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RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION:

FROM PRIVATE MORALS TO PUBLIC POLICY IN

ALONSO DE ERCILLA'S *LA ARAUCANA* AND

EDMUND SPENSER'S *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

by

CYRUS MOORE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2003

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Abstract

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION: FROM PRIVATE MORALS TO PUBLIC POLICY IN ALONSO DE ERCILLA'S *LA ARAUCANA* AND EDMUND SPENSER'S *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

by

Cyrus Moore

Adviser: Professor Clare Carroll

The present study examines the significance for Ercilla and Spenser of humanism, Neoplatonism, Petrarchism, and *cortegianía*, competing discourses with distinct identities within the competing ideologies of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Both authors draw on a shared heritage of the *translatio studii* and, in particular, on imagery arising from epic poetry's underlying tension between epos and eros. Ercilla's use of this material fuels a *renovatio* of classical epic based on the poet's participation in the events he describes. Spenser's utilization of these motifs constitutes a *transformatio* impelled by reformed religion, which raises the stakes from the potential for shame or dishonor in the ancient world to the possibility of damnation in the modern, Protestant one.

While the goals of the two poets diverge, key aspects of their texts and contexts invite comparison: both poems are dedicated to sovereigns-as-ideal-readers; both speak from the margins of power, literally and figuratively, and reflect the competing concerns of court and colony, of center and periphery; both texts emerge against a background of colonial projects in which their authors are actors. The exposure to an ostensibly barbaric culture is formative for both poets and their cultures, providing a site for competing

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visions of national identity that pit class-based economic interests against traditional political and religious power structures.

While drawing extensively on Virgil, Ercilla and Spenser both challenge the authority granted him by humanism, whose recovery of antiquity homogenized the past, suppressing all but authorized versions of multifaceted narrative traditions. The early modern absolutist state presents a more immediate, public authority for these authors. Ercilla celebrates Spanish empire while criticizing excessive violence; Spenser finesses a celebration of Elizabeth with an increasingly embittered critique of Tudor policies. Both poems foreground private authority via the Platonic triad of the concupiscent, irascible, and rational, with the image of the bridle a key emblem of restraint. For Ercilla, these motifs become the conduit for an unexpectedly personal expression of honor. Spenser's focus on the public sphere allows him to establish not so much the supremacy of Christianity over the pagan world, already asserted by Ariosto and Tasso, but the superiority of properly reformed, Protestant epic over its humanist-inspired, Renaissance counterparts.

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Je parle espagnol à Dieu,
italien aux femmes,
français aux hommes
et allemand à mon cheval.

("I speak Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men, and German to my horse.")
attributed to Charles V

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Chapter 1: Comparative Contexts

1.1 Grand and modest plans

The study presented here undertakes a comparative reading of Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana* and Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, sixteenth-century heroic poems rarely discussed in the same context in spite of their common heritage as beneficiaries of the *translatio studii* and of the similarly key roles they play in the literary traditions of their respective cultures. Differences between the two poems are significant. For the *Araucana*, published in three parts in 1569, 1578, and 1589, Ercilla announces the modest goal of an accurate, eyewitness account of the efforts that he and a few dozen troops make to suppress an Indian uprising in southern Chile, one of the most distant outposts of the Spanish empire. His inaugural octave specifically rejects the scope of the era's most famous narrative poem, Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*: "No las damas, amor, no gentilezas / de caballeros canto enamorados" ("Not of women, love, nor of the gentleness of enamored knights do I sing") (1.1.1-2), promising instead to adhere to the themes of "el valor, los hechos, [y] las proezas" ("bravery, accomplishments, and great feats") (1.1.5), and to provide "[. . .] relación sin corromper sacada / de la verdad, cortada a su medida" ("a report made without deviating from the truth, cut to its measure") (1.3.5-6) by one who was "[. . .] de parte dello buen testigo" ("a reliable witness to part of it") (1.5.8).[1] From such circumspect beginnings Ercilla soon grows ambitious. Halfway through Part I he decides to expand the horizon of his narrative with excursions into other

[1] Text for *La Araucana* is from Isaías Lerner's edition of the poem (Madrid: Catedra, 1993); all translations from the Spanish in the following pages are my own.

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generic regions, notably those of lyric, pastoral, and romance. By the end of the poem, it is the counterpoint of these alternate discourses within the framework of his emphatically Virgilian, historical epic that creates the work's most memorable scenes and accounts for the hybrid quality with which it has long been associated.

In contrast to Ercilla, Spenser's goals, from the beginning, are anything but modest. Having announced himself a poet to be reckoned with in earlier publications noted for their artistic ambition, he sets out a grand scheme of twenty-four books for the *Faerie Queene*, the first twelve treating twelve private moral virtues, the latter twelve public ones, his goal: "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline."[2] As the vehicle for such instruction Spenser creates a "historicall fiction," an allegory based on Franco-Burgundian legends about Arthur and the origins of Britain, which he combines with elements of classical epic and popular romance. Only six of the twenty-four books eventually appear: three in 1590 and three in 1596, together with the two cantos of Mutabilitie in 1597.

While the goals and methods of the two poets diverge, key aspects of their texts and contexts invite comparison: both poems are dedicated to sovereigns-as-ideal-readers by authors whose relations with the court directly impact their narratives; both poems offer providentialist history, the *Araucana* an implicit one of Spanish empire, the *Faerie Queene* a confrontational one of apocalyptic Protestantism; both narratives speak from the margins of power, literally and figuratively, and reflect the competing concerns of

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[2] The phrase is from Spenser's "Letter to Ralegh"; text for the Letter is from A. C. Hamilton's edition of *The Faerie Queene* (London: Longman, 1977).

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court and colony, of center and periphery; both poems evoke a feudal nostalgia, one by idealizing a noble Araucan warrior, the other by focusing on the heroics of individual knights. In the background of both texts are colonial projects in which their authors are actors, Ercilla as a *chapetón* or new arrival in contrast to a previous generation of conquistadors, now settled *encomenderos*, whose conduct and ethics he frequently finds repugnant; Spenser as one of Ireland's "New English," a recently landed gentleman thanks to the resettlement programs of Tudor Irish policy, in contrast to the "Old English" inhabitants of the Pale, whose social and moral legitimacy he attacks both here and more famously in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, written during his work on the *Faerie Queene* but not published until 1633. Both poets experience firsthand the tension between nobility and royalty characteristic of the period, Ercilla in a breach of etiquette witnessed by the Viceroy of Peru, which threatens him with capital punishment and results in his precipitate return to Spain; Spenser through his lifelong association with the Leicester and Essex factions, whose disagreements with Elizabethan policies eventually threaten themselves. The exposure to an ostensibly barbaric culture is also formative both for these poets and for their cultures, becoming, for both, the site of competing visions of national identity that pit class-based economic interests against traditional political and religious ideologies and power structures.

As will be seen, thematic similarities between the two poems are also substantial. *Pietas*, a persistent concern of the *Araucana*'s narrator, finds a Christianized counterpart in Spenser's Holiness. Justice, especially as it applies to conquest, is a central concern of both authors: Ercilla queries the legitimacy of violence in the cause of colonization,

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Spenser the function of equity and of distributive versus arithmetic modes of justice. Both authors are absorbed by ideas of the civilized, not only in contrast to other cultures, but also in terms of the sixteenth-century obsession with *civiltà* or civility. In addition to the tension between duty and personal honor, both narratives focus on the more perilous one between duty and desire, Ercilla in terms of a Virgilian opposition of epos and eros, with an increasing focus on the Petrarchan dynamics of the latter, Spenser enshrining desire as the source of the quest and of civil society, but also as the site of a contest between temperance and its absence. Their focus on desire, in turn, leads both authors to emphasize the same three elements of what in Ercilla's case is a Platonic paradigm and in Spenser's, an Aristotelian one: chastity or continence, shamefastness or self-respect, and the force behind these two, symbolized by the bridle or halter of self-control. The object of this desire and a principal subject for both authors is ideal feminine beauty: for Ercilla a transcendental vision; for Spenser a present danger or potential benefit. Inseparable from these concerns is the creation of each poet's self-image, Ercilla's unexpectedly emerging in the fashioning of his characters; Spenser's coalescing with greater indirection, not surprising given the intricacies of relations between Elizabeth and her male subjects.

Finally, each author's grandiose textual undertaking, Ercilla's discovered in the process of composition, Spenser's thoroughly premeditated, stops short of its most grandiose projection: the *Araucana* foreshortened and open-ended; the *Faerie Queene* only one-quarter-completed, its ambitious moral allegory supplanted, in the poem's final pages, by an escapist adventure story. Both poets end their days disillusioned as well:

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Ercilla by a decline in royal favor, Spenser by the modesty of royal preferment and by the loss of Kilcolman, repossessed by Tyrone's rebels.

1.2 Renaissance and religion

The broader context for Ercilla's and Spenser's poems is defined by the three great cultural movements underway in the West in the sixteenth century: the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation, together with four influential doctrines associated with the first of these: humanism, Neoplatonism, Petrarchism, and the behavioral program of *cortegiania* or courtiership. These designations are notoriously unstable, the triad of cultural descriptions among ourselves, the quartet of doctrines during the era of their greatest influence. The Counter-Reformation alone seems relatively fixed from present perspectives, connotations of Renaissance revival, by contrast, competing with the purportedly less value-laden "Early Modernism," while the Reformation is understood to be a multifaceted sequence of evangelical efforts interspersed with legislative ones, and, in the broadest sense, ought to include the ecclesiastical reforms of fifteenth-century Spain.

Renaissance doctrines are also far from static, polarized by religious controversies and modulated by co-factors of geography, gender, and genre. Humanism, civic and secular in its quattrocentro republican origins, is reduced to an ornament of courtly refinement in the Italian principalities and European monarchies, its original elitism, while never fully dispelled, diluted in the course of its migration north, which coincides with the growth of the vernaculars and a focus on curriculum reform. A version of civic humanism reappears under Elizabeth, but in the guise of militant Protestantism, all traces

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of Erasmian tolerance, unable to maintain a separation between the *studia humanitatis* and the century's religious disputes, supplanted by religious dogmatism. The humanist principle of the *translatio imperii*, together with associated concepts of *imitatio*, on the other hand, central to both Ercilla's and Spenser's images of their societies, their works, and themselves, provide common ground amidst the many differences between these authors and their cultures.

Neoplatonism is similarly specific to specific contexts. The *Araucana*'s evocation of idealized love, expressed in images of the soul as a charioteer and team of horses, is supplanted in the *Faerie Queene* by an implicit correlation between concepts of cosmic harmony and the hierarchies of Tudor society, whose Erastian orientation is increasingly hostile to philosophic transcendentalism. Petrarchism experiences a corresponding reassessment in English culture. Such key images as the frustrated lover and the absent object of desire, which Ercilla applies in largely conventional ways to his characters and himself, are completely transformed for Elizabethans by the fact of a female monarch, the frustrations of key male subjects, and, for those, like Spenser, bent on a colonial revolution in Ireland, which parallels the cultural one in England, by her physical absence from the scene of events.

Reflecting a distinct set of differences between the Spanish and English contexts is the reception offered courtiership, formulated at the beginning of the century in the *Cortegiano*, from which Ercilla absorbs it with little alteration. In end-of-the-century England, by contrast, after decades of tension between the monarch and opposing factions at court and with a growing conviction of the courtier's corruption, Castiglione's key

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values are inverted: *sprezzatura*, the graceful lack of concern disguising the effort of courtly pursuits, and *dissimulazione*, its handmaiden, deteriorate into dissimulation and deceit; *mediocrità*, the capacity for multiple perspectives and the pinnacle of cordial disagreement, is reduced to the meaning it still holds today; and *grazia*, or grace, once the apex of sophisticated elasticity, is more likely a tenet of Calvinism than a mark of courtly comportment. *Civiltà*, the aim of Castiglione and Erasmus, also relinquishes its idealism, now less a matter of social grace than, at best, a bulwark, and, at worst, a battering ram of civilization, the *conversazione civile* of Castiglionian epigones less a program for culture than a guide to career advancement.

Each of these modulations of core values impacts genre. The humanist dialogues of Castiglione and Erasmus, genuinely open-ended in the *in utramque partem* tradition of rhetorical exercise, are increasingly replaced, as ideologies harden, by treatises and treatises-masquerading-as-dialogues. Petrarchan lyrics, meanwhile, both in their exploration of subjectivity and in the revolution they instigate in European prosody, prove an unavoidable challenge for subsequent poets, who, through mastery of the new verse forms, manifest their own coming-of-age, together with the maturity of their cultures in a *translatio imperii* that Spain and England envision as passing from Greece to Rome to Italy and thence, respectively and exclusively, to themselves. Ercilla adapts Petrarchan images of desire and loss, embedding them in pastoral, whose traditional contrast with epic he enlists in a critique of violence. Spenser exploits Petrarch's power structures, combining them with allegorical pastoral and satire to comment on Tudor politics and culture. Pastoral has a natural affinity with both poems, one set in the midst of what is

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frequently an idealized, rural society in the New World, the other often evoking a bucolic setting threatened by demonic recidivism. More broadly, the aesthetics of genre intersect with political and religious ideologies at multiple points in the background of these two works, most notably in Counter-Reformation efforts toward religious uniformity, in which the emphasis on a centralized authority becomes conflated with Neo-aristotelian distinctions of narrative unity and multiplicity.

1.3 The Women of Arauco

The prominence of women in the world of the courtier, in contrast to their marginalization by humanism and the misogyny of Protestantism, makes the court a natural setting for the exploration of Neoplatonic love theory. For Ercilla, this exploration is dramatized in scenes that feature the narrator's encounters with five Araucan women: Guacolda, Tegualda, Glaura, Lauca, and Fresia; in a prophetic vision of Spanish beauty; and in a rewriting of Virgil's story of Dido. Each of these episodes in the *Araucana* features similar themes. The poet stresses the diversion they provide from the harsh reality of the military campaign chronicled by the rest of the narrative: "¿Qué cosa puede haber sin amor buena? / ¿Qué verso sin amor dará contento?" ("What can be good without love? What poetry without love will be pleasing?") (15.1.1-2). Each episode, with the exception of the dream vision, tells a story of tragic love, focusing on the virtues of loyalty, chastity, and personal honor. These virtues are exemplified by all of the Araucan women but one, an anti-type of the idealized femininity attributed to the others, who embody the first appearance of a New World version of the traditional defense of women.

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Each of the episodes fulfills similar functions. In simplest terms, love stories are juxtaposed to scenes of violence, continuing a tradition of contrasting the erotic with the epic that extends at least to Homer. Two key motifs in this tradition are the abandoned woman, bereft of her beloved, in Ercilla's use of the image, by war, and the night raid, an image contraposing heroic valor and brutality. These passages also include the poem's most substantial allusions to other genres and authors, verses in which Ercilla constructs not only a context for his poem, but a literary genealogy for himself, paying homage to predecessors from whom he simultaneously distinguishes himself. In key instances, the *Araucana*'s use of models is unexpectedly thorough, the *imitatio* extending beyond the use of imagery to the relationship between this imagery and its original context, that is, to the *dispositio* as well as *inventio* and *elocutio* of the archetype. Virgil is most important in this regard, not only for imagery, but also for the ambivalence, heightened by Ercilla, regarding the epic enterprise.

Virgilian intertexts define the ethos of the *Araucana*, dominating other literary discourses, including that of Petrarch and three additional poets Ercilla associates with him as lyricists: Dante, Ariosto, and Garcilaso. As near contemporaries, Ariosto and Garcilaso have particular significance for Ercilla. Garcilaso is the most important Spanish poet of the preceding generation and the one most closely identified with introducing Petrarchan forms into the Iberian peninsula. Ariosto's influence on the *Araucana*, while often easily recognized, is more important for its formal attributes and lyric qualities than for its association with chivalric romance. Lyric is particularly significant because of its role in representing subjectivity, an issue usually discussed in terms of fictional figures or with

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regard to authors representing themselves. Most striking in the scenes discussed below is Ercilla's use of erotic discourse to simultaneously fashion his characters and himself.

Not long after the *Araucana* was published, its author gained a reputation, among some readers, as sympathetic to the indigenous population he helped bring under control. The Lauca episode, coming after others that stand out for their literary analogues, unequivocally distinguishes the attributes of martial bravery, personal pride, and fierce independence—pagan, epic virtues that an admiring Ercilla associates just as frequently with the Araucans as with the Spanish—from the civilized values of Christian compassion he ultimately embraces. By emphasizing here and elsewhere in the poem that the distinction between proper and improper conduct does not always conform to that between Christian and Native American, Ercilla reinforces the sense of equity with which his depiction of events and peoples in the New World has long been associated.

The *Araucana*'s culminating treatment of desire, duty, and honor comes in the defense of Dido. The episode, which begins unexpectedly in the course of an exchange between the narrator and his fellow soldiers, is less quixotic than appears. Its close relation to traditional defenses of women, as well as its focus on themes of tragic love and loyalty, ensures its relevancy alongside the earlier passages. Like them, the Dido episode juxtaposes a story of love to a framing narrative of war, and like them raises issues about the conflict of public and private concerns, much as does Dido's presence in the *Aeneid.* From present perspectives, Ercilla's defense appears revisionist. It is, in fact, an effort to reestablish a prior, widely accepted account of Dido's life, revised by Virgil, who therein abandons her, and thus has the added interest of exposing a period prior to Virgil's

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usurpation of literary authority. Virgil's dominance is one outcome of the humanist project, whose recovery of antiquity, expressed most directly in the establishment of a literary canon, had the effect of homogenizing the past and suppressing all but authorized versions of multifaceted narrative traditions. In the case of Dido and Aeneas, this process supplanted independent, popular histories of the two figures, still current in Ercilla's day, with Virgil's erudite poem, an ironic reversal of our own situation, where to the extent that Dido is known at all it is through Virgil's portrait, while classicists alone are now familiar with her original, popular identity.

Dido's defense is conceived, as it often was during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, as a contrast between the veracity of history and the falsifications of fiction. Ercilla conducts his revindication of her reputation with indignant denials of her sexual infidelity, slanders he attributes, as had others before him, to Virgil's desire to flatter Augustus. Appearing, as this does, in an epic addressed to Philip II, the reader might expect a denial of similar tactics by Ercilla. The poet stays focused, instead, on the outrage perpetrated against a virtuous character, until the fervor with which he denounces her defamation raises questions about his attachment to the issue. As will be seen, his intensity presents a further stage in Ercilla's self-fashioning, confirming what previous episodes have suggested regarding his sensitivity to aspersion and didactic attitude toward personal honor and comportment. The most obvious explanation for his attitude is the scandal surrounding the affair of honor referred to earlier, which precipitated the poet's departure from the New World. Against such a background Ercilla's impassioned defense of Dido's reputation sounds like nothing so much as a plea for his own.

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1.4 The women of Faery

The *Faerie Queene* presents its own key series of encounters with female figures. Three variations on the motif of the abandoned woman make early appearances in the poem: in Book 1, Una awakes on the morning after Redcross's victory over Error to discover that he has deserted her; a few cantos later, Fidessa, the sole daughter of a benevolent king, like several of the Araucan heroines, is left alone by the defeat of Sansfoy; at the beginning of Book 2, Guyon and Redcross come upon Amavia, mourning, as does Tegualda, by the corpse of her husband. At the beginning of Book 3 another female figure, Malecasta, falls in love in scenes with multiple allusions to the *Furioso* as well as to Dido's falling in love with Aeneas. Spenser utilizes, as does Ercilla, traditional imagery of the painfulness of love, which is compared to fire, to a wound, and to poison. Near the end of Book 3 another version of Dido's falling in love is replayed, this time with Paridell impersonating the Trojan hero and with Hellenore, combining aspects of Helen and Dido, overcome by desire as he recounts the fate of Troy. Both Malecasta and Hellenore are characterized by their courtly demeanor. Both suffer fates associated with intemperate sexual desire, reflecting how far *cortegiania* has fallen since its articulation by Castiglione. Chaste love, by contrast, the basis both of personal virtue and civil society, in Spenser's view, is figured elsewhere in the poem, most notably in scenes that follow immediately upon those of Malecasta. Here Britomart's falling in love with Artegall subjects her to the same painful emotions experienced by the mistress of Castle Joyeous, with similar allusions made to medieval and ancient heroines. Unlike Malecasta and in contrast to both their tragic and, in particular, their romance analogues, Britomart

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keeps a rein on her emotions.

Troy's defeat and Aeneas's departure from Ilium, blazoned on the doors of Juno's temple in Carthage, have significance for both Ercilla and Spenser. Ercilla implicitly challenges this version of events in his defense of Dido. Spenser reflects the motif by having the story of Jason and Medea appear on the gates of the Bower of Bliss. Characteristically for key instances of *imitatio* in the *Faerie Queene*, the relationship between this scene and its multiple models is complex, not only introducing potential parallels between Medea and Jason and Guyon and Acrasia, the first couple including a successful sorceress, the second, a defeated one, but also suggesting associations with other aspects of the Argonauts quest, in particular, with the figure of Talos, whom Medea destroys, in contrast to the key role he survives to play in Spenser's work.

As even such brief descriptions reveal, the significance that attaches to imagery from their shared patrimony of epic, tragedy, and romance is typically quite different in Spenser than in Ercilla. The fundamental shift radiates from the Reformation, which raises the stakes of these motifs for the English poet, with their negative potential now not only harmful or dishonorable, as in the ancient world, but fraught with the possibility of damnation in the modern, Protestant one. In such surroundings the abandoned woman becomes a diabolic double and potential seductress, as in Fidessa's case, and the night raid a hotbed of erotic perversity. As for the loss of shame and continence that accompanies these motifs, the consequences in Spenser's world are now no longer limited to self-destruction, but threaten civil society.

The Reformation's heightened sensitivity to Christendom's conflict of interest

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with classical antiquity, unlike patristic efforts to conciliate the two, accentuates their confrontation. The conflict, a fundamental one for Protestant authors, is manifest on multiple levels in the *Faerie Queene.* Thematically, encounters both explicit and implied occur between Christian and classical figures and values. A structural analogue emerges in the variations and near-repetitions of characters, events, and images in settings affiliated now with one world view, now with the other. This parodic principle of intratextual echoing, in turn, has a linguistic analogue in Spenser's punning wordplay, which on the one hand draws attention to etymology and the cultural context of signification, while on the other, via unremitting emphasis on the slippage between the literal and the figurative, it poses a cumulative threat to signification. These two dangers, the first, that of pagan, epic values to Christianity, the second, that of linguistic anarchy to signification, arise in the context of reformed religion and are related through the anxiety that both reflect regarding a loss of control, in one case, over man's relationship to God, in the other, over human speech to meaning.

The Counter-Reformation is not alone in its concern over issues of access and exegesis. The Reformation's emphasis on the personal nature of man's relationship with God, while enhancing personal autonomy, gives rise to a parallel crisis for Protestantism, whose call to the individual reading of scripture, together with the access made possible by the printing of the vernacular Bible, creates a similar dread of unauthorized and uncontrolled interpretations. In the present study of the texts and contexts of Ercilla and Spenser, it is the concern with control that proves most striking. In Ercilla's case, the issue is primarily private, focused on the control of anger and desire, whose relationship

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to the public lies in the threat to the individual of shame and dishonor. In Spenser, by contrast, the matter has grown not only from a moral to a religious issue, where transgression risks the loss of eternal life, but from a private to a public one, where the inability to control sexual desire threatens the function of the polity. In both works, the concern with control has a literary, and in Spenser's case, a linguistic analogue. In Ercilla's text this culminates in the competition between Virgil's version of Dido and earlier ones that by Ercilla's time are identified as popular and medieval. The conflict exposes the principal function of Humanism, which attempts to establish a homogenous and homogenized vision of the past. Spenser, by contrast, confronts the issue in his methodical rejection of the prevailing mode of courtly discourse for an archaic dialect associated with apocalyptic Protestantism and representing the linguistic embodiment of religious and national purity. Here the struggle is not only over the past and efforts to revive and perpetuate the vernacular, medieval traditions venerated by the reformers, but also over the present, and, more important, the future. This is particularly true of official policy regarding Ireland, where according to Spenser the intemperance of Gaelic peasantry has created a threat not only to governance but to civilized society. As the *View* makes clear, the danger is one that the Platonic bridle of restraint can no longer control, leaving only its alternative, the sword of conquest, as remedy.

This shift between Ercilla's world and Spenser's from private honor to public policy, with its emphasis on conduct, competing literary canons, and religious conflicts, is, in the broadest sense, an attempt to articulate identity in the present and future by controlling the identity of the past. The discussion that follows can only suggest the

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extent of this many-faceted process. Even here, however, within such limited confines, an underlying theme emerges in the degree to which the control of popular culture is the object of this process: in the case of humanism, a popular, medieval past; for the reformers, widespread ritual and religious practice; within the *Faerie Queene*, the irrepressible polyvalency of human speech. The process, inaugurated by the *translatio imperii* and *studii*, given new life during the Renaissance, and engaged by Ercilla and Spenser, continues today in studies like the one presented here.

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Chapter 2: *La Araucana*

2.1 Reception

Ercilla's *Araucana* was well received from the beginning, with Part I (1569) of the poem appearing in four editions prior to the publication of Part II (1578), and with twenty-three partial or full editions of the work in circulation by 1632.[3] In addition to its early influence on other authors, critical response was quick to appear, and while almost always complementary regarding matters of style, divided sharply on issues of structure and theme.[4] These three elements, inversely related to the rhetorical triad of *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*, focus on Ercilla's intentions and sympathies, on his response to formal requirements of the epic genre, and on the effectiveness of his diction. The

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[3] Frank Pierce, *Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 8; Pierce's *La Poesía Epica del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1961) is the standard reference for the *Araucana*'s reception.

[4] A variation on the story of Guacolda and Lautaro appeared as early as 1582 (Pierce, *Poesía*, 21 n. 3); cf. Isaías Lerner, "Introducción," *La Araucana* (Madrid: Catedra, 1993), 48-49; cf. Patricio C. Lerzundi, *Romances basados en "La Araucana"* (Madrid: Playor, 1978); among the best-known accolades for the *Araucana* are those of Cervantes, whose *Galatea* (1585) praises Ercilla for his exceptional grace and whose "inquisition of the books" in the 1605 *Quijote* identifies the *Araucana* as one of the three best works of Spanish heroic verse, along with Juan Rufo's *La Austriada* (1584) and Cristóbal de Virués's *El Monserrato* (1587); Juan de Guzmán's *Convite de oradores* (1590) calls Ercilla a new Homer, and Vicente Espinel's *Casa de memoria* (1591) claims that he eclipses Tasso (Marcos A. Morínigo, "Introducción," *La Araucana* [Madrid: Castalia, 1979], 62); for similar comments regarding Spenser and the *Faerie Queene*, see 161, below; a century after Cervantes, Voltaire offers an ambivalent assessment of Ercilla in his *Essai sur la poésie épique* (1726), arguing that the speech made by Colocolo in Canto 2 excels that of Nestor in the *Iliad*, then complaining a few pages later of how stunning it is to see Ercilla, after rising so high, fall so far; he concludes that the *Araucana* "est plus sauvage que les nations qui en font le dessein" ("is more savage than the peoples who make up its plan") (qtd. in Pierce, *Poesía*, 42-43) (translation is my own); Voltaire's praise helped speed the promulgation of Ercilla's work; the poem was known in England by the end of the sixteenth century, through a translation of the first sixteen cantos made by Sir George Carew, an Elizabethan statesman; on Carew's possible acquaintance with Spenser, see 156, below.

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intersection of these concerns has provided the most significant insight into Ercilla's work, whether it occurs within the first few decades of the poem's publication, when veterans of the Araucan campaigns were still alive and able to verify or complain about its version of events; 250 years later, during the poem's instauration as the *urtext* of Chilean literature; or at the end of the twentieth century, in the context of post-colonial studies.

The episodes that Ercilla wrote about his encounters with the Araucan women have enjoyed special popularity. Studies of these scenes have generally focused on issues of provenance, propriety, or function, with concerns about the second, common among early readers, usually addressed by analyses of the third.[5] Twentieth-century criticism, continuing a tradition of emphasizing the poem's historical accuracy, begins by viewing the women as largely authentic.[6] In subsequent studies acknowledging their literary origins, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* is initially singled out, although further discussions

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[5] Together with the absence of a central hero, the Araucan women episodes led some to question the regularity of Ercilla's epic. In his *Discours sur le Poème Epique* (c. 1755), after characterizing Ercilla as "le plus raisonnable des anciens poètes espagnols" ("the most reasoned of the old [i.e., less refined, more historically oriented] Spanish poets"), Louis Racine condemns the episodes as digressions inserted to break the monotony (qtd. in Pierce, *Poesía*, 53); as will be seen, this is what Ercilla himself maintains; see 73, below.

[6] Reflecting his focus on the historical aspects of medieval and Golden Age Spanish literature, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo argues that the interplay of actual event and poetry in Golden Age narrative results in two types of poems, "épica histórica" and "épica novelesca o fantástica" (*Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* [1883-1891]; in his *Orígenes de la novela* (1905), Menéndez Pelayo claims that Ercilla's is the best historical poem in Spanish and the first modern text in which contemporary events are elevated to the dignity of epic (qtd in Pierce, *Poesía*,173-178); the identification of the heroines as historical figures is associated most notably with the Chilean scholar, José Toribio Medina, whose exhaustive, five volume study of the poet and his work, *La Araucana de Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga. Edición del Centenario*, was commissioned to commemorate the Chilean centenary (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1948); also see, idem, "Las Mujeres en *La Araucana* de Ercilla," *Hispania* 2 (1928) 12.

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are more comprehensive, identifying key intertexts with Statius, Xenophon, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Garcilaso de la Vega.[5] The most recent work on the subject minimizes Ercilla's debt to chivalric literature, emphasizing instead the skill with which he combines Petrarchan discourse with thematic and stylistic elements of Virgil, Lucan, and Juan de Mena.[6]

The function of the episodes drew renewed attention in the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast to earlier critics who saw these passages, together with the defense of Dido, as at best, irregularities and, at worst, structural flaws, most writers now viewed the scenes as

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[5] The authority on Ariosto's influence in Spain, Maxime Chevalier, argues for the significance of his influence on Ercilla; Chevalier identifies Ariosto's broader impact on the *Araucana* with the use of a first person narrator who addresses the reader, with abrupt canto endings, and with an emphatic style of battle description (*L'Arioste en Espagne* [Bordeaux: Institut d'Etudes Ibériques et Ibéro-Américaines de l'Université de Bordeaux,1966], esp. 153-57); one of the earliest claims of Ariosto's influence is made in the eighteenth century by Juan Andrés (*Dell'origine, progresso e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, 1782-1798); the fact that another critic of the same period, Leandro Fernández de Moratín (*Reflexiones críticos . . .que se atribuyen a Moratín, el hijo*, 1785) asserts, on the contrary, that in his desire to present the truth Ercilla disregards the type of fiction associated with Ariosto shows that the issue was by no means agreed upon (both authors qtd. in Pierce, *Poesía*, 65-70). The most influential study of the provenance of the heroines is that of Lía Schwartz, "Tradición Literaria y Heroínas Indias en *La Araucana*," *Revista Iberoamericana* 38.81 (1972) 615-625; also see the studies of Isaías Lerner, who examines Ercilla's relation to both prior and subsequent authors: among the former, studies that focus on the importance of Garcilaso in Ercilla's formulation of a unifying poetic language ("Garcilaso en Ercilla," *Lexis* 2.2 [1978] 201-221); consideration of the significance of Lucan, which Lerner clearly demonstrates, pace David Quint (see 20 n. 8, below), is rhetorical rather than ideological ("Ercilla y Lucano," *Hommage à Robert Jammes*, Anejos de Criticón: 1 [Toulouse: P U M, 1994], 683-691); among the latter are explorations of Ercilla's impact on Cervantes and Góngora ("Ercilla y la formación del discurso poético áureo," *Busquemos Otros Montes y Otros Ríos*, ed. Elias L. Rivers, [Madrid: Castalia, 1992], 155-166); and "Entre Cervantes y Ercilla: *Quijote* 1.8-9," *El Comentario de Textos*, eds. Inés Carrasco and Guadalope Fernández Ariza (Málaga, 1998).

[6] James Nicolopulos, "Prophecy, Empire and Imitation in the *Araucana* in Light of the *Lusíadas*," Ph.D. Diss., U Cal Berkeley, 1992; and idem, "Responding to the Amorous Episodes of the *Araucana* in Colonial Peru," *Ésta de Nuestra América Pupila: Estudios de Poesía Colonial*, ed. Georgina Sabat-Rivers (Houston: Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry, 1999), 227-243.

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deliberately juxtaposed to and critical of the surrounding depictions of violence. Consensus about the extent of such criticism proved elusive, however, with some studies arguing that it is limited to specific aspects of the military campaign, while others claim that it condemns the Conquest itself.[7] A widely-read analysis of the poem in recent years, which focuses on the Araucan women, resurrects claims about the importance of Ariosto's influence on Ercilla, arguing, first, that this indicates the *Araucana*'s membership in a secondary tradition of anti-Virgilian, "losers epics," and that, second, it reflects Ercilla's anti-imperialist sentiments.[8] The present study will argue that the role of

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[7] Increased interest in this aspect of the poem develops in the context of New Historicism and sensitivity to issues of foreign wars and imperialism; cf. William Melczer, who describes Ercilla as struggling to balance a Virgilian conflict between ideological commitment and moral imperative, which generates what Melczer characterizes as the poem's pluralistic vision ("Ercilla's Divided Heroic Vision: a reevaluation of the epic hero in *La Araucana*," *Hispania* 56 [1973] 218-20); Ramona Lagos sees these episodes as juxtaposing the theme of love to an anti-heroic contest between loyalty and disloyalty, the former that of the Araucan women to their husbands, the latter that of Spanish soldiers to fundamental Christian values; Lagos argues that while the episodes criticize the conduct of Spanish soldiers in Chile, they stop short at questioning the Conquest itself ("El incumplimiento de la programmación épica en *La Araucana*," *Cuadernos Americanos* 238.5 [1981] 157-191; esp. 175-82). Beatrice Pastor, who sees the women as closely associated with chivalric models, finds no such limitation, discovering a pervasive critique of imperialism in the opposition between Spanish behavior and the Araucan women's attributes of fidelity, honor, and chastity. Pastor resurrects the spirit if not the letter of the poem's earlier nationalization by Chileans in asserting that its divided sensibility embodies the emergence of Hispanoamerican consciousness (*Discursos narrativos de la conquista: mitificación y emergencia* [Hanover, N. H.: Ediciones del Norte, 1988], 377, 436); cf. José Promis's correlation between what he describes as Ercilla's unstable point of view and "mannerist" vision of life-as-alienated-experience and the Hispanoamerican sense of marginality (*The Identity of Hispanoamerica: an Interpretation of Colonial Literature*, trans. Alita Kelley and Alec E. Kelley [Tucson: U Arizona P, 1991], 53-4). Also see Juan Diego Vila, "El personaje de Tegualda y su doble iniciación (historica y poética) en *La Araucana* de Ercilla," *Revista Signos: Estudios de Lengua y Literatura*, 25. 31-32 (1992) 213; and Aura S. Bocaz, "El personaje de Tegualda, uno de los narradores de *La Araucana*," *Boletín de Filología* 27 (1976) 7-27.

[8] David Quint's study of the *Araucana*, the best known discussion of the poem among non-Spanish speakers, locates Ercilla's work within the second of two, rival epic traditions, the first a politically conservative one represented by Homer and Virgil, the second, reacting against

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romance in general and of the *Furioso* in particular is largely formal in the *Araucana*, whose genealogy is most closely associated with epic, lyric, and pastoral. These pages will also argue that the questioning of heroic values that these scenes present, rather than identifying them with a secondary epic tradition, places them squarely within the primary one, where such questioning is consistently figured, beginning with Homer, in terms of a conflict between the epic and the erotic, associated with heroic verse on the one hand and

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the triumphalist teleology of these authors, inaugurated by Lucan and elaborated by Ovid. According to Quint, this ideological conflict has a formal counterpart, with works of the second tradition purposely violating Virgilian structure via episodic narratives that stress contingency over agency and the cyclicality of a never-ending struggle of the only-temporarily-defeated. As Quint sees it, this counter-tradition, which he discerns in Ercilla's Araucan women episodes, tends toward open-endedness and "non-narratability" and is eventually assimilated to what the Cinquecento debates are first to identify as the independent genre of romance (*Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* [Princeton: Princeton U P, 1993], esp. 136, 147, 171); Quint's general thesis is persuasive, but his identification of Ercilla with an anti-imperialist tradition is undermined not only by the poet's lifelong service to Philip II, but also, as will be seen, by the *Araucana*'s celebration of Spanish victories at San Quentin, Lepanto, and in Portugal, and by the many passages in which the poet associates his narrative with the *Aeneid*; further complicating Quint's assertions is the fact that Lucan's importance for Spanish authors is overwhelmingly rhetorical rather than ideological (Isaías Lerner, "Ercilla y Lucano," *Hommage à Robert Jammes*, Anejos de Criticón, 1 [Toulouse: P U M, 1994], 683-691; and idem, "Persistencia de metáfora: Lucano, Ercilla, el romancero," forthcoming); additionally, in spite of Cinquecento pronouncements regarding the *Furioso*'s embodiment of romance, Spanish audiences read the poem as an exemplar of modern, imperialist epic (see my "Arisoto Among the Araucans: Text, Context, and the Limits of Genre" [forthcoming]). Quint's work expands on studies of "counter-classical sensibility" and the genre of romance from the 1970s and 1980s; see W. R. Johnson's analysis of how Western scholars came to recognize divergent voices in Greco-Roman antiquity ("The Problem of the Counter-Classical Sensibility and Its Critics," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970) 123-51); cf. Charles Segal's "Narrative Art in the *Metamorphoses*," *The Classical Journal* 66 (1971) 331-37; and idem, "Ovid's Orpheus and Augustan Ideology," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 103 (1972) 473-94; also see Daniel Javitch's "Rescuing Ovid from the Allegorizers," *Comparative Literature* 30.2 (1978) 97-107; idem, "The *Orlando Furioso* and Ovid's Revision of the *Aeneid*," *MLN* 99.5 (1984) 1023-36; and idem, "Imitation of Imitations in *Orlando Furioso*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38.2 (1985) 215-39.

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lyric sentiment on the other.[9]

A number of proposals will be made with regard to these issues. Two pertain to Ercilla's identity as a poet, the first maintaining that his assumption of lyric discourse in the midst of epic is designed to establish his competency as a poet of love, an unavoidable challenge for an Iberian court poet in the generation succeeding Garcilaso; the second suggesting that lyric enables Ercilla, by way of Garcilaso's adaptation of the hendecasyllabic octave, to establish both his homage to and independence from Petrarch, Ariosto, and Sannazaro, establishing his contemporary genealogy in the same way that his allusions to ancient poets establish his classical one. Two additional proposals address Ercilla's methodology, the first suggesting that lyric provides him with a vocabulary for representing Araucan subjectivity, compensating for his lack of understanding of New

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[9] The majority of studies of the last two decades counter what is seen as excessively Americanist or "anti-imperialist" readings of Ercilla's poem; see, inter alia: Agustín Cueva's early, influential study, "El espejismo heroico de la conquista: Ensayo de interpretación de *La Araucana*," *Casa de las Américas* 110 (1978) 29-40; Francisco Javier Cevallos, who discusses the responses of early readers of the poem ("Don Alonso de Ercilla and the American Indian: History and Myth," *REVISTA DE ESTUDIOS HISPÁNICOS*, 23.3 [1989] 1-20); Roberto Castillo Sandoval, who explores the ambivalence exhibited by Ercilla's portraits of indigenous figures ("'¿Una misma cosa con la vuestra?': Ercilla, Pedro de Oña y la Apropiación Post-Colonial de la Patria Araucana," *Revista Iberoamericana* 61.179-171 [1995] 231-247); Georgina Sabat-Rivers, who argues that while the poet reveals admirable qualities of Christian sympathy and humanist curiosity, his narrative never strays beyond the bounds of imperialist ideology ("La Araucana bajo el lente actual: el noble bárbaro humilado," in *La cultura literaria en la América virreinal: concurrencias y diferencias,* ed. José Pascual Buxó [México: UNAM, 1996], 107-123); Gregory Shepherd concurs in this view, positing a confluence of public and private causes for Ercilla's ambivalence that have nothing to do with political ideology, among them Spain's disillusionment with its worsening economic situation, the defeat of the Armada, and, not least, the death of Ercilla's son in the latter ("Ercilla's creative and critical conflicts: Balancing oppositions in *La Araucana*," *Latin American Literary Review* 26 [1998] 120-133); also see: Janik Dieter, "La valoración múltiple del indio en *La Araucana* de Alonso de Ercilla,"*La imagen del indio en la Europa moderna*, (Seville: CSIC, 1990), 237-288; Bernal Herrera, "*La Araucana*: Conflicto y unidad," *Criticón* 53 (1991) 57-69; Wilfredo Casanova, "*La Araucana*: Epopeya de las manos," *Bulletin Hispanique* 95.1 (1993) 99-117; and Gilberto Trivinos, "El mito del tiempo de los héroes de Valdivía, Vivar y Ercilla," *Revista Chilena de Literatura* 49 (1996) 5-26.

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World inhabitants; the second stipulating that this vocabulary is also central to his fashioning of himself, not only as a narrator-participant imbued with the humanistic attributes of curiosity, *pietas*, and *clemencia*, as others have noted, but one who is subject to the same vicissitudes of desire as are his heroines.[10] Whether briefly interrupting the heroic narrative, as do the appearances of Lauca and Fresia, or developed into self-contained interpolations, as are the stories of Guacolda, Tegualda, Glaura, and the defense of Dido, these passages, through their contrast with the surrounding violence, offer an alternative vision of human interaction.

2.2 Eros and epic

The identification of love and strife as complementary opposing principles is an ancient one, surfacing in Greek mythology in the sexual liaison between Ares and Aphrodite. Homer adopts the story while contrasting the two principles more broadly, launching a tradition of heroic narratives in which the erotic repeatedly plays an

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[10] While not developing it to the degree of the present study, the work of Juan M. Corominas suggests such an approach by claiming that, "En el caso de *La Araucana*, a pesar de ser eminentemente una obra épica, no es precisamente por reflexión, sino directamente, por intuición, como en los poemas líricos, que el autor se revela a sí mismo [. . .] Y eso que Ercilla tiene de común con los líricos, en *La Araucana* lo tiene por ser un poeta autobiográfico y testimonial" ("In the case of *La Araucana*, in spite of being an eminently epic work, it is not exactly through reflection, but rather through intuition, as in lyric poetry, that the author reveals himself to himself [. . .] And that which Ercilla has in common with lyric poets, in *La Araucana* he has by virtue of being an autobiographical and testimonial poet") (*Castiglione y "La Araucana": Estudio de una influencia* [Madrid: José Porrúa Terranzas, 1980], 4). Corominas conceives of this "antimony" in Ercilla's poem as mediated by a Castiglionian and ultimately classical *ansia de universalidad* or "longing for universality," resulting in a dialectic between "la acción y la palabra —*epos*—por una parte, y el *logos lírikos* y el eros platónico por otra" ("action and the word—*epos*—on the one hand, and the lyrical *logos* and platonic eros on the other") (*Castiglione*, 43).

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unsettling role.[11] While neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* presents the dramatic juxtaposition of eros and epos found in later heroic poetry, they are the sources of what Barbara Pavlock identifies as the opposition's two key paradigms: the abandoned female, represented by Nausikaa in the episode of Odysseus among the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.460ff.), and the night raid, carried out by Odysseus and Diomedes during the Trojan war (*Il.* 10.252ff.).[12] Subsequent epics elaborate these archetypes through allusions to lyric, pastoral, and tragedy. The abandoned female becomes identified with aspects of irrational passion described by Sappho, an early source of imagery depicting love as fire, as alternating sensations of burning and freezing, and as general disorientation, all topoi of subsequent lyric.[13] The abandoned female is often situated in a pastoral *locus*

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[11] In the fifth century Empedocles, drawing on Heraclitus and Anaximander, identifies love and strife as the motive forces in a cycle of generation involving the four elements: "[. . .] at one time they grew to be one alone out of many, at another again they grew to be many out of one—fire and water and earth and the immense height of air, and cursed Strife apart from them, equal in every direction, and Love among them, equal in length and breadth" (qtd. in *The Presocratic Philosophers*, eds. G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983], 289-90). The story of Ares and Aphrodite is found as well in Ovid *(Meta.* 4.171ff.), the source of a related tale, popular at Thebes, identifying them as parents of Creon's wife, Harmonia (*Meta.* 3.132ff.). Ovid also writes of the conflict between love and strife in terms of the meters identified with their literary genres, a difference that had a comic association with the story of Hephaestos's injured foot:

> Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
> edere, materia conveniente modis.
> Par erat inferior versus—risisse Cupido.
> dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.
>
> Arms, and the violent deeds of war, I was making ready to sound forth—in weighty numbers, with matter suited to the measure. The second verse was equal to the first—but Cupid, they say, with a laugh stole away one foot. *(Amores* 1.1-4).

(English translation by Grant Showerman in the Loeb edition [Cambridge: HUP, 1977].)

[12] Homer locates the Ares-Aphrodite story within the Phaeacian episode, where it is sung by the bard Demodocus (*Od.* 8.265ff.).

[13] Cf. from the fragments of Sappho: "ἄν δ' ἔφλυξας ἔμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθωι" ("my desire blazed up and burned my heart]; citations of Sappho are from *Poems of Alcman,*

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amoenus, and she frequently enacts a Theocritan distinction between sexual dalliance and troubled passion that culminates in a rejection-based hatred inspired by Euripides' Medea. The *Argonautica*, which represents the most significant transformation of epic in antiquity, elaborates each of these themes in its exploration of the sensations of love and of the effect of private passion on the public sphere, Medea conjoining Homer's civilized maiden with Euripides's barbarian queen as Apollonius's sensitive depiction of first love is gradually supplanted by passionate rage. Subsequent poets elaborate the motif in other directions. Catullus's verses on the wedding of Peleus and Thetis emphasize Ariadne's fidelity when abandoned by Theseus, focusing on a quality seen earlier in Homer's Penelope and later in Ovid, whose Ariadne in *Heroides X* provides the model for Olimpia, Ariosto's paragon of faithfulness.

Virgil's version of the abandoned female is the most complex of the tradition, his

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Sappho, Ibycus; (New York: Knopf, 1945); English translations are based on those of Olga Marx and Ernst Morwitz of this edition; the text is not paginated and the above citation not identified; and cf., from fragment #31:

ἀλλὰ κὰι μὲν γλῶσσά μ᾽ ἔαγε, λέπτον
δ᾽ αὔτικα χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἒν ὄρημ᾽, ἐπιρρόμ-
βεισι δ᾽ ἄκουαι,

ἀ δέ μ᾽ ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δέ
παίσαν ἄγωει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ᾽ ὀλίγω ᾽πιδεύης
φαίνομ᾽ ἀλαία.

For my tongue is broken and tender fires / swift and sudden under my skin are tingling, / with my eyes no longer I grasp, my ears are / deafened with surges. // Sweat is pouring down from my body, tremors / shake me wildly, paler I grow than withered / grasses, little more and I die, I seem de- / prived of my senses.

For such imagery, which becomes ubiquitous by late antiquity, cf. Apollonius (see 94 n. 148, below); Propertius (3.17.9-10; 4.4.69-70), Catullus (Poem 64: lines 93-94), Ovid (*Her.* 4.70; *Met.* 2.409-10), and Seneca (*Phaedra*, 640-42). Virgil's use of this imagery is discussed below, 94.

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allusions to classical tragedy imbuing Dido not only with Medea's irrational furor and sorcerer's skills, together with overtones of Phaedra's despair in the *Hippolytus*, but also with the suicidal rage of Sophocles's Ajax, whose resentful silence in the Elysian Fields dramatizes the scene from Homer.[14] The implied masculinity of the latter association, reinforced by Dido's concern for her reputation, introduces a concern with gender into the equation, while Virgil's depiction of Dido's suicide creates a compelling link between death and eros. Her passion, which prevents Dido from functioning as queen, emphasizes the conflict between individual and community that eventually engulfs Aeneas as well, reflecting Virgil's misgivings regarding the compatibility of eros and the epic undertaking.

Virgil is also the source of significant development in the night raid motif, his version of this in the *Aeneid*, in contrast to Homer's brief excursion into the brutality of the heroic ethos, now linking four types of desire. Three of these—the lust for blood, for wealth, and for fame—latent in Homer, are explicitly juxtaposed by Euripides in the *Rhesus*, named for the owner of the champion horses whom Diomedes killed on the night raid (*Il.* 10.474). Virgil adopts the triad, then complicates it by suggesting the potential for sexual lust as well, exchanging the hapless spy of Homer's narrative, Dolon, for Nisus and Euryalus, a pair whose homoerotic bond echoes that of Achilles and Patroclus. In a final variation on the Doloneia in antiquity, Statius's *Thebaid* inverts Virgilian values by presenting the fight for Thebes as madness and the night raid, now carried out by two

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[14] Cf. the scene between Dido and her sister Anna in the *Aeneid* (4.31-53) with that of Phaedra and her nurse in Scene 2 of the *Hippolytus*; cf. Ajax in the *Odyssey*'s vision of the underworld (11.540ff.).

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luckless comrades with the sole purpose of burying their leaders, as one of the epic's few examples of *pietas*.[15] Statius's linking of the night raid with the search for the corpse of a beloved inspires Ariosto's episode of Cloridano and Medoro (*O.F.* 18.165ff.). This combination also links the night raid and abandoned woman motifs, a conjunction associated with Sophocles's Antigone and Xenophon's Panthea. As will be seen, the *Araucana* presents its own imitation of these images, extending traditions whose trajectories it intercepts at multiple points.[16]

With the exception of Virgil, Ercilla's familiarity with the ancient texts discussed here was almost certainly indirect.[17] The evocation of their principal themes and motifs

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[15] Hopleus and Dymas meet the same fate as their Virgilian counterparts, to whom Statius figuratively entrusts them in the episode's closing lines: "Forsitan et comites non aspernabitur umbras / Euryalus Phrygiique admittet gloria Nisi" ("Euryalus / Perhaps won't spurn you as his comrades true, / And Nisus in his glory welcome you" (10.446-48); (English translation is that of A. D. Melville, *Thebaid* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992]).

[16] Although beyond the scope of the present study, it should be noted that Siglo de Oro authors had a more recent manifestation of the conflict between epic and eros in the medieval contrast between the *cantares de gesta*, exemplified by the *Cantar del Mío Cid*, with its gothic, chivalric ethos, and the provençal, Gallegan ambience of the *Libro de buen amor*, with its overtones of judeo-arabic lyric; cf. Corominas, *Castiglione*, 38-39.

[17] Medina, long taken as the best source of information on Ercilla's poorly-documented education, concurs with Saavedra Fajardo's characterization of Ercilla as "inerudito," arguing that despite being taught alongside other pages of Philip II by Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, royal historiographer and an accomplished humanist, the poet had only a modest command of Latin and probably knew most Latin as well as key Italian works through Spanish translations, notably, Gregorio Hernández de Velasco's 1555 *Aeneid* and Martín Laso de Oropesa's 1541 *Pharsalia*; Medina surmises that in addition to the Bible and to Spanish authors, Ercilla was also familiar with Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, and Sannazaro, although most of these were available in Spanish as well (*Vida*, 23-26); Lerner discusses Ercilla's use of Hernández de Velasco's 1555 translation of the *Aeneid* (553 n. 70). Scholars subsequent to Medina have revised his assessment. Corominas claims that the process of learning Latin under a tutor such as Calvete de Estrella would have exposed Ercilla, whom he describes as "un cortesano renacentista completo" ("the complete Renaissance courtier") (8), to some amount of Greek, although he goes on to argue, more ingeniously than convincingly, that the poet's modesty, modeled on that of Castiglione's courtier, required that he conceal such erudition: "Si comparamos la erudición de

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in the *Araucana* is attributable instead to the many secondary sources to which the poet had access, including texts used in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric, the period's many *misceláneas*, and paratextual commentary, especially that found in humanist editions of ancient as well as Italian works.[18] The courtly society to which Ercilla had lifelong access, by contrast, was largely absorbed, on the one hand, by Amadís and his

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Ercilla con la de otros autores renacentistas contemporáneos tales como Camoens, Ariosto y Tasso, resulta que Ercilla a diferencia de ellos, es un acabado cortesano renacentista, no un profesional de las letras. Lo que él busca ante todo es el equilibrio y una plenitud humanistica, siempre guiado por el sentido del la modestia y la limitación clásicas" ("If we compare the erudition of Ercilla with that of other contemporary Renaissance authors like Camoens, Ariosto, and Tasso, it turns out that Ercilla, unlike them, is a complete Renaissance courtier, not a professional of letters. What he seeks above all is equilibrium and a humanist plenitude, guided always by a sense of classical modesty and limitation") (*Castiglione*, 68; cf. 88); such claims must be reconciled with the numerous instances in which Ercilla makes a point of advertising his imitation rather than disguising it; cf. the detailed philological analyses of Lerner and Nicolopulos, cited earlier, which establish that Ercilla knew the works of Virgil, Lucan, Mena, and Garcilaso more thoroughly than perhaps Medina had allowed; see 19 n. 5, above; also see Nicolopulos's consideration of Ercilla's possible familiarity with the Gonzalo Pérez translation of the *Odyssey*: Bks. 1-13 (1550); Bks. 1-24 (1556) (Nicolopulos, "Prophecy," 24); cf. Theodore S. Beardsley, Jr., *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699* (Pittsburgh: Duqesnes U P, 1970), 150. A significant portion of Ercilla's exposure to literary matters occurs after his return from the New World in 1563, during the twenty years he composes his masterpiece. Beginning in the 1580s he acts as an official examiner of books, which leads to his providing the *aprobaciones* for some twenty-three volumes, among them Fernando de Herrera's edition of the works of Garcilaso (1580) and Gabriel Lasso de la Vega's *Cortés Valeroso* (1588); cf. Medina's "Aprobaciones de Ercilla" in his *Vida*. Given the many references in the current study to the *Argonautica*, it should be noted that while there is no evidence of Ercilla's firsthand knowledge of Apollonius, his familiarity with Jason, Medea, and the Golden Fleece, referred to during the *mapamundi* tour via Fitón's crystal sphere (27.12.5-8), could have been via Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, Bk. 7); the *Metamorphoses* was translated into Spanish circa 1543 by Jorge de Bustamante; see Appendix A for information on the potential availability in Siglo de Oro Spain of the classical texts discussed here.

[18] In addition to textbooks, which typically contained canonical *exempla*, literary works such as the *Pharsalia* and the *Cyropaedia* were also used in such teaching, e.g., Pedro Mexía's *Silva de Varia Lección*, the first vernacular miscellany (Lerner, "Pero Mexía," esp. 131ff.); the paratextual scholarship of humanist editions of ancient as well as Italian works is well-known. Lerner argues that Mexía's *Silva* was a significant source of information for Ercilla about classical texts ("Pero Mexía," 130); Nicolopulos makes the same claim with regard to Fernán Núñez's commentary on the *Laberinto de Fortuna* (1499, rev. 1505), which represents the first humanist canonization of a Castilian poet ("Prophecy," 108-09, 182).

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epigones, of little relevance here, and on the other by Petrarchism, Italian prosody, and Neoplatonic theories of love, beauty, and the soul, with their associations to pastoral eclogue and romance.[19]

Ancient literary theory envisioned a complex affiliation between pastoral and epic, in part because of their shared use of dactylic hexameter and their similar mixing of narratorial and character voices, in part because of the *rota Virgilii*, which saw the eclogue as preparation for heroic verse.[20] Pastoral's erotic subject matter and frequent use of the *locus amoenus*, on the other hand, led to a practical emphasis on its differences with epic, adumbrated by Homer in the ecphrasis of Achilles's shield (*Il.* 18.540ff.) and the description of the gardens of Alcinous (*Od.* 7.110ff.), each of which offers a bucolic interlude in the midst of heroic struggle. The idealized existence of literary shepherds created by Theocritus gives pastoral a primarily negative ethos, proscribing work, wealth, and passion in favor of epicurean innocence.[21] Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*, combining this contrived simplicity with a detailed description of the birth of erotic awareness, has a

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[19] Ercilla traveled extensively not only in Spain and the New World, but also in Italy, England, and elsewhere in the Habsburg empire; cf. Medina (*Vida*, 27-29).

[20] Servius's commentary on Virgil's eclogues associates pastoral with epic based on their sharing the "mixed" mode of presentation, which combines the dramatic voice of characters with the descriptive voice of the narrator (Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* [Berkeley: U of California, 1969],13); Quintilian associates pastoral with epic based on their common use of the hexameter (cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* [Princeton: Princeton U P, 1953], 441); for discussion of the *rota Virgilii* in this context, see Curtius, *European*, 232ff..

[21] Renato Poggioli, *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Idea* (Boston: Havard U P, 1975), 4; cf. David Quint, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983), 45-46; for a contrasting interpretation of the genre, see Rosenmeyer (*Cabinet*, esp. 68ff.).

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special appeal for Renaissance authors, inspiring numerous explorations of amorous sensibilities, either in tones of elegiac recall or frustrated anticipation.[22]

The timeless, literary quality of pastoral life stands in sharp contrast to the world around it. Such a depiction is naturally opposed to history, with which it exists, according to David Quint, in a mutual critique of wishful thinking on the one hand and waking nightmare on the other (63).[23] The appearance of pastoral in other genres,

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[22] Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, published in 1504, was instrumental in establishing the popularity of pastoral romance for this period. Subsequent sixteenth-century pastoral dramas include Montemayor's *Diana* (1559), Gil Polo's *Diana enamorada* (1564), Tasso's *L'Aminta* (1573), Sidney's *Arcadia* (1580), Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1580-89), Cervantes's *Galatea* (1585), and Lope de Vega's *Arcadia* (1598).

[23] Quint, *Origin*, 63; Poggioli also emphasizes the opposition of pastoral and history (*Oaten*, 30); there are numerous studies that focus on the *Araucana*'s conception of history: Pierce explores how history and epic were understood in the Siglo de Oro ("History and Poetry in the Heroic Poem of the Golden Age," *Hispanic Review* 20 [1952] 302-312); Michael Gerli analyzes the expedition to Ancud in Canto 34 in light of sixteenth-century literature on utopia ("Elysium and the Cannibals: History and Humanism in Ercilla's *La Araucana*," *Renaissance and Golden Age Essays in Honor of D. W. McPheeters* [Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1986], 82-93; Carmen Alverio uses Hayden White's conception of "emplotted" history to argue for the metafictional status of Ercilla's poem, which she sees as embracing key elements of romance, satire, comedy, and tragedy ("La Metaficción en *La Araucana* de Alonso de Ercilla," *Revista/Review Interamericana* 19.3-4 (1989) 10-18); D. A. Brading explores the text in terms of the "imperial school" of New World historiography that develops with Oviedo and Gómara (*The First America: the Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492- 1867* [Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1991]; for discussion of the *Araucana*'s historical accuracy, which is generally considered to be substantial, see the influential study by José Durand, who examines the possibility of a prior historical source for some of the events that Ercilla describes in the *Crónica* of Jerónimo de Vivar (*Crónica y relación copiosa y uerdadera de los reynos de Chile, hecha por Gerónimo de Bibar, natural de Burgos*, 1558); Durand notes that Vivar's text, first transcribed by Irving Leonard in 1966 and unknown to Ercilla scholars even after that date, describes the log contest involved in the determination of an Araucan leader in Canto 2 (2.40ff.) with the same key details as Ercilla ("Caupolicán, clave historial y épica de *La Araucana*," *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 52 (1978) 367-389). The other contemporary histories Durand refers to are those of Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo (1575) and Pedro Mariño de Lobera (c.1594); Robert Charles Padden comments on discrepancies between Ercilla's account and the historical record ("Cultural Change and Military Resistance in Araucanian Chile, 1550-1730," *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent*, ed. Patricia J. Lyon, [Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1974]); also see: Marcos A. Morínigo, "Lo que Ercilla vio de la guerra araucana," *Studia Ibérica, Festschrift für Hans Flasche*, eds. Karl-Hermann Körner

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frequently announced by the introduction of a *locus amoenus*, typically signifies a temporary retirement from worldly concerns. When it comes to epic, the inherent conflict with pastoral is obvious: pastoral representing renunciation and insularity; epic, aspiration and expansionism. Erotic pastoral has also been identified as central to Cervantes's innovations in depicting interiority, since the anguish and anxiety these narratives describe as part of the experience of love creates a sense of self distinct from the motive of such unhappiness.[24]

2.4 Petrarchan subjectivity and Spain

Petrarch's verse, while adopting motifs of pastoral elegy, courtly love poetry, and the *dolce stil novo*, departs from earlier tradition in its creation of a persona for the poet built on obsessive introspection. In his study of Petrarch and Augustine, John Freccero argues that both authors engage in a process of literary self-creation driven by desire, Augustine directing this desire outward to God, Petrarch channeling it inward in endless frustration.[25] Elaborating a distinction between sign and idol, where the first points to absence or future significance, as in Augustine's association between the image of the fig tree and the experience of conversion, and the second represents an effort to render presence, as in Petrarch's evocation of Laura's veil in *Canzoniere 52*, Freccero argues that Petrarch's poetic practice is deliberately idolatrous and fundamentally autoreflexive,

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and Klaus Ruhl (1973), 427-440; and Fernando Campos Harriet, "Don Alonso de Ercilla y *La Araucana*," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, 61.104 (1994) 181-188.

[24] Américo Castro, *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1957); 276ff., esp. 290.

[25] John Freccero, "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics," *Literary Theory and Renaissance Texts*, eds. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore: John Hopkins U P, 1986), 20-33; 23.

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creating the image of a lady who in turn creates the image of the poet in a circular process foreclosing referentiality.[26] According to Freccero, Petrarch's lyrics, in which frustrated desire is transmuted via Laura into laurel or poetic glory, represent the first such literary self-creation in the Western canon and, in addition to inspiring a long tradition of similar projects, are fundamental to the development of a new sense of subjectivity in Early Modern Europe.[27]

Petrarch's verse may also be seen as proposing the substitution of epic by lyric as part of its newly historical perspective. The juxtaposition of the ancient, epic matter of war, also symbolized by the laurel, and the lyric subject of love, now identified with the present, is explicitly addressed in poem 186, where the poet states that:

> Se Virgilio et Omero avessin visto
> quel sole il qual vegg'io con gli occhi miei,
> tutte lor forze in dar fama a costei
> avrian posto et l'un stil coll'altro misto (1-4).
> If Virgil and Homer halss that sun which I see with my / eyes, they would have exerted all their powers to gi to give her fame / and would have mixed together the two styles.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 25-27.

[27] Ibid., 31; cf. Linda Gregerson: "[. . .] in the figurative and narrative patterns of sexual desire (the 'love plot' of epic, the 'romance' of romance), the poets find their most flexible instrument for imagining the subject—its partiality, its partitions, and its capacity for change" (*The Reformation of the Subject: Spenser, Milton, and the English Protestant Epic* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995], 6; Gregerson's work will be returned to in the discussion of Spenser; see 165ff., below.

[28] The contrast is embodied in Petrarch's career by the Latin *Africa* and the vernacular *Rime*; cf. poem 263. 1-2: "Arbor vittoriosa triunfale, / onor d'imperadori et di poeti [. . .]" ("Victorious, triumphal tree, the honor of emperors and of poets"). (English translations of the *Canzoniere* are those of Robert M. Durling, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: the 'Rime sparse' and Other Lyrics* [Cambridge: H U P, 1976]).

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A similar but more explicit movement has been examined in the poetry of Garcilaso.[29] Garcilaso's early editor, Fernando de Herrera, was the first to identify these elements, noting the influence of the Petrarchan canzone just cited on Garcilaso's First Eclogue, a pastoral amoebean exchange whose dedicatory lines to the military hero Pedro de Toledo figure the transition from epic to lyric in the emblems of laurel and ivy:

> *el árbol de victoria*
> que ciñe estrechamente
> tu gloriosa frente
> de lugar a *la hiedra* que se planta
> debajo de tu sombra y se levanta
> poco a poco, arrimada a tus loores;
> y en cuanto esto se canta,
> escucha tú el cantar de mis pastores. (35-42)
>
> Let the tree of victory that tightly girds your glorious forehead give way to the ivy that is planted below your shadow and that lifts itself little by little, supported on your praises; and while this is sung, listen to the song of my shepherds.[30]

Recent work on Siglo de Oro literature has examined these issues from a different perspective, contextualizing Petrarch's self-creation in terms of Norbert Elias's work on *civilité*.[31] Elias argues that the monopolizing of force by early modern absolutist states is

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[29] Ignacio Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley: U Cal P, 1994), 165ff..

[30] All emphases in cited passages throughout the present study are added; text for Garcilaso's poetry is that of *Obra Poética y Textos en Prosa*, ed. Bienvenido Morros (Barcelona: Crítica, 1995). For laurel as the traditional emblem of the epic poet, see Horace's *Odes* (4.2.7-12) and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.448-51 and 1.566-67); for the association of ivy with lyric, see Propertius elegies (2.5.26) and Ovid's *Fasti* (3.767ff.). For related passages in Garcilaso, see *Canción V* and *Egloga III*.

[31] Anthony J. Cascardi, *Ideologies of History in the Spanish Golden Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State U P, 1997), 251, 267; Norbert Elias's best-known study, *The Civilizing Process*, was originally published in Germany in 1939, but not translated into English until 1978 (vol. 1) and 1982 (vol. 2).

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mirrored, on a local level, by stricter control of the emotions and by a higher measure of individual self-restraint in comparison with previous feudal society.[32] The court acts as a crucible for these changes, which lead to increasingly elaborate rules of behavior articulated in the period's many conduct books.[33] While not discussing literary production per se, Elias argues that as part of this process of *civilisation*, which he terms "the courtization of the warrior," the discourse of courtly society becomes both a manifestation and a symbol of a new social formation:

> [*civilité* becomes the] symbol of a social formation embracing the most diverse nationalities, in which, as in the Church, *a common language* is spoken, first Italian, and then, increasingly, French. These languages take over the function earlier performed by Latin. They manifest the unity of Europe, and at the same time *the new social formation* which forms its backbone, court society. The situation, the self-image, and the characteristics of this society find expression in the concept of *civilité*.[34]

Antonio Cascardi argues that Petrarchan lyric acts as such a common language, becoming a sign of membership in this newly civilized culture even in Spain, where it isn't the principal poetic language for many years.[35] Echoing Freccero, he also asserts that "the

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[32] Citations from Elias's work are from *Norbert Elias, Civilization, Power, and Knowledge: Selected Writings*, eds. Stephen Mennell and Johan Goudsblom (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998); 71.

[33] Ibid., 72.

[34] Ibid., 75; Elias notes that *civilité* took on a specific meaning with the publication in 1530 of Erasmus's *De civilitate morum puerilium*, a very popular work translated into a variety of vernaculars, an English version appearing as early as 1532 (76); for a discussion of these issues that challenges Elias's thesis, see Dilwyn Knox, "Disciplina: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility," *Renaissance Society & Culture* (New York: Italica, 2001).

[35] Cascardi, *Ideologies*, 251; Cascardi maintains that his application of Elias is supported by the thesis of Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine regarding humanist training as fostering

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availability of something like the inward voice of lyric [. . .] was essential for social construction of the subject-self in early modern Spain."[36] Cascardi suggests that the control of violent instincts within increasingly restricted court circles encourages authors to substitute pastoral poetry for heroic verse, although he notes that Spain's prestige as an imperial power worked against this tendency, requiring the exaltation of some of the aggressive attributes that *civilité* worked to suppress.[37] He sees Garcilaso as attempting to resolve this conflict by conjoining these opposing values, as he does in *Egloga I*, where the pastoral setting with Salicio and Nemoroso is prelude to praise of Pedro de Toledo's military accomplishments and where war and Spain's imperial aspirations are both figured as poetic.[38] Extolling Spanish imperialism and military bravery in heroic verse, it

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docility toward political authority, which co-opts its strengths (*Ideologies*, 153); cf. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (Cambridge: H U P, 1986), xiv and 22-25).

[36] Cascardi, *Ideologies*, 285; Nicolopulos's study of the reception of *La Araucana* among Peruvian criollos supports Cascardi's argument about how Petrarchan discourse was viewed; cf. James Nicolopulos, "Reading and Responding to the Amorous Episodes of the *Araucana* in Colonial Peru." *Ésta de Nuestra América Pupila: Estudios de Poesía Colonial*. Ed. Georgina Sabat-Rivers. Houston: Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry, 1999. 227-243; 232.

[37] Cascardi, *Ideologies*, 267-70.

[38] Ibid., 270; Garcilaso juxtaposes love and war in a variety of verses; cf. "¿A quién ya de nosotros el eceso / de guerras, de peligros y destierro / no toca y no ha cansado el gran proceso?" ("whom among us hasn't the great procession of excess of wars, of danger, and exile not touched and not wearied?") (*Elegía I*, 82-84); and from *Elegia II*:

> ¡Oh crudo, oh riguroso, oh fiero Marte,
> de túnica cubierto de diamante
> y endurecido siempre en toda parte!
> ¿Qué tiene que hacer el tierno amante
> con tu dureza y áspera ejercicio,
> llevado siempre del furor delante?

Oh crude, oh rigorous, oh fierce Mars, covered with diamond tunic and always hardened in every part! What does the tender lover have to do with your severity and harsh

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can be argued that Ercilla is faced with the obverse task of establishing his membership in a newly civilized culture associated with lyric; the episodes featuring the Araucan women are his response to this challenge.

Roland Greene's analysis of Petrarchism and the Conquest brings us full circle to the focus on eros and epic. Greene finds that the language of the *Canzionere*, giving voice to frustration and ambition, to selfhood and difference, and to the distribution of power among agents, has special appeal to sixteenth-century Europeans attempting to inscribe their encounters with the New World.[39] The appeal stems in part from the semantic ambiguity such discourse encodes in objects of desire, which are both "celebrated and deplored" as epitomes of the polarized values of individuals and society.[40] Greene argues that the Petrarchan subject becomes newly immediate in the context of America, which imbues the "frayed" poetic convention with new urgency. He concludes that beginning with Columbus and continuing with Louise Labé, Gutierre de Cetina, and Fernández de Oviedo, two Petrarchims emerge: one, an international, transgeneric dialogue of imperial intentions that cyclically rewrites the other, the Petrarchism of lyric poetry, in a constant accommodation of it to events in the New

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practice, always carried forward by rage? (94-99).
For discussion of this conflict in Garcilaso's work, see Anne J. Cruz, "Self-fashioning in Spain: Garcilaso de la Vega," *Romanic Review* 83.4 (1992) 517-38; 533ff.

[39] Roland Greene, *Post-Petrarchism: Origins and Innovations of the Western Lyric Sequence* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991), 131-132.

[40] Ibid., 133.

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World.[41] The analysis that follows will consider the contributions that Ercilla has made to both.

Alongside its pan-European role as a discourse of *civilité* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Petrarchism fulfils distinct functions in different countries. Themes and imagery from both the *Trionfi* and the *Canzoniere* appear in Spanish verse during the 1400s, the abstract, conceptual wordplay of the *Cancionero* awkwardly accommodating the *Canzoniere*'s concrete imagery and focus on introspection.[42] A mastery of *Rime Sparse* metrics awaits Boscán and Garcilaso, in whose poetry Petrarchism becomes the site of Spain's struggle to overcome its sense of cultural belatedness *vis-à-vis* Italy, an inferiority complex reflecting the disjunction between the *translatio imperii* and

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[41] Ibid., 149-58; Greene discusses, in particular, Labé's twenty-first sonnet, Gutierre de Cetina's "Si de Roma el ardor," and Fernández de Oviedo's verse encomium, *Quinquagenas*.

[42] Early examples of Petrarchan influence in Spain are commonly identified with examples of Juan de Mena's imagery and with the poetry of the Marqués de Santillana, who composed "sonetos fechos al itálico modo" as well as allegorical "decires" and "visiones" closely related to the *Trionfi*; cf. Giovanni Caravaggi, "Petrarch in Castile in the Fifteenth Century: The *Triumphete de Amor* by the Marquis of Santillana," *Petrarch's "Triumphs": Allegory and Spectacle*, Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci, Eds. (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1990), (esp. 292ff.); also see Roxana Recio's monograph on the importance of the *Trionfi* (*Petrarca en la Península Ibérica* [Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1996]). During this period the popularity of the *Rime Sparse* was secondary to that of the *Trionfi*, the first translation of which, by Antonio de Obregón, was made in 1512 as a *cancionero*-style, octosyllabic version. Alvar Gómez also translated the work (c. 1538) before Hernando de Hozes's better-known, hendecasyllabic rendition of 1554; cf. Anne J. Cruz, "The *Trionfi* in Spain: Petrarchist Poetics, Translation Theory, and the Castillian Vernacular in the Sixteenth Century," esp. 309ff. For an insightful analysis of the significance of Hozes's revisions of his translation in the context of the increasing dominance of Italian verse forms in Spain, see Francisco Rico, "El Destierro del Verso Agudo," *Homenaje a José Manuel Blecua* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 525-551; for Petrarchism in a specific New World setting, in contrast to the more theoretically oriented work of Roland Greene ("Petrarchism"), see Alicia de Colombí-Monguió: *Petrarquismo peruano: Diego Dávalos y la "Miscelánea Austral"* (London: Tamesis, 1995).

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translatio studii articulated as early as 1490.[43]

Garcilaso and Boscán begin experimenting with Italian verse forms in the late 1520s, during a period that offers many opportunities for cultural exchange between Italy and Spain: Castiglione is posted to the court of Charles V as papal nuncio in 1524, four years before the *princeps* of *Il Cortegiano*, but well after it is considered to have been completed;[44] a friendship develops between Boscán and the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagero, from which derives their conversation in the gardens of Granada's Generalife in 1526, during which Navagero encourages Boscán to adopt Italian metrics;[45] and most important, Garcilaso resides in Naples from 1532 until his death in France in 1536, becoming a highly regarded participant in the literary life of the city, which centers around the Accademia Pontaniana and such luminaries as Jacopo Sannazaro, Antonio Minturno, Bernardo Tasso, and Pietro Bembo.[46]

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[43] Antonio de Nebrija's often-cited call for linguistic unity is predated by that of García de Santa María, who proclaims the function of *castellano* as an instrument of political unification in the prologue to his *Vitae patrum* (Zaragoza c.1490), after which the topic is addressed by Nebrija in his *Gramática castellana* of 1492; cf. Domingo Yndurain's "La invención de una lengua clásica," 1 *Edad de Oro* (1982) 13-34.

[44] The *Courtier* is generally believed to have been completed by 1516.

[45] Cf. Colombí-Monguió's discussion of Navagero's stricter view of imitation, via his friend Bembo, in contrast to that of Boscán ("Boscán," esp. 154ff.). This difference stems in part from the higher status enjoyed by the vernacular in Spain, which, in contrast to Italy, did not experience the same type of struggle over the *questione della lingua*; cf. William Melczer, "Towards the Dignification of the Vulgar Tongues: Humanistic Translations into Italian and Spanish in the Renaissance," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 8.2 (1981) 256-271 and Rico, "Destierro."

[46] For additional discussion of Garcilaso see the numerous studies of Rafael Lapesa, esp. *La trayectoria poética de Garcilaso*, (Madrid: Alianza, 1985).

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2.5 *Cortegiano/Cortesano*

Boscán's translation of *Il Cortegiano* insures Castiglione's influence on Garcilaso and Boscán and thus on the introduction of Petrarchan poetics on the Iberian peninsula. Castiglione's emphasis on *sprezzatura* collapses distinctions between life and art, giving rise to an aestheticization of life reflected in such a Renaissance mantra as that regarding "arms and letters," evoked by Ercilla's reference to living with "la pluma ora en la mano, ora la lanza" ("the pen now in hand, now the lance") (20.24.8).[47]

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[47] Navarrete, *Orphans*, 64; Navarrete claims that Castiglione's "aesthetics of indirection" (*Orphans*, 38) is partly responsible for the absence of a systematic Spanish poetics until late in the sixteenth century, a situation more typically discussed in terms of Menéndez Pelayo's assertion of Spanish emphasis on praxis rather than theory; cf. Corominas's observation that "Italy turns humanism into art; Spain into life" (*Castiglione*, 8); for additional insight on the topic, cf. Antonio Vilanova, "Preceptistas de los Siglos XVI y XVII," *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*," *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, ed. D. Guillermo Diaz-Plaja, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Barra, 1949) 3; and Elias Rivers, "El problema de los generos neoclásicos y la poesía de Garcilaso," *Garcilaso: Actas de la IV Academia Literaria Renacentista*, (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1986). The early sixteenth century did see important works on rhetoric and poetics by Spanish authors, notably Vives's *Rhetoricae* and Antonio de Nebrija's *De artis Rhetorica* (1529), but these were written with regard to Latin. The earliest vernacular poetics include Miguel Sánchez de Lima's *El Arte poética en Romance Castellano* (1580), Juan Díaz Rengifo's *Arte poética Española* (1592), and the Aristotelian *Philosophia Antigua Poética* (1596) of Alonso López Pinciano, which Menéndez Pelayo considers the most accomplished poetics after Robortello's commentary on Aristotle. Two subsequent poetics are also strongly Aristotelian: Luis Alfonso de Carvallo's *El Cisne de Apolo* (1616) and Francisco de Cascales's *Tablas poéticas* (1617). Early Spanish poetics promote Ercilla as a rhetorical model, Sánchez de Lima, Díaz Rengifo, and Alfonso de Carvallo all using passages from the poem to illustrate their discussions of rhetorical figures. The identification of Ercilla as a model for proper Spanish is also made in England during this period, John Minsheu offering various passages from the *Araucana* in his *Spanish Grammar* of 1599. The works of Sánchez de Lima and Rengifo are considered inferior to the paratextual poetics of Garcilaso's two early editors, Francisco Sánchez, known as El Brocense, whose *Anotaciones y Enmiendas a Garcilaso* was published in 1577, and his rival, Fernando de Herrera, whose *Anotaciones* appeared in 1580. Numerous studies consider the *Araucana* in the context of poetics: Francisco Javier Cevallos writes about the theoretical problems faced by Renaissance writers of epic poetry, comparing solutions offered by Ariosto, Tasso, and Ercilla ("Don Alonso de Ercilla y la teoría poética del Renacimiento," *Crítica y descolonización: el sujeto colonial en la cultura latinoamericana*, ed. Beatriz González Stephan y Lucía Helena Costigan [Caracas: Ediciones de la Universidad Simón Bolivar, 1992], 199-219; María José Rodilla argues that Ercilla was aware

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It is clear from Boscán's translation of *Il Cortegiano* that *sprezzatura*, which he terms *desprecio o descuido* ("disdain or carelessness"), has special resonance for him, since he expands upon the original passage in which Lodovico da Canossa encourages the courtier "[. . .] fuggir quanto più si po, e come un asperissimo e pericoloso scoglio *la affettazione*; e, per dir forse una nova parola, usar in ogni cosa *una certa sprezzatura che nasconda l'arte* e dimostri ciò, che si fa e dice, venir fatto *senza fatìca e quasi senza pensarvi*" ("to flee as much as possible, as if it were a very rough and dangerous reef, *affectation*; and to coin a new word, perhaps, to use in everything *a certain sprezzatura that conceals art* and shows whatever one does and says to be done *without effort and almost without being aware of it*") (1.26).[48] Boscán's rendition of this begins quite

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of the theoretical issue raised by Pinciano, Carvallo, Cascales, and others ("La *Poética* de Aristóteles y la épica colonial," *La cultura literaria en la América virreinal: concurrencias y diferencias,* ed. José Pascual Buxó [México: UNAM, 1996]); in a study of the significance of the *Araucana* for Joel Barlow, author of the epic poem *American Antiquities* (1786), Ralph Bauer considers how the genres of epic and history were understood in post-colonial North America ("Colonial Discourse and Early American Literary History: Ercilla, the Inca Garcilaso, and Joel Barlow's Conception of a New World Epic," *Early American Literature* 30.2 [1995] 203-232; the conceit regarding the pen and the sword, which alludes to Caesar's writing of the *De Bello Civili*, is a topos of the period. See its use by Juan de Valdés, also influenced by Castiglione, in the *Diálogo de la lengua* (1535): "[. . .] con la pluma en la mano escrevir de noche lo que con la lança hazía de día [. . .]" ("with pen in hand to write by night what he did with the sword by day"); cf. Navarrete, *Orphans*, 246 n. 8); and cf. Garcilaso in *Egloga III*:

> Entre las armas del sangriento Marte,
> do apenas hay quien su furor contraste,
> hurté de tiempo aquesta breve suma,
> tomando ora la espada, ora la pluma. (37-40)

Amidst the arms of bloody Mars, where scarcely anyone opposes his furor, I stole from time that brief summary, taking up now the sword, now the pen.

[48] Citations from *Il Cortegiano* indicate book and section in the Arnoldo Mondadori edition (ed. Carlo Cordié [Cles, Italy: 1991]); English translation is based on that of George Bull in the Penguin edition of *The Courtier* (New York: Penguin, 1967); Peter Burke, noting that *sprezzatura*, rather than being coined by Castiglione, was an old term meaning "setting no price on," identifies the overlap of aesthetic and ethical concerns in the term, which eventually inform *cortegianía*, with the origins of the concept, which begins with the *phronesis* and *sophrosyne* of

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literally: "[. . .] de huir cuanto sea posible el vicio que de los latinos es llamado *afetación*; nosotros, aunque en esto no tenemos vocablo proprio, podíemos llamarle *curiosidad o demasiada diligencia* y codicia de parecer mejor que todos" ("to flee as much as possible the vice that the Latins call *affectation*; we, while not having our own word for this, may call it *curiosity or excessive diligence* and greed to appear better than everyone else").[49] At this point the Spanish version adds that "Esta tacha es aquella que suele ser odiosa á toda el mundo, de la cual nos hemos de guardar con todas nuestras fuerzas [. . .]" ("This defect is that which is odious to everyone, against which we must be on guard with all our strength"), before reverting to a faithful rendering of the conclusion: "[. . .] usando en toda cosa un cierto *desprecio ó descuido, con la cual se encubre el arte* y se muestre, que, todo lo que se hace y se dice, se viene hecho de suyo sin fatiga y casi sin habello pensado" ("using in everything a certain *disdain or carelessness, which conceals art* and shows that everything that is done and said comes of itself without fatigue and almost without having thought about it").[50]

Aristotle's *Ethics*, which are referenced to the prudence and temperance Odysseus in contrast to Achilles; Xenophon develops this into *sophrosyne*, or discretion, and *eukosmia*, or decorum; Cicero draws on this to articulate concepts of *decorum* and *neglegentia diligens*, or studied negligence; following Cicero, Ovid is associated with concepts of *ars casum simulat*, or of art producing the illusion of spontaneity, and, more explicitly, with *ars est celare artem*, or with the point of art being to conceal art (*The Fortunes of the Courtier: the European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* [Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995], 10-12).

[49] Citations from Boscán are taken from the Libros de Antaño edition of *Los Cuatro Libros del Cortesano* (Madrid: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1873); 73.

[50] Boscán, *Cortesano*, 73; the most substantial analysis of Boscán's translation of Castiglione and of the impact of the *Cortegiano* on Boscán's literary production is that of Margherita Morreale (*Castiglione y Boscán: El Ideal Cortesano en el Renacimiento Español*, 2 vols. [Madrid: Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academía Española, 1959]); in addition to a detailed discussion of Boscán's rendition of *sprezzatura*, Morreale notes that the translator's

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Equally important for Garcilaso's and Boscán's poetics and directly related to Castiglione's emphasis on *sprezzatura* is his championing of a syncretic *imitatio*, which contrasts sharply with Bembo's Ciceronianism, the most prestigious contemporary theorizing on the subject since the publication of his *De imitatione* (1512) and *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525). Inspired, ironically, by the imitative practice of Petrarch, who along with Boccaccio, is the only vernacular model Bembo will countenance, Castiglione has Canossa recommend that the fledgling courtier observe a variety of models and that "[. . .] governandosi con quel *bon giudicio* che sempre gli ha de esser guida, andar scegliendo *or da un or da un altro* varie cose" ("governing himself with that *good judgement* that must always be his guide, go about choosing *now from one now from*

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general methodolgy is to restate originally complex terms and concepts in several different ways, avoiding Latinisms, resulting in what she describes as a loss of concision but gain in clarity: "El *Cortegiano* muda su vestidura italiana por otros paños algo más sencillos y caseros; y lo que pierde en precisión y elegancia lo gana a menudo en color y eficacia descriptiva" ("The *Cortesano* changes its Italian garments for other rainment somewhat more simple and homely; and what it loses in precision and elegance it frequently gains in color and descriptive effectiveness") (32). Beyond the scope of the present discussion but related to it and deserving of more attention are the shared concerns of *imitatio* and *translatio* during this period, which saw a dramatic increase in the numbers of ancient as well as Italian works translated into Castilian. The common focus of the two activities is on degrees of reproduction versus originality, conceived in simplest terms as a matter of slavish versus transformative imitation and as an issue of literal, or *ad verbum*, versus interpretive, or *ad sensum*, translation. See 63 n. 96, below, regarding use of *sequi*, *imitari*, and *aemulari* with regard to imitation, the same terms used by Cicero and others regarding translation; cf. Guillermo Serés, *La traducción en Italia y España durante el siglo XV. La "Iliada en Romance" y su contexto cultural* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1997), 25; for additional discussion see Antonio Vilanova, *Las Fuentes y los temas del Polifemo de Góngora*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1957), Melczer, "Dignification," Cruz, "*Trionfi*," and Serés, *La traducción*, 1997; for discussion of the relationship between *imitatio* and the concept of *translatio studii*, cf. Jean-Claude Carron, "Imitation and Intertextuality in the Renaissance," *New Literary History* 19.3 (1988) 565-579; also see my "*Imitatio*, *Translatio*, and Alonso de Ercilla's *Doloneia*," (forthcoming).

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another various qualities") (1.26).[51] This passage, reflecting the degree to which all subjects in the *Courtier*, including aesthetics, are governed by taste or judgement rather than by rules,[52] is followed by the apian simile associated with Horace and Seneca, which Canossa states here as, "E come la pecchia ne' verdi prati sempre tra l'erbe va *carpendo* i fiori, così il nostro cortegiano averà da *rubare questa* grazia da que' che a lui parerà che la tenghino e da ciascun *quella* parte che più sarà laudevole" ("And as the bees in the green meadows always go among the weeds *extorting* the flowers, just so our courtier must *rob this* grace from those who appear to him to have it and from each one *whatever* part that appears most praiseworthy") (1.26).[53] Offered in the context of refining courtly

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[51] Boscán's translation alters the original slightly, emphasizing the appropriative aspect of imitation: "[. . .] rigiéndose con aquel buen juicio que siempre ha de llevar por guía, andar *tomando*, ora del uno oral otro, diversas cosas" ("ruling himself with that good judgement that must always be his guide, to go about taking, now from one now from another, diverse things") (72); *tomar* has connotations of seizing or stealing.

[52] Castiglione's emphasis on taste appears in various guises, from the emphasis on "una certa grazia" ("a certain grace") (1.14) and "un certo bon giudicio e grazia" ("a certain good judgement and grace") (1.21) to references to "uomini che hanno *ingegno*" ("men who have *ingenuity*") (1.35) and who recognize what is proper by "un certo *giudicio naturale*, e non per arte o regula alcuna" ("a certain *natural judgement*, and not through any art or rule") (1.35). Cf. Ercilla's assertion of having grown up at the court of Philip II as guaranteeing the artfulness of his narrative:

> Y haberme en vuestra casa yo criado,
> que crédito me da por otra parte,
> hará mi torpe estilo delicado,
> y lo que va sin orden, lleno de arte [. . .] (1.5.1-4)
>
> And having grown up in your home, which offers me credit from another quarter, will make my torpid style delicate, and that which is without order full of art.

[53] In contrast to the previous passage (cf. n. 51, above), Boscán's use of *tomar* is quite literal here: "Y en fin, como las abejas andan por los verdes prados entre las yerbas cogiendo flores, así nuestro cortesano ha de *tomar* la gracia de aquellos que á él le pareciere que la tienen, y de cada uno llevar la mejor parte" ("And finally, as the bees go through the green meadows and among the weeds collecting flowers, just so our courtier must *take* graciousness from those who appear to him to possess it, and from each one (he must) take the best part") (72). Henceforth

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manners, the advice is repeated with only slight variation when, shortly thereafter, the discussion turns to the subject of writing, which is framed by the Count's observation that "la scrittura non è altro che *una forma de parlare* che resta ancor poi che l'uomo ha parlato" ("writing is nothing else than *a form of speaking* that remains even after a man has spoken") (1.29). At this point Federico Fregoso voices the conservative, Bembian position regarding the developing vernacular, which emphasizes the use of words "approvato dal tempo" ("approved by time") (1.30), i.e., the vocabulary of Petrarch and Boccaccio.[54]

The Count's response to Fregoso, which starts with the statement that "le medesime regule, che servono ad insegnar l'uno, servano ancor ad insegnar l'altro" ("the same rules that serve to teach the one [speech] also serve to teach the other [writing]") (1.32), goes on for more than ten pages, culminating with a comparison between the natural life of languages and seasons of the year:

> Come le stagioni dell'anno spogliano de' fiori e de' frutti la terra, e poi di novo d'altri la rivestono, così il tempo quelle prime parole fa cadere, e l'uso altre di novo fa rinascere e dà lor grazia e dignità fin che, dall' invidioso morso del tempo a poco a poco consumate, giungono poi esse ancora alla lor morte; perciocché, al fine, e noi ed ogni nostra cosa è mortale. (1.36)
>
> Just as the seasons of the year despoil the earth of its flowers and fruits and then reclothe it anew with others, so time causes those first words to fall, and usage causes others to be reborn anew and gives them grace

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Boscán's translation will not be cited unless it departs significantly from the original.

[54] One has the sense in Fregoso's remarks that such a vocabulary provides a refuge against the threatening horde of common words associated with *consuetudine* or current usage; as will be seen in following chapters, a corresponding anxiety over the uncontrollable nature of the vernacular surfaces a generation later in England, where it frequently takes on religious connotations; see 200ff., below.

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> and dignity until, consumed little by little through the gnawing of time, even they then arrive at their death; since, finally, we and all our possessions are mortal.

The same organic, historicist perspective informs Canossa's advice regarding literary imitation, which he argues was eclectic even in antiquity, with Cicero rejecting antiquated words and with Virgil following Homer in subject matter rather than vocabulary (1.32).[55] Canossa concludes his peroration by noting that the practice of imitation is sometimes dominated by a desire to exceed, noting that "se Virgilio avesse in tutto imitato Esiodo, non gli saria passato inanzi" ("if Virgil had imitated Hesiod in everything, he would not have surpassed him") (1.37)[56] He also notes that "le cose tolte da Omero o da qualche altro stiano tanto bene in Virgilio che più presto paiono illustrate chi imitate" ("things taken from Homer or from whatever other [author] stand so well in Virgil that they seem rather enhanced than copied") (1.39).[57] As will shortly be seen, in addition to providing a paradigm for Boscán and Garcilaso, this Petrarchan-inspired, eclectic approach to *imitatio* underlies the imitative practice of Ercilla as well.[58]

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[55] Erasmus makes the same argument in the *Ciceronianus*, published in 1528.

[56] Cf. Cascardi, who argues that among Neo-Petrarchists the "original" desire is mirrored by a desire to rival the original, i.e., that the mimesis of desire is replaced by the *imitatio* of the model that can involve the desire to surpass (*Ideologies*, 251).

[57] Reflecting our own era's attitudes toward imitation, the Penguin translation of *The Courtier* says of Virgil's use of Homeric material that "they seem improved rather than *plagiarized*" (New York: Penguin, 1967), 85; Boscán maintains the relative neutrality of the original: ". . .estén tan bien que digais que son suyas; ó que las tomó para mejorallas y no para tomallas" ("[they] are so good that you would say that they are his; or that he took them in order to improve them and not [simply] to take them") (101).

[58] The other key proponent of eclectic imitation during this period is Erasmus, whose *Dialogus Ciceronianus* appeared in the same year as *Il Cortegiano*, 1528.

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The influence of these concepts of Castiglione is especially clear in three paratexts frequently discussed in this context. Two of these, Boscán's *Prólogo* and an *epístola* by Garcilaso, accompany Boscán's *Cortesano*; the third, a dedication by Boscán to the Duchess of Soma, appears fourteen years later in the 1548 edition of his and Garcilaso's collected works.[59] The *Prólogo*, couched in self-deprecating tones that are partly *captatio benevolentiae* and partly Spanish feelings of inferiority regarding Italy, sets about establishing the proper context for Boscán's work on the *Cortesano*, which means creating a certain ironic detachment from it. Translation, particularly from Latin to the vernacular, is characterized by Boscán as inaccurate and misleading, as a "vanidad baxa y de hombres de pocas letras" ("a base vanity of men of few letters") who "andar *romanzando* libros" ("go about making romance versions of books").[60] Boscán describes his own undertaking, by contrast, in terms of *traducir* or *mudar*, by which he signifies

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[59] Boscán's *Prólogo* is also entitled, "Á la Muy Magnífica Señora Doña Gerónima Palova de Almogavar"; Garcilaso's *Epístola* carries the same salutation; citations to these texts are from the edition of the *Cortesano* cited earlier, 41 n. 49, above; the princeps of Boscán's and Garcilaso's collected works was published by Boscán's widow in 1543; Anne J. Cruz argues that in their individual imitative practices Boscán and Garcilaso recapitulate the ongoing distinction between formalistic and eclectic *imitatio*, associated with the dispute between Cortesi and Poliziano in the fourteenth century and between Bembo and Pico in the sixteenth; according to Cruz, Bembo and Boscán are both transitional figures ("Spanish Petrarchism and the Poetics of Appropriation: Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega," *Renaissance Rereadings: Intertext and Context*, eds. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Anne J. Cruz, and Wendy A. Furman [Chicago: U Illinois P, 1988], 80-96; see esp. 81-86).

[60] Boscán, *Prólogo*, 6; cf. Mena's comments in the *Proemio* to his translation of the *Ilias Latinas*, where he states: "Así esta obra reçibirá dos agravios: el uno en la traduçion latina, e el más dañoso y mayor en la interpretaçión del romançe, que presumo y tiento de le dar" ("Thus this work (i.e., Homer's *Iliad*) will receive two insults: one in its Latin translation, and the more damaging and greater in its translation into the vernacular, which I presume and attempt to provide for it.") (103); citations of the *Ilias latinas* and Mena's translation and *Proemio* are from *Juan de Mena, La Ilíada de Homero (Edición crítica de las Sumas de la Yliada de Omero y del original latino reconstruido, acompañada de un glosario latino-romance)* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1996).

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translation from one romance language into another that is "quiza tan buena" ("perhaps just as good").[61] The implication is double and also somewhat ambivalent: on the one hand, his work is superior to versions of texts made for those without facility for the classical languages; on the other, his approach is courtly rather than scholarly or humanistic, a distinction that becomes more important a generation later in England. The clear sense with Boscán is that his translation is acceptable because of its lack of scholarly attitude, which, based on rules rather than judgement, is fundamentally at odds with *sprezzatura.* Additionally, Boscán makes it clear that he only undertakes the project because of the great value of Castiglione's text, which encourages him to "usar de libertad en este caso" ("to take a liberty in this case").[62] The description he provides of his method of translation, which is *ad sententiam* rather than *ad verbum*, reinforces the distinction: "Yo no terné fin en la tradución deste libro á ser tan estrecho que me apriete á sacalle palabra por palabra, ántes, si alguna cosa en él se ofreciere, que en su lengua parezca bien y en la nuestra mal, no dexaré de mudarla ó de callarla" ("I did not aim in the translation of this book to be so strict that I was forced to extract it word for word, rather, if something in it appeared good in its language and poor in ours, I did not hesitate to change or to omit it.").[63]

Garcilaso's letter, which follows the *Prólogo*, echoes its emphasis, praising the *juicio* of the volume's patron in sponsoring such a work and extolling Boscán's

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[61] Boscán, *Prólogo*, 6.

[62] Ibid., 6.

[63] Ibid., 7.

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translation in words, it will be recognized, taken directly from the *Cortesano* itself:

> Guardó una cosa en la lengua castellana que muy pocas la han alcanzado, que *fué huir del afetacion* sin dar consigo en ninguna sequedad, y con gran limpieza de estilo usó de *términos muy cortesanos y muy admitidos de los buenos oidos*, y no nuevos ni al parecer *desusados* de la gente.[64]
>
> He maintained an aspect of the Castillian language that very few have managed to achieve, which was to *flee affectation* without falling into dryness, and with great cleanliness of style he employed *words both courtly and well accepted by those with a good ear*, and not words either new or unused by people.[65]

Boscán's *A la duquesa de Soma*, written almost ten years after these two texts, ?elaborates the same key values, but with a defensiveness reflecting the backlash provoked by the new Italian style verse.[66] Boscán begins by responding to *reprehensores*

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[64] Garcilaso, *Epístola*, 13; the one striking divergence between Boscán and the positions expressed by Canossa regards the use of neologisms, which the Count encourages. Their different attitudes toward this issue derive from the fact that although the *questione della lingua* had little significance in Spain, where the vernacular had been well regarded since the late fifteenth century, the Spanish sense of cultural inferiority resulted in a more conservative attitude toward innovation, which in Boscán and Garcilaso becomes associated with a lack of refinement. In Italy, by contrast, where the character of the vernacular was intensely debated, lexical conservatism was associated with Bembian Ciceronianism, from which Castiglione was at pains to distance himself. Ercilla's behavior with regard to this issue is quite different from that of his two illustrious predecessors, his efforts to articulate the New World novelty encouraging the use of neologisms, a significant number of which were absorbed into the language (cf. Lerner, "Garcilaso," 215 n.24 for a list of the most important); also see Isaías Lerner, "America y la poesía épica áurea: la versión de Ercilla," *Edad de Oro* 10 (1991) 125-39, esp. 135, which discusses the tension in the *Araucana* between historical accuracy and literary innovation in terms of heteroglossia; and Lerner, "Discurso poético," which considers the broader context of Ercilla's contributions to Siglo de Oro poetic discourse.

[65] Not surprisingly, given the line of discussion being developed here, Garcilaso's praise of Boscán is reminiscent of much of the early praise for Ercilla, i.e., that of Miguel Sánchez de Lima; see 39 n. 47, above.

[66] The dedication introduces the second part of the collected works of Garcilaso and Boscán, containing the latter's poetry written *al modo italiano* (Garcilaso's work constitutes the fourth and final part).

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or detractors, some of whom have complained that "en las trobas desta arte los consonantes no andavan tan descubiertos ni sonavan tanto como en las castellanas" ("in the verses of this art consonants were not used so openly nor were they heard as clearly as in Spanish verses"), while others maintained "que este verso no sabían si era verso o si era prosa" ("that they did not know if this verse was verse or if it was prose").[67] Boscán's famous answer is a rhetorical question: "¿Y quién se ha de poner en pláticas con gente que no sabe qué cosa es verso, sino aquel que calçado y vestido con el consonante os entra de un golpe por el un oído y os sale por el otro?" ("And who has to get involved in talking with people who don't know what poetry is except for that which, clothed and shod with consonants, enters one of your ears with a clap and then exits the other?").[68]

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[67] Citations from Boscán's *A la duquesa* are taken from the Turner edition of Boscán's and Garcilaso's *Obras Completas* (Madrid: 1995), 83, 84.

[68] Boscán, "Duquessa," 84; Boscán also defends himself by stressing that his experiments were governed by *ingenio* and *jüizio* (83) and that the *jüizio* of Garcilaso, "el cual no solamente en mi opinión, mas en la de todo el mundo, ha sido tenido por regla cierta" ("that which, not only in my opinion but in that of the entire world, has been taken as a certain rule") (86), has bolstered his determination to attempt such novel procedures. He denies that he has actually worked at the new forms: "[. . .] ni yo jamás a hecho *profesión* de escrivir esto ni otra cosa ni, aunque la hiziera, me pusiera en trabajo de provar nuevas invinciones" ("nor have I ever made a *profession* of writing this or any other thing nor, had I done so, would I have set myself the task of testing new inventions") (84), a claim he repeats a few lines later in the assertion that "[. . .] nunca tuve fin a escrivir sino a andarme descansando con mi spíritu, si alguno tengo, y esto para pasar menos pesadamente algunos ratos pesados de la vida" ("I never had the goal of writing but (rather) of resting my spirit, if I possess one, and this in order to pass less heavily some heavy moments of my life") (85). His versification is thus made acceptable by his entering into it *descuidadamente*, or unconcernedly (85), as befits courtly *sprezzatura*, and, finally, by the *autoridad* of the Italian verse forms (85). This authority, which satisfies the desire for a literary *limpieza de sangre* ("purity of blood") apparent in Garcilaso and Boscán, is based on the fact that, in contrast to the Spanish *cancionero* tradition, the origin of whose forms is unknown and whose only honor consists in being accepted by the *vulgo* or common man, the genealogy of the Italian forms is clearly traceable via the Greeks, Romans, Catalan poets and Provencal troubadours to Dante and Petrarch, a fact that guarantees their nobility and appropriateness (86-87).

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The dispute refers to a decrease in the use of rhyme, alliteration, and oxytones, or lines ending with words whose final syllables are accented, which follows the introduction of Italian forms by Boscán and Garcilaso.[69] These changes also reflect a further influence of Castiglione, whose emphasis on *sprezzatura* and on writing being like speech encourages a form of poetry that is closer to prose. In broader terms, the conflict reveals two distinct modes of understanding poetry, the first, associated with the *cancionero* tradition, which sees poetry as fundamentally different from speech and associated with the province of art, where metrical rules are more important than linguistic elements; the second, exemplified by Garcilaso, which conceives of the membrane between life and art as a porous boundary and therefore of poetic diction and rhythm as appropriately natural.[70] An

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[69] Nebrija had already condemned the use of rhyme and had characterized the oxytone as a medieval holdover in his *De artis Rhetorica* (1529); cited in Rivers, "Los géneros," 546.

[70] The contrast between the two conceptions may be seen by considering a verse from Cristóbal de Castillejo, a contemporary of Boscán and Garcilaso who championed the *cancionero* tradition and decried the influence of the Italians on Spanish authors. The following lines are from "Reprehensión Contra Los Poetas Españoles Que Escriben En Verso Italiano":

Pues la sancta Inquisición
suele ser tan diligente
en castigar con razón
cualquier secta y opinión
levantada nuevamente,
resucítese Lucero,
a corregir en España
una tan nueva y extraña,
como aquella de Lutero
en las partes de Alemaña.
Bien se pueden castigar
a cuenta de anabaptistas,
pues por la ley particular
se tornan a baptizar
y se llaman petrarquistas.
Han renegado la fee
de la trovas castellanas,
y tras las italianas

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examination of the episodes that Ercilla wrote based on the appearances of five Araucan women: Guacolda, Tegualda, Glaura, Lauca, and Fresia, together with two closely related episdes, one prophetic, which introduces a vision of feminine beauty and the poet's future wife, the other a retrospective rewriting of the history of Dido, will make it clear that while Ercilla shares Garcilaso's general attitude to the life-art distinction, he develops their relationship in ways uniquely his own.

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se pierden, diciendo que
son más ricas y lozanas. (1-20)

As the holy Inquisition is always so diligent in punishing, with cause, whatever newly risen sect and opinion, let Lucero [a famous inquisitor] revive himself in order to correct in Spain a sect as new and foreign as that of Luther in parts of Germany. They may well be punished as Anabaptists, since by their own law they return to baptism and call themselves Petrarchists. They have renounced the faith of Spanish verse and lose themselves in pursuit of the Italians, saying that they are richer and more proud.

As part of his resistance to the Italian influence, Castillejo maintained that the Catalan troubadours were precursors of Petrarch (cited in Cascardi, *Ideologies*, 253).

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Chapter 3: New World Encounters

3.1 Guacolda

Ercilla's first reference to women in *La Araucana* is documentary. It appears in the Prologue, where he notes that when the army suffers heavy losses the women serve as soldiers, at which time, "[. . .] peleando algunos como varones, se entreguen con grande ánimo a la muerte" ("some of them fighting like men, they give themselves up with great bravery to death") (70).[71] Women do not appear in the poem itself until Canto 10, at which point they are described as joining the Araucan troops in chasing down fleeing Spaniards after the rout of the city of La Imperial, with "varonil esfuerzo" ("manly spirit") (10.3.4) and "de ajeno valor y esfuerzo armadas" ("armed with alien courage and spirit") (10.4.7). Here we are told that it is customary for them to accompany the army on campaigns and join the fighting once it is clear that the enemy will lose, at which point they put aside their usual timidity, even those among them who are pregnant become "temerarias homicidas" ("reckless murderers") (10.5.4-8).

The first of the five episodes featuring female Araucan protagonists comes at the end of Canto 13, after the last of a series of early, unanticipated Araucan victories over the Spanish and two cantos before Ercilla himself becomes a participant in the action. In the Araucans' stronghold, which Spanish soldiers are silently reconnoitering in the growing darkness, the "duro hado" ("harsh fate") (13.44.3) of Lautaro, the most celebrated Araucan warrior, has impelled him for the first time in weeks to remove his

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[71] Text of the *Prólogo* is that of the 1993 Lerner edition of *La Araucana* (Madrid: Catedra).

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armor in order to be with his lover, Guacolda.[72] After falling asleep he has a nightmare in which he is overcome by "un soberbio español" ("an arrogant Spaniard") (13.45.3) and is awakened by "la rabia y pena junto" ("rage and pain together") (13.45.8). Guacolda, asking what is wrong, becomes distraught on realizing she has had a similar dream and, convinced that his death is near, tearfully entreats him to re-arm and send his men to guard the wall. Lautaro does his best to calm her, reminding her of his reputation and gently chiding her for her lack of confidence, but she remains inconsolable.[73] After a tension-heightening break between cantos, the Spanish attack, Lautaro is killed, and the first of many Araucan defeats takes place.[74]

It is not surprising that this episode has long been identified with Ariosto's depiction of Doralice, who does her best to dissuade Mandricardo from fighting Ruggier (*O.F.* 30.36).[75] Mandricardo attempts to console his lover by emphasizing his prowess while noting, in a couplet that Ercilla imitates quite closely, how little she must think of him if she is so afraid: "Ben mi mostrate in poco conto avere, / se per me un Ruggier sol

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[72] Lautaro had at one time been friendly with the Spanish, serving as page to the commander Pedro de Valdivía, who is killed by the Araucans early in the poem (3.67.5-8; 3.34.14).

[73] Also present here is a distant echo of the parting between Andromache and Hector (*Il.* 6.370ff.).

[74] The use of a canto break to deliberately interrupt a scene and increase the tension of the narrative is a technique Ercilla borrows from Ariosto; see 19 n. 5, above; and Daniel Javitch, "*Cantus Interruptus* in the *Orlando Furioso*," *MLN* 95.1 (1980) 66-80. In the battle that ensues the sole Araucan survivor will take his own life rather than face the shame of having lived (15.52.1-15.55.8).

[75] Ducamin was among the earliest critics to note the parallel between Guacolda and Doralice; cf. Schwartz, "Tradición," 619 n. 10).

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vi fa temere" ("How very little you must think of me if a Ruggier all by himself can make you anxious") (30.38.7-8), reprised sardonically in Spanish as "¡Buen crédito con vos tengo, por cierto / pues me lloráis de miedo ya por muerto!" ("You certainly have great faith in me, since you weep for me out of fear, as though I'm already dead") (13.54.7-8).[76] Mandricardo goes on to fight Ruggier and is killed. Despite these explicit similarities, differences in the contexts of the Ariostan and Ercillan scenes make it clear that the association between them at this point is more formal than anything else. Ercilla's episode, unlike Ariosto's, is tragic: a remarkable warrior, believing he's safe, let's down his guard at the prompting of desire, and disaster follows.[77] Ariosto's scene is characteristically ironic, for while Doralice's grief appears to be quite genuine, we also know that she is an energetically fickle lover.[78] This play of chivalric dalliance is entirely missing from Ercilla's narrative.

The language of the Guacolda episode is characteristic of passages of intense

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[76] English translation of Ariosto is that of Guido Waldman (*Orlando Furioso* [Oxford: Oxford U P, 1974]). The scene is reminiscent of Medea worrying about the harm that may befall Jason in his efforts to fulfill the trials set by Aeetes: "ὀδύρετο δ' ἠύτε πάμπαν / ἤδη τεθνειῶτα" ("and she mourned him as though already slain outright" (3.460-461); English translation of Apollonius is by R. C. Seaton in the Loeb edition, *Apollonius Rhodius: the Argonautica* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1912).

[77] Cf. Corominas's observation that Ercilla's "profundo sentido cristiano de la compasión le impelía más hacia lo trágico que a lo épico" ("profoundly Christian sense of compassion impel him more toward tragedy than toward epic") (*Castiglione*, 101).

[78] Cf.: Per lei buono era vivo Mandricardo:
ma che ne volea far dopo la morte?
Proveder le convien d'un che gagliardo
sia notte e dì ne' suoi bisogni, e forte. (*O.F.* 30.72.5-30.73.4)
Mandricard living was all very well—but what use was he to her, dead? For her needs she had to secure a man who was forceful and vigorous by night and day.
Ariosto's figure of faithfulness, by contrast, is Olimpia.

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emotion in the *Araucana*: highly stylized, with intricate syntax and an emphasis on rhetorical devices of repetition.[79] The fact that the narrator and characters both use such speech identifies the scene as literary rather than documentary. The physical description of the protagonist, as in the other episodes with Araucan women, is abstract, limited in this case to the single cliche of her beauty.[80] Her emotions, on the other hand, along with those of Lautaro, are the focus of the passage from its opening lines:

> Aquella noche el bárbaro dormía
> con la bella Guacolda enamorada,
> a quien él de encendido amor amaba
> y ella por él no menos se abrasaba. (13.43.5-8)
> That night the barbarian slept with the beautiful, enamored Guacolda
> whom he loved with burning love, and she burned no less for him.[81]

The image of love as fire, which will appear throughout these episodes, recurs in the description of Lautaro as "en nuevo amor ardiendo" ("burning with new love") (13.48.4) and in Guacolda as having "las vivas entrañas encendidas" ("her throbbing entrails inflamed") (14.1.8). Such figures associate the heroine most directly with Virgil's descriptions of Dido, as do subsequent references to *la llaga de amor* ("the wound of love") (13.49.3) and to love as *dulce veneno* ("sweet poison") (14.3.4).[82] These images

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[79] Noted in the following discussion are examples of assonance, consonance, alliteration, and polyptoton. Other rhetorical figures favored by Ercilla and used in the current episode include antithesis (13.46.4), anaphora (13.53.4-8; 14.12.3-6), paradox (13.49.4), and chiasmus (14.5.7-8). For analysis of the poet's rhetoric see Lerner, esp. "Discorso poético."

[80] The epithet is repeated eight lines later (13.44.7); near the end of the episode she is referred to as "la gentil Guacolda" (14.13.2).

[81] N.B. the use of assonance, consonance, and polyptoton (lines 5-8). Ercilla's use of *bárbaro* with regard to the Araucans signifies their lack of belief in God.

[82] Cf.: "est mollis *flamma* medullas / interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore *volnus*. / *uritur* infelix Dido totaque vagatur urbe furens. . ." ("meanwhile the tender flame consumes her marrow

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also recall the lyrics of Petrarch and Garcilaso.[83] Garcilaso becomes the object of imitation himself in the image of love as a difficult road or "áspero camino," which Guacolda reprises as "el áspero camino de mi suerte" ("the difficult road of my fate") (13.46.8), and in her reference to "el preciso hado y dura suerte" ("demanding destiny and harsh fate") (13.56.10).[84] Guacolda's stoic desire to join Lautaro in death associates her

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and the secret wound lives near her heart. Unhappy Dido burns and wanders through all the city in a frenzy") (4.66-69); cf. Venus's instructions to Cupid regarding Dido: "occultum inspires *ignem* fallasque *veneno*" ("breathe a hidden fire into her and infuse poison into her undetected") (1.688). English translations of Virgil are based on those of H. R. Fairclough in the Loeb edition, *Aeneid* (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1935). Such imagery is more pronounced in the Tegualda episode (see 94, below.); as noted earlier, such imagery is found in Sappho and Apollonius (see 24 n. 13, above).

[83] In the *Canzoniere*, cf., e.g.,: "Amor che'ncende il cor d'ardente zelo [. . .]" ("love inflames my heart with ardent zeal") (#182, 1); "un liquido sottile / foco che m'arde" ("a subtle liquid fire that burns me") (#185, 7-8); "Lasso, ch' i ardo et altri no mel crede" ("Alas, I burn and I am not believed") (#203, 1); and "Mentre che 'l cor [. . .] e'n fiamma amorosa arse" ("while my heart [. . .] burned in an amorous flame") (#304, 1-2). In Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*, cf. "Oh, figliuolo mio, qual per te fiamma è accesa!" ("Oh my son, what a flame is lit for you") (1. 60); "gli occhi, ch'accesi d'un celeste lume / m'infiamman sì ch'i' son d'arder contento" ("her eyes, ignited with celestial light, / Inflame me so that I am content to burn") (3.137-138); and esp. "come nell'ossa il suo foco si pasce, / e ne le vene vive occulta piaga" ("as in my marrow his (i.e., Love's) fire sustains itself and lives in my veins like a hidden sore") (3.181-182); English translations of the *Trionfi* are based on those of E. H. Wilkins, *The Triumphs of Petrarch* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1962). With regard to Garcilaso, see the First Eclogue, where Salicio complains, "¡Oh más dura que mármol a mis quejas / y al encendido fuego en que me quemo / más helada que nieve, Galatea!" ("Oh harder than marble to my complaints and more frozen than snow to the fire in which I burn, Galatea") (57-59); the second eclogue, where Albanio refers to "d'aquella por quien vivo m'encendía" ("with her for whom I, living, burn") (423); Nemoroso in the same poem: "como si en vivo fuego se quemara / alguna cosa cara" ("as if something dear were to burn in living fire") (1598-99); and the lament in *Sonnet 18*: "yo soy de lejos inflamado / de vuestra ardiente vista y encendido / tanto. . ." ("I am inflamed from afar with your ardent gaze and consumed so completely") (9-11).

[84] For the "áspero camino" image, see Garcilaso's *Sonnet 6* (1) and *Canción 4* (20); for "el preciso hado," cf. the apostrophe in *Elegía 1*: "¡Oh miserables hados, oh mezquina / suerte, la del estado humano, y dura, / do por tantos trabajos se camina. . ." ("Oh miserable destiny, oh wretched and harsh fate of human kind, by which one passes through so many troubles!") (76-780).

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with heroines of antiquity:

> aunque el golpe que espero es insufrible,
> podré con otro luego remediarme,
> que no caerá tu cuerpo en tierra frío
> cuando estará en el suelo muerto el mío. (13.47.5-8)
> although the blow I await is insufferable, I can with another take care of myself, since as soon as your body falls to the cold earth mine will be dead on the ground.[85]

Lautaro tends to express his love in terms of power relations, first in the observation: "*libre* en estos brazos os *poseo*" ("freely in these arms I possess you") (13.48.8), then in the couplet: "Mi vida está *sujeta* a vuestras manos / y no a todo *el poder* de los humanos" ("my life is in your hands, not the power of man") (13.49.8). In reciting his accomplishments (13.50.3-6) this political vocabulary expands to include *domado* ("dominated"), *sometía* ("submitted"), *dominio* ("dominion"), and *tiranía* ("tyranny"), the first of these echoing Ercilla's famous epithet for the Araucans in the poem's opening octaves: "éste es el fiero pueblo no *domado*" ("this is the fierce, indomitable people") (1.11.5).[86] Guacolda also mixes amorous and political terminology, beseeching Lautaro

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[85] See the similarities to Panthea and Argia, 84 n. 132, below; Clare Carroll notes the possible allusion of the concluding couplet here to Dante's lines upon hearing Francesca's story of her love for Paolo: "io venni men così com' io morisse. / E caddi come corpo morto cade" ("I fainted, as if I had met my death. / And then I fell as a dead body falls") (*Inferno* 5.141-42); translation from the Italian is that of Allen Mandelbaum, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (New York: Bantam, 1980). For discussion of the Stoicism in the *Araucana* in the context of the Renaissance Stoic revival, see Gregory Shepherd, "Ercilla's creative and critical conflicts: Balancing oppositions in *La Araucana*," *Latin American Literary Review* 26 (1998) 120-133; 126-29; for the Araucan leader Caupolicán as a Stoic figure, see Michael Gerli, "Elysium and the Cannibals: History and Humanism in Ercilla's *La Araucana*," *Renaissance and Golden Age Essays in Honor of D. W. McPheeters* (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1986), 82-93; esp. 90-92. The subject of suicide not only associates the Araucan heroines with antiquity, but also with barbarism and the lack of belief in God; see 144, below.

[86] Cf. the full octave where Lautaro speaks:

> ¿Quién el pueblo araucano ha restaurado

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to rearm himself in the name of "aquella voluntad pura, amorosa, / que *libre* os di cuando más *libre* estaba" ("that pure, loving affection that I freely gave you when I was more free") (13.52.5-6).[87] Unable to impel him to action, she repeats her intention of dying with him (13.55.7-8), then asks that he let her mourn for what little remains of life, the last we hear from her a proverbial: "[. . .] quien no siente el mal, es argumento / que tuvo con el bien poco contento" ("whoever does not feel what is bad, it is said took little pleasure from the good") (13.56.7-8).[88] Ercilla ends the canto with words that will be echoed subsequently:

> Pero ya *la turbada pluma mía*
> que en las cosas de amor nueva se halla,
>
> ---
>
> en su reputación que se perdía,
> pues el soberbio cuello no *domado*
> ya doméstico al yugo *sometía*?
> Yo soy quien de los hombros le ha quitado
> el español *dominio* y *tiranía*:
> mi nombre basta solo en esta tierra,
> sin levantar espada, a hacer la guerra. (13.50.1-8)
>
> Who has restored the Araucan people with its reputation that was lost, since the proud, undominated neck submitted, domesticated, to the yoke? I am he who has quitted from its shoulders the Spanish domination and tyranny: my name alone suffices in this land, without lifting a sword, to wage war.

Cf. *Arauco Domado* (1596), the epic written by Pedro de Oña in response to Ercilla's work; for discussion of this work's relation to the *Araucana*, see James Nicolopulos, "Pedro de Oña and Bernardo de Balbuena Read Ercilla's Fitón," *Latin American Literary Review* 26.52 (1998) 100-119.

[87] This linkage between the imagery of love and that of political power relations offers a striking variation on Roland Greene's thesis regarding the use of Petrarchan discourse in the New World; cf. 36, above. The association becomes more pronounced in the Tegualda episode; cf. 90, below.

[88] Erasmus is a significant influence in Ercilla's use of proverbial sayings; for additional discussion see Isaías Lerner, "Para los contextos ideológicos de *La Araucana*: Erasmo, *Homenaje a Ana María Barrenechea*, eds. Lía Schwartz and Isaías Lerner (Madrid: 1984), 262ff.) and Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 780.

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> *confusa, tarda, y con temor* se mueve
> y a pasar adelante no se atreve. (13.57.5-8)
> But now my disturbed pen, which finds itself newly involved in matters of love, is confused, dull-witted, and moves with fear, and does not dare to go forward.

Subsequent episodes reveal that this allusion to the poet's feelings is far from solely rhetorical.

Canto 14 opens with the poem's first defense of women, illustrated here with the example of the "puro amor" ("pure love") (14.1.6) demonstrated by Guacolda, "una bárbara moza no obligada" ("a barbarian girl under no obligation") (14.1.5).[89] The denouement follows two brief appearances by the heroine, the first of which recapitulates key imagery:

> Así los dos unidos corazones
> conformes en amor desconformaban
> y dando dello allí demostaciones
> más el dulce veneno alimentaban. (14.3.1-4)
> Thus the two united hearts, agreed in love, disagreed, and giving loving demonstrations, further fed the sweet poison.[90]

The second, which depicts Guacolda's refusing Lautaro's reassurance, is interrupted by the Spanish attack (14.14.1-8).

While three of the elements just discussed here—Guacolda's stoicism, the Petrarchan imagery of love, and the poet's use of elevated diction—distance this episode from chivalric literature, four additional passages link it directly to classical epic, revealing, in the process, Ercilla's deliberate evocation of key aspects of the erotic

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[89] The most extensive treatment of the defense of women is found in the first three octaves of Canto 21; see 86 and 103, below.

[90] N.B. the use of assonance, alliteration, polyptoton, antithesis, and hyperbaton.

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critique of epic values.[91]

The first, briefest passage comes near the beginning of the episode, just after Guacolda mentions her freely given love: "que libre os di cuando más libre estaba, / y dello *el alto cielo es buen testigo*" ("that I freely gave you when I was more free, and of which high heaven is solid witness ") (13.52.5-7), recalling thereby heaven's witnessing the encounter between Dido and Aeneas: "et conscius Aether conubiis" ("and heaven, the witness to their marriage") (4.167).

The second passage appears at the episode's conclusion and features both a general allusion to the night raid, based on the nighttime setting and on the fact that Spanish troops slaughter sleeping Indians, as well as a specific intertext with subsequent imitations of this Homeric motif involving the description of the sleeping soldiers before they are killed. Homer's text describes how Odysseus and Diomedes, after killing the Trojan spy, Dolon, go on to slaughter sleeping Thracians in order to steal the chariot and horses of their captain, Rhesus.[92] Ercilla's lines, which describe the moments after daybreak when mistakenly confident Araucan guards leave their posts to join their

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[91] None of these instances of *imitatio* has been emphasized in previous commentary; in the first two cases this is probably due to their obscurity, while the third and fourth may well have been ignored for the opposite reason.

[92] Cf.:

> οἱ δ᾽ εὗδον καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες, ἔντεα δέ σφιν
> καλὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο εὖ κατὰ κόσμον τριστοιχί·
> παρὰ δέ σφιν ἑκάστῳ δίζυγες ἵπποι.
> Ῥῆσος δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ εὗδε. . . (*Il.* 10.471-474)

Now these were slumbering, worn out with toil, and their fair battle gear lay by them on the ground, all in good order, in three rows, and by each man was his yoke of horses. But Rhesus slept in their midst [. . .] (English translation here and elsewhere is from the Loeb.)

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sleeping comrades, state that, "también a descansar se retiraban, / quedando mudo el fuerte y los soldados / *en vino y dulce sueño sepultados*," or "they, too, retired to rest, the fort remaining quiet and the soldiers buried in wine and sweet sleep" (14.6.7-8). Conspicuous in Ercilla's text are the epithet *sepultados* and the reference to wine, both of which come not from the Doloneia, but from Virgil's variations on it. The best known of these is his extended imitation of the episode itself in the night raid involving Nisus and Euryalus, the soldier-lovers. When Nisus first tells his companion of his desire to raid the enemy camp, he states, "lumina rara micant, *somno vinoque soluti* / procubere [. . .]" ("Few are their gleaming lights; relaxed with wine and slumber, they lie prone") (9.189-90). Once the raid is underway, Virgil repeats the line, stating: "passim *somno vinoque* per herbam / corpora fusa vident," that is,"everywhere they see bodies stretched along the grass *in drunken sleep*" (9.316-317).[93] While Ercilla's lines are close to Virgil's, the order of the hendiadys joining wine and sleep is reversed, Ercilla stating *vino y dulce sueño* rather than *somno vinoque*. *Sepultados*, on the other hand, doesn't appear at all in the Nisus and Euryalus epidsode, but rather in an earlier passage of the *Aeneid*, whose

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[93] In contrast to the liberties taken with most English translations, such as the Loeb's cited here, which transcribes the key words as "in drunken sleep" (Fitzgerald also uses the phrase), Ercilla's Spanish is closer to Virgil's and Mena's Latin. Virgil makes a gruesome reference to wine and blood when Rhoetus is killed after hiding behind an enormous wine bowl: "purpuream vomit ille animam et cum sanguine mixta / vina refert moriens" ("Rhoetus belches forth his red life, and dying casts up wine mixed with blood") (9.349-350). Ariosto adapts the combination in his version of the night raid, ironizing it in the description of the death of the drunkard, Grillo, from whose torso wine and blood flow together *(OF* 18.177). While the *Iliad* does not mention sleep and wine in the Doloneia, the most common Homeric epithet for sleep is indeed *sweet*, sometimes as ὕπνος ἡδυμος: cf. *Il.*2.2; more often as ὕπνος γλυκερός, the latter term, *glukeros*, the root of the Spanish *dulce*; cf. *Il.*10.4, 24.3, 24.636. Not addressed here is the issue of Ercilla's attributing the drinking of wine to the Araucan soldiers, a classical motif that had no obvious counterpart in this New World setting.

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evocation provides additional nuance to Ercilla's scene, namely, Aeneas's recounting of the treachery by which Troy was betrayed to the Greeks. This story, told by Aeneas at Dido's banquet for him, constitutes a third of the second book of the *Aeneid*. It focuses on the artfulness or guile of the Greek decoy, Sinon, a Pelasgian, who tricked the Trojans into drawing the wooden horse within the city walls, after which the Argives emerge and "invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam" ("they storm the city, buried in sleep and wine") (2.265).[94] As noted earlier, Virgil's night raid emphasizes the implicit brutality of the Doloneia.[95] His incorporation of this striking description from a relatively obscure episode into the crux of Troy's fall emphasizes the guile of the act as well. Ercilla's reversal of *sleep* and *wine* might represent nothing more than artistic license were it not for Gregorio Hernández de Velasco's 1555 translation of the *Aeneid*, which construes the Virgilian lines cited above as: "Do ya llegados, veen a cada passo / Cuerpos *en vino y sueño sepultados*," or, "having arrived at which [the Rutulians' camp], at every step they see bodies buried in wine and sleep" (9.319-320). Hernández de Velasco's translation, therefore, would appear to be the direct inspiration for Ercilla.[96]

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[94] The references to Sinon come at 2.106 (*artisque Pelasgae*) and 2.152 (*arte Pelasga*).

[95] See 26, above.

[96] The probability is strengthened by the fact at the earlier use of the hendiadys by Virgil, at 9.189, Hernández de Velasco maintains the original order of the two elements, translating the passage as "Llenos de sueño y vino estan echados" ("full of sleep and wine they are stretched out"). Another potential intertext for Ercilla's lines exists in Juan de Mena's mid-1400s translation of the *Ilias latina*, or *Homerus latinus*, an anonymous, first-century epitome of the *Iliad*. Mena was the most important author of long, narrative poetry prior to Ercilla and remained popular in Spain even after the changes inaugurated by Boscán and Garcilaso; cf. Nicolopulos, "Prophecy," 169 n. 2. The *Ilias latina*, based on secondary traditions rather than on Homer's text, which it drastically abbreviates and distorts, nonetheless presents a relatively faithful version of the night raid, stating, at the moment in question: "Post haec tentoria Rhesi / intrant atque ipsum

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somno vinoque sepultum / obtruncant spoliantque viros fusosque per herbas / exanimant socios," or "after this they entered the tents of Rhesus and slaughtered him, buried in sleep and wine, and they killed and stripped his companions stretched out on the grass" (728-731). Mena construes this as: "Y después que ovieron muerto a este, entraron calladamente en las tiendas de Reso y mataron y despedaçaron a éste, al qual *en sueño e vino* fallaron *sepultado*" (lines 50-54) or, "and after they had killed this man [Dolon], they quietly entered the tents of Rhesus and cut him to pieces and killed him, whom they found buried in sleep and wine." The *Ilias latinas* is part of the complex afterlife of the Trojan epic cycle, which includes anti-Homeric works such as the fourth-century (B.C.E.) *Καθ' Ὁμηρον* by Zoilus, nine books attacking Homer's veracity, as well as the third-century (B.C.E) *Odyssia* of Livius Andronicus, the first translation of the poem, which is considered largely faithful if excessively somber. The *Ilias latinas*, an unskilled work that drastically reduces the original, is Hellenistic in its focus on attitudes and passions rather than on deeds, as in the significance it attaches to the love of Achilles for Briseis and Paris for Helen. With echoes of Virgil, Ovid, and the erotic elegy of Propertius, it presents a generic hybrid of classical epic and Greek romance. Its influence in the Middle Ages is gradually lost to the narratives of Dictys and Dares. Mena's translation of it, which remained popular for many years, was commissioned by Juan II, father of Ferdinand of Aragon, shortly before a partial Spanish version, the first, was made of the genuine Virgilian text by the son of the Marqués de Santillana between 1446 and 1452 (see Appendix A). The simultaneous production of such disparate versions of Homer's poem reflects early humanist scholarship and, more specifically, the mix of orthodox, heterodox, and eclectic literary traditions characteristic of medieval and Siglo de Oro Spain, a subject discussed below in terms of Ercilla's defence of Dido (see 134 ff., below). Mena's identity as an early humanist is revealed in his criticism ofl Guido de Colonna (author of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, which was based on Benoit de Sainte-Maure's *Roman De Troie* (1160), itself derived from Dictys and Dares). In the *Proemio* to the *Sumas* Mena states with regard to Colonna's having rewritten the plot of the *Iliad* from an *in medias res* to an *ab ovo* structure: "Pues ¿qué atrevimiento sin freno çegó a Guido de Columnis, médico de Pysa, para que tentase, como de nuevo, desenbolver y ordenar los casos de la grand Troya en corónica acopilando? [. . .] ¿Y qué supiera Guido y aun los otros todos de quién él rebuscó para escrevir, si ovo sido Troya, si por la seráfica y quasi divinal obra de Omero como de original exemplo no lo oviese avido?" ("What unrestrained rashness blinded Guido de Colonna, a doctor from Pisa, to the point that he tried to disentangle and order the events of great Troy connecting them into a chronicle? [. . .] And what would Guido and all the rest whom he scoured in order to write have known about whether there had been a Troy, if he hadn't had the serafic and quasi divine work of Homer as an original example?") (105). For more discussion of Mena and the Homeric tradition in Spain, see T. González Rolan, F. del Barrio Vega, and A. López Fonseca, eds., *La "Iliada" de Homero: edición crítica de las "Sumas de la Yliada de Homero"* by Juan De Mena (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1996); also see Guillermo Serés, *La traducción en Italia y España durante el siglo XV. La "Ilíada en Romance" y su contexto cultural* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1997). There are numerous intertexts between the *Araucana* and another work of Mena's, the famous *Laberinto de Fortuna.* Nicolopulos provides the most sustained analysis of Ercilla's imitative practice, which he characterizes as disguising material from Ariosto and Virgil while foregrounding adaptations of Mena and Garcilaso ("Prophecy," 151); Nicolopulos also argues that Ercilla was familiar with Bartolomeo Ricci's *De imitatione* (1541), which offers a tripartite division of *imitatio* in terms of *sequi*, *imitari*, and *aemulari* ("Prophecy," 47-49); and see 42 n. 50, above and 66, below. With regard to the subject

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The third direct allusion to classical epic in the Guacolda episode comes shortly after the one just discussed, describing the dawn preceding the Spanish attack:

> Era llegada al mundo aquella hora
> que la escura tiniebla, no pudiendo
> surfrir la clara vista de la Aurora,
> se va en el ocidente retrayendo;
> cuando la mustia Clicie se mejora
> el rostro al rojo oriente revolviendo,
> mirando tras las sombras ir la estrella
> y al rubio Apolo Délfico tras ella. (14.7.1-8)[97]
>
> That moment had arrived in the world when gloomy darkness, unable to endure the bright gaze of Aurora, retreats into the west; when forlorn Clytie feels better, turning her face to the ruddy east, watching the morning star come after the shadows and blond Delphic Apollo come after her.

This description, together with a similar one in Canto 2 that mentions Aurora (2.50.1), the wife of Tithonus (2.54.2), Faeton's chariot (2.55.1), and Apollo (2.57.5), recalls various models in classical epic, beginning with Homer's: "Ἠως δ᾽ ἐκ λεχέων παρ᾽ ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο / ὄρνθ᾽, ἵν᾽ ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσι" ("now Dawn arose from her bed from beside lordly Tithonus, to bring light to immortals and to mortal men") (*Il.* 11.1-2).[98] Ercilla's version, with its reference to Aurora, alludes more directly to

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of imitation, Mena's *Proemio* to the *Sumas* repeats two anecdotes. The first recounts Virgil's response to criticism regarding his use of Homeric material: "Numquid et paruum est clauam a manu Hercolis eripere?" which Mena phrases "¿Y cómo pequeña cosa es tentar de sacar la maça de la mano de Hércoles?" ("And how small a thing is it to try and take the club from Hercules?"). The second is supposedly from Ovid: "Virgilius magno quantum concessit Omero, tantum ego Virgilio, Naso poetae meo," which he translates: "Cuanta ventaja cognoçió a Virgilio al grand Omero, tanta conosco yo, Ovidio, a Virgilio el mi poeta" ("As much advantage as Virgil knew from the great Homer, just so much I, Ovid, know from Virgil, my poet") (106).

[97] N.B. the dramatic assonance and consonance of lines 6-7.

[98] Ercilla's earlier use of this imagery, spread over eight octaves in Canto 2, is designed to convey the duration of time; cf. Lerner, "Introducción," 120 n.61. Two subsequent passages in the poem also briefly allude to this topos: *la clara aurora* (17.33.8) and *la rosada Aurora*

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Virgil's rendition of the topos: "Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile" ("And now early dawn, Aurora, was sprinkling fresh rays upon the earth as she left the saffron bed of Tithonus") (*Ae.* 4.584-585; 9.459-460), imagery Ercilla interweaves with Ovid's story of Clytie, transformed into the heliotrope after being abandoned by Apollo for Leucothoë (*Meta.* 4.204-273).[99]

Just as important as the sources of Ercilla's dawn simile are the contexts in which they originally appear, which, in contrast to the Ariostan intertext discussed earlier, enrich rather than limit their significance in Ercilla's narrative. The description of dawn in the *Iliad* is bracketed on one side by the conclusion of the Doloneia, which ends Book 10, and on the other by Zeus's sending of Eris, the goddess of strife, among the Achaeans, precipitating some of the fiercest fighting in the poem (11.3-4ff.). Virgil's descriptive couplet appears twice in the *Aeneid*: first, as dawn reveals the departing ships of Aeneas (4.584-585), precipitating Dido's suicide (4.663); then, in precise imitation of Homer, immediately after the killing of Nisus and Euryalus that ends the night raid (9.461-462).

(18.75.8), both of which allude to the simpler Homeric formula of ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, or rosy-fingered dawn, found in both the *Iliad* (e.g., 1.477, 6.175, 9.707, 23.109, 24.788) and *Odyssey* (e.g., 2.1, 9.152, 13.18); less frequent is Ἠὼ δῖαν or *bright dawn* (e.g., *Il.* 9.240, 18.255).

[99] Homer does not refer to the dawn as Aurora; Virgil's reference to Tithonus's saffron bed, *croceum cubile*, is derived from Homer's description of Dawn as robed in saffron or yellow: κροκόπεπλος; cf. *Iliad* (e.g., 8.1, 19.1, 24.695). The etymology of the word refers to the color saffron's being derived from the stigmas of the crocus. R. D. Williams identifies an intertext between Virgil's dawn description and Lucretius (2.144), as well as a variation of the description by Virgil himself in the Georgics (1.447), R. D. Williams, ed., *Aeneid*, 2 vols. (New York: St. Martin's P, 1972). Note Ercilla's incorporation of the etymology of heliotrope, which signifies a turning toward the sun: ἥλιος + τρόπος. Homer also has a variation of the dawn description that incorporates the morning star: "Ἧμος δ' ἐωσφόρος εἶσι φόως ἐρέων ἐπὶ γαῖαν, / ὃν τε μέτα κροκόπεπλος ὑπεὶρ ἅλα κίδναται Ἠώς [. . .]" ("But at the hour when the star of morning goes out to herald light over the face of the earth—the star after which follows the saffron-robed Dawn and spreads over the sea [. . .]") (*Il.* 23.226-227).

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Their deaths, in turn, are followed by the lament of Euryalus's mother (9.481-497) and by scenes of renewed slaughter as Turnus wreaks havoc among the Trojans.[100]

The *dispositio* of this rhetorical set piece describing the dawn fulfills several functions in Homeric epic. In the first place, it juxtaposes rhetorical tranquility to scenes of murderous mayhem. This accentuates the differences between the two and, in Virgil's case at least, acts as a critique of the violence while heightening its attendant pathos. Second, it offers respite, distancing both narrator and reader from the circumambient reality. Ercilla's octave functions in much the same way, revealing a process of imitation considerably more complex than might first appear, since it encompasses not only the *elocutio* of Virgil's scene but also the *dispositio* of Homer's. Ercilla expresses his independence here as well, introducing two innovations into his adaptation. The first, structural, involves his positioning the description to interrupt the prevailing action and end the canto, thereby heightening the tension of the impending Spanish attack. The second, thematic, is his appropriation of Ovid's Clytie, whose metamorphosis not only results in an image that mirrors the rising sun, but does so in the guise of an woman abandoned by her lover, suggesting Guacolda's impending bereavement by Lautaro.

A final intertext with Virgilian epic appears in the closing octave of the Guacolda episode. At this point the shouts of the attacking Spanish have broken the silence, and the Araucans, still "medio dormidos" or half asleep (14.11.1), struggle to defend

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[100] Cf. "Vos, o Calliope, precor, adspirate canenti, / quas ibi tum ferro strages, quae funera Turnus / ediderit" ("Do thou, O Calliope, thou and thy sisters, I pray, inspire me while I sing, what slaughter, what deaths, Turnus dealt on that day") (9.525-527). Book 9 proves particularly important to Ercilla, who adapts numerous aspects of Turnus's aristeia in scenes depicting the ferocity of the Araucan warrior, Tucapelo, in Canto 19.

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themselves. With no time to don either arms or clothing, Lautaro wraps a blanket around his arm and, taking his sword, rushes into the fighting. Just as he appears the Spaniards' Indian allies release a volley of arrows, and one hits him in the chest, piercing his heart. The brief description of his death concludes: "los ojos tuerce y con rabiosa pena / la alma, del mortal cuerpo desatada, / bajó furiosa a la infernal morada" ("his eyes contort and, raging with pain, his spirit, loosed from the mortal body, descends in fury to the infernal dwelling") (14.18.6-8). The Virgilian allusion is to the death of Turnus, of course, of which the poet states: "[. . .] ast illi solvuntur frigore membra / vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras" ("but his limbs are loosed by the chill of death and his soul with a moan flees indignantly to the shades below") (12.951-952), lines that, in turn, are based on the Homeric formula describing the death of both Patroclus and Hector: "ψυχη δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἀιδοσδε βεβήκει / ὃν ποτμον γοάουσα" ("his soul [free] of his limbs went flying to Hades bemoaning his fate") (*Il.* 16.857-858 and 22.363-363).[101] Also present here is a subtle intratextual echo of the words that conclude Lautaro's description of his nightmare: "me despertó la *rabia y pena junto*" ("the rage and pain together woke me up") (13.45.8), a repetition that emphasizes the dreams' accuracy.[102]

Lautaro's affiliation with Turnus is complex and revealing. Turnus is heroic, with

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[101] R. D. Williams notes that these words, in turn, recall the more common Homeric formula found at the death of warriors: λύτο γούνατα ("unloosed bewailing") (*Aeneid*, 509 n. 951-2).

[102] Homer's night raid also refers to a nightmare, in this case that of Rhesus, of whom the poet says: ". . .κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη / τὴν νύκτ', Οἰνεΐδαο πάις, διὰ μῆτιν' Αθήνης" ("for an evil dream stood over his head that night, the son of Oeneus' son, by the device of Athene") (*Il.* 10.496-497).

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epic energy and stature. He is also arrogant, violent, and, finally, among the poem's defeated. By contrast, the association of Turnus with Patroclus and Hector, the tragic death of the first a symbol of pathos, that of the second an example of implacable fate, is indicative of Virgil's transformation of what in Homer are discrete, contrasting emotions regarding violence and death into ambivalence toward the epic enterprise. Such misgivings are even more pronounced in the *Araucana*, where Lautaro, like Turnus, is not only heroic, imperious, brutal, and doomed to defeat, but also, by virtue of his scene with Guacolda, part of an erotic critique of the violence he perpetuates elsewhere.[103] His association with Virgil's flawed hero also helps lay to rest the often-debated question of Ercilla's sympathies, which, while frequently extended to the bravery and suffering of the Araucans, are finally and unquestionably with the imperial efforts of Philip II.[104]

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[103] Cf. the violence of Lautaro's impaling his own soldiers who prove unable to stand at attention for long hours (7.41.2); his arrogance is at its height when he demands annual tribute from the Spanish in return for not pursuing them all the way back to Spain (12.13.1-12.15.8).

[104] Ercilla's ultimate sympathies may also explain two similes that appear near the end of the episode, both with otherwise surprisingly negative connotations for the Araucans. The first describes the hapless Araucan soldiers, suddenly awakened by the noise of the attack:

> Como los malhechores, que en su oficio
> jamás pueden hallar parte segura
> por ser la condición propia del vicio
> temer cualquier fortuna y desventura,
> que no sienten tan presto algún bullicio
> cuando el castigo y mal se les figura
> y corren a las armas y defensa,
> según que cada cual valerse piensa,
>
> así medio dormidos y despiertos
> saltan los araucanos alterados,
> y del peligro y sobresalto ciertos,
> baten toldos y ranchos levantados. (14.10.1-14.11.4)

Like evildoers, who can never find security in their work since it is the proper condition of vice to fear all kinds of fortune and ill-luck, who no sooner hear some commotion than they envision their punishment and misfortune and run to

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The issues just discussed suggest that the Guacolda episode fulfills several key functions. In juxtaposing the tenderness between two lovers to an ambush of sleeping Indians it implicitly questions the justification for the latter, participating in the traditional critique of epic by eros. In establishing similarities between its heroine and Dido and in explicitly alluding to the Doloneia, it effectively combines the motifs of the night raid and the abandoned woman, the two archetypes identified as embodying this critique.[105] The lyrical component of these scenes, especially that associated with Petrarch, provides the author with a means of representing Araucan subjectivity while also enabling him, for the first time in his narrative, to exhibit his skill in a popular mode of poetry. The lyrical intertexts with Petrarch, Ariosto, and Garcilaso, which dominate the first half of the episode, allow Ercilla both to pay homage to and to distinguish himself from these predecessors, dissimulating some aspects of their influence and emphasizing others, while

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their weapons and defense, as each thinks best, / just so half-asleep and half-awake the altered Araucans leap up, and certain of the danger and fright, break down their teepees and shelters.

The second, a few octaves later, describes Lautaro's rush to defend the fort:

Mas no salta con tanta ligereza
el mísero avariento enriquecido
que siempre está pensando en su riqueza,
si siente de ladrón algún ruido. . . (14.14.1-4)

But the rich, avaricious miser who is always thinking of his riches does not leap up with such agility when he hears the sound of some thief

This second simile suggests the linking of the lust for blood and the lust for wealth in Virgil's version of the night raid. It is, on the surface, highly ironic applied to a destitute Araucan, especially since the epithet *codicioso* or *la cudicia*, referring to greed, are applied so provocatively to the Spanish in the poem, both before and after this scene; cf. 2.92.7, 36.14.7. Regarding Ercilla's fundamental identification of the Araucans as enemies deserving defeat, see Roberto Castillo Sandoval, "'¿Una misma cosa con la vuestra?': Ercilla, Pedro de Oña y la Apropiación Post-Colonial de la Patria Araucana," *Revista Iberoamericana* 61.179-171 (1995) 231-247; 238.

[105] As will be seen, the Tegualda episode, in imitation of Statius, links the two motifs even more closely; see 80-84, below.

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implicitly claiming his place among them. The allusions to classical epic, which characterize the episode's remainder, not only distinguish it from chivalric romance, but reveal a deliberate linking between the emotional climax of Part I of the *Araucana* and two of the most pathetic passages in classical epic, the story of Dido, a topic Ercilla will allude to repeatedly before his full-fledged defense of her in Cantos 32 and 33, and the night raid as envisioned by Homer, imitated by Virgil, and translated by Hernández de Velasco.[106] The evocation of Turnus reinforces the genealogy such references establish while emphasizing the complexity of the poet's attitude toward this heritage and helping clarify the true nature of his sympathies. Ercilla's adaptation of the dawn description exhibits the complexity of his imitative method, since it not only captures the broader context of the source text, which juxtaposes formal beauty and control to death and destruction, but also reveals his originality in repositioning it to enhance the tension of the plot. Finally, the passing reference Ercilla makes to his own confusion regarding love, which appears very near the episode's midpoint, begins a new phase in the construction of his own subjectivity, one that receives its fullest treatment in the vision of

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[106] Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo remarks of the *Araucana* that, "No hay poema moderno que contenga tantos elementos genuinamete homéricos como *La Araucana*, y no por imitación directa, puesto que Ercilla, cuando imita deliberadamente á alguien, es al Ariosto, ó á Virgilio, ó á Lucano, sino por especial privilegio, debido en parte á la índole candorosa y sincera del poeta, que era él propio un personaje épico, sin darse cuenta de ello, y vivía dentro de la misma realidad que idealizaba; y en parte á la novedad de las costumbres bárbaras que él describe y que no podían menos de tener intrínseco parentesco con las de las edades heroicas" ("There is no modern poem that contains so many genuinely Homeric elements as *La Araucana*, and not by direct imitation, since Ercilla, when he deliberately imitates someone, does so with Ariosto or Virgil or Lucan; but rather by special privilege due in part to the candid and sincere nature of the poet, who was himself an epic character without being aware of it and lived within the very reality that he idealized; and in part to the novelty of the barbaric customs that he describes, which cannot fail to have intrinsic parentage with those of the heroic age") (*Historia de la poesía*, 298-99).

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Spanish beauty.[107]

3.2 The vision of Spanish beauty

Important plot developments separate the Guacolda episode from the next appearance of women in the narrative.[108] The battle in which Lautaro is killed rages on into Canto 15, the last of Part I, which concludes with storm-tossed Spanish reinforcements, Ercilla among them, in danger of shipwreck as they come from Peru to join the action. With the publication of Part II, nine years later, the ship is brought safely to shore and the reinforcements establish a fort at Penco, near modern-day Santiago. The poet's participation in events gives the narrative a new sense of immediacy and authority. He soon tests the latter by relating the appearance of celestial omens (C.16) and by detailing an extensive vision of Spain's imperial future as shown him by two female figures: Bellona, the goddess of war, and Reason, a figure clad in white (C.17-18). The vision begins with the poet falling asleep while trying to write late at night and is part of the poem's machinery of epic prophecy that the sorcerer Fitón will later complete.[109]

In the first part of the vision, Bellona praises the young poet for his unflagging dedication to his bellicose subject and enjoins him to new effort: "ensancha el corazón y la esperanza; / y aspira a más de aquello que pretendes [. . .]" ("expand your spirits and

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[107] See 58-59, above.

[108] Nicolopulos argues that the enthusiastic reception of Part 1 of the poem, which included positive responses to the Guacolda episode, encouraged Ercilla to write the subsequent treatments of Araucan women ("Reading," 227-228).

[109] Ercilla describes a sudden disabling fear that causes him to drop his pen. He gradually recovers from this and, closing his eyes, falls asleep and begins to dream (17.35-37). Fitón's crystal sphere will provide the mechanism for the description of the battle of Lepanto in Canto 24.

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hopes and aspire to more than what you are attempting") (17.40.6-7). She then announces that she can assist this expansion by taking him to a location offering material related not only to wars more famous than the one he is describing, but also to feminine beauty and love:

> Es campo fértil, lleno de mil flores,
> en el cual hallarás materia llena
> de guerras más famosas y mayores,
> donde podrá alimentar la vena.
> Y si quieres de damas y de amores
> en verso celebrar la dulce pena,
> tendrás mayor sujeto y hermosura
> que en la pasada edad y en la futura. (17.42.1-8)
>
> It is fertile meadow, full of a thousand flowers, in which you will find material filled with greater and more famous wars, where you will be able to nourish your inspiration. And if you wish to celebrate in verse the sweet pain of ladies and of love, there you will have greater subject and beauty than in past or future ages.

In the middle of this *locus amoenus*, an idealized storehouse of literary inspiration or *inventio*, rises a pyramidal mountain.[110] The poet is precipitated to its peak for a dizzying view of the Spanish victory at San Quentin, which Bellona starts the scene narrating and then leaves to join. Later in the vision the figure of Reason appears, offering additional details of Spanish history, including a panorama of Spanish beauties that includes a

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[110] Cf.: Allí las claras fuentes murmurando
el deleitoso asiento atravesaban,
y los templados vientos respirando
la verde yerba y flores alegraban;
pues los pintados pájaros volando
por los copados árboles cruzaban,
formaban con su canto y melodía
una acorde y dulcísima armonía. (13.45.1-8)

There murmuring, clear fountains were running through the delightful site, and sighing, temperate winds were gladdening the green grass and flowers; flying, colorful birds were crossing the tops of trees, forming with their song and melody a tuneful and most sweet harmony.

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prophetic introduction to the poet's future wife. The dream-vision comes to an end when the Araucans attack the Penco fort, where the poet has been trying to write, igniting a battle that leads to the appearance of the next Araucan heroine, Tegualda. Before examining her story, it is important to note how the vision of beauty, while not involving Araucan protagonists, participates, both thematically and structurally, in the episodes of the Indian women. As will be seen, it not only engages the conflict between pastoral and history, a common concern of other episodes, but, more important, rewrites key aspects of the amatory experiences they describe in terms of the poet himself.

The introduction of the theme of beauty here responds to previous protests by the poet regarding the monotony of his subject. The complaint first appears at the start of Canto 15, where referring to the self-imposed injunction against Ariostan love stories with which the *Araucana* opens, Ercilla ponders how it will be possible to compose a poem worth reading without writing of love.[111] Love is necessary for the full treatment of

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[111] Cf.:¿ Qué cosa puede haber sin amor buena?
¿Qué verso sin amor dará contento?
¿Dónde jamás se ha visto rica vena
que no tenga de amor el nacimiento?
No se puede llamar materia llena
la que de amor no tiene el fundamento;
los contentos, los gustos, los cuidados,
son, si no son de amor, como pintados. (15.1.1-8)

What good thing can you have without love? What verse without love will be pleasing? Where has there ever been seen a rich inspiration that isn't born of love? A matter cannot be called abundant that does not have its foundation in love; contentments, pleasures, cares, if not of love, are as if painted.

Several octaves later he continues:

Que si a mi discreción dado me fuera
salir al campo y escoger las flores,
quizá el cansado gusto removiera
la usada variedad de los sabores,
pues como otros han hecho, yo pudiera

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any subject, he decides, citing Dante, Ariosto, Petrarch, and Garcilaso as examples of poets whom love has incited to greater accomplishments (15.2.5).[112] In the present scene, having concluded her exposition of Spanish military history, Reason remarks that if the poet wants to mix such harsh material with gentler he should turn his gaze to "[. . .] las damas de España, que admirada / estoy, según el bien que allí se encierra, / cómo no *abrasa* Amor toda la tierra" ("the women of Spain, since I am amazed that, given the good embodied there, love doesn't ignite the entire earth") (18.64.6-8). True to her persona, she warns the poet to be on his guard against the sight of such beauty, lest his "ojos faciles" ("fickle eyes") (18.65.2) lead to difficulties she may be unable to resolve, that is, lest he fall prey to sexual attraction: "ni en tu fuerza y mi ayuda te confíes, / que aunque quiera después contraponerme, / tú cerrarás los ojos por no verme" ("trust neither in your strength nor in my help, since although I may later want to counter ("such an

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entretejer mil fábulas y amores;
mas ya que tan adentro estoy metido,
habré de proseguir lo prometido. (15.5.1-8)

Since if it were left up to my discretion to go into the meadow and choose flowers, perhaps the usual variety of aromas would revive the wearied sensibility, since as other have done, I would be able to interweave a thousand tales and love stories; but because I am already so far into it, I must persevere with what I have promised.

These self-imposed limitations have already been broken, of course, by the scene between Guacolda and Lautaro. Ercilla reiterates his concern about monotony in the foreword to Part II: "[. .] .haber de caminar siempre por el rigor de una verdad y camino tan desierto y estéril , paréceme que no habrá gusto que no se canse de seguirme. Así temeroso desto, quisiera mil veces mezclar algunas cosas diferentes; pero acordé de no mudar estilo, porque lo que digo se me tomase en descuento de las faltas que el libro lleva. . ." ("always having to walk according to the rigor of one truth a road so desolate and sterile, it seems to me that there is not a taste that will not tire of following me. Thus afraid of this, I would have liked a thousand times to mix in some different things, but I resolved to not change styles, since what I say might be discounted as among the faults that the book has [. . .]") (Lerner, "Introducción," 63).

[112] The grouping is further evidence, pace Quint, of Ercilla's associating Ariosto with lyric poets rather than with writers of romance; see 20 n. 8, above.

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effect"), you will close your eyes in order not to see me") (18.65.6-80). The warning against concupiscence only inflames the poet's desire:

> ¡Oh condición humana!, que al instante
> que me privó que el rostro no volviese,
> sólo aquel impedirme fue bastante
> a que *el prompto apetito se encendiese* [. . .] (18.66.1-4)
> Oh, human condition, that at the instant she told me not to turn my head, the prohibition alone was enough to inflame the ready appetite.

Ignoring her advice, therefore, he turns to see a paradise of Spanish beauties surrounded by admiring consorts "al regalado y blando amor rendidos" ("surrendered to delicate and tender love") (18.69.3).[113] Before he can investigate, Reason, "algo medroso y con turbado gesto / de haberme en tanto riesgo y trance puesto" ("somewhat fearful and with a distressed look at having placed me in such risk and danger") (18.70.7-8), abruptly propels him from the mountain-top back down to the *locus amoenus* that surrounds it.

This sardonic enactment of Neoplatonic love theory continues as the poet, transformed by what he has seen, realizes he is free "del torpe y del grosero velo / que la vista hasta allí me iba ocupando" ("of the torpid, coarse veil that had occupied my view until that time") (18.71.3-4) and experiences true love, which he describes in imagery echoing that used by Guacolda and Lautaro:

> un *amoroso fuego* y *blando hielo*
> se me fue *por las venas regalando*

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[113] The choice of words emphasizes the implicit juxtaposition of violence and eros, echoing the epithet "blando" used earlier in one of the most disturbing descriptions of fighting between the Spanish and the Araucans, who experience the results of war unequally: "mas salen los efetos desiguales; / que los unos topaban duro acero, / los otros al desnudo y *blando* cuero" ("but the effects are unequal, since some were striking hard steel ("i.e., of Spanish armor"), the others naked and tender flesh") (14.34.6-80). This description comes shortly after the death of Lautaro.

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> y *el brío rebelde* y *pecho endurecido*
> quedó al amor *sujeto* y *sometido*. (18.71.5-8)
> an amorous fire and gentle ice was melting through my veins, and my rebellious spirit and hardened breast were subdued and subject to love.[114]

The narrator wants to know more about the paradise he has just visited and in particular about one of the figures, "que vi a sus pies rendida mi fortuna" ("at whose feet I saw my fortune surrendered") (18.72.8), a woman whose name identifies her as the poet's future wife, Doña María de Bazán.[115] At this point his "dulce sueño" ("sweet dream") (18.74.5) is abruptly interrupted by the attacking Araucans, and "en esta confusión, medio dormido" ("in this confusion, half-asleep") (18.75.1) he rushes to arm himself and take his position in the defense of the fort as "la rosada Aurora" (18.75.8) appears in the East.

There are numerous parallels here to the Guacolda episode, as well as a number of inversions. Among the latter: the Araucan couple both have a "sueño pesado" (13.44.5) or bad dream about defeat and death; Lautaro assures Guacolda that dreams are false (13.51.4) and boasts that he is used to putting his fortune at risk and to achieving great martial success (13.51.5-8); the dream turns out to be true, however, and Lautaro is killed in the Spanish attack. Ercilla has a "dulce sueño" of marital bliss that is paradoxically among the poem's most factual passages, since it uses epic prophecy to identify his future wife. Unlike Lautaro, who boasts of controlling fortune, Ercilla describes his own as subject to his beloved, and he survives the Araucan assault. Among the elements that correspond directly: the imagery of love as fire is the same (13.43.7, 13.48.4, 18.71.5),

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[114] On the use of *torpe*, see 128, below.

[115] Ercilla marries Bazán in 1570, seven years after returning from the New World.

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and both men refer to their devotion in terms of subjection, Ercilla maintaining that he is "al amor sujeto y sometido" ("subject and surrendered to love") (18.71.8).[116] The Tegualda episode will employ many of the same elements, in addition to echoing quite precisely the poet's reference here to his own "brío rebelde y pecho endurecido" ("rebellious spirit and hardened breast") (18.71.7) as eventually conquered by amorous passion.[117] Finally, Ercilla's confusion upon being awakened from the vision recalls his emotions when describing the love of Guacolda and Lautaro, a description that Tegualda, in turn, will employ to describe her own state of mind.[118]

These intratextual allusions serve several key functions. By repeating key elements of structure and theme they both strengthen narrative coherence and act as devices of emphasis.[119] Developed in such dramatically different contexts, they also create new themes, not only focusing on love and emphasizing its contrast with war, but hinting at an underlying correspondence between the two.[120] This correspondence is first

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[116] Cf. Lautaro's: "mi vida es sujeta a vuestros manos" ("I am your prisoner") (13.49.7); see 57-58, above.

[117] Cf. 20.61.2, discussed on 93, below.

[118] Cf. Ercilla's earlier emotions on writing about Guacolda and Lautaro: "[. . .] la turbada pluma mía / que en las cosas de amor nueva se halla, / confusa, tarda y con temor se mueve [. . .]" ("my disturbed pen, that newly finds itself amid matters of love, moves fearfully, confused and sluggish") (13.57.5-7), see 58, above; also see his state of mind upon being awakened by the Araucan attack: "En esta confusión, medio dormido" ("in this confusion, half asleep") (18.75.1), which echoes the state of mind of the Araucans attacked while sleeping (14.11.1); see 66, above; Tegualda's later observation: "Hallamé tan confusa y alterada[. . .]" ("I found myself so confused and altered") (20.59.1); see 93, below.

[119] Cf. the discussion of rhetorical emphasis, 53 n. 74, above.

[120] Cf. the Ares-Aphrodite connection in Greek mythology (see 23, above).

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suggested by Bellona's offering to be the poet's guide to love. It is reinforced by the similarities between the emotions ascribed to the two experiences, notably confusion and shock, and by the allusion to the Neoplatonic concept of the concupiscent, irascible, and rational components of the soul. In broader terms, these internal echoes create unexpected correspondences between cultures and characters, not only Araucans and Europeans, New World residents and Old, but also between the poem's barbarian protagonists and the poet himself. Key aspects of the characters' experiences are rewritten as sympathetic parody in which the poet assumes their roles and shares their emotions, dramatizing his empathy for the indigenous population and humanizing them far beyond most New World narratives.[121] The attribution of amorous passion first described in terms of Guacolda and Lautaro to the poet himself also continues his own humanization, while demonstrating a characteristic *renovatio* of epic through personal experience. This process of self-fashioning, expressed through Petrarch, Garcilaso, and, to a lesser extent, Ariosto, begins as early as Canto 13, with the synedoche of the poet's confusion and fear. It continues here with his succumbing, like the rest of humanity, to the "prompto apetito" (18.66.4) of sexual attraction and with his clumsy instruction in the lessons of Neoplatonic love.

The setting of these experiences contrasts the ideal world to the real one. The site of the former is a pastoral paradise announced by a *locus amoenus*. Its attractions are

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[121] This is a largely literary humanization, of course, carried out primarily, as already noted, by means of Petrarchan discourse; see 31ff., above. For a related discussion of how Ercilla's attribution of Petrachist lyric to the Araucans upset Peruvian criollos, see Nicolopulos, "Reading"; on Ercilla and Las Casas, see 86 n. 134, below.

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multiple, but the view of the future that Bellona and Reason provide requires that the poet rise above it, suspended on a peak between heaven and earth. This region is also the realm of ideal beauty, and when its appeal proves too great the poet is returned to the pastoral world at its base. Here, like the Platonic soul remembering its view of reality, he recalls its beauty and seeks to learn more about it.[122] The harsh historical present exerts its dominance, however, and the pastoral illusion vanishes.

Lyric informs the Guacolda episode, the most fictional in the poem since it occurs before the poet arrives in Chile and is by the nature of its intimacy beyond verification. Pastoral lies at the heart of the vision of Spanish beauty, paradoxically made real by the inclusion of the poet's future wife. Pastoral and Neoplatonism will also prove central to the story told by Tegualda, continuing the mixture of genres that increasingly characterize Ercilla's narrative.[123]

3.3 Tegualda

Once awake and with the Araucans attacking, Ercilla abruptly ends the eighteenth canto, saving for the following two his account of the battle with its multiple, advertised

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[122] *Phaedrus*, 249C-E.

[123] Cf. Isaías Lerner's study of how literary discourses associated with history, epic, and autobiography are joined in the *Araucana* to produce a sixteenth-century version of heteroglossia ("América y la poesía épica áurea: la versión de Ercilla," *Edad de Oro* 10 [1991] 125-139); Lerner also considers how the poem's mixture of popular and erudite speech, together with its deployment of rhetorical devices, notably repetition, "resemanticize" clichéd imagery and endow the text with the *plurisignificación* or multi-valency associated with literary masterpieces ("Ercilla y la formación del discurso poético áureo," *Busquemos Otros Montes y Otros Ríos*, ed. Elias L. Rivers [Madrid: Castalia, 1992], 155-166

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allusions to Virgil, Lucan, and Ariosto.[124] Canto 19 opens with a two-octave reprise of the theme of female beauty, with the poet emphasizing his desire to honor women by writing of amorous subjects (19.1-2), and ends yet again at a moment of suspense in the fighting.[125] Canto 20 begins with a restatement of the poet's complaint regarding the harshness of his martial theme, then shifts to the dilemma of keeping his word regarding his intention to write only of military matters (20.1-2). The unexpected emphasis on this subject, which occupies the canto's first three octaves and is cast in *beatus ille* terms of how little significance a man's word has in the present age, reflects the importance to Ercilla of personal integrity, a quality that will prove central to the Tegualda episode and to the defense of Dido and that may also have special resonance for the poet's personal experience in the New World. The fourth octave resumes the poet's query over why he must write about violence when he's capable of so much more (20.4), but the rumination is typically cut short by the resumption of battle, which lasts until the Araucans, after grievous losses, make an orderly retreat (20.17).

In the ensuing interlude darkness falls, and the Spanish waste no time in repairing their fortifications. Ercilla is assigned the night's first watch and goes to it reflecting on

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[124] Cf. Isaías Lerner's study of how literary discourses associated with history, epic, and autobiography are joined in the *Araucana* to produce a sixteenth-century version of heteroglossia ("América y la poesía épica áurea: la versión de Ercilla," *Edad de Oro* 10 [1991] 125-139); Lerner also considers how the poem's mixture of popular and erudite speech, together with its deployment of rhetorical devices, notably repetition, "resemanticize" clichéd imagery and endow the text with the *plurisignificación* or multi-valency associated with literary masterpieces ("Ercilla y la formación del discurso poético áureo," *Busquemos Otros Montes y Otros Ríos*, ed. Elias L. Rivers [Madrid: Castalia, 1992], 155-166 For a discussion of the intertexts in this scene between Virgil's Turnus, Ariosto's Rodomonte, and Ercilla's Tucapelo, see my "Ariosto Among the Araucans: Text, Context, and the Limits of Genre," (forthcoming).

[125] Cf. 53 n. 74, above.

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the hardships of military life and on having to write in intervals between battles—"la pluma ora en la mano, ora la lanza" ("now a pen in hand, now a sword") (20.24.8).[126] It is in such melancholy spirits, on a night "tan lóbrega y escura / que divisar lo cierto no podía" ("so gloomy and dark that I couldn't discern clearly") (20.27.1), that the poet hears a strange noise, "un triste sospiro sostenido" ("a sustained sad sigh") (20.26.6) that seems to be passing among the bodies that litter the battlefield. He cautiously crawls forward and sees "andando a cuatro pies un negro bulto" ("a black shape going about on all fours") (20.27.8). The combination of fatigue and fear, poor visibility, the macabre setting, and quite probably his recent visions conspire to unsettle his sense of what is happening, which appears to involve a carnivore prowling among the dead. Finally, "[. . .] de aquella *visión* mal satisfecho, / con un temor, que agora aun no le niego" ("poorly satisfied with that vision, with a fright that even now I don't deny") (20.28.1-2), he screws up his courage to investigate, and as he approaches it realizes the creature is an Araucan woman.[127]

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[126] The image is used by Garcilaso in *Égloga III*: "Entre las armas del sangriento Marte, / do apenas hay quien su furor contraste, / hurté de tiempo aquesta breve suma, / tomando ora la spada, ora la pluma" ("among the arms of bloody Mars, where there is scarcely anyone to oppose his furor, I stole that brief summary from time, taking up now the sword, now the pen") (37-40); as do most critics prior to the twentieth century, Voltaire accepts at face value Ercilla's explanation, in the *Prólogo* to Part I, about writing with "la pluma ora en mano, ora la lanza" ("now the pen in my hand, now the sword") (20.24.8), and, furthermore, "[. . .] muchas veces en cuero por falta de papel, y en pedazos de cartas, algunos tan pequeños que apenas cabían seis versos, que no me costó después poco trabajo juntarlos" ("many times on leather for lack of paper, and on scraps of letters, some so small that they scarcely held six lines, which cost me no little effort later to sort out") (69); these conditions are largely responsible for what Voltaire sees as the poem's structural defects, among them the inclusion of the defense of Dido.

[127] A fitting image, perhaps, of Ercilla version of the encounter between Old World and New.

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The mystery of Tegualda's presence is quickly solved as she begs Ercilla to let her search for the corpse of her husband, who has been killed in the day's fighting and whom she wants to bury. Characteristically foregrounding his own sensations, the poet is at first suspicious, but finally decides that Tegualda's lack of fear and "gran sosiego" ("great calm") (20.34.3) lends credence to her story and realizes that there is only one explanation for such courage: "[. . .] que el pérfido amor, ingrato y ciego, / en busca del marido la traía" ("that perfidious love, ungrateful and blind, was leading her in search of her husband") (20.34.5-6). Filled with compassion, he assures Tegualda that he will help her, but persuades her to wait until the next morning, requesting "[. . .] que su querella / [. . .] / desde el principio al cabo me contase" ("that her complaint from the beginning to the end she tell me") (20.35.5-7). She reluctantly agrees.[128]

The Tegualda episode, at 65 octaves the most elaborate of the Araucan women, is thus based upon a *mise-en-abime* structure, the framing narrative one in which the soldier-poet tells of encountering a widow searching for the corpse of her husband, the enclosed widow's tale a tragic one of how she and her husband, Crepino, met and fell in love. This nested construction distinguishes the Tegualda episode from Guacolda's, while linking it to the subsequent stories told by Glaura and Lauca. Characterized as a *novelesco* or Boccaccian tale, her account represents the type of digression that Cinquecento theorists often discussed in terms of unity and variety and that eventually

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[128] The topos of the reluctant response to a request for past history is associated most directly with Aeneas's response to Dido (*Aeneid* 2.12-13); cf. Lerner, "Introducción," 573 n. 65; Glaura will repeat the formula (28.6.7-8).

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becomes identified with the genre of romance.[129] While some readers have found the various similarities between this episode and Ariosto's story of Isabella and Zerbino (*O.F.* 13; 24) strengthen this identification, I will argue, once again, that these associations are largely superficial and that posited without qualification they distort the identity of Ercilla's poem.[130] What chivalric echoes there are in Tegualda's story are couched in an idiosyncratic mix of epic and pastoral motifs, Neoplatonic love theory, and allusions to Castiglione's ideal courtier, the combination of which has little in common with romance, Ariostan or otherwise.

The framing tale of Tegualda's search for her husband's corpse is based on ancient models, the most frequently cited being Xenophon's Panthea and Statius's Argia.[131] These figures combine two older themes, one involving the right to burial, found in Priam's embassy to Achilles and Antigone's defiance of Creon, the other that of the loyal wife, exemplified in Homer's Penelope, whose name appears in many subsequent defenses of women, including Ercilla's (21.3). Through the deaths of their

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[129] The spirit of such secondary narrative, if not the elaboration it receives in this example, is not entirely foreign to classical epic and has a clear affinity with the epyllion; cf. the story of Theseus and Ariadne that commandeers Catullus's Poem #64, ostensibly about the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

[130] Cf. the analysis of David Quint, 20 n. 8, above.

[131] Cf. Menéndez Pelayo, who states, "Aquí es donde las reminiscencias de sus lecturas clásicas son más evidentes. Guacolda, la amada de Lautaro, habla como Dido en el libro IV de *La Eneida*. Tegualda, buscando en el campo de batalla el cadáver de su esposo, trae en seguida á la memoria el bello episodio de Abradato y Pantea en *La Cyropedia*, de Xenofonte" ("here is where the reminiscences of his classical readings are most apparent. Guacolda, beloved of Lautaro, speaks like Dido in Book IV of the *Aeneid*. Tegualda, searching the battlefield for the corpse of her husband, quickly brings to mind the beautiful episode of Abradates and Panthea in the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon") (*Historia*, 305).

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husbands, Panthea and Argia also evoke the motif of the abandoned woman.[132] Tegualda's determination to join Crepino in death (20.32.5-8), like Guacolda's (13.46.5-8), is stoic in nature, as Glaura's and Lauca's will be (28.40.5-8; 32.38.4-8).

The primary themes of this classically-inspired framing story—justice, *civilité*, and true love—are the themes of Tegualda's own story as well. All are introduced within

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[132] Panthea, wife of an important military officer in the *Cyropaedia*, retrieves her husband's body from the battlefield and, despite Cyrus's attempts to console her, takes her own life after preparing it for burial (7.3.3-16). Statius's treatment of the theme is more complex, enacted on the same corpse-strewn landscape outside the walls of Thebes that a short time earlier saw his version of the Doloneia, the purpose of which Argia now reenacts, this time successfully. As noted earlier, Statius's Dymas and Hopleus, Argive soldiers, undertake the night mission in order to find and bury their commanders, killed in the day's fighting. Dymas prays to Diana for moonlight, and with her help they locate the bodies and begin their return. Patrolling Theban troops discover and overtake them, and after Hopleus is killed, Dymas dies to avenge him (10.340-448). Two books later Argia, whose husband, Polynices, has been killed in the same fighting, comes to the battlefield. Flaunting Creon's decree against the burial of Argives, she finds the corpse of her husband with the help of Juno, who solicits the moon for assistance. Polynices's sister, Antigone, who has also been searching for the body, appears, and the two women carry out the funeral rites before they are caught by Theban troops. The motif of Diana's assistance in the search for the corpses, absent in both Homer and Virgil, links Statius's text with Ariosto's narrative of Cloridano and Medoro, the latter of whom prays to the moon for light (*OF* 18.184). Statius's narrative is often referred to as excessively violent, reflecting a deterioration of sensibility characteristic of his age. Note that an example of such violence, which occurs when the Theban soldiers, before killing Hopleus, sever his hand (10.421), echoes the *Cyropaedia*, where the severed hand of Argia's husband, which she has lovingly reattached to the corpse as best she can, comes away in Cyrus's grasp when he attempts to hold it (7.3.8). The violence in Xenophon continues as Argia's three eunuchs kill themselves on discovering her suicide (7.3.15). As part of the complex development of literary motifs being discussed here, it should be pointed out that Argia's grieving recollection of Polynices, in which he appears before her mind's eye at various points in their shared history (*Th.* 12.185ff.), is based upon Apollonius's often-cited description of Medea's recollection of Jason shortly after having fallen in love with him (*Ar.* 3.450ff.). Beyond the similarities noted above, Tegualda is linked to Argia by the way in which both women attempt to revive their lifeless husbands. Of Argia it is said: "tum corpore toto / sternitur in vultus animaque per oscula quaerit / absentem" ("Down to his face / She fell prostrate and with her kisses sought / His life-breath lost") (12.319-320); at the end of the Tegualda episode Ercilla will say of her that "sobre ella se arrojó desatinada; / y junta con la suya [. . .] / la boca le besaba y la herida, / por ver si le podía infundir la vida" ("she threw herself wildly upon it (his face), and side by side with her own she kissed the wound and his mouth, to see if she could instill life in him") (21.8.4-8). English translations of Statius are those of A. D. Melville, *Thebaid* (Oxford: Clarendon U P, 1992).

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the first four octaves of Tegualda's appearance:

> Señor, señor, *merced* te pido,
> que soy mujer y nunca te he *ofendido*.
> Si mi dolor y desventura estraña
> a lástima y *piedad* no te inclinaren
> y tu sangrienta espada y *fiera saña*
> de *los términos lícitos* pasaren,
> ¿qué gloria adquirirás de tal hazaña,
> cuando *los justos cielos* publicaren
> que se empleó en una mujer tu espada,
> viuda, mísera, triste y desdichada?
>
> Ruégote pues, señor, si por ventura
> o desventura, como fue la mía,
> con *amor verdadero* y con *fe pura*
> *amaste* tiernamente en algún día,
> me dejes dar a un cuerpo sepultura,
> que yace entre esta muerta compañía.
> Mira que aquel que niega lo que es *justo*
> lo malo aprueba ya y se hace *injusto*.
>
> No quieras impedir obra tan *pía*,
> que aun en *bárbara* guerra se concede,
> que es especie y señal de *tiranía*
> usar de todo aquello que se puede.
> Deja buscar *su cuerpo a esta alma mía*,
> después furioso con rigor procede,
> que ya el dolor me ha puesto en tal estremo
> que más la vida que la muerte temo [. . .] (20.28.7-20.31.8)

Sir, sir, I ask your *mercy*, since I am a woman and have never *offended* you. If my distress and strange misfortune do not incline you to sorrow and *pity* and your bloody sword and fierce rage pass *licit bounds*, what glory will you acquire from such a deed, when *just heaven* makes known that your sword was used on a woman, a widow, miserable, sad, and wretched? // I beg you, sir, that if by chance or mischance, as in my case, *you ever tenderly loved* with *true love* and *pure faith*, allow me to give a body burial, which lies among this dead company. Beware that he who prohibits what is *just* approves of evil and makes himself *unjust*. // You would not want to impede such *pious* work, which is even conceded in barbarous war, since it is a type and sign of *tyranny* to use everything one can. Let this soul of mine seek its body; afterwards, proceed with furious rigor, since this pain has placed me in such

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extremity that I now fear life more than death.

Tegualda's opening lines implicitly condemn the behavior of other Spanish soldiers while recalling the defense-of-women topos that Ercilla has addressed before, most explicitly at the opening of Canto 14, and will address again, at the close of the present episode (21.3) and in the subsequent defense of Dido.[133] The many references in these lines to justice, together with the legalistic quality of such terms as *merced*, *ofendido*, *términos lícitos*, *justo*, and *injusto*, associate her speech with two of the poem's meta-discourses, those of just war and proper governance.[134] Closely related to this is her appeal to Ercilla's

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[133] Cf. "¿Cual será aquella lengua desmandada / que a *ofender* las mujeres ya se atreva" ("which will be that unruly tongue that dares to offend women?") (14.1.1-2).

[134] Ercilla's views on just war and on proper governance, articulated most notably at 21.56.1-8, 23.12.4-23.13.8, and 37.13.1ff., are similar in many cases to those of Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria. A number of facts have been noted in this regard: as a page at the court of Philip II, Ercilla was in Valladolid for some weeks in 1551, during the time that the debates between Ginés de Sepulveda and Las Casas were taking place; Fray Gil González de San Nicolás, Vicar General of Chile and a former student of Vitoria's in Salamanca, became acquainted with Ercilla during the ocean voyage they shared on first traveling from Lima to Santiago, which is recounted in the poem (13.55-40, 15.56-83); for additional discussion of Ercilla's conceptions of justice and of just war, see William Mejías-Lopez, "Alonso de Ercilla y los problemas de los indios chilenos: algunas prerrogativas legales presentes en *La Araucana*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 69.1 (1992a) 1-10; Ercilla's father, Fortún García de Ercilla, was a juris consult for Philip II and wrote on these subject, which Mejías-Lopez also discusses. Lerner notes Erasmus's influence on Ercilla in this regard and points out that the example of just war in *La Araucana* is that waged against Portugal regarding Philip II's succession (C.37) ("Para los contextos," 265-266). There are also similarities between Ercilla's beliefs on these issues and passages in *Il Cortegiano*, e.g., Ottaviano's statement that "Però debbon i principi far i populi bellicosi non per cupidità di dominare, ma per poter diffendere se stessi e li medesimi populi da chi volesse ridurgli in servitù, ovver fargli infiuria in parte alcuna, ovvero per discacciar i tiranni e governar bene quei populi che fossero mal trattati[. . .]" ("Therefore rulers should make their people warlike not for lust of conquest but in order to ensure the defense of themselves and their subjects against anyone endeavoring to enslave or to injure them in any way, or to expel tyrants and give good government to those who are abused") (4.27). Ercilla does not agree with the Platonic conclusion to this citation, in which war is justified as appropriate for enslaving those whose nature makes them suitable for such a role. For discussion of the theme of the just war as the primary unifying element of the *Araucana*, see Cedomil Goić, "Poetización del Espacio, espacios de la poesía," *La cultura literaria en la América virreinal: concurrencias y diferencias*,

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piedad, echoed in the reference to her *pía* task, since this is a trait that not only distinguishes a Christian monarch from a tyrant, but one that is also conceded to apply to certain aspects of "barbarous war." Expounded here with considerable irony by a barbarian woman, piety has been celebrated two cantos earlier at the victory of San Quentin, where Ercilla contrasts the Spanish troops who begin to sack the city "sin *piedad*" (18.21.5) to their commander, Philip II, "el *pío* Felipe" (18.23.1), who restrains them, ordering that they protect women and houses of worship (18.17-21). It is "del *piadoso* Rey la gran *clemencia*" ("the great clemency of the pious king") (18.28.1) that ensures Spain an honorable victory over the French, curbing illegitimate violence while establishing firm control.[135]

Tegualda introduces the theme of love in these verses by means of an indirect question to Ercilla about his own amatory experience (20.30.3-4), thereby linking their representations in a manner reminiscent of earlier passages.[136] She describes her love as true and pure, epithets Ercilla acknowledges in his recognition of her "casto y amoroso intento" ("chaste and amorous intent") (20.35.2). Her allusion to the Neoplatonically inspired image of the lover's soul as leaving the body to reside with the beloved (20.35.2)

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ed. José Pascual Buxó (México: UNAM, 1996), 13-24; also see José Rojas Bez, "Caupolicán, Las Casas y Ercilla: Símbolos y visiones del héroe americano," *Universidad de la Habana*, 236 (1989) 82-96.

[135] These references to Philip II have long been recognized as alluding to Virgil's "pius Aeneas," an association suggested elsewhere in the poem and one that Ercilla makes some claim to participating in himself when he describes his own *compasión* toward Tegualda (20.35.1 and 21.6.5) and other Araucans. The evocation of Virgilian piety brings with it some of the complexity of Virgil's feelings surrounding the violence necessary for human society. Ercilla never applies the term *pío* directly to himself.

[136] See 78, above.

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relies on a popular image of the period, the best-known Spanish version being that of Garcilaso, who also inspires the conceit of fearing life more than death (20.31.8).[137]

Tegualda's story describes how she was courted by many young men and encouraged by her father, an Araucan leader, to choose from among them. Her lack of interest in the suitors incites them to stage a day of "danzas, con juegos y otras fiestas" ("dances, with games and other festivities") (20.39.5), described by her as "[. . .] el postrero día / desta mi *libertad y señorío*" ("the last day of this my *liberty and self-governance*") (20.40.1-2). The festivities end with her falling abruptly in love with the winner of the competitions, a "mozo estranjero" ("young stranger") (20.57.3), whom she

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[137] Cf. Garcilaso's: "y dejé de mi alma aquella parte / que al cuerpo vida y fuerza 'staba dando" ("and I left that part of my heart that was giving life and strength to my body") (*Son XIX*, lines 3-4). This image is employed by Apollonius when he says of the young Medea, secretly following Jason with her eyes: "νόος δέ οἱ ἠύτ' ὄνειρος / ἐρπύζων πεπότητο μετ' ἴχνια νισσομένοιο" ("her soul creeping like a dream flitted in his path as he went") (3.446-447); Apollonius's image, in turn, echoes that used by Odysseus's mother in the underworld, where, describing death to him, she says that "ψυχὴ δ' ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται" ("the spirit, rustling, flitters away, flown like a dream") (*Od.* 11.222); English translations from Homer are those of Robert Fagles, *The Odyssey* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1996). Cf. Petrarch's version of the conceit in the *Canzoniere:* "il giorno ch' io / lassai di me la miglior parte a dietro" ("the day I left behind the better part of me") (37.51-52). This passage has been noted as an intertext with Garcilaso (cf. Lerner, "Introducción," 571 n. 60). The image is also evoked by Castiglione in Emilia Pia's response to Bembo's inspired oration on love, where she warns him "che con questi pensieri a voi ancora non si separi l'anima dal cuerpo" ("that with these thoughts of yours your soul doesn't separate from your body") (4.71); citations from *Il Cortegiano* are to book and section of the 1960 Mondadori edition. With regard to the image of fearing life more than death, Ercilla reworks Salicio's complaint from the First Eclogue, which also employs the image of love as fire so prevalent in Ercilla's text:

> ¡Oh más dura que mármol a mis quejas
> y al *encendido fuego* en que me quemo
> más helada que nieve, Galatea!
> *Estoy muriendo, y aun la vida temo. . .* (lines 57-60)

Oh harder than marble to my complaints and more frozen than snow to the burning fire in which I burn, Galatea! I am dying and yet I fear life.

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soon weds.[138] The story shares numerous details with Ariosto's tale of Isabella (*O.F.* 13.3-8): Isabella, whom Orlando finds captive, agrees to tell her story despite the pain it will cause her, and she blames *la nequizia* ("the spitefulness") (*O.F.* 13.4.6) of love for her troubles.[139] Isabella is the daughter of a king who holds a tournament to select a husband for her, during which she falls in love with the most gallant contender, Zerbino, the son of the King of Scotland. There are no details regarding Isabella's emotions, and the rest of her story focuses on overcoming obstacles to the marriage.

The details of Tegualda's account, by contrast, make it clear that the similarities between the Ariostan and Ercillan episodes are once again entirely formal. To begin with, the celebrations held by Tegualda's suitors are modeled on pastoral and epic precedents, as is apparent from their being staged in a *locus amoenus*:

> El agua clara in torno murmuraba,
> los arboles movidos por el viento
> hacían un movimiento y un ruido
> que alegraban la vista y el oído. (20.42.5-8)
> The clear water murmured about, the trees, moved by the wind, made a movement and sound that gladdened the eye and ear.

The elaborate decorations that lead to the games recall similar bucolic devices, while the description of the platform constructed for viewing, "hecho por tal manera que ayudaba / la maestra natura al ornamento" ("constructed in such a manner that it assisted masterly

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[138] In Ovid's treatment of Medea and Jason in the *Metamorphoses*, Medea asks herself, "quid in hospite, regia virgo, / ureris et thalamos alieni concipis orbis?" ("why do you, a royal maiden, burn for a stranger, and think upon marriage with a foreign world") (7.21-22); English translation is by Frank Justus Miller, revised by G. P. Goold, in the Loeb edition (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1916; 1977).

[139] Tegualda blames "el pérfido amor" ("perfidious love") (20.34.5); cf. Chevalier, *Arioste*, 152, and Schwartz, "Tradición," 620-623.

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nature in ornamentation") (20.42.3-4) evokes the familiar Neoplatonic topos of art imitating nature.[140] There is also an echo in these games of the celebratory "juegos, pruebas, danzas y alegrías" ("games, tests, dances, and festivities") (11.11.7) held by the Araucan soldiers after their first victory over the Spanish, recalling epic funeral games.[141]

While these intertexts deflect attention from chivalric romance to classical antecedents, the most significant differences between the two emerge in the course of Tegualda's thoroughly Platonic description of falling in love, which occupies some twenty-eight octaves of the episode and is clearly its focus. The first part of her account continues in the language of power relations and legalisms, remarking how little she

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[140] Ercilla's description states:

> Luego, por orden y artificio estraño,
> la larga senda y pasos enramaron,
> pareciéndoles malo el buen camino
> y que el sol de tocarme no era dino.
>
> Llegué por varios arcos donde estaba / un buen compuesto y levantado asiento [. . .] (20.41.5-42.2)

Then by wondrous artifice and arrangement they covered the long path and passage with boughs, the good road seeming bad to them and the sun not worthy to touch me. I came through several arches to where there was a well-constructed, raised platform.

Cf. the wedding of the shepherd Camacho in the 1615 *Quijote*, which also involves games staged in a *locus amoenus* and where there are "una enramada" ("a bower"), dances, and a raised platform for viewing (Ch. 19, 185); (*El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Luis Andrés Murillo. Madrid: Castalia, 1978). This episode, in turn, is identified with the wedding of Daranio and Silveria in Book III of Cervantes's 1585 pastoral novel, *La Galatea*; cf. e.g., Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce's, "La novela pastoril española" (Madrid: Istmo, 1974; 257); and Dominick L. Finello's *Pastoral Themes and Forms in Cervantes' Fiction* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1994), 204.

[141] Lerner notes the intertext between these and Book 5 (lines104-113) of the *Aeneid* ("Introducción," 315 n. 23). In the second Araucan attack on Penco referred to earlier, Ercilla again alludes to this passage in Virgil by describing one of the Araucan champions, Gracolano, being brought down by a stone in the same way that "el troyano Euricio" ("the Trojan Eurytion") (19.13.1) brought down the tethered dove in the archery competition (*Ae.* 5.513-518).

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cared about whether the competing suitors were *vencedores* ("victors") or *vencidos* ("vanquished") (20.44.5-6). We learn instead that she was absorbed in the natural beauty of the *locus amoenus*, which she was observing "con un ocioso y *libre* pensamiento" ("with an idle and free mind") (20.44.8), the latter epithet one she repeats seven lines later, contrasted with its alternatives: "*libre* a mi parecer y muy segura / de cuidado, de amor y desventura" ("free in my opinion and very secure from care, love, and misfortune") (20.45.7-8). As the games proceed a shout erupts from the crowd, and Tegualda's attention turns to the activity around her. She asks what is happening and is told that one of the contenders, "aquel gallardo mozo bien dispuesto" ("that gallant, well-disposed young man") (20.48.1), a stranger, has upset the presumed favorite, who is complaining of bad luck and demanding a rematch while "el *fácil* y *liviano* pueblo" ("the fickle, wanton public") (20.48.5) acclaims the new winner. The *espreso cartel* ("posted rules") of the games do not allow a rematch, nor will *los jueces* ("the judges") hear a *pedimiento* ("petition") from either contender—both of whom want to compete again—unless permission is granted by Tegualda herself (20.49-50). The two young men approach her, and with "una humilde y baja *cortesía*" ("an humble and meek courtesy") (20.51.6) the stranger offers himself as Tegualda's *siervo natural* ("natural slave") (20.52.3), willing to live and die in her service.[142] He asks her *una merced* ("a favor") (20.51.7) of permitting a rematch: "Danos *licencia*, rompe *el estatuto* con *tu poder sin límite absoluto*" ("grant us permission; break the statute [prohibiting further competition]

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[142] Cf. Plato: "Therefore the soul [. . .] is ready to be a slave and to sleep wherever it is allowed, as near as possible to the beloved [. . .]" (*Phae.* 252-258).

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with your absolute, limitless power") (20.53.7-8). This description of her power is only the most explicit of many allusions in these lines to freedom and servitude, judicial procedure and justice. Two additional themes that will shortly become important, loyalty and courtliness, are also introduced here, the first contrasted to the *fácil* crowd and recalling Reason's warning about the poet's *ojos fáciles* (18.65.2);[143] the second embodied in the formality of the exchanges between Tegualda and the stranger.

Contact having been made between the protagonists, the language of the episode shifts from legalisms to the lyrical imagery characteristic of earlier amorous scenes. In contrast to these scenes, however, such imagery is now subordinated to a strongly Neoplatonic emphasis on *honestidad* and *vergüenza,* or virtue and self-respect, especially as these are articulated by Castiglione, whose influence is increasingly evident as the episode progresses. With the young man awaiting with *baja reverencia* ("humble reverence") (20.54.1) her reply to his petition, Tegualda recounts that she watched him "sin *recato* y *advertencia*" ("without caution and concern") (20.54.3), not only granting him the rematch "*libre* y graciosamente" ("freely and graciously") (20.54.8) but also secretly wishing him victory in it.[144] When he goes on to win and the crowd brings him back to her to be presented with the victory wreath, she reveals that "[. . .] comencé a temblar y un *fuego ardiendo / fue por todos mis huesos discurriendo*" ("I began to tremble and a burning fire went running through all my bones") (20.58.7-8), a sensation

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[143] See 74, above.

[144] The danger that Bellona warns the narrator to avoid by looking away from the vision of Spanish is the same that overtakes Tegualda here; see 78, above.

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that leaves her "[. . .] tan *confusa* y alterada / de aquella nueva *causa* y acidente / que estuve un rato atónita y *turbada*" ("so confused and altered by that new trial and unexpected event that I was stunned and flustered for a moment") (20.59.1-3).[145] Recovering her composure she bestows the wreath "en todo dignamente" ("with complete dignity") (20.59.6), then lowers her eyes, "de la *honesta vergüenza* reprimidos" ("restrained by virtuous self-respect ") (20.60.2). As the young man rejoins the festivities her internal struggle continues:

> Sentí una novedad que me apremiaba
> la *libre fuerza* y *el rebelde brío*,
> a la cual *sometida* se entregaba
> *la razón*, *libertad* y *el albedrío*. (20.61.1-4)
> I felt my free strength and rebellious spirits compelled by something new, to which my reason, liberty, and will surrendered themselves.

After this she recovers again, only to find "*ardiendo* en *vivo fuego* el *pecho frío*" ("my cold breast was burning in lively fire") (20.61.6),[146] at which point she raises her eyes, "que la *vergüenza* allí tenía abajados" ("which self-respect kept lowered there") (20.61.8), and in a richly evocative octave describes the collapse of her remaining resistance:

> Roto con *fuerza* súbita y furiosa
> de la *vergüenza* y *continencia el freno*,
> le seguí con *la vista* deseosa,
> cebando más *la llaga* y *el veneno*.
> Que sólo allí *mirarle* y no otra cosa
> *para mi mal hallaba* que era bueno,
> así que adonde quiera que pasaba

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[145] *Causa* may continue the legalistic subtext of the passage, with reference to its use as *pleito* or lawsuit, trial.

[146] The phrase *vivo fuego* has also been used to describe the warrior Tucapelo's anger earlier in the canto, during the Araucan attack on the fort (20.11.3), offering an additional example of the correspondence between love and war discussed earlier; see 77, above.

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tras sí *los ojos y alma* me llevaba. (20.62.1-8)
Broken with sudden and furious force the restraint of shame and continence, I followed him with desiring gaze, the wound and venom penetrating further. Since the only thing I found good, to my harm, was to watch him there and nothing else, thus wherever he went he carried my eyes and soul after him.[147]

The atmosphere throughout the earlier part of the episode has been strongly Virgilian as a result of the repeated allusions to Dido in the images of love as a fire, a wound, or as poison.[148] Intratextually, such imagery recalls the love of Guacolda and

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[147] Clare Carroll has pointed out Ercilla's notable representation in these lines of female erotic desire, paralleling that of the canonical male gaze.

[148] Regarding Virgil's imagery of love as fire in the marrow, see Venus's wish that Cupid "[. . .] donisque furentem / *incendat* reginam atque ossibus implicet *ignem*" ("inflame the queen to madness with his gifts and implant the fire into her very bones") (1.659-660). For love as a fire in the marrow and as a wound, cf.: "est mollis *flamma* medullas / interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore *volnus*. / *uritur* infelix Dido totaque vagatur urbe furens [. . .]" ("meanwhile the tender flame consumes her marrow and the secret wound lives near her heart. Unhappy Dido burns and wanders through all the city in a frenzy") (4.66-69); ("*ardet* amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem") ("Dido burns with love and draws the madness through her bones") (4.101); and ("At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura / *volnus* alit venis et caeco carpitur igni" ("But the queen, long since injured by grave disquiet, feeds the wound with her life-blood and is consumed by hidden fire") (4.1-2). For love as fire and as poison, see Venus's instructions to Cupid to: "occultum inspires *ignem* fallasque *veneno*" ("breathe a hidden fire into her and infuse poison into her undetected") (1.688); cf. the banquet scene shortly thereafter, where it is said of Dido: "ardescitque tuendo" ("and gazing [at Aeneas] she takes fire") (1.713). As noted earlier, Virgil's use of this imagery recalls that of Apollonius and Catullus. Virgil's adaptations of Apollonius are particularly striking; cf. Cupid's first arrow shot at Medea: "βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κούρῃ / νέρθεν ὑπο κραδίῃ, φλογὶ εἴκελον·" ("and the bolt burnt deep down in the maiden's heart, like a flame] (3.286-287); and esp.: "τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρῃ / οὖλος Ἔρως" ("so coiling round her heart, burnt secretly Love the destroyer] (3.296-297); also see: "κῆρ ἄχεϊ σμύχουσα" ("her heart smouldering with pain] (3.346) and "σμύχουσα διὰ χροός" ("a smouldering fire through her frame") (3.762); χροός here is the same term used by Sappho in the earlier example (χρῶ) and means, more literally, *skin*; see 25 n. 13, above. Catullus is an intermediary here in Poem #64; cf., with regard to Ariadne's first seeing Theseus: "non prius ex illo *flagrantia* declinavit / lumina quam cuncto concepit corpore *flammam* / funditus atque imis *exarsit* tota medullis" ("no sooner did she lower from him her incandescent eyes / than she conceived throughout her body a flame, / and totally, to the center of her bones, she burned") (lines 91-93); and references to "*incensam* [. . .] mente puellam" ("her mind aflame") (l.97) and "*ardenti* cordi furentem" ("the madness of her burning heart") (l.124); English translations of Catullus are based on those of Thomas Banks, "Catullus, Poem 64: The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis": cf. R. D. William's discussion of the intertexts with Apollonius and Catullus (*Aeneid*, 334 n. 1).

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Lautaro, as well as that of Ercilla during his vision of Spanish beauty.[149] The reappearance of the epithets *confusa* and *turbada* (20.59.1-3), the same terms the poet used to describe his discomfort in writing about the love of Guacolda and Lautaro (13.57.5-7), continues the correspondence being established between his own experience and that of his characters, as does Tegualda's reference to "la libre fuerza y *rebelde brío*" ("my free strength and rebellious spirits") (20.61.2), which echoes the poet's description of his own initial indifference to love.[150]

In contrast to the imagery of passion, with its strongly Virgilian overtones, Tegualda's repeated references to her eyes, mentioned three times in three octaves (20.60-62), draw attention to the scene's Neoplatonic character, as does the conflict she describes between her attraction to Crepino and her efforts to use her reason to control her desire.[151] The Neoplatonic influence reaches its apex in octave 62 of Canto 20, just cited, which in

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[149] Cf.: "un *amoroso fuego* y *blando hielo* / se me fue por las venas regalando" ("an amorous fire and gentle ice was melting through my veins") (18.71.5-6); cf. 75, above.

[150] Cf.: "*el brío rebelde* y pecho endurecido" ("rebellious spirit and hardened breast") (18.71.7); see 76, above.

[151] Virgil notes the role of the eyes as Dido falls in love with Aeneas; cf. "ardescitque tuendo" ("[she] takes fire as she gazes") (1.713); Apollonius and Catullus again provide models for such imagery; with regard to Medea, cf. her following Jason with her eyes as he leaves (3.440ff.): cited above, 94 n. 148. The Neoplatonic emphasis on the eyes as the pathway of love is quite explicit in *The Courtier*, where it is stated that: "Però ben dir si po che gli occhi siano guida in amore [. . .]" ("So one can truly say that the eyes are the guides of love") (276). The structuring of Tegualda's falling in love as a series of struggles during which she momentarily recovers only to finally succumb, while absent in Virgil's depiction of Dido, is strongly reminiscent of Apollonius's scene of the struggle between shame and desire in Medea; see 97 n. 157, below.

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addition to adapting the famous opening line of Garcilaso's tenth sonnet[152] and offering a variation on the earlier conceit regarding the separation between soul and body,[153] presents the striking image of the breaking of the *restraint*—literally, *bridle*—of *shame* and *continence*, three terms whose combination originates in the *Phaedrus* before making its way via some of the secondary authors already discussed to Ercilla and other Renaissance authors.[154]

The two principal terms in this trio have a range of meanings in Plato, αἰδώς linking shame, modesty, and self-respect, σωφροσύνη associating temperance and moderation with chastity.[155] Prior to Plato, Homer's epithet for Penelope emphasizes

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[152] Cf. the line spoken by Tegualda regarding the climactic moment of falling in love: "Que sólo allí mirarle y no otra cosa / *para mi mal hallaba* que era bueno" ("Since the only thing I found good, to my harm, was to watch him there and nothing else") (20.62.5-6) and Garcilaso's line voiced by the unrequited lover: "¡Oh dulces prendas *por mi mal halladas* [. . .]" ("Oh sweet tokens ill-found by me") (*Soneto X*, l.1), itself a reworking of Dido's lament upon finding belongings Aeneas has left behind: "dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat" ("sweet rainment, while God and fate allowed") (4.651); cf. Petrarch's line: "de' miei dolci pensier mentre a Dio piacque" ("of my thoughts, sweet as long as it pleased God") (*#37*: l.36).

[153] Cf. 87 and 88 n. 137, above. Of the various authors prior to Ercilla discussed here in terms of the abandoned woman motif, the conceit of the soul following after the lover is found only in Apollonius.

[154] The three terms explicitly recall Plato's use of χαλινός ("bridle"), αἰδώς ("shame, modesty, self-respect"), and σωφροσύνη ("temperance, moderation, chastity") when, in speaking of the soul as a charioteer and pair of horses, he says of the good horse: "τιμῆς ἐραστὴς μετὰ **σωφροσύνης** τεκαί **αἰδοῦς**, καὶ ἀληθινῆς δόξης ἑταῖρος, ἄπληκτος, κελεύματι μόνον καὶ λόγῳ ἡνιοχεῖται[. . .]" ("he is a friend of honour joined with *temperance* and *modesty*, and a follower of true glory; he needs no whip, but is guided only by the word of command and by reason") (253D); English translation is that of Harold North Fowler in the Loeb *Phaedrus* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1914); cf. Liddel and Scott, *An Intermediate Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); cf. the use of σωφροσύνη at 254B; regarding αἰδώς, cf. 254A and ἀναιδείας as *shameless* at 254E; **χαλινός** as *bit* appears in 254C and 254D.

[155] By contrast, feeling shame and having a sense of shame (or not, as in shameless) are clearly distinguished in English, resulting in awkward translations such as *shamefast* or in

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prudence, but she is also a model of chastity and directly associated with the concept of self-respect.[156] Self-respect or shame is paramount in Apollonius's depiction of Medea, the term appearing three times in five lines to signify the force opposing her desire for Jason.[157] Virgil has Dido invoke a personified *Pudor*, which has the same connotations ranging from modesty to shame, as she struggles with her love for Aeneas (4.27), and he says of Anna's successful encouragement of Dido's desire: "solvitque pudorem" ("and [it] loosed the bonds of shame") (4.55).[158] In Petrarch the ancient distinctions become less clear, shame and self-respect still linked in *verecundia* or *vergogna*, while *pudicitia* or *castità*, unlike *pudor*, emphasize chastity alone, and *honestate* is introduced to signigfy temperance, modesty, and a general sense of virtue.[159] *Vergogna*, *pudiciti*, and *onestà*

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periphrasis.

[156] Penelope's customary epithet is περίφρων ("very thoughtful, very careful") (*Od.* 19.53, 19.89, 19.103, 19.123); cf. Telemachus's description of her as "εὐνήν τ' **αἰδομένη**" ("respecting the marriage bed") (16.75).

[157] Cf. "δὴν δὲ καταυτόθι μίμνεν ἐνὶ προδόμῳ θαλάμοιο, / **αἰδοῖ** ἐεργομένη· μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ' αὖτις ὀπίσσω / στρεθεῖσ'· ἐκ δὲ πάλιν κίεν ἔνδοθεν, ἄψ τ' ἀλέεινεν / εἴςω· τῆυσιοι δὲ πόδες φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα· / ἤτοιὃτ' ἰθύσερεν, ἔρυκέ μιν ἔνδοθεν **αἰδώς**· / **αἰδοῖ** δ' ἐργομένην θρασὺς ἵμερος ὀτρύνεσκεν. / τρὶςμὲν ἐπειρήθη, τρὶς δ' ἔσχετο, τέτρατον αὖτις / λέκτροισιν πρηνὴς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιθεῖσα." [And for long she stayed there at the entrance of her chamber, held back by *shame*; and she turned back once more; and again she came forth from within, and again stole back; and idly did her feet bear her this way and that; yea, as oft as she went straight on, *shame* held her within the chamber, and though held back by *shame*, bold desire kept urging her on. Thrice she made the attempt and thrice she checked herself, the fourth time she fell on her bed face downward writhing in pain.") (3.647-655).

[158] Cf. Dido's address: "sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat / [. . .] / ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo" ("But rather, I would pray, may earth yawn for me to its depths [. . .] before, O Shame, I violate thee or break thy laws!") (*Ae.* 4.25-27).

[159] The usages described here apply both to the *Trionfi* and the *Canzoniere*. The close relation between *vergogno*, *honestate*, and *castità* is dramatized in the *Trionfi del Castità*, where *Honestate* and *Vergogna* lead the procession of virtues: "Honestate e Vergogna a la fronte era, /

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retain their Petrarchan distinctions in Castiglione, but here *continenzia* (3.5), the cognate of which is used by Ercilla, is employed to signify self-control in a more strictly sexual sense.[160] Petrarch and Castiglione both employ the image of the bridle.[161].

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nobile par de le vertù divine" ("integrity and self-respect were at the front, noble pair of divine virtues") (l.79); in the rear of the procession are a pair of virtues that recapitulate these two: "Timor-d'infamia" and "Desio-sol-d'onore" (line 87); citations from the *Trionfi* are from *Trionfi, Rime Estravaganti, Codice Degli Abbozzi* (Milan: Mondadori Editore, 1996). Cf. *Canzoniere #154*, where Petrarch remarks of Laura's presence: "basso desir non è ch'ivi si senta, / ma d'onor, di vertute" ("no low desire is felt there, but desire of honor, of virtue") (lines 12-13); cf. Petrarch's *Sonnet 1*: "Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto / favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente / di me medesmo meco mi *vergogno*" ("But now I see well how for a long time I was the talk of the crowd, for which often I am ashamed of myself within") (lines 9-11). These lines are adapted by Garcilaso in the *First Eclogue*, where Salicio says: "*Vergüenza* he que me vea / ninguno en tal estado, / de ti desamparado / y de mí mismo yo me corro agora" ("I am ashamed that anyone see me in such a state, abandoned by you, and of myself I am now chagrined") (63-66).

[160] These terms appear in *Il Cortegiano* in the discussion of "quelle virtù dell'animo" ("that virtue of the mind") (3.5) desirable in the lady of the court; cf.: "quella *onestà* che sempre ha da componer tutte le suè azioni" ("that virtue that must always accompany all her behavior") (3.5); "ragionamenti grati ed *onesti*" ("pleasing and virtuous conversation") (3.5); and "Non deve adunque questa donna, per volersi far estimar bona ed onesta" ("nor should this lady, in order to be thought good and virtuous") (3.5). The discussion in these passages is focused on "una certa mediocrità difficile" ("a certain difficult compromise") (3.5) between affability and virtue. Cf. Cesare Gonzaga asserting that "[. . .] estimo che questa *vergogna*, che in fine non è altro che *timor d'infamia*, sia una rarissima virtù [. . .]." ("I consider this sense of shame, which is finally nothing else than a fear of disgrace, to be a most rare virtue") (3.40). Gonzaga's remark repeats the topos of "Timor-d'Infamia" seen in Petrarch (see previous note). In their later discussion of virtues in Book 4, Castiglione's interlocutors describe *vergogna* as a gift of Jove, sent to mankind along with *la giustizia* to address the lack of "virtù civile" (4.11).

[161] With regard to Petrarch, cf.:

> largai 'l desio che i'teng' or molto a *freno*
> et misil per la via quasi smarrita
> però che dì e notte indi m'invita
> et io contra sua voglia altronde 'l meno,
>
> et mi condusse *vergognoso* et tardo
> a riveder gli occhi leggiadri [. . .]. (*Sonnet 47*, lines5-10)

I let loose my desire, which now I hold tightly reined in, and I / sent it off on the way that is almost lost (because night and day it / calls me there, and I against its will lead it elsewhere), // and it led me, late and ashamed, to see your lovely eyes.

Also cf. *Sonnet 6*, where the poet, speaking of "'l folle me' desio" ("my mad desire") (1), says:

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Boscán's translation of Castiglione in these matters is significant for its departures from the Italian. *Vergogno* is regularly transcribed as *vergüenza* and *onestà* as *honesta*, but *pudica* becomes *prudente* (closer to Homer's Penelope?) and the image of the bridle is significantly altered. The *Cortegiano* observes: "[. . .] chi non ha perduto *il fren della ragione* si governa cautamente ed osserva i tempi, i lochi e quando bisogna s'astien da quel così intento mirare [. . .]" ("he who has not lost the bridle of reason governs himself cautiously and observes time and place and, when necessary, abstains from gazing intently like that") (3.61). Boscán phrases this: "quien no está del todo *desatinado* tiene en esto gran *tiento*, y considera el tiempo y el lugar; y, cuando es necesario, *refrena* el mirar muy ahincado [. . .]" ("he who isn't completely imprudent uses great caution in this and considers the time and place and, when necessary, refrains from gazing very intently") (390).[162] The cognate of bridle, *refrena*, makes an appearance, but with more generalized, less concrete connotations. Garcilaso, like Boscán, also uses *desatinado* rather than the image of the bridle in his treatment of these issues in the *Second Eclogue*.[163] The fact that Ercilla reverts to the image of the bridle suggests that his own

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"et poi che 'l *fren* per forza a sé raccoglie, / i' mi rimango in signoria di lui, / che mal mio grado a morte mi trasporta" ("and when he takes the bit forcefully to himself, I remain in his power, as against my will he carries me off to death") (9-11).

[162] The appeal of *desatinado* to Boscán is possibly its shared root with *tiento*, making possible the polyptoton. While *refrenar*, in addition to refrain, is also used to denote the reining in of a horse and maintains the connotation here, the image of the bridle or *freno* is considerably less forceful than in Castiglione.

[163] The *Second Eclogue* dramatizes the sorcerer Severo's cure of Albanio's madness, brought on by his unrequited love for Camila; cf. their exchange:

Camila: ¿Tú no violaste nuestra compañía,
quiriéndola torcer por el camino
que de la vida *honesta* se desvía?

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inspiration in these lines is Castiglione himself rather than Boscán's translation, a conclusion supported by his use of *continencia* (20.62.2) and *honesta* (20.60.2).

At this point in the Tegualda episode the action repeats itself a third time when Crepino wins a final footrace, after which the crowd carries him again to Tegualda "con solene *triunfo* rodeando" ("surrounded with solemn triumph") (20.66.1), to be given the prize of an emerald ring (20.63.7).[164] Emphasizing that *vergüenza* no longer restrains her and "un medroso temblor *disimulando* / (que atentamente todos me miraron), / del *empacho y temor* pasado el punto," ("hiding a fearful tremble (since everyone was carefully watching me), past the point of shame and fear") (20.77.5-7), Tegualda now struggles to hide her passion, keeping it within the bounds of decorum. As part of her

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Albanio: ¿Cómo de sola una hora el *desatino*
ha de perder mil años de servicio,
si el arrepentimiento tras él vino? (817-825)

Camila: Didn't you violate our companionship, wanting to divert it along the road that leads away from the virtuous life? Albanio: How is it that the imprudence of just one hour must lose a thousand years of service if repentance comes afterwards?

Note the Neoplatonic explanation of Albanio's friend, Nemeroso, regarding his own cure by Severo for the same malady, which he explains as effected when the sorcerer "convierte'n odio aquel amor insano, / y restituye'l alma a su natura" ("converts that insane love into hate and restores the soul to its nature") (1093-1094). After his cure Nemoroso realizes "la vileza / de lo que antes *ardiendo* deseaba" ("the vileness of that which before I, burning, desired") (1123-1124). Severo's cure, which implies the lover's regaining control over desire, is based on changing this desire into a hatred for the consequences of its being unrestrained, which are emotional slavery and unhappiness. In Neoplatonic terms the cure means subordinating the concupiscent aspect of the soul to the irascible, both of which are governed ideally by the rational. As will be seen, Ercilla offers a variation of the same concept. Garcilaso is considered to have composed the Second Eclogue between late 1533 and early 1534, which is within or shortly before he is thought to have assisted Boscán in the polishing of *El Cortesano*; cf. Garcilaso (xxxvi; 141). Albanio's story and the sorcerer Severo are based on Carino and the sorcerer Enareto in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (*Prose* 8-10), another important source of Neoplatonic concepts during this period. Nicolopulos discusses the second *Eclogue* as a conjoining of poetics and empire and considers the influence of Severo on Ercilla's sorcerer Fitón ("Pedro de Oña").

[164] Is the motif of the triumphal procession here an indirect allusion to Petrarch's *Trionfi*?

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dissimulation she hides her feelings for three weeks, "siempre creciendo el daño y *fuego ardiente*" ("the injury and burning fire always increasing") (20. 69.3-4), until "por señas y rodeo" ("by signs and indirectly") (20.69.7) she informs her father that she will comply with his wishes regarding marriage. This behavior is a key aspect of her courtliness, a theme already invoked on two occasions, first in Crepino's "humilde y baja *cortesía*" ("humble and meek courtesy") (20.51.6), and then in Tegualda's reciprocal "de toda *cortesía*" ("complete courtesy") (20.68.1), which is identified as "lo que a las mujeres perficiona" ("that which makes women perfect") (20.68.2).[165] Crepino's perfect courtliness, already contrasted to the coarseness of his rivals, continues with his giving the ring back to Tegualda with the gallantry: "con este favor quedaré *rico*" ("with this favor I will remain rich") (20.67.5), and is summarized by her as a matter of "valor, suerte y linaje conocido, / junto con ser *discreto*, *honesto*, afable" ("valor, good fortune, and known lineage, together with his being discrete, upright, affable") (20.70.6-7).[166] Her father, after praising her own "*discreción* e intento *honesto*" ("discretion and virtuous

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[165] Tegualda's scruples are very reminiscent of Castiglione's discussion of how the court lady should respond to love, e.g.: "Però voglio che la mia donna di palazzo non con modi disonesti paia quasi che s'offerisca a chi la vole [. . .]" ("Thus I want my Court lady not to appear to offer herself to whoever wants her") (3.57), and cf. 3.54ff. Such emphasis may also reflect the growing influence of Counter- Reformation values during this period, especially when contrasted to the forthright carnality of the Guacolda and Lautaro episode, published some ten years earlier. An additional indication of Counter-Reformation sensibility may be a textual change made in this part of the poem between the publication of Part II in 1578 and the 1590 edition of the entire work, in which the epithet of *cortés* ("courteous"), applied to Crepino and his rival, is changed to *gallardo* ("gallant") (cited in Lerner, "Introducción," 579 n. 95). Castiglione's *Cortegiano* was placed on the Index in Spain in 1576.

[166] Crepino's *rico* is perhaps a viable form of wealth, in contrast to the *codicioso* spirit of the pillaging Spanish soldiers. His ceremonial return of the ring to Tegualda perhaps represents a parodic exchange of wedding bands.

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intention") (20.71.5), adds his praise of Crepino's *crianza* ("upbringing") (20.71.7).[167] Finally, with both *honor y deseo* ("honor and desire") (20.72.2) satisfied, their "*infelice* y triste casamiento" ("unhappy and sorrowful marriage") (20.72.5) is celebrated, and all that remains is for Tegualda to describe how "la sangrienta y rigurosa muerte / todo lo ha derribado por el suelo" ("bloody and rigorous death has brought everything to the ground") (20.73.3-4).[168] She does so in words that echo the legalistic terminology with which her account began, asking rhetorically, "¿qué *recompensa* puede darme el cielo [. . .]?" ("what recompense can heaven offer me") (20.73.6), and stating:

> Éste es, pues, el *proceso*; ésta es la *historia*
> y el fin tan cierto de la dulce vida;
> he aquí mi *libertad* y breve gloria
> en eterna amargura convertida. (20.74.1-4)[169]
> This, then, is the process, this is the story and the so certain end of sweet life;
> here are my liberty and brief glory converted to eternal bitterness.

The abstract quality of the first couplet suggests that *historia* is employed as *history* rather than *story*, appropriate since history, as noted earlier, traditionally intrudes upon the pastoral, bringing it to a close.[170] One octave later the term is repeated with its alternate meaning, Ercilla telling the reader that: "Aquí acabó su *historia*, y comenzaba / un llanto tal que el monte entercecía" ("here ended her story, and a weeping began that would have

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[167] Corominas sees a distinction between the acquired nobility of Araucan warriors such as Crepino and the genealogical nobility of the Araucan women such as Tegualda and Glaura (*Castiglione*, 51ff.).

[168] *Infelice* recalls *infelix Dido*; cf. *Ae.* 4.68.

[169] With regard to Tegualda's use of "recompense," note the potential association with Homeric epic's motif of the death payment; *proceso* can have the legal meaning of a proceeding or process.

[170] See 30, above.

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softened a mountain") (20.76.1-2).[171] Ercilla convinces Tegualda to wait until daylight to continue her search, arranging that she pass what is left of the night "en *honesta* guarda y compañia / de mujeres casadas [. . .]" ("in virtuous custody and company of married women") (20.79.1-2). At this point he ends the canto, leaving until the following one the conclusion of the episode.

Canto 21 opens with the poet reflecting on the *piadosa* ("pious") (21.1.2) Tegualda, an "infelice bárbara hermosa" ("unfortunate, beautiful barbarian woman") (21.1.4) whose example confounds those who attack "las mujeres virtuosas" ("virtuous women") (21.2.4), condemning them to "duro *freno* y *vergonzosa* pena" ("firm restraint and shameful penalty") (21.2.8). Ercilla's most elaborate defense of women follows, with a list of famous paragons of female chastity, including Dido, "a quien Virgilio injustamente infama" ("whom Virgil unjustly defames") (21.3.4), and Penelope, women in whose company Tegualda, we are assured, will rightfully take her place.[172] The remainder of the episode, during which Tegualda finds her husband's corpse, grieves over it, and is finally accompanied with it into secure territory, concludes with references to earlier themes, including her "piadoso amor" ("pious love") (21.4.4) and Ercilla's "gran

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[171] Lerner notes that the second use of the term returns the focus from history back to pastoral (personal communication).

[172] The full list of virtuous women, assembled from ancient and Patristic sources, includes Judith, Camilla, Dido, Penelope, Lucretia, Hippo, Tuccia, Virginia, Fulvia, Cloelia, Portia, Sulpicia, Alcestis, and Cornelia. While scholars have noted the presence of these names in later works, esp. Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (cf. Schwartz, "Tradición," 623; Lerner, "Introducción," 588 n. 5), it is to note that many of them were also accessible through Petrarch's *Trionfo d'Amore* and *Trionfo del Castitá*, which directly or indirectly mention all but Fulvia, Cloelia, and Alcestis. Fulvia, in turn, is mentioned in *Il Cortegiano* (237), and Cloelia and Alcestis are both noted in Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor*, a work Corominas mentions as a potential influence on Ercilla's portrait of Glaura (*Castiglione*, 25).

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compasión" ("great compassion") (21.6.5).

The Tegualda episode fulfills a number of the same functions already discussed. It uses lyric to represent Araucan subjectivity, intertexts with Virgil and more general evocations of other classical authors to create a heroic genealogy for itself and its author, and personal participation by the narrator in the events it describes to effect a *renovatio* of epic. Its use of intratexts continues to unify and emphasize. Thematically, the episode features familiar strands as well as new ones. Among the former, the ubiquitous defense of women, the focus on true love, and the concern with loyalty—not only of heroines to heroes, but also of Ercilla to the mission of his poem, to Philip II, and to Spain. Among the themes newly stressed here: Justice, not only in terms of war and governance, enshrined in *pío Felipe*, but also for Tegualda; and Castiglionian courtliness, which Tegualda and Crepino dramatize and Ercilla lives. The theme of Neoplatonic love, which eventually dominates the episode, is encountered earlier in the vision of Spanish beauty in terms of the concupiscent, irascible, and rational parts of the soul. Here it emerges in the image of the bridle of temperance and shame, which comes quite specifically, if indirectly, from the *Phaedrus*'s image of the soul as charioteer and horses. By continuing to breech the expected boundaries between narrator and character in his exploration of these themes, Ercilla creates a web of shared experiences as the narrative proceeds.

3.4 Glaura

With Tegualda's departure, attention turns to preparations for the next encounter between the Spanish and Araucans. An Indian attack is planned and aborted, Spanish reinforcements arrive, and an epic catalogue lists the gathering Araucan troops. Canto 21

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concludes with a speech by the Spanish commander praising his soldiers and the Spanish cause while warning that excessive violence forfeits moral superiority.[173] Canto 22, which will focus on the battle of Andalicán, the epic's bloodiest, opens with a five octave variation on the poet's complaint regarding his promise to write of war and desire to write of love, couched once again in imagery used by his characters:

> ¡Ay¡, que ya siento en mi cuidoso pecho
> labrarme poco a poco *un vivo fuego*
> y desde allí con *movimiento blando*
> *ir por las venas y huesos penetrando*. (22.1.5-8)
> Oh! For I already feel a living flame working in my troubled breast and from there proceeding to penetrate with a gentle motion my veins and bones.[174]

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[173] The speech offers one of the poem's most explicit statements regarding the divine right of the Spanish conquest. Echoing *pío Felipe's* instructions at San Quentin, he also argues against cruelty:

> Pues cuando la razón no frena y tira
> el ímpetu y furor demasiado,
> el rigor excesivo en el castigo
> jutifica la causa al enemigo. (21.56.5-8)
> Because when reason does not rein in and keep tight hold on inordinate zeal and rage, excessively rigorous punishment justifies the enemy's cause.

Note the continued use of the image of the bridle or *frena*, echoing the Platonic conception of reason's superiority over the irascible as well as the concupiscent; cf. 96 ff., above.

[174] Cf. 92, above, where Tegualda says: "[. . .] comencé a temblar y un *fuego ardiendo / fue por todos mis huesos discurriendo*" ("I began to tremble and a burning fire went running through all my bones") (20.58.7-8); and cf.: "[. . .] *ardiendo* en *vivo fuego* el *pecho frío*" ("my cold breast was burning in lively fire") (20.61.6). While the image here of fire penetrating bones and veins is very similar to passages in Virgil and Apollonius (see 88 n. 75, above), neither of these authors join *bones* and *veins* in the same phrase. The two are found together in Petrarch, however: "come nell'ossa il suo foco si pasce, / e ne le vene vive occulta piaga" ("as in my marrow his [Love's] fire sustains itself and lives in my veins like a hidden sore") (*Triumphus Cupidinis*: 3.181-82); cf. 94 n. 148, above; cf. Ercilla's lines here with Hernández de Velasco's translation of the *Aeneid* (Toledo, 1555), which renders the Virgilian couplet "[. . .] donisque furentem / *incendat* reginam atque ossibus implicet *ignem*" ("inflame the queen to madness with his gifts and implant the fire into her very bones") (1.659-60) as: "Y dentro *delos hueſſos y en las venas* / Vn venenoſo y fiero ardor le emprēda ("and within her veins and bones implant a poisonous and raging fire") (B_{1r} / 9_r).

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In an apostrophe to *pérfido amor tirano* ("perfidious, tyrannical love") (22.1.1) the poet refers obliquely to unhappy recollections of love (22.2.4) and to a dream that continues to trouble him, ostensibly the earlier vision of Spanish beauty, which he now characterizes as "quizá vano" ("vain perhaps") (22.3.7). A new sense of melancholy pervades the verses; the narrator argues that he has no choice but to pursue his martial theme and suggests that others are better suited to writing of love.

The battle of Andalicán, which occupies some forty octaves and features the aristeia of heroes on both sides of the conflict, is memorable for its grotesquely realistic descriptions of fighting, especially that which takes place in a swamp:

> Quién, el húmido cieno a la cintura,
> con dos y tres a veces peleaba;
> quién, por mostrar mayor desenvoltura,
> queriéndose mover más atascaba.
> Quién, probando las fuerzas y ventura,
> al vecino enemigo se aferraba
> mordiéndole y cegándole con lodo,
> buscando de vencer cualquiera modo. (22.31.1-8)
>
> One, the wet muck up to his waist, was fighting with two or three at a time; another, wanting to move in order to have greater facility, became further enmired. Another still, testing both strength and luck, fastened onto his nearby enemy, biting him and blinding him with mud, seeking to win however he could.

The fighting eventually stops when both sides withdraw, but the canto ends with the Spanish enacting exemplary punishment on a captured Araucan by cutting off his hands, engaging in the very excess against which the exordium has warned (22.45). The final verses emphasize the macabre as the defiant victim attacks a *yanacona* using only his

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teeth and the bloody stumps of his arms (22.51).[175]

Canto 23 opens with the often-noted harangue by that victim, Galbarino, to a gathering of Araucan leaders, in which he claims that the Spanish are motivated by greed rather than by Christianity (23.12.4-23.13.4).[176] The Spanish, meanwhile, are marching into the neighboring valley when Ercilla catches his first glimpse of an ancient Indian who turns out to be the sorcerer Fitón. After losing his way when he tries to follow him, the narrator is finally invited into the sorcerer's cave and offered a prophetic view of the Battle of Lepanto via a crystal sphere.[177] The vision, which occupies the remainder of this

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[175] *Yanaconas*, as Ercilla defines them in the glossary he appends to the poem, "[. . .] son indios mozos amigos, que sirven a los españoles" ("are friendly young Indian men who serve the Spanish"); cf. *ladino*, 118, below.

[176] Cf.:

> Y es un color, es aparencia vana
> querer mostrar que el principal intento
> fue el estender la religión cristiana,
> siendo el puro interés su fundamento;
> su pretensión de la codicia mana,
> que todo lo demás es fingimiento,
> pues los vemos que son más que otras gentes
> adúlteros, ladrones, insolentes. (23.13.1-8)
>
> And it is a pretense, it is a vain appearance to want to demonstrate that their principle intent was to extend the Christian religion, pure and simple self-interest being their foundation, their greedy desire; all the rest is make-believe, for we see that more than other people they are adulterers, thieves, and insolent.

The lines may reflect the influence of Las Casas; see 86 n. 134, above.

[177] The events immediately preceding the visit to Fitón's cave blur the line between reality and imagination:

> Perdí el rastro y cerróseme el camino,
> sobreviniendo *un aire turbulento*,
> y así *de aca y de allá*, fuera de tino,
> de una espesura en otra andaba a tiento. (23.51.1-4)
>
> I lost the trail and, *a turbulent air* ensuing, the road closed up, and thus I made my way clumsily from here to there, going from one thicket to another by touch.

Cf. the narrator's introduction of earlier visions with similar devices (17.35.1-17.35.8); and see 71, above; cf. the discussion of *de acá y de allá*, a chivalric romance motif, below, 114. The

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canto and all of the twenty-fourth, continues the juxtaposition of supernatural and historical, paradoxically insuring, in the words of Fitón, "que podrás, como digo, ser de vista / testigo y verdadero coronista" ("that you will be able, as I claim, to be an eyewitness and truthful chronicler") (23.75.7-8).[178]

Several uneventful weeks pass. Canto 25 introduces an Araucan who appears at the Spanish camp to relay a challenge of single combat to end the conflict (25.7.1-25.12.8), but the Spanish suspect a ruse and prepare for attack, which comes shortly after nightfall (25.18.1). The ensuing battle of Millarapué is the third major one of the poem and once again offers a mix of bravery and revulsion. The Araucan leader, Caupolicán, and the hero Tucapelo distinguish themselves (25.22; 25.30), supporting an Araucan advantage through many octaves. The Indians' luck begins to change as the canto closes, however, and as the following one opens they are finally routed. The Spanish are again excessively cruel, chasing down and killing all who attempt to flee, and once again they exact an exemplary punishment, forcing twelve caciques, an unrepentant Galbarino among them, to hang themselves (26.32).[179] Moved by his great courage, Ercilla tries to

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description of Lepanto comes in Part II of the poem, published in 1578; the battle itself took place in 1571; the date the vision is represented as occurring, i.e., in the course of the poet's presence in Chile, is 1558.

[178] Fitón thus guarantees the poem's opening claim to historical veracity; cf. 1.3.5-6.

[179] Galbarino's harangue to the Spanish before his death is one of the more notable Araucan speeches in the poem:

> ¡Oh gentes fementidas, detestables,
> indignas de la gloria deste día!
> Hartad vuestras gargantas insaciables
> en esta aborrecida sangre mía.
> Que aunque los fieros hados variables,
> trastornen la araucana monarquía,

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have the life of Galbarino spared, but is unsuccessful (26.29).[180] The sequence of events that followed the excessive cruelty a few cantos earlier now repeats itself: the poet encounters Fitón, and his crystal sphere once again provides a vision, this one a detailed *mapamundi* (26.40.1-27.54.8). As the Spanish depart the region a few weeks later, Ercilla catches sight of a fleeing Araucan woman and gives chase. The woman is Glaura, whose story will be told in the following canto.

The exordium to Canto 28 apostrophizes on the changeability of fate, repeating earlier warnings about bad fortune following good. Such ruminations would be

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muertos podremos ser, mas no vencidos,
ni los ánimos libres oprimidos.

No penséis que la muerte rehusamos,
que en ella estriba ya nuestra esperanza;
que si la odiosa vida dilatamos
es por hacer mayor nuestra venganza.
Que cuando el justo fin no consigamos
tenemos en la espada confianza
que os quitará, en nosotros convertida,
la gloria de poder darnos la vida. (26.25.1-26.26.8)

Oh treacherous, detestable people, unworthy of this day's glory! Quench your insatiable throats with my abhorred blood. For although the fierce, changeable fates overturn the Araucan monarchy, we may be dead, but not defeated, nor our free spirits oppressed. // Don't think that we reject death, for our hope rests in it; and if we prolong hateful life it is only to increase our vengance. For while we may not achieve a just end we have confidence in our swords, since they will deprive you of the glory, now returned to us, of being able to grant us life [i.e., we can kill ourselves].

[180] This is one of several incidents in which the narrator emphasizes his own sense of clemency in contrast to the soldiers with whom he serves; cf. 86 n. 134, above. The motif of forced suicide by hanging is taken up a few years later by another Spanish epic poet of the Americas, Gaspar Peréz de Villagrá, who employs it in describing the fall of the Acoma pueblo in his *Historia de Nueva Mexico* (1610); this is one of the topics discussed by Quint, *Epic* 101ff.; cf. Isaías Lerner's discussion of the migration of the motif through the centuries into twentieth-century jazz, i.e. in Billy Holiday's *Strange Fruit* ("Persistencia de metáforas: Lucano, Ercilla, el romancero," forthcoming).

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unremarkable were it not for their poignancy here, developed in simple, domestic imagery contrasting sharply with the epic context:

> y pues sabemos ya por cosa cierta,
> que nunca hay bien a quien un mal no siga,
> roguemos que no venga y si viniere,
> que sea pequeño el mal que le siguiere.
>
> Que yo, de acuchillado en esto, siento
> que es de temer en parte la ventura;
> el tiempo alegre pasa en un momento
> y el triste hasta la muerte siempre dura. (28.2.5-28.3.1-4)
>
> And since we know for certain that there never is a good not followed by evil, we pray it doesn't come and that if it does, the evil that follows be small. // An expert in this, I feel that good luck is partly to be feared; happy times pass in a moment, and sad ones always last until death.[181]

Such melancholy thoughts, the tone of which has frequently been associated with Ercilla's personal trouble in Chile and his later frustrations regarding Philip II's tepid sponsorship, eventually dominate the poem and precipitate its premature end.[182]

The Glaura episode shares many details with those of Guacolda and Tegualda. Glaura's beauty, like Guacolda's, is similarly cliched though more completely described.[183] Like Tegualda, she possess "natural donaire y apostura" ("natural grace and

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[181] Cf. Tegualda's: "¡Ay de mí!, que es imposible / tener jamás descanso hasta la muerte" ("Ah me, it is impossible to have rest until death") (20.36.1-2). On Ercilla's personal trouble, see 129 n. 216, below; cf. Gregory Shepherd's discussion of Ercilla's disillusionment as "part of a national context of disappointment attributable to economic, military, and moral failures" ("Balancing," 130-31), exacerbated by personal tragedies including the loss of his only child and son in the Armada of 1588, one year before the publication of Part 3.

[182] The revelation of such bitterness in the context of the Araucan women episodes has suggested to some an early, unhappy love affair in the poet's life (Medina, *Vida*, 31); and see 120 and 129 n. 216, below.

[183] The description includes: "bien formada" ("well-formed"), "nariz perfecta" ("a perfect nose"), boca colorada" ("rosy mouth"), "los dientes en coral fino engastados" ("teeth mounted of fine coral"), "espaciosa de pecho y relevada" ("broad, well-molded breasts"), "hermosas manos, brazos bien sacados" ("beautiful hands, well-turned arms"), and "un natural

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elegance") (28.4.8) and "rara gentileza" ("rare gentility") (28.5.4.), marks of innate nobility reflecting her status as the daughter of a wealthy Araucan chief. When prodded by Ercilla she, like Tegualda, agrees to tell her story even though it pains her, and her account, which "a terneza / al más rebelde corazón moviera" ("would have moved the most rebellious heart to tenderness") (28.5.6-7), involves marrying a stranger.[184] In striking contrast to the earlier episodes, however, the descriptions here of being in love, while presented in familiar imagery, are few, brief, and made in reference to supporting characters rather than to the heroine.[185] Furthermore, rather than lose her partner, by the close of the episode Glaura is happily reunited with him. How this occurs rather than how she or any one of the other characters feel is the focus of the passage.

Glaura's story can be summarized as follows: her happiness as the only child of a doting father (28.6.3-4) is disturbed one day by the arrival of her cousin, who, driven by "mal deseo" ("evil desire") (28.12.3), expresses illicit interest in her, transgressing "los honestos límites" ("honorable limits") (28.12.4).[186] In spite of resisting him with accusations of "incestuoso, desleal, ingrato, / corrompedor de la amistad jurada, / y ley de

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donaire y apostura" ("a natural grace and elegance") (28.4.1-8). Lerner notes that the details are not characteristic of contemporary lyric ("Introducción," 760 n. 8).

[184] Cf.: Tegualda's grief, which the poet describes as "un llanto tal que el monte entercecía" ("a weeping that would have softened a mountain") (20.76.1-2).

[185] Cf.: "el invidioso amor tirano" ("jealous, tyrannical love") (28.9.1); "el desnudo pecho ardiente" ("his bare, inflamed breast") (28.19.4); and the reference to "mi espíritu, cansado / de dar vida a este cuerpo desdichado" ("my spirit, weary of giving life to this unfortunate body") (28.19.7-8).

[186] The cousin's lack of control is described as *desatiento* (28.15.4), a term discussed earlier in terms of Boscán's translation of Castiglione; cf. 99, above.

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parentesco conservada" ("incestuous, disloyal, ungrateful, corruptor of sworn friendship and the preserved law of kinship") (28.16.6-8), the cousin is on the point of assaulting her when the household is suddenly attacked by Spanish soldiers, and in the fighting that follows both he and the father are killed. Glaura flees into the mountains to hide, but is accosted by two Africans who attempt to rape her (28.23.6-8).[187] Concerned more for "el honor y castidad preciada" ("honor and precious chastity") (28.24.5) than for her life, she is on the point of losing both when an Araucan youth, Cariolán, comes to her rescue, killing the two attackers. Much like the earlier Crepino, Cariolán behaves with courtly propriety, sardonically asking Glaura's pardon for appearing so tardily (28.29.8). He proceeds to flatter her, and within a few lines she agrees to marry him, "por evitar al fin murmuraciones / y no mostrarme ingrata al beneficio" ("to avoid rumors finally and to not prove ungrateful for his help") (28.29.5-6). The marriage lasts only a few days when they are surprised by Spanish troops, and Cariolán, fearing for Glaura's honor rather than his life (28.31.6), encourages her to flee while he puts up a fight. Glaura hides in the trunk of a tree, and when she emerges Cariolán is nowhere to be found. Filled with remorse, she chastises herself for not remaining with him (28.34.5-8) and struggles with thoughts of suicide (28.37.5-6). She eventually decides to disguise herself and approach a Spanish encampment on the chance of discovering his fate, and it is in doing so that Ercilla encounters her. As Glaura's recitation concludes, she, Ercilla, and the other Spanish soldiers are ambushed themselves, and in the ensuing melee an Araucan servant

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[187] While Africans accompanied the Spanish to the New World as slaves, they considered themselves superior to the indigenous population and were consequently hated by them (cf. Lerner, "Introducción," 766 n. 36).

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of Ercilla's fights to protect him. Glaura is astonished when she sees that this servant is no other than Cariolán, and Ercilla, as surprised and delighted as they, instantly releases them from any obligation to him. They make their escape in the confusion of battle, and after a difficult fight, Ercilla and his companions make theirs.[188]

As this synopsis reveals, Glaura's story models that of Ariosto's Isabella even more closely than does Tegualda's, since both here and in the *Furioso* the heroines are separated from their lovers, become victims of attempted rape, are saved by the unexpected approach of someone who rescues them, and are eventually rejoined with their partners in a scene of dramatic *anagnorisis*.[189] The archetype for such narratives is

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[188] In a coda to the story Ercilla describes, for the benefit of Philip II, how Cariolán came to be his prisoner (28.45.1-28.52.8). The digression functions on several levels, not only heightening the suspense of the Spanish predicament, but also helping establish the veracity of such an improbable *anagnorisis*. The scene also reinforces Ercilla's moral character, since it is revealed that earlier he was instrumental in saving the life of Cariolán, in whose resistance to capture he recognized great valor. Cariolán, in turn, acknowledges Ercilla's magnanimity in a rhetorically sophisticated speech, becoming, paradoxically, a barbarian spokesperson on the attribute of piety, as was Tegualda earlier (cf. 87, above):

> ¿Qué te importa
> que sea mi vida larga o que sea corta?
>
> Pero de mí será reconocida
> la obra pía y voluntad humana:
> pía por la intención, pero entendida
> se puede decir impía y inhumana,
> que a quien ha de vivir mísera vida
> no le puede estar mal muerte temprana,
> así que en no matarme, como digo,
> cruel misercordia usas conmigo. (28.50.7-28.51.8)

What does it matter to you whether my life is long or short? // But your pious act and humane purpose must be acknowleged by me: pious in intent, but once understood it can be called impious and inhumane, since to whomever has to live a miserable life an early death cannot be unwelcome. Thus in not killing me, as I say, you treat me with cruel, compassion.

[189] Cf. *Orlando Furioso* (27.61-28.50), whose intertexts are identified by Schwartz, "Tradición," 623.

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the Greek romance, which Mikhail Bakhtin defines as the story of two beautiful, chaste youths, often of mysterious lineage, who meet unexpectedly and suddenly fall in love, after which they are separated, experience a series of adventures, and are finally reunited and married, frequently after the revelation of noble parentage.[190] According to Bakhtin this "adventure novel of ordeal" is dominated by the "logic of random contingency" and represents a test of individual identity through a chronotope of reversible time and interchangeable space. Most important, its events leave no trace on the protagonists, who are the same at the plot's conclusion as they were at its start and who experience the period between falling in love and getting married as an "extratemporal hiatus" to be suffered through rather than as a period influencing development. The focus on the protagonist's trials in this type of narrative is similar to that of chivalric romance, and the plot structures they inspire become identified with Boccaccian tales and with the *novela de aventuras*, popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and inspiration for the Baroque novel of the seventeenth and eighteenth.[191]

Ercilla's use of this formula alludes to chivalric romance in its adoption of the Ariostan material, in its hero's gallant behavior, and in its descriptions of the heroine as running "acá y allá" ("here and there") (28.21.1) and "aquí y allí y acá y allá" ("here and

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[190] The *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus was widely available in Spain in an anonymous vernacular translation made shortly after the book's first publication there in 1554; Charles Aubrun discusses the possible influence of the work on the Glaura episode ("Poesía Epica y Novela: El Episodio de Glaura en *La Araucana* de Ercilla," *Revista Iberoamericana* 21.41-42 [1956] 261-273). Bakhtin's analysis is part of *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981).

[191] Such plots are identified by Cinquecento theorists with multiplicity of plot and the digressions of romance; cf. Javitch, *Proclaiming a Classic* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1991), 86ff.

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there and now this way now that") (28.23.3), phrases reminiscent of Ariosto's "di qua di là" ("here and there") and "di su di giù" ("now this way now that").[192] In spite of such correspondences the Glaura episode is primarily an adventure story rather than chivalric romance, as is made clear by the focus on the heroine's chastity, an obsession of Greek romance that corresponds conveniently with Siglo de Oro sensibilities.[193] Furthermore, by developing this theme in terms of the cousin's "mal deseo" and transgression of "honestos límites" on the one hand and the protagonists' concern with the heroine's honor on the other, the passage continues to emphasize the Platonic distinction between the concupiscent and the rational.[194]

Important similarities exist between the Glaura episode and those of the previous Araucan heroines. Thematically, her story continues to emphasize, in addition to a Platonic conception of the soul, the virtues of true love, chastity, and courtly behavior. The placement or *dispositio* of the episode mirrors earlier ones, since it follows closely upon scenes of excessive violence.[195] Finally, a number of the episode's functions are also familiar, since they allow Ercilla to demonstrate his skill at a popular literary convention, simultaneously paying homage to and improving Ariosto while establishing

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[192] D. S. Carne Ross identifies "di qua di là" and "di su di giù" as quintessential descriptors of Ariostan romance wandering ("The One and the Many: a Reading of the *Orlando Furioso*, Cantos 1 and 8," *Arion* 5.2 [1966] 195-234); cf. Cicero's use of *huc et illuc*, e.g., *De officiis* (1.28.10).

[193] Cf. Nicolopulos's discussion of the rationale for Ercilla's rejection of chivalric heroines as possible models for his heroines ("Reading," 227-30).

[194] Cf. 78.

[195] See Appendix B for discussion of possible numerological patterns in these passages.

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his independence from him; to provide the type of varied subject matter he so frequently longs for; and to continue to fashion himself in conjunction with his characters, a procedure that results in his casting himself, as others have noted, as a brave and magnanimous Orlando to Glaura's Isabella and Cariolán's Zerbino.[196]

By contrast, the focus in these scenes on *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis* distinguishes them sharply from the episodes already discussed. The juxtaposition of such passages to scenes of battle is dramatic, and just as Greek romance represented a Hellenistic questioning of ancient heroic values, the adventure story that Ercilla models on it questions the values of its epic context. This plot-oriented genre, unlike the previous episodes' focus on classical allusions, bridges popular and erudite culture and, in the hands of Ercilla, mingles an abstract, literary formula with factual accuracy: Glaura is a thoroughly literary figure; Cariolán, while embellished with courtly gestures, is from all indications a historical one. Their joining with the narrator in a seamless blend of story time and lived experience provides an additional example of Ercilla's characteristic literary *renovatio.* Furthermore, the poet's self-portrayal in these lines breaks new ground, revealing a degree of pessimism increasingly important as the poem proceeds.

3.5 Lauca

Araucan women make two appearances in the poem after Glaura. Both of these appearances are brief, some ten octaves each, and require only brief review. The first, by a young woman named Lauca, has an emblematic quality related to familiar themes. The

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[196] Cf. Schwartz, "Tradición," 624; cf. the earlier suggestion of the narrator's association with "pious Aeneas," 87 n. 135, above.

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second, by Fresia, wife of the Araucan leader, Caupolicán, departs sharply from earlier episodes.

After Glaura disappears with Cariolán in the confusion of the Araucan ambush, the fighting around Ercilla intensifies. The Spanish are trapped in a mountain pass and only overcome the odds against them when the Indians become distracted by the spoils of the baggage train, the greed they exhibit echoing earlier descriptions of Spanish *codicia.*[197] Several weeks later the Araucans convene a senate noted for the duel that erupts between Tucapelo and Rengo, their foremost champions (C. 29.15.1-29.53.8), a duel that the ending of the canto famously interrupts as one of the warriors raises his sword for a decisive blow. The familiar device is particularly virtuosic here, since the blow remains suspended for eleven years between Canto Twenty-nine, which ends Part II of the poem, and Canto 30, which begins Part III.[198]

In the poem's last third, Araucan prospects quickly deteriorate. The Indians attempt to infiltrate the Spanish garrison at Concepción in preparation for a surprise dawn

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[197] Cf.: "Cuál con hambre y codicia deshonesta / por sólo llevar más se detenía, / costando a más de diez allí la vida / la carga y la codicia desmedida" ("Some were detained by indecent greed and the longing to take more, the booty and excessive greed costing more than ten their lives.") (28.69.5-8); cf. Galbarino's description of Spanish greed cited above, 100 n. 103.

[198] I.e., Pt. 1: 1569; Part 2: 1578; Part 3: 1589; cf. earlier examples of this procedure in the poem at 13.57 and 19.51. In the present instance the narrator remarks: "Mas quien el fin deste combate aguarda / me perdone si dejo destroncada / la historia en este punto, porque creo / que así me esperará con más deseo" ("But whoever awaits the outcome of this combat, forgive me if I leave the story interrupted at this point, since I believe that thus I will be expected with greater desire") (30.53.5-8). The device, as noted earlier, is an Ariostan one; see 53, above. This manifestation of it was subsequently imitated by Cervantes in the combat between the *Vizcaino* and Don Quijote at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth Books of the 1605 *Quijote*.

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attack, but their spy is double-crossed by a *ladino*.[199] Alerted to the coming action, the Spanish pretend to be asleep until the Araucans are well within the fort, then unleash a devastating counterattack. In this final battle of the poem the Spanish repeat their earlier cruelty, once again carrying out exemplary execution of thirteen *caciques* after the fighting has ceased (32.20.1-8). The Araucan commander, Caupolicán, escapes, and it is in the course of the Spanish search for him over the next few days that Ercilla happens upon what appears to be a grievously injured "moza que de quince años no pasaba" ("girl of no more than fifteen years") (32.32.3.), who is bleeding from a head wound.

The similarities between the Lauca episode and the passages already discussed are both structural and thematic. Her introduction into the narrative replays the narrator's accidental finding of Glaura, which also occurs shortly after a major battle and, even more specifically, after the Spanish resort to group executions.[200] Like the earlier women, Lauca possesses idealized attributes of beauty and nobility, and at the narrator's request she tells a story of how she arrived at her present predicament.[201] The primary themes of

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[199] The Araucan spy confides in one of the Spanish-speaking Indians, or *ladinos*, who works at the Spanish fort, mistakenly believing that he is sympathetic to the Araucan cause. While the initial application of *ladino* was to Spanish speaking Moors, it also refers to Judeo-Spanish, and its use in America extended to Africans as well as to Portuguese (Lerner, "Introducción," 816 n. 63).

[200] Cf. 26.32.5-8 and see 110, above.

[201] After stating that she was "de noble traje y parecer, vestida" ("clothed with noble dress and bearing") (32.32.4), the description of Lauca goes on to state that:

> Y en la color quebrada se mostraba
> la falta de la sangre, que esparcida
> por la delgada y blanca vestidura,
> la lástima aumentaba y hermosura. (32.32.5-8)
>
> And in her pale color was shown her loss of blood, which spread over her delicate, white dress, heightened her pitifulness and beauty.

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her account: desire, true love, loyalty, and the fragility of happiness, frequently expressed in Petrarchan imagery, echo the stories of her predecessors, as do secondary themes regarding enlightened parental attitudes toward marriage and loving relations between spouses. Her narrative also presents a variation on the theme of piety, allowing Ercilla to further elaborate upon his own persona in the poem, emphasizing attributes already introduced while distancing himself unequivocally from the pagan values of epic heroism that the *Araucana* frequently celebrates. In the course of establishing this distinction the narrator once again links his own development with that of his characters.

Lauca collapses a life story very similar to Tegualda's into a few octaves: her father, with whom she enjoys a special closeness, marries her to the man of her choosing, who becomes both "esposo y dulce amigo" ("husband and sweet friend") (32.39.2).[202] This unnamed man, whose attractions are such that Lauca believes "que en él hallara término el deseo" ("that in him desire would find its goal") (32.34.8), is gifted with "esfuerzo raro y valentía" ("rare strength and valor") (32.35.1), qualities that lead to an early death as he attempts to protect her during a Spanish attack. A Spanish soldier, finding her agonizing over her husband's body and "*en parte* condolido de mi suerte" ("partly sympathizing with my ill-fortune") (32.36.4), uses his sword to strike her in the head "con brazo aunque *piadoso* no tan fuerte" ("with an arm that was pious although not forceful enough") (32.36.6), leaving her for dead. Death is slow in coming, since "es

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The narrator later learns that "se llamaba Lauca y que era / hija de Millalauco y heredera" ("she was named Lauca and that she was the daughter and heir of Millalauco") (32.42.7-8).

[202] Cf. 32.34.3-4 for a similarly enlightened parental attitude regarding the marriage of children; and see 88, above.

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costumbre ordinaria del contento, / no acabar de llegar a quien le aguarda" ("it is customary for contentment not to come to someone who awaits it") (32.38.3-4), a situation made worse, according to Lauca, by her desire, which "la impide y la detiene" ("impedes and delays it [death]") (32.38.8). In a few closing lines the young woman voices other topoi regarding the impropriety of remaining alive with her companion dead (32.39.3-4) and of the tiresomeness of life without him (32.39.1), which is worse than death itself (32.36.2). Finally she begs Ercilla to help her: "usa de tú *piedad*, señor, conmigo, / acabando hoy aquí lo que el soldado / dejó por flojo brazo comenzado " ("have pity on me, sir, finishing here and now what the soldier started with his weak arm") (32.29.6-8).

Ercilla's first response is to associate himself with Lauca's predicament. Discerning that her injury is not fatal, he realizes that "[. . .] era / más cruel el amor que la herida" ("love was more cruel than the wound") (32.40.7) and recalls a similar experience of his own at a time when "[. . .] aquel rabioso fuego / labró en mi inculto pecho" ("that ravenous fire worked in my own uncultivated breast") (32.40.5-6).[203] His fleeting recollection, expressed in the amatory imagery that the characters and narrator both use in previous episodes, echoes the earlier reference to an unidentified love affair of the poet.[204] He acknowledges that Lauca's plea for death is so pitiful that "algún simple" ("a simpleminded man") (32.40.3) might accede to it, but quickly stipulates that such a response would represent a "bárbara piedad" ("barbarous piety") (32.40.4), in contrast to

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[203] Cf. 94 n. 148, above.

[204] See 110 n. 182, above.

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the Christian piety of his own course of action, which consists of comforting the young woman while convincing her of the sinfulness of suicide: "Y habiéndola algún tanto consolado, / y traído a que viese claramente / que era el morir remedio condenado [. . .]" ("and having consoled her somewhat and led her to the point that she could clearly see that dying was a condemned remedy [. . .]") (32.41.1-4). The catechism completed, he bandages her wound with medicinal herbs and has her escorted out of danger.[205]

The Lauca episode fulfills several important functions. Variations are offered on the familiar topoi of love and desire, their brevity counterbalanced by the synecdochic power they derive from earlier, extensive treatment. In one of these variations, Lauca admits believing that desire can be satisfied, finding its fulfillment in the figure of the beloved. Like readers of the poem, she comes to realize that such fulfillment is a fantasy, desire frustrated in this instance by death.[206] The ambiguous reputation of the Spanish is doubly reinforced in these scenes, first by Lauca, who characterizes the soldier who strikes her as weak and as only partially sympathetic, implying other, less noble reasons for his actions, then by the narrator, who condemns the soldier's behavior as simpleminded and barbarous.

Ercilla's own response focuses and defines the passage, not only distancing him from the Spanish soldiers with whom he serves, but distinguishing his values once and for all from those of the classical, pagan world, whose Iliadic *arete* inspires so many of

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[205] Cf. the application of the term *barbarian* to those not believing in God (see 57 n. 85, above).

[206] A few lines later death is conversely frustrated by desire, which compels the heroine to cling to life (32.38.8).

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the poem's dramatic scenes.[207] It is the Araucans who most frequently embody this ancient spirit with their combination of martial bravery, personal pride, and fierce independence.[208] Aspects of this code, which persists in Early Modern Europe in vestiges of the nobility as a warrior class, appeal to Ercilla, who associates brutal behavior, by contrast, with moral perversion, whether that of the *vulgo* soldiery or of exceptional Araucans, like Fresia, who soon makes her appearance. The fact that the distinction between proper and improper codes of behavior does not coincide with the distinctions between barbarians and Christians complicates matters and underlies the conflicting interpretations of the author's sympathies.[209] At their worst both Indians and Spaniards are brutal and opportunistic, as are the latter in the lines just discussed. At their best both groups display bravery, fortitude, and integrity, as do the Araucan heroines, who further demonstrate the virtues of continence and shame, important attributes of Christian Platonism.

Issues of narrative structure intersect these ideological issues, the representation of virtue confined in large degree to literary passages, whether those of faithful Araucan wives or of a compassionate Philip II at San Quentin, while scenes of barbarous cruelty, whether Spanish or Araucan, are presented with a documentary starkness only partially mitigated by rhetorical refinement. In Lauca's request that Ercilla help her die, the

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[207] For discussion of the class-based conflict between the noble Ercilla and the resident *encomenderos*, previously *conquistadores*, see Nicolopulos, "Reading," 234ff.

[208] Cf. the reference to "[. . .] con puro valor y porfiada determinación hayan redimido y sustentado su libertad [. . .]" ("with pure valor and persistent determination to have redeemed and sustained their liberty") (*Prólogo* to Part 1).

[209] See 10 and 20 n. 7, above.

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conflicting values of the ancient and modern worlds, dispersed throughout the narrative, collide in a single scene, and Christian compassion wins out over the glory of a pagan marital loyalty that ends in death.

3.6 Fresia

With Lauca's departure Ercilla and his companions remark upon the remarkable degree of conjugal devotion shown by the Araucan women they have encountered. Ercilla compares this to the loyalty shown by "la casta Elisa Dido" ("the chaste, Elisa Dido") (32.43.7), which impels a young soldier to assert that according to the *Aeneid*, Dido, far from a being model of continence, was "del amor libídino encendida" ("consumed by libidinous love") (32.44.6). This, in turn, elicits Ercilla's detailed defense of the Carthaginian queen. Before examining these verses, it is appropriate to glance ahead to the brief appearance of a final Araucan female, Fresia, introduced shortly after the defense of Dido concludes.

Fresia is an anomaly among Ercilla's Indian women. The wife of Caupolicán, she is a virago whose fierce Araucan pride overrides both conjugal loyalty and maternal love. In contrast to the amorous heroines of previous passages, she recalls the poem's first documentary references to Indian women as "como varones" ("like men") (Part 1: *Prólogo*, 70), and as possessing "varonil esfuerzo" ("manly spirit") (10.3.4) and "ajeno valor" ("unnatural courage") (10.4.7) that makes them capable of becoming "temerarias homicidas" ("reckless murderers") (10.5.4-8).[210] Fresia's appearance follows the capture of Caupolicán and his entourage, who are betrayed and ambushed (33.67 ff.). At first the

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[210] Cf. 52, above.

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Spanish do not know which of their prisoners is the Araucan leader, since all pretend to be common soldiers. The ruse is spoiled when Fresia, also caught while trying to escape, is brought into their presence clasping an infant to her breast. She immediately sees her husband among the other men, with his hands tied behind him, and erupts in a rage, mocking him with his own claims to greatness and taunting him that he could have saved them both from such disgrace if only he had chosen the type of honorable death exalted by the Homeric heroism just alluded to:

> "Dime: ¿faltóte esfuerzo, faltó espada
> para triunfar de la mudable diosa?
> ¿No sabes que *una breve muerte honrada*
> hace inmortal la vida y gloriosa?" (33.80.3-4)
> Tell me: did strength fail you, did you lack a sword in order to triumph over the changeable goddess [Fortune]? Don't you know that *an early honorable death* makes life immortal and glorious?

With this outburst she thrusts forth the child she carries, "[. . .] el ñudo / con que el lícito amor me había ligado" ("the knot that has bound me with licit love") (33.81.1-2), and claiming that the shock of her husband's ruin has dried the milk in her breasts, tells him to take the infant, since "[. . .] ese membrudo / cuerpo en sexo de hembra se ha trocado" ("that muscular body of yours has changed into a female one") (33.81.5-6). She then throws the child to the ground and turns away, and neither pleas nor threats will induce her to take it back.

In the context of previous cantos, Fresia's cruelty is more likely to be associated with the Spanish than the Araucans, and there is additional perversity attached to her reversal of sexual roles, denying her own maternal instinct while accusing her husband of effeminacy. Such extreme behavior, while alluding to earlier, documentary references to

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Araucan women, establishes Fresia as a literary figure in her own right, her genealogy that of the severe Roman matron or implacable Spartan mother who would rather her son return upon his shield than carrying it in defeat.[211] As such she offers a further classical embellishment to the scene.

3.7 Andean Dido

As noted earlier, the immediate context of Ercilla's defense of Dido is the discussion of Lauca's loyalty that occurs among the Spanish soldiers returning to camp. This and the theme of personal honor in the Fresia episode, which follows the defense, are two strands in a complex web of structural, thematic, and functional correspondences linking these octaves with the rest of the poem. While novel in many respects, the episode constitutes another tragic love story and therefore another digression from the poem's main action. It foregrounds the familiar defense of women, and other details of the episode stress other familiar topics: the dangers of greed and concupiscence, the sanctity of justice and family, the ignorance and coarseness of the *vulgo* in contrast to the refinements of the nobility, and the need for variety in a narrative that stresses historical accuracy over the imagination. These themes, in turn, allude to broader literary, moral, and ideological concerns by questioning the identities of history and poetry, examined contemporaneously by the Cinquecento debates; by contrasting an emblem of marital chastity, dear to ecclesiastical and didactic sensibilities, to an image of tragic passion; and by juxtaposing a nation-building mission to a passionate concern with private honor. In terms of function, the defense fulfills many of those discussed above: it presents a

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[211] Cf. Schwartz, "Tradición," 625.

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variation on the erotic critique of epic, challenges Virgil's role as a predecessor more directly than ever through its refutation of the *Aeneid*'s portrait of Dido, and provides, through this refutation, the clearest portrait yet of the *Araucana*'s author to his readers, especially to his ideal one, Philip II.[212] In the course of these verses Ercilla associates a heroine of the ancient world with women of the new, exposes the relationship between class and genre, and, contrary to what some readers have concluded regarding his confusion of life with art, insists on their separation.

In rewriting Dido's story back to its original plot and significance, Ercilla contrasts the *Aeneid*'s version of events with that found in the third-century historian, Justin. Rather than embrace Justin exclusively, however, Ercilla retains key elements from Virgil, particularly those reflecting Dido's strength of character, her intellligence, and renowned leadership. As has often been noted, Dido is a complex character for Virgil, exposing less than admirable qualities in Aeneas, contrasting private concerns with public ones, and, most important, raising doubts, albeit indirectly, about the epic enterprise itself. Ironically, while ambivalence regarding surrounding events is significantly more pronounced in the *Araucana* than in the *Aeneid*, Dido has nothing to do with the matter, representing for Ercilla a model of virtue, chastity, and loyalty. Justin, by contrast, playing on the racism of sources that first speak of Dido in the context of the encounter between Hellenistic Greece and the barbaric culture of Tyre, her home, had emphasized her exceptional beauty and cleverness—her "Tyrian guile." In having the

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[212] Cf. Ercilla's address to Philip II at the poem's opening (1.3.1); cf. Lerner, "Introducción," 36.

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Araucan women mirror Dido's greatest virtues, Ercilla rejects such pejorative cultural stereotyping even as he helps inaugurate its reverse in the image of the native American as noble savage.

With regard to the literary matters these pages address, by championing an alternative to Virgil, Ercilla continues to reveal his concern with homogenization, manifest elsewhere in the poem in the tension between his original dedication to the theme of war and his subsequent deviations into other genres. The issue manifests here in opposing versions of Dido that reflect competing visions of the past associated with an eclectic medievalism on the one hand and a recently recovered, homogenous classicism on the other. It is a contest that will be decided not by humanist exegesis, but by a process of canonization and, more specifically, by the efforts of Renaissance Humanism as these two practices combine to control the inherent multiplicity of literary tradition.[213]

The defense is preceded by five octaves that summarize the episode's primary themes and five that repeat these in greater detail, separated by an octave devoted to the heart of the matter: the defamation of a blameless character. It is the soldiers' discussion of the Araucan women's *fe* ("faithfulness"), *constancia* ("constancy"), *firme amor* ("solid love"), and *gran pereverancia* ("great perseverance") that first elicits the narrator's

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[213] Cf. John Watkins's observation: "[. . .] by the time of Dante and Chaucer the question of Dido's identity as a pitiable victim or as an embodiment of concupiscence ultimately engages the larger question of which writers, vernacular poets or academic commentators, were authorized to bring classical works to contemporary audiences" (*The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic*, [New Haven: Yale U P, 1995]), 41; the issue is examined further in the discussion of Spenser; see 218 n. 2, below; cf. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton's characterization of Humanism as a "collaboration in the constriction of society" (xiv) in their discussion of the transition from its early stage of individualism to its later manifestation as "an ideology of order, routine, and method" (*Humanism*, 123).

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remark about *la casta Elisa Dido* ("the chaste Elissa Dido") (32.43.7). This prompts the young soldier's reference to the Dido he knows from the *Aeneid*, where "[. . .] del amor libídino encendida, / siguiendo el torpe fin de su deseo / rompió la fe y promesa a su Sicheo" ("consumed by libidinous love, she broke her faith and promise to Sichaeus, pursuing the base goal of her desire") (32.44.6-8), which in turn leads to Ercilla's accusing Virgil of "infamándola injusta y falsamente" ("defaming her unjustly and falsely") (32.46.6) in order to flatter Augustus.[214] The soldiers are *admirados* or astonished at his remarks and ask Ercilla to tell them Dido's story. He agrees since it will provide them with a diversion (32.47.5-7), but before proceeding addresses Philip II directly, stating that, "también quiero / daros aquí *razón de mí* primero" (32.47.8), which is to say, "First, I also want to provide you with my own *razón*," ostensibly referring to his *rationale* or *motive* for telling the story.[215] Given the emotional intensity the narrator subsequently reveals, which suggests a certain defensiveness, together with his practice of alluding to his own experience while representing that of his characters, the reader is justified in considering whether *razón de mí* also alludes to the rationale or motive of Ercilla himself, thereby linking the defense of Dido's reputation with a defense of his own, the maligning of which, in the incident that occurred within a few months of the events being described at this point in the narrative, is known to have troubled him for

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[214] Ercilla first refers to Dido's defamation by Virgil in his broader defense of women at 21.3.4.

[215] The combination of instruction and relaxation invokes the Horatian desideratum of usefulness joined with pleasure.

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many years.[216] The two, in fact, are spoken of in almost identical terms, as the central introductory octave reveals:

> Cuento *una vida casta, una fee pura*
> *de la fama y voz pública ofendida,*
> en esta no pensada coyuntura
> por raro ejemplo y ocasión traida,
> y *una falsa opinión* que tanto dura
> no se puede mudar tan de corrida,
> ni *del rudo común, mal informado,*
> arrancar *un error tan arraigado*. (32.48.1-8).
>
> I recount a chaste life, a pure faith offended by fame and public opinion, introduced at this unexpected juncture and opportunity as a rare example; and a false opinion that lasts so long cannot be changed so quickly, nor can an error so ingrown among misinformed, coarse people be uprooted.[217]

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[216] The incident, which occurred in 1558, stemmed from Ercilla's putting hand to sword in an argument with another soldier in the presence of García Hurtado de Mendoza, the Viceroy of Peru. Such behavior was a capital offense, and Ercilla was immediately condemned to death and only saved at the last moment through the intercession of a young woman who was a friend of don García. The penalty was commuted to a prison term and banishment to Peru. Ercilla refers to the incident with considerable bitterness in the final two cantos of the poem, first published with Part 3 in 1597, almost forty years after the original event; cf. Medina, *Vida*, 77ff.; Nicolopulos, among others, associates the poem's lack of a central, unifying leader or hero to this incident between Ercilla and his commanding officer ("Reading," 235).

[217] Cf. Ercilla's remarks in Canto 36, where, referring to his punishment, he says:

> [. . .] la celeridad del juez fue tanta,
> que estuve en el tapete, ya entregado
> al agudo cuchillo la garganta.
> El inorme delito exagerado
> *la voz y fama pública* le canta ,
> que fue solo poner mano a la espada
> nunca sin gran razón desenvainada. (36.33.2-8)
>
> the speed of the judge was such that I was at the docket, already handed over, my neck to the sharp blade. The public voice and rumor sings the perverse, exaggerated crime, which was only having placed my hand on a sword that was never unsheathed without great reason.

Ercilla's punishment didn't excuse him from service, and he went on to participate in several military actions in Chile. His last remarks on the issue within the poem refer to his decision to hasten his departure from the Araucan provinces, since "[. . .] el agravio, más fresco cada día, / me estimulaba siempre y me roía" ("the insult, fresher each day, was always inciting and gnawing at me") (36.36.7-8).

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The following five octaves emphasize the oppositions inherent in these themes as they apply to Dido. The story the narrator will tell is described as *historia* whose *verdad* or truth will lead to "honor restituida" ("restored honor") (32.52.6) for an "inculpable vida" ("blameless life") (32.52.4), slandered by a "ficción impertinente" ("impertinent fiction") (32.52.1).[218] Recalling earlier passages, the inclusion of the story at this point in the narrative is said to be required by *el estrecho camino* or narrow road of the poem's *áspero* ("harsh") and *estéril* ("sterile") subject matter, which forces the poet, in terms reminiscent of those that introduced the *locus amoenus* of the Vision of Spanish beauty, to seek *anchura* ("breadth") and *campo descubierto* ("open land") (32.50.6), where, as he says, "os pueda recrear y recrearme" ("I might entertain both myself and you [Philip]") (32.50.8) and "espaciar el ánimo cansado" ("distract the tired spirit") (32.51.5).[219] The introduction concludes by justifying what is admittedly a *digresión* (32.51.7) with the excuse that it can proceed "sin dejar de picar siempre al caballo, / ni del tiempo perder sólo un momento" ("while always urging on the horses and without losing even a single moment") (32.49.3-4).

The truth about Dido that Ercilla is determined to assert, a direct challenge to rather than a part of his *renovatio* of Virgil, is based on Hellenistic accounts of the

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[218] For earlier treatments of *historia* in the poem, cf. esp. the Prologue to Part 1 as well as 1.3.6-8, 12.70.1-4, and 12.73.3-4.

[219] For the narrator's earlier comments on variety, cf. esp. 15.1.1-15.5.8 and the "Al lector" to Pt. 2; also see 72 and 73 n. 111, above. For Ercilla's use of the *locus amoenus*, cf. 17.42.1-8 and 72, above. The verb *recrear*, which can also mean to re-create or create anew, may offer an additional allusion to the narrator's desire to re-create both his reputation and his relationship with the monarch.

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heroine that antedate the poet by as much as four hundred years and that have nothing to do with Aeneas.[220] These sources survive into the Early Modern era via the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus, whose *Historiae Philippicae* is in turn reprised by the third-century historian Justin, who remains a widely-read author in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, particularly in Spain.[221] Justin's account, some one hundred lines in contrast to Ercilla's one hundred octaves, lays out the familiar initial plot. In contrast to Virgil, however, the crux of the story involves the African king Hiarbas, whom Dido's citizens trick her into marrying. She leads them to believe that she will accept the union, but kills herself instead.[222]

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[220] The earliest known material comes from the fourth-century Greek historian Timaeus' history of Sicily, the Ἱστορίαι, known principally through the second-century Polybius, in turn preserved in the work of the Macedonian rhetorician Polyaenus (fl. 150 CE).

[221] The multiplicity of potential sources for Virgil's Dido is already recognized by ancient critics, who cite various models for her including prominent women in the *Odyssey*, the beauties of the *Iliad*, especially Helen, Briseis, and Polycena, and heroines in Euripides, Apollonius, and Catullus; cf. Ralph Hexter, who cites the Phoenician goddesses Astarte and Tannit as further potential influences in an "overdetermined network of possible associations and reflections" for the queen of Carthage ("Sidonian Dido," *Innovations of Antiquity*, eds. Ralph Hexter and Daniel Selden [New York: Routledge, 1992], 332-84; 351); Hexter notes that at the time of Virgil's writing most cultured Romans still read Greek and thus were familiar with accounts of the figure found in contemporary universal histories such as that of Diodous Siculus ("Sidonian," 345-46). Justin's epitome of Trogus was popular in Spain in part because of the attention it pays to Spain's fabled past; cf. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *Dido en la literatura española* (London: Tamesis, 1974), 59. Trogus is translated into Spanish by Jorge Bustamente in 1540; into English by Arthur Golding in 1564, as *Justins Histories from Trogus*; cf. Rafael González Cañal, "Dido y Eneas en la Poesía Española del Siglo de Oro, *Críticón* 44 (1988) 25-54; 26.

[222] According to Justin, the beautiful Elissa, the king of Tyre's daughter, whom Virgil will also call Dido, marries her uncle Acherbas, a high priest whose great wealth leads to his murder at the hands of Dido's avaricious brother, Pygmalion, who succeeds to the throne. After a period of silent suffering, Dido tells her brother that she wants to join him at the distant court in order to forget her sorrow. He sends ships to fetch her, believing he will thereby gain control of his brother-in-law's wealth, but once the ships begin their return voyage Dido tricks her brother's men by dumping bags filled with sand, which she claims contain her riches, into the sea.

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Dido's fortunes subsequent to antiquity are complex, with competing versions of her story coexisting through the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. The beautiful, clever, and chaste heroine of Justin persists primarily in the ecclesiastical tradition inaugurated by Tertullian and Jerome, from whom it passes to Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and thence to many others, including Castiglione and Boscán.[223]

Terrified by her prediction of Pygmalion's fury, his men decide to join Dido and her followers in exile. After an ocean voyage, with landfall made to bring aboard future wives and a priest of Jupiter, the refugees arrive in Africa, where Dido offers to buy as much land from the natives as a single cowhide will encompass. When the natives agree, she has the hide cut into narrow strips and laid end to end, acquiring the land where Carthage is founded and quickly flourishes. A neighboring king, Hiarbas, is attracted by the city's prosperity and threatens the leading citizens with war unless they arrange for Dido to marry him. The elders are afraid to convey this proposal to the queen and devise a charade, telling Dido that Iarbas is demanding that they themselves come to his country to help educate his subjects, a task for which they are unwilling to leave their homes and families. When Dido harangues them for refusing to act in a way that would fulfill their sacred duty to protect the homeland, they reveal the truth and the queen is trapped into following her own advice. Dido sets aside a three month period during which she builds a great pyre and sacrifices many animals, "as if to placate the spirit of her dead husband and send him offerings before her marriage" (18.6.6). She then takes a sword, mounts the pyre, and kills herself, claiming that she is going to join a husband as the citizens have demanded. Justin adds that afterwards Dido was worshipped as a goddess in Carthage, which he notes was founded seventy-two years before Rome. Synopsis is based on *Justin: Epitome of the Phillipic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. J. C. Yardley (Scholars Press: Atlanta, 1994), secs. 18.3-18.9; Roman historians typically date the fall of Troy at 1183 and the founding of Carthage circa 814, some seventy years before Rome's traditional date of origin of 753. Given these dates, which were widely agreed upon during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the confluence of Aeneas and Dido was obviously excluded. Hexter provides numerous references for further study ("Sidonian," 36 nn. 35-36).

[223] Petrarch also relies on the histories of Justin and Jerome to refute Virgil's version of Dido in his *Africa*; cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 82; Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, translated in mid-fourteenth century by Pero López de Ayala, and his *De claris mulieribus* are among the important sources of the story for Spain. Many additional Renaissance authors refer to Dido as a paragon of virtue, among them Ariosto: "Da l'altra parte odi che fama lascia / Elissa, ch'ebbe il cor tanto pudico; / che riputata viene una bagascia, / solo perché Maron non le fu amico" ("Listen on the other hand to what reputation Dido left behind, whose heart was so chaste: she was reputed a strumpet purely because Virgil was no friend of hers") (*O.F.* 35.28.1-4); the remark comes immediately upon St. John's pointing out that since all poets exaggerate in order to flatter their benefactors (35.25.5-8), one must invert what they say to discover the truth (35.27.5-8); Sir Philip Sidney, discussing the relative merits of poetry and history, also asserts that for purposes of "use and learning" one should prefer "[. . .] the feigned Aeneas in Virgil than

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Following Virgil, Ovid creates two portraits of the queen: one, the sentimental, prolix lover of Aeneas in *Heroides 7*, vacillating between resignation and anger at being abandoned while bearing his child (lines 133-35); the other no more than a footnote on betrayal in the condensed version of Virgil's epic in the *Metamorphoses*.[224] With the end of antiquity and the demise of the gods, versions of Dido as the victim of Fortune gain popularity. A fourth-century epigram regarding *infelix Dido*, attributed to Ausonius, is widely anthologized and translated in the Renaissance.[225] Servius's fourth-century

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the right Aeneas in Dares Phrygius" (*An Apology for Poetry*, "Examination 1"); text for the *Apology* is the Geoffrey Shepherd edition (London: Nelson, 1965); Sidney is discussed at greater length below, 163ff.. Reflecting his position on the cusp of modernity in this instance as in others, Cervantes references both the chaste and the unchaste Dido traditions: in Book 4 of the pastoral novel *La Galatea*, the shepherd Lauso, comparing the heroines of antiquity unfavorably with his beloved, sings of "[. . .] la que tiene diferente / fama de la entereza y el trofeo / con que su honestidad guardó excelente: / digo de aquella que lloró a Sicheo, / del mantuano Títiro notada / de vano antojo y no cabal deseo" ("she who has a different reputation from that of the integrity and success with which she guarded her excellent modesty: I mean she who wept for Sichaeus, censured by Virgil for vain caprice and improper desire") (*La Galatea*, ed. Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, 2 vols. [Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1961] 2. 29); in the 1615 *Quijote* the protagonist, concerned for his own chastity, complains to Señora Rodríguez when she comes to his bedroom at the duke's that not only is it past midnight, but that they are in "un estancia más cerrada y secreta que lo debió de ser la cueva donde el traidor y atrevido Eneas gozó a la hermosa y piadosa Dido" ("a room more closed-off and secret than the cave must have been where the treacherous and impudent Aeneas enjoyed the beautiful, pious Dido") (*El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Luis Andrés Murillo, 2 vols. [Madrid: Castalia, 1978] 2. 399; ch. 48). In the 1605 *Quijote*, by contrast, Cervantes makes fun of the protagonist's confusing art with life when he violently responds to a deprecating remark regarding the chastity of a heroine of the *Amadís* novels (ibid., 1. 298; ch. 24).

[224] The suggestion of distrust in Virgil's rendition of Dido's final speech regarding the details of Aeneas' past (4.597-99) are made explicit by Ovid, whose Dido accuses the hero of lying about protecting the *Penates* and about the circumstances under which he left Troy, especially as these regard Creusa, who, "occidit a duro sola relicta viro" ("perished, left behind by her unfeeling lord") (line 84). Dido receives only four lines in the *Metamorphoses* (14.78-81).

[225] The distich reads:

> Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito,
> hoc pereunte fugis, hoc fugiente peris.

Ah! Luckless Dido, unhappy in both husbands: this, dying, caused thy flight; that, fleeing, caused thy death.

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commentary on the *Aeneid*, like Justin, complains of Virgil's anachronistic juxtaposition of historical eras, and Macrobius's fifth-century commentary explicitly distinguishes between Virgil's artful rendition of Dido and what it refers to as the truthful and historical, although artless, account of the heroine offered by earlier sources.[226]

An emphasis on Dido's betrayal is characteristic of most secular, medieval accounts of the Trojan war, which are the primary source of information on the subject until the rediscovery of authentic Homeric texts beginning with Petrarch.[227] In these accounts the absence of the gods has an even more dramatic impact on Aeneas than it did on Dido, with Dictys and Dares, the two main works of the genre, depicting his departure from Troy not as a sacred mission to preserve the *penates* and found a new city, encouraged by his divine mother and a dream of Hector, but as an act of civic betrayal

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The English translation is from *Ausonius*, trans. E. H. Wormington, 2 vols. (Cambridge: HUP, 1967) Appendix VIII, 2.289. Ausonius' epigrams, very popular in Siglo de Oro Spain, are printed in the fifteenth century together with a Latin version of the tenth-century *Greek Anthology* (cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido* 65). One of the early Spanish translations of the distich is by Ercilla's fellow explorer of the Americas and epic poet Luis Zapata, in his *Miscelánea*, where he construes it as:

> Dido, con ningún marido
> de dos nunca bien casada;
> muerto uno, huyes, y ido
> otro, mueres con su espada.

(qtd. in González Cañal, "Dido," 48); and regarding Zapata, see 151 n. 257, below. Sir Walter Raleigh is among the English translators of the epigram; cf. the couplet with which Ercilla ends his defense of Dido, 149, below.

[226] Macrobius also identifies Apollonius' Jason and Medea as sources for Virgil's rendition of Aeneas and Dido; cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 63 and Hexter, "Sidonian,' 339-40; cf. 94 n. 148, above.

[227] See Appendix A.

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that guarantees his survival.[228] According to descendants of these narratives, which tend to view Dido and Aeneas as prototypes of tragic love, it is Aeneas' anxiety over the publication of his cowardice that precipitates his leaving Carthage, not a god-inspired return to a mission that most medieval narratives completely disregard.[229] Textual ambiguities in both Homer and Virgil encourage such explanations, which are central to the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Sainte-Maure and the *Historiae destructionis troiae* of Guido de Colonna.[230] The same basic story of Aeneas' perfidy is reflected in Dido's first

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[228] The pertinent passages for Aeneas' departure from Troy are found at *Aeneid* 2.270-297, 2.588ff., and 2.730ff. Dictys and Dares are often associated with the Counter-classical tradition referred to earlier (see 21 n. 8, above).

[229] The decline in importance of Aeneas' mission during the Middle Ages encourages a negative view of his departure from Carthage. Lida de Malkiel notes that one source of disagreement during the Middle Ages over Aeneas' reputation stems from a misinterpretation of the famous remark he makes to his companion, Achates, when they come upon the scenes depicted on the doors of Juno's temple: "sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt" (1.462), generally translated similarly to the Fairclough rendition: "here, too, there are tears for misfortune and mortal sorrows touch the heart." In keeping with their view of him as a traitor, some among the anti-Homeric tradition interpret these lines to mean not that the Carthaginians, like other civilized peoples, sympathize with hardship, but that Aeneas is distraught because he sees that his treachery has been revealed in the frieze; cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 9. While the misreading emerges from a corrupt textual tradition, there are ambiguities in the scene that potentially support it, notably Aeneas's being depicted as escaping from the city in disguise; see the following note. In *Ad nationes* 2.9 Tertullian identifies both Aeneas and Antenor as traitors since they abandoned their companions while Troy was burning; cf. Hexter, "Sidonian," 369 n. 43.

[230] The most significant verses in the *Aeneid* regarding Aeneas' past, apart from his own account of it, are those describing his examination of the scenes emblazoned on the doors of the temple that Dido is building to honor Juno (1.453ff.). While these scenes are understood by modern readers as substantiating Aeneas' heroic past, the plausibility of this has been questioned by some, since Juno is Dido's protector and the enemy of Venus; cf. Hexter 354-57. A line adduced in support of Aeneas' bravery comes near the end of the scene, when Virgil says of him, "se quoque principibus *permixtum* adgnovit Achivis [. . .]" ("himself, too, in close combat with the Achaean chiefs, he recognized") (1.488). Hexter, who characterizes Aeneas as a poor reader when it comes to the temple doors, points out that while *permixtum* is construed by all leading translations (Mandelbaum and Fitzgerald as well as Fairclough, quoted here) as referring to combat, this is conjecture, since the term's literal meaning is "thoroughly mixed in" and thus might refer, alternatively, to the point at which Aeneas and his comrades successfully disguise

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appearances on the Iberian peninsula, in Rodrigo el Toledano's *Historia Romanorum* and in the *Castigos y documentos del Rey don Sancho*.[231] The first of these texts reports that although Aeneas tells Dido he must leave in order to fulfill a promise to honor Anchises' tomb, the truth of the matter is that he is ashamed and afraid that the scenes on the doors of Juno's temple have exposed his cowardly escape from Troy; the second text describes Dido's suicide as a reaction to her shame at having married a traitor. Both of these works become key sources for the principal Spanish accounts of Dido's story, the thirteenth-century Alfonsine histories, which in characteristically eclectic medieval fashion incorporate both narrative traditions.[232] The secular medieval accounts of Dido, in

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themselves to pass among the Greek attackers ("Sidonian," 354-55). The bravery of this maneuver is troubling even as it occurs, with one of Aeneas' group remarking, "dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?" ("whether deceit or valor, who would ask in warfare?) (2.390). Immediately after this Aeneas himself says: "vadimus *immixti* Danais haud numine nostro" ("we move on, mingling with the Greeks, under gods not our own") (2.396). Aeneas seems to fear mixed reviews to his account of his behavior in Troy's last hours since he defends it quite pointedly at Dido's banquet: "Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum, / testor in occasu vestro nec tela nec ullas / vitavisse vices Danaum et, si fata fuissent, / ut caderem meruisse manu" ("Oh ashes of Ilium! O funeral flames of my kin! I call you to witness that in your doom I shunned not the Danaan weapons nor their answering blows, and had the fates willed my fall, I had earned it by my hand!") (2. 431-34). See Hexter's provocative analysis of the problems that Virgil and his contemporaries encountered in reading Homer, an activity they found "fraught with difficulty at every step" ("Sidonian," esp. 335-36). Hexter argues that as a result of Hellenistic scholarship, Virgil is thoroughly aware of the instability of the Homeric text and writes in a deliberately Homeric tradition that frustrates univocal readings ("Sidonian," 336 and 364 n.21).

[231] Another source for the story of a chaste Dido in Spain is the *Roman de Troie*, via the *Historia troyana polimétrica* and Leomarte's *Sumas de historia troyana*, from which it is incorporated into Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* and *Coplas contra los pecados mortales*; cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 70-72.

[232] There are accounts of Dido in both the *Primera Crónica General* and the *General Estoria*, which comprise the Alfonsine histories; cf. Rina Walthaus, "La fortuna de Dido en la literatura española medieval (Desde la crónicas alfonsíes a la tragedia renacentista de Juan Cirne)," *Actas del III Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Salamanca, 1989)*. Vol. II. ed. María Isabel Toro Pascua (Salamanca: Biblioteca Española del Siglo XV, 1994), 1172-74, Judith Miller Ortiz, "The Two Faces of Dido: Classical Images and Medieval

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contrast to the ecclesiastical tradition, reveal little interest in the issue of chastity, which, after reemerging in the fifteenth century in works such as the *Crónica troyana*, peaks in the second half of the following one, perhaps with Ercilla, according to some.[233]

As the medieval narratives reveal, Aeneas has his own multifaceted tradition subsequent to the *Iliad*. Punic War historians are the first to associate him with Dido, doing so for the same reason that Virgil will two-and-a-half centuries later, in order to help explain the intense animosity between Carthage and Rome.[234] Virgil's version of the connection, which he embellishes through more than eight hundred lines, goes far beyond

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Reinterpretation," *Romance Quarterly* 33.4 (1986) 421-430; and Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 5-7. The *Crónica General* presents two versions of the heroine: in the first, which follows Justin, Aeneas makes no appearance and Dido kills herself out of a sense of royal duty rather than loyalty to Acherbas (chps. 51-55); in the second, influenced by Virgil and Ovid, there is a letter from Dido to Aeneas, who is characterized as a *burlador* or seducer of women, and she dies for love of him (chps. 56-57); the *General Estoria*, by contrast, extends the heroic, solitary Dido, founder of Carthage; neither text is concerned with Dido's chastity. The significance of these works in Spanish literature is typically discussed in terms of the central importance of Latin antiquity on the peninsula as well as in terms of what many have described as the tendency in Spanish literature toward the historical or truthful, which some suggest is encouraged by Spain's early modern discoveries (Lida de Malkiel, *Dido* 69-71); see the discussion of this issue below, 152. Alfonso's incorporation of both versions of the heroine's life is explained by Judith Miller Ortiz as a response to changing concepts of history and literature exemplified in the decline of epic and the growth of didacticism ("The Two faces of Dido: Classical Images and Medieval Reinterpretation," *Romance Quarterly* 33.4 [1986] 421-30). Within a century of Alfonso's chronicles Dido appears in Chaucer's *Legende of Goode Women* as a heroine of classical antiquity, with no reference to Aeneas, and Chaucer's disciple Lydgate narrates Justin's version of events in his *Fall of Princes* (cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 62).

[233] Walthaus identifies the apogee of Dido defenses with Ercilla ("La Fortuna," 1180); but see 151 n. 257, below.

[234] Naevius, a historian of the First Punic War, was for many years identified as the first author to make the connection between Aeneas and Dido, which is maintained by Ennius and Varro. It has been suggested that Naevius modeled his account on Apollonius' Hypsipyle and Jason (*Argonautica* 1.880ff.); cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 57 n. 1). Varro's account has Dido die for love of Aeneas, definitively predating Virgil on this detail; cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 57 n. 1 and Hexter, "Sidonian," 338. Histories of Aeneas are widespread prior to Virgil, and those of Carthage also predate the appearance of Dido; cf. Hexter, "Sidonian," 339 and 367 n. 35).

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a retrospective euhemerism, however, exploring the conflict between public and private needs, the *furors* borne of unrequited love and the lust for wealth, and the hidden costs of empire. Virgil simultaneously enhances Dido's Justinian-inspired individuality while making her a pawn of larger forces. He compares her beauty to the gods, transmutes her Punic guile into political wisdom, and, while having her succumb to sexual desire, emphasizes the loyalty she feels to Sichaeus, which he casts in terms of the virtue of *pudor* and the importance of *fama*, self-respect and reputation.[235] His intimate depiction of Dido's struggle with her emotions, borrowing heavily from Apollonius, assures her genuine pathos. And although Dido must be sacrificed to Aeneas's divine mission, it is a mission dictated by Destiny as Destiny is shaped by the animosity between Juno and Venus, the first of whom has hated Trojans since Paris slighted her in favor of the second, Aeneas's mother. The fact that Virgil has a disguised Venus offer the first description of the queen suggests the direction of her fate, and given Venus' bias it is not surprising that her brief introduction to the queen mentions little to tempt her son from his purpose, never referring to Dido's beauty, to the cleverness by which she kept her husband's wealth, nor to her skillful purchase of land for the city.[236] At first the goddess even

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[235] In Virgil's account of Dido's affair with Aeneas, her loyalty to Sicheaus is overcome through the direct intervention of Cupid, disguised as Aeneas' son, Iulus (1.721). Hexter notes that subsequent to Homer, accounts of Helen's character also bifurcate, with some, like that of Stesichorus, claiming that it was her *eidolon*, rather than her true self, which accompanied Paris to Troy. Hexter suggests that in Dido Virgil creates a Roman Helen, perpetuating "an irreducible contradiction in the tradition" ("Sidonian," 342).

[236] Cf. *Aeneid* (1.341-69). R. D. Williams refers to Venus' account as one that immediately elicits sympathy and admiration, but this can only be true for one unfamiliar with Dido's earlier history, which was, as shown, widely known. By contrast, Venus' remarks are brief, and as I note, quite selective. William's remarks come in his commentary to Book 1 (184 n. 305ff.).

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ignores Dido's agency, attributing her leaving Tyre to a dream in which her murdered husband demands that she flee. When she refers to the fact that Dido made it to Africa with her husband's wealth, she avoids using her name, stating simply: "dux femina facti" ("the leader was a woman") (1.364). By contrast, the goddess refers several times to how much Dido loved her husband, and she emphasizes the "secret horror" (1.356) of her family and the fact that her brother was "blinded by the lust of gold" (1.349), "grasping" (1.363), "monstrous in crime" (1.347), and the victim of *furor* (1.348), as Dido herself will soon become.[237]

When Dido and Aeneas finally come face to face, long after Venus is gone, they do so not only thematically, as Virgilian characters, but also structurally and self-consciously, as it were, as textual traditions. Aeneas has learned of Dido from his mother. Upon discovering that the strangers at her court are Trojans, Dido exclaims, "quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat [. . .] ?" ("who could be ignorant of the race of Aeneas' people, who of Troy's town") (1.565). When she meets the hero himself she is amazed, recalling youthful memories of Troy and stories about Venus' having a child by Anchises, as though she can hardly believe she is actually meeting someone who has heretofore been no more than a detail in a marvelous history of gods and heroes.[238] Once brought up to date on Aeneas' recent past—on the post-Homeric Aeneas-as-envisioned-by-Virgil, that is—she recognizes a similarity between them, proclaiming, "me quoque

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[237] Virgil identifies three types of *furor*: the avaricious frenzy that drives Pygmalion to murder (1.348), the amorous delirium that overwhelms Dido when she falls in love (e.g., at 1.659), and the fatal madness that drives her to suicide (4.474-75).

[238] As he must have been for those who first read the *Aeneid*.

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per multos similis fortuna labores / iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra" ("Me, too, has a like fortune driven through many toils, and willed that at last I should find rest in this land") (1.628-29). By the time Virgil's revision of her is complete, their similarities will go far beyond what Dido can see, which, limited as it is includes the fact that not only are they both children of royal parents, were previously married, and have lost their spouses, but both have been forced to flee their homelands and to make perilous journeys by sea, becoming exemplary leaders in the process. Were she visionary the unhappy queen would also see, as will readers of the *Aeneid*, that both she and Aeneas colonize new lands, establish law abiding cities, and oversee the transplantation of their respective cultures into new worlds. She would see as well that with each other they both experience their first emotional attachments since being widowed, a development that forces both into ineluctable choices between public and private spheres, between duty and desire.

Ercilla, while condemning Virgil for the fictional changes he makes to the history of Dido, finds these passages irresistible. Beyond adopting the Virgilian names for both queen and spouse, Ercilla's portrait of Dido emphasizes administrative skill, loyalty to spouse, and concern with personal honor, all qualities highlighted by Virgil. Even those Virgilian elements that Ercilla completely rejects in the present context—notably Dido's unrequited love and imagery of the articulate, deadly struggle that it entails—he embraces in other areas of the *Araucana*, this imagery proving fundamental to many of the

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intertexts already discussed.[239] While the defense will also be found to contain Virgilian intertexts, these are few and minor. Intratexts between this portion of the poem and earlier passages, on the other hand, are numerous.

The plot of Ercilla's Dido's story, interrupted by a canto break coinciding with the heroine's voyage to Africa, is identical to Justin's in all key respects.[240] In contrast to Justin, Ercilla enlarges upon details that the ancient text only mentions, and he creates details that are missing in both Justin and Virgil, developing a story that is more realistic, immediate, and suspenseful.[241] Most important, his innovations provide the plot with a thoroughly moral and legal rationale consistent with the treatment of these issues in other parts of the poem. The *codicia* or greed that leads to Sichaeus' murder (32.55.7; 32.56.6) is called a "sed de riquezas insaciable" ("insatiable thirst for riches") (32.61.5) and an "impiedad y furia insana" ("impiety and insane fury") (32.61.7) of one who is "ciego de codicia" ("blind with greed") (32.64.3). These descriptions recall earlier treatments of the subject, which Ercilla develops here into a three-octave exordium on the fragility of

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[239] Many of the intertexts between Virgil's descriptions of Dido in love and Ercilla's heroines are discussed above. Each of these instances typically involves several lines from the *Aeneid* that are adapted in more than one location in *La Araucana.* They include, with regard to Guacolda: *Ar.*13.48.4, 13.49.3, 14.1.8, and 14.3.4, for which cf. *Aen.*1.688 and 4.66-69; see 56 n. 82, above.; with regard to the Vision of Beauty: *Ar.*18.66.4 and 18.71.5-6, for which cf. *Aen.*1.659-60, 1.668, 1.713, 4.1-2, 4.68, 4.101, and 4.474-75; see 74, above; the Virgilian passages just noted for the Vision of Beauty are also the basis of intertexts both in the Tegualda episode: *Ar.* 20.58.7-8, 20.61.5-6, 20.62.4, and in the passages containing references to the feelings of the narrator: *Ar.* 22.1.5-8; see 105, above.

[240] For earlier discussion of Ercilla's use of the interrupted canto, see 53 n. 74, above.

[241] Each of these are qualities that characterize Ercilla's literary renovations; e.g. 66 and 104, above.

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virtue that opens Canto 33.[242] In relating the murder of Sichaeus, the narrator devotes much attention to Dido's emotions, with her sorrow, hatred for her brother, and anxiety over how the public views her role in events occupying eleven full octaves. The reference to "soltó con doloroso y fiero llanto / de lágrimas un flujo en large vena" ("a great flood of tears poured forth with a sorrowful, fierce cry") (32.57.2-3), is reminiscent of descriptions applied to Guacolda and Tegualda.[243] Her self-recrimination: "¡Ay!, que de tibia fe y amor procede / no acabar de matarme el sentimiento / [. . .] / mas quiere el cielo dilatar mi muerte / porque dure el dolor, más que ella fuerte" ("Oh, what tepid loyalty and love I must have since this feeling doesn't kill me [. . .] but heaven delays my death in order to prolong my sorrow, which is worse") (32.59.3-4, 32.59.7-8), echoes earlier laments by Tegualda and Lauca and, specifically, earlier expressions of remorse at remaining alive after a beloved companion has died.[244] While Ercilla, following Justin,

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[242] The theme of greed echoes powerfully with various condemnations of the Spanish in the poem; cf. 2.92.7-8, 23.13.5, and 36.14.7; see, esp. 107 n. 176, above.

[243] With regard to Guacolda, cf. "de lágrimas bañando el blanco pecho ("bathing her white breasts in tears") (13.48.3) and "Tras esto tantas lágrimas vertía" ("after this she wept so many tears") 13.57.1); with regard to Tegualda, cf. "[. . .] comenzaba / un llanto tal que el monte enternecía" ("a wail began that softened the mountain") (20.76.1-2).

[244] Regarding Tegualda's lament, cf.: "que ya el dolor me ha puesto en tal estremo / que más la vida que la muerte temo" ("since my sorrow has become so extreme that I fear life more than death") (20.31.7-8); regarding Lauca, cf.: "Cayó muerto, quedando yo con vida, / vida más enojosa que la muerte" ("he fell dead, leaving me with life, life more hateful than death") (23.36.1-2). Regarding the desire to follow a spouse in death, cf. Guacolda: "que no caerá tu cuerpo en tierra fria / cuando estará en el suelo muerto el mío" ("since your body will have no more than touched the cold earth when mine falls lifeless to the ground") (13.47.7-8); cf. Tegualda's: "Que aunque el cielo cruel no me conceda / morir mi cuerpo con el suyo unido, / no estorbará, por más que me persiga, / que mi afligido espíritu le siga" ("since although cruel heaven will not permit my body to die united with his, it cannot stop, no matter how much it persecutes me, my afflicted spirit from following him") (20.32.5-8); and cf. Lauca: "La vida así me cansa y aborrece, / viendo muerto a mi esposo y dulce amigo, / que cada hora que vivo me parece / que cometo maldad, pues no le sigo" ("life thus wearies and bores me, seeing how my

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reports that Dido disguises her feelings about her brother, he is much more explicit about her anger, providing her with a nine-octave speech in which she condemns, in addition to her brother's greed, his "impiedad y furia insana" ("impiety and insane madness") (32.61.7) and "inorme intento y desatino" ("enormous intention and folly") (32.63.1), a speech that culminates with a series of epithets: "[. . .] traidor [...] tirano, / perverso, atroz, sacrílego, homicida" ("traitor, tyrant, atrocious, sacrilegious, and murderous") (23. 65.2-3).[245] While Ercilla avoids having Sichaeus be Dido's uncle as well as her husband, he emphasizes that Pygmalion has transgressed against both the bonds of *hermandad* or brotherhood (32.61.2) and of family (32.62.2), just as Glaura's cousin was condemned as "corrompedor de la amistad jurada, / y ley de parentesco conservada!..." ("a corrputor of sworn friendship and of the established law of family relations") (28.16.7-8).[246]

A key issue in Ercilla's defense becomes Dido's concern at being thought an accomplice in the crime: "Y viéndome contigo convenida, / mi crédito andará de mano en mano" ("and seeing me agreeable with you, my reputation will go hand in hand [with yours]") (32.65.3-4). This introduces the theme of honor long before Iarbas appears: "padeciendo mi honor agravio injusto: / que no dice la fama cosa al justo" ("my honor

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husband and sweet companion is dead, since every hour that I live I seem to commit a crime, since I follow him not") (32.39.1-4).

[245] Lerner discusses Ercilla's characteristic use of the rhetorical device of verbal and nominal *accumulatio* ("Discorso áureo," 160-61); cf. other uses of *desatino* in the poem, 100 and 111 n. 186, above.

[246] See the discussion of this subject 111, above.

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suffering unjust offense, since rumor never reports anything correctly") (32.65.5-6).[247] Ercilla has the heroine explore her predicament in detail, noting that if she flees, Pygmalion will pursue her; if she dies, he will gain control of her wealth; and if she remains as she is, she will be seen as content with events if not complicit in them, each of these alternatives destroying her *fama* and *opinión* (32.66.1-8). Her lament at this point: "¿Qué medio he de buscar a mal tan fuerte [. . .] " ("what remedy must I seek for an evil so great") (32.67.1) echoes Tegualda quite closely: "¿Qué consuelo ha de haber a mal tan fuerte?" ("what consolation can there be for an evil so great") (20.73.5), leading to a preliminary rationale for suicide: "¡Ay!, que si es malo desear la muerte, / es peor el temerla, si conviene; / que no es pena el morir a los cuitados / sino fin de las penas y cuidados" ("Ah, if it is evil to long for death, it is worse to fear it if it fits, for dying is no burden to those afflicted, but an end to their troubles and cares") (32.67.5-8). Ercilla emphasizes that it is the impasse she articulates, together with the fact that Pygmalion's being king prevents "la venganza legítima" ("legitimate vengance") (32.68.2), that finally pressures Dido beyond cleverness into "muestra doble" or deception and "hermandad fingida," pretended brotherhood (32.68.4).

The planning and execution of the scheme by which the aggrieved heroine escapes with Sichaeus' wealth receives most of the attention in Ercilla's account of her, growing from Justin's twenty-three lines, which it faithfully follows, into some twenty-five

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[247] Dido's concern with appearances is reminiscent of Tegualda's after falling in love with Crepino: "por dar satisfación de mí a la gente, / encubrí tres semanas mi dolencia" ("in order to behave satisfactorily in the eyes of the people, I concealed my pain for three weeks") (20.69.2-3); see 101, above.

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octaves or almost one-fourth of the episode.[248] In addition to its amplifications and small adjustments to the ancient plot, the additional material offers Dido a five-octave speech condemning Pygmalion's failures: his "bárbara impaciencia" (32.85.5), "tiranía" (32.86.1; cf. 32.79.8), and "impetu" ("impetuosity or violence") (32.86.2). The heroine herself, by contrast, displays stoic calm, noting with regard to the dangers of the voyage she is about to undertake: "[. . .] que están todos los bienes / sujetos a peligros y vaivenes" ("that all worldly goods are subject to dangers and fluctuations") (32.88.7-8).[249]

After the canto break and the brief exordium in which Pygmalion is presented as an example of someone whom greed deters from "la carrera de virtud fragosa" ("the rough road of virtue") (33.1.2.), come ten octaves focusing on Dido's accomplishments in Africa.[250] The feint with the bull hide occurs as in Justin and Virgil, with Ercilla adding that the people from whom the land was purchased "[. . .] a la prudencia / de la Reina sagaz y aviso estraño, / le quisieron poner nombre de engaño" ("were inclined to call the wise prudence and unusual discretion of the queen deception") (33.8.7-8). Whereas the *Aeneid* provides one brief phrase regarding the queen's administrative skill: "iura dabat legesque viris" ("laws and ordinances she gave to her people") (1.507), Ercilla's text

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[248] Which maintains the relative significance within each narrative, since Justin's account (18.4.10-18.4.15) is slightly more than one hundred lines.

[249] Among the minor changes Ercilla makes is the eighty virgins being invited aboard rather than abducted. With regard to stoicism in the poem, see 57 n. 85 and 59, above, and cf. Gregory Shepherd, "Balancing," 7ff..

[250] The exordium contains one of the episode's few Virgilian intertexts, referring to Sichaeus as living happily "en la ley de hermandad asegurado" ("secure in the law of brotherhood") (33.2.4.), which recalls the Aeneid's description of him as "securus amorum / germanae" ("secure in brotherly friendship") (1.350); cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 132.

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swells this into six octaves detailing how "la prudente Reina" ("the prudent queen") (33.10.3) corrected "las faltas y defectos / al orden de vivir perjudiciales" ("the faults and defects prejudicial to an orderly life") (33.10. 1-2), chose civic officials and master architects (33.10.4-5), and established institutions so that "[. . .] el pueblo en razón se mantuviese / y en paz y orden política viviese" ("the people might continue in rightness and might live in peace and order") (33.11.7-8). She conducts herself with such success in all these areas that the city attracts great numbers of new citizens from many different places (33.12.1-8) who come to consider her a "milagro de natura" ("miracle of nature") (33.15.5) and a goddess (33.15.2).[251] This portion of the plot concludes with the narrator claiming that no famous woman since antiquity has ever combined so many virtues: "fue rica, fue hermosa, fue castísima, / sabia, sagaz, constante y prudentísima" ("she was wealthy, beautiful, most chaste, she was wise, astute, loyal, and most prudent") (33.16.7-8).

The ruse involving Iarbas, Dido, and what Ercilla identifies as the Carthaginian senate occupies the next twenty octaves. Ercilla transfers the Virgilian attribute of amorous *furor* from Dido to the African king, making it the basis of his precipitate demand for marriage: "[. . .] con juvenil furia movido / de un impaciente y nuevo amor lozano [. . .] " ("moved by the youthful frenzy of an impatient and sensual new love") (33.17.5-6).[252] The transposition not only corrects Virgil's account, but also reassigns the

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[251] For Ercilla's earlier emphasis on justice and equitable rule, see 86 n. 134, above; for his use of *prudente*, see 99, above.

[252] Regarding the dangers of sensual love, see 74, above.

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failure of continence to men, with whom Ercilla has consistently associated it. The text makes it clear that the senate's decision to deceive Dido stems from their familiarity with "el caso voto y vida continente / que la constante Reina profesaba" ("the chaste vow and continent life professed by the queen") (33.19.6-7). While the details of the deception are faithful to Justin, Dido's response to the senate, which begins with a reminder of the many hardships they have endured together (33.281-4), presents the first of the episode's two significant intertexts with Virgil, both of these found in speeches by Dido that are based on Aeneas' speech of encouragement to his men after they have been driven onto the African coast.[253] By having Dido deliver this speech Ercilla not only enhances his portrait of the heroic queen, but again corrects the Virgilian text, reassigning the harangue, as it were, to its proper source. In the first of the two speeches Dido extends her Justinian counterpart's exhortation regarding civic duty into a mini-treatise on citizenship:

> "Es a todos común, a todos llano,
> que debe (como miembro y parte unida)
> poner por su ciudad el ciudadano
> no sólo su descanso, mas la vida,
> y por razón y por derecho humano
> de justa deuda natural debida,
> a posponer el hombre está obligado
> por el sosiego público el privado. (33.29.1-8)
>
> It is common to everyone and applies to all that the citizen (as a member and unified part) must risk not only his rest but also his life for his city and, obligated both by reason and by the just and natural debt of

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[253] Aeneas' well-known speech, which begins: "O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)" ("O Comrades, for ere this we have not been ignorant of evils") (1.198ff.), is modeled, in turn, on Odysseus', made to his companions after Circe has warned him of the Sirens (*Od.* 12.154ff.); cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 132. The same speech also inspires Ercilla's version of Dido's final words to the Carthaginians some fifteen octaves later (33.45.1-4).

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human right, man must postpone his private peace for that of the public. The queen concludes by declaring that she would gladly avert the present threat with her own life if it were possible, which is all the senate is waiting for (33.30.1-2). They realize that she "en el armado lazo había caido" ("had fallen into the trap that was set") (33.31.3), and remind her that if she persists in "el casto infrutuoso presupuesto" ("the barren cause of chastity") (33.36.2) she will be putting her own well-being ahead of the city's.

Resigned, Dido asks for the same three month interval found in Justin, with Ercilla supplying her with an explicit rationale reminiscent of earlier statements in the poem: "Que es mostrar liviandad y demás deso, / falto a la obligación y fe que debo / si del intento casto y voto espreso / a la primera persuasión me muevo" ("since it will show frivolity and, more than this, my failure in the obligation and loyalty that I owe if I deviate from my chaste intentions and explicit vow at the first persuasion") (33.39.1-4).[254] The interval is also deemed publicly necessary, "que el libertado vulgo maldiciente / aun quiere calumniar lo que es honesto" ("since the brazen, slanderous common people calumniate even what is virtuous") (33.40.5-6). At her final appearance, Dido offers her second variation on Aeneas' speech, addressing the townspeople with, "¡Oh fieles compañeros, que contino / en todos los trabajos lo mostrastes [. . .]" ("Oh loyal companions, who continually have proved it in all your undertakings") (33.45.1-2), after which she declares that she has determined to protect both city and marital vow by taking her own life, concomitantly fulfilling her role as a model for her people:

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[254] Cf. Tegualda's hiding her love for Crepino for three weeks for the same reason (20.69.1-4); see the discussion of this 101, above.

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> Hoy por el precio de una corta vida
> la vejación redimo de Cartago,
> dejando ejemplo y ley establecida
> que os obligue a hacer lo que yo hago;
> y con mi limpia sangre aquí esparcida
> al cielo y a la tierra satisfago
> pues muero por mi pueblo y guardo entera
> con inviolable amor la fe primera. (33.49.1-8)
>
> Today, for the price of one brief life, I remove the threat from Carthage, leaving behind an example and established law that obliges you to do as I do; and with my unsoiled blood spread here I satisfy both heaven and earth, since I die for my people while keeping intact, with inviolable love, my first loyalty.

Articulating the epic code that Fresia will shortly reiterate (33.80.3), Dido goes on to tell the citizens not to mourn, "que una breve fatiga y muerte honrada, / asegura la vida y la eterniza" ("since a brief struggle and honorable death assure both life and eternity") (33.50.3-4).[255] Expressing the pagan view of suicide that Ercilla himself has just repudiated in the scene with Lauca, she adds that, "no os debe de pesar si Dido muere, / pues vive el que se mata cuanto quiere" ("it shouldn't grieve you if Dido dies, since he who kills himself lives as long as he desires") (33.50.8). The narrator emphasizes, once again, that, "Éste es el cierto y verdadero cuento" ("this is the certain, true story") (33.54.1) that Virgil falsified "por dar a sus ficiones ornamento" ("in order to give his fiction ornamentation") (33.54.5), and the episode closes with a chiasmic couplet alluding to I Corinthians: "pudiéndose casar y no quemarse, antes quemarse quiso que casarse" ("being able to marry and not burn, she preferred to burn rather than to marry") (33.54.7-8).[256]

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[255] For discussion of Fresia, see 123, above.

[256] Cf. 1 Cor. 7:9: "quod si non se continent nubant melius est enim nubere quam uri" ("But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn") (King James version); the Revised Standard translation makes the association between the

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It comes as no surprise that the three versions of Dido discussed here are determined primarily by their historical-cultural contexts. Justin's rendition of the queen appears in his universal history, in a passage where he describes the role of Carthage in Mediterranean affairs. His references to Tyrian wealth and his focus on the beautiful protagonist's cleverness, a positive trait to later biographers, belies the discomfort of his Greek sources with their foreign neighbors, who they culturally stereotype as full of Punic guile starting with the queen and extending through the citizenry, as reflected in the parallel plots of their respective deceptions. In Virgil's subordination of Dido's story to the plot of Augustan epic, her beauty, intelligence, and cleverness extend the Homeric motif of erotic distractions to epic goals. The *Aeneid's* version of this motif is far from automatic, however, not only granting Dido great sympathy while often reflecting unflatteringly on the hero, but also providing opportunities for reflection on the project of nation-building as a whole. The portrait of the queen in the *Araucana* departs from both these treatments. In contrast to Justin, Ercilla incorporates Dido into his ongoing refutation of the dominant stereotype of the first Americans as lawless barbarians, even as his sympathetic portraits help establish their subsequent stereotyping as noble savages.

His protestations notwithstanding, Ercilla's broader goals in the defense are not so different from Virgil's. Both authors use the story of Dido to counterpoint the heroic narratives that frame it; both juxtapose love to war and private to public good. In Virgil

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flames of damnation and those of passion explicit: "But if they cannot exercise self-control, they should marry. For it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion"). Lida de Malkiel identifies this as Ercilla's only significant departure from Justin, noting that it reflects the New Testament's approval of remarriage after the death of a spouse (see 1 Cor. 7.39 and Rom. 7.2; cf. *Dido*, 131).

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the eros-epos conflict takes center stage, while in Ercilla, whose foregrounding of this conflict applies to each of the episodes discussed above, the focus now shifts to the defense of the underlying principal of individual honor that Virgil has sacrificed for personal gain in his fictionalization of history, transgressing the "honestos límites" ("honorable limits") (28.12.4) of authorship to violate his subject much as Glaura's cousin exceeded the limits of *vergüenza* or shame in an effort to violate her chastity. Ercilla's narrower goals, by contrast, are quite distinct from Virgil's, presenting a lesson on feminine virtue in keeping with the defense of women seen elsewhere in the poem, while imbuing this installment of it with an especially personal fervor. Dido becomes the archetype par excellence of the Araucan women as well as an emblem of the poet's own unjust defamation.[257]

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[257] The Dido and Aeneas theme also receives substantial attention in Siglo de Oro lyric poetry, drama, and *romances*, inspiring at least six of the latter. These various works typically resurrect the issue of personal honor and chastity, ignored during the Middle Ages, while continuing to minimize Aeneas' mission in favor of the love story. Garcilaso's *Copla V* consists of a free translation of the closing couplet of *Heroides VII*; Lope de Vega's epistle, "Alcina a Rugero," echoes Ovid's letter more fully. Góngora, by contrast, treats the theme as a burlesque in his *décima* "Musas, si la pluma mía" (cf. González Cañal, "Dido," 38). Among dramatic works are Juan Cruz Varela's *Dido* (1536), the first Argentine tragedy, and Juan Cirne's *Tragedia de los amores* from the 1550s. Dido as heroic colonist, who in *La Araucana*, for instance, states, "que así del caro reino y patria mía / a buscar nuevas tierras me ha sacado" ("since thus I have been taken from my dear kingdom and homeland to seek new lands") (32.86.3-4), has a special place in the hearts of New World explorers, who identify with her skillful colonization and development of Carthage; Agustín Cueva, in an influential article from 1978, characterizes the Dido episode as written by Ercilla as representing the exact opposite of actual colonial experience and therefore as a repudiation of it ("El espejismo heroico de la conquista: Ensayo de interpretación de *La Araucana*," *Casa de las Americas* 110 [1978] 29-40; esp. 38-39). In addition to the work by Varela and that by Luis Zapata, author of *Carlos Famoso* (1566), referred to earlier (134 n. 225, above), Gabriel Lasso de la Vega, author of *Cortés Valeroso* (1588), takes up the theme in his *La honra de Dido restaurada* (1587) as well as in his *Manojuelo de romances* of 1601. Fernández de Oviedo, the General Chronicler of the Indies, also includes a defense of Dido in his *Quincuagenas*, composed on the island of Hispaniola in the 1550s (see 37 n. 41, above), and R. Greene, "Petrarchism," 155ff.). Both López de Pinciano and Cascales, the two early seventeenth-century literary theorists, use Virgil's Dido as an example of poetic license (see 39

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Dido's defense has frequently been discussed in terms of Ercilla's conflation of fiction and historical reality. His perspective is either admiringly spoken of, as an example of passion bringing literature to life, or with gentle deprecation, as an instance of the confusing naivete that still reigns in Early Modern Europe, a confusion the Cinquecento debates attempt to resolve.[258] Neither attitude is justified since Dido had as much claim to historicity as many ancient figures, a historicity she maintained for much of the period prior to the Renaissance. Given the many defenses of her that were launched both before and after Ercilla and the many related critiques of Virgil, nor can the *Araucana*'s episode be classified as particularly Spanish in character, revealing a penchant for literal-mindedness or the concrete. A more viable explanation will recognize the role of canon formation in this process rather than the influence of newly emerging definitions of history and poetry, which in any event were designed to establish separate identities rather than identify separate works.[259] The fact that such definitions led to a decrease in the conflating of historical and fictional texts has less to do with

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n. 47, above). While the Spanish may be alone in developing the defense of Dido into a genre, as some maintain (Lida de Malkiel, *Dido* 69-70), they are far from exercising a monopoly on the subject during this era. In addition to the English authors referred to earlier (see 132, above), Lodovico Dolce and Giambattista Giraldi are among the Cinquecento writers authoring tragedies on the queen (Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 106).

[258] On Spanish literal-mindedness and Ercilla's lack of separation between life and art, cf. Lida de Malkiel, *Dido*, 127ff; González Cañal suggests a disagreement with this aspect of Lida de Malkiel's conclusions ("Dido," 54); David Quint's analysis of the episode would appear to undermine his overall analysis regarding the poem's reliance on romance since he admits that contrary to expectations the digression on Dido ends up recounting "the true facts of history against the very authenticity of Virgil's epic, which turns out to be the maker of fictions" (*Epic*, 184).

[259] See Daniel Jatvitch's analysis of the interplay between canon formation and genre definition in the Cinquecento (*Proclaiming*, esp. 8-9).

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Dido's fate than does the orchestrated revival of classical culture which, starting in the fourteenth century, assembles a corpus of texts which it promulgates at the expense of other, primarily medieval ones. While this process is well underway when Ercilla writes, alternative textual traditions of Dido, Aeneas, and the Trojan war have not yet been entirely silenced. Class plays a central role here, as evidenced by the fact that in the scene that precipitates the defense the "soldado joven" or young soldier who has been misled about the heroine is most likely an uneducated member of the *vulgo*, in contrast to the noble, educated Ercilla, whose study of the ancient world, however limited, has ensured that he knows the truth.[260] This gives rise to the paradox of Virgil, a central author in the Humanist revival of Latin antiquity, being associated with the *vulgo* or popular, while the Dido traditions that Ercilla champions, sustained throughout the Middle Ages, are associated with the *culto* or sophisticated reader. Such associations are only possible in the context of an ongoing process of Humanist homogenization that had not yet run its course.

Ercilla's defense of Dido allows him to revisit favored topics and employ favored motifs. It allows him, more than elsewhere in the poem, to reinforce his own identity by not only adapting Virgil's poetry but by refuting a key element of it. Most important, it enables him to defend his own reputation in defending Dido's, and his own chaste intentions and virtuous life devoted to the service of Philip II. It is, in particular, the

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[260] A situation that, with canonization long since accomplished, is even more true today, when only classicists know Dido's history, while others know nothing of her at all or only Virgil's rendition. On issues of class in the *Araucana* and between Ercilla and the common soldiery with whom he served, see 122 n. 207 and 125, above.

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didactic, moralistic aspect of Ercilla's persona, the gallant distaste with which he views the criticism of women, together with his devotion to the truth, that motivates his defense, not his confusion of art and life. Such confusion he rightfully, along with many others both before and afterward, attributes to Virgil. His own moralism, by contrast, his championing of virtue, and, more broadly, the importance to him of personal honor, inform not only the Araucan women episodes and the story of the queen of Carthage, but the *Araucana* as a whole.

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Chapter 4: *The Faerie Queene*

4.1 From historical epic to prophetic history

In shifting focus from southern Chile to the dramatically different topography of faery land and its analogues, it is worth recalling how closely the worlds of Ercilla and Spenser sometimes came, both during and after the first half of the sixteenth century, when the interests of Spain and England intermittently overlapped. As a fifteen year-old page, Ercilla accompanied the court of Philip II on its visit to the Emperor Maximillian in Flanders in 1548, returning to Spain in 1551 via Trent, where the ecumenical council was in session. In 1554, two years after Spenser's birth, Ercilla was with the court in London for Philip II's marriage to Mary, where part of the festivities included the staging of a chivalric joust between Spanish and English courtiers. Among the latter, and making one of their first public appearances since the execution of their father the year before, were the three Dudley sons, including Robert, earl of Leicester and Spenser's future patron.[261] It was during this stay in London that Ercilla learned of the revolt by Spanish soldiers in Peru and of the uprising by Araucans further south and decided to join the expedition sent to quell them. Three years later the Dudleys fought alongside the Spanish in their defeat

[261] In 1550, John Dudley, the duke of Northumberland, had overthrown Somerset, Protector of Edward VI; Dudley succeeded in having his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, named Edward's successor, but shortly after her accession, in 1553, he lost support of the Privy Council, Mary assumed the throne, and he and Lady Jane were executed; the inclusion of the Dudley sons in the jousts, an early step in the reversal of the family's fortunes, was due, in part, to Philip himself, who supported their participation as part of his effort to gain English support for the marriage; see Richard McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood*, 31-32; John Dudley's daughter, Mary, is the mother of Sir Philip Sidney.

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of the French at San Quentin, a victory celebrated in Canto 18 of the *Araucana*.[262] Spenser's first published work, which was also the first translation into English of a Petrarchan canzone, appeared in 1569, the same year that Part 1 of the *Araucana* was published.[263] Envy over Spain's success in the New World during these years went hand in hand with the spread of the Black Legend, which was accelerated by the 1583 translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brevísima Relación*.[264] Envy was especially intense among Protestant English colonizers and probably helped precipitate the first translation of the *Araucana*, by the Elizabethan statesman, George Carew.[265] It is likely that Spenser and Carew were acquainted, since the latter was intimately involved in Irish affairs during Elizabeth's reign and in 1600 was the president of Munster. Spenser had been Deputy Clerk of Council in Munster since 1584 and succeeded to the clerkship itself in 1589. England made numerous unsuccessful attempts to imitate Spain's colonial success in their dealings with Ireland. From mid-century on, the island played an

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[262] One of the brothers, Henry, dies in the assault; see McCoy, *Rites*, 32; the English and Spanish had allied in 1525 to defeat Francis I at Pavia.

[263] See 193, below; the deterioration of Spanish-English relations intensified in 1567-1568, with the revolt of the Low Countries and the duke of Alba's entrance into Brussels; cf. John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, esp. 293-97.

[264] Las Casas's work was translated as *The Spanish Colonie*; Richard Hakluyt refers to it in his influential *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* (1584).

[265] Carew's translation, which covered the first sixteen cantos of the *Araucana*, is believed to have been made in the 1590s; in 1619 all but the last four cantos of the *Araucana* were translated into Dutch by Isaac Iansz Byl; this project, as well as Carew's, were probably motivated by Spanish-English rivalry, in the case of Byl, in the Netherlands rather than the New World; Byl's represents the first known reference in print to Ercilla's supposed anti-Spanish and pro-Indian sympathies, suggesting that the *Araucana*'s author may have been seen as a resource for English condemnation of Spanish behavior in the Americas; see Frank Pierce, *Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga*, 8, 25.

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increasingly significant role in England's image of itself, undergoing a colonial revolution that paralleled England's cultural one and becoming, even more than the New World had for Spain, the site of competing versions of national identity.[266]

Contrasts between the sixteenth-century Spanish and English contexts are dramatic, of course. Through the reigns of Charles V and Philip II, Spain enjoyed comparative stability at home and rapid expansion abroad; from Henry VIII to Elizabeth, England underwent a series of governments with widely divergent domestic and foreign policies reflecting the intermittent progress of its political and religious reformations.[267]

The century's religious disputes are as evident in the literary traditions to which Ercilla and Spenser allude as in the beliefs that their poems articulate. As Renaissance authors, both men benefit from the *translatio studii* of classical antiquity and early modern Italy. Unlike most in this group, who fervently reject the Middle Ages, Spenser is at pains to preserve substantial components of England's medieval literary heritage, constituting as they do the foundation of a religious and national identity he seeks to advance. In contrast to the humanist canon, the vernacular English tradition is built upon the unpretentious genres of satire, complaint, and allegorical eclogue, components of a heritage headed by Chaucer, whom many in Tudor society considered a Protestant

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[266] For additional discussion of Ireland's role in England's self-image during this period, see Willy Maley's *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture, and Identity*, esp. 8-10.

[267] For discussion of the reformation of religious institutions in Spain, which occurred prior to Luther, see Lynch, *Spain*, 63-71; after his break with Luther, Erasmus enjoyed great prestige in Spain until the late 1530s; cf. Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económico, 1950), 770-79.

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forerunner.[268] This older, popular tradition, canonized in the Edwardian era and preserved in spite of the courtly poetry that was simultaneously gaining influence among Tudor authors, had a special attraction for religious reformers, who conflated ideas of pure poetry with pure faith and who appreciated not only the ideological contrast such verse offered to the status quo but also its appeal to a broader, less educated audience. The archaic, uncourtly language of this tradition held similar connotations for Spenser, who would later revive it together with one of its central images, the prophetic unveiling or deciphering of Christian history from human events, symbolized in the Apocalypse of St. John.

In contrast to Ercilla, Spenser also draws heavily on medieval romance, which provides the *Faerie Queene* with key motifs as well as with the quest structure of each book. During Ercilla's lifetime, chivalric literature in Spain was identified with the *Amadís* novels, which were criticized for their outlandish flights of fancy as well as for their immorality. Spenser's chivalric heritage, by contrast, was principally that of the Franco-Burgundian tradition, whose Arthurian material provided him with legends of national origin and the basis for a militant Protestant chivalry, while popular medieval tales still printed in the sixteenth century were a source of romance love and adventure. The late fifteenth-century revival of the Franco-Burgundian matter laid the groundwork for the chivalric revival encouraged by the Tudors, which provided a literary model for

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[268] For more discussion of this tradition, which also included William Langland, Thomas Hoccleve, and John Skelton, see David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 40-49; cf. John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition*, 3-4.

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key aspects of the relationship between the sovereign and courtier.[269] As others have shown, this multifaceted renewal, expressed in the enactment of court masques, jousts, processions, and other performances, particularly in conjunction with Elizabeth's Accession Day, ritualized the central tension in Tudor politics between honor and obedience, represented by the rights of knighthood on the one hand and those of royalty on the other.[270] The chivalric revival embodied a compromise between these forces, symbolized in the knight's balance of deference and aggression, which remained largely intact until the Essex rebellion at the century's close.

The relations Ercilla and Spenser envisioned themselves enjoying with their monarchs, the one unswervingly devoted, if distanced, the other a "reluctant royalist" through much of his life, played a key role in their choices of historical epic, on the one hand, and allegorized romance-epic interwoven with Protestant prophetic history, on the other.[271] In the "Letter to Ralegh," a common starting point in discussing the generic aspects of the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser, for the purpose of "[. . .] auoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions" (737) among his readers, distinguishes his procedure as a historical poet from that of a historian proper by means of the topos regarding *ob ovo* versus *in medias res* procedures.[272] Having outlined the poem's grand purpose, he goes

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[269] John Guy, *Tudor England*, 423-6.

[270] For a comprehensive examination of the subject, see McCoy, *Rites*, esp. 2-5; Elizabeth's Accession Day is November 17.

[271] The description is Willy Maley's, who argues that Spenser is an "opportunist monarchist" and that the claim of his "unerring loyalty" is a myth (*Salvaging*, 129).

[272] All references to the "Letter" as well as to Spenser's poem are to the edition of A. C. Hamilton, (London: Longman, 1977).

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on to explain, perhaps ruefully, that his choice of historical fiction, modeled on Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso, is necessitated by its lessons being couched in examples rather than rules, for which readers have little patience. His procedure doesn't mean that the narrative will be straightforward, however, and he admits that his work may alienate readers for the opposite reason, since its examples are "clowdily enwrapped in Allegoricall deuices," an approach he attributes to the demands of current usage, where "[. . .] all things [are] accounted by their showes, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightfull and pleasing to commune sence" (757). Given the treachery associated with much that appears pleasant in the *Faerie Queene* and at Elizabeth's court, the justification is decidedly ambivalent.[273]

With so much attention devoted to Spenser's own directions for reading his poem, it is important to note that in the first edition of the work, in 1590, the "Letter" appeared at the rear of the volume, between the end of the text and the commendatory verses, and that in the 1596 and folio 1609 editions it appeared not at all. In the folio 1611 edition of the collected works the "Letter" reappeared, again at the volume's close, and it was only in the eighteenth century that the "Letter" began to precede the text and to exert the influence with which current readers associate it.[274] The first of the commendatory verses, by contrast, a sonnet by none other than Ralegh, offers an illuminating contrast to Spenser's explanations along with insight into an alternative reading of the poem in the

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[273] Andrew Hadfield discusses the "Letter" as possibly deliberately misleading in its focus on a subject other than contemporary politics (*Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl*, 88).

[274] Darryl J. Gless, *Interpretation and Theology in Spenser*, 48.

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absence of the author's explicit guidelines.[275] Rather than dwelling on the schema of moral virtues or epic genealogy, Ralegh's encomium, while noting that the spirit of Homer grieves at being upstaged, focuses on Petrarch, whom he imagines as devastated upon seeing the Graces of love and virtue abandon their vigil at Laura's tomb in order to attend the Faerie Queene.[276]

4.2 Petrarchan Tudors

The Petrarchan tradition is a principal component of Spenser and Ercilla's shared heritage as Early Modern authors, and its adaptation to and function within English verse reveals both similarities to and differences from corresponding developments in Spain. The poets most responsible for introducing the new Italian verse forms into English, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, resemble Boscán and Garcilaso in their efforts to develop a courtly, aristocratic literary voice based largely on the

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[275] Ralegh's poem, entitled "A Vision vpon this conceipt of the *Faery Queene*," reads:

> Me thought I saw the graue, where *Laura* lay,
> Within that Temple, where the vestall flame
> Was wont to burne, and passing by that way,
> To see that buried dust of liuing fame,
> Whose tombe faire loue, and fairer vertue kept,
> All suddenly I saw the Faery Queene:
> At whose approch the soule of *Petrarke* wept,
> And from thenceforth those graces were not seene.
> For they this Queene attended, in whose steed
> Obliuion laid him downe on *Lauras* herse:
> Hereat the hardest stones were seene to bleed,
> And grones of buried ghostes the heauens did perse.
> Where *Homers* spright did tremble all for griefe,
> And curst th'accesse of that celestiall theife.

Text of Ralegh's poem is from Hamilton's *The Faerie Queene*, 739.

[276] Patricia Parker, noting that it is Petrarch that Spenser overgoes rather than Ariosto, pace the claim he makes to Gabriel Harvey, discusses Ralegh's sonnet in the context of his relationship with the queen, in which he frequently enacted a frenzied Orlando to Elizabeth's disdainful Angelica (*Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property*, 61-63).

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Canzoniere.[277] As there had been earlier in Spain, there was a pervasive sense of cultural belatedness among humanists in England concerned with the *translatio studii*. In contrast to Spain, frustration here was expressed not only over the backwardness of the poetry but with regard to English prose. Calls for improvements in both persisted throughout the century. In *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1531), Thomas Elyot encouraged his countrymen to undertake the cultural translation already accomplished by the French, Italian, and Germans (the Spanish notably absent). The preface to *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) urged English poets "to purge that swinelike grossenesse" characteristic of their efforts heretofore. In the preface to his translation of Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Baldessar Castillo* (1561), Thomas Hoby called for the study of classical languages so that "we alone of the worlde maye not bee styll counted barbarous in oure tungue, as in

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[277] Wyatt (1503-1542), who resided in Spain from 1537 until 1539 as Henry VIII's ambassador to Charles V, began translating Petrarch and experimenting with Italian verse forms not long after Garcilaso and Boscán; best known among the adaptations of Wyatt, who is credited with the introduction into English of the rhyming sonnet with pentameter line, is "Whoso List to Hunt," in which the untouchable hind of Caesar, based on the *candida cerva* of Petrarch's Sonnet 190, is commonly interpreted as referring to Anne Boleyn, whom Henry VIII was to marry in 1536. The river that Wyatt addresses in a poem written upon leaving Spain, "Tagus, Farewell," is a key image in the poetry of Garcilaso; cf. Wyatt's: "Tagus, farewell, that westward with thy streams / Turns up the grains of gold already tried [. . .]" (lines 1-2), and Garcilaso's lines in Égloga III regarding the tapestries woven by the river's nymphs: "Las telas eran hechas y tejidas / del oro que'l felice Tajo envía [. . .]" ("the tapestries were made and woven from the gold that the felicitous Tagus sent") (lines 105-06; translation is my own). In addition to his sonnet translations and experiments with various verse forms, Surrey (1517-1547), son of the Duke of Norfolk and known for his military as well as literary career, translated Books 2 and 4 of the *Aeneid*, refining the unrhymed iambic pentameter of blank verse in the process. Surrey, who as a youth was a favorite of the king, later fell from favor and was executed when he objected to his sister's marriage to Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, and then denounced Somerset as the Protector of Prince Edward; Surrey fought against the French in 1544, when he was wounded. Wyatt's and Surrey's works were known primarily through *Tottel's Miscelany*, published in 1557; by the end of the century, Boscán and Garcilaso were highly esteemed among Elizabethans, being featured as positive examples in Abraham Fraunce's *The Arkadian Rhetorike* (1588).

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time out of minde we have been in our maners." In *The Scolemaster* (1570), by contast, Roger Ascham complained of those who "[. . .] follow rather the Gothes in Ryming, than the Greeks in trew versifying."[278] Wyatt and Surrey's endeavors to establish a poetic discourse based on courtly life, later codified in Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), were at the heart of a vernacular, national humanism that superceded the international, Latin humanism of Sir Thomas More, William Grocyn, and Thomas Linacre. Both movements sought their origins in a genealogy made explicit in the crowning poetics of the period, Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetry*.[279]

While the influence of the *Trionfi* and *Canzionere* was apparent in Spanish verse as early as the 1400s, England had more potent ties to Petrarch through its association of him with Chaucer and the medieval, proto-Protestant tradition.[280] Because of this, the *Canzoniere*'s verses about historical events and figures, especially those criticizing the papacy, led religious reformers to view Petrarch as a Protestant prophet.[281] Conjoined

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[278] For additional discussion of the context of these observations, see Clare Carroll, who provides a detailed context for them in her "Humanism and English Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," 256-63; cf. the controversy over the oxytone in Spanish verse, which developed in the context of Italian influence and which occurred during the same period; see my "*Imitatio*, *Translatio*, and the *Doloneia* of Alonso de Ercilla," forthcoming, 16.

[279] See 176, below.

[280] In addition to its formal novelty, Hadfield discusses the added significance of the Petrarchan sonnet accruing from Chaucer's use of Petrarchan imagery (*Literature, Politics, and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance*, 144-5).

[281] Cf. *Canzoniere* #114, which begins with Petrarch, referring to Avignon, speaking of fleeing from "De l'empia Babilonia ond' è fuggita / ogni vergogna, ond' ogni bene è fori, / albergo di dolor, madre d'errori [. . .]" ("From wicked Babylon, deserted of all shame, whence all good has flown, the dwelling of sorrow, the mother of errors"); in the second stanza, referring to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, he continues: "Qui mi sto solo, et come Amor m'invita / or rime et versi, or colgo erbette et fiori, / seco parlando et a tempi migliori / sempre pensando [. . .]"

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with the fact of a female monarch who encouraged a cult of unattainable chastity, symbolized in the figure of Astrea and focused on herself, it is not surprising that English Petrarchism had profoundly different significance than its Spanish counterpart. In contrast to Spain, here courtly sophistication maintained a precarious pact with religious sincerity and the object of desire was no longer the ethereal Laura, but the equally idealized queen, figured in such guises as Ralegh's Cynthia or Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

Earlier, the work of John Freccero was discussed with regard to the role of Petrarchism in the construction of early modern literary subjectivity.[282] Louis Montrose, with a Spenserian alertness to the pun, has examined how power relations between Elizabeth and her courtiers resulted in the web of subjectivities apparent in the *Shepheardes Calender* and *Faerie Queene*. Montrose identifies an "introspective egocentricity" in Spenser's characters that reflects Petrarchan frustration and sublimation, then argues that this is only the first layer of an interiority that evenutally absorbs both poet and reader, the former's self-representation as author contradicted by his subjection to another; the latter's subjectivity now the former's responsibility to reform.[283]

("Here I am alone, and, as Love leads me on, I gather now rhymes and verses, now herbs and flowers, always speaking with him and always thinking of better days"); Wyatt had applied #269, in which Petrarch, referring the death of Colonna, states: "Rotta è alta colonna e 'l verde lauro / che facean ombra al mio stanco pensero [. . .]" ("Broken are the high Column and the green Laurel that gave shade to my weary cares") (1-2), to the death of Cromwell; Milton makes a similar use of Petrarch; Norbrook notes that while reformers found support in the restlessness of Petrarch's early works, fourteenth and fifteenth-century conservatives saw other verses as supportive of their agendas (*Poetry*, 24, 44-46).

[282] See 31-32, above.

[283] According to Montrose, the poet attempts to regain his authority by inscribing his mistress within the poem ("The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text," 319-23); cf. Parker's discussion of this in terms of the poet's scattering the body of the beloved through the

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Freccero's insight into the idolatrous quality of Petrarchan efforts to "render presence" with regard to the absent object of desire identifies a potential source of discord between the courtly aesthetic and reformers, who were intent on destroying analogous efforts utilizing religious imagery. As Linda Gregerson has noted, Protestantism and Petrarchism both define the self in reference to an outside authority: the Creator in one case, the beloved in the other.[284] Protestantism's focus on inward feelings rather than outward forms, however, and on the individual as the recipient of grace as well as the starting point in a personal discovery of justification by faith, offered the reformers an alternative discourse of self and subjectivity.[285]

The focus of Protestant theology on the distinction between image and essence has been characterized as a logical extension of humanist textual criticism, in which the attention devoted to language, to *verba* in addition to *res*, highlights the distinction between sign and signified.[286] Conversely, the reformers' application of humanist exegesis to scripture is iconoclastic in the stress it places on correct reading or

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sonnets rather than being dismembered himself (*Fat Ladies*, 61-63).

[284] Gregerson, *The Reformation of the Subject: Spenser, Milton, and the English Protestant Epic*, 6.

[285] Cf. Gregerson's discussion of the concomitant strategies adopted by Christian poets to distinguish their works from idols (*Reformation*, 3-4); Stephen Greenblatt notes that discussions of Protestant as opposed to Catholic emphasis on interiority are misleading, since the church had slowly developed and enriched the inner life of the individual over a period of centuries ("To Fashion a Gentleman, Spenser and the Bower of Bliss," 99); cf. Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: the European reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, 108.

[286] See Norbrook's discussion of this in terms of the reformers attacks on natural signs, among which the Eucharist was a primary target (*Poetry*, esp. 33-36).

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interpretation, which relies on a clear distinction between text and message.[287] The overlap of these developments are manifest in Tyndale's 1525 translation of the New Testament, which replaces Latin mystification with the directly accessible word of God in the vernacular.[288] Gregerson argues that Protestant emphasis on interpretation meant that rhetoric was seen as a tool for decoding as well as encoding speech and therefore as important to readers as well as producers of verbal art.[289] From a broader perspective, this expanded role for rhetoric corresponds to an activist conception of the art that cycles through its history: deliberative during periods of political activism, epideictic when power is centralized.[290] Spenser's allegory reflects, in part, the same cycle.

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[287] Discussing the need that Protestants felt to distinguish false images from true, King offers a reading of Spenser's Bower of Bliss that explores Greenblatt's well-known analysis of the episode (*Spenser*, 6-7).

[288] For discussion of Tyndale's work in the broader socio-historical context, see Guy, *England*, 120-22; cf. Greenblatt, *Self-Fashioning*, 96-98.

[289] Gregerson describes interpretation as "the readerly role in rhetoric," arguing that it becomes the means for the safe deployment of images (*Reformation*, 6).

[290] Rhetoric had been used as a tool for interpretation since the Hellenistic period, when students made word-for-word transcriptions, known as γλῶσσα, or glosses, of the texts of the archaic Greek poets prior to interpreting them; the practice was one component in a four-part exegesis of texts that included textual criticism (διόρθωσις), or the process of comparing masters' and students' manuscript copies for accuracy; expressive reading (ἀνάγνωσις), necessitated by the use of *scriptio continua* and the difficulties associated with distinguishing statements from questions, types of meters, etc.; exposition or exegesis (ἐξήγησις), which consisted of the word-for-word transcription, which put archaic Greek into everyday language, and which identified forms of speech, figures, and etymology, along with persons, places, times, and events, the latter four considered aspects of content (ἱστορικόν); the fourth part of the process was designated judgement (κρίσις) and had a moral rather than aesthetic orientation meant to identify a text's didactic value; cf. H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Milwaukee: U of Wisconsin P, 1956), 165-68 and Norbrook, *Poetry*, 34-36; this methodology takes on new life with humanist culture.

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4.3 Discourses of the courtier, the humanist, and the reformer

The contrast between examples and precepts in the "Letter to Ralegh" continues a long tradition of the opposition as a topos of historians and poets distinguishing themselves from philosophers.[291] In Spenser's case, the distinction between direct and indirect approaches alludes not only to the attention span of readers, but also to the realities of Elizabethan politics, in which relations with the sovereign demand particular tact. The need for discretion was a principal motive for the behavioral guidelines associated here as elsewhere in early modern Europe with Castiglione's courtier, a virtuoso of indirection.

As already noted, during the first few decades of the sixteenth century, the poetry of Protestant reformers, based on indigenous literary traditions, developed simultaneously in England with the rise of the courtly aesthetic. The Edwardian canonization of this native verse was reversed during the reign of Mary, a change reflected in the presentation of Wyatt and Surrey as poets of courtly love rather than as religious reformers in *Tottel's Miscellany* of 1557, the mid-century's most important collection of verse. Elizabeth's rise to power in 1558 did not produce a revival of the reforming aesthetic, since in spite of her identification as a Protestant the queen's secular inclinations, together with a growing distrust of reformers and anxiety over the social unrest with which their predecessors were associated, insured that their poetry remained out of favor.[292]

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[291] The distinction is of particular importance to Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie*; see 178 n. 321, below.

[292] Somerset was frequently accused of responsibility for the Western Rising of 1549, which Guy characterizes as the closest thing in Tudor England to class war (*England*, 205-208);

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Concurrent with the intermittent but steady progress of courtly poetics over English native prosody, courtly discourse more broadly defined gained dominance over the discourse of civic humanism.[293] As noted earlier, this development was a European one, arising from the centralization of power in the new monarchies and the ensuing restraint on the deliberative rhetoric of political activism, designed to persuade, in favor of epideictic, designed to please.[294] The shift from political to literary discourse reinforced the identification of poetry with pleasure rather than duty, which is reflected in most Elizabethan poets describing themselves as amateurs and their writing of verse as youthful frivolity, eventually superceded by their return to public service as adults.[295]

The discourse of Protestant reformers, by turns deliberative, epideictic in

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cf. Norbrook, *Poetry*, 49-52; as Guy notes, the decline of rebellion and popular protest from this point onward is directly related to the steady polarization of rich and poor, with prosperous farmers and tradesmen siding with the gentry against the lower classes (*England*, 404); see 169 n. 298, below.

[293] Norbrook contends that while the courts were often unsympathetic to humanist ideas, the English people were even more so; he argues that English humanism appears as "an alien growth with no roots in the English social order" (*Poetry*, 29).

[294] Daniel Javitch examines what he describes as "the myth of the political effectiveness of learning" that arises from the crisis faced by the *studia humanitatis*, particularly during the Edwardian era (*Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England*, esp. 7-14); the ethos of the court had intersected with that of knighthood by at least the twelfth century, the warrior's lack of self-control and excessive violence countered by concepts of *curialitas*, in which the inclusion of literacy represented a precursor to the ideal of arms and letters; early Renaissance humanists rejected the linkage; the courtier helped reestablish it; Burke describes the process as based on *misura*, or measuredness; *largesse* or generosity; *franchise* or frankness; and *litteratus* or being literate (*Fortunes*, 15).

[295] Richard Helgerson distinguishes amateur poets, whom he describes as "prodigal sons," from professional writers as well as from poet laureates; with few exceptions, these distinctions reflect those between nobility and commoner, the former viewing themselves as amateurs, commoners the source of both poet laureates, professional dramatists, and other writers; these identities play a role in determining the form of literary production (*Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System*, 22-6, 37, 48).

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condemnation, and prophetic, contrasted both with that of humanism and of courtliness, opposing what has been described as the latter's culture of performance with its own culture of sincerity.[296] Elements of secular humanism, on the other hand, provided a potential link between courtiers and reformers, as well as between Catholics and Protestants generally, in the emphasis both placed on the textuality of scripture, apparent in authors as diverse as Erasmus and William Tyndale.[297] In general terms, attempts to categorize figures from this era according to ideologies and aesthetic principles are frustrated by the fact that progressive and conservative ideologies fail to correspond to designations of courtly, reforming, or humanistic. One of the only areas in which these ideologies coincide, in fact, is in their opposition to popular culture: in the case of reformers, in spite of their adoption of popular verse traditions; for humanism, in spite of its popularization of the New Learning, particularly by Peter Ramus; for courtly culture, which opposed the popular by definition, in spite of the emphasis it placed on vernacular in contrast to Latinate learning.[298]

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[296] Cf. Burke's analysis of this opposition in the criticism of *sprezzatura* by George Pettie, who translates Stephano Guazzo's *Civile Conversazione*, and Fulke Greville, biographer of Sir Philip Sidney, who refers to the quality as that "that hypocritical figure Ironia"; cited in Burke, *Fortunes*, 109; see 172 n. 305, below.

[297] Cf. Greenblatt, *Self-Fashioning*, 102-109; cf. Norbrook, *Poetry*, 33, 50.

[298] As economic conditions worsen in the 1530s and 1540s with a series of bad harvests and a steady increase in population, the opposition to popular culture becomes a crackdown directed primarily at the behavior of the lower classes, with regulations enacted to suppress promiscuity, the keeping of ale houses, with which prostitution was associated, and the exercise of folk rituals; during this period the latter were frequently conflated with Catholic ceremony, resulting in an alliance between religious reformers and conservatives generally; see the Vagrancy Act of 1547, which forbade begging (Guy, *England*, 220-21); cf. Michel Foucault, who explores these developments in his study of the common origins of the hospital and prison, noting that the Vagrancy Act of 1575 combined the punishment of vagabonds and relief for the

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A clear indication of the crossover appeal and ultimate triumph of courtliness by the mid-1500s is the translation of *Il Cortegiano* by Sir Thomas Hoby, one of the circle of pre-Elizabethan Protestant intellectuals at Cambridge.[299] Although Hoby is believed to have completed his work by 1555, publication of it was delayed until 1561, several years into the reign of Elizabeth, at which point it was printed with a letter of dedication to Lord Henry Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, a well-known Puritan supporter of preachers.[300] In addition to the comments referred to earlier in which Hoby decries the state of English *tunge* and *maners*, two other passages of the letter are particularly noteworthy: one, the identification of the *Cortegiano* with Cicero's *Oratore*; the other, a reference to the readers of the work, of whom Hoby voices a desire: "[. . .] to fill their minde with the morall vertues, and their body with civyll conditions [. . .]" (9).[301] The first reveals the degree to which, at this stage in Castiglione's English reception, he was seen as proposing a vision of the active life based on Ciceronian idealism and Neoplatonism; the second, in addition to offering an unexpected homology with Spenser's stated purpose in the *Faerie*

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poor: "Our philanthropy prefers to recognize the signs of benevolence toward sickness where there is only a condemnation of idleness" (*Madness and Civilization: a History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* [New York: Vintage Books, 1988], 43), and: "If it is true that labor is not inscribed among the laws of nature, it is enveloped in the order of the fallen world. This is why idleness is rebellion—the worst form of all, in a sense: it waits for nature to be generous as in the innocence of Eden, and seeks to constrain a Goodness to which man cannot lay claim since Adam. Pride was the sin of man before the Fall; but the sin of idleness is the supreme pride of man once he has fallen, the absurd pride of poverty" (ibid., 56).

[299] For more on this group of acquaintances, which included William Cecil, Roger Ascham, and Sir John Cheke, see Burke, *Fortunes*, 64.

[300] See Walter A. Raleigh, ed., *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (New York: AMS Press, 1967 [1900]); "Introduction," xxxix.

[301] Ibid., 9.

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Queene, exhibiting the extent to which, as it had in the *Oratore*, this ideal civic life was believed to rest on moral virtue, the prerequisite of accomplished oratory.[302] Hoby was not Ciceronian in his attitude toward the vernacular, attempting, at this stage in the English *questione della lingua* and under the influence of John Cheke, a scholar of Greek, to mediate between such perfectionism on the one hand and the Chaucerian inspired archaisms of Elizabethan courtly speech on the other.[303] Assisted by the imprimatur of figures like Cheke and Ascham, Hoby's translation was well received, even among Protestant humanists who were aesthetically and morally more conservative, desirous of enhancing the vernacular with the classical languages, on the one hand, yet already wary of the threat posed by Italian morals, on the other, a concern that within a few years

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[302] Hoby, who spent time in Italy in 1549-1550 and again in 1554, was entertained in Sienna by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish luminary (Raleigh, "Introduction," xxxii); in his prefatory letter to Lord Hastings, Hoby addresses what he sees as the deplorable state of English translations, which are "much inferiour to well most all other Nations" (8), and goes on to laud the value of the vernacular tongues in general, noting that Italian scholars sometimes write directly in the vernacular with profound knowledge and noble wit; in claiming to have followed "the very meaning and woordes of the Author" in his own translation, Hoby criticizes versions of the work in other languages that have left out passages (11).

[303] Sir Thomas North, translator of Plutarch's *Lives*, is a member of this school of thought regarding translation; cf. Burke, *Fortunes*, xlii-l; Cheke authors a prefatory letter in Hoby's translation in which he refers to having altered some of Hoby's word choices (12); following in the footsteps of Wyatt and Surrey's English-oriented humanism and in spite of his classical learning, Cheke, in contrast to those whose complaints about the English language were cited earlier, championed the use of Saxon rather than Latin or Greek cognates, arguing, contrary to Castiglione's own advice on imitation, against borrowing the "counterfeitness of other tunges," claiming instead that "[. . .] our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangled with borrowing of other tunges" (12); a Ciceronian encouragement of borrowing words from other languages, especially from Latin, was associated with "university writers," such as George Pettie (*Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*), who translates Stefano Guazzo's *Civile Conversazione*; cf. Bembo's rules in this regard, 42, above; translations into English from the classics accounted for a doubling in the size of the Tudor vocabulary (Guy, *England*, 417).

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would dominate all others.[304] At this point in its reception, however, the *Cortegiano* provided a true bond between Italian humanists and the reformers.[305]

4.4 The courtier corrupted

After its apotheosis in rituals of courtly magnificence that characterized much of the Elizabethan era, *cortegianía* fell from grace in the closing years of the century.[306] The period preceding these developments was one in which the suppression of the originally idealistic goals of civic humanism resulted in what Daniel Javitch has argued was a net gain for English poetry, the rules of courtly demeanor providing guidelines for a new poetics, while the ironic playfulness characteristic of this demeanor insured an audience for the works that resulted, in a milieu frequently associated with religious earnestness.[307] To the extent that the centralized power of monarchies demand the sublimation of

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[304] Cheke's emphasis on Saxon words led to difficulties for the translator reminiscent of those noted by early Spanish translators of Italian, such as Hernando de Hozes, translator of Petrarch's *Trionfi* (1554), who contends that while Italian words almost always end in an unaccented vowel, their Spanish counterparts almost always end either in a consonant or with an accent, forcing a translator to disregard almost half the Spanish lexicon; cf. my "*Imitatio, Translatio*, and Alonso de Ercilla's *Doloneia*," 15-16; Cheke's insistence on Saxon words accounts for the homeliness of some of Hoby's phrases, which contrast sharply with Castiglione's sophistication; see W. A. Raleigh, "Introduction," lvii; with regard to the threat posed by Italian immorality, William Paynter published an admiring translation of Italian tales, *Palace of Pleasure*, in 1566, which included an early version of the Romeo and Juliet story; Thomas Drant's preface to the translation of Horace's *Ars poetica* (1567) complains of the story's tawdriness; W. A. Raleigh, "Introduction," l-lvii.

[305] W. A. Raleigh observes that at this point Protestant thinkers were reassured by Castiglione's use of Aristotle's *Ethics*, from which he derives magnanimity as the basis of *sprezzatura*, in addition to being attracted to the *Cortegiano*'s emphasis on self-dependence and self-assertion ("Introduction," lxiv).

[306] Cf. Norbrook, *Poetry*, 31; Burke notes that the term *cortegianía* emerged as part of the institutionalization of Castiglione's concepts (*Fortunes*, 31).

[307] Javitch, *Poetry*, 107.

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political energy, resulting in strategies of indirection that constitute tropical structures per se, the same benefit might be argued to accrue to other Early Modern societies beside England. The *Cortegiano* acknowledges these forces when Canossa speaks of courtly behavior as involving "una certa sprezzatura che nasconda l'arte" ("a certain sprezzatura that conceals art").[308] The connection is made by Garcilaso in his prefatory remarks to the *Cortesano*, where he praises Boscán for avoiding *afectación* in his writing style and word choice.[309] In Elizabethan England, on the other hand, where the tradition of pre-courtly, popular verse was so closely associated with opposition to official policy, the linking of courtly and literary aesthetics took on an explicitly political significance that it lacked in Spain or Italy, as will Spenser's rejection of courtly discourse for his most important poems.

Part of Hoby's justification for translating *Il Cortegiano* had been to counter distortions of it by those who were only familiar with fragments of the text.[310] Even with better knowledge of it, the reception of the work changed substantially in the course of its sixteenth-century migration north. On the one hand, it was filtered through the same didactic utilitarianism that Humanism had been, the subtleties of its artful exchanges increasingly reduced to rules of etiquette. On the other hand, the ethical aspects of these ideas, often implicit in Castiglione's text, were exaggerated, revealing themselves, to men like Gabriel Harvey and Sir Philip Sidney, to be capable of inspiring virtuous behavior,

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[308] See 40, above.

[309] See 46, above.

[310] See Hoby's letter to Lord Hastings (6).

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while to others, Spenser among them, they would eventually threaten moral corruption. The gradual dominance of this darker view emerged as perceptions of the court and of the nature of *dissimulazione* changed, the latter increasingly seen as a principal rather than a subsidiary attribute of the courtier and equated with deceptive behavior designed to maintain the favor of the prince, in contrast to its original role as an aesthetic component of behavior.[311] Prior to its northern progression and the ensuing translations, commentaries, and interpretations, Castiglione's *Cortegiano* had encouraged the balancing of viewpoints through *mediocrità* and the sublimation of competitiveness through *sprezzatura*.[312] Rather than dissemble, the participants in the dialogues at Urbino

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[311] For Castiglione, *dissimulazione*, rather than deception, was a matter of indirection, of drawing the attention away from while simultaneously focusing on an issue; Javitch notes that biblical injunctions were invoked against dissembling and explores the nuances that developed around the concept, e.g., dissimulation's being allowed in the service of public welfare but not for aesthetic ends, as in Machiavelli, and as in Puttenham's position that aesthetic pleasure is worth the risk of permitting deceptive practices (*Poetry*, 108-11); the shift to this darker view is usually associated with the corruption that characterized the final decade of Elizabeth's reign, as well as with the polarizing of ideologies during the Counter-Reformation, which resulted in the *Cortegiano*'s appearance on the Tridentine Index of 1564 and on the Catholic Index of 1590 (an expurgated edition of *Il Cortegiano* that met with the demands of Catholic censors was published in 1584; with the exception of a few years in the 1590s, this was the only version of the work officially accepted by Catholics until 1966; in Spain no editions of Castiglione were published between 1573 and 1873); Burke notes that an alternative to the emended edition were specific instructions from the *Index* for a do-it-yourself expurgated text; cf. Burke, *Fortunes*, 103-105); more broadly, the change can be seen as another effect of the shift from deliberative to epideictic modalities, which in the present context transformed not only the content of Castiglione's work but also its perceived form, suppressing its fundamentally dialogic quality.

[312] Cf. Javitch, *Poetry*, 31-6; the origins of this balancing of viewpoints lie in the *in utramque partem* exercises originating in antiquity that enhanced the rhetor's ability to argue either side of a proposition. This skill was at the heart of the ancient enmity between rhetoric and philosophy, which condemned it as sophism and insisted on absolute truth; the ability to articulate opposing views became the basis, in turn, for the literary dialogue in which participants were granted an autonomy that, while at times largely formal, at other times was true in fact, resulting in *aporia* rather than in the unequivocal conclusions of treatises, *apologiae*, and diatribes; Norbrook notes that this aspect of rhetoric had been disparaged by conservatives since the time of Plato (*Poetry*, 21-3); Greenblatt argues for the importance of the *in utramque partem*

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presented their points of view with frankness, the open antagonism of argument avoided by gracious demurral or, when tempers persisted, averted by the deft intervention of Emilia Pia or the Duchess herself. Such dialogicity was lost as the *Cortegiano* moved north.[313]

The Elizabethan emphasis on the utilitarian and ethical aspects of courtliness were articulated in a particularly English fashion by Harvey and Sidney. Harvey admired Machiavelli, whose focus on the *realpolitik* of how the prince maintains absolute power can be seen as the opposite of Castiglione's emphasis on the demeanor demanded in serving such a figure.[314] Opposed to courtly affectation, Harvey saw flattery as a means to an end and courtly speech as a spur to action, reflecting the influence of Ramus, as well, whose practical, pedagogical orientation had inspired his reduction of rhetoric from the welter of stylistic refinements with which it had become identified to a system of universally applicable interpretive strategies.[315]

Sir Philip Sidney was associated, as was Harvey, with the Leicester faction: sober,

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concept for English Renaissance culture, noting that it provided a formative influence on early drama (*Self-Fashioning*, 231).

[313] Cf. Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit*, 57.

[314] Machiavelli's *Il Principe* was published in 1513, his *Discorsi* in 1513/19; noting that the motivation for both Machiavelli and Castiglione was the same crisis of vulnerability facing small Italian city-states in the face of foreign invasions, Norbrook points out that Machiavelli is critical of those who take unity and harmony as the sole criteria of political well-being (*Poetry*, 5; 27); cf. Burke, *Fortunes*, 119.

[315] Affectation was one of Castiglione's key targets; see 40, above; Harvey is associated with the articulation of a pragmatic humanism, which sought to distinguish orational production from its moral foundations; cf. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 189.

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practical, nationalists with moderate puritan sympathies. Celebrated both during and after his lifetime as the ideal courtier for his combination of natural wit, intelligence, and charm, Sidney authored the best-known poetics of the period, *An Apologie for Poetrie*, which was written in the 1580s but circulated by hand until its publication in 1595.[316] The *Apologie* highlights the tensions among courtliness, humanism, and Protestantism, the first acknowledged through its association with Surrey, one of the only English poets to whom Sidney refers with admiration, the didacticism of the second and the moralism of the third evolving, via Augustinian Neoplatonism, into a vision of poetry as a spur to virtue.[317] The conflation of poetic virtuosity with virtue per se and the consequent shift from courtliness as enabling good verse, to the delight of good poetry as encouraging good action, reflects, in part, the beginning of the courtier's fall from grace. It also reflects, in addition to an effort to constrain the more strident moralism of younger

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[316] Sidney's courtliness was contrasted, in one notorious instance, with the affectations of the earl of Oxford, with whom a confrontation in the presence of the Queen led to Sidney's banishment from court; cf. Geoffrey Shepherd, ed., *An Apology for Poetry or the Defence of Poetry*, by Sir Philip Sidney (New York: Nelson and Sons, 1965), "Introduction," 8; it is reminiscent of Ercilla's trouble in Chile; see 129 n. 216, above; Sidney's death, shortly before his thirty-second birthday and several weeks after suffering a minor wound in an insignificant skirmish between the Duke of Alva and English forces under the command of Leicester, recalls the death of Garcilaso, who perished at the age of thirty-five after leading an assault at Le Muy in 1536; accounts of the death of Garcilaso are frequently based on a description by Luis Zapata in Chapter 41 of the *Carlos Famoso* (1566), the first Spanish epic about events in the New World.

[317] In *On Christian Doctrine*, Augustine conflates the traditional rhetorical triad of *docere*, *delectare*, and *movere* into the single goal of moving men to holiness through preaching; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 71; the *Apologie* also reflects the impact of Calvin's assertion of the weakness of man's will and the consequent need for forceful incitement to change; while Calvin's perspective opposed Erasmus's emphasis on the intellect and the need for persuasion, Hadfield claims that the distinction is not as complete as is sometimes thought, arguing that Erasmus, too, indicates an acceptance for stronger measures in some situations (*Wilde Fruit*, 54; 58-59); see Carroll for additional discussion of utility and didacticism in Sidney's work ("Humanism," 259); cf. Norbrook, *Poetry*, esp. 94.

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Puritans such as Stephen Gosson, whose attack on the perceived depravity of English drama was the original stimulus for the *Apologie*, the need that was felt in the wake of the Counter-Reformation for a comprehensive theory of Protestant art.[318] The practical orientation of Sidney's response to this need, reflecting, like Harvey, the impact of Ramism, contrasted sharply with Petrarchism's self-absorption.[319]

The *Apologie*'s humanist pedigree is particularly evident in its articulation of the *translatio studii* and in its construction as a classical oration drawing on key elements of the new learning, both ancient and modern.[320] Among the former is Quintilian's systemization of Cicero's reflections on wisdom and virtue; among the latter, humanism's attraction to rhetoric, which, in contrast to scholasticism's emphasis on logic, considers the expression of ideas to be inextricably bound to their content and which leads to the specificity of history being seen as more persuasive than the general principles of philosophy. Sidney, who distrusts the restrictions that particularity imposes on history, inverts this familiar topos, found in Spenser's letter to Ralegh. What emerges in its place

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[318] Gosson's work, *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579), was dedicated to Sidney; for contextualization of Gosson and Sidney, see Carroll, "Humanism," 258-9.

[319] Hubert Languet, a close friend whom Sidney had met upon traveling to France in 1572, was personally acquainted with Ramus; Abraham Fraunce, who resided at Leicester House during the same period as Spenser in the 1570s, in the early 1580s authored the *Shepeardes Logike*, a work suggesting the combination of Ramism with Spenser's allegorical pastorals; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 34; Carroll notes the influence on both Sidney and Shakespeare of the anti-Petrarchan du Bellay ("Humanism," 257).

[320] Sidney's treatise is structured in seven parts with a digression (exordium, narration, proposition, division, confirmation, refutation, peroration); Cicero's orations were structured in five parts, Aristotle's in three; Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* also used seven parts; among Sidney's sources, the most significant are Plato, Aristotle, and Horace among the ancients, and Landino, Agrippa, Elyot, and Scaliger among the moderns; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 8-17.

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is a Neoplatonic celebration of poetry for the access it offers, through the imitation of nature unfettered by particularity, to the universal design of reason in human affairs, which neither history nor philosophy can attain.[321] Influenced by Italian writers on the visual arts, Sidney refined this into the concept of a poem's "fore-conceit" or guiding

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[321] It is frequently noted that Sidney's discussion at this point in the *Apologie* reflects his familiarity with the foreword appended by Jacques Amyot to his 1559 translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, where Amyot argues that history is preferable to moral philosophy for instructing the reader in virtue (see, for example, Anthony Miller, "Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* and Plutarch's *Moralia*," *English Literary Renaissance*, 17.3 [1987] 259-76). Those who assert this connection, such as Shepherd, point out that while the goal of the two authors is the same, their conclusions as to the best generic route to this goal conflict. Amyot's influence on Sidney, therefore, is seen in the latter's use of Amyot's argument to contrast history not to moral philosophy, but to poetry. While Sidney's familiarity with Amyot's Plutarch is well established, the necessity of claiming that he inverted Amyot's key argument may indicate that Sidney was also familiar with Amyot's translation of Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, made in 1547. In the foreword to this earlier work, after asserting the superiority of history to fiction (in the context of attacks on chivalric romance), Amyot points out that some consider history too austere to be sufficiently pleasing (in terms of the *delectare* component of *docere-delectare*) owing to its need to recount events as they occurred (*ab ovo*), rather than being able to present them in a way that is not only more pleasing, but more in keeping with that which our spirits long for and desire. The solution, he concludes, drawing on Strabo's analysis of poetic invention, is to combine history with probable fiction. Amyot's *Aethiopica*, which was championed as a model by Scaliger, among others, was also translated into English, minus the important foreword, by Thomas Underdowne, circa 1569, as *An Aethiopian Historie*. Its influence on romances of the next half-century, including Sidney's *Arcadia*, is argued to be considerable (*The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, s.v., "*Aethiopica*"). The first translation of Amyot's Heliodorus was an anonymous one into Spanish in 1554; the work was very popular in Spain, especially among admirers of Erasmus, whose praise for the Greek romance had a great influence on Cervantes, most notably in the *Persiles*; cf. Bataillon, *Erasmo*, 622; cf. Alban K. Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle, and the* Persiles (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1970) esp. 49-50; Sergio Capello argues that Amyot, in his Plutarch translation, shares Castiglione's project of forming the moral and civic man and was probably influenced by Castiglione's ideas on the value of fiction, or *discorso faceto* ("Histoire fabuleuse e poetica del romanzo in Jacques Amyot," Università di Udine, 1997, unpublished article; 11-12); Mark Fumaroli notes that Amyot starts the tradition of seventeenth-century French bishops, most notably Pierre-Daniel Huet (*Traité des l'origine des romans* [1670]), legislating on rules of the humanist-Christian novel ("Jacques Amyot and the Clerical Polemic Against the Chivalric Novel," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38.1 [1985] 22-40). Amyot was an emissary of Francis I to the Council of Trent in 1551; he was tutor to the princes Charles IX and Henri III in 1557. For the potential impact of Heliodorus, via Amyot's translation, on Spenser, see Henry C. Aiman, "Spenser's Debt to Heliodorus in *The Faerie Queene*," *Emporia State Research Studies* (Emporia, Kansas: Kansas State Teachers' College, 1974) 4.22; see Appendix D for Amyot's text.

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Idea, which Spenser will echo in the "Letter to Ralegh," an image in the artist's mind that regulates all aspects of his work, enabling the creation of a second or "other nature," in imitation of the work of God.[322] Sidney conceives of this other nature not only as a spur to virtue but also as a key source of knowledge and national identity that barbarous nations have always prized, in contrast to his contemporaries, who have neglected it. For Sidney, poetry's embodiment of national consciousness is manifest in the *translatio studii*, which after originating in Greece, passed to Rome, to Italy, and thence to England. The *translatio* represents a cultural etymology that establishes national legitimacy, just as its linguistic counterpart, reflected in the English definition of the poet as a maker, is legitimized by mirroring the ποιεῖν of the ancient Greeks.[323]

Sidney's ambivalence toward courtliness, a milieu in which, unlike that of humanism or Protestantism, women were key figures, is echoed in the passive-aggressive posture Leicester's party maintained vis-á-vis the monarchy.[324] The dissatisfaction of this

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[322] Sidney's concept of the "fore-conceit" draws on is influenced by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura et architetettura* (1584-5) and *Idea del tempio della pintura* (1590), as well as by Federico Zuccaro's *L'Idea de pittori, scultori et architetti*; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 64-5; Sidney's concept of the "fore-conceit" as the ideal behind nature rather than in it suggests the linguistic distinction between the word in the mind, or *endiatheticos*, and the word as spoken, or *prophorikos*; see 202 n. 375, below; Hadfield discusses the rationalistic aspect of Sidney's work in the context of the rise of neoclassicism in Italy and France in the 1560s and 1570s (132); Guy notes the appeal that Platonism held for many puritans because of its emphasis on purity, internality, and the directness of the individual path to divine truth (*England*, 413).

[323] Hadfield discusses the *Apologie* as a treatise bound up with the question of nationality from the very start (*Literature*, 137-38).

[324] Norbrook argues that the control of sexuality was seen by Protestants as necessary for the success of religious reformation, as reflected in the anti-feminist aspects of Protestant propaganda, as well as for political stability (*Poetry*, 120-1); cf. 169 n. 298, above; Sidney represents a type of aristocratic radical who believes that the nobility alone is capable of

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group was exacerbated by disappointments in both domestic and foreign policy. Among the former were the pace of religious reform, which eventually led to anti-Catholic rhetoric being used against Elizabeth herself, and the queen's attitude toward marriage, which, after resisting for many years, she considered with the Duke of Alençon, brother of Charles IX, to the dismay of Sidney and his colleagues.[325] In foreign affairs, Leicester's group advocated interventionist policies, from the Low Countries, where the tepidness of official support for their Continental co-religionists was especially galling, to relations with Spain, whose Catholicism made it a constant object of distrust by this point in the century. Moderates, by contrast, frequently identified with Leicester's chief rival at court, William Cecil, an increasingly close advisor of the queen, were likely to emphasize the uniqueness of the Church of England, which they saw not only as a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism, but also, given the distinction it made between English Protestants and their foreign counterparts, as an impediment to the potential for common cause between these two.[326]

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safeguarding liberty and challenging tyranny (Norbrook, *Poetry*, 97-99); the role of the aristocracy is a key concern of Sidney's *Arcadia*, the original version of which was composed circa 1577-80; the *New Arcadia*, incompletely revised at the time of his death, was completed by Fulke Greville, who suppressed the *Old Arcadia* and published the new one in 1590; in 1593 appeared what came to be known as the *Arcadia* of the Countess of Pembroke (Philip's sister); for discussion of the *Arcadias* and of the differences between them in the context of literary theorizing of the period, see Rosanna Camerlingo, *From the Courtly World to the Infinite Universe: Sir Philip Sidney's Two "Arcadias."* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1993); Camerlingo argues that familiarity with Heliodorus's *Aethiopica* was an important element of this context (50-56); see 178 n. 3210, above.

[325] Sidney's letter to the queen expressing his disapproval of the proposed marriage resulted in his having to leave court; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 8.

[326] Guy argues that the significance of the split between these two groups is exaggerated (*England*, 255).

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4.5 The Irish problem

An additional area of foreign policy frustration for radical Protestants throughout this period centered on England's relations with Ireland, where a combination of the shifting priorities of successive Tudor governments and fiscal limitations that often proved more significant than political ones had resulted in repeated changes in policy. Their basic disagreement about how to respond to the Irish problem pitted Leicester's faction against the moderates affiliated with Cecil, with the former characteristically focusing on the moral ramifications of the situation, on the one hand, which they viewed as hopelessly depraved, and on its practical aspects, on the other, with the island seen as ripe for colonization. For those advoctating increased intervention, the overlap of religious, political, and economic concerns in this arena is eventually complete, with the island's perceived pastoralism making it a natural target for reformers, who saw the degenerate Irish culture as requiring a reformation equal to that of Catholicism.[327] Given the Puritan conflation of idleness and immorality, plans to address these issues inevitably included the reorganization of the island's clan-based social structure into stable agrarian

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[327] Citing Geoffrey Elton (*England Under the Tudors* [London: Methuen, 1974], 386), Maley notes the similarity between the conditions of sixteenth-century Ireland under the English and the conditions of heroic poetry: war, cattle raids, burning of the countryside, etc. (*Salvaging*, 78); he argues that reform treatises, pastoral poetry, and tracts on husbandry are all part of the same "colonial genre," and describes *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* as examples of "colonial pastoral" (*Salvaging*, 16-18; 29); cf. Hadfield's discussion of the *Faerie Queene* as "a vast colonizing work trying to absorb all the representations it can and subject them to its own structure" (*Wilde Fruit* 201); cf. Greenblatt's assertion, regarding Reformation ideologies, that iconoclasm eventually gives way to appropriation, and violence to colonization (*Self-Fashioning*, 191).

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communities.[328] In most instances, these plans either motivated or were absorbed into resettlement programs linked to schemes for English-owned plantations, which, in turn, encouraged the seizure of monastic property, ostensibly for purposes of reform.[329] The influence of Machiavelli, whose appeal was especially strong among radical Protestants, is apparent in the theorizing over how to respond to these issues, most notably in terms of the "innovative" solutions demanded by those who argued that Elizabeth's Viceroy on the island, the Lord Deputy, needed unlimited power in order to bring the natives under control.[330]

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[328] Early modern Protestantism frequently equated barbarism with not taking advantage of natural resources; cf. Greenblatt, *Self-Fashioning*, 183; cf. Nicholas Canny, "Identity Formation in Ireland: the Emergence of the Anglo-Irish," 173; for general discussion of conditions in Elizabethan Ireland, see Stephen G. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: Crown, Community, and the Conflict of Cultures: 1470-1603*, 35-44.

[329] Lisa Jardine explores the overlap of colonialism and humanism in her study of Gabriel Harvey and the Smith/Gilbert plantation project ("Encountering Ireland: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser, and the English Colonial Venture," in *Representing Ireland: Literature and Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660*, eds. B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield, and W. Maley [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993], 60-75); for the significance of the religious reformation as an ideological lever in schemes for the settlement and appropriation of monastic lands in Ireland, where Protestant planters were usually more intent on the confiscation of property than on the condemnation of popery, see Maley, *Salvaging*, 49-50; Ellis argues that by 1550, the impact of New World discovery and colonization shifted the English perception of Ireland from that of a borderland to a former colony ideal for plantations in accordance with recent colonial theory (*Ireland*, 267-8); the English experience in Ireland, in turn, affected their projects in the New World (Ellis, *Ireland*, 248-49); the inspiration for colonization was based, in part, on the success of the Spanish in the New World; in 1572 Sir Thomas Smith and his son attempted to establish an English version of the *encomienda* system in Ulster; it failed, and the younger Thomas was killed; Ralegh founded the first English colony in America in 1587; for discussion of the confluence of humanism and imperialism under Charles V, see Lynch, *Spain*, 75-76; cf. Norbrook's contention that humanism's secular, individualistic world view was sympathetic to the needs of the mercantile city-state; Norbrook argues that even as it professed to scorn worldly wealth, humanism provided an ideological rationale for economic individualism, eventually functioning as the "ideological superstructure of a specifically capitalist society" (*Poetry*, 23-27).

[330] For the impact on England's Irish policy of Machiavelli's recommendation that absentee rulers be granted absolute power, see Maley, *Salvaging*, 114-17; while a student at

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Rivalries in Elizabeth's court were played out in terms of appointees to the post of Lord Deputy, which was one of the most powerful positions in early modern Europe.[331] In the Yorkist and early Tudor era, those who filled this position were Anglo-Irish earls, usually from the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, who rather than seeking absolute subjugation, pursued policies of containment and compromise that relied on the exploitation of internal divisions among the native clans. Under Elizabeth, foreign policy hardliners succeeded in shifting these appointments to their like-minded associates, only to see such figures recalled when the so-called Old English, descendants of the original Norman invaders of the island who lived in the region around Dublin known as the Pale, managed, via reverse exploitation of the factions at Elizabeth's court, to successfully tarnish these figures as brutal and counter-productive. As the ideological struggles played out, particularly from mid-century onward, the island assumed ever greater importance in the

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Cambridge, Gabriel Harvey reported that Machiavelli was widely read (Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit*, 74); regarding accusations of Machiavellian "innovation" directed at those who sought to interfere in the island, see Canny, "Identity Formation," 166-68; among Elizabethan authors influenced by Machiavelli who write on Ireland or other sites of colonization are Richard Beacon, *Solon his Follie* (1594), William Herbert, *Croftus sive de Hibernia Liber* (c. 1591), Ralegh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtifvl empyre of Gviana* (1596), and Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590); cf. Canny, "Identity Formation," 170-71 and Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit*, 37-46; Spenser is among this group, his *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598; pub. 1633) drawing on Machiavelli, Jean Bodin, the conservative French legal scholar who makes a natural law argument for despotism, and George Buchanan, the Scottish Protestant; Hadfield notes that Guicciardini was also important to those who wrote on the Irish question; Guicciardini had been translated by Geoffrey Fenton in 1579 (*History of the Wars of Italy*); Fenton, who also served on the Munster Plantation, was the father-in-law of Sir Richard Boyle, father of Elizabeth Boyle, whom Spenser married in 1594 (*Wilde Fruit*, 45-46); cf. Norbrook, *Poetry*, 93.

[331] Maley describes the Lord Deputy as having the power of an absolute monarch, characterizing his position vis-á-vis the Queen as a diarchy (*Salvaging*, 99-100; 109); the beginning of a shift to more coercive policies in Ireland is dated to the 1534 Kildare rebellion, after which Gaelic lords were no longer named to the post; cf. Ellis, *Ireland*, 154-55.

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English psyche, becoming, at its most symbolic, a projection of competing visions of Englishness, with the Old English seen as supporting the native Irish, on one side, and the more recent arrivals, or New English, on the other.[332] Charges of Gaelic-Old English

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[332] On the complexities of identity in the Irish-English context, see the analyses of and ongoing exchanges between Ciaran Brady, esp. "Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s," *Past and Present*, 111 (1986) 17-49; and Nicholas Canny, esp. "Edmund Spenser and the Development of an Anglo-Irish Identity," *YES*, 19 (1983) 1-19; idem, "Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish," *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, eds. Nicholas Canny and A. Pagden (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987), 159-212, and idem, "Debate: Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s," *Past and Present*, 120 (1988) 201-215; cf. works of Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, esp. "Irish representations and English alternatives," *Representing Ireland: Literature and Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660*, eds. B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield, and W. Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 1-23; cf. Ellis, *Ireland*, 247-48. The Spanish experienced similar identity conflicts in the New World between early arrivals, including the *conquistadores*, who became known as *veteranos*, or *indianos*, or *baquianos* (in Peru), and more recent arrivals, like Ercilla, who were known as *chapetones* (in Peru), *gachupines* (in Mexico), or *bisoños*; the ideologies of these two groups, which frequently has a class component, were often quite distinct, as evidenced by several rebellions among Spanish soldiers in the Americas; a desire to help suppress one of these, led by Francisco Hernández Girón in Peru, was part of Ercilla's motivation for traveling to the New World (see 3, above); another Peruvian rebellion, this one instigated by Lope de Aguirre, occurred shortly before Ercilla traveled back through the area on his return to Spain. José Durand distinguishes between two broad types of *chapetones* usually based on class: those who have come to the New World in hopes of making their fortune, and those whose freedom from financial need permits them, in some instances, to take moral stands, particularly regarding the treatment of the indigenous population; Durand examines how the predominance of nobility among the troops who, like Ercilla, traveled to Peru with García de Hurtado, affected relations with the commander there, Pedro de Valdivía, and his soldiers there ("El Chapetón Ercilla y la honra Araucana," *Filología* 10 (1964) 113-134; Jaime Concha, exploring the subject, argues that the *Araucana* attempts to undermine the ideological extremes of these two groups, represented by the *encomenderos* on one hand and the *lascasistas* on the other ("El Otro Nuevo Mundo," *Homenaje a Ercilla*, [Concepción: Universidad de Concepción, Instituto Central de lenguas, 1969]), 31-82, esp 63-68; James Nicolopulos analyzes this distinction in his characterization of Ercilla as adopting a royalist/reformist approach to Spain's imperial enterprise ("Pedro de Oña and Bernardo de Balbuena read Ercilla's Fitón," 6-9, and "Reading and Responding to the Amorous Episodes of the *Araucana* in Colonial Peru," 234-35); for discussion of these issues in terms of post-colonial theory, see Viviana Díaz Balsera, who conceives of Ercilla's frequently adduced "divided consciousness" as a manifestation of the "polymorphous perversity" of the colonizer's discourse ("Araucanian Alterity in Alonso de Ercilla and Lope de Vega," *Looking at the 'Comedia' in the Year of the Centennial: Proceedings of the 1992 Symposium on Golden Age Drama at the University of Texas, El Paso, March 8-21* (University Press of America, 1992) 23-36.

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sympathy were frequently justified, with divisions between these groups diminished by invasive English policies and the unifying thrust of post-Tridentine Catholicism.[333] On several occasions, anxiety over the papacy's support for Irish rebels and over Spanish-Irish collusion were also well justified.[334] For their part, the ranks of the New English were swelled by the reality of limited prospects for many in the younger generation in England, who left to seek their fortunes across the Irish Sea.[335]

In a climate already unfavorable to their goals, the Irish issue was one of several that by the end of the 1580s brought many of Leicester's faction to the point of despair. A number of Lord Deputies were recalled from Ireland in disfavor, among them Sir Henry Sidney, father of Philip, who was twice recalled, first in 1571 and then in 1578, and Lord Grey de Wilton, his successor, whom Spenser, having himself arrived in the colony sometime before 1580, served as secretary and alludes to in Book 5 of the *Faerie Queene.*[336] Grey, a Puritan ideologue, was notorious for the harshness of his

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[333] The Old English were eventually seen by the New as more lawless and licentious than the "wild Irish" (Ellis, *Ireland*, 247-48).

[334] 1570-71 saw consternation over the Ridolfi plot, which was believed to involve an attempt on Elizabeth's life by a conspiracy between the duke of Norfolk, the Spanish ambassador, Guerau de Spes, a Florentine banker, Roberti di Rifolfi, Philip II, and the Pope (Guy, *England*, 227); in 1578 Gregory XIII financed an aborted invasion of Ireland by Thomas Stukley; James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald relied on Philip's covert aid to help foment the revolt of 1579; Philip II seized English ships in 1585, at which point he was planning the Armada; cf. Guy, *England*, 285-86; 331-41.

[335] For further discussion of Ireland as a safety valve for the younger aristocracy, see Maley, *Salvaging*, 14.

[336] Henry Sidney, in Ireland as early as 1556, served as Lord Deputy there for three terms: 1565-67, 1568-71, and 1575-81; Philip joins his father in Connaught for part of his final term, authoring a defense of his father's performance, "Discourse on Irish Affairs," in 1557; Artegall figures Lord Grey as Justice in Book 5.

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administration, which saw the massacre of Spanish and Italian soldiers held prisoner at Smerwick in 1579.[337] Grey was finally recalled in 1582, to the great dismay of supporters like Spenser, who figures his detractors as the *Faerie Queene*'s Blatant Beast. As for the continent, matters there frequently fared no better from the Leicester perspective. Reflecting the importance she attached to his advice, the queen had made Cecil Lord Burghley in 1572 and had also favored his son, Robert, with a position on the Privy Council, limiting Leicester's influence.[338] Leicester himself fell into disgrace after accepting an appointment from Essex, in charge of English forces on the continent, without Elizabeth's permission in 1586. By 1586 Sidney was dead, Leicester's death followed in 1588, Ralegh was out of honor after failing to ask the queen's permission to

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[337] The massacre at Smerwick was the final scene in an attempt by Gregory VIII to send an expeditionary force of some 1000 Italian and Spanish soldiers to Ireland under the command of Thomas Stuckeley; Stuckeley was killed in Morocco; the troops continued to the southwest coast of Ireland, where they were defeated and, after being imprisoned, were killed in a massacre led by Ralegh on the order of Grey; on Grey's "hysterical reaction" to what were perceived to be widespread threats of Catholic conspiracy, see Ellis, *Ireland*, 282.

[338] Leicester's partisans wielded considerable influence in the council until the 1580s; cf. King, *Spenser*, 11; Spenser was convinced that Burghley was partly responsible for his lack of advancement at court (Guy, *England*, 438); in the Proem to Book 4, which opens the 1596 installment of the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser reflects that his love poetry may have offended the statesman:

> The rugged forehead that with graue foresight
> Welds kingdomes causes, and affaires of state,
> My looser rimes (I wote) doth sharply wite,
> For praising love, as I haue done of late,
> And magnifying louers deare debate;
> By which fraile youth is oft to follie led,
> Through false allurement of that pleasing baite,
> That better were in vertues discipled,
> Then with vaine poemes weeds to haue their fancies fed. (4 Pr. 1.1-9)

The apparent compunction of these lines, typical of "amateur" Elizabethan poets later in their "serious" careers, is reversed in the following verses, where the poet defends himself against those who "ill iudge of loue, that cannot loue" (4 Pr. 2.1); cf. Helgerson, *Laureates*, 28-29.

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marry Elizabeth Throckmorton, and the temperamental Essex, who now headed those opposed to Cecil, would soon come to grief.[339] The Anglican Church, meanwhile, maintained its hold on mainstream Protestantism against the apocalyptic visions of the Puritans.[340]

Dissatisfaction with the court toward the century's end was not limited to frustrated partisans of the earl of Leicester. A growing number of Elizabethans saw the court as dominated by intrigue and bribery, which made the condemnation of life at court or its juxtaposition to the tranquility of life elsewhere all the more appealing.[341] While criticism of the *Cortegiano* and of courtliness often functioned as an indirect expression of such misgivings, in England courtliness was also increasingly equated with Catholicism and with a maleficent caricature of Italy, which was seen by some as the principal agent corrupting not only English manners, as in the image of the Italian fop that

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[339] See Guy, *England*, 337-38.

[340] Christopher Haigh argues that the sixteenth-century political reformations (Henrician: 1530-38, Edwardian: 1547-53; Elizabethan: 1559-63) were considerably more effective that the Protestant one; he claims that by the 1590s, although the Church of England was Protestant, most English Christians were not, but belonged instead to one of four groups: godly Protestants, recusant papists, parish Anglicans, or "Old Catholics" (*English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*, 288-92).

[341] Increased venality among Elizabeth's officials overtaxed the patronage system by the 1590s; one result was a widespread outcry against licensing practices that enabled figures like Ralegh to monopolize markets for tin, playing cards, and tavern licences (Guy, *England*, 391-400); distrust of the court is apparent in a number of societies during this period and is exemplified in works such as Antonio Guevara's *Menosprecio del corte* and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which updated Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*; Burke notes earlier attacks on Castiglione and courtliness than those discussed here, notably by Paolo Giovio, who ridicules the author for dyeing his hair, and by Pietro Aretino, who authors the satirical play *Courtesan*, in 1534 (*Fortunes*, 106-7).

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flourished in the drama of this period, but also English morals.[342]

4.6 From *cortegiania* to Christian civility

By the end of the sixteenth century a number of works had appeared that indirectly paid homage to Castiglione's *Cortegiano* while sharply criticizing *cortegiania.*[343] They did so in a context marked by diminished idealism, by an increase in moral rigidity associated with both Puritanism and the Counter-Reformation, and by the polarization of perspectives these changes encouraged, each of which had ramifications for the structure as well as the content of literary texts. Two such works with potential significance for Spenser are Stefano Guazzo's *La Civil Conversatione*, the first three books of which were translated by George Pettie in 1581, and Lodowick Bryskett's *A Discourse of Civill Life*, written in the early 1580s but not published until 1606, the bulk of which represents a translation of Giovambattista Giraldi's "Tre dialoghi della vita civile" of 1565.[344] Not surprisingly, neither Guazzo's nor Bryskett's work, while

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[342] Examples of the fop include Balthasar in *Much Ado About Nothing* and Osric in *Hamlet*; fears of Italian corruption motivated Gosson's attack on theater and Drant's comments on Romeo and Juliet; see 177, above; the image of Italy as evil incarnate conflates Italy, the Pope, and murderous intrigue, a combination some saw manifest in the St. Bartholomew Day massacre of French Huguenots in 1572; see Burke's discussion of the shift from Italophilia earlier in the century to Italphobia (*Fortunes,* 113).

[343] While condemning specific courtiers, notably, the Duke of Alençon, in his "Prosopopoia or Mother Hubbard's Tale," Spenser also offers a portrait of the ideal courtier there (lines 717-793).

[344] Giraldi's text, known in English as "Discourse on what Befits a Young Nobleman," is the second part of his *De gli hecatommithi*, better known for tales that provide the plots for numerous Elizabethan literary works, including Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*; the fourth book of Guazzo's work was translated by Bartholomew Young in 1586; additional works of this type are Della Casa's popular *Galateo*, primarily an elementary etiquette book, and Tasso's *Malpighi* (1583), which describes the *Cortegiano* as out of date; cf. Burke, *Fortunes*, 120-6.

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structured as a dialogue, embodies the dialogicity of the courtly disputations at Urbino.[345] Guazzo's text consists of four sections, like the *Cortegiano*, but until the last one utilizes only two speakers, with the second primarily a sounding board for the first. In contrast to Castiglione, *La Civil Conversazione* focuses on the conduct of the individual in relationship to the rest of civic society, rather than on discussions of wit and sophistication intended for the select few of the court. In keeping with its modest horizons, the language of Guazzo's work is less elevated than its predecessor's, utilizing proverbs and folk wisdom; reflecting an increased sensitivity to religious dogma, it incorporates many references to scripture. *La Civil Conversazione* reveals the degree to which perceptions of the court and of courtliness had changed in Italy itself, where, while not the fount of corruption imagined by many in England, *cortegianía* was seen by many as hypocritical and dishonest.

Lodowick Bryskett was one of many in Spenser's generation who made their careers in Ireland.[346] His *Discourse of Civill Life* reveals the extent to which the shift

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[345] Guazzo and Bryskett's works, while structured as dialogues, exemplify Greenblatt's description of how the *in utramque partem* format is eventually corrupted during this period, resulting in what he terms "the mystification of manipulation as disinterested empathy" (*Self-Fashioning*, 231).

[346] Bryskett, one of Philip Sidney's two companions during his European tour of the early 1570s, was deeply involved in Ireland's affairs, traveling there first as secretary to Henry Sidney in 1565, acting as clerk of the Irish privy council in 1575, when Sidney was Lord Deputy, and later accompanying Lord Grey on his tour of the island in 1581; Bryskett held a series of positions in which he was either assisted or followed by Spenser, with whom he became acquainted as early as 1577; Spenser became his deputy when Bryskett was made clerk of Council of Munster in 1583; Bryskett was sheriff of Wexford in 1595; Spenser became sheriff of Cork in 1598; the rebellion in Munster in 1598 drove both men, neighbors by this point, from their homes; cf. Thomas E. Wright, ed., *A Discourse of Civill Life*, by Lodovico Bryskett, (Northridge, California: San Fernando Valley State College, Renaissance Editions, 1970), "Introduction," vii-ix.

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from courtliness to a more pragmatic, Protestant view of "civill felicitie" coalesced, in the English imagination, against the backdrop of "this barbarous country of Ireland" (5).[347] The *Discourse* also suggests, in addition to how monologic the dialogue format had become since its use by Castiglione, how much the concept of *civiltá* had changed from an aesthetic of manners into a civilizing project that, according to many, required violent implementation.[348]

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[347] Text of Bryskett's work is from the edition cited in the previous note.

[348] For insightful analysis into the gradual transformation of the dialogue as a genre referred to here, see Virginia Cox's *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary dialogue in its social and political contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P: 1992); note, esp.: "The driving force behind the Quattrocento dialogue is the humanist faith in discussion as a means of access to the truth. For all their considerable differences, [. . .] all express this shared faith in the possibility of reaching truth—a human and collective truth—by means of disputation. [. . .] The characteristic form of the humanist dialogue, especially that of the first half of the century, is the Ciceronian one of a debate between two or more sharply opposed positions. This is not to say that all Quattrocento dialogues are truly 'dialogical' in character or that they limit themselves to 'provoking' their readers, without attempting to guide them. [. . .] Though they tend to portray dissent, often in a lively and polemical form, humanist dialogues often betray the stamp of their author's own moral stance and, to this extent, the ethos of the interlocutors, however vividly realized, is in some sense subsidiary to the argument. [. . .] For all its dialectical structure, there is, then, a tendency towards closure and 'monologue' in the humanist dialogue. There is even evidence that some writers conceived of the dialogue as having a principally expository function, dismissing its more grandiose claim to be a means of discovering new truths. It is important to note, however, that, even where it does not evince a 'dialogical conception of truth," the humanist dialogue *does* express a 'dialogical conception of the cognitive process.' This sense of acquisition of knowledge as a collective enterprise is the life-blood of the Quattrocento dialogue, and the feature which most clearly differentiates even the most 'monological' productions of the age from the far more uncompromisingly monological forms which would succeed them in the following century" (62); an important stage in this centripetal dynamic, according to Cox, was the conception of the dialogue that developed as a more strictly didactic genre: "Perhaps the principal difference between the dialogues of the first half of the Cinquecento and the second is this; the expectation that a dialogue will contain a speaker who teaches and a speaker who accepts to be taught" (66); and cf.: "With the collapse of humanist ideals, discussion is no longer conceived of as a means for exploring the truth, and written dialogue has relinquished its corresponding role as a *provocatio*. Truth now appears as an absolute, hallowed by authority and defined by political interest: a commodity to be meted out by an omniscient *princeps sermonis*" (68). The single most important factor in this change, Cox goes on to argue, is the Counter-Reformation, with the advent of print technology working to increase the public's impatience with erudition and demand for more informative, rather than

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Bryskett's humanist patrimony is clear from his familiarity with contemporary Italian authors such as Giraldi and from his interest in the broader context of "the Ethick part of Morall Philosophie" (24), which forms the backdrop for his reflection on civic man. His utilitarian orientation is apparent in the dialogue's introductory remarks, where he notes the difficulty of working with ancient texts, notably Plato and Aristotle, and praises the Italians, Piccolomini and Guazzo in addition to Giraldi, for the accessibility they offer to these sources.[349] His own translation, he says, will insure that Giraldi's work is available to English audiences "with the lesse labor and cost" (6) than that required of either the Italians or the ancients.

Giraldi's dialogue concerned a three-day journey made by friends traveling from Rome to Marseille to escape the plague. Bryskett, who substitutes the names of his friends for Giraldi's characters, creates a setting combining Giraldi with Castiglione, describing a cottage near Dublin where he has come to avoid sickness in the city and to reflect upon having relinquished his position in local government. He is visited by friends, including Spenser, who encourage his return to public duty in terms of the topos

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philosophical enquiry (63).

[349] Cf. the observation of the Marquis of Santillana, an early patron of humanist projects with a limited facility for either ancient language, upon requesting that his son, a student at Salamanca in the mid-1440s, undertake a vernacular translation of Decembrio's Latin version of the *Iliad*: "E pues no podemos aver aquella que queremos, queramos aquella que podemos. E si careçemos de las formas, seamos contentos de las materias" ("If we can't have what we desire, let us desire what we can have. And if we lack the forms, let us content ourselves with the matter"); the Marquis's remarks are cited in Guillermo Serés, *La Traducción en Italia y España durante el Siglo XV: La "Iliada en Romance" y su contexto cultural* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1997) 20-21; the passage is discussed in my "Imitatio, Translatio, and the *Doloneia* of Alonso de Ercilla," 18.

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lauding the active over the contemplative life.[350] Giraldi's discussion, while drawing heavily on Aristotle's *Ethics* and Plato's *Republic*, is oriented toward maintaining the favor of the prince. Dissimulation is stressed as essential to this task, along with *grazie*, both of these, in contrast with Castiglione, means to an end rather than aesthetically valid in their own right.[351] Bryskett's prefatory remarks recall those in Hoby's *Courtyer* regarding filling the minds of the readers with "the morall vertues, and their body with civyll conditions."[352] Prefiguring Spenser's description of his own project, Bryskett announces that the purpose of the *Discourse* is "[. . .] by way of dialogue [. . .] to discourse upon the morall vertues, yet not omitting the intellectual, to the end to frame a gentleman fit for civill conversation, and to set him in the direct way that leadeth him to his civill felicitie" (6). A few pages later he clarifies this as that "active or practicke felicite, consisting in vertuous actions, and reducing of a man's passions under the rule of

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[350] Bryskett's *Discourse* offers one of the earliest references to the *Faerie Queene*, parts of which were being circulated among Spenser's acquaintances by the early 1580s; as host of the discussion, Bryskett introduces Spenser with a reference to the work, which Spenser then explains he is writing:

> [. . .] to represent all the moral vertues, assigning to every vertue, a knight to be the patron and defender of the same: in whose actions and feates of armes and chivalry, the operations of that vertue, whereof he is the protector, are to be expressed, and the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same, to be beaten down and overcome [. . .] (22)

The assembled group ask Spenser to elaborate, but he demurs, redirecting their discussion to Bryskett's translation of Giraldi.

[351] The discourse is dedicated to Lord Grey, of whom Bryskett notes "how often and very willingly you were pleased to recreate your selfe with her [i.e., moral philosophy's] companie" (6); one of Giraldi's characters, Lorenzo Ducci, recommends the study of Tacitus, whose history explores the art of dissimulation; in the next century a work from the same genre, Grácian's *Oracle* (1647), is similarly Tacitean, championing the man without illusions, defined as the *varón desengañado*, or undeceived man, and equating charm with *despejo* or scorn; cf. Burke, *Fortunes*, 121.

[352] See 170, above.

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reason" (19).[353] Bryskett makes clear that the active life is a Christian one and distinguishes between the discussion of moral philosophy and the Christian doctrine that underlies it, noting that his work is "but the hand-maide of the doctrine of Grace" (6), which he has pursued in order to enhance his knowledge of "the duties of a Christian man" (15). Neither Guazzo's nor Bryskett's work is conceivable without *Il Cortegiano.* But whereas Castiglione champions *sprezzatura*, *mediocrità*, and *grazia* as virtues of courtly life, these later writers see the dream of *cortegianía* as hopelessly idealistic and the court itself as corrupt. To them, *sprezzatura* is affectation and *mediocritá* is disingenuous; *cortegianía* is opposed to rather than the apex of *civiltà*, and *grazia*, rather than a courtly attribute, is more likely to be God's gift of grace to man.

4.7 The treacherous kingdom of language

The confluence of sixteenth-century ideologies being discussed here is notable in Spenser's work from his first publication, *The Visions of Petrarch*, a translation of a French version of Canzone 42, which he contributed anonymously to a volume of anti-Catholic, apocalyptic verse.[354] That same year, 1569, Spenser entered Cambridge, soon became friends with Harvey, and within a decade had pursued literary theory with Sidney

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[353] Wright characterizes the *Civill Discourse* as a prose dialogue version of the ideas found in Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* ("Introduction," xvii).

[354] The translation of Clément Marot's version of Petrarch was one of twenty-six sonnets that Spenser provided for *A Theatre for Worldlings*, the first emblem book printed in England, which was compiled by Jan van der Noodt, a Dutch Calvinist refugee living in London; Spenser's other contribution to the volume was entitled *The Visions of Bellay*; these two early works were included, together with various revisions, in Spenser's 1591 volume, *Complaints: containing sundrie small Poemes of the Worlds Vanitie*; in addition to translating from the Italian, Marot (1496-1544), a page at the court of Francis I and a contemporary of Surrey and Wyatt, experimented with the sonnet form in his "Epigrammes"; du Bellay and Ronsard, Marot's successors and members of the Pléiade, were also closely associated with the court.

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and Harvey, was a beneficiary of Sidney's uncle, Leicester, and, with the publication of *The Shepheardes Calender*, also anonymously, had made a concerted attempt to shape both the course of English poetry and his own public image.[355] While the *Visions* conjoin Humanism, Petrarchism, and courtliness in the cause of Protestant reform, the *Shepheardes Calender* reveals a more complex relationship between these ideologies in keeping with the impatience of the reformers a decade later. The poem, addressed to Sidney and Harvey, combines allegorical eclogues and a cycle-of-life, almanac format with novel, Italianate sophistication.[356] Mimicking humanist editions of classical texts, a fictional editor, known only as E. K., provides glosses, marginalia, and other explanatory matter, which flatters the unnamed author while purporting to decipher the text's obscurities.[357] The *Calender*'s message of reform is directed to poetics as well as religion and politics, and while motivated primarily by the disturbing prospects of Elizabeth's proposed marriage to Alençon, the verses address a range of issues, from Gregorian calendar reform to the conduct of the queen more broadly. The work makes clear that

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[355] Harvey was one of Spenser's closest associates during the latter's years at Cambridge (Maley, *Salvaging*, 20); Spenser's authorship of the *Calender* was only acknowledged post-humously, in the 1611 Folio edition of his works.

[356] The poem is dedicated to Sidney and prefaced by a dedicatory verse to Harvey; in another prefatory verse, "To His Book," Sidney is addressed as "To him that is the president / Of noblesse and of chivalry"; text for the poem and its paratexts is that of Douglas Brooks-Davies, ed., *The Shepheardes Calendar. Selected Shorter Poems*, by Edmund Spenser (New York: Longman, 1995).

[357] For additional discussion of humanist editions of vernacular works, see Hadfield, *Literature*, 174-77; the elements noted here contrast with medieval aspects of the volume, including the primitive engravings that precede each section and the black-letter type of the title page; cf. Brooks-Davies, "Introduction," 16-18; for speculation that the identity of E. K. is the earl of Kildare, who was associated with the Leicester faction, see Maley, *Salvaging*, 30.

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Spenser shares Sidney's view of Protestant art as an undertaking in which the traditional components of *delectare*, *docere*, and *movere* are a trio in which the first is a vehicle for the second and spur to the third. Unlike Sidney, Spenser here rejects the prevailing mode of courtly discourse for an archaic dialect that, while still utilizing Petrarchan elements, combines them with monarchical imagery and the pastoral motifs favored by the Edwardians.[358] The result is provocative, complex, and indicative of an author whose gravity and self-consciousness distinguish him from his contemporaries.

Spenser's correspondence with Harvey from this period reveals that together with Sidney, these three, frustrated by "balde Rymers," had discussed plans for reforming English meter not according to courtly models, but in keeping with humanist inspired, classical ones: "Why a God's name may not we, as else the Greeks, have the Kingdom of our own language," Spenser asks, "[. . .] and measure our accents by the sound, reserving the quantity to the verse?"[359] The idea was not practical, and, in its place, his humanist interest in the past paradoxically led Spenser to adopt a dialect of English whose strongest associations were medieval.

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[358] Spenser's Colin Clout, who reappears in Book 6 of the *Faerie Queene*, has a double patrimony, descending on one side from Skelton and on the other from Marot; the *Calendar* incorporates a variety of classical verse forms associated with Theocritus and Virgil; its layout recalls Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which Brooks-Davies suggests is an indirect compliment to Sidney ("Introduction," 5-9).

[359] Spenser and Harvey's correspondence was published one year after *The Shepheardes Calender*, in 1580; Hadfield discusses this as an act of self-promotion meant to emphasize the iconoclastic forces and literary designs of those associated with the earl of Leicester; Hadfield points out that from Virgil onward eclogues must be read in a context of nationalist discourse (*Literature*, 175, 182); the passage included here is quoted in Richard Helgerson's "Barbarous Tongues: the ideology of poetic form in Renaissance England," in *Edmund Spenser*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (London: Longman, 1996), 23-25.

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As is clear from the sonnets of the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, written while working on the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser is a master of courtly, Petrarchan lyric.[360] His

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[360] Spenser's sonnets are important forerunners to Shakespeare's; in Sonnet 78, Spenser uses Petrarchan imagery to capture the interior focus characteristic of the Italian poet:

> Lacking my love, I go from place to place
> Like a young fawn that late hath lost the hind,
> And seek each-where last I saw her face
> Whose image yet I carry fresh in mind.
> I seek the fields with her late footing signed,
> I seek her bower with her late presence decked:
> Yet nor in field nor bower I her can find,
> Yet field and bower are full of her aspect.
> But when mine eyes I thereunto direct,
> They idly back return to me again;
> And when I hope to see their true object,
> I find myself but fed with fancies vain:
> Cease, then, mine eyes, to seek herself to see,
> And let my thoughts behold herself in me.

The *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*, in imitation of Petrarch, are sequences that emphasize autobiographically inspired material blended with neo-Platonic love theory; published in 1595, one year before Books 4-6 of the *Faerie Queene*; they were written to commemorate Spenser's courtship and marriage to Elizabeth Boyle; cf. Sonnet 80 :

> After so long a race as I have run
> Through faery land, which those six books compile,
> Give leave to rest me (being half foredone),
> And gather to myself new breath awhile.
> Then, as a steed refreshed after toil,
> Out of my prison I will break anew,
> And stoutly will that second work assoil
> With strong endeavour and attention due.
> Till then, give leave to me in pleasant mew
> To sport my Muse and sing my love's sweet praise
> The contemplation of whose heavenly hue
> My spirit to an higher pitch will raise:
> But let her praises yet be low and mean,
> Fit for the handmaid of the Faery Queene.

Text of the sonnets is from the Brooks-Davies edition cited above; 1595 also saw the publication of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, an allegorical pastoral based on Spenser's 1589 trip to Elizabeth's court with Ralegh; Ralegh introduced Spenser to the queen, who, appreciative of the poet's great project, granted him a life pension the following year; following the publication of Books 4-6 of the *Faerie Queene*, in 1596, Spenser also published the *Fowre Hymnes* (*Of Love*, *Of Beautie*, *Of Heavenly Love*, and *Of Heavenly*

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repeated rejection of this discourse for the "studied barbarity" of language reminiscent of Middle English is complex.[361] On the one hand, it reflects the reformers' frustrations with the policies of the court and their disavowal of the sophisticated, ironic posture that courtliness projected.[362] On the other, it represents an effort to recapture an edenic era of religious and national purity that this language, the linguistic incarnation of radical Protestant ideals, both describes and embodies.[363] While its associations with the earlier era are dramatic, Spenser's efforts to present this dialect as a manifestation of undiluted English identity are undermined by its contemporary associations with Elizabethan

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Beautie) and the *Prothalamion*, commemorating the betrothal of the Earl of Worcester's daughters.

[361] The phrase is Maley's, *Salvaging*, 6.

[362] For more discussion of courtliness, dissimulation, and irony in the context of grace and indirection, see Javitch, *Poetry*, esp. 55-56.

[363] Cf. E. K.'s observation, in the "Dedicatory Epistle" to Harvey, preceding *The Shepheardes Calender*, that "[. . .] if my memory fail not, Tully, in that book wherein he endeavoureth to set forth the pattern of a perfect orator, saith that oft-times an ancient word maketh the style seem grave and, as it were, reverend: no otherwise than we honour and reverence grey hairs for a certain religious regard which we have of old age" (20); after counseling moderation in such practice, E. K. continues: "For in my opinion it is one special praise—of many which are due to this poet—that he hath laboured to restore, as to their rightful heritage, such good and natural English words as have been long time out of use and almost clear disherited; which is the only cause that our mother tongue (which truly of itself is both full enough for prose and stately enough for verse) hath long time been counted most bare and barren of both. Which default, whenas some endeavoured to salve and recure, they patched up the holes with pieces and rags of other languages—borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, everywhere of the Latin—not weighing how ill those tongues accord with themselves, but much worse with ours. So now they have made our English tongue a gallimaufry or hodge-podge of all other speeches. Other some (no so well seem in the English tongue as perhaps in other languages), if they happen to hear an old word, albeith very natural and significant, cry out straightway that we speak no English, but gibberish—or rather, such as (in old time) Evander's mother spake: whose first shame is that they are not ashamed in their own mother tongue strangers to be counted and aliens" (20-21); cf. Ben Jonson's remark regarding the dialect of the *Faerie Queene* that, "Spencer, in affecting the Ancients writ no Language: Yet I would have him read for his matter" (*Timber*, lines 1478-79).

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Ireland, a contaminated source by definition, where the slower pace of linguistic change resulted in the ongoing use of archaisms by the Old English peasantry.[364] This schizophrenic heritage of Irish barbarism and English civility upsets the ease with which the English and Irish are frequently contrasted across a Manichean divide. It also presents, within the *Faerie Queene*, a linguistic threat that eventually turns upon itself, undermining the stability of meaning.[365]

As the century progresses, the duplicity of language corresponds to a central

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[364] Maley points out that sixteenth-century Munster was multilingual, with Latin the language of the learned, Gaelic Irish that of the bards and peasants, Middle English spoken by the Catholic descendants of the twelfth-century colonists, and Early Modern English by the post-Reformation Protestant planters; Maley proposes that Spenser encountered his archaic dialect not only in Chaucer, with whom it is usually associated, but also in Stanyhurst (*Salvaging*, 35-36); Hadfield discusses the ramifications of Spenser's Irish-English in the context of court and colony, center and periphery (*Wilde Fruit*, 3, 11). To compare how the Spanish responded to the unexpected multiplicity of languages in the New World, see Isaías Lerner, "La colonización española y las lenguas indígenas de América," *Colonial Latin American Review* 6.1 (1997) 7-15.

[365] Cf. Spenser's reflections, in the Proem to Book 5, on the deterioration of the world since antiquity:

> Let none then blame me, if in discipline
> Of vertue and of ciuill vses lore,
> I doe not forme them to the common line
> Of present dayes, which are corrupted sore,
> But to the antique vse, which was of yore,
> When good was onely for it selfe desyred,
> And all men sought their owne, and none no more;
> When Iustice was not for most meed outhyred,
> But simple Truth did rayne, and was of all admyred.
>
> For that which all men then did vertue call,
> Is now cald vice; and that which vice was hight,
> Is now hight vertue, and so vs'd of all:
> Right now is wrong, and wrong that was is right,
> As all things else in time are chaunged quight.
> Ne wonder; for the heauens reuolution
> Is wandred farre from where it first was pight,
> And so doe make contrarie constitution
> Of all this lower world, toward his dissolution. (5 Proem 3.1-4.9)

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complaint of the reformers, who increasingly attribute the success of their opponents to deceptive strategies identified with courtly *dissimulazione*.[366] The dangers of dissimulation are thematized by the *Faerie Queene*, in turn, which constantly draws attention to the alertness required to distinguish between appearance and reality. Sorcerers concoct the most dramatic deceptions, namely, Archimago's Duessa, who threatens the quest of the Redcross knight, and Acrasia's bower, which threatens Guyon's. Duplicity is not only a problem for the *Faerie Queene*'s characters, however, but also poses risks for the poem's readers in the doublings, substitutions, and exchanges of images, characters, and episodes, as well as, on a lexical level, in the endless repetition of words and sounds. As a matter of plot, this echoing produces alternative and potentially false resolutions, complicating interpretation. In terms of language, the continuous paronomasia, establishing a myriad of interconnections between words diversely used and located, simultaneously enhances narrative cohesion while accentuating a slippage between the literal and metaphorical.[367] The result is a tension

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[366] Compare this to Tegualda's efforts to hide her desire for Crepino from those around her, "un medroso temblor *disimulando*" ("hiding a fearful tremble") (20.77.5); see 100, above.

[367] Jonathan Goldberg discusses the multiplication of names and images in the poem in light of Spenser's claim in the "Letter to Ralegh" to have followed "all the antique Poets"; he explores the text's "endless recounting" as a vast supplementation that fills the place of loss" and argues that it is desire that motivates the endless play of signifiers: "what the desire of the text does is enacted by what desire makes the characters enact" (*Endlesse Worke: Spenser and the Structure of Discourse*, 72, 99); Robert Durling argues that the intensification of formal symmetries in the *Faerie Queene* compensates for looseness of structure (*The Figure of the Poet in Renaissance Epic*, 135); cf. David Lee Miller's description of the *Faerie Queene* as constituted of "synecdochic traces in quest of the wholeness they signify" ("Spenser's Poetics: the Poem's Two Bodies," 88); Patricia Parker discusses the phenomenon of doubling in Spenser's text in terms of the characters' blindness, e.g., that of Redcross with regard to Fradubio; she claims that repetition, increasingly a function of the words themselves, leads to false starts and frustrating, false conclusions that counter the text's apocalyptic movement toward

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between stability and dissolution, between centripetal and centrifugal forces that pervades the text on every level, from the plot, where the distinction between appearance and reality is fraught with danger, to the language, where claims of linguistic purity are threatened by a flux and mutability that arises from the polysemy inherent in language itself.[368]

In contrast to these linguistic issues, the threat of proliferation is more commonly associated during this period with religious and literary matters. Tridentine fears of schism impelled efforts to control the text of the scriptures as well as their exegesis, the former stipulated as the Vulgate, the latter as the sole right of ecclesiastical authority.[369] In spite of championing the freedom of access to God's word made possible by the vernacular Bible, the Reformation exhibited similar concerns about the forces it had unleashed when it came to unrestrained interpretation and the spread of sects, a situation exacerbated by print technology, which, while essential to the goals of Protestantism, was felt to threaten it if not controlled.[370] This problem is figured both in Redcross's killing of

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revelation (*Inescapable Romance: studies in the poetics of a mode*, 72-30; 80).

[368] Cf. Parker's observation regarding archetypal criticism's ability to help clarify the *Faerie Queene*, that "[. . .] the poem moves away from this clarity as soon as it is introduced, from concentrations of meaning to a more centrifugal process" (*Romance*, 69).

[369] The Tridentine "Decree concerning the edition and use of the sacred books" was promulgated "to repress that boldness whereby the words and sentences of the Holy Scriptures are turned and twisted to all kinds of profane usages"; cited in Lawrence Rhu, *The Genesis of Tasso's Narrative Theory: English Translations of the early Poetics and a comparative study of their significance*, 171 n. 3.

[370] The most memorable example involves Tyndale's New Testament, whose distribution Cuthbert Tunstall attempted to stem in 1526 by banning it and purchasing as many copies of it as possible, a strategy that only produced additional funds for its spread; cf. Haigh, *Reformations*, 59; cf. Rhu, *Tasso*, 66. In 1593, the Privy Council limited access to Scripture based on social

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Error at the start of the *Faerie Queene*, a feat that, while symbolizing an attack on the papist heresy, results in a spewing forth of texts, and, at the close of the poem, in the Blatant Beast, which reflects, among other things, the difficulty of controlling speech.[371] The concern has an analogy in fears of civic disorder, which the socially conservative Sidney and Spenser reflect by imbuing what they see as the natural order of the Elizabethan social hierarchy with Neoplatonic harmony.[372] These natural-order arguments, in turn, are fundamentally at odds with the spirit of the iconoclastic attack on natural signs.[373]

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rank (Guy, *England*, 194); Haigh argues that whereas prior to the Reformation there were modes of Christian living to accommodate all levels of intensity, afterwards there was an exclusive model of Christian life that insisted that a saved Christian must be a thinker, a sermon-goer, a catechism-learner, a Bible student, an earnest prayer, and a singer of psalms (*Reformations*, 287); the printing of Bibles and other religious matter was essential both to the spread of Protestantism and to its emphasis on the reading of scripture; concerns over the uncontrolled spread of printing were expressed by both sides in the religious disputes; the confiscation of Luther's works was ordered in London and Cambridge as early as the 1520s (Haigh, *Reformations*, 57); all printing is licensed after 1559, and after 1586 permission to print is required either from the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London (Guy, *England*, 292, 416-17); cf. Haigh's discussion of how the social distribution of literacy affected the spread of Protestantism and how the emphasis on reading appealed to the educated elite (*Reformations*, 194-96); religious material, Protestant and Catholic, was a significant percentage of the total printing business during these years, revealing an important link between faith and technology (Guy, *England*, 419).

[371] Cf. Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit*, 170; Rhu discusses this subject in terms of the threat of "demonic recidivism" in his study on Tasso (*The Genesis of Tasso's Narrative Theory: English Translations of the Early Poetics and a Comparative Study of Their Significance*, 65).

[372] Cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 57, David Lee Miller, *Bodies*, 89, Norbrook, *Poetry* 56; as in so many other instances of the concerns discussed here, there is an Irish dimension to the issue: the hero of Thomas Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1590), a fictionalized account of the 1534 Munster rebellion, argues for the need to reform the reformers after liberties with the Scripture tempt the faithful with errors of doctrine (Rhu, *Tasso*, 57); the immediate context of the rebellion was Henry VIII's break with Rome and his subsequent efforts to extend ecclesiastical policy changes to Ireland; cf. Ellis, *Ireland*, 122.

[373] Spenser returns to the theme in the "Mutabilitie Cantos"; cf. Hadfield, who speaks of "the protean nightmare of regression to an infinite relativization of difference which will engulf

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As others have noted, in key instances of deception in the *Faerie Queene*, Archimago and Acrasia become agents of idolatry, encouraging the poem's characters to take signs for reality.[374] Spenser's archaic dialect represents a corresponding attempt to expose a natural bond between words and their meanings, but while drawing attention to etymology, his punning wordplay undermines this effort.[375] Etymology, in turn, not only

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even the most stable centers of authority" (*Wilde Fruit*, 188); cf. Greenblatt's discussion of "the spectre of interpretive anarchy" (*Self-Fashioning*, 62).

[374] Characters make their own mistakes distinguishing between literal and figurative language, particularly when it comes to Petrarchan discourse: both Marinell and Britomart misinterpret such speech, Marinell in taking the literal prophecy of his death metaphorically, Britomart in interpreting the metaphor of her "wound" literally; see Maureen Quiligan's discussion of these episodes in *The Language of Allegory: defining the genre*, 80-81; Clare Carroll examines the confusion between life and literature at the heart of Orlando's madness, which she identifies as a symbol of the contrast between literal and polysemous interpretation (*The* Orlando Furioso*: a Stoic Comedy*, 168).

[375] The associative view of language is supported by language theory prior to the seventeenth-century linguistic revolution described by Foucault, when words were seen as exhibiting a sympathy or similitude with the entities they designated: "Up to the end of the sixteenth century, resemblance played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It was resemblance that largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts; it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them [. . .] And representation— whether in the service of pleasure or of knowledge—was posited as *a form of repetition*" (*The Order of Things*, trans. Richard Howard [New York: Vintage Books, 1973], 17) (emphasis added). Such conceptions originate in Stoic theories of language, which distinguish between signifier, signified, and "thing existing," in order to describe a process in which meaning bridges the gap between the signifier and "the thing" by recognizing a resemblance or correspondence between the two; see Andreas Graeser, "The Stoic Theory of Meaning," in *The Stoics*, ed. John M. Rist (Berkeley: U of Cal P, 1978), 77-9; cf. Carroll, who emphasizes that the burden of recognition falls on the audience (*Stoic Comedy*, 171); this corresponds to the audience of allegorical narrative, whose readers are similarly responsible for establishing the meaning of the narrative. Augustine conceives of words as having, in addition to their arbitrary, conventional function as visible signs, an internal, natural function as symbols, enabling the direct apprehension of invisible truth; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 57-8; within this associative theory of language there is still the potential for discrepancy between what is said and what is meant, which the Stoics describe as a contrast between the *logos* as it exists in the mind of the speaker, or *endiáthetos*, and the *logos* as it is spoken, or *prophorikos*. Drawing on Augustine, this conception is echoed by an admirer of Sidney's, Sir Thomas Hoskins, in his *Directions for Speech and Style . . . exemplified out of "Arcadia"* (c. 1599), which articulates a dualistic view of speech as both external and internal,

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the former conveying meaning, the latter deriving directly from the apprehension of reality; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 58-9. The external-internal distinction, which, following the Stoics, was imbedded in the opposition of *ratio* and *sermo*, arises from the standpoint of the listener and is an issue of interpretation. From the standpoint of intention, on the other hand, of deliberately saying one thing and meaning another, the matter is one of authorial production and provides the ground for tropes, which are grouped according to the distance between the *ratio* and *sermo*, small divergences associated with analogy, metaphor, and their correlates, larger ones with irony and its derivatives. The close relationship between allegory and such matters is evident in the regularity with which allegory is defined, following Quintilian, as a metaphor continued or extended (*Institutio Orationis* 25-6). Carroll explores the similarity between Renaissance concepts of irony and allegory in light of the Stoic understanding of *semainein* as *connotative* rather than *denotative* having persisted until the seventeenth-century linguistic shift (*Stoic Comedy*, 171). The supplanting of associative semiotics by the Cartesian dualism of sign and signified, identified in our own era with Saussure's *langue* and *parole*, enabled the shift from a medieval view of allegoresis as four-part process to the two-dimensional sense of it as translation, as a process of identifying the objective correlative of textual imagery. The subsequent challenge to structural linguistics by Vladimir Vološinov and Mikhail Bakhtin, who focus on the social construction of meaning and on the evaluative accent that words absorb in the speech utterance, had equally significant implications for allegory, providing a basis for the work of Goldberg, Quiligan, and others who examine the relationship between allegory and the structure of language. The concerns of these recent writers are closer not only to those of the Russian theorists, but also to Spenser's, the former's conception of an agonistic linguistic universe reminiscent of the atmosphere in Faery land, where representation and interpretation are challenged on so many levels. Michael Murrin discusses Stoic linguistics and Renaissance theories of allegory in much greater detail in *The Veil of Allegory: some notes toward a theory of allegorical rhetoric in the English Renaissance*, 59-65; cf. Goldberg's assertion that Foucault's description of how language functioned in the sixteenth century applies to language in the *Faerie Queene* (*Endlesse*, 76 n. 1); cf. Quiligan, who argues that up through the sixteenth century, allegory rests on the power of language to operate by "a sympathetic magic of names" (*Language*, 166). Recent exploration of the religious context of Bakhtin's theories has opened up new areas of interest in this regard: Alexander Milhailovic explores the christological origins of dialogicity, focusing on the doctrines of the consubstantiality of the Trinity, associated with the Council of Nicea in 325 C.E., and the consubstantiality of Christ's two natures, human and divine, associated with the Chalcedonian council of 451 C.E.; as Milhailovic notes, these concepts developed, in part, from study of the Johannine texts on transubstantiation, particularly John 6:56, which reflected older traditions of Hellenic and Judaic theorizing on language, which were themselves based on Stoic theories of *logos*; in contrast to the Heraclitan proposition of a unitary *logos* as the principle of order or reason amidst chaos, the Stoics asserted a multiple *logos* within a unitary one, identifying the *logos spermatikos*, or seminal thought, which engenders a diversified reality of common origin, as the source of the *logos endiáthetos* and *logos prophorikos* referred to above (Alexander Milhailovic, *Corporeal Words: Mikhail Bakhtin's Theology of Discourse* [Northwestern U P: Evanston, 1997], esp. 18-24); bringing the subject full circle, David Lee Miller explores the subject in terms of Ernst Kantorowicz's study of the merging of individual and corporate identity in the coronation of England's kings, which Kantorowicz saw as resuscitating Christological problems of the early church; Miller, in turn, sees the "aesthetic ideology" of the *Faerie Queene* as reflecting central contradictions of Tudor

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counters the threat of linguistic entropy by revealing the authentic relationship of past to present, but in so doing establishes a foundation for national and religious identity, as it had for Sidney.[376]

4.8 Allegory / allegoresis

Ecclesiastical issues became entwined with literary ones in Counter-Reformation Italy via the Cinquecento debates, which began by exploring the generic ramifications of Ariosto's unconventional mix of epic and romance and ended by focusing on the religious implications of these issues in light of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.[377] The *Discorsi dell'arte poetica*, which Tasso authored in the same period as his epic, and which represents the culminating work on the subject, addresses the dual threat of heresy and ethical impropriety as matters of literary theory. Tasso conjoins Tridentine doctrine with recently gained insights into Aristotle's *Poetics* to identify the wandering plot of romance with both lack of unity and moral laxity and to advise the epic poet to choose a religious

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"Royal Christology" (*Bodies*, 86).

[376] When it comes to deceptive appearances in the *Faerie Queene*, protection lies in the true faith of Protestantism, just as Spenser's romance-epic represents the reformation of pagan romance; cf. Hadfield's discussion of the punlike quality of etymologies and of Jonathan Culler's description of etymologies as respectable puns; according to Hadfield, who explores the importance of etymology to Sidney's *Apologie*, where it also combines national and religious validity, the ability of etymology to accommodate the coincidence of names works as a defense against the pun's destabilizing influence (*Literature*, 137-8); elsewhere Hadfield's discusses etymology in Spenser's works as an epistemological principle threatened by the use of the pun: "the harbinger of uncertainty and insecurity" (*Wilde Fruit*, 99-111).

[377] The most illuminating analyses of the subject are those of Daniel Javitch, *Proclaiming a Classic* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1991), and Lawrence Rhu's work, cited earlier, *The Genesis of Tasso's Narrative Theory* (Detroit: Wayne State U P, 1993); cf. Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1961); also see Margaret W. Ferguson, *Trials of Desire: Renaissance Defenses of Poetry* (New Haven: Yale U P, 1983) and Mariella Cavalchini and Irene Samuel, *Torquato Tasso: Discourses on the Heroic Poem* (London: Oxford U P, 1973).

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subject while avoiding the retelling of scripture.[378] For partisans of Ariosto, whose masterpiece followed no such rules, allegoresis became an important defense, and by the mid-1550s Italian editors of the *Furioso* were regularly attaching allegories to its cantos to counter accusations of immorality as well as to enhance the work's overall gravitas.[379] Fearful of ecclesiastical opinion, Tasso went even further, authoring, in addition to the *Discorsi*, the "Allegoria del poema," which explained the *Liberata*'s Christian-Aristotelian significance and which was published alongside the poem beginning in 1581.[380]

While allegory's interplay of unity and multiplicity is first codified as part of Patristic efforts to control the meaning of pagan texts, the tension characteristic of allegory is evident in its etymology, which conjoins the *agoreuein* of public speech with

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[378] Started in 1565 but not published until 1587, the *Discorsi* were substantially revised and republished as *Discorsi del poema heroico* in 1594/5; Antonio Minturno linked the romance variety of *errare* with moral *errore* in his *Arte poetica* (1564); the terms themselves had been compared in antiquity by Horace (*Satires* 2.3.48-51); Aristotle's *Poetics*, after having been transmitted to western culture through the commentaries of Arabic scholars, was rediscovered in Greek manuscript and translated into Latin in 1498 by Giorgio Valla; Aldus published the first Renaissance Greek edition of the text in 1508; increased familiarity with the work is generally associated with Robortello's commentary on it, published in 1548; Bernardo Segni's vernacular translation, the first, followed in 1549. According to some, the *Araucana* revealed the absence of Aristotelian unity in its lack of a single hero; these complaints were originally voiced by supporters of Ercilla's commander in Chile, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, with whom the poet had substantial difficulties (see 129 n. 216, above); cf. Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, who uses the Horatian metaphor of the badly organized oration as a headless body to describe Ercilla's work as *acephalo* (*Hechos de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Quarto Marqués de Cañete*, 1613).

[379] In the *De genealogiis deorum*, Boccaccio adopts the Stoic position that myths represent allegories of deeper truths; medieval allegoresis is associated in particular with the many versions of Ovid "moralized."

[380] The "Allegoria" was composed in 1545/6, as Tasso completed work on the *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

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allos, whose *otherness* indicates the saying of one thing while meaning another.[381] As an interpretive device, allegory's subsequent systematization by Dante and his successors held little appeal for Renaissance humanists, who eschewed the occult implications of such schema for an analysis that grounded allegory in the literal and grammatical sense of the text, as part of a recovery of authorial intention.[382] Intention was especially important to religious reformers, for whom the medieval, multilevel interpretations also smacked of an idolatry that Protestant exegesis was meant to undermine, viewing the scriptures as fundamentally rhetorical constructions designed to persuade that, while divinely inspired, were nonetheless susceptible to the same interpretive methods as secular works from antiquity.[383]

By the time Spenser was at work on the *Faerie Queene*, Puritan attacks on poetry and drama, together with the decline of *cortegiania* and the spread of Italiphobia, had

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[381] ἀλληγορέω (ἄλλος + ἀγορεύω); since the origins of this phenomenon in antiquity undoubtedly included perceived restrictions on expression, the practice can be seen as an aspect of the shift from deliberative to epideictic forms of rhetoric; for Augustine and subsequent Christian writers, for whom the fallen nature of the world required that truth be hidden, the word's access to invisible truth through its function as a natural symbol becomes a logical basis for allegory; see 202 n. 375, above; cf. Shepherd, "Introduction," 57-8; Angus Fletcher notes that the inverting of meaning by *allos* led to allegory's identification with inversion, or *inversio*, a term for both irony and translation; *translatio*, in turn, can signify metaphor (*Allegory: the Theory of a Symbolic Mode* [Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1974], 2-3).

[382] Dante's *Il Convivio* articulates a four-part interpretive schema distinguishing between a text's literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogic meanings; subsequent variations on this approach posited three divisions, with the anagogic absorbed into the allegorical; for additional discussion of the importance of authorial intention in humanist literary analysis, see Norbrook, *Poetry* 14.

[383] The characterization is Greenblatt's (*Fashioning*, 102); for additional discussion, see King, *Spenser*, esp. 77-8; cf. 165 ff., above. For Tyndale, who critiques the four-fold method of scriptural interpretation in the last part of *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1527), this results in the meaning of scripture being literal, with allegory seen as a device to heighten the effect of the text on the reader.

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enhanced the appeal of allegory as a defense. The best-known English example is found in John Harington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, begun in the early 1580s and presented to the queen in 1591. Harington, Elizabeth's godson and a favored figure at court, preceded his text with a "A Briefe Apologie of Poetrie" that, after echoing key elements of Sidney's defense, parted unmistakably from it to describe a tripartite interpretive schema for poetry based largely on the work of Tasso and the Italian defenders of Ariosto.[384] According to Harington, poetry had literal, moral, and allegorical

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[384] cf.: "The ancient Poets have indeed wrapped as it were in their writings divers and sundry meanings which they call the sences or mysteries thereof. First of all for the litterall sence (as it were the utmost barke or ryne) they set downe, in manner of an historie, the acts and notable exploits of some persons worthy memorie; then in the same fiction , as a second rine and somewhat more fine as it were nearer to the pith and marrow, they place the Morall sence, profitable for the active life of man, approving vertuous actions and condemning the contrarie. Manie times also under the selfesame words they comprehend some true understanding of Naturall Philosophie or somtimes of politike governement and now and then of divinitie, and these same sences that comprehend so excellent knowledge we call the Allegorie which *Plutarch* defineth to be when one thing is told and by that another is understood. Now let any man judge if it be a matter of meane art of wit to containe in one historicall narration either true or fained so many, so diverse, and so deepe conceits [. . .]" (text for Harington's work is from *Orlando Furioso*, trans. John Harington, [Oxford: Oxford U P, 1972], 5); regarding the distinction between true and feigned historical narratives, see the discussion of Sidney and Amyot, 178 n. 321, above; in his comments appended to each canto, Harington added a fourth category, "allusion," to the three enumerated here; cf. another prefatory paratext, the "Advertisement," based substantially on Ruscelli's "A I lettori," in which Harington explains that each canto is followed by: "The morall that we may apply it to our own manners and disposition to the amendment of the same. The history both that the true ground of the poem may appear (for learned men hold that a perfect poem must ground of a truth) [. . .] The Allegory of some things that are merely fabulous, yet have an allegorical sense which everybody at the first show cannot perceive. The Allusion, of fictions to be applied to some things done or written of in times past, as also where it may be applied without offense to the time present." Harington's interpretive apparatus was based on the works of several well-known defenders of Ariosto, notably, Simone Fornari, whose *Spositione sopra l'Orlando Furioso* appeared in 1549-50, and Lavezuola's *Osservationi*; see the analysis of Javitch, who notes that Harington's moralizations offer beneficial precepts to be drawn from the cantos, while his allegorizations focus on what many critics considered the poem's excessive use of the fantastic (*Proclaiming*, 137-39); cf. Rich, *Harington*, 47-64; Javitch notes that neo-Aristotelian critics in Italy were dubious about the viability of allegoresis as a method of interpreting poetry in any case (*Proclaiming*, 144); Harington's allegories draw freely from Geoseffo Bononome's "Allegoria," which appeared in the 1584 Franceschi edition of Ariosto's poem; cf. Elizabeth Fowler, who discusses Harington's

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strata, with the last understood to include political, cosmological, psychological, and theological matters.[385]

Spenser's use of allegory as an organizing principle for the *Faerie Queene*, while drawing on the Christian humanist practice of applying allegoresis to romance-epic, recalls the medieval English tradition of pastoral eclogue more than it does Tasso or Harington.[386] More important than either influence, however, and beyond its encoding of messages either too erudite for common readers or too provocative for learned and potentially royal ones, Spenserian allegory represents an extension of the reformers' distrust of *dissimulazione* from the lexicon of art to its very structure, its newly reformed status now based on strategies that, in direct contravention of *cortegiania*, call attention to themselves at every opportunity.[387]

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various senses of allegory as representing different disciplines: history, ethics, science, political philosophy, and theology ("The Failure of Moral Philosophy in the Work of Edmund Spenser," *Representations* 51 (1995) 47-76, esp. 51); Rich notes that Harington's *Apologie* represented an effort to reconcile courtiers and Puritans (*Harington*, 144).

[385] While Harington moralizes some of Ariosto's more risque passages, he exaggerates others to a point that Townsend Rich describes as "frankly pornographic"; Rich explains this in terms of the court's taste for wantonness, to which Spenser offered a dramatic contrast (*Harington and Ariosto: a Study in Elizabethan Verse Translation*, 57); Harington's decadence is part of the decline of *cortegiania* from Castiglionian ideals; Essex presented Harington's translation of Ariosto to Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, on the occasion of the truce signed between them; cf. Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit*, 47.

[386] The impact of Tasso's "Allegoria" on changes Spenser made to the *Faerie Queene* between 1580 and 1590 and on the "Letter to Ralegh" is explored by Richard Helgerson ("Tasso on Spenser: the politics of chivalric romance," esp. 220-225); Rhu argues that Spenser had not read the *Discorsi* before publishing the 1590 *Faerie Queene* (*Tasso*, 10); for additional discussion on the convention of reading romance-epic as allegory, see King, *Spenser*, 185.

[387] Cf. the *Faerie Queene*'s dedicatory sonnet to Lord Burghley, where Spenser, after a *captatio benevolentiae* regarding the unworthiness of his verses, remarks: "Yet if their deeper sence be inly wayd, / And the dim vele, with which from comune vew / Their fairer parts are hid, aside be layd. / Perhaps not vaine they may appeare to you" (lines 9-12); cf. the description of the

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Prior to the *Faerie Queene*, England's allegorical tradition had been joined with Protestant polemics and the romance quest motif in Barnaby Googe's *The Shippe of Safegarde* (1569) and Stephen Bateman's *The Travayled Pylgrime* (1569). While significantly expanding the scope of their undertakings, Spenser follows these authors in a characteristic Elizabethan *imitatio* that draws on a variety of sources, ancient, medieval, and early modern, both native and imported, whose separate identities are maintained and indeed accentuated rather than being disguised in an entirely new product.[388] Spenser's approach to these two components of the imitative process, the first a matter of a single or multiple models, the second, the degree to which a model is acknowledged or disguised, offers a further illustration of the anti-courtly thrust of his reformed aesthetics, opposing the exclusivity of Bembo's Ciceronianism, on the one hand, while emphasizing rather than concealing his sources on the other.[389] In contrast to most theorists, who, from

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bathing damsels who threaten to distract Guyon on his mission to the Bower of Bliss:

> The whiles their snowy limbes, as through a vele,
> So through the Christall waues appeared plaine:
> Then suddeinly both would themselues vnhele,
> And th'amarous sweet spoiles to greedy eyes reuele. (2.12.64.6-9)

Murrin identifies three basic meanings of allegory during the Renaissance: as a particular figure of speech, as all tropes of sentences, and as defining poetry itself, seen as extended tropological discourse (*Allegory*, 52-64).

[388] King discusses these works as representative of "Elizabethan syncretism" (*Spenser*, 185-7); Googe was among the Cambridge graduates who, like Spenser, made their careers in Ireland; in addition to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, he authored "Ecloges, Epytaphes, and Sonnettes" (1563), one of the poems of which, "Cupido Conquered," directly influenced Spenser's "Court of Cupid" in Book 6 of the *Faerie Queene*; cf. Maley, *Salvaging* 15-16.

[389] Renaissance theories of *imitatio* typically divide it either into two classes opposing servile following to more sophisticated procedures or into three categories that distinguish its products as less than, equal to, or better than their prototypes; tripartite schemas include those of Bartolomeo Ricci, who in 1541 refers to *sequi*, *imitari*, and *aemulari*; and Daniel Barbero, a member of Bembo's circle, who in 1547 uses *accostarsi*, *aguagliarli*, and *superargli* to denote following in the footsteps of, overtaking, and passing an antecessor (*Trattati*, 2.450); Roger

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antiquity onward, championed transformative imitation, Spenser pursues what Thomas Greene refers to as a sacramental *imitatio* that goes out of its way to preserve the identities of its sources in order to pay homage to them.[390] The result is a juxtaposition of epic, romance, and English vernacular traditions that maintains their individual identities

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Ascham discusses Ricci in his *Scholemaster* (1570); cf. Carroll, "Humanism," 255; for additional discussion of Ricci, see G. W. Pigman, who notes the probable inspiration of his schema in Erasmus ("Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33.1 [1980]) esp. 3-4 and 26 n. 35; cf. Nicolopulos, "Prophecy," 47-49; present day scholars have generated their own classifications of *imitatio*: Pigman reduces a variety of schema to two broad categories: imitation and emulation (2-3); Thomas Greene adopts a quartet of distinctions: sacramental, eclectic, heuristic, and dialectical (*Light in Troy*, 38-45); no schema gains wide acceptance in any era and all are finally unsatisfying, mixing as they do evaluations of texts with assessments of intention, the first concerned with degrees of duplication, the second with authors' attitudes and with their efforts to showcase erudition, to equal or surpass, and to honor or conceal, each of these reflected in the extent to which their models are acknowledged or disguised; cf. my "*Imitatio*, *Translatio*, and Alonso de Ercilla's *Doloneia*," esp. 5-6.

[390] Transformative imitation was frequently associated with metaphors of digestion, the best known that of Seneca, who compared the process to the making of honey by bees, an image that also addressed the issue of a single versus multiple models (*Epistulae morales 84*, 3-8); either element of the Senecan simile could be emphasized by subsequent readers: Macrobius focused on the arrangement of varied materials (*Saturnalia*, 1.4, 1.8); Petrarch, the process of creative reformulation (*Familiares*, 1.8.23, 22.2.20-21, 23.19.15); Lucretius had used the apian image prior to Seneca (*De Rerum Natura*, 3.11-12); in the *Cortegiano* Canossa champions an eclectic *imitatio* that includes the desire to exceed, noting that "se Virgilio avesse in tutto imitato Esiodo, non gli saria passato inanzi" ("if Virgil had imitated Hesiod in everything, he would not have surpassed him") (1.37); Canossa also observes that "le cose tolte da Omero o da qualche altro stiano tanto bene in Virgilio che più presto paiono illustrate chi imitate" ("things taken from Homer or from whatever other [author] stand so well in Virgil that they seem rather enhanced than copied") (1.39); Sidney's *Apologie*, by contrast, articulated a vision of *imitatio* as a guide to virtue on the one hand and as a representation designed to teach and delight on the other, twin formulations oriented toward the ideal but reconciled in the common goal of inspiring virtuous action; cf. Hadfield *Literature*, 143; cf. Antonio Cascardi, who argues that among Neo-Petrarchists the "original" desire is mirrored by a desire to rival the original, i.e., that the mimesis of desire is replaced by the *imitatio* of the model that can involve the desire to surpass (*Ideologies*, 251); see the earlier discussion of *imitatio*, 42 ff., above; Nicolopulos argues that dissimulation helps resolve what he sees as the central tension of imitative practice between taking advantage of the prestige of a consecrated subtext, on the one hand, and avoiding the appearance of parasitical vampirism, on the other ("Prophecy," 51).

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while emphasizing the newly reformed status of the product that they constitute.[391]

Allegory, like other aspects of the *Faerie Queene*, is both a stabilizing and destabilizing force. It enhances the former through its function as the primary route to meaning and as the structural principle underlying and unifying the poem's various generic, thematic, and linguistic components and procedures. It contributes to the latter as meanings multiply, deriving, as they do, from individual readings of a text where these components and procedures not only resist resolution but invite ambiguity.[392] As Lawrence Rhu has noted, the apparently straightforward nature of Spenser's allegory, brought to the reader's attention in the proems as well as the "Letter," is itself problematic, since the transparency of its terms leaves them susceptible to multiple constructions.[393] Additionally, the process of interpretation prevents sustained immersion in the narrative, contributing to a paratactic text whose forays into mimetic realism are

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[391] King discusses Spenser's adaptations of generic archetypes in terms of his reformation of them to Protestant standards (*Spenser*, esp. 183-84); Thomas Greene describes Spenser's syncretism as "post-medieval" or "naive," noting that it tends to juxtapose genres rather than interweave them (*The Descent from Heaven: a Study in Epic Continuity*, 303); cf. Durling, who argues that the structure of the *Faerie Queene* reflects the pluralistic structures of Christendom as conceived by Protestants, especially Calvin, who envisioned separate, homologous, Reformed churches, in contrast to the rationalistic hierarchy of Catholicism (*Figure*, 125-31).

[392] Norbrook notes that while the *Faerie Queene*'s narrator frequently offers readers various interpretations of events, he rarely gives easy answers, resulting in questions whose resolution it becomes the reader's moral imperative to resolve (*Poetry*, 112); cf. Goldberg's assessment that Spenserian narrative offers no principle that determines meaning, but rather lures the reader while denying the possibility of interpretation, just as its endless quality denies hermeneutic closure (*Endlesse*, 71-72 and 76 n. 1).

[393] Rhu, *Tasso*, 61ff.

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constantly cut short.[394]

The combination of Spenser's lexical, rhetorical, and structural devices is most pronounced in Books I and II, where his pursuit of a new variety of Protestant epic is most enthusiastic. As has frequently been noted, the optimism of these opening books declines as the poem advances, beginning with an increased emphasis on the *entrelacement* of romance narratives in Books III and IV, continuing with the dominance of political allegory in Book V, and culminating with the Greek-romance-inspired adventure story at the heart of Book VI. The work that results is frequently both explanatory and contradictory; progressive in its commitment to vernacular culture, to a new aesthetics, and to its questioning of the monarchy; conservative in its rejection of courtly discourse, in its efforts to revive an archaic dialect, and in its project of restoring the connection between the monarchy and its legendary roots; confident, initially, in its challenge to literary and political assumptions; resigned, eventually, as it relinquishes its own ambitious outline. The tensions generated by the constantly shifting mix of these various factors account, in part, for the hybrid quality of the *Faerie Queene*. The poem

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[394] Cd. Rhu's discussion of these issues in terms of the contrast between Tasso's and Spenser's commitments to neo-Aristotelia realism: "[. . .] Spenser's occasional descents into the details of mimesis are anything but sustained; thus, his echoes of Tasso's neo-Aristotelia poetics are more surprising and harder to discern because they are inevitably entangled in other kids of representation" (*Tasso*, 63); Durling contrasts what he sees as two conceptions of epic structure in the *Faerie Queene*, one interwoven and associated with Ariosto, particularly in Books 3 and 4, the other additional and characterized by self-contained stories, primarily in Books 1, 2, 5, and 6; John Watkins claims that the shift from a single hero in Books 1 and 2 to the multiple heroes of Books 3 and 4 was understood by Renaissance readers less as a contrast between epic and romance than as competing notions of which literary forms had inherited Virgil's authority; Watkins argues that Spenser's conception of epic as "an exchange between alterative ethical and aesthetic perspectives" is indebted primarily to Chaucer (*The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic*, 146).

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reflects, as well, the hybrid identities of Spenser and the other English in Ireland, whether Old, and suspended between Gaelic culture and the *patria*, or New, and suspended between the *patria* as it existed and as they envision its future through the lens of radical Protestantism.

4.9 *Renovatio / transformatio*

A striking manifestation of the *Faerie Queene*'s hybrid nature is the degree to which, in the guise of an allegorized bricolage of classical epic, medieval romance, and Protestant dogma, it emphasizes so many of the same key themes as the *Araucana*: the contrast between love and violence, the conflict between the irascible, concupiscent, and rational parts of the soul, and the concern with types of love, with lust and greed, and with the qualities of temperance, shame, and honor. Ercilla explores these issues in his encounters with the Araucan women and Dido, through which he conducts a *renovatio* of classical epic, Petrarchism, and courtly discourse. Spenser undertakers a *transformatio* of these traditions through reformed religion, relying on many of the same key images to do so. Among the most important of these topoi, which will be explored in greater detail in the chapters that follow, is the night raid, which figures prominently in Book 1 of the *Faerie Queene*, where it is transformed from an assault by earthly opponents to one by a sorcerer and the unearthly phantoms he sends to undermine faith and, in contrast to the indirect threat of Tasso's romance, to directly challenge the hero's purpose. Prominent here as well is the abandoned woman, who appears in a series of figures with notable correspondences, for all their difference, to the Araucan women: in Book 1, Una, following Spenser's adaptation of the same Virgilian simile of the dawn utilized by

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Ercilla, realizes that Redcross has left her; a few stanzas later, following the duel between Redcross and Sansfoy that alludes, as Ercilla does, to the death of Turnus, Duessa-Fidessa appears as a grieving widow, searching for the corpse of her beloved, like Tegualda, and telling a tale with striking parallels to those of Glaura and Lauca; in Book 2, another widow, Amavia, carries through on the longing for death brought on by loss of the beloved, overgoing Lauca and her comrades. In Book 2, as well, the image of the bridle appears, evoked by the Palmer as a remedy to Phedo's anger and Pyrochles's burning ire, and the story of Jason and Medea is encountered on the gates of the Bower of Bliss, much as Aeneas's story graces the doors of Juno's temple at Carthage. Fire and bridle are joined again in Book 3, in the context of the sexual desire of Malecasta, who, in a gender-inverted rendition of Dido's banquet for Aeneas, falls in love with Britomart and suffers, as Dido did, from love as a wound, as a poison, and as a flame. Apparent even in such brief descriptions is the fact that, in contrast to the *Araucana*'s use of these motifs, where they resonate in harmony with the *translatio studii* and in unequivocal admiration of the classical tradition, Spenser's incorporation of such material takes place in a context where the stakes are higher, where the criteria are religious rather than literary, and where, given the fallen nature of the world, the results are almost always demonic parodies, as Angus Fletcher has described them, renditions of topoi whose vestiges of pagan glory are now seen as contaminated, if not by the absence of religion, by its perversion in the Holy Roman Church. Among the images discussed below, one that reveals perhaps better than any other the juxtaposition of continuity and change between Ercilla and Spenser, between mid- and late sixteenth century, and between the Iberian peninsula and England,

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is that of the bridle. In both the *Araucana* and the *Faerie Queene* the bridle is a Neoplatonic symbol of restraint to sexual desire. Within a few years of the *Faerie Queene*'s publication, the bridle migrates from the politicized aesthetics of faery land to the aestheticized politics of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*, where, contrasted to the Machiavellian image of the sword as a choice of solutions to the Irish problem, it is discounted, its alternative seen as the only effective avenue of social change.

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Chapter 5: Themes and Variations

5.1 The intertextual forest

Virgilian epic provides a pattern for personal and literary identity that Ercilla and Spenser both emulate and challenge. Ercilla's emulation is most apparent in the *Araucana*'s celebration of Spanish imperial glory, in the *gravitas* with which he imbues events, and in the bond he asserts between public events and private integrity. Ercilla's challenge to Virgil is most explicit in his critique of the *Aeneid*'s depiction of Dido. The subject arises in the context of the Araucan heroines, confirming a link between these figures, the Carthaginian queen, and the juxtaposition of the abandoned woman and epic ideology. Rather than pursue the critique of epic inherent in this conjunction, however, Ercilla personalizes the subject, as he does so many other aspects of epic, indicting Virgil's own abandonment of Dido as manifest in the falsification of her history, a wrong the *Araucana* attempts to right through a courtly defense of personal honor and female virtue. Publication of the *Faerie Queene*, in addition to confirming Spenser's emulation of the *rota Virgilii*, revealed numerous analogues between his work and the *Aeneid*, key examples of which appear within the opening lines of the Legend of Holiness.[1] A fundamental challenge to Virgil appears here, as well, structured once again around Dido's abandonment, which proves to be an equally important image for Spenser and the

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[1] Spenser's aspirations with regard to Virgil were advertised as early as E. K.'s dedicatory epistle in *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), where he speculates, with regard to the eclogue format, that Spenser was "[. . .] following the example of the best and most ancient poets which devised this kind of writing, being both so base for the matter and homely for the manner, at the first to try their abilities [. . .] So flew Virgil, as not yet well feeling his wings [. . .] So, finally, flieth this our new poet, as a bird whose principals be scarce grown out, but yet as that in time shall be able to keep wing with the best"; text of the letter is from *Edmund Spenser: Selected Shorter Poems*, ed. Douglas Brooks-Davies (London: Longman, 1995), 23.

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Protestant perspective. Here, too, events in Carthage assume metafictional significance, transcending the question of epic to illuminate fundamental differences between reformed Christianity and the Holy Roman Church, on the one hand, and potential disagreements between the reformers and partisans of the New Learning, on the other. The first arises from the Pelagian indifference to God's grace and to the justification by faith inherent in the interpretation of Aeneas's departure from Carthage as the victory of reason over emotion; this same reading gives rise to the second, forming as it does a central exhibit in the humanist defense of epic as the supreme expression of a didactic medium. Defenders of Aeneas's victory saw Ariosto's Astolfo as his opposite, as someone dehumanized by lust. The *Faerie Queene*'s initial foray into the forest of literary models is structured around this contrast, framed on one end by allusions to Aeneas and Dido and on the other by those to their romance or romance-epic analogues, Ariosto's Ruggier and Alcina and Tasso's Rinaldo and Armida. Subservient to both at this point in the poem is the mix of militant Protestantism and Arthurian chivalry that will come to dominate it.[2]

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[2] In contrast to the counter-tradition of Troy's fall and Aeneas's subsequent career, the Christian commentary of the Middle Ages and Renaissance saw little controversy in the Dido and Aeneas episode; cf. Fulgentius, whose entire comment on the fourth book of the *Aeneid* consists of the following:

> In book 4 the spirit of adolescence, on holiday from paternal control, goes off hunting, is inflamed by passion and, driven on by storm and cloud, that is, by confusion of mind, commits adultery. Having lingered long at this, at the urging of Mercury he gives up a passion aroused to evil ends by his lust. Mercury is introduced as the god of the intellect: it is by the urging of the intellect that youth quits the straits of passion. So passion perishes and dies of neglect; burnt to ashes, it disintegrates. When it is driven from the heart of youth by the power of the mind, it burns out, buried in the ashes of oblivion.

(The remarks comprise section 16 of the *Expositio Virgilianae Continentiae Secundum Philosophos Moralis*; translation by Leslie George Whitbread, *The Exposition of the Content of*

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The significance of the classical motifs in the *Faerie Queene*'s opening lines has frequently been addressed.[3] The following pages suggest that expanding their examination to include the plot structure or *dispositio* of their original contexts offers

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Virgil according to Moral Philosophy, in *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, ed. and trans. Leslie George Whitbread [Columbus: Ohio State U P, 1971]). John Watkins argues that Renaissance debates over the humanist defense of poetry are inseparable from debates over Aeneas's abandonment of Dido, with those who question poetry's didactic value defending Dido or parodying events in Carthage, while their opponents not only endorse Aeneas's behavior but imitate his sacrifice in their own relationships to literary tradition, the epic hero's rejection of female sensuality becoming a topos of epic poets distinguishing themselves from suspect literary influences, primarily lyric; *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995), esp. 4-5. As has been shown, Ercilla, who embraces the elevating potential of epic but disagrees fundamentally with Dido's Virgilian abandonment, poses a substantial challenge to Watkins's provocative thesis. The *Aeneid*'s reception into Christian culture is set by Ovid and Augustine, Ovid viewing Dido's abandonment as treachery, Augustine equating Aeneas's perceived wanderings with his own: "[. . .] quam illae [his Greek lessons] quibus tenere cogebar Aeneae nescio cuius errores, oblitus errorum meorum, et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, cum interea me ipsum in his a te morientem, deus, vita mea, siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus" ("But in the later lessons I was obliged to memorize the wanderings of a hero named Aeneas, while in the meantime I failed to remember my own erratic ways. I learned to lament the death of Dido, who killed herself for love, while all the time, in the midst of these things, I was dying, separated from you, my God and my Life, and I shed no tears for my own plight") (*Confessionum*, 1.13); English translation is that of R. S. Pine-Coffin (Penguin Books: Middlesex, England, 1971). For further discussion of Christian commentary on this portion of the *Aeneid*, which saw Mercury as a figure of *eloquentia* and *ingenium*, which overcomes libido, and the hero's underworld encounter with Anchises as his initiation into the contemplative life, see Watkins, who also notes that Spenser rewrites Mercury's descent at least three times in Book 1 in the episodes of Orgoglio, of Despair, and of Una and Arthur's rescue of Redcross (*Specter*, 90-112). The allegories discussed here, associated with the commentaries of Ruscelli, Valvassori, Porcacchi, Fornari, and Bononome, were widely published as paratexts to the *Furioso* throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; on Harington's use of them, see 207, n. 384, above; cf. Shirley Clay Scott, "From Polydorus to Fradubio: The History of a *Topos*," *Spenser Studies*, 7 (1986), esp. 55 n. 30. For contrasting readings of the abandoned woman figure, see Lawrence Lipking's *Abandoned Women and Poetic Tradition* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988), which argues that the motif is a universal one providing a mouthpiece for anti-epic, anti-canonical emotion; also see Mihoko Suzuki, whose *Metamorphoses of Helen: Authority, Difference, and the Epic* (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1989) examines the ambiguous role of woman as scapegoat and *casus belli*.

[3] See, inter alia: James Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of "The Faerie Queene"* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1976), 137-139; and Darryl J. Gless, *Interpretation and Theology in Spenser* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1994), 57-61; among recent discussions, see Jennifer C. Vaught, "Spenser's Dialogic Voice in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 41.1 (2001), 71-89.

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insights into the messages as well as methods of Spenser's poem.[4] The analogues newly discovered by this approach are typically minor. The exuberance with which they proliferate is nonetheless a powerful reminder of the atmosphere in which Renaissance authors write and of the fecundity with which imaginations saturated in the classical tradition generate secondary and tertiary echoes alongside primary ones.[5] This approach reveals that a widely analyzed image at the start of Spenser's poem, the catalogue of trees, is, in keeping with its models, conjoined with another venerable image, that of the ancient forest. Following antiquity, this combination develops in contrasting directions that Renaissance literary theorists eventually associate with the opposition of genres, epic texts linking it with the topos of the underworld journey, narratives identified with romance employing it as a stylized landscape for the theme of desire. The opening canto of the Legend of Holiness recalls both branches of this development through a series of intertexts that, inspired by Homer, begin with Virgil and extend, most importantly, through Lucan, Statius, Apollonius, Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Ariosto, and Tasso. At the end of the canto Spenser conjoins this imagery not only with that of the abandoned woman, one of two archetypal motifs in the erotic critique of epic, but also with

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[4] While Vaught argues that "Spenser not only recalls isolated words and phrases from prior works but also brings to mind the larger contexts of borrowed passages," her approach to these contexts is largely thematic, in contrast to the primarily structural approach being pursued here; cf. Vaught, "Dialogic," 72.

[5] Cf. the observation in E. K.'s letter, referred to above (199, n. 1), where, with regard to Spenser's models, he states that:

> [. . .] whenas this our poet hath been much travailed and thoroughly read, how could it be (as that worthy orator said) but that walking in the sun, although for other cause he walked, yet needs he mought be sunburnt; and having the sound of those ancient poets still ringing in his ears he mought needs, in singing, hit out some of their tunes. (19)

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intimations of its counterpart, the night raid. As one would expect, these images are fundamentally transfigured in the Spenserian context, the catabasis transformed from a geographically explicit itinerary to one more psychological in texture, the night raid narrowed from its Virgilian identity as the tragic intersection of four types of lust to an episode that focuses on sexual desire, foregrounding an issue that will not only belie the individual's capacity for moral virtue, but that in doing so will generate much of the canto's and the poem's remaining action.

The *Faerie Queene* opens *in medias res*, with the Redcross knight, associated with the Christian hero St. George, and Una, symbol of the one, true Church, on a quest to restore her parents' kingdom.[6] No sooner do the pair appear than a sudden rain forces

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[6] The association, via St. George, between Redcross and γεοργός is cited as additional evidence of the *rota Virgilii* in Spenser's work. The details of Una's dilemma, which involves the usurpation of her parents' kingdom, is indirectly reminiscent of Tasso's Armida, who comes to the Christian camp pretending to seek assistance to restore her to the kingdom inherited from her parents (*G.L.* 4.43-96). It is often noted that the need for a Christian revision of these motifs makes Tasso a key intermediary for Spenser. In contrast to the *Faerie Queene*'s treatment of these images in terms of distinctions between reformed and orthodox theology, Tasso contrasts the pagan world more sharply to the Christian one, Armida combining the abandoned woman, the sexual seductress, and the pagan threat into a single figure, for whom the first of these attributes is knowingly adopted as a false identity designed to undermine the Christian project. When Gofredo does not offer to help Armida, his men accuse him, in the same terms Dido used with Aeneas, of being raised by a tigress (*G.L.* 4.77; cf. *Ae.* 4.367); Tasso states explicitly that Armida is more clever than Circe or Medea (*G.L.* 4.66); he broaches the opposition of Christian and courtly cultures that Spenser will explore in greater depth, having Gofredo's younger brother, after Armida's petition is rejected, exclaim: "Ah! non sia ver, per Dio, che si ridica / in Francia, o dove in pregio è cortesia, / che si fugga da noi rischio o fatica / per cagion cosí giusta e cosí pia" ("Ah, let it not be [for God's sake] that it be reported in France, or wheresoever courtesy is prized, that peril or travail for cause so just and pious is shunned by us") (*G.L.* 4.81.1-4). Ecumenical in his literary if not theological ideology, Tasso embraces other key motifs related to the broader contexts of the issues raised in the present discussion, including the thirst for gold (*G.L.* 4.58) and the image of the bridle (*G.L.* 4.88); text for Tasso is from *Gerusalemme Liberata*, ed. Lanfranco Caretti, (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1971); English translation is that of Ralph Nash, *Jerusalem Delivered*, trans. and ed. Ralph Nash (Detroit: Wayne State U P, 1987); the recent translation of the *Gerusalemme* by Anthony M. Esolen (Baltimore: John Hopkins U P, 2000) is unfortunately inferior to Nash's work, updating it in a way that obscures the apprehension of

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them to seek shelter, and in place of Dido and Aeneas's cave they enter a grove of trees, which entices them inward with comforting shade and harmonious birdsong.[7] Comfort gives way to foreboding as the growth thickens, and the site is soon revealed to be the "wandering wood" (1.13.6), a sunless web of winding paths where knight and maid lose their way. Attempting to retrace their steps, they arrive at the heart of the grove and at a cave where, rather than enacting an amorous climax, Redcross encounters and defeats the terrifying serpent, Errour, image of heresy and the Catholic faith. Leaving the wood, Una and Redcross encounter the evil sorcerer, Archimago, disguised as a hermit, and accept his invitation to spend the night at his solitary cabin. Here the magician assaults the knight with enchantments, conjuring a likeness of Una that Redcross proceeds to discover *in flagrante delicto*, resulting in his abandonment of the authentic Una the following morning.

The sheltering grove at the canto's opening appears at first to be a *locus amoenus*. No sooner is it entered than its trees are enumerated in a catalogue of twenty species that occupies half of the eighth stanza and all of the ninth. Considering how quickly the reader has been thrust into the canto's fast-paced events, this display of rhetorical

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shared concerns in Tasso's poem and the wider context of literary and religious debate. In the fashioning of their heroines Spenser and Tasso are both influenced by Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, at the climax of which Charikleia, in spite of her white skin, is restored as the rightful heir of the king and queen of Ethiopia, the fact of her color explained by her mother's having prayed repeatedly at a painting of St. George rescuing the maid from the dragon; this becomes the basis for Tasso's Clorinda (*G.L.* 12.21). Medieval folklore considered Ethiopia an ancient Christian kingdom ruled by Prester John, and thus the story dovetails nicely with the reformers' claim to authority via the primitive, Eastern church; cf. A. C. Hamilton, note to 1.5.5; cf. Ariosto (*O.F.* 33.100-112). Heliodorus's plot and the legend of St. George both derive from the myth of Andromeda, whom Perseus rescues from the dragon.

[7] The storm has also been noted as alluding to the *Georgics* (2.325-27).

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virtuosity presents an unexpected and initially inexplicable delay. By entrapping the reader within its lines, however, the device draws attention to its own complex genealogy, which, as will be seen, underlies an important series of Virgilian revisions and the poem's first group of demonic parodies.[8] Early use of the catalogue of trees is associated, on the one hand, with Virgil's modest version of it describing the site where the Trojans gather wood for the funeral of Misenus, and, on the other, with Ovid's hyperbole describing the music of Orpheus, which has the power to attract an arboretum of twenty-six types of trees to a barren hilltop.[9] While the significance for Spenser of these two versions of the image, together with their subsequent imitations, is widely acknowledged, the importance of a fundamental difference between the two, apparent in the connection made by the former between the catalogue and the *antiquam silvam* or forest primeval (*Ae.* 6.179), has been less frequently explored.[10] The ancient forest, also descended from Homer, is

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[8] On *dilatio* as an element of romance structure related to rhetorical *amplificatio*, see Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance* (Princeton: Princeton U P, 1979), esp. 7-8, 58-60, 63; according to Parker's thesis, Spenser's use of the catalogue presents an early generic indicator of the Wandering Wood's identity. A. Bartlett Giamatti notes that Spenser's epithet for the maple, "seeldom inward sound" (1.9.9), echoes his own translation of Du Bellay's *Ruines of Rome*, where the phrase, "its trunk all rotten and unsound" is applied to the oak; cited in Scott, "Polydorus," 47-8.

[9] The loci classici are *Aeneid* 6.180-182, which mentions five species of trees, and *Metamorphosis* 10.86-106, which presents a twenty-four species version; cf. Virgil's catalogue of eight flowers in the second Eclogue, lines 45-50; Virgil's woods, also referred to as the "silvam immensam" or "boundless forest" (6.186), are based on those of Homer, who describes the Greeks as climbing to a remote, high forest in order to fell "high-crested oaks" for the funeral pyre of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.118); the death of Misenus alludes to that of Elpenor (*Od.* 12.552ff.)

[10] Curtius identifies the *locus amoenus* and the age-old forest as two idealized epic landscapes (*European*, 183-202, esp. 200-201); he also notes instances in which the *locus amoenus* is embedded within a wild forest, as is Spenser's here, presenting a union of contrasts (ibid., 198). The setting for Archimago's hermitage also combines aspects of an apparent *locus amoenus* in its fountain and crystal stream with the suggestion of wildness, being located "hard by a forests side, / Far from resort of people [. . .]" (1.34.2-3).

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usually described as an isolated, sacred precinct. Its conjunction with the catalogue of trees persists in that branch of the catalogue's development associated with epic, where the cutting down of the forest becomes part of a ritual of purification.[11]

Following the *Aeneid*, the catalogue-ancient-forest combination appears in two key epics: Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the original demonic parody, where a blasphemous Caesar attacks a revered stand of ancient trees in order to build battlements for his siege of Massila; and Statius's *Thebaid*, where the Seven construct a propitiatory pyre for their role in the death of the Nemean prince.[12] In the primary epic tradition purification precedes climactic events: in Virgil, cleansing the pollution associated with Misenus precedes the hero's entrance to the underworld; in Statius, the pyre precedes the attack on Thebes; in Lucan, who typically subverts heroic triumphalism, the significance of the episode is precisely the opposite, the destruction of the forest an act of sacrilege

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[11] As the passages being discussed here confirm, sacredness is closely related to its opposite, being cursed, which reflects the ambivalence of *sacer*, a term that bridges the space between piety and impiety; cf. the *auri sacra fames*, 239, below; cf. Scott, "Polydorus," 31; for additional discussion of the motif of the hero's passage through impurity, see Douglas Biow: *"Mirabile Dictu"*: Representations of the Marvelous in Medieval and Renaissance Epic (Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 1996), 162; cf. 236, n. 36, below.

[12] For Lucan, see *Pharsalia* 3.399-452, especially, "Lucus erat longo numquam violatus ab aevo" ("a grove there was, untouched by men's hands from ancient times") (3.399-400); a catalogue of five species follows; English translation of Lucan is that of J. D. Duff in the Loeb edition (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1928); for Statius, see *Thebaid* 6.90-106, especially, "veteres incaeda ferro silva comas" ("a wood that axe has never shorn of its ancient boughs") (6.90-91); Statius's catalogue contains twelve species; translation of Statius is by D. H. Mozley in the Loeb edition (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1928). In the *Thebaid*, the Argives are on their way to Thebes when they stop at Nemea and ask the woman in charge of the young prince where to find water. When she leaves the child to show them a nearby spring, he is killed by a serpent, which the Argives kill in return. The pyre they later construct, built alongside that for the prince, is in expiation for the death of the serpent. The woman in charge of the prince is Hypsipyle, who was earlier the queen of Lemnos, the island of killer women, with whom Jason fathers two children; see *Argonautica* 1.621ff.; cf. *Orlando Furioso* 19.57ff.

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preceding an early tactical failure in an irremediably brutal campaign by Caesar.[13]

Ovid's use of the catalogue, by contrast, makes no reference to the ancient forest or to the cutting of trees. Here, instead, the motif provides a background for Orpheus's songs about illicit desire, an association that Chaucer continues in *The Parliament of Fowls*, where the forest is the setting for the colloquy on love.[14] The settings in these works suggest subsequent forests of chivalric romance, including those of Arthurian legend.[15]

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[13] Inspiration for the motif comes from Homer, whose pyre for Patroclus precedes the attack on Troy; Virgil's forest is also home to the golden bough, an image indebted to Apollonius's golden fleece, the description of which suggests additional associations with motifs discussed here: "And they two [Jason and Medea] by the pathway came to the sacred grove, seeking the huge oak tree on which was hung the fleece, like to a cloud that blushes red with the fiery beams of the rising sun" (4.123-125); translation is that of R. C. Seaton in the Loeb edition (Harvard U P: Cambridge, 1999). In the *Pharsalia*, Caesar, impatient with the reluctance of his men to cut down the sacred grove, cries, "Iam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam, / Credite me fecisse nefas" ("Believe that I am guilty of the sacrilege, and thenceforth none of you need fear to cut down the trees" (3.436-7); a few lines later the narrator adds: "Servat multos fortuna nocentes, / Et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt" ("But Fortune often guards the guilty, and the gods must reserve their wrath for the unlucky") (3.448-9). A sub-motif in the forest's destruction describes the pathetic flight of its residents, including nymphs and fauns, in addition to wild animals: cf. Statius's *Thebaid* (6.96-98, 6.110-113); Boccaccio's sequel to Statius, *Il Teseida*, discussed below (11.21; 11.25); and Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, which as a Christianized text refers only to animals (3.76); in the *Pharsalia*, Lucan characteristically asserts that no living creature inhabited the cursed forest (3.403-404).

[14] Once Orpheus's grove is assembled, he sings of "[. . .] puerosque canamus / dilectos superis inconcessisque puellas / ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam" ("of boys whom the gods have loved, and of girls who, seized with unlawful passion, have paid the penalty for their amorous desires") (10.152-54); translation of Ovid is by Frank Justice Miller in the Loeb edition (Cambridge, 1916). Desire plays a multi-layered role when it comes to Orpheus, not only the subject of his songs, but also at the heart of the Orphic myths and his love for Eurydice; Virgil's text acknowledges the genealogy in Aeneas's reference to Orpheus (*Ae.* 6.119). For Chaucer's catalogue, see *The Parliament of Fowles* (lines 176-182), which also presents a *locus amoenus* (lines 173-210) within an ancient forest (lines 176-182); Chaucer's narrator is led into the temple of Venus, where he comes upon depictions of canonical unhappy love affairs, including Dido's (283-292); *The Parliament of Fowles* is set on St. Valentine's Day (309).

[15] Epic's erotic potential, such as that suggested by the derivation of Ovid's image from Virgil, is apparent throughout the literary genealogies being described here.

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While the two groups of texts just discussed suggest an epic-romance opposition, other works associated with these Spenserian images appear to blur the distinction. The first, Dante's *Inferno*, opens with another protagonist lost in the woods, in this case a "selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte" ("savage forest, dense and difficult") (1.5). Although this use of the forest, *sans* catalogue, precedes the pilgrim's epic journey through the underworld, the theme of desire is frequently foregrounded in the *Inferno* and *Comedia* as a whole.[16] Another forest appears in the *Inferno*'s Seventh Circle, the *selva dolorosa* (14.10) of suicides and squanderers, whose tormented Pier della Vigna provides an indirect link between this imagery and the Fradubio episode in Canto 2.[17] In contrast to Dante, three other authors here, Boccaccio, Ariosto, and Tasso, readapt the forest-catalogue combination. Boccaccio's sequel to Statius transplants his predecessor's description of the funeral for Orpheltes, weighty with dark foreboding, into the determinedly upbeat *Teseida*, where epic figures enact a courtly romance and the

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[16] Cf. Paolo and Francesca, who appear in Canto 5 along with Dido and others, "[. . .] dannati i peccator carnali, / che la ragion sommettono al talento" ("damned because they sinned within the flesh, / subjecting reason to the rule of lust") (5.38-39); translation of Dante is by Allen Mandelbaum, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (Berkeley: U of Cal P, 1980).

[17] The *Inferno*'s Canto 14, which describes the Third Ring of the Seventh Circle, site of those violent against God, is home to Capaneus, one of the Seven who attack Thebes, whose hubris impels him to challenge Jove; he appears shortly after the night raid in the *Thebaid* (10.738ff.). In the growing labyrinth of intertextual allusions engendered by these images, the Second Ring of the Seventh Circle, in Canto 13, site of suicides, is also described as the resting place of the Harpies, "che cacciar de le Strofade i Troiani / con tristo annunzio de futuro danno" ("who chased the Trojans from the Strophades / with sad foretellings of their future trials") (13.11-12). Dante refers here to Virgil's depiction of Aeneas's men as cursed by the Harpies, who foul their attempts to eat. In Apollonius the Harpies enact the same punishment on the man (and his offspring) who cuts down an ancient oak in spite of the pleas of a Hamadryad who had long been resident within it (*Argonautica* 2.476-481), another of the links between this imagery and the Fradubio episode.

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aftermath of Theban tragedy is royal marriage.[18] Ariosto, emphasizing the same Ovidian overtones, locates the catalogue at the heart of the romance setting, on Alcina's island, offering his own link between these verses and the Fradubio motif.[19] Displaying the complex synthesis that makes his work so pivotal to the Cinquecento debates, Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* acknowledges the split personality of the forest-catalogue combination in separate passages, associating it with the epic funeral of Dudone, in Canto

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[18] For Boccaccio, see the *selva vecchia* or "venerable forest" (11.18.3), of which it is said, "ma la lunga etate / d'essa tenean per degna deitate" ("but men held it worthy of divinity for its length of years") (11.19.7-8); a catalogue of eighteen species follows (11.22-24); text for Boccaccio is from *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*, ed. Aurelio Roncaglia (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1941); English translation is that of Bernadette Marie McCoy, *The Book of Theseus* (New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974). Cf. Maphaeus Vegius's thirteenth book to the *Aeneid*, widely circulated among sixteenth-century English readers, which depicts the funeral of Turnus, followed by the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia; for additional discussion of the parallels between Vegius's addendum to Virgil and Canto 12 of the Legend of Holiness, with its division between material related to the death of the dragon and that concerned with the betrothal of Redcross to Una, see Watkins (*Specter*, 108-111). Vegius's *Supplementum* (1428), regularly printed with Virgil's text in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was published in a Scots translation by Gavin Douglas in 1553, and in an English translation by Thomas Twyne in 1584. Twyne is best known for his revision of Thomas Phaer's translation of Books 1-9 and part of Book 10 of the *Aeneid* (1555-1560), printed in 1558, which he completed with his own translation of the balance of Virgil's text (1568-1583), published in 1584. The Phaer-Twyne *Aeneid* was the most widely read English translation of Virgil in the Renaissance, reaching eight editions in sixty-two years prior to 1620; Twyne's metrical revisions of Phaer and his own translation reflect his devotion to the *renovatio* of English verse according to quantitative principles, a project that inspired many English humanists of the period, Spenser and Harvey among them, as noted earlier (see 195, above). For additional discussion of Twyne's work, part of an interrelated series of translations of the *Aeneid* beginning with William Caxton (1490) and including Gavin Douglas (1553), Henry Howard (1557), and Thomas Phaer (1558), see *The Aeneid of Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne: a critical edition introducing Renaissance metrical typography*, ed. Steven Lally (New York: Garland Publishers, 1987); for additional discussion of Maphaeus Vegius, see Anna Cox Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid: A Chapter on Virgil in the Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford U P, 1930).

[19] For Ariosto's catalogue of five trees, see *O.F.* 6.21; Vaught does not address the appearance of the catalogue. Scott, citing William Nelson, notes that there was a Christian exegetical tradition involving the human tree as a figure for the man captive to sin; this was based on a phrase in the *Vulgate*, "in medio ligne paradisi," which some understood to mean that Adam and Eve hid "within a tree" rather than "among the trees" ("Polydorus," 50).

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3, and then, in Cantos 13 and 18, envisioning it as a place of diabolical enchantment and the site for the climactic subordination of romance desire to Counter-Reformation values, the dynamic informing so much of Jerusalem's epic liberation.[20]

5.2 Generic competition and epic synthesis: the night raid

The *Faerie Queene*'s opening canto establishes a web of structural and semantic intertexts with these prior works. Like his epic predecessors, Spenser associates the catalogue with the ancient forest, which he identifies, on the one hand, through details related to the height of the trees, the darkness created by their sun-blocking canopy, and the sense of isolation at their heart, and, on the other, by the relationship between the forest and subsequent events.[21] In Virgil, the appearance of the forest precedes Aeneas's

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[20] For Tasso's uses of the catalogue, see *Gerusalemme Liberata* 3.75-76 and 18.25-26; Tasso's first mention of the forest refers to "un bosco / sorge d'ombre nocenti orrido e fosco" ("a dark and waving wood rises up with noxious shade") (3.56.7-8); other references include: "[. . .] alta foresta, / foltissima di piante antiche, orrende" ("lofty forest [. . .] grown thick with ancient waving trees") (13.2.2-3); "l'antica alta foresta" ("the deep and ancient forest") (18.17. 3); "le piante antiche e folte / en quelle solitudini selvagge" ("the thick and ancient trees in those savage solitudes") (18.22.6-7). While Christianizing the first appearance of the forest by having Dudone buried rather than immolated, Tasso maintains the association with the ancient forest motif by specifying that Dudone's tomb is made of cypress (3.72.3). The myrtle is the most important specie in the felling of Tasso's forest, producing the vision of Armida, who claims that it is her home (18.25) (as had the Hamadryad in Apollonius; see 225 n. 17, above); cf. the underworld setting where Aeneas sees Dido, which Virgil describes as a myrtle grove (*Ae.* 6.443). With regard to Spenser's dragon, Errour, note that the witches in Tasso's forest can take the shape of dragons (13.4.3); dragons are also mentioned in Tancredi's unsuccessful attempt to fell the forest, where the visions he encounters are compared to the imaginings of a sick man (13.44.2).

[21] Describing the forest, Virgil states that "[. . .] pinguem dives opacat / ramus humum" ("the rich bough overshades the fruitful ground") (6.195-6); Statius depicts a forest "[. . .] largae qua non opulentior umbrae / Argolicos inter saltusque educta Lycaeos / extulerat super astra caput" ("than which no woods in Argos or Arcadia was taller or richer in shade") (6.91-92); Lucan's forest is one: "Obscurum cingens conexis aera ramis / Et gelidas alte summotis solibus umbras" ("whose interlocking boughs enclosed a space of darkness and cold shade") (3.400-401); Boccaccio refers to a wood that "[. . .] toccava con le cime il cielo, / e' bracci sparti e le sue come liete / aveva molto, e di quelle alto velo / all terra facea" ("touched the heavens with its brow and had spread wide its boughs, and its bright tresses formed a lofty veil over the earth")

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journey through the underworld; Lucan, true to form, inverts the topos, the journey made not by the protagonist to the world below, but rather by a citizen of the underworld to the land of the living, creating the vision of a hell-on-earth.[22] Statius's battle of Thebes suggests Lucan's transformative pessimism; Dante, by contrast, elaborates the motif of the journey into a full-fledged narrative. Tasso's forest alludes to the underworld journey at each of its appearances, the funeral of Dudone followed by a description of the infernal invocation called by the devil; the enchanted forest a site whose diabolical perils must be physically as well as psychologically traversed.[23] Tasso's treatment of the matter is especially significant for Spenser, who associates events at Archimago's with the catabasis by means of several key images, most notable, the initial invocation of underworld powers, a rite transferred from Virgil's Sibyl to Archimago via Lucan's Erictho and Tasso's Ismen, and the journey itself, made in this case by Archimago's spirit

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(11.19.1-4); cf. Homer's grove of "high-crested oaks" (*Il.* 23.116), which are felled for the funeral of Patroclus. Spenser speaks of the forest, "Whose loftie trees yclad with sommers pride, / Did spred so broad, that heauens light did hide" (1.7.4-5), of "the trees so straight and hy" (1.8.5), and of the cave "Amid the thickest wood" (1.11.7).

[22] Although Homer makes no direct reference to the cutting of trees for the funeral of Elpenor, Circe, in her instructions to Odysseus for the catabasis, speaks of Persephone's Grove and even invokes a miniature catalogue, referring to "[. . .] αἴγειροι καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι" ("her tall, black poplars, willows whose fruit dies young" (*Od.* 10.510). While Ovid's forest makes no explicit connection to an underworld visit, the motif itself descends from Orpheus's mythical journey to retrieve Eurydice, imagery that predates Homer by several centuries. Lucan's depiction of the dead soldier resurrected by Erictho begins at *Pharsalia* 6.693.

[23] Cf. the convocation called by Lucifer, *G. L.* 4.1-17; Tasso's description of the forests's eventual felling maintains much of the heritage of infernal imagery: e.g., the gates of hell, references to the Cocytus and to Pluto, and the nightly horrors, "che rassembra infernal" ("that seem as if from Hell") (13.3.5); the first of Gofredo's champions to try and brave the forest alone asserts that he will not be deterred, "o pur tra quei sí spaventosi chiostri / d'ir ne l'inferno il varco a me si mostri" ("even if amid those alleys so frightening the road for a trip to hell be shown to me") (13.25.7-8); Ismen's curse on the forest invokes the infernal spirits (13.6-10).

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helper to the god of sleep via a route that mingles Ovidian and Virgilian descriptions of the underworld.[24]

In works prior to Spenser the journey is both a trial and a source of knowledge. Even in pagan texts the challenge exceeds martial prowess, requiring the hero to suppress his instinctual fight-or-flee response to follow wiser counsel. Odysseus is instructed how to withstand the terrifying hordes of spirits in order to gain the prophetic insight of Teresias; the Sibyl assures Aeneas that the diabolical beasts he wants to attack are not what they appear, but rather, "sine corpore vitas" ("bodiless lives") that move about "sub imagine formae" ("under a hollow semblance of form") (6.292-93); Dante's pilgrim faints from fear at what he sees and must be constantly reassured. Tasso and Spenser both offer Christian interpretations of the appearance-reality distinction: Rinaldo, like his literary predecessors, must brave similarly threatening visions, trusting Gofredo's

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[24] Ovid's influence is seen in his description of the house of Morpheus, which he also identifies as the source of the river Lethe (*Meta.* 11.592). Among the most notable correspondences between Spenser's text and earlier versions of the underworld journey are the invocation to the infernal powers, which moves from a sacred function in Homer and Virgil to the work of a sorcerer beginning with Lucan; of special note is the topos of the sorcerer threatening a demonic authority, slow to respond, with "the unmentionable name." The name, never mentioned in Lucan (6.744-745) or Tasso (13.10.2-8), has been suggested by some to be that of Demiurgus (e.g., J. D. Duff, in his translation of Lucan: 359, n. 5); in his recent translation of the *Gerusalemme*, Anthony M. Esolen, while pointing out that others have suggested *Demogorgon*, argues that the name is that of Jesus (note to *G.L.* 13.10); note that the motif is also exploited by Ercilla, whose sorcerer, Fitón, explicitly calls on Demogorgon, among other infernal deities, in the parallel scene (*Ar.* 23.80.5); in contrast to other instances of the motif, Fitón responds to the delay be threatening the spirit world with his own power (23.82.4-8); Lerner notes that the source of the image for Ercilla was Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* (note to cited text). In Spenser, the motif is echoed in Archimago's spirit helper, who, initially unsuccessful in his efforts to rouse the god of sleep, threatens him with the name of Hecate (1.43.1-3). Among other underworld imagery are the gates of Hell, of silver and ivory, that Archimago's helper passes (1.40. 2-3), recalling Virgil's gates of ivory and horn (*Ae.* 6.9.22). Ercilla's sorcerer, Fitón, has a great deal in common with these earlier models; cf. Nicolopulos, "Prophecy," 182-240.

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instructions rather than his own perceptions; discarding the analogue to priestly advice, Spenser concentrates on the same dynamic, emphasizing the calamity that results when Redcross attempts to make the distinction on his own.[25] Fitón

While these aspects of the *Faerie Queene*'s relationship to its epic predecessors stress structural parallels, the theme of erotic desire is never far from this portion of the epic plot. It is Circe who instructs Odysseus on Hadean protocol; the funeral games for Anchises are the only distraction between Aeneas's departure from Carthage and his trip to Avernus, where, their roles fittingly inverted, Dido emphatically shuns him in the Lugentes Campi (6.442). The centrality of desire to these episodes of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* and the *Faerie Queene* results in significant parallels between the two. Particularly notable is Tasso's description of the forest, even before Ismen's curse, as a gathering place for witches, who come here with their lovers for "i profani conviti e l'empie nozze" ("profane feasts and impious nuptials") (13.4.8). After the first attempts to cut the forest down are thwarted by indistinct fears and strange forebodings (13.18), Tancredi, "lui che solo è fievole in amore" ("whose only weakness is love") (13.46.3), manages to distinguish between the appearance and reality of the initial threats, only to succumb to a vision of his beloved Clorinda. It is left to Rinaldo to finally succeed where Tancredi has failed, his victory made possible by the fact that "[. . .] fede il pensier nega /

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[25] The motif has a Christian counterpart in Christ's harrowing of Hell, a particularly popular legend in the Middle Ages, which was derived from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus; cf. Langland's version in Vision 6 of *Piers Plowman*; Tasso introduces the image in Satan's invocation to the spirit world, in which he speaks of he "Who came and broke the gates of Hell and dared to set his foot in our principality, and to take from us the souls that were rightly ours by fate [. . .]" (4.11.1-4) (English is from the Nash translation).

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a quel che 'l senso gli offeria per vero" ("[his] reason is refusing faith in what his sense would proffer him as truth") (18. 25.1-2).[26]

Exploring here and elsewhere in the *Faerie Queene* an interiority that Tasso no more than suggests, Spenser rewrites the *catabasis* as a challenge that Redcross fails, as an entering into hell in which the protagonist becomes trapped. The *Faerie Queene*'s focus on the process through which the Christian individual acquires moral virtue, in

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[26] Rinaldo's success in the forest explicitly Christianizes key components in these images: after praying for forgiveness of his sins, he approaches the forest at dawn (more, below, on the simile that introduces this); there's a pleasant breeze and, "dal grembo / de la bell'alba un rugiadoso nembo" ("a dewey mist from the lap of lovely dawn") (18.15.7-8) (cf. the image used by Spenser as Redcross and Una encounter the rain, 1.6.6-7), here further identified as "La rugiada del ciel" ("the dew of Heaven") (18.16.1), which bleaches his ashen garments to a *bel candor* or lovely whiteness (18.17.1). While the *Gerusalemme Liberata*'s primary *locus amoenus* is situated on Armida's island (10.63), Tasso's grove here represents another such locale, complete with shade, crystalline brook, breeze, and birdsong. Of particular relevance for Tasso's reconciliation of the marvelous and verisimilar (cf. Lawrence F. Rhu, *The Genesis of Tasso's Narrative Theory: English Translations of the early poetics and a comparative study of their significance* [Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1993], esp.102-104), Rinaldo crosses to the heart of the grove by a rich, golden bridge, which disappears as soon as he steps off it: "Ma pur desio de *novitade* il tira / a spiar tra le piante antiche e folte, / e 'n quelle solitudini selvagge / sempre a sé nova *meraviglia* il tragge" ("But still desire of *novelty* draws him on to explore among the thick and ancient trees; and in those savage solitudes always some new *marvel* draws him to it") (18.22.5-8) (emphasis added here as elsewhere in these pages); N.B. that Tasso mentions the "ancient forest" three times in seven stanzas). At the heart of the grove a hundred nymphs emerge from tree trunks, then form themselves into a circle around the knight, dancing and singing. At this point the tallest tree, a myrtle, opens and Armida emerges, reminding the knight of their recent passion and attempting to embrace him. When Rinaldo refuses and draws his sword to cut the myrtle, Armida embraces the tree and begs him to desist. When he proceeds, she turns into a Briareus, the hundred nymphs are turned to Cyclops, and "Sembran de l'aria i campi i campi stigi, / tanti appaion in lor mostri e prodigi" ("The fields of the air appear the Stygian fields, so many monsters and prodigies appear in them") (18.36.7-8). As it is cut, the myrtle groans "come animata" ("as if it had a soul") (18.36.6). Once felled, however, all apparitions cease, and "tornò la selva al natural suo stato: / non d'incanti terribile né lieta, / piena d'orror ma de l'orror innato" ("the wood returned to its natural state, neither pleasant nor made fearsome with enchantments; full of horror, but of horror innate") (18.38.2-4). In the *Gerusalemme*'s broader allegory Rinaldo symbolizes wrath directed by reason; cf. Tasso's observation, from the *Allegory*, that "the rational faculty must not exclude the irascible from action (for the Stoics were much deceived in this regard) and must not usurp its functions (since such an usurpation would be counter to natural justice) but must become its attendant and minister" (161) (from the Rhu translation).

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contrast to the *Gerusalemme Liberata*'s emphasis on doctrinal issues, requires that Spenser pursue what Tasso treats only in passing. It requires, as well, that the challenge of the underworld journey, which functions in epic to certify the hero for a climactic trial, be transformed by Spenser into an episode that inaugurates the narrative, precipitating events that follow.[27]

As events at Archimago's progress, elements of the night raid motif begin to percolate through the imagery of the underworld journey.[28] The initial association is no more than suggested: Redcross is "drowned in deadly sleepe" (1.36.6) when approached by the enemy, in this case the unholy sorcerer, and the battle that ensues is psychomachic rather than physical, threatening the protagonist's eternal life rather than his mortal one.[29] More important, the sexual subtext in the night raid of Virgil and Statius, where the bond between lovers becomes part of the motivation implicitly questioned by the episode's outcome, is elevated by Spenser from a complicating factor to the crux of the plot, his reading of the passage identifying the sexual component as the most potent threat to Christian values. The attack itself unfolds in *mise-en-abime* fashion, initiated by a sexually charged dream that brings the knight to the edge of climax, at which point he wakes to discover himself within the dream and with Una's phantom double at his side.

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[27] The Spenserian image commonly identified as corresponding to Aeneas's encounter with Anchises in the underworld is Redcross's visit to the House of Holiness in Canto 10, where he encounters the figure of Contemplation (10.46), a true holy man residing in a true hermitage high on a hill, in contrast to Archimago's earlier impersonation of such a figure, with a hermitage situated "downe in a dale" (1.34.2).

[28] On imitative *contaminatio*, see Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy*, esp. 39-40.

[29] Cf. ψῡχή (spirit) + μάχη (fight), as in a fight for the spirit; cf. Ercilla's phrase: "en vino y dulce sueño *sepultados*" (*Ar.* 14.6.8); see 61, above.

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The attempted seduction sends Redcross into a rage he scarcely manages to control, his response confirming nothing so much as how close the effort has come to its mark. After this the dream mounts a final, unsuccessful effort to arouse the knight, and the canto ends.[30]

If the first canto concludes with an adumbration of the night raid, the second opens with a rhetorical figure whose elaboration will go far to confirm it, a stanza-long simile for the dawn. As a device for accentuating a break in the narrative, the simile is unexceptional. Here it introduces Archimago's next attack on Redcross, which consists of revealing to him what appears to be Una in bed with another man. Jealousy now succeeds where lust has failed, and the voyeuristic revelation drives the knight, once again, into murderous rage, restrained in this instance by the sorcerer, whose subterfuge

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[30] Redcross's response to Archimago's provocation presents a number of anomalies, among them his somewhat precious reaction to the sight of "Una" beside him:

> In this great passion of unwonted lust,
> Or wonted feare of doing ought amis,
> He started up, as seeming to mistrust
> Some secret ill, or hidden foe of his. (1.49.1-4)

A. C. Hamilton comments cryptically that the second line's "Or" is used here rather than "and" because either cause is sufficient to arouse the innocent knight (1.49.2, note); the description of the sexual desire as exceptional, together with the exaggerated concern about comportment suggest a priggish—or puritanical?—adolescent. Embarrassment seems to motivate the anger that follows, the violence of which Guyon will give free reign to at the Bower: "All cleane dismayd to see so vncouth sight, / And halfe enraged at her shameless guise, / He thought haue slaine her in his fierce despight" (1.50.1-3). The knight's outrage at Una's incontinence precipitates his questioning of her, a scene suggesting projection rather his own "sufferance wise" (1.50.4). It is also notable that while Redcross is scandalized here that the woman "For whose defence he was to shed his blood" (1.55.3) would engage in such sexual dalliance, no such compunction assails him a few stanzas later in his encounter with Fidessa. This may say more about chivalric distinctions than it does of the knight's inconsistency. Cf. the echo here between Spenser's "Hymen iõ Hymen" (1.48.8) and Dido and Aeneas's meeting in the cave, with its "conscius Aether conubiis" ("Heaven, the witness to their bridal") (*Ae.* 4.167-8); Juno, partisan of Dido, oversees the Virgilian nuptials; in Redcross's perception, Venus masterminds the Spenserian ones.

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would be unmasked by an attack upon the phantoms.[31] Redcross returns to his room, and after a second simile for the dawn, one describing how "[. . .] Hesperus in highest skie / Had spent his lampe, and brought forth dawning light" (2.6.7), he flees the hermitage.

The following verse presents yet another simile for the same dawn, the third in seven stanzas. Once again the reader is confronted with a procedure that, reminiscent of the catalogue of trees, appears unwieldy, even in the context of frequent repetition, until the simile is discovered to be the one discussed at length with regard to Ercilla, Spenser's version of which begins:

> Now when the rosy-fingred Morning faire,
> Weary of aged Tithones saffron bed,
> Had spred her purple robe through dewey aire,
> And the high hils Titan discouered [. . .] (2.7.1-4).[32]

Ercilla, it will be recalled, employs the simile after his version of the night raid with Guacolda and Lautaro. His use of it imitates Virgil's, and Virgil's, Homer, both of whom introduce the figure immediately after their versions of the Doloneia.[33] The structure of

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[31] Cf. the narrator in *The Parliament of Fowles*, who hearing groans coming from Venus's temple, says, "[. . .] wel espied I thenne / That al the cause of sorwes that they drie / Cometh of the bittre goddesse Jalousye" (250-252); jealousy is also central to Tasso's adaptation of these themes, aroused by Armida in Gofredo's soldiers, "fra noi discordi, e in sé ciascun geloso" ("embroiled with one another and each man jealous in himself") (*G.L.* 10.60.6).

[32] Spenser's version of the simile combines Homeric elements, i.e., "rosy-fingred," an epithet not used by Virgil, with Virgilian elements not used by Homer, i.e., the description of Tithonus's bed as saffron, an adjective Homer uses instead to describe Dawn's robe. A. C. Hamilton notes the incorporation of Ovid's *purpurae Aurorae* (*Meta.* 3.184) and the sardonic use of *weary* to comment on Tithonus's age; on Homer's and Virgil's uses of the simile and Ercilla's interpretation of it, see 64-65 and 64, n. 98, above. Note the medieval character of the first of Spenser's dawn similes discussed here, with its mention of the "Northerne wagoner" (2.2.1) and "Chaunticlere" (2.1.6), in contrast to the classical associations of the second and third.

[33] Cf. "Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile" ("And now early dawn, leaving the saffron bed of Tithonus, was sprinkling her fresh rays upon the earth") (9.459-460); cf. *Il.* 11.1-2 and see 64-65, above.

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Spenser's narrative here, particularly his emphatic repetition of the simile, suggests that he continues this tradition.

Beyond maintaining the relationship between the simile and its framing narrative, established originally by Homer and imitated by Virgil, Spenser's image has the added interest of simultaneously referencing Virgil's only other use of the figure, which occurs in the description of the morning on which Dido discovers Aeneas's departure.[34] Establishing this second parallel, no sooner has Spenser's simile concluded than:

> The royall virgin shooke off drowsy-hed,
> And rising forth out of her baser bowre,
> Lookt for her knight, who far away was fled,
> And for her Dwarfe, that wont to wait each houre;
> Then gan she waile and weepe, to see that woefull stowre. 2.7.5-9)[35]

Strengthening the correspondence between Virgil's and Spenser's scenes is the alarm with which the male protagonists flee their surroundings after disturbing visions: Aeneas,

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[34] Immediately following this appearance of the simile (at *Ae.* 4.584-85) Virgil states:

> regina, e speculis ut primum albescere lucem
> vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
> litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
> terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
> flaventisque abscissa comas, "pro Iuppiter! ibit
> hic," ait, "et nostris inluserit advena regnis?" (4.586-591)

Soon as the queen from her watch-tower saw the light whiten and the fleet move on with even sails, and knew the shores and harbours were void of oarsmen, thrice and four times she struck her comely breast with her hand, and tearing her golden hair, "Oh God," she cries, "shall he go? Shall the intruder have made of our realm a laughing-stock?"

Cf. the two versions of the simile in the Phaer-Twyne translation of the *Aeneid*, both in the Phaer portion of the work: "And now the morning read had left syr Tythons paynted bed, / And broade on earth her glistring beames and light had newly spred" (4.641-642); and, "And now dame Morning furst bespreding lands with light renewd, / Forsooke syr Tythons bed all heauenly paynted saffronhewd" (9.477-78).

[35] The Virgilian parallel creates an uncharacteristic moment for Una, not usually identified with the type of emotional outburst associated with Dido.

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rushing to launch the Trojan ships after his true dream-vision from Mercury; Redcross, of whom it is said that, after witnessing the false dream of Archimago, "Then vp he rose, and clad him hastily; / The Dwarfe him brought his steed: so both away do fly" (2.6.9).[36]

Departing Archimago's in self-righteous jealousy, Redcross, in an intratextual parody characteristic of Spenser, comes face-to-face with a personification of himself in the pagan knight, Sansfoy. Redcross's victory over the knight, like that over Errour, is solely martial and therefore limited, forcing him, as through repetition-compulsion, to reenact his earlier behavior.[37] Sansfoy had been accompanied by Una's demonic

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[36] Virgil's repetition of the simile creates an indirect connection between the night raid and abandoned woman motifs; as was noted above, Statius explicitly conjoins the two, as does Ercilla; see 69 and 83, above. Given the argument being made here regarding Ercilla's and Spenser's use of the dawn simile, it is not surprising to discover its usage by Tasso, who employs it as Rinaldo completes his prayer and prepares to enter the enchanted wood: "[. . .] e gli sorgeva a fronte fatta già d'auro la vermiglia aurora" ("and before him rose crimson Aurora already bedecked with gold") (18.15.1-2). To the extent that this reflects Virgilian structure, it might be seen as corresponding to the simile's association with Dido's abandonment, since the climax to Rinaldo's success in the forest is his rejection of what appears to be Armida. Tasso's night raid, more literal than Spenser's, offers an additional variation on the central themes here, with the original pair of marauders, Clorinda and Argante, seguing into Clorinda and Tancredi, who pursues the Saracen without knowing who she is. Splitting the erotic component of the night raid along enemy lines results in the pathetic denouement where Tancredi kills Clorinda, the emotional equivalent of Nisus killing Euryalus. In addition to the dramatic use of *anagnorisis*, central to Tasso's theory of the marvelous, the episode transforms Tancredi into a male version of the abandoned woman figure, voicing many of the same sentiments associated with the heroines discussed above; cf.: "Io vivo? io spiro ancora? [. . .] Ahi! man timida e lenta or ché non osí [. . .] di questa vita rea troncar lo stame?" ("Do I live? Do I yet breathe? [. . .] Ah timid and slow, my hand, why dare you not even now [. . .] cut the thread of this guilty life?") (12.75.1-8); Tancred's excessive grief is explicitly identified with feminine infirmity and criticized as an intemperance that must be bridled: "Misero, dove corri in *abbandono* / a i tuoi *sfrenati* e rapidi martíri? [. . .] te raccogli, e *frena* / quel dolor ch'a morir doppio ti mena" ("Wretch, where are you running, *abandoned* to your *unbridled* and ruinous agonizings? [. . .] recollect thyself, and *bridle* that sorrow that is leading you on to double death [suicide]") (12 88.3-8).

[37] Biow explores Redcross's behavior in the Fradubio episode from a Freudian perspective (*"Mirabile,"* esp. 156-157); for additional discussion of the transition in Book 1 from martial to Protestant heroism, see Watkins, *Specter*, 92-93.

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counterpart disguised as the beautiful Fidessa. Again there is a mix of Virgilian and Ariostan models, with Sansfoy dying a chivalric Turnus and Fidessa fleeing in feigned fear until Redcross catches up to her, at which point, drawing on the same motif of the damsel-in-distress as utilized by Ercilla, she, "[. . .] turning backe with ruefull countenaunce, / Cride, Mercy mercy Sir vouschsafe to show / On silly Dame, subject to hard mischaunce, And to your mighty will [. . .]" (2.21.2-4).[38] Assured of his benign intentions, Fidessa is asked to tell her story, which reveals that, reminiscent of the Araucan heroines, she is the sole daughter of a mighty emperor who had betrothed her to a handsome prince. Her beloved was killed soon afterwards by his enemies, however, transforming her into the abandoned-woman-as-widow, searching for the corpse of her spouse. In describing her sorrow to Redcross, Fidessa associates herself with Dido via Virgil's well-known simile:

> Then forth I went his woefull corse to find
> And many years throughout the world I straid,
> A virgin widow, whose deepe wounded mind

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[38] There are two oblique and one direct reference to the *Aeneid* in these Spenserian lines. As Redcross and Sansfoy begin to fight, their combat is described in a simile of two rams, which "stird with ambitious pride, / Fight for the rule of the rich fleeced flocke" (2.16.1-2); cf. the encounter between Aeneas and Turnus, compared to that between two bulls, who fight while "stat pecus omne metu mutum mussantque iuvencae, / quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur" ("the whole herd stands mute with dread, and the heifers dumbly ponder who shall be lord of the forest, whom all the herds will follow)" (*Ae.* 12.717-19). The battle-ending blow cleaves Sansfoy's head, after Virgil's frequently imitated description of the death of Pandarus (in a blow, paradoxically for present purposes, delivered by Turnus; see *Ae.* 9.754-55; cf. Ercilla's use of the image at *Ar.* 25.31.2-4). These lines' clearest reference to Virgil, also regarding Turnus, comes with Sansfoy's death, of which it is said: "[. . .] his grudging ghost did striue / with the fraile flesh; at last it flitted is, / Whither the soules do fly of men, that liue amis" (2.19.7-9); Ercilla imitates this image as well; see 67, above. With regard to the similarities between Fidessa and the Ercillan heroines, cf. Tegualda's first words to Ercilla: "Señor, señor, merced te pido, / que soy mujer y nunca te he ofendido" ("Sir, sir, I ask your mercy, since I am a woman and have never offended you") (*Ar.* 20.28.7-8).

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With loue, long time did languish as the striken hind. (2.24.6-9)[39]

As if to reassure her of his romance rather than epic intentions, Redcross, "in great passion all this while" (2.26.5), disassociates himself from his corresponding Virgilian model by implicitly applying to himself the opposite of Dido's image of Aeneas, asserting: "[. . .] Faire Lady hart of flint would rew / The vndeserued woes and sorrowes, which ye shew" (2.26 -9).[40]

At this point the narrative begins to repeat itself, with the knight and lady traveling together until beset in this instance by the heat of the sun rather than rain, they

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[39] Cf. "uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta" ("unhappy Dido burns, and through the city wanders in a frenzy—even as a hind, smitten by an arrow [. . .]") (4.68-9). Fidessa's story originates from the same models used by Ercilla; Redcross is initially struck by her rich attire (2.21.5): cf. Ercilla's reaction to the dress of Glaura, "[. . .] que en su traje / mostraba ser persona de linaje" ("who in her dress showed herself to be a person of lineage") (28.3.7-8) and of Lauca, "de noble traje y parecer, vestida" ("clothed with noble rainment and bearing") (32.32.4); it is said of Redcross that Fidessa's story "Did much emmoue his stout heroïcke heart" (2.21.6): cf. Tegualda's impact on Ercilla, "Movido, pues, a compasión de vella" ("moved, then, to compassion upon seeing her") (20.35.1), and his reaction to Glaura's "[. . .] dando un sospiro que a terneza / al más rebelde corazón moviera" ("giving a sigh that would have moved the most rebellious heart to tenderness") (28.5.6-7). Spenser and Ercilla invoke the same motifs to describe the women's youths: Tegualda is the daughter of an Araucan leader and marries the most promising of Araucan youths, who is killed, in this case, shortly after the couple's marriage rather than before (20.37.1-20.75.8); Glaura is similarly the daughter of a chieftan, "rica de hacienda, pobre de ventura" ("rich in belongings, poor in fortune") (28.7.4), regarding which, cf. Fidessa's lament with regard to her earlier good fortune: "[I] Was, (O what now auaileth that I was!)" (1.2.22.6); Lauca's new and well-loved husband is similarly killed, having been a youth "[. . .] de tantas partes, que yo creo / que en él hallara término el deseo" ("of such a makeup, that I believe in him desire would find its goal" (32.34.7-8). Tegualda, it will be recalled, was also searching for the body of her beloved: "Deja buscar su cuerpo a esta alma mía" ("Let this soul of mine seek its body") (20.31.5).

[40] Fidessa and Redcross are described as engaging in "faire disport and *courting* dalliaunce" (1.2.14.1), another early indication of the depredations with which *cortegiania* will be associated in Spenser's text.

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seek shelter, once again, under trees.[41] Again the site mixes the attractions of a *locus amoenus* with intimations of foreboding, and again the Vigilian model is subverted, not, in this case, by imagery of the militant Protestant knight, but rather by a brief incursion into Petrarchan discourse as Redcross and Fidessa distract themselves, and then by the Arisotan Fradubio, whose warning plaint, although unnerving to the knight, has no more effect on him than did its model on Ruggier.[42] The Fradubio episode brings the *Faerie Queene*'s initial foray into these classical motifs full circle, not only through its focus on sexual content, but also by means of its subtext regarding the *auri sacra fames* or lust for gold, which links the three main literary models here: the death of Polydorus at the hands of the king of Thrace, the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus at the climax of the night raid, and the death of Sichaeus, murdered by Pygmalion.[43]

The opening cantos of the *Faerie Queene* are frequently discussed in terms of competing genres. The preceding discussion has examined how Spenser controls this

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[41] Fidessa feigns shamefastness as they proceed (2.27.6); cf. the dissimulations of Tasso's Armida in the Christian camp, once her petition has been granted, with its many echoes of the issues raised here and in earlier chapters:

> Or tien *pudica* il guardo in sé raccolto,
> or lo rivolge cupido e vagante:
> la sferza in quegli, il *freno* adopra in questi,
> come lor vede in amar lenti o presti.
>
> Now she keeps her gaze at home *shamefast*, now sends it abroad wanton and wandering. On these she uses the *bridle*, on those the whip, as she sees that they are forward or slow in loving. (4.87.5-8)

[42] On the mix of beauty and threat, see A. C. Hamilton's notes at 2.28.4-6; the shepherds' avoidance of the wood recalls Tasso's ancient forest, to which shepherds similarly react (*G.L.* 13.3.6-8).

[43] The Thracian king kills Polydorus for the gold that Priam had sent with his youngest son (*Ae.* 3.53-57); Euryalus and Nisus are betrayed by the moonlight reflecting from the helmet that the former plunders from one of his victims; on Sichaeus, see 141, above.

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competition through the deployment of imagery identified most importantly with Virgilian epic, on the one hand, and with romance or romance-epic on the other. As has been seen, each of these motifs—not only the catalogue of trees, the ancient forest, and the underworld journey, but also the abandoned woman and the night raid—while originally epic in affiliation, has either established or potential significance in the realm of romance.[44] Even in antiquity the forest, so central to the later landscape of Arthurian chivalry, is associated, as is the catalogue, not only with Virgilian catabasis, but also, via Ovid, with Orpheus, who makes his own underworld journey, driven by love. These verses have also shown that the abandoned woman can be enacted by a chivalric damsel as well as by a classical heroine and that the night raid's subliminal eroticism can be transformed into the episode's dominant trait.

Spenser takes advantage of the inherent polyvalency of these images to repeat them as intratextual variations. These variations, in turn, expose contrasting ideologies, none of which, at this early point in the poem, are acceptable: ancient models, if virtuous, are either pagan or, if Christianized, Pelagian; chivalric ones, especially via Ariosto, are at best irreverent. Emphasizing the multiplicity here are the multiple models for Spenser's protagonists, who enact a sequence of roles. Redcross plays Aeneas, but also Ruggier-Rinaldo. As the one true Church Una cannot be divided and is therefore doubled: a noble Dido, on the one hand; her *doppelgängers*, Duessa-Fidessa, as Alcina-

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[44] Cf. the argument made at the outset of the present study, the questioning of heroic values that these scenes present, rather than identifying them with a secondary epic tradition, places them squarely within the primary one, where such questioning is consistently figured, beginning with Homer, in terms of a conflict between the epic and the erotic, associated with heroic verse on the one hand and lyric sentiment on the other; see esp. 23 ff., above.

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Armida on the other, these female figures as neatly opposed as the commentarists envisioned Astolfo and Aeneas to be: the abandoned woman, on one side, the seductive sorceress abandoning a succession of male lovers on the other. As the review of classical imagery preceding the discussion of the *Araucana* made clear, the polyvalency of literary imagery exploited by Spenser had also been recognized by Virgil, who used the erotic to critique epic triumphalism. In the opening pages of the *Faerie Queene*, by contrast, the erotic becomes the target of Spenser's critique.

Spenser presents his variations from two perspectives, not only from the external one of plot components, summarized above, but also from an internal point-of-view of the characters, which contributes to the proto-psychological quality of key passages. This combination of exterior and interior views endows the main figures with a quality of literary self-consciousness, as though aware of their textual heritage.[45] In interactions with Una, Redcross appears at times to intentionally imitate his Trojan predecessor. The poem's opening storm and seeking of shelter establishes the association; subsequent, less obvious correspondences extend it. At Archimago's hermitage the evil dream leads Redcross to envision Venus leading Una to his bed, suggesting that he sees himself as Aeneas, whose goddess-mother oversaw the encounter between her son and the queen of Carthage; Archimago appears aware of the literary context, which he takes advantage of to try and ensnare his victim. Redcross's subsequent abandonment of Una, which the simile of the dawn and Una's outcry associate with Dido, extends the parallel; shortly thereafter comes the knight's victory over Sansfoy, whose death alludes so clearly to

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[45] Cf. the discussion of Dido and Aeneas's first meeting in the *Aeneid*; see 139, above.

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Turnus.[46] The Virgilian references are poised to repeat themselves when Redcross and Fidessa seek shelter from the sun. Here, however, parallels with the *Aeneid* are rejected, most important, by Redcross himself, who explicitly disavows Fidessa's implicit identification of him with the Trojan hero, then by the courtly dalliance the knight initiates, and, finally, by the Fradubio motif which interrupts Redcross's incipient Petrarchan persona, providing an early indication of how little *grazie* will have to do with true grace, the salvation of the Spenserian hero.[47]

While these variations on traditional literary images highlight a dynamic of Virgilian emulation and challenge, Spenser's underlying contention, like Ercilla's, is with canon rather than genre. The *Faerie Queene*'s parodic variations interrogate canonical logic, viewing the interpretation of Aeneas's experiences in Carthage as the victory of reason over emotion as a mis-reading that ignores what is truly at stake for reformed religion. Spenser's often-noted freedom from the anxiety of belatedness, like Ercilla's, is founded on deeply held personal conviction. Rather than relying on Ercilla's sense of personal integrity and concept of honor, Spenser is emboldened by a belief in "an enabling myth of Christian earliness" and by the authority that derives from the faith of

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[46] As noted earlier, the parallel temporarily casts Una in an uncharacteristic light; see 235, n. 35, above.

[47] Cf. What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might,
And vaine assurance of mortality,
Which all so soone, as it doth come to fight,
Against spirituall foes, yeelds by and by,
Or from the field most cowardly doth fly?
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,
That thorough grace hath gained victory.
If any strength we haue, it is to ill,
But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will. (*F.Q.* 10.1.1-9)

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the reformers.[48]

5.3 Platonic visions and the gendering of continence

The remaining cantos of the Legend of Holiness, while highlighting imagery that links them with both prior and subsequent episodes in the poem, continue to illustrate the tensions between courtliness, humanism, and reformed religion. As noted earlier, this conflict is frequently gendered, contraposing a cult of female admiration, associated with the first, to the typically marginalized status of women in the second and the occasionally demonized female figures of the third. Canto 3 opens with a paean of devotion, reminiscent of the *Araucana*'s narrator, in which the poet speaks of his compassion for "beautie brought t'vnworthy wretchednesse" (3.1.3) and of the "fast fealtie" he owes "vnto all woman kind" (3.1.7).[49] Redcross subsequently passes through Lucifera's House of Pride, a hotbed of courtly vanity and site of the Seven Deadly Sins, the dungeon of which proves to be a dustbin of classical heroes, among them Romulus, Caesar, and Antonius, storied figures of humanist pedagogy, whose ignorance of true religion reduces their Stoic virtues to the house's nominal transgression. Also imprisoned here: icons of female notoriety, notably Semiramis and Cleopatra, emblems of a fatal eroticism prefiguring Acrasia's appearance at the Bower of Bliss, climax of Guyon's quest for temperance in Book 2.[50]

As Book 1 progresses, properly Christian characters and images begin to infiltrate

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[48] Cf. Scott, "Polydorus," 48.

[49] Cf. 103, above.

[50] On the scene of courtly vanity, see esp. 4.15.1-4.16.9; on the figures from antiquity, see 5.49.1-5.50.9.

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their demonic parodies. Redcross's combat with a second pagan knight, Sansjoy, is introduced by a notably Christianized simile for the dawn whose proximity to the previous, classical simile reinforces its conversion.[51] Upon leaving Lucifera's palace, Redcross and Duessa/Fidessa are found once again in another demonic *locus amoenus* where they resume their earlier dalliance, interrupted by Fradubio. On this occasion, the peril of the encounter becomes explicit in its consummation, with the knight, now not only disarmed but weakened by a cursed fountain, "Poured out in loosenesse on the grassy grownd, / Both carelesse of his health, and of his fame" (7.7.2-3). The incapacitated knight's defeat by the giant Orgoglio precipitates the first appearance of the poem's perennial hero, Prince Arthur, who returns at similarly critical points in subsequent books to assist the faery knights. Arthur's introduction concludes with a description of how, single-mindedly devoted to arms, he fell in love with a vision of the Faery Queene that came to him in a dream, a Christian version of Redcross's demonic dreams at Archimago's.[52] Arthur slays Orgoglio and exposes the true nature of Duessa,

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[51] Cf.: At last the golden Oriental gate
Of greatest heauen gan to open faire,
And *Phoebus* fresh, as bridegroome to his mate,
Came dauncing forth, shaking his deawie haire:
And hurld his glistring beames through gloomy aire. (5.2.1-5).
The image references Ps. 19.4-5; cf. A. C. Hamilton's note at 5.2.3-5; on the earlier, classical simile at 2.7.1-4, see 234, above; a variation on the classical simile appears prior to Redcross's defeat of the dragon in Canto 11 (11.51.2-5). Redcross's battle with Sansjoy, the brother of Sansfoy, features various Virgilian motifs, e.g., the pagan knight's temporary rescue by a protecting cloud, in imitation of Aeneas (*Ae.* 5.810) and Hector (*Il.* 20.444).

[52] Arthur says of his vision:
Whiles euery sence the humour sweet embayd,
And slombring soft my hart did steale away,
Me seemed, by my side a royall Mayd
Her daintie limbes full softly down did lay:

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whom he banishes; Redcross succumbs to Despair and is rescued again, in this instance, by Una. These events lead to the heart of the book, where the knight enters the House of Holiness and learns the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Having sought forgiveness for his sins, Redcross's instruction culminates in his ascension, accompanied by the hermit Contemplation, the genuine counterpart to Archimago's earlier persona, of a peak symbolically combining the Mount of Olives, Mount Sinai, and Parnassus, which provides a panorama not of the *piccolo mondo* of epics such as Ariosto's, Tasso's, and Ercilla's, but of the city of God's chosen, the *New Hierusalem*. The knight's experience here contrasts instructively with that of the *Araucana*'s narrator during the vision of Spanish beauty. Both passages are principally Platonic, referencing the *Phaedrus*'s description of the soul's ascension to the realm of truth, recalled in subsequent encounters with beauty.[53] Ercilla, describing his awakening to true love and stressing the moral strength demanded of honor, focuses on the interplay of the concupiscent, irascible, and rational parts of the soul. While Spenser will emphasize these qualities in the legends of Temperance and Chastity in Books 2 and 3, his inspiration here comes from Plato's description of the newly initiated soul's beatific sensations. A blissful Redcross would remain on the mount forever were it not for the hermit's insistence that the route to paradise is via the active life and completion of his original quest. Accepting his destiny as the future Saint George, Redcross proceeds to capture and imprison Archimago and to

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So faire a creature yet saw neuer sunny day. (9.13.5-9)
Cf. Redcross's experience, e.g., "Then seemed him his Lady by him lay, / And to him playnd, how that false winged boy / Her chast hart had subdewd [. . .]" (1.47.8-10); the passage is discussed above at 214.

[53] Cf. *Phaedo* 72e, ff.; cf. *Meno* 81b-d.

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defeat the dragon that has usurped the kingdom of Una's parents, and the book closes with the betrothal of the two.[54]

The optimism engendered by the victories of Redcross and Arthur persists into Book 2, informing the Proem's well-known identification of Spenser's literary project with New World exploration.[55] The linking of these two arises from the poet's anxiety over the credibility of faeryland, the improbabilities of which he compares to the discoveries of the Amazon, Peru, and Virginia.[56] The conceit, at first glance facetious, is noteworthy not only for what it reveals about the provisional quality still attached to

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[54] On this union, see the discussion of Mageus Vegius's thirteenth book of the *Aeneid*, 226, n. 18, above.

[55] Cf.: Right well I wote most mighty Soueraine,
That all this famous antique history,
Of some th'aboundance of an idle braine
Will iudged be, and painted forgery,
Rather then matter of iust memory,
Sith none, that breatheth liuing aire, does know,
Where is that happy land of Faery,
Which I so much do vaunt, yet no where show,
But vouch antiquities, which no body can know.

But let that man with better sence aduize,
That of the world least part to vs is red:
And dayly how through hardy enterprize,
Many great Regions are discouered,
Which to late age were neuer mentioned.
Who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?
Or who in ventuorus vessell measured
The *Amazons* huge riuer now found trew?
Of fruitfullest *Virginina* who did euer vew? (2.1.1-2.2.9) (emphasis in original)

[56]Noting that by the late Elizabethan period Spain's New World behavior, in English eyes, was the embodiment of intemperance, David Read argues for the genuine equivalence of the moral and physical geography of Book 2 in the *Faerie Queene*, in which he characterizes Guyon as an "anti-conquistador" (*Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World* [Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2000], 47-56.

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American reality, but also for the ramifications for genre inherent in its opposition of "th'aboundance of an idle braine" (2.1.3), a phrase traditionally associated with attacks on romance, to "iust memory" (2.1.5), which having been claimed as the foundation for "this famous antique history" (2.1.2), becomes associated with the ideology of imperial expansion.[57]

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[57] Renaissance attacks on romance narratives by Vives, Agrippa, and others frequently contrast them to history and stigmatize them as products of a diseased imagination. The characterization extends at least to Horace, whose *Ars poetica* opens with the image a painting uniting a woman's head with the neck of a horse and the body of a fish, the narrator pointing out that "[. . .] isti tabulae fore librum / persimilem, cuius, velut *aegri somnia, vanae / fingentur species* [. . .] (lines 6-8, emphasis added) ("a book may be like just such a picture if it portray *idle imaginings* shaped like *the dreams of a sick man*") (English translation is by Walter Jackson Bate, in *Critical Theory Since Plato*, ed. Hazard Adams (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 68; cf. the figure of Maleger (*mal* + *aeger*), who will appear at the end of Book 2; see 258, below. While Horace's comments are aesthetic in orientation, introducing his remarks on narrative unity and simplicity, his imagery survives in subsequent moral appraisals of the subject, apparent in the tradition of attacks on *fabulae licentiosae* or *milesiae* that runs through Augustine and Dante, making an appearance in Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*, which refers to "Ben è 'l viver mortal, che si n' aggrada, / *sogno d' infermi e' fola di romanzi*!" (emphasis added) ("Well may I say it is none other thing / But as a dreame or a shadowe passyng, / Or as a fable that when it is tolde / The wynde and whether doth it holde") (4.69-70); translation is that of Henry Parker, Lord Morley: *Lord Morley's "Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke: The First English Translation of the Trionfi,"* ed. D. D. Carnicelli (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971); cf. a more recent, more literal version: "This mortal life, that we do cherish so, / Is an ill dream, a tale of vain romance" (*The Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins [Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1962]). A similar moralism intrudes into the final episodes of the Cinquecento debates, where discussions of unity and multiplicity and of the differences between epic and romance become elided, particularly in Tasso, with Counter-Reformation emphasis on obedience to authority. In France there is a contemporaneous discussion of these issues among translators of the *Amadís* novels, prime targets of moral attacks on romance, and translators of Plutarch, Thucydides, and Heliodorus, notably Jacques Amyot, referred to earlier (see 178 n. 321, above, and Appendix D). In 1527 an early benefactor of Amyot, Jacques Colin, cites the *Trionfi*'s reference to *sogno d' infermi* in a prefatory letter to a translation of Thucydides, in which he criticizes those who waste their time reading stories of Tristan and Lancelot rather than history (ten years later Colin translates and publishes Castiglione's *Cortegiano*). Increasingly on the defensive, translators such as Nicolas Herberay des Essarts (*Le Premier Liure de Amadis de Gaule*, 1540); Claude Colet (*Neufiesme livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, 1553); and Jacques Gohorry (*Le quatorzieme livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, 1547), justify their work by claiming that it is simply recreation from more serious pursuits; occasionally they make more substantial claims, as when Herberay des Essarts finds value in reading *per se* because it avoids idleness, and when Gohorry claims that the *Amadis* novels contain ancient wisdom hidden within their fables. In the preface to his translation

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Notwithstanding his concern with credibility, the poet begins the Legend of Temperance with another parody of a fundamental romance plot, the rescue of a damsel in distress, enacted here by Archimago, who has used his demonic powers to escape his bonds, and Duessa, whom he subsequently rescues, the two of them joining forces to simultaneously take revenge on Redcross and distract Sir Guyon from his quest. The trap they set nearly succeeds with the sorcerer impersonating a squire who enlists Guyon's help in order to punish a grievous example of intemperance, the ravishment of his mistress, allegedly carried out by someone whose description matches that of Redcross.[58]

The issue of shame, eventually shown to lie at the heart of the quest for

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of the *Aethiopica* (1547), by contrast, Amyot, while admitting the ultimate superiority of history and condemning the majority of *contes fabuleux* because "[. . .] il semble que ce soient plûtot songes de *quelque malade rêvant en fièvre chaude*, qu'inventions d'aucun homme d'ésprit et de jugement" (emphasis added) ("it seems that they are rather dreams of someone ill and dreaming in a fever than the inventions of a person of spirit and judgement") (see transcription of Amyot's *proême* in Appendix D, 327, below), argues for the usefulness of verisimilar fictions, which he conceives of as *histoires fabuleuse* conjoining the assets of the two genres, which he believes the *Aethiopica* exemplifies. Amyot turns the traditional imagery of the attack on romance against those who would still deny such narratives, accusing them of "une fièvre d'austerité intraitable" ("an intractable fever of austerity") (5). While there is no more evidence here than in the earlier discussion of Amyot that Spenser was familiar with the French bishop's work, the possibility does exist: in 1569 Sir Thomas Underdowne had translated Amyot's translation of Heliodorus into English, although without "Le proême du traducteur"; Sir Thomas North translated Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, including the interesting "Aux lecteurs," into English in 1579 (North had also translated Guevara's *Diall of Princes* in 1557); for further discussion and resources, see 178 n. 321, above. With regard to *histoires fabuleuse*, recall Spenser's explicit identification of his own work as an "historicall fiction" in the "Letter to Ralegh"; see 159, above.

[58] Here Archimago is said "to weaue a web of wicked guile" (1.8.4); the imagery of web weaving is frequently applied to romance narratives in discussions that contrast them to epic; cf. the concept of romance *entrelacement* in, e.g., Eugène Vinaver, *Form and Meaning in Medieval Romance* (Leeds: Modern Human Research Association, 1966) 7-10.

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temperance, dominates the episode.[59] The term is first used to condemn the purported malfeasance and to describe the emotions of the injured lady; subsequently it is applied to Archimago, whose *raison d'être*, with regard to knights, is said to be to convert their fame to shame. In narrowly avoiding combat with each other, Redcross and Guyon acknowledge their escape from shame, which both attribute to qualities opposed to temperance, Guyon referring to his own "heedlesse hardiment" (1.27.2), Redcross admitting that his "hastie hand so farre from reason strayd" (1.28.5). Chastity and "honour virginall" (1.10.8), victims of the alleged transgression, are noted in passing as qualities whose loss occasions shame, but in keeping with the sexualization of self-control that characterizes the Christianization of classical ideas, a shift in emphasis exacerbated by Elizabethan England's heightened sensitivity to gender, the Platonic components of continence become gendered themselves, with temperance predominantly a male concern, as Guyon's quest confirms, while chastity, the quest of Britomart, is predominantly female, commanding separate attention in Book 3.[60] Here, by contrast, attention is soon directed by Duessa's damsel-in-distress and by the story told by Amavia,

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[59] Beginning with 1.11.4, shame is named nine times within the next twenty cantos; Duessa, feigning insult to her chastity, is once again feigning shame, as she did earlier in Book 1 (2.27.5); Archimago's mission is said to be "to deceiue good knights, / And draw them from pursuit of praise and fame, / To slug in sloth and sensual delights, / And end their days with irrenowmed shame" (1.23.1-4).

[60] It will be recalled from the earlier discussion that while the Greek concept of *aidōs* or shame originally encompassed ideas of modesty and self-respect and that of *sophrosūne* or continence included ideas of temperance, modesty, and chastity, in the historical migration of these terms the sexual component of chastity was increasingly singled out for special attention. While there is no fundamental difference in the way these terms are employed in the *Araucana* and *Faerie Queene*, the latter does place more emphasis on the sexual component of chastity, as the present passage suggests; cf. 232, above, on Spenser's sexualization of the night raid.

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another abandoned woman whom Guyon encounters in the wake of Archimago's failed plot, to the related Platonic distinctions between the concupiscent, irascible, and rational components of the soul. The proper integration of these three, which relies primarily on the subservience of the first to the second, in turn submissive to the third, will be Guyon's goal, who having attained their mastery will face Acrasia and the Bower of Bliss. The inspired eroticism of Spenser's description of the Bower, no sooner completed than Guyon destroys the site, has inspired particularly impassioned responses among readers, some of whom discern a deconstructive disjunction here between aesthetics and puritanical dogma.[61] However discordant these two, the logic of their confrontation, rooted in a Platonic conception of self-control, is carefully constructed throughout the book.

In addition to foreshadowing the climax of his quest, the story that Amavia tells Guyon before she kills herself offers a succinct inversion of the romance plot that Archimago and Duessa had tried to trick him into believing. Here, instead of the hapless woman ravished by a miscreant male, it is Amavia's husband, Sir Mordant, first ravished by Acrasia and then killed by her when Amavia manages to rescue him from the Bower, having "[. . .] him recured to a better will, / Purged from drugs of foule intemperance" (1.54.8). Amavia's suicidal grief recalls Ercilla's heroines and, specifically, one of the models for this emotion noted earlier, Xenephon's Panthea, who, after risking her life to

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[61] See, in particular, Stephen Greenblatt's: "To Fashion a Gentleman: Spenser and the Destruction of the Bower of Bliss," *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980), 157-192; among more recent challenges to Greenblatt's reading, see Watkins's *Specter of Dido* (see citation at 218, n. 2, above); for a review of earlier contrasting readings of this passage, see A. C. Hamilton's headnote to Book 2, esp. 168.

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retrieve the body of her husband from the battlefield, kills herself even as Xenephon attempts to console her.[62] In the Spenserian context not only is her suicide un-Christian, but as Lucifera's dungeon made clear, such Stoic self-sufficiency is also heretical, and it comes as no surprise to find her imaginatively identified with Dido.[63]

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[62] Cf. Amavia's plaint:

> But if that carelesse heauens (quoth she) despise
> The doome of iust reuenge, and take delight
> To see sad pageants of mens miseries,
> As bound by them to liue in liues despight,
> Yet can they not warne death from wretched wight.
> Come then, come soone, come sweetest death to mee,
> And take away this long lent loathed light:
> Sharpe be they wounds, but sweet the medicines bee,
> That long captiued soules from wearie thraldome free. (1.36.1-9)

with that of Guacolda:

> Mas no podré ya ser tan desdichada
> ni Fortuna conmigo podrá tanto
> que no corte y ataje con la muerte
> el áspero camino de mi suerte. (13.46.4-8)
>
> Yet I will not be so unfortunate, nor will Fortune have such power over me, that I cannot interrupt and cut short with my death the bitter path of my fate.

and with that of Tegualda:

> Que aunque el cielo cruel no me conceda
> morir mi cuerpo con el suyo unido,
> no estorbará, por más que me persiga,
> que mi afligido espíritu le siga. (20.32.4-8).
>
> For though cruel heaven will not allow that my body die united with his, it will not be able to prevent, regardless of how it persecutes me, my afflicted spirit from following him.

With regard to Panthea, who killed herself even as Xenephon attempted to console her, see 84, n. 132, above.

[63] Allusions to Dido abound here, not only in the imagery of the wounded hind (1.38.6), but also in the operatic resilience with which Amavia thrice appears to succumb to death only to revive and extend her plaint (1.46.3); cf. Watkins, who sees Spenser as appropriating both of the contrasting images of Dido available in the Renaissance, with Amavia representing "a chaste Dido who liberates the hero from her concupiscent counterpart [Acrasia]" (*Specter*, 125). The description of Sir Mordant: "Now in his freshest flowre of lustie hed, / Fit to inflame faire Lady with loues rage, / But that fiers fate did crop the blossome of his age" (1.41.7-9) invokes the image associated with the death of Euryalus: "purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro / languescit moriens" ("as when a purple flower, severed by the plough, droops in death") (9.435-36). The poem is at pains to condemn the physical component of sexual attraction when it

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Following his encounter with Archimago and Duessa, Guyon's opponents are the brothers Cymochles and Pyrochles, emblems of concupiscence and irascibility, together with the associated figures of Furor, Occasion, and Strife. Like Redcross before him, Guyon begins his quest already possessing substantial aspects of the virtue he seeks. Like his predecessor he must not only discover the true nature of this virtue, but he must locate its source within himself, internalizing it as it were, while simultaneously acknowledging his limitations and the need for God's grace.[64] Shortly after the Amavia episode Guyon reassures Phedon, a battered victim of Furor, that "all your hurts may soone through temperance be eased" (4.33.9).[65] Besting Pyrochles in combat a few stanzas later, he observes, "That hasty wroth, and heedlesse hazardrie / Do breede repentaunce late, and lasting infamie" (5.13.8-9), a lesson he exemplifies by resisting the impetus to kill his opponent: "Tempring the passion with aduizement slow, / And maistring might on enimy dismayd" (5.13.2-3). In Pyrochles's presence Guyon delivers a homily on shame and temperance worthy of the Palmer, the conclusion of which reveals his insight into the

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appears out of the proper context; cf. the description of the phantom lover created by Archimago to simulate intercourse with Una: "Like a young Squire, in loues and lusty-hed / His wanton dayes that euer loosely led" (2.3.4-5). The object lesson of Amavia and Sir Mordant attaches symbolically to their offspring, Ruddymane, whose hands are indelibly stained with his mother's blood.

[64] As does Book 1, Book 2 repeatedly distinguishes true or Christian grace from the behavioral variety associated with the court; see, e.g., 1.9.9; cf. 4.21.1; cf. 7.50.2; cf. 258, below.

[65] The Palmer immediately expands upon this, as a teacher might upon receiving the proper answer from a student, invoking the image of the bridle:

> Then gan the Palmer thus, Most wretched man,
> That to affections does the *bridle* lend;
> In their beginning they are weake and wan,
> But soone through suff'rance grow to fearefull end;
> (emphasis added) (4.34.1-9)

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subject:

> Losse is no shame, nor to be less then foe,
> but to be lesser, then himselfe, doth marre
> Both loosers lot, and victours prayse alsoe.
> Vaine others ouerthrowes, who selfe doth ouerthrowe. (5.15.6-9)

In spite of such eloquence, events that follow reveal that Guyon's understanding of temperance has been largely limited to issues of moderation in demeanor, particularly anger and excessive pride. Subsequent episodes, culminating in his confrontation with Acrasia, reveal concupiscence to be a more insidious opponent.

The relationship between irascibility and concupiscence is made explicit at the opening of Canto 6, where the poet reflects on the effort made by Pyrochles's squire to summon Cymochles to his brother's assistance. Cymochles is discovered at the bower of Acrasia, "His dearest Dame" (5.27.1), where he has "pourd out his idle mind / In daintie delices, and lauish ioyes" (5.28.5-6) and must be shamed into re-arming.[66] Cymochles's departure from the garden of sensual delight, which repeats this canonical epic motif with little variation while foreshadowing Guyon's rousting of Verdant, is decidedly ironic, with the embodiment of concupiscence condemned as overly so and taunted with effeminacy like earlier epic heroes. On the other hand, the scene helps expose the limitations of prior literary expulsions from such locales, especially those envisioned by Ariosto and Tasso, who in spite of their Christianization of pagan themes had left these paradisial topographies intact, ignorant, from Spenser's perspective, of their true threat, which he now elucidates in a stanza revealing the heart of the challenge faced by Guyon:

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[66] Cf. the often-cited echo here of Redcross with Duessa (7.7.2), noted earlier; see 244, above.

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A harder lesson, to learne Continence
In ioyous pleasure, then in grieuous paine:
For sweetnesse doth allure the weaker sence
So strongly, that vneathes it can refraine
From that, which feeble nature couets faine;
But griefe and wrath, that be her enemies,
And foes of life, she better can restraine. (6.1.1-7)

Not only is pleasure more difficult to resist than wrath, but according to Platonic theory wrath helps control the appetitive or pleasure-loving part.[67] Rinaldo's breaking of the spell that protected the enchanted wood had been presented by Tasso as a prime example of this hierarchy.[68] From Spenser's perspective, as Canto 12 makes clear, the Bower of

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[67] Plato discusses the θυμός or high-spirited aspect of the soul in relationship to its counterparts in *Republic* 4; in Homer ὁ θυμός sometimes corresponds to the Latin *anima* as a more generalized sense of the soul; at other times it signifies anger, as in that which Achilles finally relinquishes (*Il.* 19.66) (Achilles's famous initial anger, with which the *Iliad* opens, is ἡ μῆνις). In contrast to Stoic theory, the conception of θυμός as a kind of righteous indignation or anger that allies with reason against ἡ ἐπιθυμητικός, or the appetitive aspect of the soul, is, according to the editor of the Loeb *Republic*, distinctly Platonic (cf. 4. 439e-440b); *Republic*, trans. and edited by Paul Shorey (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1930); cf. *Laws* 731b-c.

[68] For Rinaldo's cutting down of the tree that appears inhabited by Armida, ending the enchantment of the forest, see *G. L.* 18.37; cf. 231, n. 26, above; in his "Allegory" Tasso says of this scene (from Fairfax's translation):

> The ireful virtue is that which, amongst all the powers of the mind, is less estranged from the nobility of the soul, insomuch that Plato (doubting) seeketh whether it differeth from reason or no. And such is it in the mind as the chieftain in an assembly of soldiers; for as of these the office is to obey their princes, which do give directions and commandments to fight against their enemies; so is it the duty of the ireful, warlike, and sovereign part of the mind, to be armed with reason against concupiscence, and, with that vehemency and fierceness which is proper unto it, to resist and drive away whatsoever impediment to felicity. (lxv)

In discussing Rinaldo's reconciliation with Godfredo, signifying the obedience of anger to reason, Tasso adds observations which, beyond the present context, will resonate with Spenser's recommendations for the violent control of the Irish in the *View*, discussed below:

> In these reconciliations two things are signified; first, Godfrey with civil moderation is acknowledged to be superior to Rinald; teaching us, that reason commandeth anger, not imperiously, but courteously and civilly: contrarywise in that, by imprisoning Argillanus imperiously, the sedition is quieted; it is given us to understand, the power of the mind to be over the body, regal and predominate. Secondly, that as the reasonable part ought not (for herein the Stoics were very much deceived) to exclude the ireful from action, not usurp the offices thereof,

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Bliss presents a better target. The intimate relationship of irascibility and concupiscence is reflected in the imagery of fire being applied to both, notably at the end of Canto 6, when Pyrochles rushes into the waters of Idle Lake quench the inner flames consuming him, ignited by Furor.[69]

While Guyon's quest will ultimately focus on the erotic component of concupiscence, his preparatory adventures reflect a sense of this quality as a lust for wealth as well as an excessive pursuit of pleasure more generally. This brings him into contact with a variety of characters, preeminently, Mammon, but also Phaedria, a figure devoted to frivolity and "loose dalliaunce" (6.8.1.), whose lair on Idle Lake offers a less

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> for this usurpation would be against nature and justice; but it ought to make her her companion and handmaid [. . .]. (lxvi)

The "Allegory" concludes:

> [. . .] the army wherein Rinaldo and the other worthies, by the grace of God and advice of man, are returned and obedient to their chieftain, signifieth man brought again in to the state of natural justice and heavenly odedience; where the superior powers do command as they ought, and the inferior do obey as they should. Then the wood is easily disenchanted, the city vanquished, the enemy's army discomfited; that is, all external impediments being easily overcome, man attaineth the politic happiness. But for that this politic blessedness ought not to be the last mark of a Christian man, but he ought to look more high, that is, to everlasting felicity [. . .]. (ibid)

For additional discussion of the "ireful" and concupiscent powers in the *Liberata*, where they are represented by Tancredi and Rinaldo, see Richard Helgerson's "Tasso on Spenser: the Politics of Chivalric Romance," *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991) 224-225; cf. the earlier remarks on the irascibles's control of concupiscence with regard to the second *Egloga* of Garcilaso, 99, n. 163, above

[69] This imagery is identical to that discussed above with regard to erotic passion; see esp. 56, n. 83 and 94, n. 148, above; Pyrochles complains that nothing can quench his "inly flaming syde" (6.44.3) and tells Archimago that Furor's fire "burnes in mine entrails bright" (6.50.4); the sorcerer searches Pyrochles's "secret wounds" (6.51.3) and extinguishes the "hidden fire" (6.51.5); Guacolda is said to have "las vivas entrañas encendidas" ("her throbbing entrails inflamed") (*Ar.* 14.1.8); cf. Virgil's description of Dido: "est mollis *flamma* medullas / interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore *volnus*" ("meanwhile the tender flame consumes her marrow and the secret wound lives near her heart") (4.66-67). Cf. the earlier discussion of correspondences between love and war, esp. 77, above.

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sexualized version of Acrasia's bower.[70]

Spenser's depiction of Mammon's cave revises the motif of the underworld journey as a series of temptations to intemperance. Of an early trio, two focus on greed, the third, embodied in Philotime, on an excessive desire for reputation or honor for its own sake. After successfully resisting these Guyon is led to the garden of Proserpine, a *locus eremus* whose catalogue of funereal trees and poisonous plants, encircling a silver stool beneath a tree of golden apples, parodies not only its classical inspiration but also the catalogue of virtuous trees associated with the Wandering Wood.[71] Concluding the journey is a Dantean scene in which Guyon is shown the suffering figures of Tantalus and Pontius Pilate, after which he is banished by Mammon to the upper world, reaching which, like a Dantean pilgrim, he faints.

Guyon's temporary helplessness upon emerging from Mammon's cave elicits true grace, "th'exceeding grace / of highest God" (8.1.5-6), who sends an angel from a

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[70] Idleness is a signal evil associated with both Acrasia and Phaedria; cf. Cymochles's "idle mind" (5.28.5) at the Bower of Bliss, quoted above, and the "idle dreme" (6.27.2) he is seduced into by Phaedria on her wandering island; Cymochles's experience on Phaedria's island repeats his experience at Acrasia's; in both locations he is immobilized; while Phaedria's behavior is not directly sexual, she represents the danger of "sensual delight" in general, which becomes a type of foreplay: "So easie is, t'appease the stormie wind / Of malice in the calme of pleasant womankind" (6.8.7-9); Phaedria describes herself to Cymochles as a "fellow seruaunt" to Acrasia (6.9.8).

[71] On the Wandering Wood, see 227, above; the source for Proserpina's garden, as A. C. Hamilton notes, is in Homer, who locates it in the *Odyssey* at the entrance to the underworld (*Od.* 10.509-10); Spenser's golden apples function not only as an image of greed, but in their association with Paris and Helen as a metonym for classical epic: "That many noble Greekes and Troians made to bleed" (7.55.9); Rosa Perelmuter-Pérez discusses Ercilla's descriptions of Araucan wilderness in terms of the *locus eremus*, opposite of the *locus amoenus*; see "El desierto en *La Araucana*," in *Ésta de Nuestra América Pupíla: Estudios de Poesía Colonial*, ed. Georgina Sabat-Rivers (Houston Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry, 1999), 250.

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heavenly bower (8.2.1) to alert the Palmer to the knight's predicament. The Palmer's inability to protect his charge from Pyrochles and Cymochles, who return to face the knight together, introduces the reappearance of Arthur, who defeats the brothers, after which he and Guyon continue on to Alma's castle or the House of Temperance. Here a two-part initiation brings Arthur as well as Guyon into a heightened state of self-awareness: beginning the process, an allegorical pageant of the body presided over by Alma, representative of the rational soul, at the heart of which, amidst damsels emblematic of diverse virtues, each man is drawn to a maiden embodying his particular genius, the prince to Prays-desire, the knight to Shamefastnesse; concluding their indoctrination, a variation on the motif of epic prophecy, envisioned here as each man's immersion in the literary sources of his respective identity at a library overseen by Eumnestes, or good memory, Arthur absorbed in the history of Albion, Guyon in that of Faeryland.[72] Book 2 concludes with Arthur and Guyon translating their newly realized

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[72] A. C. Hamilton notes the source of Prays-desire and Shamefastnesse in Aristotle's *Ethics* (3.7.1116a), where the two are identified as the basis of true courage, and cites Elyot's observation on them in the *Governour*: "By shamfastnes, as it were with a *bridell*, they rule as well theyr dedes as their appetites. And desire of prayse addeth to a sharpe spurre to their disposition towarde lernyng and vertue" (1.9); (emphasis added); additional passages in the *Ethics* pertinent to shamefastness are at 4.9; to the desire for honor, identified as the quality of magnanimity, at 4.3; and to temperance at 3.10; cf. the relationship asserted by Castiglione between magnanimity and *sprezzatura*, 172, n. 305, above; cf. the close relation between *vergogno*, *honestate*, and *castità* in Petrarch's *Trionfi del Castità*, where *Honestate* and *Vergogna* lead the procession of virtues, the rear taken up by a pair of virtues that recapitulate these two: "Timor-d'infamia" and "Desio-sol-d'onore"; cf. Cesare Gonzaga's assertion in the *Cortegiano* that "[. . .] estimo che questa vergogna, che in fine non è altro che timor d'infamia, sia una rarissima virtù" ("I consider this sense of shame, which is finally nothing else than a fear of disgrace, to be a most rare virtue") (3.40); in Book 4 of the *Cortegiano*, Gaspare Pallavicino relates that although Prometheus had stolen from the gods the ingenuity and knowledge that mankind needed for its livelihood, it was still wretched because it lacked knowledge of civic virtue (*virtù civile*) and moral law, a condition Jove remedied by sending Mercury to earth bearing justice and self-respect (*la vergogna*) in order to adorn the cities and unite the citizens, further ordaining that those who were unjust and shameless should be put to death. As suggested

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identities into action. For Arthur this comes in the defense of Alma's castle against an attack by the enemies of temperance, led by Maleger, whose chthonic relationship to the earth associates him with Antaeus and the quality of lust.[73] Arthur defeats Maleger, but not without God's help, in the guise of being rescued by his squire, of which the poet remarks that "had not grace thee blest, thou shouldest not suruiue" (11.30.9).[74]

As noted above, Guyon's destruction of Acrasia's bower represents a striking departure from prior treatments of the epic garden of delight. An early indication of this difference is encountered in the bower's gate, the description of which forms an important part of the episode's inspired sensuality, in contrast to which Guyon's violence has so frequently aroused reaction. The gate is said to depict "all the famous history / Of *Iason* and *Medea*":

> Her mighty charmes, her furious louing fit,
> His goodly conquest of the golden fleece,
> His falsed faith, and loue too lightly flit,
> The wondred *Argo*, which in venturous peece
> First through the *Euxine* seas bore all the flowr of *Greece*. (12.44.3-4)
> (emphasis in original)[75]

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earlier, the substance as well as the imagery of such thinking becomes apparent in Spenser's *View*; see esp. 98 n. 160, above, for English and Italian translations, as well as for additional discussion, of the texts noted here.

[73] See 11.22.1-9, with A. C. Hamilton note.

[74] Arthur's near-defeat by Maleger is depicted in the same terms applied to victims of sensual bowers; his recovery stems partly from the efforts of his squire, partly from his being "[. . .] prickt with reprochfull shame, / As one awakt out of long slombring shade, Reviving thought of glorie and of fame" (11.31.6-8).

[75] The passage continues:

> Ye might haue seene the frothy billowes fry
> Vnder the ship, as thorough them she went,
> That seemd the waues were into yuory,
> Or yuory into the waues were sent;

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As does the episode in general, these lines deliberately recall, most immediately, corresponding scenes in the *Liberata* and *Furioso*, the first of which describes Rinaldo's rescuers as entering Armida's palace through gates that depict two sets of couples, Hercules with Iole and Antony with Cleopatra, while the second, although avoiding the mention of gates, describes Ruggier's lavish welcome at Alcina's as including "[. . .] chie, cantando, dire / d'amor sapesse gaudi e passioni" ("he who, singing, knew how to tell of love's joys and ecstacies") (*O. F.* 7.19.6), going on to compare the scene to banquets at the court of King Ninus, to feasts enjoyed, once again, by Cleopatra and Antony, and to the festivities of Jove and Ganymede.[76]

> And other where the snowy substaunce sprent
> With vermell, like the boyes bloud therein shed,
> A piteous spectacle did represent,
> And otherwhiles with gold besprinkeled;
> Yt seemd th'enchaunted flame, which did *Creusa* wed. (12.44.1-45.9)

[76] Translation of Ariosto in this instance is based on that of Guido Waldman. Tasso's influence on Spenser in these verses describing the Bower has long been noted; see *Variorum* 2, 383-384; cf. the illustration viewed by Charles and Ubaldo upon arriving at Armida's (from Fairfax's translation):

> Alcides there sat telling tales, and spun
> Among the feeble troops of damsels mild
> (He that the fiery gates of hell had won,
> And heav'n upheld); false love stood by and smil'd;
> Arm'd with his club fair Iole forth run,
> His club with blood of monsters foul defil'd;
> And on her back his lion's skin had she,
> Too rough a bark for such a tender tree. (16.3.1-8)

and:

> Antonius eke himself to fight betook,
> The empire lost to which he would aspire;
> Yet fled not he, nor fight for fear forsook,
> But follow'd her, drawn on by fond desire:
> Well might you see, within his troubled look,
> Strive and contend love, courage, shame and ire;
> Oft look'd he back oft gazed he on the fight,

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Tasso's gates continue a tradition of ecphrastic description originating with the shields of Achilles and Aeneas. In classical epic these passages succinctly embed their framing narratives within grand conceptions of the life of man and the history of Rome. While narrowly focused on notorious love affairs, Ariosto and Tasso maintain a connection to the shield of Aeneas via the presence of Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium, the central component of Vulcan's handiwork.[77] The subtext of erotic excess in Ariosto's images of ostentation, presented as narratorial commentary, function as dramatic irony. The *Liberata*'s ecphrasis, on the other hand, is problematic, for while its reference to love affairs in which the males die inglorious deaths may be read as ironic criticism, the effectiveness of these legends as invitations to Armida's garden lacks basic logic.[78] Spenser's use of Jason and Medea resolves the competing demands of narrative

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But oft'ner on his mistress and her flight.

Then in the secret creeks of fruitful Nile,
Cast in her lap he would sad death await,
And in the pleasure of her lovely smile
Sweeten the bitter stroke of cursed fate. (16. 6.1-16.7.4)

Ariosto's three references, while ostensibly to examples of ostentation, are based on notorious love affairs; King Ninus, an Assyrian monarch associated with great wealth, married Semiramis, one of the emblems of eroticism encountered by Redcross in the dungeon of the House of Pride; after Ninus's death (at the hands of his wife, according to some sources), Semiramis became renowned, on the one hand, for her prowess as a warrior and as the ruler most responsible for the magnificence of Babylon (cf. Dido and Carthage); and, on the other, for her unnatural attraction for her son, who, according to some sources, had her killed; see 243, above.

[77] Cf. *Aeneid* 8.675.

[78] Tasso's lines regarding Hercules and Iole appear innocent enough outside their reference to the figure of false love and the disconcerting image of "fair Iole" running about with a bloody club, but the story of the hero's infatuation with the maiden, undoubtedly well-known to Tasso's readers, is far from sanguine. Upon learning that her husband is enamored of the young woman, Hercules's wife, Deianira, sends him a magic robe that she believes will cure him of his passion. In fact the robe, like that sent by Medea to Creusa, as noted by Spenser in this same passage, sets the hero afire, consuming him from

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coherence and authorial propriety, since from Acrasia's point-of-view the legend of the golden fleece conveys the allure of heroic exploits enabled by love, while from Spenser's perspective Guyon's destruction of these illustrations and their environs presents a necessary rejection not only of Ariostan tolerance, but of the intemperance at the heart of Virgil's depiction of the love of Dido and Aeneas, for which Jason and Medea provided an important model.[79] As an introduction to the climax of Book 2 the reference to Apollonius has additional significance, since the quality of shame, as noted earlier, plays such a central role in one of the *Argonautica*'s most celebrated scenes, that of Medea's falling in love, where the suppression of her *aidos* sets the stage for all that follows. It is this same sense of self-respect that, once suppressed, results in the abandonment of their missions not only by Ruggier and Rinaldo, who must be shamed into leaving the bowers of Alcina and Armida, but also by Redcross, who, as was seen earlier, had to be rescued

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within; in Ovid's version of the story, Hercules, in spite of experiencing great agony, is unable to die from the poison and, Dido-like, must cast himself onto a great pyre to finally achieve death; much of the imagery in these stories of the magic robe is reminiscent of the erotic imagery of fire discussed throughout the present work, in contrast to which Hercules's experience is actually fatal; cf.: "caecaque medullis / tabe liquefactis tollens" ("his very marrow melts with the hidden, deadly fire") (*Meta.* 9.174-175); with regard to the earlier discussion of Fradubio, note that Iole's sister, Dryope, after picking blossoms from a tree that, housing the spirit of a nymph, proceeds to bleed, is transformed into a tree herself; cf. *Meta.* 9.1-360.

[79] Recall that Antonius and Cleopatra had earlier been relegated to Lucifera's dungeon; while the legend of the golden fleece, like many ancient myths, has a complex, ambiguous character (an ambiguity seized upon by Apollonius), Jason is nonetheless a heroic figure rather than a tragic one, like Antony; unlike Hercules, his accomplishments are made possible by love, however excessive this love is deemed, as in the case of Comus, for whom Jason and Medea represent a surrender to "voluptatum desiderium" (cf. *Var.* 2, 351); Spenser also departs from Tasso and earlier epics in having Verdant bound and led away with Acrasia; on Jason and Medea as models for Aeneas and Dido, asserted as early as Macrobius, see, e.g., Hexter, "Sidonian," 339-340, and see 94, n. 148, above.

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by Arthur after his dalliance with Duessa.[80]

Having begun as chivalric adventure, the Legend of Temperance progresses through a series of literary and ideological transformations. In terms of genre, the romance plot of the heroic knight confronting a series of opponents is suspended at Alma's castle, where the quest becomes an internal one. After mastering this aspect of the challenge, Guyon moves on to a finale that, while grounded in the Platonic conception of the irascible, concupiscent, and rational parts of the soul, interprets these distinctions in terms of gender, envisioning the epic garden of delight as the location of a confrontation between the temperate hero and concupiscent sorceress. Guyon's destruction of the garden, in contrast to its treatment in earlier epics, allows Spenser to establish, most importantly, not the supremacy of Christianity over the pagan world or that of Christian grace over the courtly variety, both of which had been asserted by the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, but that of the properly reformed, Protestant epic over its humanist-inspired, Renaissance counterpart, which Tasso's poem also represented. However disturbing the garden's destruction, the inevitability of the scene is carefully

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[80] Cf. Tasso's depiction of Antonius as contending with "love, courage, shame and ire" (*G.L.* 16.6.6); cf. Anna's encouragement of Dido, of which the narrator says: "solvitque pudorem" ("and it loosed the bonds of shame") (*Ae.* 4.55); cf. the description of Tegualda's falling in love with Crepino: "Roto con fuerza súbita y furiosa / de la vergüenza y continencia el freno" ("Broken with sudden and furious force the restraint of shame and continence") (*Ar.* 20.62.1-2); for further discussion of these passages and themes, see 96 and esp. 96, n. 154, above. Spenser's rejection of the values associated with Medea is also reflected in his transformation of Apollonius's figure of Talos, a sole-surviving bronze age giant in the *Argonautica* who protects the coasts of Crete (*Argonautica* 4.1638ff.), until Medea bewitches and kills him so Jason's men can reach the island. In the *Faerie Queene* Medea's victim becomes an enforcer of Artegall's equitable justice, while the figure of the giant on the coast is transformed into a emblem of misguided communality or simple justice, which Spenser's Talus destroys; *F. Q.* 2.49.8-9.

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constructed, both logically and narratively, depicting as it does the alliance of wrath and reason in the control of erotic desire.

5.4 From temperance to chastity

As noted earlier, the transition from the Legend of Temperance to that of Chastity is mirrored by a shift in gender association, from scenes populated primarily by men, who play the most virtuous roles opposite female villains, to the reverse. Heightening the sense of transition from a predominantly male to female context is a shift in narrative structure, from a series of episodes, most of which feature the knightly protagonist and progress toward his climatic accomplishment, to a group of loosely parallel storylines, related as often by theme as by plot, which explore manifestations of the moral virtue in question rather than its acquisition. This change, which persists in the Legend of Friendship in Book 4 and results in a proliferation of characters and in more women overall, has often been associated with a move from epic to romance modalities.[81] The generic link, based primarily on the prevalence of *entrelacement*, noted earlier in Archimago's deceptive weaving of falsehoods, is reinforced by the design of Book 3, which contrasts settings of tainted erotic desire at its beginning and end—Malecasta's Castle Joyeous and the House of Busirane—with the edenic Garden of Adonis at its center.[82] The shift is reflected in the increased use of medieval motifs, especially in the imagery of allegorical masques and medieval gardens and courts of love, which now supplant the classical garden of delight. Further enhancing the perceived change in

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[81] E.g., *Var.* 3, 203.

[82] On the guileful weavings of Archimago, see 248 n. 58, above.

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generic emphasis is the prevalence in these cantos of highly advertised Ariostan intertexts and of the sense of Ariosto as the primary target of Spenser's reforming impulse here, in contrast to Tasso's role in Book 2.

Thematically, the focus on chastity rather than temperance shifts attention from the control of lust to manifestations of love. Since Spenser's moral virtues show so well against their opposites, embodiments of lust persist, most notably in the male characters of the Forster, Proteus, and Busirane, and in the anonymous satyrs, who become the eventual companions of Hellenore, one of two key female figures of lust, along with Malecasta. By contrast, three leading women, in addition to Britomart, the book's titular knight, are identified with types of virtuous love: Amoret, united with Scudamour in Book 4, with love in marriage; her sister, Belphoebe, a Diana-like huntress whose brilliant virginity is emblematic of Elizabeth and of the purest form of chaste love; and Florimell, a shadowy figure seen mainly in flight from pursuit, whose love for Marinell some have associated with cosmic significance.[83]

Amidst these substantial changes from Books 1 and 2 are substantial points of continuity. While the issue of erotic decorum focuses in Book 3 on institutionalized, i.e., courtly, lust, and on instances of notorious sexual depravity, especially those involving incest, shame and continence are still fundamental themes.[84] Apollonius's *Argonautica* continues to be an important influence, as does the *Phaedrus*, which inspires additional

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[83] See A. C. Hamilton's headnote to Book 3, 301.

[84] Cf. the explicit link made in the *Cortegiano* between shame and chastity; see 98 n. 160, above.

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Platonic imagery through its descriptions of metempsychosis and the divinity of love. Ecphrasis persists as an important narrative device in these pages, and a number of specific motifs discussed above make reappearances, including those of the *piccolo mondo* and simile of the dawn. Once again the reformation of traditional generic values is Spenser's key concern.

Books 1 and 2 made clear that a key aspect of Spenser's fashioning of the moral virtues is the degree to which he personalizes them, offering a quasi-interior view of the arduous process through which they are attained. In the Legends of Holiness and Temperance, dangerous erotic passion repeatedly impedes this process. Given the sharp distinction in Book 3 between chaste love, characterized by devotion to virtue, beauty, and loyalty, and base or lustful passion, the spur to sensual gratification, one would expect their respective emotions to differ radically. As will be seen, however, in spite of apparent efforts to segregate these opposing types of desire by associating the first with self-denial, coldness, and melancholy, in contrast to the grasping heat of lust, imagery of the latter, which plays such a prominent role throughout earlier pages of the poem, eventually contaminates the former, resulting in disconcertingly similar descriptions being applied to both. This is especially notable in Britomart's love for Artegall, where the effect of such contamination is complex, humanizing the Knight of Chastity, on the one hand, by endowing her with a degree of nuance unexpected in an occasionally programmatic rendition of moral qualities, yet dulling the transparent purposefulness of Books 1 and 2, on the other, and presenting perhaps, in retrospect, an early indication of a failure of confidence, manifest in a softening of thematic and structural clarity, that will

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dominate the poem's close. Three key episodes in the Legend of Chastity exemplify this emergent complexity: Malecasta's falling in love with Britomart, a parody of Fiordispina's falling for Bradamante in the *Orlando Furioso*; Britomart's falling in love with Artegall, which follows immediately upon the Malecasta episode, commenting upon it while parodying, among other texts, Apollonius's depiction of Medea falling for Jason; and the banquet at which Hellenore falls in love with Paridell, a complex-to-the-point-of-confusing re-enactment of Dido's banquet for Aeneas, in which Spenser's characters simultaneously enact multiple roles.

Intimations of uncertainty appear in the Legend of Chastity's opening stanzas. In a variation on the previous book's meeting between the Redcross knight and Guyon, Britomart and Guyon initially mistake each other for rivals and engage in combat in which Guyon is unseated. The narrator emphasizes Guyon's shame, adding how much more ashamed he'd be if he knew his opponent was a woman, then describes how the Knight of Temperance, apparently forgetting the philosophy he'd previously elaborated on the importance of internal versus external foes, rises up "full of disdainefull wrath" (1.9.1), determined to continue his fight with Britomart hand-to-hand. The Palmer and Prince Arthur forestall further fighting and prevent a repetition of Guyon's defeat, the former counseling him against his "reuenging rage" (1.11.2), while the latter urges him "His wrathful will with reason to asswage" (1.11.4); Arthur mollifies the knight's wounded pride by attributing his defeat to a page who improperly saddled his horse.[85]

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[85] A. C. Hamilton notes the association between the image of the improperly fixtured horse and Guyon's lack of control over his passions; see 1.11.6-8, note; on the encounter between Britomart and Guyon as an allegory of the Earl of Essex's relationship with Elizabeth,

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The poet remarks neither on Guyon's recidivism nor on Arthur's facilitating lie, stating without great persuasiveness: "Thus reconcilement was betweene them knit, / Through goodly temperance, and affection chaste" (1.12.1-2).

Lust makes an early and dramatic appearance in Book 3 in the guise of the forester pursuing Florimell, whom Guyon and Arthur pursue in turn. After their departure, Britomart comes upon Redcross fighting Malecasta's knights; joining forces with him the two are victorious, gaining entrance to the Castle Joyeous.[86] Malecasta's castle offers an institutionalized version of the Bower of Bliss and thus a vision of the sensual corruption infecting courtly life. The castle's main hall is furnished with beds: "Some for vntimely ease, some for delight, / As pleased them to vse, that vse it might" (1.39. 4-5); it is filled with Damzels and Squires: "Dauncing and reueling both day and night, / And swimming deepe in sensuall desires" (1.39.6-8).[87] Tapestries depicting the myth of Venus and Adonis, whose themes of sensual indulgence, wounding, and transformation prove emblematic for much that follows, line the walls of the great hall. The tapestries' central panel portrays the doting goddess in a *mise-en-abime* echo of Acrasia, whose role Malecasta proceeds to assume as the narrator describes how: "She caused them

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see *Var.* 3, 203-204.

[86] Malecasta's six knights, whose names represent what A. C. Hamilton refers to as "rungs of the ladder of lechery," enforce an official policy of infidelity, requiring any who approaches the castle either to renounce his lady in favor of Malecasta or to prove by arms that his own lady is fairer; failing this, the knight is placed in Malecasta's service; succeeding, he gains Malecasta's love; the motif is a frequent one in books of chivalry, particularly in *Amadis*.

[87] Cf. the castle's description as a place where guests "[. . .] were entertained with curteous / And comely glee of many gracious / Faire Ladies, and of many a gentle knight" (1.31.4-6).

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[Britomart and Redcross] to be led in curteous wize / Into a bowre [. . .]" (1.42.3-4).[88] Here the Knight of Holiness, threatening to repeat his earlier defeat at the hands of Duessa, disarms. Joining them are the castle's six defenders, who now disarmed themselves, appear "curteous and gent" (1.44.4) and "traynd in all ciuilitee" (1.44.6).

The "amiable grace, / And manly terrour" (1.46.1-2) of Britomart, who refuses to disarm, is immediately contrasted with Malecasta, who "seemd a woman of great bountihed" (1.41.5), were it not for the fact that "Her wanton eyes, ill signes of womanhed, / Did roll too lightly, and too often glaunce, / Without regard of grace" (1.41.7-9). Britomart, disguised by her armor, quickly becomes the object of Malecasta's *seriatim* lust. Much of the previously discussed imagery of sexual passion, including the motifs of fire in the entrails, poison in the veins, and grievous wounding, is condensed, in references to Malecasta, into the following nine stanzas, together with a contrasting synopsis of chaste, Neoplatonic desire, which "[. . .] does alwayes bring forth bounteous deeds, / And in each gentle hart desire of honour breeds" (1.49.8-9).[89] Even more

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[88] Of Acrasia and Verdant, the poet had stated: "And oft inclining downe with kisses light, / For feare of waking him, his lips bedewd, / And through his humid eyes did sucke his spright" (12.73. 5-7); cf., in the tapestry of Venus and Adonis: "And her soft arme lay vnderdeath his hed, / And with ambrosiall kisses bathe his eyes" (1.36.3-4).

[89] See esp. "Her fickle hart conceiued hasty fire, / Like sparkes of fire, which fall in sclender flex, / That shortly brent into extreme desire, / And ransackt all her veines with passion entire" (1.47.6-9); cf. the description of Dido: "praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae, / expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo / Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur" ("Above all, the unhappy Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin, cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes, thrilled alike by the boy and by the gifts") (*Ae.* 1.712-714); also see: "But yet her wound still inward freshly bled, / And through her bones the false instilled fire / Did spred it selfe, and venime close inspire" (1.56.3-5). The image of the Platonic bridle appears here as well: "Nought so of loue this looser Dame did skill, / but as a coale to kindle fleshly flame, / Giuing the bridle to her wanton will" (1.50.1-3); These descriptions, which "plaine discouered her incontinence" (1.48.3), confirm her identity as the embodiment of uncontrolled sexual desire: "For she was

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prominent than its echo of Dido's banquet is the scene's intertext with the *Orlando Furioso*. Ariosto's story of Bradamante and Fiordispina addresses similar themes of love, lust, shame, and unnatural attraction from an entirely different point-of-view, with love no more than a fervent emotional attachment; lust a natural, if discomfiting, affect of healthy vigor; shame a result of superficially diminished self-worth, and unnatural attraction a physiological puzzle—all this embedded in an anti-Platonic, Petrarchan farce where pleasure is deemed the highest good and unfilled desire is a matter of human plumbing rather than existential angst.[90] In Spenser's hands the same-sex-attraction plot,

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giuen all to fleshly lust, / And poured forth in sensuall delight, / That all regard of shame she had discust, / And meet respect of honour put to flight: / So shamelesse beauty soone becomes a loathly sight" (1.48.5-9).

[90] The Ariostan adventure, told in several installments from Cantos 22 to 25, originates with the *Furioso*'s primary example of true love, that between the beautiful Christian champion, Bradamante, and the Moslem hero, Ruggier, who are on their way to a monastery to be married. Along the way the two are confronted with an injustice they cannot ignore, namely, the imminent execution at a nearby castle of a young man caught making nightly visits to his lover, the daughter of a Spanish king (*O.F.* 22.35-38). Hindering their approach to the young man is the castle of Pinabello, the model for the Castle Joyous, where approaching knights are forced to relinquish their horses and ladies their gowns, a shameful custom—*vergogna* or shame is mentioned four times in sixteen octaves (*O.F.* 22.76-92)—that arises in response to Pinabello's own earlier shaming (*O.F.* 22.49-55). The doomed youth, it turns out, is Bradamante's identical twin brother, Ricciardetto, whose love for Fiordispina, the Spanish princess, has been enabled by a convoluted plot based on Fiordispina's having previously fallen in love with Bradamante, whose armor, like Britomart's, disguises her sex. Bradamante, wanting to set matters straight, reveals her gender, but this has no effect on Fiordispina, who, while comparing her situation to those of Semiramis, Myhrra, and Pasiphae, three examples of erotic perversion related to paternal incest in the first two cases and to bestiality in the third, focuses not on the unnaturalness of her attraction but rather complains that, "solo il mio desiderio è senza fine!" ("My desire alone can have no fulfilment") (25.34.8), in contrast to these predecessors in perversity, of whom she says: "La femina nel maschio fe' disegno, / speronne il fine, ed ebbelo, come odo: / [. . .] / Ma se volasse a me con ogni ingegno / Dedalo, no potria scioglier quel nodo / que fece il mastro troppo diligente, / Natura d'ogni cosa più possente" ("These females made designs upon the males and achieved the desired consummation, so I am told. [. . .] But even if Daedalus came flying to me with every artifice at his command, he would be unable to untie the knot made by that all-too-diligent maker, Nature, who is all-powerful") (25.37.1-2; 5-8). Learning of the situation from his sister, Ricciardetto, who has heretofore lacked the confidence to reveal his secret love for Fiordispina, disguises himself as a female and, mistaken for his sister, gains access to her; their

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far from the *Furioso*'s bawdy erotic positivism, becomes symbolic of the confluence of perverse desire and courtly immorality. While surprised, like her Ariostan counterpart, at finding herself the object of attraction, Britomart, unlike Bradamante, decides to keep her disguise a secret. This strategy, awkwardly explained as Britomart's customary behavior: "(For she her sexe vnder that straunge purport / Did vse to hide, and plaine apparaunce shonne)" (1.52.7-8), has the virtue of prolonging the misunderstanding and allowing Spenser to pursue the attraction into Britomart's bedroom, where Malecasta, in a passage reminiscent of Apollonius's description of the youthful Medea, appears later the same evening.[91] Here, responding with Spenserian outrage rather than Arisotan bemusal, the

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nightly trysts follow until he is caught. A number of details reinforce the adamantly anti-Platonic attitude of the story: as Ruggier fights with Pinabello's knights, Bradamante chases Pinabello far into the forest, returning to find that Ruggier has departed and that her anger, rather than facilitating her rationality, has caused her harm: "—L'ira, (dicea) m'ha dal mio amor disgiunta" ("'Wrath,' she grieved, 'has sundered me from my beloved'") (23.7.4); cf. Ricciardetto, who states of his situation: " [. . .] Al fin mi par che buono / sempre cercar quel che diletti sia" ("My conclusion was that it is always good to go in pursuit of one's pleasure") (25.51.1-2). This farcical celebration of eroticism concludes with Fiordispina in the arms of Ricciardetto, exclaiming, "—Fa, Dio (disse ella), se son sogni questi, / ch'io dorma sempre, e mai più non mi desti" ("'O God, if this is a dream,' she cried, 'keep me asleep for good, and never wake me again!'") (25.67.7-8); note the contrast of these *sogni* with the "sogni d'infermi" discussed earlier; see 247 n. 57, above.

[91] The awkwardness of the scene is exacerbated by the fact that Britomart, who has mistaken Malecasta's attention for love rather than lust, makes a point of dissembling her true feelings, considering it discourteous to despise "a gentle harts request" (1.55.4). This explanation, like that of her refusal to disarm, is determined by plot rather than by character, since both responses are required if the scene is to be prolonged into the bedroom. A similar but more pronounced example of Britomart's manipulation of gender identity comes at the beginning of Book 4, just after Book 3 has closed with her rescue of Amoret from Busirane's dungeon. The virtuous Amoret, wife of Scudamour, is simultaneously grateful to her liberator, who she believes to be a man, and afraid of him, since Britomart:

> Who for to hide her fained sex the better,
> And maske her wounded mind, both did and sayd
> Full many things so doubtfull to be wayd,
> That well she [Amoret] wist not what by them to gesse,
> For other whiles to her she [Britomart] purpos made

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British maid, joined by Redcross, who responds with others to the ensuing fracas, fights her way out of the castle.[92] The denouement effectively inverts the dynamic of the Bower of Bliss, with the innocent victim now freeing herself. Britomart's escape comes not without injury, however, one that, as has often been noted, literalizes the wound of love.[93]

The Malecasta episode is both parodic and proleptic, critically revising Ariosto's moral insouciance via motifs and themes that, in characteristically Spenserian fashion, are

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> Of loue, and otherwhiles of lustfulnesse,
> That much she feard his mind would grow to some excesse.
>
> His will she feard; for him she surely thought
> To be a man, such as indeed he seemed. (1.7.2-1.8.2)

The scene from the *Argonautica*, referred to several times already, describes the youthful Medea debating within herself whether or not to share her love for Jason with her sister; see esp.: "She spake, and rising from her bed opened the door of her chamber, bare-footed, clad in one robe; and verily she desired to go to her sister, and crossed the threshold. And for long she stayed there at the entrance of her chamber, held back by shame; and she turned back once more; and again she came forth from within, and again stole back; and idly did her feet bear her this way and that [. . .]" (3.645-651); cf. Spenser's description of Malecasta, who leaves her room to go to Britomart's:

> Faire Malecasta, whose engrieued spright
> Could find no rest in such perplexed plight,
> Lightly arose out of her wearie bed,
> And vnder the blacke vele of guilty Night,
> Her with a scarlet mantle couered,
> That was with gold and Erminesa faire enueloped.
>
> Then panting soft, and trembling euerie ioynt,
> Her fearfull feete towards the bowre she moued. (1.59.4-1.60.2)

Cf. Malecasta's "wearie bed" and the description, in the first appearance of the dawn simile, of Aurora as "Weary of aged Tithones saffron bed" (Book 1, 2.7.2); the simile reappears shortly after the passage being discussed here (3.20.4-9).

[92] The description of Britomart's surprise: "Where feeling one close couched by her side, / She lightly lept out of her filed bed, / And to her weapon ran, in minde to gride / The loathed leachour" (1.62.1-4) is reminiscent of Redcross's response to Archimago's deceiving dream: "He started vp, as seeming to mistrust / Some secret ill [. . .] And Halfe enraged at her shamelesse guise, / He thought haue slaine her in his fierce despight" (1.49.3-4; 1.50.2-3); see 233, above.

[93] Cf. the figure of the wounded lady in the Masque of Cupid, with which the Legend of Chastity ends (12.20.4); and see 286, below.

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soon revisited as objects of parody themselves. Leaving the Castle Joyous, Britomart, in response to a question from Redcross regarding her plans, reveals that she is secretly in love and experiencing emotions quite similar, in some respects, to those exhibited by the hostess they've just left behind:

> Thereat she sighing softly, had no powre,
> To speake a while, ne ready answere make,
> But with hart-thrilling throbs and bitter stowre,
> As if she had a feuer fit, did quake,
> And euery daintie limbe with horrour shake;
> And euer and anone the rosy red,
> Flasht through her face, as it had been a flake
> Of lightning, through bright heauen fulmined;
> At last the passion past she thus him answered. (2.5.1-9)[94]

As indicated by references to *feuer*, *flasht*, and *lightning*, any attempt to differentiate Britomart's love from Malecasta's lust will be a challenging one, in part because of the imagery used to describe the maiden's emotions, in part because of the intermediary texts inspiring the description of her experience. Britomart, we soon learn, became aware of her love at an earlier age, after looking into a "glassie globe" (2.21.1) given to her father by the magician Merlin. Merlin's globe, referred to elsewhere in Book 3 as the "Venus looking glass" (1.8.9), personalizes the *piccolo mondo* motif, revealing, in place of world events, as in Ariosto and Ercilla, whatever most pertains to the individual who gazes into it.[95] As the narrator proceeds to explain, the girl's response to the vision she sees there of

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[94] Cf. the description, as Redcross speaks of Artegall, the lover Britomart has yet to meet, of the maid's "molten hart" (2.15.2).

[95] Cf. with regard to Merlin's globe:

> It vertue had, to shew in perfect sight,
> What euer thing was in the world contaynd,
> Betwixt the lowest earth and heauens hight,
> So that it to the looker appertayned;

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a handsome knight, Artegall, henceforth the object of her quest, has been a mix of confusion, anxiety, and partial acknowledgment of her attraction, a plausible combination in the context of a young woman's first experience with erotic desire.[96] Considering the novelty of her experience, the fact that she initially shares it with no one and has no way of knowing that it portends what will actually occur one day, it isn't surprising that negative emotions, characterized by withdrawal, sorrow, and even images of death, dominate her feelings in the period that follows.[97] These sensations contrast dramatically

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What euer foe had wrought, or frend had faynd,
Therein discouered was, ne ought mote pas,
Ne ought in secret from the same remaynd;
For thy it round and hollow shaped was,
Like to the world it selfe, and seem'd a world of glass. (2.19.1-9)

With regard to the *Araucana*, cf. "Una gran poma milagrosa, / que una luciente esfera la ceñía" ("a great orb enclosed in a shining sphere") (23.68.4), belonging to the sorcerer Fitón, whose laboratory, like Merlin's, is an underground cavern; for the influence of Lucan on Ercilla's use of the motif, see Isaías Lerner, "Ercilla y Lucano," *Hommage à Robert Jammes* (Anejos de *Criticón* 1), (Toulouse: P U M, 1994) II, 683-391; James Nicolopulos discusses Fitón, whom Ercilla develops via Juan de Mena and Garcilaso, as a Merlin figure ("Pedro de Oña," 6-7); cf. Nicolopulos's discussion of Fitón as the primary example in the *Araucana* of "necromantic" imitation and Oedipal rivalry between Ercilla and his predecessors ("Prophecy," 156).

[96] Note that Cupid, "the false Archer" (2.26.7), is the source not only of erotic lust, but also of Britomart's "wound" (2.26.8), associated with chaste love.

[97] Cf.: Thenceforth the feather in her loftie crest,
Ruffed of loue, gan lowly to auaile,
And her proud portance, and her princely gest,
With which she earst tryumphed, now did quaile:
Sad, solemne, sowre, and full of fancies fraile
She woxe; yet wist she neither how, nor why,
She wist not, silly Mayd, what she did aile,
Yet wist, she was not well at ease perdy,
Yet thought it was not loue, but some melancholy. (2.27.1-9)

Cf. the ongoing references to "sad sighes, and sorrowes deepe" (2.28.6); to the "sad drearyhead" (2.30.8) that "Chaunged thy liuely cheare, and liuing made thee dead" (2.30.9); and to "youthes fairest flowre [. . .] vntimely shed, / As one in wilfull bale for euer buried" (2.31.7-9).

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with the canonical ones of lustful heat, a juxtaposition that culminates in an affecting description of how Britomart's nurse, finding the young woman distraught and unable to sleep shortly after her vision, brought her back to bed, where: "[. . .] euery trembling ioynt, and euery vaine / She softly felt, and rubbed busily, / To doe *the frosen cold* away to fly" (2.34.5) (emphasis added).[98] Interfering with such clear cut distinctions, on the other hand, are persistent instances of the canonical imagery of erotic passion, namely those of wounding, poison, and the sensation of burning encountered so frequently before, including in the scenes with Malecasta just completed.[99]

More important than such explicit images are the intertexts crowding the shadows of the scene between Britomart and Glauce. It has long been recognized that the *Faerie Queene*'s version of the-nurse-with-the-troubled-charge conceit is modeled closely on the *Ciris*, a Virgilian epyllion that tells the story of the mythical Scylla. In both texts the aged companion is awakened when the distraught young woman is unable to sleep; in both the nurse brings her back to bed, where, consoling her, she finally elicits the cause of her unhappiness. Both these narratives allude, however, to other key texts, to Ovid's stories

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[98] The scene continues with additional references to death, with Britomart lamenting that, "Is not enough, that I alone doe dye, / But it must doubled be with death of twaine? / For nought for me but death there doth remaine" (2.35.3-5).

[99] Cf. as the scene progresses, references to "bleeding bowels" (2.39.2), "poysnous gore" (2.39.4), "running sore" (2.39.6), "my raging smart [. . .] my flame" (2.43.4), "her cruell flame [. . .] and hart-burning brame" (2.52.2-4); the scene develops a disconcerting similarity to earlier ones of seductress with their lovers: cf. the description of Glauce and Britomart: "And her faire deawy eies with kisses deare / She oft did bath, and oft againe did dry" (2.34.6-7), with the scene between Acrasia and Verdant: "And oft inclining downe with kisses light, / For feare of waking him, his lips bedewd, / And through his humid eyes did sucke his spright" (II.12.73.5-7); and with the scene just depicted in the tapestries between Venus and Adonis: "And her soft arme lay vnderneath his hed, / And with ambrosiall kisses bathe his eyes" (1.36.3-4).

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of Scylla and Myhrra in the *Metamorphoses*, and to Apollonius's depiction of Medea's initial love for Jason in the *Argonautica*.[100] Spenser's scene between Britomart and Glauce begins with Britomart referring enigmatically to her situation, claiming that, "[. . .] no vsuall fire, no vsuall rage / It is, O Nurse, which on my life doth feed" (2.37.3-4), a remark that only increases Glauce's apprehension. When she finally finds out about the vision, Glauce explains with relief to Britomart that her situation is only natural and that it implies, "No guilt in you, but in the tyranny of love" (2.40. 9). The loquacious old woman then remarks how she'd feared something much worse, a "filthy lust, contrarie unto kind" (2.40.4), and proceeds to give detailed synopses of three examples of such perversion: Myrrha, Pasiphae, and Biblis, the first two mentioned earlier via Fiordispina. The maladroitness of her digression, inept to the point of comical, is explained, on the one hand, by a similar scene in the primary intertext, and, on the other, by the moral lessons on chastity and sexual decorum that Spenser's invocation of these ancient exempla are meant to reinforce. Even more surprising than the emergence of these archetypes of perversity from the intertextual shadows of the Malecasta episode, however, is the response of Britomart, who proceeds to imitate Fiordispina quite closely by remarking of these notorious figures that, "[. . .] they, how euer shamefull and vnkind, / Yet did possesse their horrible intent" (2.43.6-7), a fact she contrasts to herself and her own situation, which, she laments, "Can haue no end, nor hope of my desire, / But feed

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[100] Cf. Suzuki discusses Spenser's scene as a rewriting of Apollonius (*Metamorphoses*, 151).

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on shadowes, whiles I die for food" (2.44.2-3).[101] However un-ironic Spenser intends the statement, the not-so-distant echoes of Ariostan ribaldry in Britomart's speech are a source of potential dissonance. As if aware of how perilously close the metaphors of his heroine's experience of love have come to those omnipresent negative ones, Spenser, after quickly concluding Canto 2, opens Canto 3 with a stanza designed to establish, once and for all, the distinction between the demonic flames of lust and the Platonically inspired, divine fire of love:

> Most sacred fire, that burnest mightily
> In liuing brests, ykindled first aboue,
> Emongst th'eternall spheres and lamping sky,
> And thence pourd into men, which men call Loue;
> Not that same, which doth base affections moue
> In brutish minds, and filthy lust inflame,
> But that sweet fit, that doth true beautie loue,
> And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame,
> Whence spring all noble deeds and neuer dying fame. (3.1.1-9)[102]

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[101] See note 269 n. 90, above.

[102] The complex intertextual backdrop for the scene between Britomart and Glauce encompasses four authors: Virgil, Ovid, Apollonius, and Ariosto; five texts: the *Aeneid*, the *Ciris*, the *Metamorphoses*, the *Argonautica*, and the *Furioso*; and seven female figures, five mythical: Scylla, Myhrra, Pasiphae, Semiramis, and Biblis; and two literary: Dido and Medea. The most direct intertext, as noted, is with the *Ciris*, which sympathetically recounts how Scylla falls in love with Minos, who has besieged Megara, where her father is king. A magical lock of hair on her father's head protects the kingdom; Scylla cuts the lock while her father sleeps and presents it to Minos, who recoils from the girl and her betrayal in horror and abandons her. Scylla is transformed into a bird, as is her father, who pursues her. In the *Ciris*'s version of the story, Scylla's passion for Minos directly evokes Dido's love for Aeneas: cf. esp.: "Quae simul ac venis hausit sitientibus ignem et validum penitus concepit in ossa furorem" ("Soon as she drank the fire into her thirsty veins, and caught deep within her marrow the potent frenzy") (163-4); and: "infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe" ("the luckless maid raves through the city") (167); citations are to the H. Rushton Fairclough translation of the poem in the Loeb edition: *Virgil: Aeneid 7-12; The Minor Poems* (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1918). According to the *Ciris*, Scylla has a nurse, Carme, who is awakened by the girl's leaving her bed and accosts her as she stands, momentarily indecisive, on the threshold to her father's room. When she finally coaxes Scylla into telling her the truth, Carme is horrified, in part because of a subplot revealing that Carme originally came from Crete, Minos's home, where her beautiful daughter, named Britomart, leapt

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to her death in order to escape capture by Minos, who was pursuing her. The *Ciris*'s double plot concludes with Carme agreeing to help Scylla gain the magic lock of hair, in part because the girl cannot be dissuaded, in part because, with Minos's subsequent victory, the aging nurse will be returned to her homeland with other Megaran prisoners. As in the myth, the girl is transformed into the Sea Hawk and her father into the Sea Eagle, which pursues her. Ovid's version of the Scylla story (*Meta.* 8.1ff.), by contrast, has no nurse and mentions no hesitation on the part of the girl, focusing instead on her rage at being abandoned and on the details of her transformation. Ovid's angry Scylla recalls angry Dido: when Scylla discovers that Minos's ships have sailed she accuses him of cruelty and, in particular, of being mothered by the Armenian tigress (*Meta.* 8.121); cf. Dido reference to Aeneas's being mothered by the Hyrcanian tigress (*Ae.* 4.367); reminiscent of Medea's speech to Jason, Ovid's Scylla asks what hope there is for her, after betraying her father, if she is left behind (8.115-117). Two intertexts-within-intertexts worth noting here: in the *Ciris*, Carme's catching Scylla at the door of her father's room makes her fear that the girl is actually another Myhrra (*Ciris* 237-8); in the *Metamorphoses*, the raging Scylla claims that her experience of Minos's cruelty has made her realize what drove Pasiphae (Minos's wife, mentioned via Fiordispina and also by Glauce), to her meeting with the bull. The story of Myhrra, referred to directly by Glauce after its indirect reference in the Malecasta episode, is one of paternal incest. In Ovid's version, the young woman is distraught over a passion she cannot control and hesitates at the door of her father's room (*Meta.* 10.369-377)—the source of Carme's anxiety in the Scylla story—much like the indecisive young Medea in Apollonius (cf. esp. *Argonautica* 4.645ff.). She decides to kill herself instead, but is caught in the act by her nurse, who when she finally coaxes the truth from the young woman by promising to help her, is horrified, but helps facilitate the sexual union, under the cover of darkness, with the unknowing father. With regard to the other two women mentioned in this context, Semiramis, noted earlier as one of the female prisoners at the House of Pride (I.5.50.3), developed a passion for her son, who, according to some sources, killed her (see 243 and 259 n. 76, above); and Biblis, mentioned by Glauce, had a sexual relationship with her brother. The thematic unanimity among these various narratives and female archetypes is virtually complete; all are stories of unnatural erotic passion: Pasiphae (bestiality), Semiramis (paternal incest), Myhrra (Oedipal incest), Biblis (fraternal incest), and Scylla (love for an enemy); the two most prominent figures in Spenser's text feature unnatural paternal relationships: either too close, as in Myhrra's case, or too distant, as in Scylla's, a fact that a psychoanalytic interpretation of Spenser's heroine might find interesting, especially in light of the Britomart's experience with Merlin's globe in her father's study, which she entered surreptitiously (and cf. Medea's betrayal of her father, a young woman whose depiction by Apollonius informs so much of the background here). Finally, in addition to the cross-fertilization among these narratives, explicit in Carme's mention of Myhrra and Scylla's mention of Pasiphae, as well as in the latter pair both being associated with Minos, there are many shared intertextual details. Note, in addition to scenes recalling Dido's falling in love, depictions of her anger at rejection, and the young Medea's hesitancy, the motif of the indecisive young woman's feet: in the *Ciris*—Scylla's "tender feet" (169) and "marble-cold feet" (256); in Ovid's story of Myhrra, her "stumbling feet" (*Meta.* 10.452); in Apollonius, Medea's barefeet (*Argonautica* 4.646); and cf. Malecasta's "fearful feete" (III.1.60.2) as she goes to Britomart's room a few cantos earlier.

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The flashback detailing Britomart's discovery of love concludes with her visit to Merlin's cave, where, recalling the scene of epic prophecy at Alma's Castle, the mage foretells her future as the matriarch of British royalty.[103] After this, the theme of chaste love is revisited, once again in terms of an intertext with the *Orlando Furioso*. Arthur's page, Timias, who had gone in pursuit of the forester seen earlier pursuing Florimell, is seriously injured in a fight with him and only survives because Belphoebe, coming upon him in the forest, devotes herself to his recovery, introducing a variation on the story of Angelica and Medoro. As expected, Spenser's revision of the encounter presents a morally acceptable version of it, while commenting indirectly on the meeting between Dido and Aeneas, to which the scene obliquely alludes.[104] Ariosto's episode offers a

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[103] As A. C. Hamilton notes, the scene actually continues Guyon's study of genealogy in the *Antiquitie of Faerie*, which occurs in Book 2 (9.60ff.). The depiction of Merlin has him gently mocking Glauce and Britomart for having come to him in disguise and for their reticence in revealing the reason for their visit. Britomart, blushing at his remarks, is compared with Aurora in yet another variation on the dawn simile discussed above, one that now associates the color of early morning with shame:

> The doubtfull Mayd, seeing her selfe descryde,
> Was all abasht, and her pure yuory
> Into a cleare Carnation suddeine dyde;
> As faire *Aurora* rising hastily,
> Doth by her blushing tell, that she did lye
> All night in old *Tithonus* frosen bed,
> Whereof she seems ashamed inwardly.
> But her old Nourse was nought dishartened,
> But vauntage made of that, which *Merlin* had ared. (3.20.1-9)

Note the *frosen* bed, echoing the *frosen cold* that Britomart had earlier felt; see 274, above; for earlier discussion of the simile, variations of which appear at I.2.7.1-4 and I.11.51.2-5, see 234-35 and 244, above.

[104] The story of Angelica and Medoro, arguably the *Furioso*'s quintessential event, is a richly ironic tale in which Medoro, gravely injured in a noble attempt to retrieve the body of his commander, is come upon by the poem's key object of universal desire, the beautiful, unattainable Angelica, who proceeds to fall in love with him as she nurses him back to health (*O.F.* 19.17-42). The scene precipitates the key event of the poem, Orlando's madness, which occurs when he learns of their love affair. Ariosto structures the love story as a conceit of one

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characteristically humorous inversion of convention in which the poem's universal, unattainable object of desire, a Christian princess, develops a consuming passion for a common, pagan foot soldier. As if the attraction itself weren't sufficiently taboo, the female is the aggressor, first nursing back to health, then offering her virginity to an initially passive, if grateful, male, whom she dominates as thoroughly as a benevolent Acrasia. Like the tale of Fiordispina, this supremely ironic story represents an acceptance, if not endorsement, of the vagaries of human sexuality. Nothing could be further from Spenser's aims, which is undoubtedly a large part of his motivation for the *imitatio*, the other being the plot's broad appeal. While the *Faerie Queene*'s couple are both Christian, of course, their combination, like that in the *Furioso*, mixes two widely

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wound healed while another, caused by Cupid in Angelica, festers. The scene is replete with the canonical imagery of love, neo-Platonic motifs, and Virgilian allusions: "Arder si sente, e sempre il suoco abonda; / e più cura l'altrui che 'l propio male" ("She felt herself on fire, devoured in flames, but it was Medoro's plight she heeded, not her own" (19.28.5-6); "Il giovine si sana: ella languisce / di nuova febbre, or agghiacciata, or calda ("The boy grew better, she languished with a strange fever which made her hot and cold by turns") (19.29.3-4); at the episode's climax, Angelica, turning Neoplatonic reticence on its head, takes matters into her own hands: "e ben le par che di quel ch'essa agogna, / non sia tempo aspettar ch'altri la 'nviti. / Dunque, *rotto ogni freno di vergogna*, / la lingua ebbe non men che gli occhi arditi" ("If she was not to die of longing, she would have to help herself without delay: it was clear to her that there was no time to wait until she was invited to take what she craved. So, *snapping the reins of modesty*, she spoke out as boldly with her tongue as with her eyes") (19.30.3-6) (emphasis added); the two are married and spend the rest of Medoro's recuperation wandering together through the nearby woods, prompting the poet to remark that, "nel mezzo giorno un antro li copriva, / forse non men di quel commodo e grato, / ch'ebber, fuggendo l'acque, Enea e Dido, / de' lor secreti testimonio fido" ("At noontide a cave would shelter them, doubtless no less handy and hospitable than the one which offered Dido and Aeneas shelter from the rain and proved a trusty witness to their secrets") (19.35.5-8). This tongue-in-cheek reference to *commodo e grato* and to the cave's providing *testimonio fido* to the Virgilian couple's *secreto*—the very quality it does not provide and the absence of which facilitates the collapse of their relationship—offers a fine example of Ariostan irony. Recall, with regard to *rotto ogni freno di vergogna*, Ercilla's description of Tegualda at the climax of her attraction to Crepino: "*Roto* con fuerza súbita y furiosa *de la vergüenza* y *continencia el freno*" ("Broken with sudden and furious force the restraint of shame and continence") (20.62.1-8) (emphasis added); see 93-94, above.

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different social classes. Unlike Ariosto, however, Spenser reassigns the motivating passion to the male, albeit one who blends a Petrarchan fetishization of the feminine with a Christian self-renunciation stemming from what he sees as his own unworthiness.[105] In any event, his unrequited love is not even recognized by the chastely oblivious Belphoebe, much less reciprocated, until much later, fourteen cantos, to be precise, and well into Book 4, where the object of his desire graciously condescends to friendship with the love-sick Timias, who persists in imitating Orlando by carving his beloved's name on the trunks of trees.[106] Timias's love, in spite of its insurmountable barriers, is chaste and therefore similar to Britomart's, their correspondence seen principally in the imagery of self-doubt and withdrawal rather than erotic heat.

Timias's devotion to Belphoebe and the narrator's echoing paean to her virtues introduces an account of how she and Amoret were raised by Diana and Venus, the former taking Belphoebe "To be vpbrought in perfect Maydenhed" (6.28.4), the latter

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[105] Spenser's conceit in the scene is that of the *Physick* "That heales vp one and makes another wound" (5.42.2); of Timias's love the narrator says, "What bootes it him from death to be vnbound, / To be captiued in endlesse duraunce / Of sorrow and despaire without aleggeaunce?" (5.42.7-9); the squire, a good Platonist, does his best to exert rational control over the concupiscent: "Long while he stroue in his courageous brest, / With reason dew the passion to subdew, / And loue for to dislodge out of his nest" (5.44.1-3); unsuccessful, he languishes in suicidal despair, condemning himself with variations on the striking epimone, five times in three stanzas, of: "Dye rather, dye, [then so disloyally / Deeme of her high desert] [then euer love disloyally] [and dying do her serue] [then euer from her seruice swerue] [then euer so faire loue forsake]" (5.45-5.47).

[106] See IV.87.46.1-5; note that Timias's description of Belphoebe identifies her with the proper version of several key themes in the poem: "Mercy deare Lord (said he) what grace is this, / That thou hast shewed to me sinfull wight, / To send thine Angell from her bowre of blis, / To comfort me in my distressed plight?" (5.35.1-4).

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raising Amoret in the Garden of Adonis to be "th'ensample of true loue" (6.52.4).[107] The description of the garden, which occupies the ideological and physical center of the Legend of Chastity, rewrites the earlier, tragic story of Venus and Adonis as a triumph of conjugal love set in a hybrid *locus amoenus* conjoining classical and Christian motifs. The garden is a literal and figurative hothouse, the source from which all life is said to emanate and return in thousand-year cycles, recalling the soliloquies of Anchises in the underworld and Socrates in the *Phaedrus*; at its heart is a natural allegory of female sexuality where Adonis, in a Christian paradox of never-ending mortality, lives in bliss with his goddess-lover, the two of them a fundamental principle of continual regeneration.[108] Cupid and Psyche also reside here, the conceit of Amoret's being

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[107] Cf. the characterization of Belphoebe as an "ensample" of God's "heauenly grace" (5.52.2), as "this faire virgin [. . .] / To whom in perfect loue, and spotlesse fame / Of chastitie, none liuing may compaire" (5.54.2-5), and as someone yet "[. . .] curteous and kind, / Tempred with grace, and goodly modesty" (5.55.2-3).

[108] Cf.: "There is continuall spring, and haruest there / Continuall, both meeting at one time" (5.42.1-2); Anchises's description of the cycle of life comes at the end of his visit to the underworld; see *Aeneid* 6.748 ff.; cf. the description of the rebirth of souls given by Socrates, *Phaedrus* 249a-c; note that later in the dialogue Socrates refers explicitly to the Ἀδώνιδος κηποι or Garden of Adonis in his pejorative remarks on the recently invented technique of writing (276b). Regarding the suggestion of a Christ figure in Spenser's description of Adonis, see:

> [. . .] for he may not
> For euer die, and euer buried bee
> In balefull night, where all things are forgot;
> All be he subiect to mortalitie,
> Yet is eterne in mutabilitie,
> And by succession made perpetuall,
> Transformed oft, and chaunged diuerslie:
> For him the Father of all formes they call;
> Therefore needs mote he liue, that liuing gives to all. (6.47.1-9)

A. C. Hamilton notes that etymological confusion led to the association of Adonis with Eden and thus of Gardens of Adonis, originally forcing-beds for herbs, with paradisial settings. At the core of Spenser's landscape of ideal beauty and endless generation lies a hidden, seemingly antithetical principle: "For in the wide wombe of the world there lyes, / In hatefull darknesse and

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brought to the garden to be raised alongside their daughter a sequel to Apuleius in which Spenser looks beyond the Latin writer's focus on the initial, tortuous stages of their relationship to a subsequent tranquil marriage in which they live in "stedfast loue and happy state" (6.50.6).[109]

The garden is a fragile center that cannot hold, a pastoral withdrawal from the romance maelstrom, with which it contrasts as dramatically as the *locus amoenus* and epic framework of the *Araucana*.[110] The juxtaposition of the two peaks at the end of the following canto where an encounter with the sexually rapacious giantess, Argante, introduces the Squire of Dame's tale, a misogynistic fable about unfaithful women and

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in deepe horrore, / An huge eternall *Chaos*, which supplyes / The substances of natures fruitfull progenyes" (6.36.9); the imagery suggest the two "Cantos of Mutabilitie," in which the goddess claims descent from Chaos (VII.6.26.6).

[109] The hybrid quality of Spenser's Garden of Adonis offers a fitting backdrop for Apuleius's story of Cupid and Psyche, an archetype of hybrid narratives. In spite of the normative stance apparent in Apuleius's concluding the story with the rejuvenation of the institution of marriage and of family integrity, his story is highly ironic, most notable in the "god of Flame" being "burned" by passion (literalized in the lamp oil Psyche spills on him). The inclusion of the story at this point in the Legend of Chastity is also germane since its description of Cupid and Psyche reflects the Platonic conception of the bond between eros and psyche, or soul, proposed by the *Phaedrus*'s image of the soul as charioteer; cf. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 895. Several aspects of Apuleius's tale recall earlier episodes in Book 3 of the *Faerie Queene* dealing with fears of unnatural love, including the danger of socially mismatched attraction when the jealous Venus tells her son to infect Psyche with lust for someone of low social standing (106), and of excessive lust, a weakness that leads Psyche's sisters to their deaths (120); both sisters, meanwhile, have been married to much older husbands, a motif shortly revisited in the Malbecco episode (114); the conceit of Cupid, who, in order to protect his identity, will only come to Psyche in the protective shroud of darkness, is uncannily reminiscent of the myth of Myrrha, who comes to her father similarly disguised; references to Apuleius are to *The Golden Ass*, trans. Jack Lindsay (Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1962). For Cupid and Psyche in sixteenth-century Spanish poetry, now see Francisco Javier Escobar Borrego, *El mito de Psique y Cupido en la poesía española del Siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002).

[110] See 29-31, above; cf. the comments on Cervantes's use of erotic pastoral and the development of narrative interiority.

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Book 3's final advertised Ariostan intertext. In the context of the *Orlando Furioso*, the story told by the innkeeper of a fruitless search to find a single instance of female chastity presents a comic digression that is sexually positive in spite of the transgressive behavior it describes. More important, the Ariostan narrator not only introduces the story with an elaborate apology for the aspersion it casts on women, but concludes it with a rejoinder by one in the audience, who persuasively asserts that men are not only more unchaste than women, but more evil in general.[111] Absent the *Furioso*'s jocularity, not to mention its embrace of sexuality, Spenser's adaptation is awkward and embittered.

Book 3's juxtaposition of chaste and unchaste characters takes on epic proportions when Britomart seeks shelter at the castle of Malbecco, an aging miser with a beautiful, young wife, Hellenore, on the same evening that a heretofore unknown faery knight, Paridell, arrives there. The castle, like much of the imagery just discussed, is Ariostan in inspiration.[112] While the Boccaccian plot is based on a suspicious old husband whose sexually unsatisfied young wife ends up seduced by a guest, the broader significance of the episode reflects more ancient motifs, as the names of the protagonists suggest. The setting is a banquet where, reminiscent once again of Dido's banquet, the hostess falls in love with the guest who is asked to tell his life story. Complicating a potentially straightforward *imitatio* is the fact that Aeneas's role is played by Paridell, who, in keeping with the link between ancient Troy and Britain, describes an ancestry for himself

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[111] Cf. *O.F.* 23.4-85.

[112] Cf. "la rocca di Tristano" (*O.F.* 32.65ff.).

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that extends to his namesake, Aeneas's brother.[113] Dido's role, on the other hand, is played not only by Hellenore, "this second Hellene" (10.13.1), who, while she "[. . .] shewed her selfe in all a gentle curteous Dame" (9.26.9), spiritedly responds to Paridell's sexual overtures, but simultaneously by Britomart, who, waxing nostalgic upon hearing Paridell refer to the fall of Troy, asks him to tell them what happened to Aeneas on the night the city was overrun. This duplication of characters results in a bewildering overlay of literary references, with Paridell impersonating Paris, obviously, but also Aeneas, while Hellenore not only impersonates Helen, but also Dido, whom Britomart also plays, as though both versions of the Carthaginian queen—the paragon of chastity envisioned by Justin as well as Virgil's passionate lover—were present and side-by-side, neither of them cognizant of their own or the other's literary predecessors. Paridell's reply to Britomart, by contrast, suggests that he is fully aware of his own literary heritage, playing one version of Aeneas, namely, the Virgilian one who has an affair with his hostess, while recounting, in answer to Britomart's request for information about the Trojan prince, the other, pre-Virgilian one who had no connection at all to Dido.[114] The preface to

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[113] As established earlier, Rome represents a second Troy; London, or Troynouvant, the third cf. III.9.45.1; Paridell describes himself as descended from the son of Oenone and Paris, a shepherd at the time on Mount Ida, prior to the Trojan war. The way Paridell tells it, this son, Parius, usurps the role that Virgil attributed to Aeneas, since Parius, "[. . .] after Greekes did Priams realme destroy, / Gathred the Troian reliques sau'd from flame, / And with them sayling thence, to th'Isle of Paros came" (9.36.7-9); Ovid writes of Oenone's love for Paris in *Heroides* 5.

[114] Paridell is a professional Petrarchan lover, the wound he suffers in his dalliance with Hellenore part of the risk of his trade:

> But nothing new to him was that same paine,
> Ne paine at all; for he so oft had tryde
> The power thereof, and lou'd so oft in vaine,
> That thing of course he counted, loue to entertaine. (9.29.1-9)

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Britomart's question about Aeneas: "[. . .] sith that men sayne / He was not in the Cities wofull fyre / Consum'd, but did him selfe to safetie retyre" (9.40.7-9), is a pointed one, suggesting the anti-Homeric tradition and disputed heroism of Aeneas's departure from Ilium, a topic encountered earlier in Ercilla's defense of Dido. Its appearance here is unexpected, arising, as it does, in a frequently Virgilian epic and as the line of a character with the most direct connection to Trojan genealogy and the founding mythology of Rome.[115] The explanation, perhaps, lies in Paridell's reply, where, in three stanzas describing how Aeneas "[. . .] through fatall errour long was led / Full many yeares" (9.41.4-5), the only reference to Carthage is oblique to the point of obscurity, noting simply that the hero "wandered / From shore to shore, emongst the Lybicke sands" (9.41.5-6). Perhaps the omission allows Spenser to endorse, in contrast to the womanizing Paridell-Aeneas, the alternative, chaste Aeneas, unsullied by his dalliance in Carthage, corresponding the chaste Dido of Justin, a more appropriate model for Britomart than Virgil's suicidal lover.[116] On the other hand, Paridell's omission may be no more than a ploy by which he avoids exposing his true, i.e., literary, identity as an unfaithful lover, Paridell-Aeneas, with its associated risk of frightening away his current conquest, Hellenore-Dido. In either case, the focus on epic analogues in a book of the

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In Book 4 he is explicitly referred to as "false Paridell" (1.32.8).

[115] Britomart's question to Paridell, with its qualification, "But if it should not grieue you, backe agayne / To tyrne your course" (9.40.5), revisits the motif of the person asked to recount a painful experience, alluding most directly, in this case, to Dido's request to Aeneas, who refers to the pain it will cause him to respond (*Ae.* 2.3-5); cf. Tegualda's response to the narrator at an analogous moment (*Ar.* 20.36.5-6 and 20.74.5-6); cf. Arisoto's Isabella (*O.F.* 13.4.6); and see 89, above.

[116] See esp. 132-34, above.

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poem so thoroughly identified with romance is a reminder of the scope of Spenser's reforming impulse, which targets ancient models as well as medieval ones. The recounting of Aeneas's history complete, the Boccaccian modality reasserts itself. Paridell and Hellenore devise a way to consummate their lust in spite of Malbecco, and Hellenore, yet another abandoned woman figure in the wake of Paridell's spent lust, is eventually adopted by satyr society, in whose organized debauchery she becomes a willing participant.

The Legend of Chastity closes with a reimmersion into the pageantry of love at the House of Busirane, the castle of another evil sorcerer, where the Knight of Chastity must free Amoret from imprisonment. The introduction to the castle features the ecphrasis of another extensive set of tapestries, which offer a litany of love's vagaries among the gods of antiquity. In spite of Britomart's eventual rescue of Amoret, the episode is inconclusive and pessimistic, focusing on an elaborate masque that combines the medieval court of love with Renaissance triumph, in which Cupid appears preceded by six couples portraying twelve aspects of love's effects.[117] The first couple, identified as Fancy and Desire, are followed by ten unequivocally negative figures, in whose wake a naked damsel, who "of her dew honour was despoyled quight" (12.20.4), appears between Despight and Cruelty. The disdainful god himself comes next, followed by Reproach, Repentance, and Shame, bringing the book to a close on the same themes with which it began and, in contrast to the books preceding it, with little sense of change or accomplishment. This inconclusiveness is reinforced by the fact that the stories of

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[117] Cf. esp. Petrarch's *Trionfi*, discussed above, 56 n. 83.

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Britomart and Artegall, Belphoebe and Timias, Amoret and Scudamor, and Florimell and Marinell are only concluded in Book 4, which continues, as already noted, with much of the imagery and with the same reliance on multiple storylines and *entrelacement* as the Legend of Chastity.

5.5 Aesthetics / an-aesthetics: figuration and escape

The juxtaposition of pastoral tranquility and romance turmoil at the heart of Book 3 is echoed more broadly in the contrast between the romance atmosphere of Books 3 and 4 and the political allegory of Book 5, whose Legend of Justice is more frequently correlated than the rest of the poem with events in Spenser's lifetime.[118] A similar, more dramatic contrast dominates Book 6 and the close of the *Faerie Queene* in the guise, once again, of erotic pastoral, on the one hand, nestled here within an adventure story inspired by Greek romance, and chivalric quest, on the other, in this case that of Sir Calidore, the hero of the Legend of Courtesy.

As noted earlier, the thematic and structural patterns of Book 3 persist in Book 4, which categorizes love more precisely, envisions another Edenic garden featuring another version of Venus, and waxes nostalgic yet again about a long-lost age of virtue and honor.[119] In the wake of Book 5, whose thematic focus on justice and thinly veiled

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[118] For discussion of how the reception of Book 5 shifted in the 1970s from an emphasis on historical to moral allegory, see A. C. Hamilton's headnote, esp. 525-526.

[119] Cf. Book 4's identification of three types of love as "deare affection vnto kindred sweet," the "raging fire of loue to woman kind," and the "zeale of friends" (9.1.5-7); the same canto identifies four varieties of mistaken approaches to love with four characters: in Druon, love's rejection for solitude; the opposite of this in Claribell's excessive attention to the matter; Blandamour's excessive promiscuity; and Paridell's lust (9.21.1-9). On the paradisial setting of the Isle of Venus, see 10.21ff.; on the "antique age" that "did liue then like an innocent, / In simple truth and blamelesse chastite," see 8.30.2-3.

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references to England's contentious relations with its neighbors, particularly Ireland and Spain, tilt the poem unexpectedly toward everyday relevancy, many of these same themes return. Honor and virtue reemerge as dominant concerns, as does their absence, the basis for shame. The emotional experience of love, as well as its role as an incitement to virtue, is once again the foundation of a key portion of the plot.

As the title of Book 6 reveals, the concept of courtesy assumes new prominence in these closing cantos of the poem, which assert a connection between courtesy and the court, on the one hand, and between courtesy and civil society, on the other. The first of these pairs, a key example of Spenser's invocation of etymological determinism, is closely related to a secondary theme that emerges here regarding the natural predisposition to and inevitable recognition of courtesy. The emphasis on courtesy's origin in nature evokes concepts of natural order, which, conversely, have implications for civil society and the social hierarchy.[120] When the idea of natural order is expanded to language it suggests concepts of natural signs, and this, in turn, has ramifications for Spenser's narrative process, both directly, via semiotics, and obliquely, via the underlying contradiction between such theories and the spirit of Protestant iconoclasm.[121]

As noted above, Spenser's assertion of an autochthonous semantics, manifest in his adherence to an archaic dialect and in his compulsive punning, was as much a political strategy as an aesthetic one, representing a rejection of Tudor policy along with

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[120] For earlier discussion of natural order and conceptions of the Neoplatonic harmony of the social hierarchy, see 201, above.

[121] For the earlier discussion of these issues, see 165, above.

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the rhetoric in which it was articulated.[122] As the Legend of Courtesy unfolds, it becomes even more apparent that an important link between the social and linguistic realms is dissimulation, a key theme in the depictions of sorcerers and villainous doubles in earlier books and a concept, as already noted, that had declined irrevocably from its prominence in Castiglionian etiquette to its nadir as a strategy of deceit and self-advancement.[123] Spenser's substitution of courtly discourse by a fundamentally natural, pre-courtly idiom embodying the values of militant Protestantism, in addition to an effort to annul such duplicity, was an audacious grab for verbal power, an attempt by one whose ideology had failed to dominate the political realm to wrest control of the linguistic one. Through the end of Book 2, the confidence with which the poet advances this effort is reflected in his deployment of rhetorical resources, the textuality of which draws attention to themselves as effectively as courtly finery. Books 3 and 4, as noted, reflect a retreat from such confidence, as does the increased emphasis on political allegory in Book 5, with its allusions to the setbacks of foreign policy hardliners, particularly with regard to Ireland.

In Book 6 this retreat not only continues but expands, both thematically, in the Blatant Beast's renewed rampage and Calidore's sojourn among the shepherds, and structurally, in the unprecedented extent of the erotic-pastoral-interlude-within-an-adventure-story that constitutes this sojourn, which begins in Canto 9 and concludes with

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[122] See 195 and 202-203, above.

[123] It was argued earlier that this development had a direct impact on Protestant attitudes toward art, resulting in a turning away from strategies of indirection to modalities that emphasized the very areas that *corteganía* had felt it important to disguise; for the earlier discussion of *dissimulazione*, see esp. 174; dissimulation is also a key aspect of *imitatio*, as noted in the earlier discussion of Ercillan intertexts; see 45, above.

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scarcely enough time to revisit the quest before the book and, as it turned out, the poem, comes to an end. The retrenchment from Spenser's grandiose plan of moral fashioning represented by these developments is mirrored in the rhetoric of these final pages, which exhibits a marked reduction in wordplay, particularly in the earlier, effusive punning. Perhaps the prominence of Ireland and its affairs in this latter part of the poem brings the challenge of contemporary Irish speech to the putative purity of Spenser's dialect to a critical mass.[124] However this may be, these changes correspond, in turn, to an increased emphasis on plot and, more specifically, on chance or fortune, key traits of Greek romance and a further expression of receding optimism. While the earlier books of the *Faerie Queene* exude Spenser's confidence regarding his quest of the realm of language and of the moral education of his readers, these final pages of the poem make clear that victory has eluded him. After its temporary defeat and imprisonment by Calidore, it is the Blatant Beast, finally, that dominates the kingdom of speech, not the poet, who appears resigned to his inability to combat the slander directed not only at political allies, but at himself and his poem.

In broader terms, Spenser's pessimism in these pages reflects the further deterioration of relations between courtliness, humanism, and Protestantism as the sixteenth century comes to a close. In earlier books these three maintain an uneasy coexistence. Here, by contrast, in spite of the Proem's assertion of courtesy's fruition in virtue and honor, this quality continues to lie at the heart of a difficult challenge faced by

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[124] On the similarities between contemporary speech in Ireland and Spenser's archaic dialect, see 198, above.

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the poet, reminiscent of the one he faced trying to distinguish between good and bad versions of falling in love, of differentiating good and bad versions of courtliness, the first identified by its innate simplicity and frankness, the second by its masking of deceit. For its part, humanism's contribution in these closing pages, ironically, is most apparent in the access it facilitates to the *Aethiopica* and other Greek romances, a literature of escape that eventually supplants the poem's primary, teleological narrative, which began as an efflorescence of Reformation faith. It will be recalled that Greek romance not only inspired, via Ariosto, Ercilla's rendition of the reunion of Glaura and Cariolán, but led to the Spanish poet's figuring himself in that scenario as an heroic Orlando. In adapting the same material, Spenser, as will be seen, assumes an even more dramatic literary persona.

After the dispirited close of Book 5, with its depiction of a harried Artegall returning to Gloriana's Court a few steps ahead of the Blatant Beast, Book 6 opens with an unexpectedly lighthearted apostrophe to "this delightfull land of Faery" (6 Pr. 1.1), whose "sweet variety" (6 Pr 1.4) promises to refresh the weary poet in his "tedious trauell" (6 Pr. 1.7).[125] The Proem goes on to propose a complex interrelationship between

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[125] The lines are similar to passages in which Ercilla complains of the tediousness of his project and longs for the freedom to pursue a more varied narrative; cf. e.g.:

> Que si a mi discreción dado me fuera
> salir al campo y escoger las flores,
> quizá el cansado gusto removiera
> la usada variedad de los sabores,
> pues como otros han hecho, yo pudiera
> entretejer mil fábulas y amores;
> mas ya que tan adentro estoy metido,
> habré de proseguir lo prometido. (15.5.1-8)

Since if it were left up to my discretion to go into the meadow and choose flowers, perhaps the usual variety of aromas would revive the wearied sensibility, since as other have done, I would be able to interweave a thousand tales and love stories; but because I am already so far into it, I must persevere

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Calidore's quest and the poet's own project. The link between these two is established through the Parnassian Muses, identified here as the guardians not only of "learnings threasures" (6 Pr. 2.3), but also of "the sacred noursery / Of vertue" (6 Pr.3.1), a literary Garden of Adonis, whose prize specimen is a glorious hybrid conjoining courtesy, nobility, and civility.[126] No sooner is this scenario articulated than a less optimistic comparison is made between the present age and "plaine Antiquitie" (6 Pr.4.7), whose "true curtesie" (6 Pr. 5.1) is said to have declined these days to "nought but forgerie, / Fashion'd to please the eies of them, that pas" (6 Pr. 5.3-4). The adage that follows, which claims that, "vertues seat is deepe within the mynd, / And not in outward shows, but inward thoughts defynd" (6 Pr. 5.8-9), is meant to resolve these competing visions. Instead it exposes their inherent tension, the irresolvability of which will largely deconstruct Sir Calidore's rationale: a tension between courtesy as a primarily internal or

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with what I have promised.
See 71-72, above; as noted earlier, Ercilla reiterates this concern about monotony in the foreword to Part II and in introducing his defense of Dido; see 128, above.

[126] Cf.: Reuele to me the sacred noursery
Of vertue, which with you doth there remaine,
Where it in siluer bowre does hidden ly
From view of men, and wicked worlds disdaine.
Since it at first was by the Gods with paine
Planted in the earth, being deriu'd at furst
From heauenly seedes of bounty soueraine.
And by them long with carefull labour nurst,
Till it to ripeness grew, and forth to honour burst.

Amongst them all growes not a fayrer flowre,
Then is the bloosme of comely courtesie,
Which though it on a lowly stalke doe bowre,
Yet brancheth forth in braue nobilitie,
And spreds it selfe through all ciuilitie [. . .] (6 Pr.3.1-4.5)
Cf. the earlier hothouse imagery of the Garden of Adonis, see 281, above.

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moral quality, on the one hand, and as a largely externalized or behavioral one, on the other.

The opening lines of Canto 1 establish the connection between the court and courtesy, defined here as the basis of "all goodly manners" (1.1.5) and "roote of ciuill conuersation" (1.1.6). No sooner has this framework been established and Calidore introduced on his quest for the Blatant Beast, than he meets the perversion of this quality at Briana's castle.[127] The resemblance between his initial adventure and the episode at Malecasta's, both of which feature castles at which knights and ladies are mistreated, is the first of several negative scenarios in the book that, unmistakably echoing earlier ones, contribute to an underlying sense of uneasiness.[128] Calidore manages to dispatch the evil warden of Briana's castle, but in doing so becomes the target of an unruly mob and of Briana's opprobrium, which once again foregrounds the issue of shame, a charge he deflects back to his accuser.[129] Distancing Calidore from the violence of Book 5, on the other hand, while offering a paradigm that contrasts not only with the Legend of Justice

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[127] These introductory lines are at pains to distinguish Calidore's courtliness ("But mongst them all was none more courteous Knight" 1.2.1) from any taint of the stereotyped deceitful, foppish courtier: his manners "were planted naturall" (1.2.4) and in spite of his "comely guize withal" (1.2.5) and "gracious speech" (1.2.6), which "did steale mens hearts away" (1.2.6), he was "full stout and tall" (1.2.7); most important: "[. . .] he loathd leasing, and base flattery, / And loued simple truth and stedfast honesty" (1.3.8-9).

[128] At Briana's castle knights are forced to shave their beards and ladies their heads, in order that Briana can make a lining for a coat demanded by the man she loves (1.15.4-9); this setting as well as Malecasta's, it will be recalled, are inspired by Pinabello's castle in the *Furioso*; see 269 n. 90, above.

[129] Some have associated the mob in this scene with the Irish; cf. *Var.* 6, 191; Briana calls Calidore's killing of her seneschal shameful and threatens the knight that "[. . .] shame shal thee with shame requight" (1.25.9); the term is mentioned eight times in five stanzas (1.24.8-1.28.9).

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but with earlier scenes in the poem, Calidore restrains himself from slaying his opponent, lecturing him instead on proper behavior and compelling a promise of future compliance.[130] While the scene recalls Guyon's restraint in the Legend of Temperance, the effect of Calidore's behavior is of an entirely different magnitude than Guyon's, a fact made apparent when Briana, the "discourteous Dame with scornfull pryde" (1.30.4), whose railing was such that Calidore "hardly could sustaine" (1.30.6), is completely transformed by nothing more than having witnessed Calidore's behavior:

> Whereof she now more glad, then sory earst,
> All ouercome with infinite affect,
> For his exceeding courtesie, that pearst
> Her stubborne hart with inward deepe effect,
> Before his feet her self she did proiect,
> And him adoring as her liues deare Lord,
> With all due thankes, and dutifull respect,
> Her selfe acknowledg'd bound for that accord,
> By which he had to her both life and loue restord. (1.45.1-9).[131]

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[130] The passage is ambiguous regarding the motivation of Crudor's compliance, which appears to stem more from necessity than from heartfelt transformation: "The wretched man, that all this while did dwell / In dread of death, his heasts did gladly heare, / And promist to performe his precept well" (1.43.1-3); cf. a few lines later: "[. . .] and with faithfull oth, / Bynding himselfe most firmely to obay, / He vp arose, how euer liefe or loth, / And swore to him true fealtie for aye" (1.44.1-4).

[131] The echoes here to the earlier scene featuring Guyon and Pyrochles are substantial; cf., in Book 2: "estsoones his cruell hand Sir Guyon stayd, / Tempring the passion with aduizement slow, / And maistring might on enimy dismayd: / For th'equall dye of warre he well did know" (5.13.1-4); and cf. Guyon's speech at this point, cited earlier: "Losse is no shame, nor to be lesse then foe, / But to be lesser, then himselfe, doth marre / Both loosers lot, and victours prayse alsoe. / Vaine others ouerthrowes, who selfe doth ouerthrowe" (5.15.6-9); cf. in the present scene: "With that his mortall hand a while he stayd, / And hauing somewhat calm'd his wrathfull heat / With goodly patience [. . .]" (1.401-2); and the climax of Calidore's speech: "In vaine he seeketh others to suppresse, / Who hath not learnd him selfe first to subdew: / All flesh is frayle, and full of ficklenesse, / Subiect to fortunes chance, still chaunging new; / What haps to day to me, to morrow may to you" (1.415-9); note the potential relevancy of the closing adage to any number of discourging events at the close of the century, e.g., the recall of Lord Grey; see 185-86, above.

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Born-again to the virtues of courtesy, Briana becomes the perfect hostess, and henceforth, with the zeal of the converted, "Most ioyfully she them did entertaine" (1.46.2).

Canto 2 opens with what appears at first to be no more than a reprise of lessons from the previous scene. In praising courtesy, however, these lines deflect the virtue from the realm of behavior in general to the narrower purview of behavior reinforcing the social hierarchy:

> What vertue is so fitting for a knight,
> Or for a Ladie, whom a knight should loue,
> As Curtesie, to beare themselues aright
> To all of each degree, as doth behoue?
> For whether they be placed high aboue,
> Or low beneath, yet ought they well to know
> Their good, that none them rightly may reproue
> Of rudenesse, for not yeelding what they owe:
> Great skill it is such duties timely to bestow. (2.1.1-9)

Just as significant and equally novel at this point is the claim that Nature is courtesy's source:

> Thereto great helpe dame Nature selfe doth lend:
> For some so goodly gratious are by kind,
> That euery action doth them much commend,
> And in the eyes of men great liking find;
> Which others, that haue greater skill in mind,
> Though they enforce themselues, cannot attaine.
> For euerie thing, to which one is inclin'd,
> Doth best become, and greatest grace doth gaine:
> Yet praise likewise deserue good thewes, enforst with paine. (2.2.1-9)

In the episode with Tristram that follows, Calidore encounters a situation whose denouement will prove these claims, while introducing other themes that eventually dominate the close of the poem.

Tristram is a comely youth, a woodsman by all appearances, whom Calidore finds

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fighting on foot against a knight on horseback, while a disheveled damsel waits nearby. In spite of whatever bravery the mismatch portends for the youth, who goes on to kill his opponent, his fighting with the knight, in addition to great mystery, presents an apparent subversion of chivalric law. The resolution of these various mysteries resembles an abbreviated Greek romance plot: Tristram's appearance and speech lead Calidore to correctly surmise that the youth comes from nobility; it is then revealed that Tristram had found the knight mistreating the damsel, itself a contravention of chivalric law and civilized behavior.[132] With the threat to social norms resolved, the focus of the episode shifts to courtesy, a quality the noble youth possesses naturally and that soon manifests itself in his request to Calidore to be made a squire.[133]

With the conclusion of the Tristram episode, the Legend of Courtesy temporarily

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[132] N.B., esp., Calidore's initial response to the youth, before he hears his story:

> Seeing his face so louely sterne and coy,
> And hearing th'answeres of his pregnant wit,
> He praysd it much, and much admyred it;
> That sure he weend him borne of noble blood,
> With whom those graces did so goodly fit [. . .] (2.24.3-7)

Tristram, it turns out, is a prince who, while still an infant, was surreptitiously sent away by his mother to avoid the threat to his life that followed the death of the king, her husband (2.28.1-2.30.9); in the present scene Tristram's defense of the woman wronged by the knight provides additional proof of his innate courtesy and, more specifically, chivalric spirit; the story is deliberately structured to increase suspense until the denouement; e.g., when Calidore first suggests that Tristram has broken chivalric law, the youth, rather than immediately reveal his identity, offers a retort whose wit increases its provocation: "Certes (said he) loth were I to haue broken / The law of armes; yet breake it should againe, / Rather than let my selfe of wight be stroken, / So long as these two armes were able to be wroken" (2.7.6-9); the episode emphasizes the same key elements of *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*, qualities that dominate the story of Pastorella, who, like Tristram, was born of nobility but spirited away, for protective reasons, as an infant; see 305, below.

[133] I.e., since he recognizes Calidore as his superior; for discussion of the numerous instances in which virtuous characters in the *Faerie Queene* come from humble origins, see *Var.* 6, 194.

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returns to multiple storylines and *entrelacement*.[134] Calidore happens to be nearby when a woman is attacked by the Blatant Beast and hastens off in pursuit, temporarily disappearing from the scene. In his absence a series of episodes unfold, and some these repeat earlier themes and motifs so faithfully that the idea of progress inevitably comes into question. Most notable in this respect is the reappearance of Timias, who has once again been injured and needs careful rehabilitation.[135] Here, rather than being cared for by Belphoebe, however, Timias, along with another of the Blatant Beast's victims, recuperates at the cottage of a hermit.[136] Typically for Spenser, the episode not only repeats but foretells, presenting numerous parallels with the bucolic cottage where Calidore will later reside. Meanwhile, the hermit embodies the preceding adages on courtesy, appearing at first to be of gentle origin, then proving so when it's revealed he's an aging knight who has exchanged his chivalric vows for religious ones.[137] The wounds inflicted by the Blatant Beast create festering sores that refuse to respond to common remedies. The hermit's prior experience of courtly life enables him to make a proper

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[134] The opening lines of Canto 3 assert the converse of inborn courtesy, that is, that baseness will also out: "For seldome seene, a trotting Stalion get / An ambling Colt, that is his proper owne: / So seldome seene, that one in basenesse set / Doth noble courage shew, with curteous manners met" (3.1.5-9); the sentiment foretells events in among the shepherds, namely the character of Coridon; see 301, below. The image of the colt returns in the *View*; see 310, below.

[135] In the present scene Timias has been attacked not by foresters but by the Blatant Beast and three related villains: Despite, Deceit, and Detraction (5.12-5.24).

[136] Cf. Medoro's recuperation, under the watchful eye of Angelica, at the humble cottage of the woodsman in the *Orlando Furioso* (19.25-34) ; and see 278 n. 104, above.

[137] Cf.: "For well it seem'd, that whilome he had beene / Some goodly person, and of gentle race" (5.36.6-7)

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diagnosis, however, and in one of the book's most prominent examples of good courtliness, he employs masterful oratory to elicit a mental, specifically a volitional, cure.[138] On the other hand, considering the origin of the illness in the Blatant Beast, emblem of slander and defamation, the counsel-cure the hermit offers is both unconventional and problematic. His initial advice reinforces the poem's earlier lessons on temperance: "First learne your outward sences to refraine / From things, that stirre vp fraile affection; / Your eies, your eares, your tongue, your talk restraine / From that they most afect, and in due termes containe" (6.7.6-9). Rather than focusing on issues of excess, however, he expands his advice on restraint into a way of life that sounds like nothing so much as an ascetic withdrawal, one fundamentally at odds with the activist conception of virtue celebrated throughout the earlier pages of the poem:

> Abstaine from pleasure, and restraine your will,
> Subdue desire, and *bridle* loose delight,
> Vse scanted diet, and forbeare your fill,
> Shun secresie, and talke in open sight:
> So shall you soone repaire your present euill plight. (6.14.5-9)
> (emphasis added)

The sermon complete, the patients are both reported cured, and the narrative turns to other matters.

Prior to Calidore's reappearance, additional reenactments of earlier scenes increase the sense of repetition not as variations on a theme, but as a required reiteration

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[138] The narrator emphasizes differences between the courtly hermit and "bad" courtliness: "Therein he them full faire did entertaine / Not with such forged showes, as fitter beene / For courting fooles, that curtesies would faine, / But with entire affection and appearaunce plaine" (5.38.6-9); regarding his verbal skills, cf.: "He to that point fit speaches gan to frame, / As he the art of words knew wondrous well" (6.6.2-3).

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of lessons soon forgotten if ever learned. As suggested earlier, the first indications of this change in outlook emerge with the shift to the circular structures of romance in Books 3 and 4. For its part, thematic repetition, while prominent throughout the poem, has heretofore been associated with multiple facets of complex issues and with examining particular mixtures of theme and character. A corollary lexical process, apparent from the earliest pages, is manifest in the recurrence of morphemes, words, and phrases, which gradually envelope the narrative in a netting of subtle intratextuality, pregnant with polyvalency and suggesting endless renewal. In these final pages of the poem the retrenchment on each of these fronts proceeds in concert: structural and character repetition becomes more literal; verbal repetition, particularly punning, dramatically recedes; renewal is replaced by redundancy. Shortly after Timias's appearance at the hermitage there is another Court of Cupid, last encountered at the House of Busirane in Book 3. Much of the material in the present scene was familiar, even before Busirane's, from the Garden of Adonis and from the Venus and Adonis tapestries at Malecasta's castle.[139] A few stanzas later Timias reappears, once again in dire straights and needing assistance, which Arthur once again is there to provide.

Like so many other elements of the poem already discussed, the episode of Calidore among the shepherds is both emphatic and digressive, presenting an extended

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[139] For the Court of Cupid, see 7.28-7.38, esp. 7.32; the current passage depicts the inverse of the wounded woman figure encountered earlier, accompanied by Despite and Cruelty in Cupid's masque; see 286, above; here the scene depicts the punishment suffered by the excessively proud Mirabella, who refuses to love, and is accompanied by Disdaine and Scorn; as noted above, Spenser's rendition of Cupid's Court was influenced by Googe's "Cupido Conquered"; see 209 n. 388, above.

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case history of the power of courtesy and thus rehearsing key themes, but doing so in the guise of an adventure story that dramatically distances both reader and protagonist from the *Faerie Queene*'s primary plot. Calidore is rejoined in the course of his quest for the Blatant Beast, his allegedly successful pursuit of the monster described in terms, as others have noted, that reverse the *rota Virgilii* and foretell the impending shift from epic purposefulness to pastoral self-absorption:

> Him first from court he to the citties coursed,
> And from the citties to the townes him prest,
> And from the townes into the countrie forsed,
> And from the country back to priuate farmes he scorsed.
>
> From thence in to the open fields he fled,
> Whereas the Heardes were keeping of their neat,
> And shepheards singing to their flockes, that fed,
> Layes of sweete loue and youthes delightfull heat. (9.3.6-9.4.4)[140]

The framing story of Calidore's stay with the shepherds, during which he falls in love with the beautiful Pastorella, has long been identified with Greek romance. Whatever its structural dissonance with Spenser's project, the genre possesses a natural thematic affinity with the *Faerie Queene* given its ineluctable focus on issues of chastity and chaste love, on the genetics of nobility, and on the importance of decorum in general, the last of these particularly resonant with Spenser's focus on courtesy.[141] Calidore's

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[140] Cf. E. R. Curtius's observation, citing Spenser, that in Renaissance England bucolic poetry is still considered prepatory for epic (*European*, 232).

[141] Cf. the observation of Merritt Y. Hughes: "With Heliodorus Spenser can claim at least 'a certain like-mindedness' in moral purpose, a quality stressed in Underdowne's translation, which Spenser could have known. Heliodorus was a preacher, and his gospel was composed of commonplaces not unlike Spenser's *Twelve Morall Virtues.* Chastity, temperance, friendship, justice, and courtesy are all formal topics in his ethic. They are identified with the six moral virtues which Spenser actually allegorized, minus the first, holiness or courage, which he derived mainly from Christian and chivalrous sources [. . .] Heliodorus in a fashion infinitely less

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experience with Pastorella also provides another variation on the experience of falling in love, an event the knight undergoes with remarkably little emotion, especially in contrast to previous instances of the motif.[142] One of the key traits of the popular romance story inspired by Greek romance is the elevation of the courtly hero by means of his juxtaposition with a clumsy counterpart, a dramatic foil whose boorishness, resentment of the interloper, and, most important, innate cowardice, only enhance the hero's virtues.[143] On the other hand, Pastorella's guardian, Meliboe, enacts the topos of the worldly citizen who, after participating in life near the center of power, has retired to a pastoral tranquility from which he offers rhetorically requisite reflections on their juxtaposition.[144]

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serious than Spenser tried to vulgarize the principles of an eclectic ethic derived from classical and Christian sources[. . .]" (*Var.* 6. 379).

[142] Calidore's falling for Pastorella is facilitated by the fact that her natural superiority cannot remain hidden:

> Her whyles Sir Calidore there vewed well,
> And markt her rare demeanure, which him seemed
> So farre the meane of shepheards to excell,
> As that he in his mind her worthy deemed,
> To be a Princes Paragone esteemed" (9.11.2-5)

While Pastorella is a favorite of the shepherd community and thus recognized by them as superior, it requires the nobility of one like Calidore to recognize her innate nobility.

[143] Edwin Greenlaw argues for the influences on this episode of Spenser of Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Greek romance *Daphnis and Chloe*; see *Var.* 6, 373-375; cf. the episode of Clorinda among the shepherds in Tasso's *Gerusalemme* (chs. 7 and 19); for a view contrasting with that of Greenlaw, see Merritt Y. Hughes, who maintains that Heliodorus is the primary influence here, indebted to Menander and the New Comedy; see *Var.* 6, 376-378; for additional discussion of the shared attributes between Calidore's pastoral sojourn and other sixteenth-century romance stories, see *Var.* 6, esp. 380.

[144] See esp.:

> After I had ten yeares my selfe exluded
> From natiue home, and spent my youth in vaine,
> I gan my follies to my selfe to plaine,
> And this sweet peace, whose lacke did then appeare.
> Tho backe returning to my sheepe again,

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A number of problematic details emerge from the combination of these various elements within Spenser's larger project, with which, for the most part, they differ not so much in ideology as in tonality and approach. Calidore, however, the epitome of a reformed version of courtesy, proves himself decidedly otherwise on more than one occasion. Proper courtliness, as articulated earlier by the hermit, is distinguished principally by its frankness and lack of dissimulation, two traits entirely lacking in the knight's rejoinder to Meliboe's paean on the virtues of pastoral life. In his reply, which provides the rationale for his remaining in the pastoral setting, Calidore wholeheartedly embraces Meliboe's vision, then asks to participate in it, adding a rhetorically sophisticated request for respite from "seas of troubles and of toylesome paine" (9.31.6).[145] In spite of the near universality of the cliche, the fact remains that Calidore uses it as a subterfuge for his real motivation, which is his attraction to Pastorella. Indeed, Calidore's extended stay among the shepherds, his adoption of their garb, and his assumption of their way of life is not pursued for pastoral restoration at all, as he claims,

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I from thenceforth haue learn'd to loue more deare
This lowly quiet life, which I inherite here. (9.25.3-9)

[145] Cf. Calidore's careful response after listening to Meliboe:

Giue leaue awhyle, good father, in this shore
To rest my barcke, which hath bene beaten late
With stormes of fortune and tempestuous fate,
In seas of troubles and of toylesome paine,
That whether quite from them for to retrate
I shall resolue, or backe to turne againe
I may here with your selfe some small repose obtaine. (9.31.3-9)

Note the potential association here with the poet's own sentiments, expressed in similar imagery in the first stanza of the poem's closing canto: "Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde / Directs her course vnto one certaine cost [. . .] Right so it fares with me in this long way" etc. (12.1.1-2, 8).

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but as part of his overall strategy for gaining his erotic goal.[146] The dissonance this creates culminates in the following canto, where a pastoral interlude unfolds in the heart of the narrative of adventure.

Much in the Mount Acidale episode is already familiar to the reader, for it presents another encounter with Venus in yet another *locus amoenus*, this one described as the goddess's favorite recreative locale.[147] In contrast to earlier appearances of the goddess, the present episode develops into an unexpected hybrid of mythical imagery, the ongoing story of Calidore, and, in the character of the piping shepherd, Colin Clout, a lightly-veiled figure of the poet himself.[148] Calidore is wandering through the bucolic countryside when, attracted to a spot of exceptional beauty and to the sound of piping, he ends up witnessing an elaborate pageant of naked maidens dancing around three women identified as the three Graces, who, in turn, enclose a solitary figure in their midst.[149] His witnessing of the scene is fraught from the start, the act of a peeping Tom whose behavior

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[146] Note, esp., courtesy's effect among the shepherds: "For courtesie amongst the rudest breeds / Good will and fauour" (9.455).

[147] Of all the previous encounters with the Venus imagery, the current passage is most reminiscent of the Garden of Adonis episode in Book 3 (3.6ff); on the other encounters, which include the tapestries at Malecasta's and the pageant at the House of Busirane, see 286, above; one instance of the motif not discussed here is the Isle of Venus in the Legend of Friendship, which features a pageant of chaste lovers from antiquity (IV.10.27ff.); in the present scene, Venus is said to prefer Mount Acidale even to her own royal court at Cytheron (10.9.6).

[148] See the reference to "Colin Clouts Come Home Againe," 196 n. 360, above; Hadfield discusses the poem in terms of the fictionalization of Spenser's visit to England in 1589-90; *Wilde Fruit*, 13ff.

[149] See 10.10-10.17.

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has little in common with basic decency, much less with high-minded courtliness.[150] To make matters worse, Calidore's curiosity gets the best of him and he leaves his hiding place, frightening away the celebrants with all their grace and beauty and leaving only Colin, so distraught by their departure that he breaks his pipes. In response to Calidore's tardy and half-hearted attempt at an apology, Colin claims that the scene is irretrievably lost: "For being gone, none can them bring in place, / But whom they of them selues list so to grace" (10.20.3-4).[151] Colin expounds upon the vanished figures, explaining that the three Graces are Venus's primary handmaidens and the source of "all the complements of curtesie" (10.23.6), an attribute that, echoing the Proem earlier, is once again associated with knowing one's place in society and with the quality of civility.[152] From all appearances, the figure at the heart of the vanished tableau would seem to have been Venus herself. Just before the dancers disappear, however, this figure is identified as "that iolly Shepheards lasse, / Which piped there vnto that merry rout" (10.16.1-2), a description leading commentators to associations both with the woman that Spenser

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[150] Cf. the suggestion of his arousal: "There he did see, that pleased much his sight, / That euen he him selfe his eyes enuyde, / An hundred naked maidens lilly white, / All raunged in a ring, and dauncing in delight" (10.11.6-9); the eroticism of the scene recalls an notoriously voyeuristic one a few cantos earlier, when Serena wanders into the "saluage nation" and its denizens nearly ravish her; cf. 8.42.1-9.

[151] In a striking lack of sensitivity for the paragon of courtesy, Calidore, although described as sorry for the disruption he has caused, approaches Colin not with an apology, but with the airy salute, "Haile iolly shpheard, which thy ioyous dayes / Here leadest in this goodly merry make" (10.19.2-3), etc., and only expresses his regrets when Colin answers him, as noted, so bitterly.

[152] Regarding the three Graces, cf.: "They teach vs, how to each degree and kynde / We should our selues demeane, to low, to hie; / To friends, to foes, which skill men call Ciuility" (10.23.7-9).

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marries as well as with Elizabeth, the poem's primary female object of admiration.[153] Following Colin's exposition, the narrator notes that Calidore begins to feel the "enuenimd sting" (10.31.1) of his love for Pastorella, and the Knight of Courtesy soon takes his leave.

The transition between the elevated discourse that characterizes the Mount Acidale episode and the rest of Calidore's bucolic story is dramatic, the latter entirely absorbed by the tumultuous events that begin with the outlaw attack and taking of prisoners, including Pastorella, and that only end after dramatic demonstrations of *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*, most notably Pastorella's recognition as the long lost daughter of a noble couple.[154] As noted earlier, Bakhtin described the Greek romance as grounded in "the logic of random contingency," an atmosphere of reversible time and interchangeable space where events leave no trace on the protagonists, who enact their roles in an ephemeral hiatus between falling in love and finally being reunited.[155] Nothing indicates more sharply how far Spenser has strayed from his goal of fashioning the arduous acquisition of moral virtues than his interpolation, at such length and at this

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[153] Cf. the reference that Ercilla makes, in the Vision of Spanish beauty episode, to the woman he will marry; see 76, above; regarding the figure's representation of the woman that Spenser would marry in 1594, Elizabeth Boyle, see *Var.* 6, 249-251.

[154] Both of these devices, along with numerous specific motifs and images, tie the sojourn among the shepherds to Greek romance narratives, in particular to Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*; the potential intertexts here have been argued to include Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*, the *Orlando Innamorrato* of Boiardo, Tasso's *Rinaldo* and *Gerusalemme Liberata*, Montemayor's *Diana* (together with sequels by various authors), and Sidney's *Arcadia*; see *Var.* 6, 376-380. On the possible influence of the *Aethiopica*'s French translator, Amyot, on both Sidney and Spenser, see 178 n. 321 and 247 n. 57, above.

[155] For the earlier discussion of Bakhtin, see, esp., 114, above.

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point in the poem, of such a genre, the very spirit of which denies any hint of character development. The thematic similarities, as noted, are substantial. Even here, however, the disjunction is telling, for Heliodorus's presentation of the values of chastity, honor, and decorum is entirely one-dimensional: virtue as a *fait accompli*, moral integrity as a device of pathetic enhancement for scenes of near-calamity whose outcome is never in doubt.

It is only 20 stanzas before the close of Book 6 that Calidore, described a short time earlier as, "Asham'd to thinke, how he that enterprize, / The which the Faery Queene had long afore / Bequeath'd to him, forslacked had so sore" (12.12.3-5), places Pastorella in the care of the noble couple until he can return from the pursuit of the Blatant Beast. The closing cantos make some effort at reversing the emphasis on fortune that dominates the pastoral adventure and earlier portions of the book, describing how "The proued power of noble Calidore" (12.36.7) manages to defeat and enchain the beast, which henceforth "[. . .] trembled vnderneath his mighty hand, / And like a fearefull dog him followed through the land" (12.36.8-9). These verses also describe, in brief, the Blatant Beast's well-known escape and current status as an ongoing menace, one that threatens, among others, both poem and poet, who closes Book 6 with a plaintive expression of hope for a gentler reception for himself and his work. For its part, the romance-adventure subplot is abandoned much as was the Knight of Courtesy's original quest, since nothing more is said of Calidore or Pastorella, and the inevitability of their reunion is left in doubt.

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Coda

The ideology of the Greek romance, or the "adventure novel of ordeal" as Bakhtin termed it, is deeply reactionary, reinforcing cliches of social hierarchy as well as attributes of gender. The emphasis that the genre places on fortune, independent of this, is fundamentally pessimistic, a perspective that, despite the inevitability of the happy denouement—actually because of this—limits the individual's participation to entirely secondary importance. Without speculating too deeply on the great attraction these "escapist" narratives held for sixteenth-century readers, one suspects their appeal to Renaissance audiences paralleled that to ancient ones. It may be possible, in the Early Modern era, to see a relationship between this appeal and the progressive concentration of power in absolutist states, with its concomitant restrictions on the individual.[156] Others have argued that these restrictions helped inspire the elaborate codes of etiquette exemplified in the era's proliferation of behavioral handbooks, the finest expression of which is the *Cortegiano*. It was suggested earlier that this dynamic also reflects a fundamental shift from deliberative to epideictic rhetoric, which, stemming from the restrictions placed on civic activism, diverts attention from political to aesthetic discourse.[157] Javitch's ironic observation, in the context of the myth of the political effectiveness of humanist learning, that the demise of civic humanism during this period was not all bad, since the corresponding emphasis on *cortegianía* provided a conceptual framework for literary endeavor, cannot disguise the fact, as one marvels at the potency of

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[156] See 33-34, above.

[157] See 168 and 168 n. 294, above.

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such cross-pollinization, that the underlying event is a progressive decline from the ideal of the *polis* that inspired it: first to the discourse of the courtier, which even as retrenchment exemplified, at its height, the values of *sprezzatura* and *mediocrità*, key underpinnings of the *in utramque partem* approach to ideas; then to treatises on courtesy or civility, monologues-masquerading-as-dialogues revealing just how far the *in utramque partem* perspective had declined in the increasingly monologic dialogue during this period; and finally, in the present context, to the romance adventures of the sixteenth century, whose protagonists have no more lasting effect on their literary environments than their readers must have perceived themselves as having on their real-life ones.[158]

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[158] On *sprezzatura*, *mediocrità*, and *dissimulazione*, see, esp., 172-75 and 199, above; on the decline of *in utramque partem*, see 189 and 190 n. 348, above. For insightful analysis into the gradual transformation of the dialogue as a genre referred to throughout the present study, see Virginia Cox's *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary dialogue in its social and political contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P: 1992); note, esp.: "The driving force behind the Quattrocento dialogue is the humanist faith in discussion as a means of access to the truth. For all their considerable differences, [. . .] all express this shared faith in the possibility of reaching truth—a human and collective truth—by means of disputation. [. . .] The characteristic form of the humanist dialogue, especially that of the first half of the century, is the Ciceronian one of a debate between two or more sharply opposed positions. This is not to say that all Quattrocento dialogues are truly 'dialogical' in character or that they limit themselves to 'provoking' their readers, without attempting to guide them. [. . .] Though they tend to portray dissent, often in a lively and polemical form, humanist dialogues often betray the stamp of their author's own moral stance and, to this extent, the ethos of the interlocutors, however vividly realized, is in some sense subsidiary to the argument. [. . .] For all its dialectical structure, there is, then, a tendency towards closure and 'monologue' in the humanist dialogue. There is even evidence that some writers conceived of the dialogue as having a principally expository function, dismissing its more grandiose claim to be a means of discovering new truths. It is important to note, however, that, even where it does not evince a 'dialogical conception of truth," the humanist dialogue *does* express a 'dialogical conception of the cognitive process.' This sense of acquisition of knowledge as a collective enterprise is the life-blood of the Quattrocento dialogue, and the feature which most clearly differentiates even the most 'monological' productions of the age from the far more uncompromisingly monological forms which would succeed them in the following century" (62); an important stage in this centripetal dynamic, according to Cox, was the conception of the dialogue that developed as a more strictly didactic genre: "Perhaps the principal difference between the dialogues of the first half of the Cinquecento and the second is this; the expectation that a dialogue will contain a speaker who teaches and a speaker who

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In a narrow sense, perhaps, the *Faerie Queene*'s structural and thematic changes offer a microcosm of this decline. The Legends of Holiness and Temperance, with their effusive interplays of sound and meaning played out against an ominous background of crystal-clear values and transgressions, exude coiled energy. With the introduction of romance circularity in the Legends of Chastity and Friendship, which immerse the reader not in the waters of apocalyptic Protestantism, but in the endless vagaries of *di qua di là* and *di su di giù* plots, this energy begins to disperse, and the decrease in intensity continues with the sobering political allegory of the Legend of Justice, with its bitter aftertaste of the Irish problem. Finally, the Legend of Courtesy begins with an effort at retaining the structure and spirit of the poem's earliest books, but soon relinquishes both the connotative use of language and the distracting dissolution of romance for the denotative speech that characterizes the idyll of Calidore and Pastorella.[159]

In the political realm this decline would appear to legitimize particularly repressive ideologies. If the exotic blossom of courtesy, nobility, and civility is deemed an inborn trait that the *vulgo* can at best recognize and respond to, but never embody, the rationale for poetry or love as spurs to virtue is fundamentally undermined and the basis for reformation, religious or political, is called into question. In such a climate, and with

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accepts to be taught" (66); and cf.: "With the collapse of humanist ideals, discussion is no longer conceived of as a means for exploring the truth, and written dialogue has relinquished its corresponding role as a *provocatio*. Truth now appears as an absolute, hallowed by authority and defined by political interest: a commodity to be meted out by an omniscient *princeps sermonis*" (68). The single most important factor in this change, Cox goes on to argue, is the Counter-Reformation, with the advent of print technology working to increase the public's impatience with erudition and demand for more informative, rather than philosophical enquiry (63).

[159] On "di qua di là" and "di su di giù," see 115 n. 192, above.

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the ideals of civic humanism replaced by conceptions of a *practick felicite* associated with Machiavelli, on the one hand, and Calvinist severity, on the other, it is a small step to Irenius in the *View*—a prime example of the monological dialogue—who, in response to his friend Eudoxus's query as to how the reformation of the Irish can be accomplished, replies, "Even by the sword, for all the evills must first be cut away by a strong hand, before any good can bee planted" (93). Eudoxus claims that he had earlier proposed the same remedy himself using the image of a halter, but Irenius makes clear that the two symbols represent fundamentally different perspectives, namely, that "[. . .] by the sword I mean the royall power of the Prince" (93). This exchange recalls the opening of the *View*, much earlier, where Irenius introduces the image of the bridle in a way that exposes the motif's unmistakable contiguity, albeit unacknowledged, with Plato's original use of it to represent the control of sexual desire. Irenius's remarks in this instance respond to Eudoxus's on the presence of English law in Ireland:

> But what bootes it to break a colte, and to let him straight run loose at randome. So were these people at first well handled, and wisely brought to acknowledge allegiance to the Kings of England: but, being straight left unto themselves and their owne inordinate life and manners, they estsoones forgot what before they were taught, and so soone as they were out of sight, by themselves shook of their *bridles*, and begun to colte anew, more licentiously than before. (16) (emphasis added)[160]

The present study has examined how the heroic poems of Ercilla and Spenser are affected by Renaissance conceptions of man's relationship to the past, to himself, and to

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[160] The issue of Irish licentiousness, noted as early as the twelfth century by Gerald of Wales, is a key ingredient of their degeneracy; see Hadfield, *Wilde Fruit* 12; note that in a broader sense, temperance is the very quality dismissed with the image of the bridle.

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others. As has been seen, these relationships, the focus, respectively, of humanism, Neoplatonism, Petrarchism, and *cortegianía*, assume distinct identities within the competing ideologies of man's relationship to God, embodied in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. From different circumstances and with different aims—Ercilla initially rejecting fiction for eyewitness history, Spenser choosing historical fiction over moral philosophy—both authors draw on a shared heritage of classical epic. Both use two key images arising from epic's underlying tension between epos and eros: the abandoned woman and the night raid. Traditionally, the first of these motifs exposes the private cost of epic achievement and public glory; the second, its brutal underside. For Ercilla, who narrates his own involvement in a military campaign and begins by employing them traditionally, these images become an unexpected conduit for a deeply held sense of personal honor. For Spenser, whose purpose encompasses the moral virtues of Protestant civility, these images from pagan antiquity, almost always associated with the danger of deception and sexual predation, have a seductive similarity, most notable in the case of Una abandoned by Redcross, to Dido and Aeneas. Spenser's didactic program utilizes another motif from classical epic, the combination of catalogue of trees and ancient forest, fulfilling here the same structural function it does originally, introducing a transformative, albeit symbolic catabasis. Both authors take advantage of the Virgilian variation on a Homeric simile for the dawn, again maintaining the structural integrity of its origins, in one instance juxtaposing the tranquility of early morning to a night of violence, in the other heralding the departure of the beloved. Ercilla and Spenser both challenge the literary canon and thus Virgilian authority, Ercilla condemning the sacrifice

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of personal integrity for personal gain reflected in Virgil's fictionalization of Dido's history, Spenser rejecting epic's ethos, however retroactively Christianized by Ariosto and Tasso, for its Pelagian denial of grace. The early modern absolutist state represents a more immediate authority for these poets. Ercilla celebrates Spanish empire while asserting his similarity to Philip II, apparent in their common championing of *pietas* and *clemencia*; from a more conflicted perspective arising from the confluence of political partisanship, personal association, and religious faith, Spenser finesses a celebration of Elizabeth with an increasingly embittered critique of Tudor policies. Both poems foreground private authority in the issue of self-control, Ercilla addressing the issue in terms of continence and shame, with a particular emphasis on integrity; Spenser evoking these values together with the distinctions between concupiscence, the irascible, and the rational, in which the control of sexuality, embodied in chastity, becomes particularly important. Both authors invoke the Platonic image of the bridle as the emblem of this control.

These pages have repeatedly emphasized the role of genre, noting the interplay, in particular, of epic, lyric, and pastoral. In simplest terms, Ercilla finds in epic a literary analogue to events he witnesses in Chile and to the spirit of the confrontation they reflect. Spenser's epic conquest, while a moral one, gains authority, as well as matter, from those of ancient poetry. In contrast to these heroic analogues, both poems conclude prematurely, both authors resigned to diminished expectations.

As was noted earlier, the text that inspires the episode of Calidore and Pastorella, the *Aethiopica*, also influences Ariosto, one of Spenser's most important literary

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interlocutors, whose adventures of Isabella, notably her capture by brigands and captivity in the cave, mirror many aspects of Heliodorus's narrative while offering inspiration of their own for Spenser's.[161] It was also noted previously that Greek romance, and potentially the *Aethiopica* itself, also inspired Ercilla, and for precisely the same reasons, namely, because of its emphasis on the themes of chastity, virtue, and true love, on the one hand, and for its elaborate plots, on the other, both of which influence Ercilla's depictions of the Araucan heroines, particularly Tegualda's description of her childhood, and then, more dramatically, the *peripeteia* of Glaura's travails and the dramatic *anagnoris* of her eventual reunion with Cariolán.[162] In this scenario Ercilla, it was noted, figured himself as the magnanimous Orlando to Glaura and Cariolán's Isabella and Zerbino.[163] At the climax to Spenser's variation on this material, in the melancholy atmosphere of the paradisial Mount Acidale, Venus's favorite landscape, he performs a similarly wistful identification, figuring himself not only as Colin Clout, but, given the ambiguity of the scene, one might argue, also as Adonis, an even more audacious impersonation.

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[161] Isabella's story is told in multiple locations in the *Furioso*, primarily at 12.91ff., at which Orlando discovers her a captive in the cave of the thieves; at 13.1ff., when she describes her childhood, and at 23.55ff., which depicts her reunion with Zerbino.

[162] For the related discussion of Tegualda, see 88, above; for Glaura, see 113, above; for Heliodorus's possible influence on Ercilla, also see 114 n. 190.

[163] See 116, above.

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Appendix A:

Classical texts in the Siglo de Oro

While most of the Latin authors discussed in the context of the eros and epos tradition were widely available in Spain in their own language if not in the vernacular by mid-sixteenth century, the availability of Greek texts during this period was much less uniform.[164] Many of those discussed in this context had been translated into Latin, but not all were equally accessible; others had been translated into Italian or Spanish. What follows is an overview of the major Greek literary texts:

Iliad, Odyssey: As suggested in the examination of Ercilla's defense of Dido, the reception of Homer in the early Renaissance is especially complex.[165] This stems in part from the various traditions, starting in antiquity, that transmit differing versions of the Trojan matter, not all of which agree with Homer's account, and in part from the fact that these various traditions have associations with a variety of genres, including summaries, paratextual scholia, and moral treatises, each with its own implications for the reading habits and ideologies of readers.[166]

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[164] The issue is raised in the discussion of Ercilla's education; see 27 ff., above.

[165] See esp. 132 ff., above.

[166] Cf. Guillermo Serés:

> [. . .] la recepción de Homero está indisolublemente ligada, precisamente por las características de los lectores contemporáneos, a la de la adaptación o adecuación de la materia troyana por antonomasia a los cauces genéricos, temáticos y structurales, a los contextos ideológico y moral y al los hábitos de lectura y escritura del traductor y de los potenciales lectores.

Given the characteristics of contemporary readers, the reception of Homer is necessarily linked to that of the adaptations or incorporations of the Troy material, however indirect,

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Homer's texts were among the earliest ancient literary works recuperated in the West, starting with Petrarch's acquisition of the *Iliad.* A Greek edition of Homer was available as early as 1488 in Florence, and Aldus's version followed in 1502. Petrarch's *Iliad* was loaned to Pier Candido Decembrio from 1439 to 1446, during which time Juan II requested Decembrio to produce a Latin version of it. Decembrio's text, in turn, became the basis for a Spanish translation of Books 1-4, Book 10, and the three speeches of Book 9 (those of Achilles, Odysseus, and Phoenix) in the late 1440s, probably by Pedro González de Mendoza, at the request of his father, the Marqués de Santillana.[167] Other humanists translated parts of Homer's opus, among them Guarino Guarini, who produced versions of the Doloneia from the *Iliad* and of Book 23 of the *Odyssey*; Politian, who produced a highly regarded *Iliad;* and Lorenzo Valla and Nicolò della Valle, both of whom tried their skill at parts of the *Iliad.*[168] Best known in Spain were Gonzalo Pérez's *De la Ulyxea*, its first installment of thirteen books published in 1550 (Antwerp), a second, complete edition printed in 1556 (Antwerp).

Argonautica: on the recommendation Cardinal of Bessarion this work was brought to Florence in 1471, where unpublished Latin academic translations of it were in circulation by 1475; Greek princeps: 1496 (Aldus edition, 1521); Latin translation (the only one noted for the sixteenth century): 1550 (Basel, by Johan Hartungo). No

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into generic, thematic, and structural currents, into ideological and moral contexts, and into the reading and writing habits of the translator and his potential readers.
(*La traducción en Italia y España durante el siglo XV. La "Iliada en Romance" y su contexto cultural* [Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1997], 14.

[167] Ibid., 18-19; see 191 n. 349, above.

[168] Ibid., 42-48.

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vernacular translations of Apollonius are noted until mid-eighteenth century.[169]

Medea, *Rhesus*: Euripides generated much early interest, with seventeen or eighteen of the tragedies, including *Medea* and *Rhesus*, frequently printed together, as in the Greek princeps: 1503 (Aldus). There are also a number of early Latin versions of these collections, the first being that of Dorothea Camillus in 1541(Basel, repr. 1550); another by Casparo Stiblino in 1562 (Basel). The *Medea* was also available separately in Latin by 1543 (Petrus Tiara) and in 1544 (Paris, by Georgio Buchanani). A bilingual Greek-Latin edition of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was printed in 1567, with verse translations of *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* by Erasmus (originally published in 1506 in Paris) and *verbo ad verbum* versions by Philip Melancthon.[170] A Spanish version of *Medea*, possibly completed by Pedro Simón Abril as early as 1570, was published in Barcelona in 1583.[171] Based on the *Privilegio* in the collected works of Boscán and Garcilaso published in 1548, which mentions a tragedy of Euridipes among the contents, Boscán is argued by some to have translated the Greek playwright.[172] The evidence is not

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[169] Cf. S. F. W. Hoffman, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der Gesammten Literatur der Greichen*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968 [1837]), 1. 206-09; cf. Gianvito Resta, *Apollonio Rodio e gli Umanisti* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1980).

[170] Hoffman, *Literatur*, 2. 68-90.

[171] Theodore S. Beardsley, Jr., *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699* (Pittsburgh: Duqesnes U P, 1970), 55-56; also see idem, "La Traduction des Auteurs Classiques en Espagne de 1488 a 1586, dans le Domaine des Belles-Lettres," *L'Humanisme dans les Lettres Espagnoles*. XIX^{e} Colloque International D'Études Humanistes, Tours 5-17 Juillet 1976 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1979), 51-64; idem., "The Classics in Spain: the Sixteenth versus the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Honor of Gustavo Correa* (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1986), 11-27.

[172] Arnold G. Reichenberger, "Boscán and the Classics," *Comparative Literature* 3.2 (1951) 97-118; see discussion above, 46.

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compelling.

Antigone: Sophocles was among the earliest Greek authors recovered in the West, seven or eight of the tragedies frequently printed together, as in the seven, including *Antigone*, of the Greek princeps: 1502 (Aldus). A Greek text with "commentariis, interpretationum, argumenti" in Latin is listed as printed in 1534; the *Antigone* alone, in Latin, as early as 1541. An Italian *L'Antigone*, by Luigi Alemanni, to what extent a translation or adaptation is unclear, was printed in 1533.[173] The *Electra*, translated into Spanish by Pérez de Oliva in 1525 as *La venganza de Agamemno*, was among the first classical tragedies available in any vernacular—the only earlier one was Giovanbattista Gelli's *Hecuba*, 1519, a work Pérez de Oliva also translated in 1528.[174]

Cyropaedia: Xenophon is used as a school text by the first generation of Italians learning Greek in Florence. As in the case of Euripides and Sophocles, four or five of Xenophon's works were typically printed together, as in the Greek princeps: c.1495-1496 (Aldus, 1525). A widely circulated, but never printed, Latin paraphrase translation of the *Cyropaedia* was made by Poggio Bracciolini by 1446; a more faithful version was published by Francesco Filelfo in 1477 (Milan), becoming the basis for subsequent printed editions until 1561. Poggio's son, Jacopo, used his father's Latin rendition as the basis for an Italian version of the *Cyropaedia*, published in 1521 (Florence) and 1527 (Venice); Matteo Boiardo had translated Xenophon into the vernacular circa 1470, and

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[173] Hoffman, *Literatur*, 3. 411-430.

[174] María Cristina Quintero, "Translation and Imitation in the Development of Tragedy during the Spanish Renaissance," *Renaissance Readings: Intertext and Context*, eds. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Anne J. Cruz, and Wendy A. Furman (Urbana: U Illinois P, 1988), 96-110; 100.

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Lodovico Domenichi published a vernacular version in 1548. In Spain, the *Cyropaedia* and the *Anabasis* were both translated by Diego Gracián de Alderete and published in 1552 (Salamanca).[175]

Metamorphoses: Bks. 1-15 of Ovid's work were translated into Spanish circa 1543 by Jorge de Bustamante; *Heroides VII*, dealing with Dido and Aeneas, was translated anonymously by 1520.

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[175] Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed., *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, vol. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 80-83; cf. Beardsley, *Hispano-Classical*, 43; cf. Hoffman, *Literatur*, 3. 574-609.

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Appendix B:

Patterns of Love, Violence, and Redemption in the Araucan Women Episodes

The following table illustrates a possible pattern in the central third of Ercilla's poem, a section that runs from Canto 13 to Canto 28 and is framed by the Gualcolda episode on one end, Glaura's episode on the other, with Tegualda's story roughly halfway between.[176] Based on narrative events and their themes, each of the two halves are seen to begin with episodes featuring Araucan women, which can be characterized as depictions of true love. Both these episodes are followed in the next canto by scenes of exceptional brutality, in the first case that of the Spanish, whose bloodiness is compared to Nero's, in the second, that of the Indians, who, in one of the few instances beyond Part 1 in which the Spanish flee for their lives, kill everyone they can, even those who offer no resistance, revealing a total absence of "clemencia."[177] These violent scenes are followed

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[176] See the table for exact canto location of the following passages.

[177] Cf., with regard to the Spanish slaughtering the Araucans:

> Si el crudo Sylla, si Nerón sangriento
> (por más sed que de sangre ellos mostraran)
> della vieran aquí el derramamiento,
> yo tengo para mí que se hartaran,
> pues con mayor rigor, a su contento,
> en viva sangre humana se bañaran,
> que en Campo Marcio Sylla carnicero,
> y en el Foro de Roma el bestial Nero.

If brutal Sulla or bloody Nero (regardless how much thirst for blood they showed) had seen the spilling of it here, I know they they would have been sated, since, much to their pleasure, they could have bathed themselves in living, human blood with greater harshness than cruel Sulla in the Marcian Fields or beastial Nero in the Roman forum. (15.47.1-8)

Cf., with regard to the Araucans pursuing the Spanish:

> Así los iban siempre maltratando,
> siguiendo el hado y próspera fortuna,
> el rabioso furor ejecutando
> en los rendidos, sin clemencia alguna.

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by dramatic portents: the first, a giant lizard or dragon that appears in the sky to the Araucans and which they interpret as foretelling their doom; the second, a vision of the Spanish victory at Lepanto offered the narrator by the figure of Reason, a scene that through epic prophecy foretells Spanish victory over the Turks.[178] These prophecies, in turn, are followed shortly by scenes that go some way of to balance, if not redeem, both parties' brutality; the first features Philip II's piety, in particular his *clemencia*, in sparing the lives of those conquered during the Spanish victory over France at San Quentin; the second depicts the twelve Araucan caciques whom the Spanish force to commit suicide by hanging, evidence of such complete impotence among the Indians as the poem begins to draw to a close that they can only be pitied.[179]

While there is a distinctive homology both in the sequence of themes and in the intervals that separate them, these elements are hardly exact. It may be that rather than revealing a numerologically based pattern, they are simply the indication of general narrative structuring. On the other hand, the fact that Ercilla's poem is thought to have

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Thus they continued, always mistreating them, following their fate or good fortune, taking out their rabid fury on those who had surrendered, without any clemency. (22.15.1-4)

[178] The narrator explains that from the Spanish point of view, the dragon-lizard was actually a comet, and subsequent historical records substantiate the date of such an occurrence.

[179] With regard to Philip's control of his victorious Spanish troops:

Mas del piadoso Rey la gran clemencia
había las fieras armas embotado,
que con remedio presto y diligencia
todo el furor y fuego fue apagado.

But the great clemency of the pious king had blunted their fierce weapons, so that with rapid correction and care all the fury and fire was extinguished. (18.28.1-4)

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been brought to an end somewhat abruptly may account for some of the imbalances.

	Narrative event and canto	theme	beginning and ending octave	intervals between key episodes (octaves/lines)	subsidiary intervals (octaves/ lines)
I	**Guacolda episode** 13.42-14.18	true love	988-1020		
	massacre of Indians 15.47	savage Spanish	1100	416/3328	80/640
	lizard-comet 16.24	portent of Araucan defeat	1160		60/480
	San Quentin victory 17.56-18.28	Spanish piety	1275-1308		111/888
II	**Tegualda episode** 20.26-21.12	true love	1436-1499		128/1024
	massacre of Spanish 22.15	savage Araucans	1561	486/3888	60/480
	victory at Lepanto 23.36-24.97	portent of Spanish victory	1635-1784		75/600
	12 caciques hanged 26.22	Araucan debasement	1888		104/832
	Glaura episode 28.7-28.44	true love	1985-2030		98/784

Total octaves in poem: 2634
Total lines: 21,072

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Appendix C:

Excerpts from Gregorio Hernández de Velasco's translation of the *Aeneid* related to the imagery of love.

Titlepage:

LOS DOZE LIBROS
de la Eneida de VERGILIO
Principe de los Poetas Latinos.
Traduzida en octaua ri-
ma y verſo Ca-
ſtellano.

SVSTINE ET ABSTINE

[emblem]

NVLLA VIA INVIA VIRTVTI

Impreſſo en Toledo en caſa
de Iuan de Ayala.
Año. 1555.

Excerpts, with location in the original:

1.659ff.:

y cõ los ricos dones
la triſte reyna ya furioſa abraſe,
Y dentro delos hueſſos y en las venas
Vn venenoſo y fiero ardor le emprēda. (B_{1r} / 9_r)

1.687ff.:

Mientras a ti ella beſos dulces diere,
su pecho tu con punta de oro hiere. (B_{1v} / 9_v)

1.712ff.:

Y eſpecialmente la infeliçe reyna
Ala rauioſa peſte, que tan cerca
Tenia, triſtamente deſtinada,
No puede contentar la mal ſana alma:
Abraſaſe y consumeſe mirando. (B_{1v} / 9_v)

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4.26ff.:

Mas ãtes plega a dios mill muertes mue
La tĩra ſe abra y dõde eſtay me hũda, (ra
con fiero rayo Iupiter me hiera,
Y enel horrible infierno me confunda,
Do ay ſiẽpre horror, do ſiẽpre pſeuera
Noche tenebroſiſsima y profunda,
O ſancta caſtidad, q te haga vltraje,
Y q tu ley quebrante y omenage. (D_{4v}/ 28_v)

4.54ff.:

Aqueſtas perſuaſiones inflamaron
El ya encendido pecho de la reyna
Con nueua llama de amoroſo fuego (D_{4v}/ 28_v)

4.66:

En tanto vn lento y dulce fuego roe
L'alma y entrañas dela triſte reyna,
Y alla en el centro del mal ſano pecho
Crece vna occulta y venenoſa llaga.
Arde ſe toda la infelice Dido,
Y y furioſa y de juyzio agena,
Anda por toda la ciudad vagando. (D_{4v}/ 28_v)

4.101ff.:

Ya no ay en Dido vena a qen no ẽciẽda
Vu fiero ardor inſano. ya ſe abraſa
En biuo fuego y amoroſa braſa. (D_{5r}/ 29_r)

4.167ff.:

La reyna Dido y el Troyano Eneas,
Iũtos ſe entrarõ a vna meſma cueua.
La dioſa dela tierra la primera,
Y Iuno delas bodas preſidente,
Dierõ ſeñal del matrimonio inſauſto.

4.584ff.:

Ya la purpuera Aurora, el roxo lecho
De ſu Tithon dexando, de luz nueua
Las tierras cerca y lexos eſparzia:
Quando la miſerable reyna vido
Deſde vna alta atalaya; la luz clara. . . (E_{iiir}/ 35_r)

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9.189ff.:

Ves que deſcuydo, y que ſeguridad
Tiene alos enemigos confiados?
Mvy raras luzes mueſtran claridad.
Llenos de ſueño y vino eſtan echados
ves como la nocturna eſcuridad. . . ([K_{7v}/ 79_v] see note)

9.316ff.:

Y por la ſombra dela eſcura noche
Al real enemigo van por muerte:
Bien q primero la daran a muchos.
Do ya llegados, veen a cada paſſo
Cuerpos en vino y ſueño ſepultados,
Tendidos por el prado y verde hierua. (L_{1r}/ 81_r)

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Appendix D:

L'Histoire Aethiopique d'Heliodore
Jacques Amyot, bishop of Auxerre (1513-1593)

[princeps 1547; following text transcribed from 1553 edition at NYPL; orthography modernized]

Le proême du Traducteur

Ainsi comme un certain grand philosophe admoneste sagement les nourrices, de ne conter indifféremment toutes sortes de fables à leurs petits enfants, de peur que leurs âmes de le commencement ne s'abreuvent de folie & ne prenent quelques vitieuse impression: aussi me semble il, que l'on pourrait avec bonne cause conseiller aux personnes déjà parvenues en âge de connaissance, de ne s'amuser à lire sans jugement toutes sortes de livres fabuleux: de peur que leurs entendements ne s'accoutument petit à petit à aimer mensonge, & à se paître de vanité, outre ce que le temps y est mal employé. Et pourrait à l'aventure cette raison être assez valable pour condamner tous écrits mensongers, & dont le sujet n'est point véritable, si ce n'était que l'imbecilité de nôtre nature ne peut porter, que l'entendement soit toujours tendu à lire matières graves, & sérieuse, non plus que le corps ne saurait sans intermission durer au travail d'oeuvres laborieuses. Au moyen de quoi il faut aucune fois que nôtre esprit est troublé de mesaventures, ou travaillé & recru de grave étude, user de quelque divertissement, pour le détourner de ses tristes pensées, ou bien de quelque rafraîchissement puis après le remettre plus allègre, & plus vif à la considération, ou action des choses d'importance. Et parce que la propre & naturelle délectation d'un bon entendement est toujours voir, oir, & apprendre quelque chose de nouveau, il n'y a point de doute, que l'histoire, à cause de la

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diversité des choses que y sont comprises, ne soit l'une des lectures que plus on doit chercher & élire pour le revivre: entendu en même temps que le profit est conjoint avec le plaisir. Mais toutes fois encores a il semblé à quelques hommes du bon jugement, que la vérite de celle était un petit trop austère pour suffisament délecter, à cause qu'elle doit réciter les choses nettement & simplement, ainsi comme elles sont avenues, & non pas en la sorte qu'elles seraient plus plaisantes à lire, ni ainsi comme nos courages (qui naturellement se passionnent en lisant, ou voyant les faits & fortunes d'autrui) le souhaitent, & le désirent. Et si ne lui peut on donner tant d'aide en richissement de langue, ni par tout artifice d'eloquence, qu'elle ait autant de force à récreer l'entendement de celui qui la lit, comme un conte fait à plaisir expressement pour délecter quand il est subtilement inventé, & ingénieusement deduit. Aussi n'est ce le but auquel elle est proprement adressée, ains la fin principale pour laquelle elle doit être écrite & lue, est par exemples du passé s'instruire aux affaires de l'avenir, là où ceux, qui pour suppléer au default de la vraie histoire, en cet endroit inventent & mettent par écrit des contes fabuleux en forme d'histoire, ne se proposent autre but principal, que la délectation. Mais tout ainsi comme en la portraiture les tableaux sont estimés les meilleurs, & plaisent plus aux yeux à ce connaissance, qui representent mieux la verité du naturel, aussi entre celles fictions, celles qui sont les moins eloignées de nature, & où il y a plus de vérisimilitude, sont celles qui plaisent le plus à ceux qui mesurent leur plaisir à la raison, & qui se délectent avec jugement: Parce que, suivant les préceptes du Poëte Horace, il faut que les choses feintes, pour délecter, soient aprochantes des véritables. Et si n'est pas besoin que toutes choses y soient feintes, attendu que cela n'est point permis aux Poëtes mêmes.

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Pour autant que l'artifice d'invention Poëtique, comme doctement a écrit Strabon, consiste en trois choses. Premierement en histoire, de laquelle la fin est vérité. À raison de quoi, il n'est point loisible aux Poëtes, quand ils parlent des choses qui sont en nature d'en écrire à leur plaisir autrement que la vérité n'est: parce que cela leur seroit imputé, non à licence, ou artifice: mais à ignorance. Secondement en ordre & disposition, dont la fin est l'expresion & la force d'atraer & r etenir la lecteur. Tiercement en la fiction, dont la fin est l'établissement & la délectation, qui procéde de la nouveauté des choses étranges, & pleines de merveilles. Par ainsi beaucoup moins se doit on permettre toutes choses et fictions que l'on veut déguiser du nom d'histoiriale vérité: ainsi il faut entrelacer si dextrement du vrai parmi du faux, en retenant toujours semblance de vérité, & si bien raporter le tout ensemble, qu'il n'y ait point de discordance du commencement au milieu, n'y du milieu à la fin. Et au contraire la plus grande partie des livres de cette sorte, qui ont anciennement étés écrits en nôtre langue, outre ce qu'il n'y a nulle érudition, nulle connaissance de l'antiquité, ne chose aucune (à brief parler) dont on peut tirer quelque utilité, encore sont ils le plus souvent si mal cousus & si éloignés de toute vraisemblabe apparence, qu'il semble que ce soient plutôt songes de quelque malade rêvant en fièvre chaude, qu'inventions d'aucun homme d'ésprit & de jugement. Et pour ce m'est il avis qu'ils ne sauroient avoir la grâce, ni la force de délecter le loisir d'un bon entendement: car ils ne sont point dignes de lui. C'est un certain signe que celui n'a point de sentiment des choses ingénieuses & gentiles, que se délecter des lourdes & grossières. Mais tout ainsi qu'entre les exercises du corp, que l'on prendre par ébattrement, les plus recommandables sont ceux qui, outre le plaisir que l'on en reçoit, adressent le corps,

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renforcent les membres & profitent à la santé: aussi entre les jeux & passe-temps de l'esprit les plus louables sont ceux qui, outre la réjouissance qu'ils nous aportent, servent encore à limer (par manière de dire) & affiner de plus en plus le jugement, de sorte que le plaisir n'est point du tout oiseux. Ce que j'espère que l'on pourra aucunement trouver en cette fabuleuse histoire des amours de Chariclea & Theagenes, en laquelle, outre l'ingénieuse fiction, il y a en quelques lieux de beaux discours tirés de la philosophie naturelle & Morale: force dits notables, & propos sentencieux: plusieurs belles harangues, où l'artifice d'éloquence est très bien enployé & par tout las passions humaines paintes au vif, avec si grand honnêteté, qui l'on n'en sauroit tirer occasion, ou exemple de mal faire. Parce que de toutes affections illicites, & mauvaises il a fait l'issue malheureuse: & au contraire des bonnes & honêtes, la fin désirables & heureuse. Mais pourtant la disposition en est si singulière: car il commence au milieu de son histoire, comme font les Poëtes Héroiques. Ce qui cause de prime face un grand ébahissement aux lecteurs, & leur engendre un passioné désir d'entendre le commencement: toutesfois il les tire se bien par l'ingénieuse liaison de son conte que l'on n'est point résolu de ce que l'on trouve tout au commencement du premier livre jusques à ce que l'on ait lu la fin du cinquième. Et quand on en est là venu, encore a l'on plus grande envie de voir la fin que l'on n'avait au parvenant d'en voir le commencement: de sorte que toujours l'entendement demeure suspens, jusques à ce que l'on vienne à la conclusion, laquelle laisse le lecteur satisfait, de la sorte que le sont ceux, qui à la fin viennent à jouir d'un bien ardemment désir, & longuement attendu. Toutesfois je ne me veux pas beaucoup amuser à la recommander: parce que (quand tout est dit) ce n'est qu'une fable, à laquelle encore défaut [défaille ?] (à

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mon jugement) l'une des deux perfections requise pour faire une chose belle, c'est la grandeur, à cause que les contes, même quant à la personne de Theagenes, auquel il ne fait exécuter nuls mémorables exploits d'armes, ne me semblent point assez riches, & ne mériteraient pas à l'aventure d'être lus, si ce n'était, ou pour divertir quelque ennui ou pour en avoir puis après l'entendement plus delivré & mieux dispos à faire & à lire autres choses meilleures, suivant le précepte du sage, qui dit, Qu'il faut jouer pour faire à bon escient, & non pas faire à bon escient pour jouer: C'est à dire: Que l'on doit user des choses des plaisir, pour être puis après plus apte à faire les choses d'importance, & non pas s'embesogner après une chose qui n'est que de plaisir, comme si c'était un affaire de consequence. Ce que je veux employer pour me servir de décharge & d'excuse envers les gens d'honneur auxquels j'ai voulu donner matière de réjouir leurs entendements travaillés d'affaires en lisant ce livre (au moins si tant il mérit de faveur que de venir en leurs mains) comme j'ai moi même adouci le travail d'autres meilleures & plus fructeuses traductions en le traduisant par intervalles aux heures extradordinaires. Mais au regard de ceux qui sont se parfaitement composés à la vertu qu'ils ne connaissent, ni ne reçoivent aucun autre plaisir, que le devoir, ou de ceux qui par une fièvre d'austerité intraitable ont le goût si corrumpu, qu'ils ne trouvent rien bon, & se déplaisent à eux mêmes, si d'aventure ils viennent à reprendre cette mienne entremise, je me contenterai de leur répondre, que ce livre n'a jamais être écrit, ne traduit pour eux: les uns parce qu'ils n'en ont que faire, les autres parce qu'ils ne le valent pas. Et quant à l'auteur de cette Histoire Aethiopique, on pense que ce soit celui Heliodore, duquel Philostrate fait mention à al fin du second livre de ses Sophistes. Ce que l'on conjecture avec grande raison, tant pour la

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qualité de son style, que (sans point de doute), est un petit affété (ainsi que l'est ordinairement celui de ceux qui ancienement faisaient profession de Rhétorique & de Philosophie tout ensemble, que l'on appelait Sophistes) comme aussi pour ce que Philostrate le surnomme Arabe, & qu'Heliodore lui même a fin de son livre dit qu'il était Phoenicien, natif de la ville d'Emessa, laquelle est située confins de la Phoenecia, & de l'Arabie. A l'occasion de laquelle vicinité on estime que Philostrate l'appele Arabe. Et si c'est lui, il fut du temps même de Philostrate, lequel (comme témoigne Suidas) vécu sous l'Empereur Severus, & sous ses successeurs, jusque à Philipe, duquel temps au nôtre il y a plus de treize cents ans. Et néanmoins n'avait ce livre jamais été imprimé sinon depuis que la librairie du Roy Mathias de Hongrie fut détruite & saccagée, auquel sac il se trouvait un soldat allemand, qui mit la main dessus, pour ce qu'il le vit richement étoffé, & le vendit à celui qui depuis le fit imprimer en Allemagne, il y a quelques quatorze ou quinze ans. Combien qu'au parvenant il fut entre les mains d'aucuns particuliers, comme de Politian entre autres qui le cite en son livre de Miscellanes. Mais je n'ai point su qu'il ait jamais été traduit. À raison de quoi, si d'aventure mon jugement m'a trompé en restituant par conjecture aucuns lieux corrumpus, & vicieusement imprimés, les équitables lecteurs m'en devront plutôt excuser: tant parce que je n'ai pu recouvrer diversité d'exemplaires, pour les conférer, que pour autant que j'ai été le premier qui l'ai traduit, sans être du labeur d'aucun précédent aidé. D'une chose me puis je bien vanter, que je ne pense y avoir rien omis ni ajouté, ainsi comme les lecteurs le pourront trouver s'il leur plaît prendre le peine de le conferer.

Following Amyot's *proême* is the following:

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Au lecteur

A mi lecteur, ne blâme de ce livre
L'auteur premier, ni la solicitude
Du translateur qui François le te livre,
Pour recréer un peu la lassitude
De ton esprit travaillé de l'étude,
Ou ennuyé de fortune adversaire:
Car si tu dis, que tels songes écrire
N'était besoin, ni de Graec les traduire,
Encore est il à toi moins necessaire,
Si tu ne veux les avoir, & les lire.

The following is from Amyot's prefatory matter to his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*:

Les Vies des Hommes Illustres de Plutarque, traduites du Grec par Amyot
Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1818
(princeps 1559)

(regarding the preferability of history to moral philosophy:)

[. . .] Et si le fait avec plus de grace, d'efficace et de dexterité, que ne font les livres de philosophie morale, d'autant que les exemples sont plus aptes à esmouvoir et enseigner, que ne sont les arguments et les preuves de raisons, ny leurs imperieux preceptes, à cause qu'ilz sont particuliers, accompagnez de toutes leurs circonstances, là où les raisons et demonstrations sont generales, et tendent plus à fin de prouver, ou de donner à entendre, et les exemples à mettre en oeuvre et à executer: pource qu'ilz ne monstrent pas seulement comme il faut faire, mais aussi impriment affection de le vouloir faire, tant pour une inclination naturelle, que tous hommes ont à imiter, que pour la beauté de la vertu que a telle force, que par tout où elle se voit, elle se fait desirer et aimer. (xxv-xxvi)

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Sir Thomas North's translation of the passage immediately above:

Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, Englished by Sir Thomas North
New York: AMS Press, 1967

[. . .] These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacie, and speede, than the bookes of morall Philosophie doe: forasmuch as examples are of more force to move and instruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts, bicause examples be the very formes of our deeds, and accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into understanding: and examples tende to the shewing of them in practise and execution, bicause they doe not onely declare what is to be done, but also worke a desire to doe it, as well in respect of a certain nautrall inclination which al men have to follow examples, as also for the beautie of vertue, which is of such power, that wheresoever she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loved and liked. (10-11)

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