And a long bloudy river through them rayld,
> So lively and so like, that living sense it fayld.
> (46.6-9)

The "river" was undoubtedly a depiction of a decorative ribbon that twined in and out of the motifs of many borders. Professor d'Hulst comments similarly on the beautiful and appropriate border of a tapestry in the series on "Vertumnus and Pomona," which is also an Ovidian subject, and on the appropriateness of the border of another series, "The Conquest of Tunis." He writes, "This procedure, however, is rather exceptional, for in general the borders of Brussels origin ornamented with flowers, fruits,

animals, grotesques, and personages, rich as they are, almost never are related to the subject which they frame."[11] Here once again, Spenser picks out the exceptional aspect of the tapestry, and his comment is seen to be exquisitely right. He makes the same point made by a modern scholar in the field.

Another striking evidence-- which Professor Hard writes shows Spenser's insistence on the reality of the tapestries-- comes as Britomart moves to the next room, beyond the tapestries:

> Much fairer than the former was that roome,
> And richlier by many partes arayd;
> For not with arras made in painful loome
> But with pure gold it all was overlayd....
>
> (51.1-4)

What could lead the poet, in the third line quoted above, to write of the "arras made in painful loome"? Painful is hardly the adjective that an uninformed admirer of tapestries would use of the weaver's large, unwieldy frame.

Alexander C. Judson, Spenser's biographer, writes, "It is sometimes conjectured that he [Spenser] was a son of a certain John Spenser, a 'free journeyman'in the 'art or mystery of cloth-working' known to have been connected with the Merchant Taylors' Company of London in 1566."At that date the poet was a schoolboy attending the Merchant Taylors' School, founded by the Merchant Taylors' Company. "During the eight years when

Spenser was probably attending the school, three men of that name were associated with the company, and of these the free journeyman John Spenser seems most likely to have been the poet's father, for he alone of the three, because of his modest circumstances, would have entered his son in the school as a 'poor boy,' and Edmund Spenser appears in that category. But after all, we have here only a guess."[12] If the poet's father was indeed that John Spenser, a "cloth-worker"in modest circumstances, the poet would have good cause to have heard about the back-breaking painfulness of working at the loom. And at the same time an admiration of tapestry as the highest form of the weaver's art might have been early fostered in the eager boy. All this is, of course, mere conjecture-- but that "painful loome" sticks in one's mind. It has the ring of truth. Certainly the poet's knowledge of tapestry, however gained, was deep and thorough, and included some idea of how it was made.

The tapestries of the House of Busirane depict "all of love,and all of lusty-head"(29.3) as personified in the strange amours of the gods. Jove assumes the forms of ram, bull, swan, eagle, satyr, and others in which to seduce and carry off mortal maidens. Phoebus Apollo's love and pursuit prove fatal to Daphne, Hyacinth, and Coronis, before he becomes the lover of Isse. Later he is "Now like a Lyon, hunting after spoils, Now like a Stag, now like a faulcon flit; All which in that faire arras was most lively writ"(39.7-9). Neptune turns himself into

a "Steare"(42.3), a Dolphin (42.6), and a winged horse, in which guise he begets Pegasus upon Medusa (42.7-9). The other gods are equally perverse. This immense series of tapestries creates a powerful atmosphere of perverse sexual activity, which would be criminal activity in ordinary mortals. The tapestry series tells us a great deal about what Spenser means by his House of Busirane.

A single series of tapestries including as much narrative material and as many various single tapestries as Spenser describes in his House of Busirane seems unusual, to say the least. As he describes it,there must have been nine separate tapestries in the series on "The Loves of Jupiter" alone, a number that seems plausible in a single chamber of tapestries. But in addition Spenser describes at least five on the loves of Phoebus Apollo, five on the loves of Neptune, and five or more on the rest. One wonders whether he did not have several series of tapestries on the loves of the various gods in mind, for a single series of twenty-four or more tapestries seems unusually large. "The Loves of Jupiter," according to Professor d'Hulst in an interview on the subject, was a popular theme; and Hard's list of similar tapestries includes "The History of Jupiter," in the Henry VIII inventory, as well as several single tapestries of various origins also on Jupiter's loves.

The poet's exclamation on the tapestry of "Leda and the Swan" is very convincing:

O wondrous skill, and sweet wit of the man
That her in daffadillies sleeping made,
From scorching heat her daintie limbes to shade....
(32.3-5)

This is not the only passage in which he comments upon the genius of the designer of a work of art. At Isis Church, Britomart "wondred at the workemens passing skill, Whose like before she never saw nor red"(V.vii.5.6,7). Here, however, the comment is put into Britomart's mind rather than, as in the first case, being made by the poet _in propria persona_. The fact that it is the poet himself who makes the exclamation seems to me to strengthen the evidence that he was thinking of a tapestry that he had actually seen.

Spenser frequently employs what seem to be typical tapestry motifs and devices in developing his themes, either to advance his narrative or to express or to heighten his allegory. Of similar themes in tapestry, Roger d'Hulst writes,"Abstract concepts such as those of virtue and vice are, by their very nature, ill adapted for concrete portrayal. In order to render them accessible to the viewer, the artist resorted to one or the other of two possible ways of representation: narrative, by means of examples, as in _The Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald_,[13] and allegory, by depicting attributes. In classical antiquity, allegory was almost always limited to the personification of

ideas and was closely linked to mythology. For example, the sea gods, such as Neptune, belonged on the one hand to Olympus, yet on the other seem to have been meant to personify the sea. During the Middle Ages, European art continued in general to prefer personification rather than abstruse allegory. It was only near the end of that period and during the Renaissance that the tendency toward symbolism developed, a tendency which delighted in the elaboration of extremely subtle allegories. In the sixteenth century above all, this propensity for allegory exceeded reasonable limits, not only in the frequency of its manifestation, but in the artificiality of its character and its irrational structure. From this stemmed the great success of emblems."[14]

The possible influence of tapestries on Spenser's work differs from that of woodcuts and engravings in that it must have been less intimate and less constant, except for certain relatively brief periods, and must have depended far more on the poet's visual memory and possibly on notes that he may have made of tapestries that struck him as particularly memorable. After all, in the case of woodcuts and engravings, the poet could and probably did own some, at least, of the books with woodcut illustrations that seem to have influenced his work. He could have seen other examples, and even used them rather regularly, in libraries at Cambridge when he was a student

there, at Rochester when he was secretary to the bishop, at Leicester House during the time he was employed by the Earl of Leicester, at Althorp when he visited his noble relations, and at various other places. In the case of tapestries, the same places undoubtedly offered him the opportunity of viewing various famous series. The collection of the Earl of Leicester was outstanding, and the poet seems to have been a member of the earl's staff for some time before he left for Ireland in 1580. He also probably saw the royal collection and others occasionally, in the train of the Earl of Leicester or as a friend of his powerful nephew, Sir Philip Sidney.

Let us, then, turn directly to an examination of some of the passages of The Faerie Queene which present a striking similarity to certain tapestries that the poet might have seen and remembered.

The fourth canto of Book I is devoted to the adventures of Red Crosse in the House of Pride; but the focus of the main part of the canto is on Lucifera, the personification of pride, and a ride which she takes with her attendant deadly sins for company.

Spenser first describes Lucifera sitting in all her pride on her throne:

So proud she shyned in her Princely state,
  Looking to heaven; for earth she did disdayne,
  And sitting high; for lowly she did hate:
  Lo underneath her scornefull feete,was layne
  A dreadfull Dragon with an hideous trayne,
  And in her hand she held a mirrhour bright,
  Wherein her face she often vewed fayne,
  And in her self-lov'd semblaunce took delight;
For she was wondrous faire, as any living wight.

(iv.10)

In this stanza it is notable that although she is looking to heaven, underneath her feet is"a dreadfull Dragon," the symbol of Satan. She holds a bright mirror in her hand, and often looks lovingly at her own reflection. Presumably these characteristics and these attributes continue to function for her throughout the passage.

Suddenly, without any apparent motivation, she decides to go out for a ride; only much later is it stated that the ride is "To take the solace of the open aire, And in fresh flowring fields themselves to sport"(37.2,3).

Suddein upriseth from her stately place
  The royall Dame, and for her coche doth call;
  All hurtlen forth, and she with Princely pace,
  As faire Aurora in her purple pall,

> Out of the East the dawning day doth call:
> So forth she comes: her brightnesse brode doth blaze;
> The heapes of people thronging in the hall,
> Do ride each other, upon her to gaze:
> Her glorious glitterand light doth all mens eyes amaze.
>
> So forth she comes, and to her coche does clyme,
> Adorned all with gold, and girlonds gay,
> That seemd as fresh as Flora in her prime,
> And strove to match, in royall rich array,
> Great Junoes golden chaire, the whiche they say
> The gods stand gazing on, when she does ride
> To Joves high house through heavens bras-paved way
> Drawne of faire Pecocks, that excell in pride,
> And full of Argus eyes their tailes dispredden wide.
>
> (16, 17)

One should note Lucifera's likeness to Aurora in her "purple pall," and her extreme brightness. Her coach is all adorned with gay garlands and gold; Lucifera seems "as fresh as Flora in her prime" (i.e., in spring both figurative and literal) and strives to equal Juno's "golden chaire" and the way she rides proudly to the house of Jove drawn by peacocks. (The peacock was an emblem of pride and is often so pictured.) Notice also that the "heapes of people thronging in the hall, Do ride each other, upon her to gaze." This image resembles the crowded figures of tapestry which, because

of a lack of perspective, almost always seem "to ride each other."

The "coche" in which Lucifera rides is drawn by"six unequall beasts, On which her six sage Counsellours did ryde" (18.1,2). They are: sluggish Idlenesse, dressed in black garments like a monk's habit, on a "sloutheful1 Asse"(18.7); deformed Gluttony, clad in green vine leaves and with a wreath of ivy on his head, drinking from his "bouzing can"(22.6), riding upon a "filthie swyne"(21.2); Lechery in a green gown and bearing a burning heart, riding on a rough, black, and filthy bearded goat; Avarice riding on a Camel "loaden all with gold"(27.2), dressed in "Thred-bare cote, and cobled shoes"(28.2); Envie riding upon a "ravenous wolfe," dressed in a kirtle of discoloured say,...ypainted full of eyes" (31.1,2), eating a toad and carrying a snake in his bosom whose tail"üptyes In many folds"(31.4,5); and Wrath riding a lion, his "ruffin raiment all... staind with blood"(34.1), carrying a "burning brond"(33.3) which he brandishes about his head, his eyes sparkling fiery red, and his complexion "As ashes pale of hew and seeming ded"(33.7). Riding behind them on the "wagon beame"(36.1) and whipping their mounts on is Satan. They march forth in colorful procession "in fresh flowring fields themselves to sport"(37.3), and Spenser tells us that "Emongst the rest rode that false Lady faire, The fowle Duessa, nexte unto the chaire Of proud Lucifera, as one of the traine"(37.4-6). Red Crosse, however, would not ride so close, and kept apart from their "joyaunce vaine"(37.8).

It must be noted that an unusual amount of color floods this description. Gold and purple, together with flowery wreaths, are noted for Lucifera, while the others are dressed in green, black, red, and "discoloured say" with eyes painted on it (doubtless the famous oeil de perdrix pattern, or the "eyes" of a peacock's tail that are mentioned in the metaphor of Juno in her chariot drawn by peacocks in the seventeenth stanza). Spenser even puns on color when he refers to the "ruffin raiment" of Wrath, combining the meanings of ruffian and rufus. It would seem that he had in mind not only some source which included the attributes of his allegorical figures, but which depicted them in full color, even to the landscape background.

The pictorial attributes that one might note as belonging to the six attendant deadly sins, in addition to the animals they ride, are: the "Portesse"(or portable breviary) carried by Idlenesse in the guise of a monk; Gluttony's "bouzing can," and the fact that he is depicted as often vomiting; Lechery's burning heart; the "heape of coin" in the lap of Avarice, and his gout, which must have given him grossly swollen hands and feet; Envy's snake in the bosom and the toad that he is eating; and Wrath's "burning brond."

Lucifera's ride as Spenser describes it is in the form of a "Triumph of Pride," since Lucifera rides in a"coche" that is clearly a triumphal chariot. The other deadly sins are obviously subsidiary, since they are assigned the task of riding the beasts that draw the chariot. The fact that this arrangement is unusual is noted by

Samuel C. Chew, who writes, "In most processions of the sins, Pride rides with the other six."[15] In fact, Chew is unable to cite any example at all in which Pride is lifted up to any particular prominenee in such a procession, as Lucifera is in Spenser's passage. I have explained Lucifera's pre-eminence elsewhere as dependent on the rationale of "The Tre of Synns" in The Kalender of Shepherdes.[16]

Chew writes, "Behind the German series of woodcuts of the Sieben Todsünden, 1474, and their Dutch derivatives are the miniatures in a manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, circa 1460. In these three closely related sequences the Sins, in addition to being provided with steeds, display supplementary emblematic creatures upon their helmets, shields, and banners. These designs influenced the artists who planned the grandiose tapestries produced in the ateliers of Brussels circa 1500," in which are depicted "The Fall of Man," "The Parliament of Heaven," "The Plan of Redemption with Christ as the Christian Knight," and "The Combat of the Virtures and the Vices for the Possession of the Soul"(the Psychomachia). In the tapestries the Sins ride upon emblematic steeds and have other "creatures upon their chields. Such a series of eight pieces, of which fragments survive, was purchased by Cardinal Wolsey for Hampton Court. In such proximity Spenser may have heard of them or even seen them."[17]

The series of tapestries to which Chew refers is the subject of an article in the Burlington Magazine by D.T.B. Wood.[18]

He writes, "On December 22, 1521, Cardinal Wolsey purchased for the 'legate's chaumbre at Hampron Courte' various tapestries of the 'Story of the 7 Deadly Synnes.'"[19] Wood traced one of the tapestries, which was sold at auction on November 25, 1910, Of the series, he further writes, "Eugene Muntz has well said: 'Sur un ensemble de six tapisseries représentant, dans les données plus ou moins symboliques, La Création, Le Triomphe du Christianisme, Le Jugement Dernier, les allégories morales ne dominent que dans une seule pièce, Le Combat des Vertus et des Vices.'"[20]

One tapestry depicting the moral allegory he mentions is reproduced (in black and white) as Plate 2.[21] As a part of the theme of Mankind in the series, it shows: a) A man and a woman embracing; b) The Virtues in an arbor holding up a piece of painted cloth with a picture of the same (man's sin); c) Homo with Luxuria, attacked by Justitia, who is restrained by Misericordia; d) Homo with Misericordia, with Gratia Dei offering him a breastplate and Pax a helmet; and e) Homo disarmed, attacked by Luxuria and Gula, while Temptator blows a horn, and Spes waits behind.

Another edition of this same tapestry, which was originally in Burgos Cathedral, in Spain, hangs in the tapestry halls of the Metropolitan Museum,in New York. It is entitled "The Redemption of Man." In the upper register, as in the first tapestry, Homo embraces a woman, and nearby the theological virtues, in a little

pergola, discuss man's sin, portrayed as the embrace on a cloth that they hold, a system of portrayal that reminds one of St. Veronica's miraculous veil. In the center of the top register, one sees the Trinity, shown as three crowned kings, all old men, presiding over Man's trial. At the right of the Trinity is the scene in which Man is being overwhelmed by the Vices Gula and Luxuria, while Temptator blows a large horn at the very top. At the right, one sees Caritas, Miseria, Natura, Misericordia, and Humilitas; Misery presents Christ with the charter of Man's redemption. At the lower left, Homo is in the toils of Luxuria. Justitia attacks him with her sword, but Misericordia restrains her. Homo, falling, in the center of the lower register, wears blue tights, a red blouse, and a red and tan cloak. His brown curly hair is worn to his shoulders. Gratia Dei is to his right, as are also Pax, Misericordia, and several other unlabelled personages.

The dominant colors of this tapestry are red and blue, with a blue-green background thickly sprinkled with red, pink, and beige flowers.

Caritas is portrayed at the right in a beige gown that may originally have been more yellow than it now is. In the pergola where the three theological Virtues hold the cloth depicting Man's sin, Caritas is in a rose dress with a blue cloak, but she wears a yellow-gold head veil and crown; Fides has a red dress,

and wears a white headdress and neck-kerchief, with a gold crown; while Spes is in a blue gown, with a red cloak. Gratia Dei is an older woman, and is dressed more richly than any other personage in a brocaded red and gold cloak, a blue dress brocaded with gold, and a white veil over her head; she does not wear a crown. All the other personages are in rose-red, red, blue, and occasionally a touch of beige.

In the two lower corners of the tapestry are depicted the prophets Jeremiah and Moses, Jeremiah in the left-hand corner and Moses in the right-hand corner. The tapestry was probably woven in the atelier of Pieter van Aelst in Brussels around 1500.

A second tapestry of moral allegory in the series is reproduced as Plate 5 by Wood.[22] It shows "The Combat of the Virtues and the Vices," and is also called "The Triumph of the Redeemer." The tapestry depicts the Crucifixion at the top center, while in the foreground in a somewhat confused scene the Christian Knight, in a helmet crowned with thorns, charges at the head of the Virtues against the Vices mounted on grotesque beasts.

The tapestries of this series were known to be in the possession of Henry VIII in 1530, and they appear, according to Wood, as "vii peses of Arras of the Seaven Deadelye Synnes" in the inventory of 1547 as being in the Tower of London. The same set, according to Wood, continued to be recorded there through 1676.[23]

The same series of tapestries is the subject of Chapter 15 of Roger d'Hulst's work on Flemish Tapestries; the chapter is headed "The Combat between the Virtues and the Vices and the Redemption of Mankind by Christ." The single tapestry which Professor d'Hulst has chosen from the series for discussion and reproduction is "The Adoration of the Magi and the Childhood of Christ"; it is from a group of four preserved in the Cathedral of Palencia. D'Hulst writes that ten subjects have been identified up to the present time as belonging in this series. Of these, the Fonseca legacies to Palencia and Burgos did not include "The Creation" and "The Last Judgment," the first and last of the ten. They are all very large in size; and examples are known of most of the ten. "Certain specimens such as those of Palencia and Burgos reached the Iberian peninsula at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while others came to England, such as those which Cardinal Wolsey bought for Hampton Court in 1521. In both spirit and execution the late fruits of the waning Middle Ages, all these works use three basic themes borrowed from the theater of the period, both mystery and morality plays: the Christian story of Redemption or the main elements of the Creed, of which this series may be considered as an amplified illustration; The Virtues and the Vices Confronted by the Redemption; and Man between Virtue and Vice."[24]

It is clear from this account, I think, that while these

tapestries contain a number of ideas that reappear in Spenser's Faerie Queene (such as the relationship of Misericordia and Justitia which is so important in Book V, or the colors associated with the three theological Virtues, of which more later) they have less relationship to the scene which concerns us here, the triumphal ride of Lucifera, the personification of Pride.

In the medieval depictions of the confrontation or combat of the Virtues and the Vices, Pride was not the main figure; although Pride did ride first among the Vices, they rode in equal fashion, each one on his allegorically significant mount. Some of the animals upon which Lucifera's "six sage Counsellours" ride are, as Chew and others have shown, those traditionally connected with the Vices in question. In A Booke of Christian Prayers (1578), among the marginal woodcuts showing the Virtues triumphing over the Vices, Sloth is represented by an ass, Lechery by a goat, and Intemperance, by which is meant Gluttony, by a man vomiting; these three symbols occur in Spenser's procession of the Seven Deadly Sins.[25] "In one of the Horae in which the Sins illustrate the Penetential Psalms, the beast accompanying Pride is a dragon,"[26] and one remembers the "dreadfull Dragon" under the feet of the enthroned Lucifera, who is Pride personified.

I have examined a group of Horae among which two have a series of marginal woodcuts illustrating the seven Virtues; they are both examples printed by Pigouchet for Simon Vostre at Paris,

the first in 1501 and the second in 1507, for the use of Rome and of Laon respectively. This series, which is one of Pigouchet's second series of woodcuts for books of hours, was used only occasionally in his Horae. In it each enthroned Virtue has a figure under her feet; the figure is not a personified Vice, but an exemplum personage from religion or history. Foi enthroned holds a church and a stone tablet, and has under her feet a figure labelled Machomet; Esperance, with anchor and spade, has Judas underfoot; Charité, holding a heart and a lamp, has Heres; Iustice, with scale and sword, has Neron; Prudence, with candle and book, has Sardanapalus; Atrenpence (Temperance), with mirror and skull, has Tarquin; and Force, with a fortified tower and a shield with a cross on it, has Holofernes. These personages groveling beneath the feet of the Virtues do not correspond to the Seven Deadly Sins in any exact fashion, and may simply be regarded as a group of antitypes.

Turning to a consideration of the animals either ridden or in some other way connected with Spenser's Vices, one may cite the following from Réau, who lists them under a general heading "Les Symboles des Vices."

> L'âne, que les Anciens avaient consacré à Priape, symbolise à la fois la paresse et l'entêtement. Il sert de monture au démon de la paresse.

As we have noted, Spenser has Idlenesse riding an ass.

> Le loup, ravisseur de brébis, . . . est le symbole de la Gloutonnerie (Rapacitas).

Spenser has Envy riding a "ravenous Wolfe."

> Le Paon-- Emblème de l'orgueil quand il fait le roue, il se "pavane" en étalant son plumage.

Juno's peacock-drawn coach is cited by Spenser as an analogue to Lucifera's.

> Le Porc-- Symbole de la Saleté (Sorditas), de la Gloutonnerie, du bas matérialisme.

Spenser has Gluttony riding a swine.

Under "Les Symboles du Démon," Réau lists the following:

> La chèvre est, comme le bouc, l'image du Démon de l'Impureté.

Spenser's Lechery rides a rough, black, bearded goat.

> Le Crapaud-- Cet animal répugnant, qui vit dans la boue et se nourrit de terre, est l'image du démon. . . . Il est à la fois le symbole de l'<u>Avarice</u> et le châtiment de la <u>Luxure</u> dont il dévore dans l'Enfer les organes sexuels.

The toad is associated with Envy by Spenser, rather than with Avarice or Lechery.

> Le Lion-- Par suite d'un symbolisme à double face que nous avons déjà noté, le lion peut représenter, suivant les cas, le Christ ou Satan. L'idée d'un lion-Antichrist est née des récits de l'Ancien Testament où Samson et David, considerés tous les deux comme des préfigures

> du Christ, luttent contre un lion dévorant dont ils ouvrent de force les mâchoires, comparées à la gueule de l'Enfer. Elle s'inspire aussi de l'invocation du Psaume 21: Sauve-moi de la gueule du lion. . . . De là elle a passé dans l'arsenal de comparaisons des Pères de l'Église, notamment de saint Augustin qui écrit dans un de ses sermons: "Comme l'ours a sa force dans ses griffes et le lion dans sa gueule, ces deux bêtes sont l'une et l'autre l'image du diable."

Spenser has Wrath riding a lion, an image that seem to have little if any connection with the Christian iconography described by Réau.

It seems, however, that Spenser has gone outside the iconography of Christian art for his image of the lion in this connection. Guy de Tervarent, in his *Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art Profane*, writes:

> Lion-- vii.Attribut de la Colère. Le lion est un attribut du colérique, l'un des quatres caractères que les astres dispensent aux hommes, suivant les lois de l'astrologie. Guyot de Marchand dans son *Calendrier des Berges*, paru en 1491 et réédité au XVIe siècle, montre le colérique entouré de flammes dégainant son epée et accompagné d'un lion (Mâle I, fig. 150). Ripa, à la fin du XVIe siècle,[27] lui donne les mêmes attributs (s.v., "Complessioni, Collerico"). D'attribut du colérique

le lion est devnu un attribut de la colère personnifiée. ART. Ainsi dans une gravure de Hans Burgkmair, où se trouvent conservés également les deux autres attributs du colérique: le feu et l'epée (Bartsch, vii, p. 218, No. 58, fig. dans Marle, II, p. 79). . . . Sur une tapisserie flamande, faite d'après un carton de Bronzino et se trouvant à la Galleria degli Arazzi à Florence, l'Innocence est entourée de sentiments hostiles, personnifiées par des animaux, dont le lion pour la colère (Panofsky, Studies, p. 84, fig. 61).

And now, returning to Réau and Christian iconography, we find, concerning the serpent:

Le Serpent-- C'est un des avatars préférés du Démon, qui séduisit sous cette forme Eve au Paradis. . . . Les serpents sont, comme les crapauds, associés aux pratiques de sorcellerie.[28]

The serpent in The Faerie Queene is associated with Envy. One should note, however, that the toad and the serpent occur together in Réau as in Spenser, in Réau simply associated with sorcery, whereas in Spenser they both appear with one of the Seven Deadly Sins, Envy. Although Réau does not list the goat among the symbols of the Vices, as a symbol of "the devil of Impurity" it is obviously connected with Lust, who rides the goat in The Faerie Queene and in numerous other representations of the Sins.

An Italian engraving of the Seven Deadly Sins, which is dated just a little after the period to which we have confined ourselves, is of interest because it repeats the animals in question. It is in <u>Vita D. N. Iesu Christi</u> by Bartholomaeus Riccius,[29] and shows a large human figure on all fours, with a bit in his mouth and chained hands, being driven by the devil and having slung on his back two panniers in which ride six animals, and a peacock with spread tail riding proudly in the middle. The Gaot is labelled <u>Luxuria</u>, the Toad <u>Avaritia</u>, the Swine <u>Gula</u>, the Peacock <u>Superbia</u>, the Ass <u>Accidia</u>; and in addition there is a Dog, for <u>Ira</u>, and a Bear, for <u>Invidia</u>. All except the last two animals are employed by Spenser, but once more it must be noted that the Toad is the symbol of Avarice rather than Envy.

A tapestry series that is somewhat later in date than the one mentioned by Chew is <u>The Seven Deadly Sins</u>, woven in Brussels circa 1540-1550. Woven of wool, silk, gold, and silver, it is as sumptuous as the series in the House of Busirane. It is far closer to "Lucifera's Ride" than the series cited by Chew and described by Wood and d'Hulst, for in it each Sin in turn is depicted in a triumph, riding in a chariot as is Lucifera in <u>The Faerie Queene</u>. This tapestry series has no other main subject except the Seven Deadly Sins, unlike "The Combat between the Virtues and the Vices and the Redemption of Man by Christ," which suffers from a plethora of subjects.

Professor d'Hulst reproduces the tapestry entitled "Lust," and discusses it in detail. The composition of the tapestry reveals the Italian influence in representing Lust in a triumph; for the Italians had never forgotten the triumphs of the Romans, both emperors and generals, after great victories. The "ideal of the hero" was, in the fifteenth century, substituted to a large extent for the cult of saints; and Petrarch's Trionfi had already popularized the theme of allegorical figures in triumphs. The motif of the triumph appeared in Northern Europe in the sixteenth century; and it lent itself, in monumental form, to the art of the tapestry. The Seven Deadly Sins is an outstanding example of the use of the motif on a grand scale.[30]

It is undeniable that the preference in England was for such northern works of art, not only in the portraits of Englishmen[31] but in tapestries. The extant inventories show that the majority of works of art imported into England came from the Northern countries, and especially often came from the Low Countries.

In many ways Lucifera's "Triumph of Pride" resembles the tapestry described and pictured by Professor d'Hulst. In it, the personification of Lust is a beautiful young woman, as is Lucifera. She holds a mirror in one hand, into which she is looking, just as Lucifera does. In the other hand, like Duessa, she holds high the cup of abominations. She is seated in a gilded chariot, on a gilded seat the base of which is in the form of an animal with

short legs and a long tail: perhaps a small dragon. Her dress is mauve-rose (Lucifera's is purple), with a blue, embroidered bodice; and she wears a garland of flowers and leaves on her golden hair, just as Lucifera has "girlonds" on her ooach. One sees the "fresh flowring fields"(37.3) of the countryside in the background; and a number of personages accompany the chariot, just as Duessa and others ride their mounts alongside Lucifera.

In the tapestry series, the accompanying figures are both types and antitypes of the Vice portrayed as the central figure, whereas in Spenser's procession only Red Crosse can be considered as an antitype to Pride. In the tapestry as in Spenser's scene, Satan or many devils are shown; in The Faerie Queene the devil drives, whereas in the tapestry, Hell opens behind the chariot, with many devils.

Spenser has, in this scene, boldly combined the central concept of representing the personified Sin in a triumph, as Lucifera rides in her coach, with the older pictorial tradition of the Sins riding together on their symbolic steeds. In so doing, he is treating his material from the visual arts with the same freedom which is characteristic of his handling of his other sources in mythology and elsewhere.

The tapestry series described by Professor d'Hulst was executed in several editions. The only complete series of it known today is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, while two other

copies (one with six tapestries extant, one with four, out of an original seven) are in the National Patrimony of Spain. I have not been able to trace one of the copies of the series to England; but the listing in Henry VIII's Inventory of 1547 of a series in the Tower of London as "vii peces of Arras of the Seaven deadelye Synnes" might very well refer to an edition of this set instead of to the series purchased by Cardinal Wolsey in 1521; it is by no means impossible that there is here question of two separate series as being in London. The Wolsey series concerns the Creation and the Triumph of Christianity, as well as the Combat between the Virtues and the Vices; the 1547 listing is a more accurate description of the later series than the earlier. In any case, it would seem possible that Spenser had either seen or heard of such a tapestry, with the Sin of Pride riding in a triumphal chariot, for otherwise it is difficult to explain how he would have thought of employing such an image. It is hardly an obvious image, which the poet might have thought of without any outside suggestion; and the only such use of the theme of the triumph in connection with the Seven Deadly Sins occurs in the art of the tapestry, notably in the series that I have cited here.

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As we have noted, Spenser treats the Seven Deadly Sins in Canto iv of Book I; but the Virtues do not appear until Red

Crosse reaches the House of Holinesse in Canto x. The Virtues had never been as well defined as the Vices, and grew to include numerous virtues and sub-virtues; in A Booke of Christian Prayers (1578), for example, there are twenty-one virtues represented in the series of tall marginal woodcuts that are repeated twice. The three theological (or canonical) Virtues, universally recognized, were Faith (Fides), Hope (Spes), and Charity (Caritas). These three Virtues take the leading parts in Spenser's House of Holinesse, along with their mother, Coelia, whose name refers to Heaven, and who must represent Heavenly Grace, or Gratia Dei.

Of the other four Virtues, customarily considered with the first three in making up the standard number of seven, Katzenellenbogen writes, "Since the cardinal virtues are regarded in a special sense as the benefits of grace which man gains from the Eucharist, they are included in liturgical scenes."[32] They are Prudentia, represented with a book, Temperantia, represented with two vessels, Fortitudo, customarily depicted in arms, and Justitia, represented with scales.

In the House of Holinesse, however, the Virtues represented are all connected with the theological Virtues. Besides the main three and Coelia, there are Humilitá, the porter; Zele, a franklin; Reverence, a squire; Obedience, a groom; Patience, a leach; Amendment, his assistant; Penance, Remorse, and Repentance; Mercie, a matron; and Contemplation, a hermit.

The Virtues and the Vices are customarily represented in medieval art either in combat or with the Virtues trampling the Vices (each Virtue enthroned, with a Vice groveling under her feet); occasionally they are simply presented in juxtaposition. At Chartres Cathedral, for example, one sees Prudentia, with her book, opposed by Stultitia; Justitia, with scales, opposed by Injustitia; Fortitude, armed, opposed by Ignavia, a fallen soldier who throws away his sword; Temperantia, with a dove, opposed by Intemperantia tearing her garment; Fides, catching the blood of a lamb in a chalice, opposed by Idolatria blindfolded; Spes looking up to heaven, opposed by Desperatio stabbing himself to death; Caritas giving away her garment, opposed by Avaritia guarding her treasures; and Humilitas with a dove, opposed to Superbia, falling.[33]

Although one may easily see some relation between Spes looking up to heaven, for example, opposed by Desperatio stabbing himself, and Red Crosse tempted by Despair to stab himself to death and being saved by Una, representing religious truth, or between Ignavia throwing away his sword and Red Crosse discarding his sword and armor at the Spring of Slothfulness or Bourbon having discarded his arms in the fifth book, in general Spenser does not present his virtues and his vices in the manner of a combat or of virtue triumphing over vice, which is the medieval manner, but in allusions to the traditional acts or attributes of the virtues or the vices which would be universally understood.

In Book I, however, the poet presents the Vices and the Virtues directly and pictorially, in the sixteenth-century manner represented in the tapestries which we have discussed in relation to Lucifera and the other six Deadly Sins. The House of Pride, which is in reality the House of the Seven Deadly Sins, is separated by five cantos from the House of Holinesse, which is in reality the house of the three Theological Virtues and their attendant or dependent Virtues. The Theological Virtues do not overcome the Vices in Book I of The Faerie Queene;it is Red Crosse who is exposed to the temptations of various Vices and who eventually overcomes them all in the figure of the Dragon (or Satan), after education by the Virtues in the House of Holinesse.

The tapestry series cited by Chew in connection with Lucifera, but which is far more closely connected with the House of Holinesse, is closer to the medieval in its treatment of its subjects than is the second tapestry series we have considered. "The Seven Deadly Sins" (circa 1540-1550) is completely of the Renaissance in its luxuriousness and in its design. Spenser was, it seems to me, more deeply influenced by the latter than by the former; but in the House of Holinesse, we shall find certain details which perhaps stem from the earlier tapestry.

In the House of Holinesse, it is notable that the poet not only mentions various attributes of the three Theological Virtues, but also mentions the color of their dress. Fidelia is:

> . . . araied all in lilly white,
> And in her right hand bore a cup of gold,
> With wine and water fild up to the hight
> In which a Serpent did himself 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 dark things were writ, hard to be understood.
>
> (I.x.13)

Speranza is "clad in blew"(14.2) and has a silver anchor lying on her arm. Charissa has her "necke and breasts . . . ever open bare"(30.7), and "the rest was all in yellow robes arayed still" (30.9). Coelia, their mother, is a "matron grave and hore" (x.3.5), but the poet does not tell us how she is dressed.

Of these personages, J.B.Fletcher writes,"These are perfectly good emblems. We can see their likes in a dozen Emblem books."[34] The emblem books, however, were not customarily colored; and the symbols in the emblem books in this case stem from far older religious allegorical works of art in sculpture, painting, and tapestry. Hard, as we have already seen, writes concerning these three personages that "emblematic and allegorical personages were popular tapestry motifs."[35] But he does not suggest any particular tapestries as a possible source of Spenser's imagery here.

Certainly, however, the poet must have had a pictorial source in mind which was colored, and it well may have been a tapestry. The black and white depictions of the graphic arts could furnish all the other details, such as the anchor and the book, Charissa's bare breasts and her babies, and other details. We have already described the tapestry that hangs in the Metropolitan Museum, which is from another edition of the series purchased by Cardinal Wolsey in 1521; it is on "The Redemption of Man," and in it Homo is attacked by certain Vices and protected by the Virtues. In it, as we have seen, Caritas wears a beige gown that may originally have been yellow, as Spenser describes it; Fides wears a white headdress and neck-kerchief; and Spes is in a blue gown. Gratia Dei, who may well be signified by Spenser's Coelia, is an older woman, obviously of mature age, just as is Spenser's personage. This is a tapestry which Spenser may well have seen, since it is known to have been in London. It is easy to recognize each of the personages in the tapestry, since each one bears a label, woven into the fabric.

Spenser's picture of the Virtues is probably a composite picture, drawn from many sources in the graphic arts and elsewhere; but the colors of the dress of his three Theological Virtues, and his description of Coelia, may well stem directly from the tapestry in question.

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The art of tapestry from the beginning, like nature, abhorring a vacuum, avoided empty compositional space, and always tried to fill the compositional field with motifs either of personages or of vegetation: flowers, fruits, and foliage. One tapestry that has the kind of luxuriance which Spenser describes in the Bower of Bliss (II.xii) and is a possible Edenic prototype of the Bower is in the series on The Creation of Man and Original Sin, woven in Brussels between 1540 and 1550; it is "The Forbidden Fruit," and is reproduced in Flemish Tapestries, by Roger d'Hulst.[36] This series is conserved in the Galleria dell' Accademia in Florence, but one may be sure that more than one edition of it was woven from the monumental cartoons, which Professor d'Hulst thinks may be attributed to Vermeyen. Although it has not been possible to trace any edition of this series of tapestries to England, it is a fact that in the majority of cases of major tapestry sets an example did cross the channel destined for one of the great tapestry collectors of Britain. It is unfortunate that no inventory was made of Queen Elizabeth's collection, for many of the most important examples of tapestries probably belonged to the queen. And it is also unfortunate that the guildhouse of the tapestry weavers, on the Grand' Place of Brussels, burned down at the end of the seventeenth century, and doubtless priceless records concerning tapestry transactions up to that time were then destroyed.

In the Bower of Bliss passage of The Faerie Queene, as soon

as Sir Guyon and the Palmer enter the Bower, after passing through the entrance gate with its ivory bas-reliefs and its presiding Genius, they come to what seems like another gate:

  Till that he came unto another gate,
  No gate, but like one, being goodly dight
  With boughs and braunches, which did broad dilate
Their clasping armes, in wanton wreathings intricate.

(53.6-9)

So fashioned a porch with rare device,
  Archt overhead with an embracing vine,
  Whose bounches hanging downe, seemed to entice
  All passers by, to taste their lushious wine,
  And did themselves into their hands incline,
  As freely offering to be gathered:
  Some deepe empurpled as the Hyacine,
  Some as the Rubine, laughing sweetly red,
Some like faire Emeraudes, not yet well ripened.

(54)

And them amongst, some were of burnisht gold,
  So made by art, to beautifie the rest,
  Which did themselves among the leaves enfold,
  As lurking from the vew of covetous guest. . . .
  Under that porch a comely dame did rest,
  Clad in faire weedes, but fowle disordered,
And garments loose, that seemd unmeet for womanhed.

(55.1-4,6-9)

This personage holds a cup of gold in her left hand, and with her right reaches up to pluck the fruit and to squeeze it into her cup. She offers the cup to Sir Guyon to taste, and he takes it "out of her tender hond"(57.2) and casts it to the ground, breaking it in pieces. Excesse (only now do we learn her name) is angray, but cannot stop Sir Guyon from proceeding further into the Bower.

In this scene, we should notice first the motif of the "gate,/No gate, but like one." This decorative motif is characteristic of tapestries, and according to Professor d'Hulst appears first in a series entitled Vertumnus and Pomona, made in Brussels circa 1540-1550. He writes, "In this justly famed series appeared, in compositions of an attractive poetic quality, for the first time, the marvelous, ingenious decoration in the shape of a pergola or portico, a motif whose success never stopped growing in tapestries. It was to reappear often throughout the second half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, in views of gardens and in tapestries whose verdure was of the most varied sort."[37] The pergola motif is obviously what Spenser is here describing.

We should next notice the richness of color upon which the poet insists. The grapes are "Some deepe empurpled as the Hyacine, Some as the Rubine, laughing sweetly red, Some like faire Emeraudes"(54.6-9). Among them are some grapes made of gold,

"So made by art"(55.2); it seems possible that the poet had the tapestry art specifically in mind here. It is especially notable that in the next two lines he describes the gold of the grapes in terms like those in which he describes the gold in the tapestry in Busirane's House. He speaks of the golden grapes (and the italics in the two following passages are mine) "Which did themselves among the leaves enfold, as *lurking* from the view of *covetous* guest"(55.3,4). In the tapestries of the House of Busirane, the "goodly arras" is "Woven with gold and silk so close and nere, That the rich metal *lurked* privily, As faining to be hid from *envious* eye"(III.xi.28.3-5). Such closeness of terminology suggests that a like image is in the poet's mind in both cases. In the second instance he is explicitly describing a tapestry; is it not likely that in the first instance a tapestry may also be understood to be present in his mind?

Third, we should notice that the pergola motif, as in tapestry, is employed to set off an important figure, a "comely dame . . . Clad in Faire weedes, but fowle disordered, And garments loose, that seemd unmeet for womanhed"(55.7-9). The attitude of the figure, with a gold cup in one hand and the other hand reaching up to the grapes, is similar to that of the monumental figures in tapestries, as we shall see.

The tapestry series which is of particular interest in connection with this representation of the figure of Excesse is

The Grotesque Months, made in Brussels during the thrid quarter of the sixteenth century according to Professor d'Hulst, circa 1560 according to Dora Heinz.[38] Dr. Heinz reproduces one of the series with Venus as the central figure presented within the pergola-frame, while Professor d'Hulst reproduces "August," which has Ceres so presented.[39] Of the origin of the motifs of the series, d'Hulst writes that it was the rooms of Nero's Domus Aurea, rediscovered, after archeological excavation, in 1483, which revolutionized the "very concept of the painted decoration of walls and ceilings in the Eternal City." The Romans called these apparently underground chambers-- underground since they had had to be excavated to be revealed-- "grotte." Naturally, then, the kind of painted decoration which was found in the "grotte" was termed "alla grotesca," and the name "grotesque" became standard for it in other languages as well. It immediately captured the imagination of artists all over Europe. It is a kind of decoration which employs single graceful, often miniature motifs, strewn over the compositional surface in a playful way. At first, this influence was felt only in the borders of tapestries, but in about 1550 the first tapestries appeared in which the entire design (except for the central figure) is composed of such grotesque motifs. The Grotesque Months is one of the most famous of such series of tapestries. In the middle of "August," one sees Ceres placed in a pergola; and she is

surrounded by grotesque images of great variety and beauty. In 1574-75 the series, richly woven of wool, silk, gold, and silver thread, was sold to the Duke of Lorraine; it has not been possible to establish whether another edition was sold at about the same time to England.

The presentation of an allegorical figure under a porch or loggia is thus a device especially frequently found in tapestries after 1540-1550, although it will be remembered that the Theological Virtues are placed in a little pergola in "The Redemption of Man" of about 1500 to which we have already referred. The novelty of the "grotesque" tapestries that employed the pergola or loggia motif probably made them especially admired and talked about during the decades immadiately following 1560, and Spenser may have seen an example between then and 1580 or 1585. The figure of Ceres in "August" in the series of The Grotesque Months is a good example. Ceres is here shown fully clothed, with stalks of wheat and fruits as attributes. She carries a sickle in her right hand, and her left hand rests on a representation of the astrological sign of Virgo. In the middle of both side borders of this tapestry stands a decorative figure of a woman who is reaching up with both hands to bunchas of luscious purple, blue, and green grapes just above her head; her tunic is colorless, and her underskirt is blue. A memory of this figure, combined with the importance and the placement in a pergola of the central

figure of the tapestry, may have produced the figure of Excesse in Spenser's scene.

Spenser's insistence on art in connection with the Bower of Bliss seems greater than might be expected in the traditional argument of Nature versus Art. "The painted flowers"(58.5), "The art, which all that wrought"(58.9), and the juxtaposition of art and nature in stanza 59, combine to suggest the Bower as a work of art as much or more than a work of nature. As in a tapestry, the fountain is silver (60.3) and the ivy is gold (61.1,2). Acrasia's garments are compared to Arachne's tapestry (77.7). All this, together with the similarity of wording between the lines on the tapestry in the House of Busirane and the golden grapes hanging on the pergola of Excesse, the use of typical tapestry devices such as the pergola, and the emphasis on color and richness, tend to suggest that the poet had in mind a tapestry, possibly "August" in The Grotesque Months series or some tapestry very similar to it.

*

* *

The manuscript inventory of the carpets and hangings of the Earl of Leicester[41] lists, as item 13, eight "pieces of the Storie of Jacob." The Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles have on permanent exhibition a series of ten tapestries on the same subject. The article on the series by Marthe Crick-

Kuntziger identifies the designer of the cartoons as Bernard van Orley, and mentions several editions of the series. The cartoons were painted around 1525, the Brussels series was probably woven from them around 1534, and another set, this one composed of six tapestries woven after the same cartoons, dates from 1543-44.[42] The eight pieces listed as having belonged to the Earl of Leicester undoubtedly formed another edition of this same series, since this is the only "Story of Jacob" of these dimensions which is known. Without question, Spenser must have been familiar with the works in Leicester's collection. Judson writes, "However the connection was formed, there can be no doubt that Spenser for a time served Leicester . . . frequented Leicester House, and had the entrée of the court."[43] While attached to Leicester's staff, he certainly had the occasion to see not only Leicester's tapestries, but those belonging to the queen at various palaces, including Hampton Court and the Tower of London, and probably those of Lord Lumley at Nonsuch Palace, among others.

An important part of Spenser's imaginative environment, in fact, must have consisted of various great tapestry series. Although it is difficult to say with any certainty what details in the tapestries he saw may have suggested incidents to his fertile imagination, it seems likely that the richness and pageantry of the series of Jacob must have impressed itself upon his memory.

In the sixth tapestry of The Story of Jacob, Laban catches

up with Jacob and his train and the two men are reconciled and make a treaty of friendship-- not, however, before Laban satisfies himself on the subject of his stolen household gods. (His daughters in reality did carry them away, but Jacob is ignorant of the theft, and Laban cannot find them.) In the bottom left-hand corner of this tapestry is a scene centered around Rachel's iron-bound coffer, which is seen opened, with golden vessels and jewels revealed inside. One richly garbed lady kneels before the open coffer, while Rachel sits behind it. A bearded gentleman (Laban) leans over, looking into it, and nearby are several other personages, male and female. In the middle register one sees the same coffer being lifted by three men, who are obviously bringing it over to the place where it is to be opened. On a yet higher register, one sees the coffer arriving at the camp on camelback.

The source of Spenser's passage in the fifth book, fourth canto, on the dispute between the two brothers over an iron-bound coffer (in this case recovered from the sea) is unknown. The scene in this tapestry, however, shows just such a coffer as the poet describes, containing treasure, and obviously in some dispute. It is possible that a memory of this scene might have lingered in the poet's mind, and might have been called into play as he was looking for episodes to illustrate Artegall's dealing of justice in Book V.

On the other hand, it would appear that the tapestry

source, if indeed it is a tapestry source, lies rather far behind Spenser's incident, for the element of color and the references to art or to workmanship which are ordinarily found in what appear to be references by the poet to the art of the tapestry are not present here. If there is any relationship, it is one simply of borrowed iconography. We know, in any case, that this is a tapestry series which he certainly saw, that it is so rich and so monumental it could not fail to make an impression, and that the motif of the dispute about an iron-bound coffer full of treasure occurs in it.

*

* *

Another passage in Book V which might depend on the inspiration of a tapestry is that in which Radigund comes forth from her city to the fight to which she has challenged Artegall:

All in a Camis light of purple silke
Woven upon with silver, subtly wrought,
And quilted upon satin white as milke,
Trayled with ribbands diversely distraught
Like as the workeman had their courses taught;
Which was short tucked for light motion
Up to her ham, but when she list, it raught
Down to her lowest heele, and thereupon
She wore for her defence a mayled habergeon.

(V.v.2)

It should be noted in this stanza not only that the weaving with silver is "subtly wrought"(2), but the ribbons trail "Like as the workeman had their courses taught"(5). What workman can possibly be meant in this reference? It is very much like Spenser's reference to the skill of the tapestry maker in III.xi.32: "O wondrous skill, and sweet wit of the man That her in daffadillies sleeping made"(3,4).

The references to color and richness continue:

> And on her legs she painted buskins wore,
> Basted with bends of gold on every side,
> And mailes between, and laced close afore:
> Upon her thigh her Cemitare was tide,
> With an embroidered belt of mickell pride;
> And on her shoulder hung her shield, bedeckt
> Uppon the bosse with stones, that shined wide,
> As the faire Moone in her most full aspect,
> That to the Moone it mote be like in each respect.
>
> (v.3)

> So forth she came out of the city gate,
> With stately port and proud magnificence,
> Guarded with many damzels, that did waite
> Uppon her person for her sure defence,
> Playing on shaumes and trumpets, that from hence
> Their sound did reach unto the heavens hight.

So forth into the field she marched thence,
Where was a rich Pavilion ready pight,
Her to receive, till time they should begin the fight.
(v.4)

Here again, the kinds of thread-- silk, silver, and gold-- are specified, as if it were a tapestry he is describing. The elements of the scene are typical of tapestry; the group about the superb central figure as they come forth, the musical instruments, the "rich Pavilion"(4.8).

Although in this case I have not been able to identify any tapestries from a series on the Amazons which resemble Spenser's description, there are two tapestry sets listed in English inventories of the period which might have fitted his description. One is listed as hanging in "The Lady Elizabeth Guarderobe," in the inventory of Henry VIII; it is "6 peces of the Citie of Ladies."[44] The other is "iv peces of the storie of the Amazons," in the Lumley inventory of 1609 which presumably is of works taken North after Lord Lumley gave up Nonsuch in 1590.[45] The tapestry series belonging to Queen Elizabeth might have been hung in the royal collection in one of her palaces, while the "Storie of the Amazons" was to be seen at Nonsuch until 1590. It seems to me that internal evidence in Spenser's passage strongly suggests that he had a tapestry source depicting his subject in mind.

Since the content of tapestries and the content of the

graphic arts, especially engravings,was more or less the same, running in the two great streams of Biblical and religious illustration on the one hand and classical and mythological illustration on the other, with a third category of historical and romance and "modern" subjects, it is often impossible to tell from which art the poet drew his essentially pictorial iconography. In general I have considered that his tapestry allusions must contain references that would apply to the art of the tapestry and no other, but this is not necessarily so. Tapestry could, equally well with the graphic arts, be a source of simple iconographic material.

The graphic arts, however, were both more available to the poet and more intimate, and therefore when other evidence is lacking I have assumed the graphic arts as the pictorial source when a woodcut or engraving that the poet could have seen is available.

Besides being more available to the poet, the graphic arts are more available at this late date to the scholar. Tapestries, which existed in far fewer editions-- i.e., fewer copies-- than books or single engravings, have also proved to be less lasting. H.C.Marillier writes, "At Hampton Court alone there were at that date [the date of Henry VIII's inventories] 436 tapestries, moxt of which have perished irretrievably in the course of time. . . . In the Painted Chamber at Westminster there were priceless

Gothic tapestries of The Great War of Troy and other famous sets dating from Tudor times, which were turned out at the beginning of the nineteenth century and sold as lumber for a few pounds."[46]

Roger d'Hulst writes, "The fact that only a few fragments of the numerous series that were produced have been preserved, and these probably not even the best, makes an appreciation of the work of that flourishing time very difficult. Indeed, the tapestries so richly woven with gold and silver thread were nearly always burned when they were too worn to be worth repairing; moreover, it did not seem sensible to restore them for a future when artistic taste would be entirely different. The pyres on which the finest tapestries were thrown by the hundreds in order to retrieve a small quantity of precious metal, during the French Revolution, were the biggest but not the first of their nature."[47]

Thus it is clear that the very richness of the great tapestry series contributed to their destruction, since in later ages that no longer valued them as art their content of gold and silver seemed desirable and worth recuperation, even though the tapestry was destroyed in the process.

No doubt, however, we are fortunate that as many examples have been preserved as now exist, and that scholars have at last turned their attention to every aspect of the srt of the tapestry. Their researches and their insights enable one to appreciate, more thoroughly than has ever before been possible, the extent of Spenser's knowledge of tapestry and his love for it.

Chapter 7.

THE ART OF THE TAPESTRY AND THE FAERIE QUEENE

FOOTNOTES

[1] SP 27 (April, 1930), pp. 162-185.

[2] pp. 394-399.

[3] Hard, p. 185.

[4] Ibid., p. 165.

[5] Ibid., p. 174.

[6] Ibid., p. 175.

[7] Ibid., p. 176.

[8] Ibid., Cf. pp. 183-185.

[9] William Nelson, The Poetry of Edmund Spenser (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 209, 224, 225.

[10] D'Hulst, p. 49.

[11] Ibid., p. 215.

[12] The Life of Edmund Spenser (Variorum, 11) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), pp. 8,9.

[13] D'Hulst, pp. 59-70;"The Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald" is the subject of Chapter 8.

[14] Ibid. p. 203.

[15] Samuel C. Chew, "Spenser's Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins," in Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 45.

[16] Cf. passage on Lucifera, Orgoglio, and the "Tree of Synns," Chapter 5, pp. 210 ff.

[17] Chew, p. 38.

[18] "Tapestries of the Seven Deadly Sins," Burl. Mag.,20 (1912), pp. 210-222 and 277-289.

[19] Ibid., p. 210.

[20] Ibid., p. 215.

[21] Ibid., p. 214.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[24] D'Hulst, p. 123.

[25] *Cf.* Chew, p. 40.

[26] Chew, p. 43.

[27] According to Mario Praz (*Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, p. 472) the first edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593) was without figures. The edition of 1603 (Roma: Appresso Lepido) was the first illustrated edition, and contained 150 woodcuts.

[28] Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), 6 vols., I, 109-112, 127-131.

[29] (Roma: Apud Barthol. Zanetum, 1607), f.85^{v}.

[30] D'Hulst, p. 210.

[31] *Cf.* John Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, p. 99.

[32] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939),p.33.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] "The Painter of the Poets," *SP*, 14 (1917), pp. 153-166, p. 165.

[35] Hard, p. 283.

[36] D'Hulst, pp. 231,232.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[38] *Europäische Wandteppiche* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1963), p. 233.

[39] D'Hulst, pp. 240, 241.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 239-244.

[41] The Earl of Leicester, "Inventory of his Carpets and Hangings," Lansdowne Mss. 57, No. 55, British Museum.

[42] Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des Tapisseries* (Brussels: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, n.d.), pp. 42, 43.

[43] Judson, p. 59.

[44] W.G.Thomson, *A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London:Hodder & Stoughton,1930), II, 252.

[45] Mary F.S. Hervey, ed., "Lumley Inventories of 1609," in The Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society, 1917-1918 (Oxford: Frederick Hall at the University Press, 1918), pp. 36-50, p. 48.

[46] H.C.Marillier, The Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace (London:H.M.Stationery Office, 1962), p. 5.

[47] D'Hulst, p. 17.

CONCLUSION

Four centuries have gone by since the days when the young Spenser was working his way through Cambridge University as a sizar at Pembroke Hall.[1] Elizabeth had been on the throne for twelve years, and the prospect of her long reign stretched ahead. All over England her courtiers were busy building or restoring the castles or country houses where they would receive the queen on her progresses. The houses of the Elizabethans, which were built for gracious living rather than for defense, were the major architectural achievements of the period; they may still be seen in various parts of England, many of them now open to the public. And the portraits of their Elizabethan owners may still be seen in their houses, or in many cases in the National Portrait Gallery, in London.

One may follow Spenser's footsteps in Cambridge, along the same streets and to many of the same colleges with which he must have been familiar. The beautiful chapel of King's College stands across and down a narrow street from Pembroke Hall, Spenser's college; on the same side as Pembroke College is tiny St. Botolph's Church, which the poet must also have known well.

The almost four centuries that have passed since The Faerie Queene was published have touched lightly indeed the 1596 edition, which includes the first through the sixth books. The pages are almost as fresh and the typography is still as easy on the eyes and as pleasant to read as when the two volumes were first published, the proofs no doubt having been supervised by the poet himself. Of all the artifacts that have survived the passage of time since Spenser's and Shakespeare's day and our own, books are the most intimate, the most influential, and the most available. In the woodcuts, engravings, and etchings that have survived for the past four centuries and more, one can see at first hand the imaginative environment in which Edmund Spenser lived. In the tapestries that remain to us, moreover, one can see examples of that art which clothes the walls of palaces and great houses with splendor in Elizabeth's period, an art to which the poet refers both directly and indirectly in his masterwork.

In general the Englishmen of Spenser's period were more interested in the subject-matter of art, its content and iconography, than they were in how it was rendered, so long as there was a likeness in portraiture and a pleasing composition in "history" painting. They were fascinated by the trickery of "perspective" painting in the famous portrait of Edward VI, but that was a novelty rather than a school of painting, and one hears of no other examples like it in England. It is clear from the inventories of

the paintings in the collections of Henry VIII and of Edward VI, as well as from the inventories of the collections of Lord Lumley, the Earl of Leicester, and others, that paintings were collected for the interest that was felt in their subjects. The portraits were of people connected by family ties to the collector, or of famous personages. The history paintings-- those depicting the content of well-known stories, including religious material-- were also listed only by subject. Even the name of the painter is not customarily given, and it is obvious that those who purchased paintings had little critical discrimination in the art of painting itself. Sixteenth-century collecting in England was notable especially for its portraits of family members and friends and for the acquisition of monumental tapestry series. Because of the interest we have noted in likeness in portraiture, as we have seen, even religious pictures were taken as visual evidence, and thus gained an extra degree of authority.

It is not surprising, then, that Spenser's interest in and feeling for the visual arts should be expressed in references to the content of art in the main. The poet's appreciation of the value of traditional iconography was strong, but he was also interested in new and original elements in art and in technique. As we have seen, he employed both the traditional and the new as a continuum of pictorial reference in a consistent and subtle manner. In his references to the art of the tapestry,

moreover, he displays considerable specialized knowledge of and interest in the technical aspect of the art. The workmanship, the weaving, the kinds of thread employed, the "painful" loom upon which tapestry was woven, all engage his interest and call forth his comment.

As we have already had occasion to notice, the visual arts were to a large extent an original iconographic source. Although the artists drew their subjects from written literature, for example from Scripture, they customarily had to invent the entire visual environment which they pictured, as well as to depict personal traits, actions, attitudes, and attributes that were usually only sketchily mentioned if at all in the literary source. This is particularly true of Biblical and religious illustration, but it also holds true to a greater or lesser extent of classical and mythological illustration and the illustration of literary works. As the original artists elaborated on the bare bones of the accounts in literature, certain visual elaborations became traditional, as we have seen in the case of the wall of the Garden of Eden.

The fact that visual art, by its very nature, depicts subjects in a finished and static state in a single moment of time means that subjects are presented in a different aspect than that in which they are presented in literature, which has extension in time. In the Metamorphoses of Ovid, for example, one reads of

various personages going through the process of being turned into trees. The woodcuts by Bernard Salomon present the change as already accomplished; what we see is not a process, but a person-tree. It is this illustration of personages as trees which Spenser must have in mind as he recounts the meeting of Red Crosse with Fradubio and Fraelissa, who are human trees, having been cruelly metamorphosed by Duessa. Spenser writes not about the change, which is the subject of Ovid's similar texts, but about people who are already trees, which is the subject of the illustrations. Perhaps this is an overfine distinction to draw, but I believe it is a valid one. The thing that seems primarily to have been retained in the poet's mind is the picture.

Often the poet makes a pictorial allusion which is a kind of pictorial synecdoche, which affords him the visual resonance and extension of meaning of the whole. For example, when in the eleventh canto of the first book Red Crosse "bad . . . his Lady yede aloofe, And to a hill her selfe with draw aside, From whence she might behold the battailles proof"(5.1-3), Spenser is making allusion to the standard rendering of the scene in which the equestrian St. George fights the dragon, a scene in which the princess is almost invariably seen to one side upon a little hill watching the progress of the fight. (Cf. Figure 1.) This reference immediately reminded the cultivated sixteenth-century reader (again) that Red Crosse is St. George, and the whole

familiar picture would be brought to mind. In a similar way Shakespeare did not need to state explicitly that the lily is the symbol of purity, and is always represented with the Virgin in scenes of the Annunciation, when he wrote his line "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds"(Sonnet 94.14). If he had written "flowers that fester," he would have produced a nice alliteration, but the line would not pack in the additional strength of the pictorial allusion to the lily as the symbol of purity.

In considering the numerous similarities between Spenser's pictorial imagery and the content of the graphic arts and the art of the tapestry, I began each part with an introductory chapter on the general background of the form of art in question. The second chapter then deals with individual prints (engravings, woodcuts, and etchings published separately, rather than in books), often by or after great or well-known painters. The third chapter deals with Biblical and other religious illustration in books, the fourth with book illustration of classical and mythological works, and the fifth with book illustration of other Medieval and Renaissance works of various kinds. The sixth and seventh chapters deal with the art of the tapestry, a very different art from the others in technique, monumentality, and color, but closely allied in iconography. Indeed, the cartoons of many tapestry series copy, on a larger scale, the materials of certain series of engravings.

In many of the cases in which we have explored the source

of the visual image that Spenser employs, tracing that source and explicating it enables one to explain the meaning of Spenser's passage more fully. For example, in the fifth chapter we traced the image of the heart removed from the breast and subjected to the torture of being pierced with iron "darts," showing that it is connected with the motif of the Sacred Heart, a heart shaped like a valentine's heart and nailed to the cross, which is depicted in the Kalender of Shepherdes (1503). The same image is employed in René d'Anjou's Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance, in which the heart is removed from the breast and "mortified" in the same manner in order to educate it to virtue, and put it to the test. When Busirane, the abuser, treats Amoret's heart in this way at the end of Book III, it is clear that she is also being put to the test, and is at the same time being educated in the evil of this world. If the Garden of Adonis, where Amoret is nurtured in unbroken innocence, is considered as an unfallen Earthly Paradise, Amoret is in some sense an Eve figure. The torture of her heart in the House of Busirane is her testing; she learns about evil, but does not give in to the coercion of the wicked enchanter, who is obviously a satanic figure. She does not "fall," but stands firm until she is rescued by Britomart.

Although this and numerous other passages are illuminated by comparaison with the work of art from which their pictorial imagery may have been drawn, perhaps even more important is the

sweep of the imaginative pictorial environment in which the poet lived and worked which is built up by a consideration of the many examples from the visual arts that seem to bear some relation to passages of the poetry. We cannot know positively what woodcuts and engravings Spenser saw beyond those in A Theatre for Worldlings, The Kalender of Shepherdes, and his own Shepheardes Calender. We know from the evidence of one of his few extant letters that he was enthusiastic about a set of illustrations for another book of his poems, illustrations that "Michael Angelo" could not have improved upon, as he wrote.[2] Since these illustrations were never published, we know nothing further about them. The evidence, however, is strong that he was exceptionally interested in the visual arts. His Shepheardes Calender is unique among English publications of that time in its use of woodcuts to embellish the eclogues; it resembles slightly in plan the earlier English publication by Jan van der Noodt upon which the young Spenser collaborated, translating a number of poems which appear in it illustrated by woodcuts. The fact that Spenser as a schoolboy knew the Flemish writer Jan van der Noodt, who brought from his native Brabant that knowledge and interest in the graphic arts for which the Low Countries are famous, has been too little emphasized by Spenser's biographers. The poet's interest in and access to the graphic arts may have been early fostered by his acquaintance with this minor but at the same time international and cultivated writer.

In the light of this early connection and of Spenser's own Shepheardes Calender, one may, I think, fairly assume that the similarities between Spenser's pictorial imagery and that of the graphic arts and tapestries with which he could have been familiar represent deliberate allusions or borrowings, and show that the poet was indeed thoroughly familiar with the materials of those arts.

Spenser's use of his borrowings from the visual arts is both subtle and wide-ranging. I think it is fair to say that no other writer of Spenser's time except Sir Philip Sidney, who was Spenser's friend and to a certain extent perhaps his sponsor, displays a comparable knowledge of and interest in art. It must be remembered that Sir Philip Sidney enjoyed opportunities that Spenser lacked: the advantage of high birth and constant association with the art collections of the great, including those of members of his own family; the advantage of being a courtier; and the advantage of extensive travels on the continent to all the art-producing countries, where he perhaps purchased paintings for the account of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester. Sidney's friendship was doubtless of inestimable value to Spenser in many ways, perhaps not least in the access to works of art which he was able to provide for the poet less endowed with worldly goods and position.

These conjectures regarding Spenser's acquaintance with Jan van der Noodt and later with Sidney, and the probability of

their influence on his budding interest in the visual arts, however, must give way before the tangible evidence of the passages of pictorial imagery in The Faerie Queene. The source of Spenser's knowledge of and interest in the graphic arts and the art of the tapestry can be only conjectural, but the passages of poetry that he wrote, passages so close in descriptive content to examples in the visual arts that he could have seen, speak for themselves.

The two fields of art that I have chosen to discuss in relation to The Faerie Queene, the graphic arts and the art of the tapestry, are undoubtedly the two representational arts that the poet would have been most likely to see in any quantity. The tremendous advantage of the processes of printing as applied to woodcuts and engravings was, of course, that they could be produced in considerable numbers, and were easily portable and exportable. A large corpus of great woodcuts and engravings, moreover, was already in existence by Spenser's time.

Tapestries, too, were made in editions of several copies, but the process was so slow and complicated that not many examples of a tapestry series could be made. We know, however, that the English royalty and nobility were insatiable collectors of tapestries, and that an example of most major series went to England. One could wish for more information in this respect than seems to be available, and it is unfortunate that no scholar working in the field of economic history has made a study of the tapestry trade between Flanders and England.

There are, of course, other arts that might be considered in relation to Spenser's poetry. I have not examined the possible relation of the paintings that Spenser could have seen and his poetry, and I am sure there is more to be uncovered (or simply noticed) about paintings in England than has yet been found and set down. They are probably more important in relation to Sir Philip Sidney's works than to Spenser's, since the former had constant access to important collections and also traveled extensively on the continent, whereas Spenser from 1580 on lived in Ireland, where he was removed even from such meager collections of paintings as England offered. Spenser may, however, have been especially struck by a few of the paintings he was able to see in England, and may have remembered them even years later.

Concerning Spenser's poetry and architecture, Frederick Hard's very valuable article "Princely Pallaces: Spenser and Elizabethan Architecture," published in 1934,[3] leaves an appreciable amount yet to be investigated; but up to the present time it remains the last word in the field.

"Sculpture and Spenser's Poetry" is an untouched subject which might yield interesting insights. Fountains and other garden sculpture, funerary monuments, the wood carvings of choir stalls and other parts of a church, such as the pulpit, small imported Italian bronzes, and ivory carvings both native and imported, might conceivably have some connection with certain images, such as the statue of Cupid in the House of Busirane.

These art forms are not usually included in the standard undergraduate course in the history of art, and each one would require a considerable amount of study in order to establish what might have been seen in England in its field in the sixteenth century. It seems likely that the study of the great painters and of their greatest works,which in the sixteenth century were located in Italy, France, Spain, the Low Countries, or Germany, would prove to be beside the point as far as Spenser's poetry is concerned unless one could establish as a fact that Spenser could have seen any of them.

Regarding the two forms of art which I have considered in relation to The Faerie Queene, I cannot claim to have covered the ground so thoroughly that there is nothing left to be done in this field, especially since all Spenser's other poems remain to be studied in this connection. Moreover, in the graphic arts of woodcut and engraving, the amount of material that Spenser might conceivably have seen is extremely large. I have examined a great deal of it, but I cannot claim to have examined it all. It is possible that I may have missed some connections, even in material which I have studied; one cannot invariably catch every similarity of iconography between so extended a work as The Faerie Queene and given works of visual art. I hope in the future to find more graphic material that seems germane to The Faerie Queene, and I have no doubt at all that others will do so.

As to tapestries and The Faerie Queene, the actual models for Spenser's two tapestry series in Book III, if they exist, still remain to be discovered. I think that he was describing real tapestries, but I am by no means sure, considering the wholesale destruction of antique tapestry sets, that they still exist; some trace, however, of their existence may yet be found, even at this late date. Further research may turn up the clue that is missing at present.

Are there signals in Spenser's poetry that reveal to a careful reader which passages are the ones in which he was employing material from the visual arts? It seems to me that this is the case only when he has a tapestry in mind, for then he not only floods his schema with color, but also mentions weaving, kinds of thread (silk, gold, and silver), and the fine workmanship with which the beauty of the image is achieved. Otherwise, any passage that contains pictorial images may have a relation to a work of art. When he employs imagery borrowed from woodcuts or engravings, it is necessary to be familiar with the content of many examples of the art in question-- certain engravings after Bruegel, for example-- in order to catch the likeness. A great deal of examination of examples is necessary, and one must form the habit of looking closely, with concentrated attention to every detail, and often with the help of a magnifying glass. All this visual material of the graphic arts is now like a lost world, since so

little attention is devoted to it-- a world that in the sixteenth century, I should think, must have been as current and popular as photography is in our society. For us it is an effort to become conversant with the world of sixteenth-century graphic art, but in its period it was a vital part of the imaginative atmosphere of the age.

In general, the most striking thing about Spenser's use of the visual material of the arts is that he was eclectic about it. It should not surprise us that Bible illustration is employed as a source for visual imagery in almost any situation, for the Bible, and therefore Bible illustration, was universally applicable to everything in human life and the world man inhabits in that age of reformed and ardent faith. I do not think that Spenser deliberately cross-fertilizes his imagery by employing visual material from a work that is on a different subject than the one of which he is writing, or seeks to conceal his sources. Rather, I think he simply takes material where he finds it. Because our age has lost knowledge of much of this material or we have hard work finding it, we should not make the mistake of thinking it was equally difficult for a man of Spenser's era. Often, when Spenser has apparently employed a source of imagery that seems to be related to something other than what he is writing about, one finds upon reflection that even the underlying subject is applicable to Spenser's episode. His possible use of the engraving

"The Power of Women" as an inspiration for his figure of Mirabella and her penance, which is to ride through the world on an ass accompanied by a giant and a fool who whip her and treat her roughly, illuminates the whole meaning of the Mirabella episode for us. It, too, is seen to be a treatment of the subject of the power of women-- in this case, the misuse of that power and its punishment.

Very often Spenser employs the imagery of woodcuts and engravings that are on his avowed subject; his use of, and frequent allusion to, the iconography of the woodcuts and engravings of the equestrian St. George is a case in point. In this case, I think he means his audience to grasp his references, and I am sure, moreover, that his sixteenth-century readers did grasp them. They were thoroughly familiar with the St. George pictures, and probably received extra enjoyment from catching the allusions. In other cases, Spenser employs the iconography of his archetype in the visual material he has available, and in so doing reveals his subject and catches its associations and resonances more fully, as in his Edenic gardens. The majority of his readers might not have been fully aware of his use of the sources in such a case, but they would have unwittingly got the extra resonances all the same. In yet other cases, Spenser no doubt employs visual materials as sources as a means of attaining copia. In the final analysis, it seems to me that no poet writes entirely according to logical

procedure. He employs what comes to hand and to mind, and all the associative images stored in his subconscious mind are called upon as well. A good poet must often surprise himself, as well as his readers.

Throughout this consideration of the visual arts and Spenser's The Faerie Queene, my thesis has been that Spenser was intimately acquainted with the materials of the graphic arts and the art of the tapestry of his period and of the century preceding his own, the period which produced the late Gothic and Renaissance works current during the second half of the sixteenth century. In order to support this thesis, I have shown that there are numerous similarities between the pictorial imagery in The Faerie Queene and the content of the body of artistic work that was available to the poet. The similarities are far too numerous and too close to be due to chance. They demonstrate, I believe, that the poet had a thorough knowledge of the arts upon which he drew for his pictorial imagery, and that he employed these arts not only as a source for some of his own scenes, but as a continuum of understood reference to which to allude and from which whole realms of connotation and extension of meaning could be gained.

CONCLUSION

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Variorum*, XI, 30-31.

[2] *Variorum*, X, 18.

[3] *Sewanee Review*, 42 (1934), pp. 293-310.

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