

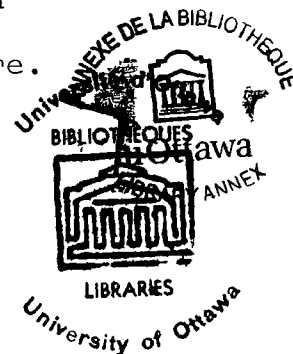
ARMOUR AS METAPHOR IN SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE:

THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECT

by

John E. Lundy

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## Introduction

Spenser's Faerie Queene is a poem of great variety and complexity. In it the poet amply shows his Renaissance eclectic spirit, which borrows and modifies ancient, medieval, and contemporary material. Of great interest to the student of The Faerie Queene is Spenser's romanticizing of the feudal past in order to present a living lesson in the present. The setting is in a faery land which is at once medieval and contemporary, a field of action where allegory has a free rein in which to operate. Yet this allegorical world almost always avoids the presentation of unequivocal terms upon which characters are built. That is, characters and ideas are presented in their intricate relations with the actions and symbols surrounding them.

Spenser found in the armorial metaphor a vehicle through which he could most readily transmit his political and religious theme. Yet as a metaphor it is most significant as a unifying factor, for it is able to incorporate all of Spenser's major themes, at different times and in varying degrees. It thus produces a unity in diversity. Spenser can range from the certitude of a well known heraldic emblem to the vagueness of a colourful description. He can produce blatant political and religious allegory through the combination of symbolical armorial action and heraldic display, or he can simply allude to his underlying

(ii)

beliefs. The use of an extended metaphor gives the work a certain flexibility of allegorical presentation. In this thesis I will use the term metaphor to signify an analogy between an actual physical object (various examples of armour) and any given idea. Thus I will avoid the complex area of critical opinion concerning the exact nature of metaphor and symbol. It is apparent, however, that Spenser is not portraying through his "faerie land" a symbolical world which is somehow more "real" than his own existence in Elizabethan England and Ireland. His allegorical mode thus allows a wide field of action, but most often this field is circumscribed to varying degrees by the actual world in which he lived.

It will be my task in this thesis to show that Spenser thought of, and embodied in his poem, the Protestant belief of England in political terms. England, from the time of Henry VIII until the defeat of the Armada, was often in danger of invasion from Catholic Spain and its allies. Spenser, in uniting national and religious emotions, was only mirroring contemporary feeling, and this union is effectively shown through the armorial metaphor. It is necessary, however, to look at a number of Elizabethan concepts which are culturally distant from the modern reader. Part I will therefore deal with pertinent

background material such as the chivalric virtues with Spenserian modifications, the importance and limitation of heraldic display, and the relevance of the Arthurian myth. Spenser's imitation of Virgil's political and religious spirit will also be discussed in relation to the armorial metaphor.

To my knowledge A. H. Gilbert is the only critic who has studied, in depth, Spenser's use of armour, and his article concentrates on literal presentation, thus avoiding the more complex implications of armour as meta-<sup>1</sup>phor. Many other critics have analyzed armorial references in The Faerie Queene, but they have not faced the problem of armour as extended metaphor and often show inadequate understanding of Spenserian patterns revolving around the use of this metaphor. Furthermore, many of these critics have failed to point out the importance of underlying political and religious motifs in the work.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, due to the lack of any extended critical analysis of the Spenserian armorial metaphor, a correspondingly major study of heraldry in The Faerie Queen has not

<sup>1</sup> "Spenserian Armour," PMLA, 57 (1942), 981-987.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I below.

been attempted. However, works such as Rosemary Freeman's English Emblem Books have proved useful in sketching in a large area in scholarly research.<sup>3</sup> My study in this area will therefore be somewhat limited to general comments on the relation of specific heraldic designs to the armorial metaphor.

Part II of my study will deal with specific knights in order that the functioning of this metaphor will be more clearly displayed. The Faerie Queene is not a disconnected series of legends, but rather, it is a series of interwoven motifs and central themes. Each of the legends concentrates on a particular virtue, but it nonetheless repeats, in a modified way, motifs and themes found in earlier books. Thus my purpose in dealing with specific knights instead of specific books is to emphasize this interwoven structure, aptly conveyed through the armorial metaphor. Furthermore, most of the knights appear in more than one book, and their private and public education and quest extend beyond the boundaries of the unit.

There are, however, a number of limitations in studying The Faerie Queene from the point of view of the armorial metaphor. In general Spenser creates a pattern and then varies it. Thus symbolical action or heraldic

display can have ambivalent meanings at particular moments. Spenser also deliberately alters the intensity of allegorical presentation. Book VI, as we shall see, has almost no political and religious signification, while Books I and V are thoroughly imbued with this type of allegorical meaning. In this last group symbolical armorial action often joins with heraldic display in order to enhance the political and religious motif. This does not occur as frequently in the other three books. Another limitation is the exclusion in this work of the Mutability Cantos, yet it is of minor consequence, for I propose to study mainly the chivalric milieu, concentrating on the major knights of the poem. Of greatest importance, though, is the limitation caused by Spenser's constant identification within the poem of allegorical actions and characters. Thus the realization of the implications of the armorial metaphor adds depth to the reader's comprehension of the poem, but does not provide ultimate clues to Spenser's allegorical intention.

This study will show that Spenser's Faerie Queene differs essentially, in its political and religious spirit, from the Italian Renaissance epics, and that this spirit is significantly conveyed --at least in part-- through the armorial metaphor. I will show also that, to

the best of my knowledge, only one critic has seriously treated the problem and he has concluded that Spenser uses this metaphor inappropriately.

Eugene Vance states that Spenser incorporates Aristotelean ethical values into the framework of Book II but creates a discrepancy when he allows Guyon to leave the House of Alma dressed in armour.<sup>4</sup> I will demonstrate the inaccuracy of such a conclusion and will show that the armorial metaphor, aside from its political and religious aspect, is entirely functional throughout the poem.

<sup>4</sup>

"Warfare as Metaphor in Spenser's Faerie Queen,"  
Diss., (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University,  
1964), p. 118.

## PART I

Most of Spenser's Faerie Queene is comprehensible to the casual reader; however, certain contemporary Elizabethan concepts such as chivalry, heraldry, and the Arthurian myth are culturally distant from our modern world. The following sections will clarify and show the relation of these ideas to the armorial metaphor.

### 1. Armour Literally Presented

When dealing with any analogy it is wise at the outset to determine the nature and use of the first term in the comparison. Thus, a primary examination of armour literally presented in The Faerie Queene is necessary. Our first encounter with a knight is in the very beginning of Book I. We are introduced to Redcrosse Knight in medias res:

A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,  
Y cladd in mightie armes and silver shielde,  
· · · · ·  
But on his Brest a bloudie Crosse he bore,  
· · · · ·  
Upon his shield the like was also scor'd,<sup>5</sup>

It is clear from this first description that the author is not interested in exact armorial detail. However, he does tell us that the knight is carrying a shield,

<sup>5</sup> Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, in Spenser: Poetical Works, ed. J. C. Smith and E. DeSelincourt (1912, rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), I.i.1-2. All quotations will be from this standard edition unless otherwise cited. The Spenserian spellings of the "u" for the modern "v" and the "v" for the "u" will be normalized in most quotations.

which indicates that he is in no way a sixteenth century military man.<sup>6</sup> The shield is by the end of the fourteenth century an archaic device for a mounted knight. Yet shields appear in The Faerie Queene over two hundred times.<sup>7</sup> Obviously Spenser is not trying to describe contemporary military practice, but rather, "in the importance given to the shield," he is following the Italian romantic poets who combine contemporary, archaic and classical descriptions.<sup>8</sup>

It is equally obvious that Spenser, in the first stanzas of canto 1, is preparing the reader for his mode of presentation of armour in the poem. Heraldry will play a certain part, for we notice that a red cross is "scor'd" on a "silver shield." Symbolic action too will find its place, for in the third line of the first canto the armour is further delineated: "Wherein old dints of deepe wounds did remaine." Thematically Redcrosse is just starting out on his first quest with Una, but symbolically, as evidenced through the armour metaphor, he is beginning the never-ending quest for sanctity. "Giusts and fierce encounters" (i.l.) also will have a role to play, for the concept of chivalry

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert, "Spenserian Armour," 985.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 986.

in The Faerie Queene is very different from that found in humanistic works of such men as Roger Ascham and Desiderius Erasmus. However, it would be well to go back to my first point, Spenser's literal presentation of armour, and show where his true interest lies.

Artegall's armour, as seen through Merlin's mirror in Book III, "seem'd of antique mould" (ii.25.). As the narrator says, it is "Achilles armes," which exact words are written "with cyphers old" on the crest of Artegall's helmet. The mention of Achilles, the sevenfold shield, and the crest, all help to determine the exact literal nature of Spenser's armour. Immediately one is tempted to look to Homer and Virgil for precedents in description.<sup>9</sup> In Book VII of The Iliad Aias is described as "carrying like a wall his shield of bronze and sevenfold ox-hide."<sup>10</sup> Aeneas, in Book XII of Virgil's epic, flings a spear at Turnus, and it "opens the rim of the corslet and the utmost circles of the sevenfold shield."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Gilbert cites both references to The Iliad and The Aeneid (985, note 26) and also cites The Metamorphoses, XII.2, Orlando Innamorato, LXV.5, and Gerusalemme Liberata, XX.86.

<sup>10</sup> Homer, The Iliad, trans. Richard Latimore (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961), VII.220, p.174.

<sup>11</sup> Virgil, The Aeneid, in Virgil's Works, trans. J. W. Mackail (N.Y.: The Modern Library, 1950), XII.925, p.260. All references to The Aeneid will be from this text.

Artegall's shield "enveloped sevenfold" thus seems to allude to a classical piece of armour. Yet this "sevenfold" shield appears only three times in the entire poem.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, its description is rich in heraldic terminology:

And on his shield enveloped sevenfold  
He bore a crowned little Ermilin,  
That deckt the azure field with her faire  
pouldred skin. (ii.25)

The mere mention of heraldic terms qualifies what appears to be a classical description, for the introduction of heraldry as a science was "coeval with the use of armour in the Middle Ages."<sup>13</sup> Certainly emblems were found on classical armour, but these were not a hereditary possession of a family nor were they possessed by only one person at a time.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, when we come to Artegall's crest we find the same qualification. Grant makes the point that "crests were used as marks of honour long before the introduction of heraldry," but armorial

<sup>12</sup> Gilbert, 985.

<sup>13</sup> Sir Francis Grant, ed., The Manual of Heraldry, revised ed. (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1937), p.2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. An integral part of my thesis will be to show that Spenser found inspiration in Virgil's presentation of the armour of Aeneas and from this inspiration developed the metaphor of armour in his own poem.

bearings such as Artegall's "couchant hound" were not found before the late twelfth century.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, in respect to contemporaneous usage, Gilbert notes that by the early sixteenth century crests on helmets, because of their elaborate nature, "were abandoned even for the tournament." Thus Spenser is "archaizing."<sup>16</sup>

One more example, that of Britomart, should suffice to show Spenser's eclectic approach in describing armour. Britomart's armour, like Artegall's, is of ancient fame. It is "a goodly armour. . . Which long'd to Angela, the Saxon Queene" (III.iii.58). In this episode recounting Britomart's acceptance of knightly dress, we are told that she foresook "her Maides attire" and put on "a messy habergeon" (iii.57).<sup>17</sup> Even though armour of mail is an anachronism, it nonetheless points out once more Spenser's deliberate archaizing. However, Britomart is mentioned in the first canto of Book III as wearing "both shield and plate," obviously referring to

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>16</sup> Gilbert, 981. Gilbert cites the elaborate description of Arthur's crest in I.vii.31.

<sup>17</sup> A habergeon is a shirt of chain mail shorter in length than the hauberk.

armour plate, which prevailed over mail by the early fifteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Radigund strikes Britomart on "her shoulder plate" (V.vii.33), again attesting to the virgin warrior's armorial attire. The Armour of Queene Angela certainly is not depicted consistently throughout the poem.

Spenser, then, is either a poor craftsman who is confused about the historical association of particular types of armour, or else he is not interested in armorial detail for its own sake. Yet Gilbert points out that "knowledge of fashion in armour" was readily available to Spenser.<sup>19</sup> The resulting confusion in armorial detail should be looked upon in a positive manner: "It would seem that in the equipment of his knights he was satisfied with a general suggestion of 'antique history' and did not make an attempt to find a norm to which the outward appearance of a cavalier must conform."<sup>20</sup> In approaching Spenserian armour we must be wary of what appears to be "historical realism."<sup>21</sup> Thus Spenser is not concentrating

<sup>18</sup> Gilbert, 983. "After 1400, armour of iron plates rather than of linked chain mail prevailed, though a mail skirt appears on the suits of English nobles of the sixteenth century."

<sup>19</sup> Gilbert., 986-7.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 987.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

on realistic armorial presentation; rather, he is focusing his attention on an eclectic approach to the poetic possibilities of armour as metaphor.

## 2. Chivalry and "The Poet Historical"

Spenser in the proem to Book I of The Fairie Queene promises to "sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds." Echoes of Virgilian epic seriousness are combined with an introduction to a romance of chivalry. The resulting poem has been variously classified, from romance to epic. Charles Bowie Millican calls it "an epic of chivalry,"<sup>22</sup> and it will be my task in this section to validate and enrich this idea.

Living in an age of social change, Spenser desired to find in England's past some sense of social stability. He found in the medieval chivalric tradition and the medieval allegorical mode a most suitable means of conveying his conservative poetic purpose. A specific treatment of this allegory is beyond the scope of the present work. However, a study of the chivalric tradition, in relation to Spenser's use of armour, is most necessary, for, as

<sup>22</sup> Spenser and the Table Round: A Study in the Contemporaneous Background for Spenser's Use of the Arthurian Legend (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932), p.117.

Edwin Honig says, before we know who an allegorical hero is we know what he is.<sup>23</sup> Spenser's knights are bound to a chivalric tradition which is modified only by the poet's political and religious frame of reference.

One of the earliest descriptions of a primitive "kighthood" can be found in Tacitus, when he explains the social and political implications of the investiture, in a German Tribe, of a young man with his future weapons: "he belongs no longer to his family, but to the state, and this 'assumption of Arms'--Arma sumere--is to the Germans what the assumption of the toga virilis is to us."<sup>24</sup> The bearing of arms in the German tribes signified social and political privileges and obligations. This primitive "kighthood" slowly evolved into that "close corporation" which we call knighthood proper.<sup>25</sup> Knighthood as an ideal, the chivalric ideal, can be traced to the eleventh century.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), p.81.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in G. G. Coulton, The Medieval Scene (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1964), p.57. Although not stated by Coulton, the quote is probably from Tacitus' Germania written c. A.D. 98.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.58.

<sup>26</sup> Sidney Painter, French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideals and Practices in Medieval France (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1957), p.1. Painter also says that "the ideal knight of feudal chivalry was the lineal descendant of the heroes of Germanic legend " (p.28).

Our conception of it thus has historical limits stretching to the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Obviously this historical limitation applies only to the actual practice of chivalry ("feudal"chivalry) and not to other concepts such as religious and courtly chivalry. Yet even feudal chivalry, archaic as a form of military might by the middle of the fifteenth century, could, by the time of Spenser, be transformed into an ideal consciously removed from reality but vital in its symbolical significance.<sup>28</sup> Thus a quick summary of the ideals of feudal chivalry will prove very helpful.<sup>29</sup> Spenser's use of these ideals most certainly reflects the political and religious milieu in which he lived.

"Prowess" was chief among feudal chivalric virtues. The nobleman was first and foremost a soldier, and, therefore, the primary virtue to be promoted would naturally be

<sup>27</sup> Painter states (p.62) that "the martial sports which had delighted the knights of medieval France died on the field of Agincourt [1415], but the corpse was not buried until Montgomery's lance ended the reign of Henry II" (1559) .

<sup>28</sup> See Arthur B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism (Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press, 1960), p.27. Ferguson here talks of the chivalric revival, during the early sixteenth century, as a separation of the ideal from the real.

<sup>29</sup> I am indebted to Painter's excellent work for this summary.

that which made him an effective warrior. "Prowess enabled the knight to fulfill his function in society."<sup>30</sup> Secondly came the virtue of loyalty. With the collapse of organized government, after the Carolingian empire had fallen, "mutual contracts between lords and vassals" preserved society from complete anarchy. Thus loyalty was a very important socially cohesive force. Being bound to other members of "the caste" meant that the knight could fulfill his obligations as protector of society. Yet as Painter points out, the abstract quality of loyalty was recognized by all, but its proper object was far from being so. A knight could be loyal to another knight or noble, or to the Church, or to the observances of the customs of courtly love.<sup>31</sup>

A few references to The Faerie Queene will point out Spenser's modifications of these two feudal virtues. In Canto ix of Book I Prince Arthur recounts, to Una and Redcrosse Knight, his prophetic vision-experience of Gloriana, Queene of the Faeries.<sup>32</sup> Una apostrophizes

<sup>30</sup> Painter, p.29.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.30.

<sup>32</sup> See E. M. W. Tillyard, The English Epic and Its Background (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), p.291, for his comments on the "inrush of reality" in this visionary experience of Arthur.

Gloriana:

O happy Queene of Faeries, that hast found  
Mongst many, one that with his prowesse may  
Defend thine honour, and thy foe confound :

(I.ix.16.6-8).

Redcrosse also praises Arthur as the only man who, "through prowes priefe," is worthy "to be her liefte" (ix.17). "Prowesse," in both cases, is put in the context of loyalty to a knight's mistress. Yet Arthur's allegiance goes far beyond this, for Gloriana is a "Queene." Spenser states, in "The Letter to Raleigh," that "In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faeryland."<sup>33</sup> That is, Arthur's unequalled prowess is defined in relation to his loyalty to Gloriana, and Gloriana in some way represents Queen Elizabeth. To be more exact, the regal and political virtues of Elizabeth are mirrored in the Faery Queen.<sup>34</sup> Thus this "prowesse" is modified by the implications of loyalty to a mistress and also by the national character

<sup>33</sup> Spenser: Poetical Works, p.407.

<sup>34</sup> Here I am following C. S. Lewis' conception of the nature of Spenser's allegory. Lewis warns that a true reading of The Faerie Queene will not produce one-to-one correspondences. In talking of Una's "meaning" Lewis states that we cannot say that she is Truth or Grace, but rather that "Truth and Grace are like Una." C.S. Lewis, Spenser's Images of Life, ed. Alastair Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), p.112.

of the "Empresse" Elizabeth. The very mention of "Empresse" in "The Letter to Raleigh"<sup>35</sup> signifies that Spenser's nationalistic outlook centred in the person of the Queen.<sup>36</sup>

This nationalistic aspect of "prowesse" is also shown in the Belge episode in Book V. Belge speaks to Arthur, praising his "might" (xi.16), yet the Prince responds in an idealistic, Christian-chivalric manner:

. . . Dear Lady, deedes ought not be scand  
By th'authors manhood, nor the doers might,  
But by their trueth and by the causes right:

(V.xi.17).

The prowess of the feudal lord is transformed into a nationalistic and God-centred virtue, for comfort, in the form of Arthur and his might, is sent to Belge by God himself (V.x.22). Furthermore, Arthur represents a nation redeeming another nation from the tyranny "of forraine powres" (V.x.23). This is a new aspect of chivalric virtue, for we are told by Painter that before and during the Hundred Years War "national patriotism had not yet appeared as an important force" in military affairs.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Spenser: Poetical Works, p.407.

<sup>36</sup> By the middle of the sixteenth century " . . . no effort was spared to emphasise the supreme majesty of kings as at once vicegerents of God and the perfect embodiments of the national will. . . . The title of 'majesty,' which had traditionally been reserved for the Emperor (of the Holy Roman Empire), . . . was used with growing frequency in England, alongside or instead of 'Your Highness' and 'Your Grace.'" In J. H. Elliott, Europe Divided: 1559-1598 (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1968), p.70.

<sup>37</sup> Painter, p.54.

Finally, "prowess" is accommodated to a highly religious, almost Calvinistic, outlook. Arthur, when fighting with Malaeger in Book II, is mentioned as "the prowest man alive" (II.xi.30), and yet the narrator emphatically addresses Arthur in rhetorical fashion: "Yet thee fierce Fortune did so nearely drive,/That had not grace thee blest, thou shouldest not survive" (II.xi.30). Prowess is no match for spiritual enemies.

Loyalty, as we have seen above, is integrally connected in places with Spenser's concept of prowess. Redcrosse Knight begins to lose his powers when he is separated from Una, and the separation is nothing more than an act of disloyalty (cf.I.ii.5). Loyalty, like prowess, has connotations which take in religious, courtly love and political overtones. Sir Guyon attacks Redcrosse Knight in the first canto of Book II, but quickly stops when he realizes that he is about to show great disloyalty to the Cross of Christ (II.i.26-27). The narrator in Book I, speaking of Una's plight, says that his heart is pierced "through alleageance and fast fealtie, / Which I do owe unto all woman kind" (I.iii.1), showing his adherence to the courtly ideal of respect for all women.<sup>38</sup> Lastly, political disloyalty can easily be shown in the Sir Burbon

<sup>38</sup> Painter states (p.143) that a discussion of courtly love "translated into practice can be little more than a study of the development of courteous treatment of women."

episode in Book V. Sir Burbon is courting Flourdelis (xi.49), whose name suggests France, but Grandtorto the "Tyrant" (suggestive of Spain) entices her from him. Sir Burbon tries to regain her love by "many battels" and a few times is able to defeat Grandtorto (xi.53). Yet he is finally overcome by sheer numbers because of the enmity caused by his shield (xi.54), which had been given to him by Redcrosse Knight. On this shield Redcrosse "did endosse/His deare Redeemers badge upon the bosse" (xi.53). The cross does not just represent Christianity; it represents the religious and political faith of England. Sir Burbon "layd aside" his shield, a clear indication of his political and religious disloyalty. Spenser's conception of loyalty thus is separated from the feudal idea by this strong nationalistic spirit.<sup>39</sup>

The third feudal chivalric virtue was "Largesse," or lavish hospitality and magnificence in gifts, a quality often monetarily detrimental to the knight-host.<sup>40</sup> Spenser's attitude is unequivocal in The Faerie Queene. Often his

<sup>39</sup> As Garrett Mattingly states, concerning the European situation from 1560 onwards, ". . . in Spain, and more slowly, in England, the lines of ideological fission came to correspond with territorial boundaries, and religious loyalties and hatreds hardened and fixed the national temper." In Renaissance Diplomacy (London: Penguin Books, 1955) p.184.

<sup>40</sup> Painter, pp.32, 42.

images of evil portray the excessively lavish. In the House of Pride the "Steward was excessive Gluttonie," and "the Chamberlain Slowth" (I.iv.43), and in the House of Busyrane, Britomart saw nothing "but wasteful emptinesse" (III.xi.53).<sup>41</sup> In contrast to these places of lavish "Largesse" are the House of Holinesse, where Redcrosse and Una "were refresht with due repast" (I.x.18), the Castle of Medina, where Guyon is "comely courted with meet modestie" (II.ii.15), and the Castle of Alma, where the "Steward was hight Diet, . . . in demeanure sober," and the Marshall "was Appetite" (II.ix.27-28). Yet Spenser is in no way niggardly, as the episode of Malbecco points out (III.ix.3ff). Spenser's motto is liberality (see II.ix.20), but always in moderation.

The fourth virtue, courtesy, had a variety of meanings for the medieval writer. The commonest meaning was "ordinary politeness,"<sup>42</sup> the opposite of which we find in the confrontation between Calepine and Turpine in Book VI. Calepine reproaches Turpine for not taking the wounded Serena across the river on his horse:

Unknightly Knight, the blemish of that name,  
And blot of all that armes uppon them take,  
Which is the badge of honour and of fame,

(VI.iii.35)

<sup>41</sup> See C. S. Lewis, Spenser's Images . . ., p.64.

<sup>42</sup> Painter, pp.32-33.

and challenges him to "justifie" his fault. Turpine refuses and rides off with his own lady. The second meaning probably grew out of the first, for "the class consciousness of the nobles" began to show itself "in more practical forms of courtesy. . . . By the twelfth century feudal opinion seems to have required that the hardships of war should be ameliorated through mutual consideration shown to noble by noble."<sup>43</sup> Painter cites the Arthurian works of Chrétien de Troyes as examples of this form of courtesy. In them is found a chivalric code that proposes the parole of a vanquished knight, even if he be a villain, and the abhorrence of such practices as attacking an unarmed man and the attack of two knights upon one (p.33). The last two are well exemplified in the attack of Pyrocles and Cymocles upon the senseless Guyon in canto viii of Book II.<sup>44</sup> The two brothers have a very unchivalrous attitude towards combat. Cymocles tells the Palmer that he knows nothing "of prowess." Furthermore, he states that one should "The worth of all men by their end esteeme" (viii.14).

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp.33-34.

<sup>44</sup> Guyon is not unarmed here, but his senseless state makes him as vulnerable as if he were. For the attack of two men upon one unarmed man see the scheming of Turpine, who determined to slay the unarmed Arthur "Whylest time did offer meanes him sleeping to surprize" (VI.vii.22). "Carles" and "villaines" in The Faerie Queene often show such discourtesy.

These brothers, and their counterparts throughout the poem, are mercenaries and not true knights. They fight, not for glory, nor for right, but solely to win.<sup>45</sup> The paroling of vanquished villains is also shown in the poem, but certain modifications, observable in the first four virtues discussed above, are again present. Certain figures, such as the Blatant Beast, Atin, and Occasion, must be paroled on account of their allegorical significance. Spenser knew that evil in itself could not be destroyed. However, we do find other figures who have an allegorical basis in reality, such as Duessa (Book I), Braggadocchio (Books II-IV), and Sir Turpine (Book VI),<sup>46</sup> all of whom are let out on parole by the knights who capture them. Yet there are other characters, of similar nature to this second group, who are slain and who are not given the chance of parole: Orgoglio in Book I (viii.24), and various characters in Book V, such as Pollente (ii.18), the Souldan (viii.42), and Radigund (vii.34).<sup>47</sup> One should notice, though, that all of these characters

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Arthur's attitude (V.xi.17) and Painter's comments on the rise of mercenaries during the fifteenth century, p.60.

<sup>46</sup> For an interpretation of some of these characters see DeSelincourt's "introduction," Spenser:Poetical Works, pp.lii-liii.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

are mentioned as "Paynims," or "Gyants." Orgoglio is not a knight, but a "Geaunt" (I.vii.14); Pollente and the Souldan are both pagans (V.ii.4; viii.34); and Radigund is an "Amazon"(iv.33). Yet even Radigund is connected with pagans, for she fights with a "sharpe Cemitare," a saracen weapon (v.9). The case of Radigund points up Spenser's portrayal of courtesy in battle, for she is slain by Britomart when the latter refuses to agree to "conditions" which had put Artegall into abject submission (V.iv.49). Radigund professes her own law (iv.49), and will subjugate anyone who agrees to its validity. Britomart, unlike Artegall, refuses to accept Radigund's sovereignty and says that she will accept only those conditions "Then what prescribed were by lawes of chevalrie" (V.vii.28). The characters who are killed by Spenserian knight-heroes are not Christian Knights, and those who are Catholic are portrayed as deviants from the norm of Christian chivalry.

The fifth chivalric virtue is the love of glory, or prestige. This "ethical rationalization" provided an excuse for violence and "knightly deeds."<sup>48</sup> Glory could be gained either in war or in the tournament, and since war

<sup>48</sup> Painter, p.34.

was considered to be a martial sport in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, glory could be gained "as much by courtesy as by prowess." Of course, with the rise of nationalism, war became a serious business again,<sup>49</sup> and the sole object of war became, not the pursuit of individual glory, but the winning of battles. The tournament, however, continued to be an occasion for the practice of courtesy and prowess in order to gain glory.<sup>50</sup> By the fifteenth century the weapons and armour of the tournament contestant were such that it was "improbable that either participant would be hurt." Most knights "were willing to accept the desire to honor a lady as a plausible and honorable motive for fighting." Jousts were even held by Henry VIII, because he felt "that tradition demanded that nobles indulge in knightly sports."<sup>51</sup> Spenser shows us this type of tournament in which knights vie with one another to prove the beauty and worth of their own mistress. The knights in the tournament for Florimell's girdle strive "their deedes of armes to shew," jousting with one another

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p.54, p.61, and see note 27 above.

<sup>50</sup> "The conditions of the fifteenth century drove the practice of courtesy and the search for glory from the battlefield and forced them to take refuge in the martial sports from which they had sprung." Painter, p.62.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp.51, 142, 64.

for the glory of the day (IV.iv.37). The mere fact that the tournament continues for three cantos (iv-vi) shows that Spenser values this type of chivalric display. It is interesting to note that no contestant is killed, and that "paynims" such as Bruncheval (iv.17) are treated in the same manner as other knights. The poet seems to put aside his moralistic and nationalistic purpose in these cantos.

However, when glory is sought outside the tournament, Spenser's normal moralistic purpose prevails. As we have seen in the Sir Burbon episode quoted above, Artegall and the disloyal knight go to Flourdelyce, and Artegall queries this flighty woman: "Is ought on earth so pretious or deare, / As prayse and honour?" (V.xi.62). Yet he does not consider earthly glory as the ultimate, for he completes his rebuke of her by saying that love is dearer than life "and fame then gold; / But dearer then them both, your faith once plighted hold" (v.xi.63). Glory, then, must be seen as an earthly virtue extolled only when it does not come in conflict with the divine, and this never happens to a worthy knight, seeking glory through the service of his Queen, "Gloriana." The faith which Flourdelyce has rejected is integrally connected with her "fame." She is a political figure and her

acceptance or rejection of glory as a motive for action reflects this religious faith. Obviously this "faith" is not just the Christian one, but the political and religious belief of the Church of England.<sup>52</sup>

The concept of feudal chivalry as an ideal, however modified, can be seen in The Faerie Queene, but Spenser's knightly ideal also incorporates the two other concepts of medieval chivalry, namely, religious and courtly love. We have seen aspects of both in the discussion on feudal chivalry, but it will prove useful to look at each separately, noting their medieval characteristics and Spenser's variations.

John of Salisbury's Polycraticus "contains all the essential features of religious chivalry." Basically the knight, in his social function, "should be a policeman bound to execute the orders of church and state."<sup>53</sup> The knight, according to later writers, made up an order which had its counterpart in the clergy. The former carried the temporal sword, the latter the spiritual one. The spiritual sword was "given to clerks to excommunicate the wicked;"

<sup>52</sup> I am not implying that Spenser complicated his epic with theological controversy. Rather, I think that he followed Tasso's dictum that an heroic poem must not deal with articles of faith, for this would severely narrow the epic scope. See Joel E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance, 2nd ed. (N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1963), p. 121.

<sup>53</sup> Painter, pp.72, 70.

the temporal one was "given to knights so that they might cut off the feet or hands of malefactors." Seen from this outlook, Talus' treatment of Munera in Book V (ii.26) can be viewed with less disapprobation. "The coward, the brigand, the plunderer of churches, the oppressor of the poor, the glutton, and the debauché were false knights who should be deprived of the insignia of their rank."<sup>54</sup> All these types are found in the poem, and the severity of the punishment meted out to them for their evil deeds seems to be in proportion to their involvement in political and religious crimes. Saracens, as we have seen, are almost always killed, except in the tournament. Radigund, who wields a "Cemitare" (V.v.9), subjects Artégall to her own law and breaks his sword (V.v.21), which is called "Chrysaoar"(i.9). Artégall is not redeemed until Britomart defeats Radigund and restores to him the sword of Justice.<sup>55</sup> Symbolical significance was attached to knightly attire by medieval ecclesiastical writers, for they felt that since knighthood was "an order similar to the clergy" its "equipment should also have a meaning." No one agreed on the signification

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp.73, 70.

<sup>55</sup> "Chrysaoar" miraculously reappears, without any explanation, in canto xii, verse 23.

of any one article, but this only tended to give a wider scope for creative imagination. Thus a lance might symbolize foresight, or a shield might symbolize charity.<sup>56</sup> Spenser makes use of this tradition, and the history of Britomart's lance and armour is one indication of the religious and political significance attached to armour in The Faerie Queene. Britomart's armour belonged to a famous Saxon Queen, Angela, and Glauce found it hanging in the Church of King Ryence (III.iii.58-60). Britomart dons this armour which is now a symbol, imbued with religious significance, of national victory over a Saxon foe. Britomart can incorporate old symbols into a newer national purpose, in the same way that the Tudor line, from Henry VII to Elizabeth I, could incorporate their history and lineage into the Arthurian myth.<sup>57</sup> Britomart's lance and shield seem to be separate from Angela's armour, for the "mighty speare" has been made by Bladud; and both are placed "Beside those armes" of the Saxon Queen (III.iii.60). Britomart's lance is an "enchanted speare"

<sup>56</sup> Painter, p.83.

<sup>57</sup> Millican, Spenser and The Table Round, p.15. Henry VII was considered by the Welsh to be "the first British King of England."

and no knight "could bide the force" of it (IV.iv.46). Surely Spenser is assigning to her spear a meaning which approximates the foresight mentioned by some medieval writers.<sup>58</sup> Knightly apparel, as we shall see in more detail in the following sections, greatly enhances Spenser's allegorical purpose.

Courtly love was the third form of medieval chivalry and added its own particular nuances to the general term of knighthood. A knight, by the fifteenth century, was expected to be "both warrior and cavaliere servente" to his mistress. He was required to be courteous to everyone and to refrain from any "quarrel or brawl in the presence of ladies."<sup>59</sup> The scuffle of Sir Huddibras and Sans loy in Book II (ii.20ff) shows the opposite of this courtly courtesy. The courtly knight was also required to do service for his lady in order to demonstrate his love. Redcrosse Knight serves Una and saves her parents from the tyranny of the Dragon. A knight of courtly education also realized the value of love: love "increased a man's ambition to perform deeds of arms." Calidore, for love of Pastorella, takes up his arms again in order to rescue her (VI.xi.36). Finally, the courtly knight, as depicted

<sup>58</sup> See Painter, p.83.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.135.

in many courtly romances, refused to listen to gossip or evil about ladies, and would rebuke anyone who defamed them.<sup>60</sup> The Timias and Serena episode in Book VI (v and vi), as DeSelincourt suggests,<sup>61</sup> indicates Spenser's attitude toward gossip-mongers and defamers. In general, then, "the training given the noble class by their acceptance of the doctrines of courtly love may have done much to prepare the knight to become a courtier and a gentleman."<sup>62</sup> Spenser's recognition of this fact is shown in his partial acceptance of this doctrine.

Yet Spenser's chivalry is not what we would classify as courtly. Sir Huddibras and Sans loy join in battle "All for their Ladies froward love to gaine" (II.ii.17ff). The "raine" of Cupid leads not to peace, but to "continuall iarre." Likewise, their ladies' love is "froward,"<sup>63</sup> a disposition very similar to the disdainful attitude of ladies in troubadour romances, like Guinevere in Chrétien de Troyes' Chevalier de la Charette. Courtly love in its extreme form demanded that "no obligation however sacred should stand in the way of love."<sup>64</sup> This is by no means

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.141, 136.

<sup>61</sup> "Introduction," p.liii.

<sup>62</sup> Painter, p.148.

<sup>63</sup> DeSelincourt renders "froward" as "perverse." See his glossary, p.688.

<sup>64</sup> Painter, pp.127, 130.

Spenser's attitude. He would not accept extra-marital love as an ideal and celebrated its defeat, through his romantic conception of love, in the third and fourth books of his Faerie Queene.<sup>65</sup> Love as a mere sexual force is embodied in such characters as Phaedria, Busyrane, Paridell and Hellenore. Woman's love is rejected as the final end of a knight's actions. Radigund is defeated and Britomart "The liberty of women did repeale" (V.vii.42). The place of women is firmly fixed, yet Spenser's political outlook nonetheless colours his attitude:

But vertuous women wisely understand,  
That they were borne to base humilitie,  
Unlesse the heavens them lift to lawfull  
soveraintie.

(V.v.25)

Gloriana, and therefore Elizabeth, are clear exceptions to the rule.

Feudal, religious, and courtly chivalry all combine in Spenser's own eclectic fashion to produce the chivalric element in The Faerie Queene. Yet this "epic of chivalry" is also integrally connected with a contemporary interest in the Arthurian legend. In "The Letter to Raleigh" Spenser tells the reader that he is going back to "the historye of king Arthure, as most fitte for

<sup>65</sup> C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1958), p.298.

the excellency of his person . . . and also furthest from the daunger of envy, and suspition of present time."<sup>66</sup> Spenser's use of the history of Arthur points to the antiquarian movement of the time, "which derived its impetus from the vigorous nationalistic policy of Henry VII."<sup>67</sup> Henry VII, the first of the Tudor kings, traced his ancestry, distinct from his Lancastrian blood and his wife's Yorkist blood, to Cadwallader, last of the British kings. He also "encouraged the Welsh superstition that Arthur was not dead but would return again, with the suggestion that he and his heirs were Arthur reincarnate."<sup>68</sup> From Henry VII to Elizabeth I, with the exception of Mary, each monarch fostered this myth, and each had his own Arthurian bard.<sup>69</sup> Courtly interest waned in the 1550's, but after 1580 "Arthurian stories regained favour in court circles where they provided food for the reintegrated national feeling of Elizabethan England."<sup>70</sup> Queen Elizabeth most assiduously used the Arthurian myth

<sup>66</sup> Spenser, Poetical Works, p.407.

<sup>67</sup> Millican, p.7.

<sup>68</sup> E. M. W. Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays (Edinburgh: Penguin Books, 1962), pp.29-30.

<sup>69</sup> Millican, p.52.

<sup>70</sup> Ferguson, pp.100-101.

for her political and religious purposes: "On the authority of a Christian Arthur's expulsion of Saracens, and all enemies whatsoever to England, Elizabeth could without qualm consider herself supreme head of the Church of England, even as Henry VIII had cited the fact that Britain had once been independent of Rome as ground for separation." Moreover this Arthurian legend provided a rationale for feelings of British Imperialism.<sup>71</sup> Ireland's submission to Britain is not mentioned only in the Irena episode of Book V; it is also included in the chronicle of British Kings (II.x.41) and in the wedding of Thames and Medway (IV.xi.44). Spenser considered himself a vates, or "seer," "a man who should warn and advise, directly or through clouded allegories, those who ruled England."<sup>72</sup> The Arthurian myth was imbued, not only for Spenser, but also for most of his contemporaries, with religious, national, and imperialistic overtones.<sup>73</sup> Spenser's imagined chivalry is nothing but "the expression of a conscious

71 Millican, pp.43, 46.

72 Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and British Imperialism," MP, 9(1911/1912), 348.

73 See Millican, p.26ff, for the controversy, fostered by Polydore Vergil, attacking the validity of the Arthurian history.

romanticism."<sup>74</sup> It is very far removed from the radically nonchivalric attitude of early Tudor Humanists of international outlook, like More and Erasmus, who, living in an age of growing national and religious strife, strongly satirized the waging of war.<sup>75</sup> Spenser's use of chivalry and the Arthurian legend point to his basically conservative reaction to the changing social order, and to his hope for a more stable and orthodox way of life.<sup>76</sup>

### 3. Virgilian Precedent and Spenserian Heraldry

History, for Spenser, was a living tradition, strengthening the national spirit. Hence, its role in the epic was very important. Spenser considered the "Historye of Arthure" to be "a heritage of his native land and an integral necessity for the learning of an epic poet."<sup>77</sup> Yet he states in "The Letter to Raleigh" that he is not "an Historiographer." Rather, he is a "Poet historical" who, "recoursing to the thinges

<sup>74</sup> Ferguson, p.23.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p.92. Note, however, that Erasmus would nonetheless use, in a positive way, the figure of the Christian Knight as an image of the Christian wayfarer (p.97).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p.7, 29. See also Douglas Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), p.95.

<sup>77</sup> Millican, p.111.

forepaste, and divining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all."<sup>78</sup> Epic theory from Daniello to Tasso had emphasized this quality of historical verisimilitude.<sup>79</sup> Thus history in the epic was "historical fact idealized."<sup>80</sup> Spenser in The Faerie Queene, through his use of fictionalized history, is glorifying the House of Tudor, as Ariosto had glorified the House of Este, and Virgil the Gens Iulia.<sup>81</sup> Professor F.M. Padelford disagrees with this interpretation, and proposes, rather, that The Faerie Queene is primarily an exposition of the virtuous man, and only secondarily an historical exaltation of a gens.<sup>82</sup> However, this view is a little too narrow when one looks closely at the

78 Spenser Poetical Works, p.408.

79 Daniello (1536) defines heroic poetry as "an imitation of the illustrious deeds of emperors and other men magnanimous and valorous in arms." Tasso (1564-1587) says that "an epic should be a story derived from some event in the history of Christian peoples, intrinsically noble and illustrious, but not of so sacred a character as to be fixed and immutable, and neither contemporary nor very remote. By the selection of such material the poem gains the authority of history, the truth of religion, the licence of fiction, the proper atmosphere in point of time, and the grandeur of the events themselves." Quoted in Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism . . ., pp.109, 121.

80 William Stanford Webb, "Vergil in Spenser's Epic Theory," ELH, 4(1937), 70.

81 Millican, p.116. See also Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, 2nd ed. (N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), p.101 and Webb, "Vergil in Spenser . . .," 74.

82 Frederick M. Padelford, "The Muse of The Faerie Queene," SP 27(1930), 121.

contemporary political and religious situation. Historians such as J. H. Elliott are quick to point out that with the rise in the power of West European monarchs during the first half of the sixteenth century the national will was embodied in the person of the monarch.<sup>83</sup> Gloriana, as Spenser mentions in "The Letter to Raleigh," is to some extent a fictional conceit for Queen Elizabeth. History, as portrayed in The Faerie Queene, has a strong national aspect, an element of the epic not stressed by any of the Renaissance critics. Spenser, however, found evidence of this national feeling, not in the Renaissance epic-romances of Ariosto and Tasso, but in Virgil's Aeneid. In Virgil's epic Spenser perceived a national history impregnated with personal spiritual significance. Virgil's philosophy of history provided Spenser with ample precedent for his own treatment of Britain's glorious past.<sup>84</sup>

Virgil, for most Renaissance critics, was the model for any aspiring poet of heroic verse, and Spenser, true to his conservative nature, accepted the tradition.<sup>85</sup> The Proem to Book I of The Faerie Queene echoes the beginning of The Aeneid ("Arma virumque cano . . .") and the

<sup>83</sup> J. H. Elliott, Europe Divided, p.70; see also note 36 above.

<sup>84</sup> Webb, "Virgil in Spenser . . .," 73-74.

<sup>85</sup> Merritt Y. Hughes, Virgil and Spenser (Berkeley, California: Univ. of California Press, 1929), p.321.

Virgilian pattern of the graduation from pastoral to heroic verse:

Lo I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,  
 As time her taught, in lowly Shepherds weeds,  
 . . .  
 For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten needs,  
 And sing of Knights and Ladies gentle deeds;  
 . . .  
 Fierce warres and faithful loves shall moralize my song.

The fledgling epic poet is looking to Virgil for inspiration and sanction through the Roman bard's general prestige.<sup>86</sup> A second major echo from The Aeneid is found in Book II of Spenser's poem. In conscious imitation of Virgil's last few lines of Book I of The Aeneid,<sup>87</sup> Spenser has Medina ask Guyon to tell of his past adventures and of his quest (ii.39ff). Spenser creates a tone of high epic seriousness for two lines: "Drawing to him the eyes of all around, / From lofty siege began those words aloud to sound" (ii.39). The recounting of Gloriana's annual feast provides the reader with a plausible organization for the poem. As Hughes says, "Spenser seems to make use of Virgil's structural device with Virgil's structural purpose."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p.318-19.

<sup>87</sup> " 'Nay, come,' she cries, 'tell us, O guest, from their first beginning the stratagems of the Grecians, thy people's woes, and thine own wanderings; for this is now the seventh summer that bears thee a wanderer over all lands and seas.' " Virgil's Works, l.754-756, p.22.

<sup>88</sup> Hughes, p.331.

Yet obvious objections to a rigid imitation of Virgil by Spenser immediately appear. Spenser lacks Virgil's tight structure and, as Douglas Bush points out, he tends to be "diffuse and transparent" while Virgil tends to be "concentrated and suggestive." Bush further states that "Spenser regularly alters the spirit of what he borrows," and many apparently Virgilian episodes are re-made in an un-Virgilian manner.<sup>89</sup> However, Professor Bush is wary of categorically denying direct imitation of Virgilian elements.<sup>90</sup> This is very wise when one takes into account the concept of Renaissance "imitation." Spenser's humanistic training, under Mulcaster at the Merchant Taylor's School, was tinged with a fervent national bias, and his studies would most certainly have included works by Sturm and Ascham. These men "held that the virtue of the gifted and accomplished imitator lay not in mechanical transcribing but in recreating borrowed material."<sup>91</sup> When we are looking for evidence of Virgil's influence on Spenser we should expect to find a poetic creation which is different from the classical "source." The imitations of Virgil mentioned above are only indications of Spenser's debt to him. Deeper influences from him are more subtle

<sup>89</sup> Bush, Mythology . . ., pp.100-101.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. He uses such phrases as "at any rate in this summary" (p.100), and "With some reservations it may be said" (p.101).

<sup>91</sup> Webb, 64, 68.

because of Spenser's desire to rework, and create anew, old material. Spenser shared with Virgil a patriotic spirit integrally connected with his own religious fervour. The English poet responded to this strong patriotic feeling of Virgil "in a peculiarly significant way."<sup>92</sup>

In the Underworld of The Aeneid (VI.791-2), Anchises reveals to Aeneas his glorious posterity, which shall culminate in "Caesar Augustus, a god's son, who shall again establish the ages of gold in Latium." This epic "history" is again repeated in Book VIII when Venus sends to her son a set of armour forged by Vulcan. On the shield is depicted "the story of Italy and the triumphs of the Romans " (625-6). The importance of the shield lies not in its literal value of physical protection but in its symbolical significance. "It is a high patriotism indeed which Vergil has thus embodied in artistic structural form, making a vision of the nation's history the crowning event in the preparation of the hero."<sup>93</sup> Spenser's historical approach is very similar to Virgil's in this respect.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.,70.

<sup>93</sup> Webb, 73. I am indebted to Webb for much of this section on Virgil's patriotic history.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Bush, Mythology . . ., p.101.

The "Golden Age," as embodied in the prophecy of the Arthurian legend, by popular belief had returned with the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>95</sup> The "rolles of Elfin Emperours" and the "Troynoyant" theme in The Faerie Queene (II. x.) indicate Spenser's nationalistic and imperialistic bent. William Webb states that, for Virgil, the revelation of Rome's destiny was necessary for the completion of Aeneas' mission. And this functional use of history gave to Spenser an epic precedent for his own use of national history in The Faerie Queene. I propose further that Spenser uses armour for purposes similar to Virgil's functional use of Aeneas' shield. This functional use of armour is not found in the Renaissance epic-romances of Ariosto and Tasso.<sup>96</sup> Even though Tasso borrows Virgil's device of the pictorial shield in Jerusalem Delivered, he does not recreate Virgil's national spirit.<sup>97</sup> A sixteenth-century Italian could not experience any feeling of Italian nationalism.<sup>98</sup> The House of Este could in no way compare to the Gens Iulia or the House of Tudor in their imperial and nationalistic importance. Rinaldo

<sup>95</sup> Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays, p.30.

<sup>96</sup> "Virgil in Spenser . . . ," 74.

<sup>97</sup> Torquato Tasso, trans. Edward Fairfax, with an introduction by John C. Nelson (N. Y.: Capricorn Books, 1963), Book XVII, Lviii-Lxxxiii.

<sup>98</sup> Webb, 74.

receives from "the wizard sage" a shield on which " . . . described was the worthy race,/ And pedigree of all the house of Este." Yet the significance of this family history is only a personal one:

Up! Up! thyself incite by the fair show  
Of knightly worth which this bright shield bewrays;  
That by thy spur to praise . . . (G.L.,XVII.lxvi,  
lxv)

says the sage to Rinaldo. This genealogy of the hero is, for Tasso and Ariosto, nothing but an epic commonplace.<sup>99</sup> This is not the case with Spenser, for his presentation of the Chronicle of Briton Kings and the "rolles of Elfin Emperours till time of Gloriane" are strategically placed in his second book (canto x) so as to show that Guyon and Arthur complete the necessary preparation for their particular quests, as Redcrosse Knight had completed his education in the House of Holinesse in Book I (canto x). A further revelation of Britain's Chronicle-history to the languishing Britomart in Book III (canto iii) has the same positive effect on her as it had on Guyon and Arthur. The knowledge of national history has a strong influence on the actions of Spenser's heroes. Thus he perceived in Virgil's functional use of the shield of Aeneas an artistic structure which reflected a deeply religious and national philosophy of history. Through this perception Spenser

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

fashioned his heroes in an artistic form which mirrored his philosophy of history; and this philosophy stressed the knowledge of national history as "the crowning experience in the preparation of the hero."<sup>100</sup>

In Webb's theory is an implication which is very important for the understanding of Spenser's use of armour. Spenser's knights are a new literary creation,<sup>101</sup> but they are modelled to some extent on Renaissance and classical originals. Yet the closest approximation to Spenser's political and religious purpose is found in Virgil's Aeneid. This is not to say that Spenser's knights are modelled on the Virgilian heroes and heroines, but rather, that their political and religious nature, as reflected in their armour, is a result of Spenser's "imitation" of Virgil's artistic structure, the shield of Aeneas. This "imitation" is a re-creation of the political and religious spirit embodied in this shield. Spenser's new form, the armour of his knights, is an extension of this classical precedent, and includes suitable contemporary modifications

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 74-78.

<sup>101</sup> Charles Moorman, "The Allegorical Knights of The Faerie Queene," The Southern Quarterly (Mississippi), 3(1965), 142. i.e. ". . . Spenser's knights, being wholly literary creations designed to carry moral and, at times I suppose, political allegory, are well-nigh unique in the history of literary knighthood up to Spenser's time."

and additions, most important of which is the science of heraldry.

Evidence of the importance of heraldry in Spenser's presentation of his knights has been displayed above. However, further proof will show his more than cursory knowledge of the science, which knowledge can be attributed to a commonplace of Elizabethan aristocratic culture.<sup>102</sup> Braggadocchio, the vainglorious knight, is finally discovered for his true self (V.iii.30ff.). Talus is given the task of punishing him, and the resulting ceremonial reflects conscious heraldic practice:

Then from him reft his shield, and it reverst,  
And blotted out his armes with falsehood blent,  
And himself baffuld, and his armes unherst,  
And broke his sword in twaine, and all his  
armour sperst.

(V.iii.37)

Arms were considered to be a mark of high honour, and any infamous use of them could not be allowed. Should a man be degraded for a crime, "the eschutcheon was reversed, trod upon, and torn in pieces, and the entry of his arms in the official registers deleted, to denote a total extinction and suppression of the honour and dignity of the person to whom it belonged."<sup>103</sup> Contemporary practice

<sup>102</sup> Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967), p.108. Freeman says that heraldry was "an organic part of the social life of the Elizabethans."

<sup>103</sup> Grant, The Manual of Heraldry, p.26-27.

saw Heralds and Kings of Arms going about the country tearing down or defacing improper arms.<sup>104</sup> Spenser expected the reader to see in the "uncasing" of Braggadocchio the serious consequences, through loss of honour, of unknighly conduct.

Recognition of heraldry is also given in the Sir Sanglier episode in Book V. He is described to Artegall through the heraldic design on his shield:

A broken sword within a bloudie field;  
Expressing well his nature, which the same  
did weild.

(i.19)

The wanton slaughter of his mistress is symbolized, not only in the "bloudie field" (or surface) of his shield, but also in the punishment meted out to him by Artegall. He is forced "to beare that Ladies head before his breast" (i.29), a significantly heraldic action since armorial bearings were often emblazoned on the surcoat.<sup>105</sup> The broken sword, as I have mentioned above, relates directly to lawless action itself, as Radigund's breaking of Artegall's sword clearly points out (V.v.21). The "bloudie field" and severed head describe the type of lawless action,

<sup>104</sup> Arthur C. Fox-Davies, A Complete Guide to Heraldry, revised and annotated by J. P. Brook-Little (1904, rpt. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1969), p.17. See also Grant, A Manual, p.6.

<sup>105</sup> A loose garment worn over the armour of a knight. See Grant, p.66. See also the cross on the breast of Redcrosse, I.i.2.

wanton killing, probably connected with the Irish question and guerilla warfare. Heraldic symbolism, in this instance, has a direct relation to theme and action.

One more example will show how heraldry can symbolize in one design both the political and religious theme. The Cross of St. George is an honourable ordinary,<sup>106</sup> which was first used in the Crusades by the English knights. A particular design of cross thus distinguished the national origin of each member of the Crusades.<sup>107</sup> Redcrosse Knight is first introduced by a description of his armour and the bearings emblazoned thereon. He bears "a bloudie Crosse" on his breast and on his shield, signifying "the deare remembrance of his dying Lord" (i.2). The reference to the Christian Knight is only too obvious. Yet this Cross has political connotations and is opposed to the "triple crowne" of Duessa (I.vii.16), a heraldic design for the papacy.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, Redcrosse's shield is described in explicitly heraldic terms by Archimago in Book II: ". . . in his

<sup>106</sup> "A term used to denote the simple forms which were first used as heraldic distinctions, and therefore called honourable ordinaries, as conferring more honour than later inventions." Grant, p.109-10.

<sup>107</sup> Grant, p.72-3.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p.124.

silver shield/ He bore a bloudie Crosse, that quartred  
 all the field" (i.18).<sup>109</sup> According to heraldic definition,  
 this is the cross of St. George. Furthermore, this Cross  
 of St. George becomes an obvious symbol for the faith of  
 the Church of England in the Sir Burbon episode in Book V  
 (xi.53). As we have seen above, his love for Flourdelyce  
 and the laying aside of his "scutchin" (xi.54) symbolize  
 the union of national and religious ideologies. Heraldry  
 is, in The Faerie Queene, one more indication of "a re-  
 current political fervour, bordering on the religious."<sup>110</sup>  
 Spenser's treatment of armour, as a functional metaphor in  
 the poem, finds a precedent in Virgil's shield of Aeneas.  
 This classical source is reworked and amplified through the  
 chivalric and heraldic traditions to create for Spenser a  
 poetic vehicle aptly suited to his political and religious  
 purpose.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p.54, 116. "Silver" is the metal of which  
 "all white fields or charges are supposed to consist."  
 "Quartred" is the term used to describe "a shield divided  
 into four equal parts by a cross."

<sup>110</sup> Tillyard, The English Epic . . . , p.287.

## Part II

In Part I the political and religious aspects of the armorial metaphor were studied in light of pertinent background material. Spenser found ample poetic substance for this metaphor in the chivalric and heraldic traditions and in time-honoured literary examples from Virgil to Tasso. However, these models were constantly modified to suit the serious purpose of the Elizabethan poet. Thus, Part II will show how Spenser's eclectic spirit reworked these various materials into a poetic structure which finds, to some degree, a unifying factor in his armorial metaphor. Since the stories of each knight-hero extend beyond the boundaries of the unit, it will be advantageous to follow this pattern and study the armorial metaphor in relation to individual knights rather than individual Books.

### 1. Redcrosse Knight and Sir Guyon

In the very beginning of the first canto of the Legend of Holinesse, the armour of Redcrosse Knight is described as having "dints of deepe wounds." Yet Redcrosse Knight, according to the "Letter to Raleigh,"<sup>1</sup> the words of Una, and the narrator's description, is an untried knight who "armes till that time did . . . never wield" (i.1).

<sup>1</sup> Spenser : Poetical Works, p.408 and I.i.27; I.vii. 27.

As a person, Redcrosse is new to knighthood and its demands, yet he is wearing old armour which is rich in historical meaning.<sup>2</sup> The education of Redcrosse is shown in the metaphorical presentation of armour and culminates in the union of character with armorial symbol. The hero of the first Book goes through a process whereby he shows that he is "Well worthie . . . of that Armorie" (i.27). By the end of that process he will have become Saint George, the religious and political symbol of England's national power.

Until Canto xi, the education of Redcrosse emphasizes personal salvation. With the aid of Una, Redcrosse is able to defeat the monster Error (i.19). Yet, as soon as he deserts her (ii.6) his trials become exceedingly difficult.<sup>3</sup> As he flees from Archimago's treachery, he encounters Sans foy, who is travelling with Duessa, the representative of the institutional Catholic Church of the time.<sup>4</sup> Redcrosse is able to defeat this

<sup>2</sup> See Rosemond Tuve, "The Medieval Heritage of Spenser's Allegory," in Elizabethan Poetry: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Paul J. Alpers (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), 497.

<sup>3</sup> Whether Una is Platonic is of no relevance here. In this instance she embodies the spirit of religious wisdom.

<sup>4</sup> Duessa clearly becomes a figure for the Catholic Church when she is given a "triple crown" by Orgoglio (vii.16) and when this "crowned mitre" is thrown aside by Prince Arthur (viii.25).

"paynim", but only through his "native vertue" ( ii.19). That is, the negation (Sans foy) of the religious and national faith of England is defeated by physical might only. This success brings with it a type of defeat, for Redcrosse claims not only the shield<sup>5</sup> of Sans foy but his mistress also. Through Duessa's guidance Redcrosse is led to the House of Pride, and there is able to defeat, but not kill, Sans joy (v.15). Una's Dwarfe warns Redcrosse of the dangers of Lucifera's abode (v.45) and they flee, but nonetheless, Redcrosse is tricked by Duessa, beaten senseless by Orgoglio, and put in "Dongeon deepe" to die (vii.15). This defeat of Redcrosse is anticipated through the armorial metaphor. Redcrosse sits down by a fountain and disarms himself (v.2). Spenser's diction in describing this setting reinforces the symbolic meaning of the action. Duessa finds Redcrosse at the fountain and the two of them " . . . bathe in the pleasaunce of the joyous shade,/ Which shielded them against the boiling heat " (vii.4.2-3). Redcrosse is to be tempted again to disarm himself because of the fiery flames of a dragon (xi.27), but he will not yield to the temptation. This time, however, he does take off his armour in order to frolick with Duessa. "The joyous shade," like Duessa, deceives Redcrosse, as the

<sup>5</sup> In keeping with heraldic tradition this shield is "renverst" as a sign of defeat and shame (iv.41).

verb "shielded" implies. The leaves above his head are Redcrosse's shield against Orgoglio, and it is obvious that they afford no protection. Redcrosse drinks from the fountain, and its charmed waters make him "feeble fraile" (vii.6) and unable to don his armour against Orgoglio. The Knight of Holinesse is finally rescued by Prince Arthur, whose magic shield wins the victory for the Prince (viii.19). Redcrosse is released from his prison cell and reunited with Una (viii.37-42). Redcrosse and Una again set out to rescue her parents, and the Knight of Holinesse encounters his last major obstacle, in the Cave of Despair, and is saved by his companion (ix.52). Una realizes that her knight is "feeble, and too faint" (x.2) and leads him to the House of Holinesse where his personal sanctification is achieved.

It is obvious from the above account that the armorial metaphor is thematically important. Yet Spenser's presentation of this metaphor is rather complex and requires some investigation. In Canto ii Archimago feigns the appearance of Redcrosse (10-11) and meets Una in the following Canto (24). On their way they meet a knight upon whose "shield sans loy in bloudie lines was dyde" (iii.33). The "paynim" knight recognizes the heraldic design on the shield of his opponent and immediately

attacks the disguised Archimago. The result is a defeat for the impersonator of Redcrosse (iii.36). Yet a few cantos later Duessa warns her secret lover, Sans joy, that Redcrosse's armour is enchanted and "none can wound the man, that does them wield" (iv.50). There is obviously a discrepancy here, for Archimago was defeated while wearing armour very like to Redcrosse's. Spenser seems to be implying that the efficacy of armour depends upon the inner disposition of the wearer. In medieval scholastic terminology, this would be described as a sacramental which functions ex opere operantis. A number of critics have shown that Spenser uses Catholic sacramentals, such as beads, holy water, and crosses, in a positive way.<sup>6</sup> Let it suffice here to point out that Archimago and Corceca bid their "beades" (i.30; iii.13) while Dame Coelia does exactly the same thing (x.3), but with a pure inner disposition. When Redcrosse dons the armour of the Christian Knight, he is wearing a sacramental signified in the heraldic image of the red cross, "the deare remembrance of his dying Lord" (1.2). The cross is a sign of Redcrosse's "soveraine hope, which in his (Lord's) helpe he had" (i.2). When Redcrosse fights

<sup>6</sup> See Virgil K. Whitaker, The Religious Basis of Spenser's Thought (Stanford, California: Stanford Univ. Press, 1950) pp.24-27; and Beatrice Ricks, "Catholic Sacramentals and Symbolism in Spenser's Faerie Queene, JEGP, 52(1953), 322-31.

Error and Sans foy, his inner disposition is sufficiently worthy for the proper functioning of the sacramental. In the first instance he adds faith to his force (i.19), and in the second his "native vertue" proves strong enough to defeat the Saracen (ii.19). Yet, by the time Redcrosse reaches the charmed fountain, his inner strength has decreased so much that he takes off his armour, his spiritual and physical protection, for the sake of a little pleasure and physical comfort. He abandons his sacramental armour, which probably would have given him some protection, not because his disposition was evil, as Archimago's was, but rather, because it was very weak. When his inner disposition has become perfectly fit for the sacramental, he is able to use it efficaciously, and only goes so far as to think of taking off his armour again (xi.27.9). The armour of Redcrosse thus functions as a sacramental, ex opere operantis.

The major objection to this point would be that Spenser is basically a Puritan and that he uses Catholic sacramentals only because of his reverence for tradition, and not because of any conviction about their spiritual value.<sup>7</sup> Yet Spenser shows throughout Book I, and indeed

<sup>7</sup> Ricks, p.331, comes to this conclusion after studying Spenser's use of Sacramentals. Douglas Bush, Mythology . . . , p.91, also arrives at a similar end when he calls Spenser a "Calvinist preacher and Catholic worshiper."

throughout the whole poem, a religious attitude akin to the spirit of the Anglican compromise in The Thirty Nine Articles of 1571. These Articles embodied a compromise between Protestant theology and Catholic worship and, in some instances, differed from Calvinistic doctrines.<sup>8</sup>

Spenser's whole treatment of the salvation of Redcrosse Knight is a major example of Anglican doctrine, distinct from Calvinist teachings. Virgil Whitaker states that, "in general, Anglican documents allow man the initiative in faith and hold out a hopeful view of his chances of salvation, which is in conformity with the importance attached to the sacraments."<sup>9</sup> That is, Luther and Calvin held that a man is justified propter fidem, whereas the Anglicans, in The Thirty Nine Articles, held that a man is justified per fidem.<sup>10</sup> The result, as Whitaker has shown, is to give meaning to the institutional symbols, the sacraments and sacramentals. The emphasis on good

<sup>8</sup> Whitaker, p.31-2. Furthermore, the Lambeth Articles of the Cambridge Puritans were suppressed by Queen Elizabeth in 1595.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>10</sup> H. J. Carpenter, A Theological Introduction to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England, 3rd rev. E. J. Bicknell (London: Longmans, 1963), p.206. This excursion into Elizabethan theology is necessary for the modern reader and does not imply that Spenser was consciously depicting theological controversy.

works (I.x.38 ff.) and Fidelia's interpretation of the Bible (x.13 and 19) both point to Spenser's Anglican, as opposed to Calvinist, viewpoint.<sup>11</sup> If Spenser is a Puritan, he is one only in so far as he advocates its positive ideal of "an athlete and a soldier, disciplining himself against indulgences which would unfit him here and now for his duty, and for the reward to be earned, not by privation but by duty accomplished."<sup>12</sup> Redcrosse's armour, as sacramental, is thus clearly in keeping with Spenser's use of similar images.

Spenser's armorial metaphor thence operates, on one level, within a religious framework; nonetheless, the casual reader will not be left uncertain as to the poet's intention. Paul Alpers, in a discussion on Spenser's use of iconography, says that the English poet identifies his allegorical figures and does not, like Ariosto, abandon their meanings to the wit of the reader.<sup>13</sup> The result, at times, appears to be trite moralizing, but it is very much a part of Spenser's medieval attitude towards allegory.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Whitaker, p.38, 46 and 53.

<sup>12</sup> W. L. Renwick, "Spenser's Philosophy," in The Prince of Poets, ed. J. R. Elliott (N. Y. : New York Univ. Press, 1968), 78.

<sup>13</sup> Paul J. Alpers, The Poetry of The Faery Queene (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1967), p.202.

<sup>14</sup> See Rosemond Tuve, esp. pp.478-479; 499.

Thus we find that Spenser will explain his meaning, especially after a significant event. The narrator describes the shield of Archimago, disguised as Redcrosse, as "vainly crossed" (iii.35) and immediately warns the reader in the next canto to "Beware of fraud" (iv.1). Thus also does he describe Redcrosse, during the charmed fountain episode, as a knight "disarmed, disgrast, and inwardly dismayde" (vii.11). An explanation of the whole episode, and of the rescue of Una, comes immediately in the following canto (vii.1) and a similar type of maxim is used following Redcrosse's encounter with Despair (x.1).

The armorial metaphor has been studied thus far in relation to Redcrosse's personal salvation. Yet this personal element is superceded in the last two cantos by Redcrosse's combined religious and political quest. The reader is prepared for this transition, in the Despair episode, by Una's rebuke to Redcrosse:

Is this the battell, which thou vaunst to fight  
With that fire-mouthed Dragon, horrible and  
bright? (ix.52)

The soul must be turned inwards in order to see one's sins, but it must not dwell on them. "In heavenly mercies hast thou not a part?" asks Una of Redcrosse (ix.53). The effect of this rebuke is to turn Redcrosse from vain, negative soul-searching to positive and humble recognition

of God's grace and of his own active response to it. In the House of Holinesse one of his tutors is Charissa, whose fruitful womb produces "a multitude of babies." Yet these children are not allowed to stay with their mother for too long, for she thrusts them forth "as they waxed old" (x. 31). Redcrosse is nourished by her example, but he too must also go away, into the world again. The hermit Contemplation states this principle explicitly when he says to the Knight of Holinesse that Cleopolis (and not Hierusalem) is the present realm of action for a Christian Knight (x. 59). That is, Redcrosse must take up his worldly duties and perform them before he can even consider a purely spiritual quest. Service to Gloriana will provide the necessary experience through which he will finally learn to shun the things of this world. Like the hermit in Book VI (v.37), Redcrosse will then hang his armour "high amongst all knights" and "the suit of earthly conquest shonne" (x.60). But he must not neglect his political and religious duties of the present, for he shall be called "Saint George of mery England, the signe of victoree" (x.61).

The incarnation of Saint George takes place in the next canto (xi) and is prepared for by a series of armorial similes: the dragon's scales are "Like plated coate of steele" (9.); his wings make a terrible sound

"as the clashing of an Armour bright" (9.); his back is "Bespotted as with shields of red and blacke" (11.); and finally, his eyes are "like two bright shining shields" (14). Such similes make the reader aware of armour and its significance. The Dragon is the strongest foe against which Redcrosse must fight. Thus the Knight of Holinesse has a difficult task to perform, and when the Dragon belches flames upon him, he is sorely tempted to take off his "fyrie steele" (26-27). Yet he does not do so, for he has learned, through his experience at the enchanted fountain, that taking off one's armour leads to subjection to an enemy.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, the hot armour "now most of all him harm'd" (27), and it is only through God's grace that he falls into The Well of Life and arises from it the following morning refreshed and ready for battle (29-34). This action echoes the enchanted fountain episode, and the powers of The Well of Life are clearly opposed to those of the fountain. The narrator, perhaps following Tasso's dictum concerning articles of faith in an epic (see above, Part I, 2, i), seems to be purposely vague about the nature of the Well's powers:

<sup>15</sup> Redcrosse takes off his armour in the House of Holinesse, but it is clear that places like this House do not pose any threat whatever to a Knight. He does so again in Castle Joyous (III.i.42), but it is Britomart, and not he, who is in danger.

I wote not, whether the revenging steele  
 Were hardened with holy water dew,  
 Wherin he fell, or sharper edge did feele,  
 Or his baptised hands now greater grew;  
 Or other secret vertue did ensew,

(xi.36)

The effect on Redcrosse is not vague however. He is ready for his second day's encounter with the Dragon, and it is obvious that the Knight of Holinesse has received some kind of baptism. Whether this refers to his original baptism or to a "conversion" on his part is not of paramount importance. Redcrosse Knight is baptised with his armour and arises a new man; and this man is Saint George. Yet even the new Saint George is sorely pressed by the Dragon and is wounded by him (38). This necessitates a second rejuvenation, which is accomplished under The Tree of Life (45-50). God's grace (45) is given to Redcrosse-St.George in the form of "pretious Balme" (50). Spenser is obviously looking back to the medieval allegory of the "tree of lif . . . that is Ihesu Crist," and the fruit coming from it is none other than Eucharist.<sup>16</sup> The opposite of this tree will be presented in the Cave of Mammon as a thematic reminder of good and bad nourishment in man's spiritual life. Having thus received the spiritual refreshment, Redcrosse-Saint George can easily slay the Dragon. Peace is restored to the land (xii.5), and Redcrosse is betrothed to Una.

<sup>16</sup> See Rosemond Tuve, p.490.

Yet his trials are not over, for he must serve the Faery Queen for "six years in warlike wize, / Gainst that proud Paynim king, that workes her teene" (xii.18). The new Knight Saint George will set out on specifically national and religious quests, and the Paynim king mentioned here and in canto xi (7.4) is most certainly a veiled reference to Philip II of Spain. Redcrosse Knight, as he appears in the other books, will embody, through the mere presentation of his armour and armorial bearings, the political and religious nature of England's Christian faith.<sup>17</sup>

The integral connection between the Legend of Holinesse and the Legend of Temperance is significant in that the armorial metaphor, especially in its religious and political aspects, operates in both Books as a vehicle through which Spenser describes the personal and social quest of Redcrosse and Guyon. However, the two legends seem to develop on different levels of existence. Heraldic terms are conspicuously absent from Book I and noticeably present in Book II.<sup>18</sup> In the first canto of

<sup>17</sup> The Sir Burbon-Flourdelice episode in Book V (xi.53ff), mentioned in Part I, is the most obvious example of this fact. Redcrosse Knight appears also in Book II (i.18-34) and in Book III (i.42-ii.16).

<sup>18</sup> See Charles Huntington Whitman, A Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser (1919, rpt. N. Y.: Russell and Russell, 1966), p.118. Whitman cites no heraldic terms from Book I.

the second Book, heraldic terminology is introduced in the description of Redcrosse: "He bore a bloudie Crosse, that quartred all the field" (18.9). This seems to indicate a difference between the two books, and yet it is clear that both are linked through the friendship between the two knights. The fellowship of Sir Guyon and Redcrosse Knight has been described as a symbol for "the kinship of reason and religion."<sup>19</sup> Immediately one sees that Book II can be viewed as a counterpart, on a different level, to Book I. This distinction between the two books can be further emphasized, if Redcrosse is seen as a microchristus and Sir Guyon as a microcosmus. That is, Redcrosse operates in the order of Grace while Sir Guyon moves in the order of Nature.<sup>20</sup> The result of this critical attitude is a dichotomy between the two books, in which the second is seen as an exposition of a knight merely ethically conceived, from the aspect of Temperance.

This view, however, overemphasizes Spenser's distinction, for Sir Guyon does operate on the level of Christian Grace, but not as conspicuously as Redcrosse.

<sup>19</sup> H. S. V. Jones, "The Faerie Queene and the Medieval Aristotelian Tradition," JEGP, 25 (1926), 286.

<sup>20</sup> A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," in Elizabethan Poetry: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. P. J. Alpers (N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), p.349.

In both Books, symbols such as fountains, trees, and cups are found to parallel and contrast with each other. Fidelia's "cup of gold," which is carried in her right hand (I.x.13), is contrasted not only with Duessa's "golden cup" (I.viii.14) but also with Acrasia's "Cup of gold," which is carried in her left hand (II.xii.56). The significance of the contrasting cups in Book I, along with their political and religious overtones, would not be lost on the astute reader of Book II. When Acrasia's cup is thrown to the ground by Guyon (xii.57), one recollects a similar action performed in Book I (viii.25). However, this parallel becomes complex because Duessa herself casts down the cup "replete with magick artes" (viii.14). Nonetheless, the parallel does exist, and when the reader looks at similar patterns, established in the symbolism of the tree (I.ii.30-45;xi.46-50;II.vii.53-60) and the fountain (I.vii.2-11;xi.29-30,36;II.vii.38;xii.60), he realizes that Spenser does not obliterate meanings used previously (as in Book I) to create entirely new ones. Rather, new connotations supercede, but do not necessarily destroy older meanings. Thus from the close affinity between such symbols as fountains, trees, and cups, one can speculate that Guyon does not live in "an exclusively moral, natural world."<sup>21</sup> Yet repetition of symbols

<sup>21</sup> A. D. S. Fowler, "Emblems of Temperance in The Faerie Queene, Book II," Review of English Studies, 11 (1960), 149.

does not adequately counter the Woodhouse argument. On the other hand, it has been noted that Guyon's three temptations in the Cave of Mammon parallel those of Christ in the desert.<sup>22</sup> This is not to say that Guyon represents Christ, but rather, that Christ's temptations are relevant to all men, even man conceived from a primarily ethical viewpoint. Furthermore, the cave of Mammon episode is prepared for by the narrator's comment that Guyon ". . . evermore himselfe with comfort feedes,/ Of his owne vertues, and prayse-worthy deedes" (II.vii.2). Sir Guyon has turned his sight inwards, in a way similar to Redcrosses's introspection in the Cave of Despair. Both attitudes are part of the sin of pride and both, in Spenser's mind, require the aid of heavenly grace. This is obvious from the mention of Guyon's "three dayes" in the Cave (vii.65) and the ministrations of the angel following Guyon's return to the surface (viii.1-8). This Angel commends Guyon to the care of his Palmer, a rather clear indication that grace and reason must go hand in hand (viii.8). Man had been reborn through baptism in Book I, and in Book II this baptismal character is still in need of reaffirmation and strength through God's grace.

<sup>22</sup> Tuve, p.499.

The realization of this apparently shallow difference between Books I and II is very important in a discussion of the armorial metaphor. If this difference is seen as a fundamental distinction between the two orders, Nature and Grace, the result will necessarily be that one must see Spenser's use of Armour in Book II as completely inappropriate.<sup>23</sup> That is, the armorial metaphor in the second Book would not adequately operate on a spiritual level as it does in the first Book. Book I would be seen as the battle between the forces of good and evil, and Book II as a battle between man's reason and appetites. Thus "Spenser's problem in using a warrior to exemplify temperance" would be "that the more the hero is temperate the less he fights those battles which are essential to the chivalric milieu."<sup>24</sup> To fight with another is "to acknowledge the reality of the opponent,"<sup>25</sup> and Guyon does this in his fight with Furor (iv. 6-10). Guyon's task is thus to learn how not to fight.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See Eugene Augustus Vance, "Warfare as Metaphor in Spenser's Faerie Queene," p.118.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp.88-89,109.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.118.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.120.

Yet there is faulty reasoning in this argument. It stems first of all from an acceptance of the Woodhouse thesis, and, secondly, from a view of the quest of Guyon as simply a personal adventure into his own soul. It is true that Guyon has a personal quest of temperance and that he must learn not to fight in certain instances, but he has also a social quest which he has undertaken for Gloriana. Thus, as in Book I, we find that the personal element predominates up to the tenth canto, and then the social supercedes it. Once again we shall see that the armorial metaphor prepares the way for this second part of the quest.

When Guyon attacks Redcrosse Knight in the first Canto, the former quickly halts his charge when he notices the emblem on Redcrosse's shield. Redcrosse, in reply to Guyon's apologies, makes amends for having gone against " . . . that faire image of that heavenly Mayd," Queen Gloriana (l.28). Spenser is preparing his audience, the gentlemen of England, for a very important theme. Britain must have unity, and it will be achieved through gentlemen performing their role as gentlemen. Within the poem this is realized through the depiction of Guyon's enemies, anger and concupiscence. In terms of the social quest this means that the knight must perform his function qua knight. Thus Pyrocles, whose

shield bears the heraldic design of "a flaming fire in the midst of bloody field" (iv.38), is forced by Guyon to pay homage to the picture of Queene Gloriana, which is emblazoned on the latter's shield (v.11). This heraldic design, depicting the "Order of Maydenhead" (ii.42), has definite political overtones. The woman is Gloriana, who "In widest ocean . . . her throne does reare, / That over all the earth it may be seene" (ii.40). Pyrocles must do homage to her and promise to avoid "heedlesse hazardie" (v.13). Spenser aims his moral at the audience, demanding their participation.<sup>27</sup> Thus he juxtaposes the heraldic design of Pyrocles with Guyon's picture of Gloriana, the sign of peace (ii.40). Knight-hood means not to fight for the sake of fighting but to be prepared to fight the just battle.

The second enemy of Guyon is concupiscence, symbolized in Phaedria and Acrasia. Like excessive anger, wanton pleasure leads to inactivity.<sup>28</sup> Inactivity is a knight's worst foe because it completely prevents the functioning of his knightly duty. Atin, who is searching for Cymocles, brother of Pyrocles, finds him in the

<sup>27</sup> Alpers, p.330.

<sup>28</sup> See Lewis, Spenser's Images of Life, p.64.

Bowre of Bliss. Cymocles is a renowned warrior who, when he captures an enemy, hangs the conquered knight's armour "on gallow trees, in honour of his dearest Dame" (v.26). The picture presented to Atin in Acrasia's bowre is one of total wantonness and inactivity. Cymocles has "his warlike weapons cast behind" (v.28). His arms, which are the sign of his warlike character,<sup>29</sup> are "entrayld with roses red" (29), in contrast to the blood red design on his brother's shield. Thus Acrasia lures knights away from their tasks. Phaedria too, through "dissolute delights," aims at destroying any further "desire of knightly exercise" (vi.25). She pleads to Guyon and Cymocles to end their battle, wishing that they rather wage "another warre . . . where the enemy / Does yeeld unto his foe a pleasant victory" (34). Guyon refuses and continues to delight "in armes and cruell warre" (37).

However, the ultimate enemy of the Knight of Temperance is Acrasia, whose wiles are like those of Phaedria, only of a more perverse nature. Guyon, while destroying her bowre and completing his social quest, discovers Acrasia's latest victim, with his armour hung on a tree (xii.80). The armorial metaphor

<sup>29</sup> Lewis, Spenser's Images of Life, p.120.

describes the exact nature of the man's present condition:

And his brave shield, full of old monuments,  
Was fowly ra'st, that none the signes might see;  
Ne for them, ne for honour cared hee,

(xii.80)

His armorial bearings, the outward sign of his character, are destroyed, showing in heraldic fashion the abandoning of his knightly role. Through the destruction of the Bowre of Bliss Guyon has shown how a true knight must act against the temptations which prevent him from performing his duty.

The political significance of the armorial metaphor has been implied in the picture of Gloriana on Guyon's shield, and it becomes more dominant in the ninth and tenth cantos. Prince Arthur asks the meaning of "the picture of that ladies head" (ix.2), its importance becoming ever greater as the Chronicle of Briton Kings is unfolded in canto ten. When Guyon tells Arthur of Gloriana's "imperiall powre" (ix.3), the terminology alone indicates a reference to Queen Elizabeth. Guyon's actions thus have a political import which can be easily missed. Pyrocles' unwilling submission to Guyon's shield (v.11) indicates Spenser's attitude towards domestic peace. One can also see in this episode some of the political fervour of the Irena

episodes in Book V.

Yet Book II contains the same political and religious motif found in Book I. This motif, however, appears only in canto eight when Arthur defeats the "Paynim knights," Pyrocles and Cymocles. The word "paynim" is used only in this canto,<sup>30</sup> possibly because of a connection, not only with Arthur's political nature, but also with Spenser's consistent use of the word to signify the political and religious enemies of England, especially the Spaniards. It is probable that, when Pyrocles uses the shield of Guyon to protect himself against Prince Arthur (viii.43), Spenser is referring to some sort of political intrigue, common in England at this time.<sup>31</sup> Guyon is not involved in this battle, but significantly, as soon as Cymocles and Pyrocles are killed, he wakes up (viii.53). He is now ready for his education in the Castle of Alma, the major event of which is the reading of the "rolles of Elfin Emperours." Guyon's education in his own national history (x.70-76) parallels Arthur's similar education (x.1-69), but it is overshadowed by the blatantly imperial overtones in the

<sup>30</sup> Charles Grosvenor Osgood, A Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser (Philadelphia: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1915), p.638. The only exception to this observation is in canto ix.(2), but this instance refers back to canto viii.

<sup>31</sup> See Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy, p.191ff.

Chronicle of Briton Kings. Spenser is thus attempting to relate the armour of Guyon, which is the sign of knight-hood, to the necessary knowledge of national history. The armorial metaphor, then, in its political and religious aspect, plays an important role in the Legend of Temperance.

## 2. Britomart and Artegall

National history, as a necessary part of an epic hero's education, becomes prominent again in Britomart's vision of Artegall (III.iii). Merlin tells Britomart that she is destined to be Artegall's wife and that her future husband is a Briton, and not an elfe (iii.26). Their future life together is also described, but in a strongly nationalistic, rather than romantic, context. "Paynims" are mentioned to denote foreign enemies that Britomart and Artegall will conquer together (27). Future history, beyond Britomart's time, is also foretold in order to parallel the royal couple's battle. England, after the reign of "Cadwallin" (i.e., in the reign of the Tudors), will fight with "Paynim foes" (the Spanish), and on them finally "avenge their rankled ire" (36). Thus Britomart's love for Artegall, already revealed through her vision of him in Merlin's mirror (III.ii.23-26), is

thoroughly imbued with political nuances.

The armorial metaphor aptly conveys Britomart's private and public education.<sup>32</sup> On the personal level she is searching for a chaste and meaningful relationship with her lover. Here Spenser is interested in the moral and psychological aspects of the Renaissance philosophy of love.<sup>33</sup> Thus the movements of warriors, movements such as jousting, slaying and pursuing, "all become . . . metaphors for the different aspects" of this love experience.<sup>34</sup> On this level Britomart's armour stands as a protection against the unchaste actions of others. She does not take off her armour in Castle Joyous (III.i. 42), even though Redcrosse does. Likewise, Sir Scudamore foregoes the comfort of taking off his armour in the house of Care (IV.v.39), for he too is susceptible to the wiles of the particular place in which he rests. Armour, then, gives protection against temptations which are particularly appropriate to the wearer.

<sup>32</sup> Northrop Frye, "The Structure of Imagery in The Faerie Queene," UTQ, 30(1961), 116. Frye says that "private and public education . . . are the central themes of The Faerie Queene." Private education aims at fidelity to one's ideal, while public education aims towards concord and harmony (117).

<sup>33</sup> Robert Ellrodt, Neoplatonism in Spenser (Geneva: Libraire E. Droz: 1960), p.34.

<sup>34</sup> Vance, p.138.

Yet armour, if one accepts Britomart's lance as a part of it, also has an active role to play. The virgin warrior, seeing Guyon and Prince Arthur, attacks them for no reason at all (III.i.4). Guyon is quickly knocked off his horse by the power of the maiden warrior's "enchanted" spear (7). She could defeat anyone on horse with this "speare" (IV.iv.46), and she is even able to knock Artegall off his "stead" in the tournament (IV.vi.11). Yet the power in this lance seems to have an ambivalent significance. Britomart can defeat enemies who might have unchaste desires, if they even knew that she was a woman, but she can also defeat other knights who are not actual enemies. This second part of the lance's power is nothing more than a type of self-will or self-determination. The lance is not the cause of this attitude, and it can still function even though Britomart's disposition is weak. However, she finally frees herself of this frame of mind when she kills Radigund (V.vii.34) and repeals "the liberty of women" (42).<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless Britomart's education is not entirely private. Her fighting in some instances may reflect different elements in her experience of love, and these particular instances may point out the unharmonious nature

<sup>35</sup> See Tuve, p.514.

of combat in the context of love situations. Nonetheless, this aspect of fighting does not, as has been suggested,<sup>36</sup> prevail over the entire Britomart-Artegall story, for it is plain that Britomart learns a public lesson and later promotes her newly acquired knowledge (V.vii.42-45). This public education is prepared for in the armorial metaphor, particularly through heraldry. Ate tries to incite Blandamour and Scudamore against Britomart. She describes Britomart as a "stranger knight," who bears in his shield " . . . the heads of many broken speares" (IV.i.48). This statement is correct, to a certain extent, but Ate does not give to these knights the truly pertinent information, the heraldic emblem on Britomart's shield. Ate's purpose is to deceive, not to inform.

Britomart is known, not only through the fame of her enchanted spear, but also through her armorial bearings.<sup>37</sup> In the beginning of Book III Britomart is seen wearing a "goodly shield / That bore a Lion passant in a golden field" (i.4). The "Lion" was a general armorial

<sup>36</sup> Vance, p.143.

<sup>37</sup> See Paridell's comment on "those armes and that same schutchion" (IV.i.34.).

symbol often synonymous with high royalty, even the king.<sup>38</sup> Spenser's use of it here is in no way whimsical, for he employs it at least twice again in reference to Britomart. In recounting her future, Merlin describes her son through the simile "Like as a Lyon" (III.iii.30), and in her vision in the Temple of Isis he is again depicted as "a Lion of great might" (V.vii.16). The lion also appears in the heraldic design on Queen Mercilla's throne, "all embost with Lyons and with Flourdelyce" (V.ix.27).<sup>39</sup> Thus Britomart's royal nature is emphasized through heraldic design, through the words of Glauce (III.iii.54), and through the history of Queen Angela's armour, which we have seen above.<sup>40</sup> It is not too much to expect, then, that national overtones will pervade Britomart's story.

When Merlin foretells her future, he also prophesies the reign of Queen Elizabeth:

Then shall a royall virgin raine, which shall  
Stretch her white rod over the Belgicke shore,  
And the great Castle smite so sore withall,  
That it shall make him shake, and shortly learne  
to fall.  
(III.iii.49)

<sup>38</sup> Guy Cadogan Rothery, The Heraldry of Shakespeare: A Commentary with Annotations (London: The Morland Press, 1930), p.27.

<sup>39</sup> This particular design was found on the Royal Arms from Richard III to Henry IV and signified the English claim to the crown of France. See Rothery, The Heraldry of Shakespeare, pp.33-34.

<sup>40</sup> See pp.23-24 above.

Elizabeth's imperial policy towards Belgium and her frequent enmity with the House of Castile are very obvious in this passage. Both subjects will receive greater attention in Book V.

It is no mere coincidence, therefore, that Glauce responds to Merlin's prophecy by saying that "king Uther" is now fighting against "Paynim brethern" and that "all Britanie" is in arms. Consequently, she and Britomart must disguise themselves in order to reach faery land unimpeded (iii.53). The History of Angela's armour thus bears weightier significance when seen in this light.

Britomart will fight with Radigund, whose heraldic design bears a close resemblance to the pagan crescent (V.v.3). The lion of England will oppose the crescent moon of (Spain) pagan lands. While it is obvious that Britomart's armour is not strictly "Christian," it is not so obvious that it becomes essentially "Anglican." That is, Britomart has assumed ancient pagan armour, which is sanctified in the Briton Church of King Rynce, and she uses it against the newer pagans, the Spanish. Political and religious meanings thus coalesce in the armorial metaphor.

Artegall's armorial attire also figures forth Spenser's allegorical intention. Britomart sees the Knight of Justice in Merlin's mirror, and the description of his

armour is particularly interesting:

And on his shield enveloped sevenfold  
 He bore a crowned little Ermilin,  
 That deckt the azure field with her faire  
 pouldred skin.

(III.ii.25)

The "Ermilin" or ermine appears just one canto prior to this, in the description of Malecasta's mantle, "That was with gold and Ermines faire enveloped" (i.59).

Ermine is a fur of great distinction, and Artegall's "Ermilin" is further distinguished by the crown on top.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless this heraldic design is not as important as Britomart's "passant Lyon" (III.i.4). That is, Spenser does not overtly develop the significance of the "Ermilin" but he does expand, as we have seen above, the regal implications of Britomart's design. Furthermore, her "passant" (walking) lion seems to contrast with the "couchant (lying) Hound" on Artegall's crest (III.ii.25). The active nature of walking would be opposed to the passive nature of lying. Britomart pursues Artegall and not vice versa.

Thus the traditional process of courtship, with the man as the initiator and the woman as receiver of the man's advances, apparently has been reversed. However,

<sup>41</sup> A "fur" is a term used in heraldry to denote a particular type of design emblazoned on the shield. However, I have not been able to determine the significance of the "Ermilin" in itself. I would assume that its import was a Renaissance commonplace and that the crown designated royalty of some kind.

this is not the case here, for Britomart is able to knock Artegall off his horse (IV.vi.ii) through the power of her "enchanted spear" (of self-determination), but she is not able to defeat him (IV.vi.12). Moreover, she learns to accept a passive role by repealing "the liberty of women" (V.vii.42).

The ambiguity involved in the two designs (the "passant lyon" and the "couchant Hound") can be explained through the demands of the political allegory. Spenser was faced with the situation of a monarch who was also a woman. Somehow the supreme power of the ruler had to be tactfully and ingenuously overcome, in the love situation, by the innate superiority of the male lover (see V.v.25).

Yet Artegall too must learn from Britomart. He must learn to refine the roughness of his nature, aptly described in the motto on his tournament shield, "Salvagesse sans finesse" (IV.iv.39). His willful submission to Radigund (V.vi.16), with the consequent dishonouring of his armour (v.21), necessitates his rescue by Britomart. The two must learn to rely on one another: Justice must unite with Love.<sup>42</sup>

The armorial metaphor works distinctively in reference to Artegall. The pattern of private and public

<sup>42</sup> See Tuve, p.514.

education found in the preceding four books is also found here but not to the same degree. Spenser is particularly interested in political allegory in Book V, and the armorial metaphor attests to this fact. He presents the device of the tournament as a type of modulation from the "darke conceit" of Books III and IV to the blatantly political allegory of Book V. As mentioned in Part I of this work, the tournament presents a different set of criteria from which the poem proceeds. The "Paynim" Bruncheval is treated like any other knight (IV.iv.17), which is quite a divergence from the ordinary treatment of "Paynims" in The Faerie Queene. Disguises too play an important part in this entirely knightly milieu. Artegall is dressed "In quyent disguise" (iv.39), and he even borrows Braggadochio's shield, in another tournament, in order to prevent recognition (V.iii.10). As we have seen before, especially in Books I to III, Spenser repeats certain motifs such as fountains, cups, trees, etc., but places them in a different context so that they will reflect back on the original. With the device of the tournament, Spenser has further modified this technique so that he presents a neutral allegorical territory in which significant actions will be performed. These actions will again appear but in different artistic environs, in an emotionally charged political and

religious situation. The juxtaposition of the two or more contexts will thus present to the allegorically-minded reader the poetic statement of an important theme.

Artegall's exchange of shields with Braggadochio takes on a greater significance when seen in this light. One could look back to the episode in which Pyrocles took Guyon's shield (II.viii.22), but Spenser is looking forward in this instance. The tournament sets up the frame of reference. In the jousts in Book IV guises are not out of the ordinary, but in the following Book the act of disguising becomes a serious matter. Braggadochio's shield bears "the Sunne brode blazed in a golden field" (iii.14), an ironical emblem to say the least. Through Artegall's trick of borrowing this shield, the false Florimell is exposed when Braggadochio claims the honours of the day (15-24). Artegall thus acts as a minister of Justice, not only when he returns the girdle to its rightful owner, but also when he arbitrates the dispute between Sir Guyon and Braggadochio, the result of which is the "uncasing" of the latter (37). The tournament has served as a transitional element through which Artegall's quest has been defined in its social context: Artegall is the Knight of Justice.

In the Sir Burbon episode this act of exchanging shields is discussed in a very serious vein. Sir

Burbon is an opportunist par excellence. He tells Artegall that ". . . when time doth serve, / My former shield I may resume againe" (V.xi.56). This shield represents the Protestant faith of England. Artegall's answer to Burbon's rationalization for his action is unequivocal: "Fie on such forgerie . . . / . . . Of all things to dissemble fouly may befall" (56). This answer provides a necessary poetic solution to the apparent dichotomy between Artegall's previous actions and his present moralizing.

This dichotomy is most assuredly a "problem" which Spenser has created for the reader. The armorial metaphor again defines the nature of the knight involved, in this case Artegall. He had disguised himself in the tournament in Book IV and exchanged shields in Book V. However, he disguises himself outside of the tournament when he aids Prince Arthur against the Souldan. In order "their deseigne to make the easier way" (V.viii.25), Artegall assumes the armour of one of the pagan knights (26), and gains access to the Souldan's castle. He does not reveal his identity until Arthur has killed the pagan chief (50). Immediately one is tempted to see a discrepancy between Artegall's action here and his reproach of Sir Burbon. Is this the same type of deceit

as that practised by Archimago when he assumes the replica of the armour of Redcrosse (I.ii.11)? Or indeed is it the same as Britomart's disguise in the armour of a Saxon queen? It is obvious that Spenser wants us to ask these questions. It is equally obvious that he sees no discrepancy at all between Artegall's action and his word. Spenser feels the presence of a moral certitude,<sup>43</sup> and this certitude is deeply connected with his nationalistic feeling. The reason given for this military sleight is that the Soldan

Sought onely slaughter and avengement:  
But the brave Prince for honour and for right,  
Gainst tortious powre and lawlesse regiment,  
In the behalfe of wronged weake did fight:

(V.viii.30)

Thus disguises on the part of good knights, for good purposes, are condoned.<sup>44</sup> National, moral and religious certitude are completely upheld and the armorial metaphor accurately conveys it.

<sup>43</sup> Graham Hough, A Preface to The Faerie Queene (N.Y.: W.W. Norton and Co., 1962), p.16. Here Hough talks of the difference between pagan and Christian epics. The latter is distinctive for its sense of moral certitude. However, Hough does not link this idea with Spenser's feelings of national righteousness.

<sup>44</sup> This also seems to be Shakespeare's attitude in Act V of Henry IV, Part I, where Henry has many of his men disguise themselves as the king. See Rothery, The Heraldry of Shakespeare, p.31. Epic precedent for this episode can be found in The Aeneid, II.356.

## 3. Calidore

The Legend of Courtesy, unlike the preceding legends, deals exclusively with domestic national problems. There are no foreign enemies to be fought, and the absence of pagans ("paynims") is conspicuous.<sup>45</sup> The most obvious heraldic display (ii.44) bears no political or religious overtones whatever. Nonetheless, Spenser's armorial metaphor still operates significantly. If Book V celebrated the knight as Judge, Book VI celebrates him as courtier, not in the actual sense, but in the ideal.<sup>46</sup> Calidore's quest is very important, not only for Spenser's immediate audience, the Gentlemen of England, but also for all those who oppose the Blatant Beast, "the force of malignity and settled ill-will."<sup>47</sup>

The Blatant Beast, contrary to one critic's opinion,<sup>48</sup> is a symbol of discourtesy in general, but more importantly, it is a sign of an internal disease of man,

<sup>45</sup> Neither Osgood (Concordance) nor Whitman (Subject-Index) cite any references to "paynims." Disdain swears by "Mahound" but this is the only indication of a pagan, and a weak one at that (vii.47).

<sup>46</sup> See Hough, p.203.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p.212.

<sup>48</sup> J. C. Maxwell, "The Truancy of Calidore," ELH, 19(1952), 148.

in the same way that the Dragon, Acrasia, and Busyrane were internal problems. The hermit who heals Timias and Serena of the bite of the Beast tells them that "in your selfe your onely helpe doth lie" (vi.7), clearly pointing to the internal nature of the foe.<sup>49</sup> Yet as in the other legends the major enemy has helpmates who embody, to a lesser degree, the social and/or moral, political and religious disease which he represents. Calidore's quest, then, will have a private end in the vanquishing of these foes and a public end in the capturing of the Blatant Beast. The armorial metaphor again plays a great part in the unfolding of the theme.

Armour is a sign of courtesy (i.41), and thus is it valued. The unarmed woodsman, Tristram, kills a knight because the latter had tried to abuse a lady. This knight had attacked him for attempting to rescue her. Tristram's gesture is very courteous and indicates his chivalrous reasons for desiring to be a knight. Calidore grants his request, not only for the merit of the deed, but also because of his noble birth (ii.27). The assumption of armour is seen as an honour and a duty of worthy noble persons (ii.34). Consequently, discourteous knights are either killed, like the one above,

<sup>49</sup> Vance, p.234.

or they are stripped of their armour, as witnessed in the Sir Turpine episode (vi.36). Armour is the outward sign of the courteous man, and even the Wild Man, who "wore no armour, ne for none did care" (vii.43), assumes it when he realizes its meaning (v.8). He does, however, take off these "cumbrous armes" as soon as he may plausibly do so (v.10), his action being but a parody of the "doffing" of armour by the knights in the book.

The act of taking off armour is very important for an understanding of Spenser's attitude in Book VI. In Book I the hermit Contemplation had advised Redcrosse Knight to first perform his "service to that soveraigne Dame" (x.59) and then, his "victorie . . . wonne," he could hang up his shield and "Thenceforth the suit of earthly conquest shonne" (60). In Book VI the hermit is a knight who has performed his duty and who has honourably hung up "his armes and warlike spoile" (v.37). His example seems to define clearly the actions of the other knights in Book VI, who take off their armour for no apparently good reason.

Calepine takes off his armour "To solace with his Lady in delight" (iii.20). Even though his action is "far from envious eyes," it is nonetheless foolhardy, for it is juxtaposed with a similar incident in which

Aladine, unarmed, was severely wounded by a discourteous knight (ii.19). If armour stands for Chivalry itself, then voluntary disarming, at the wrong moment, is an abuse on knighthood itself.<sup>50</sup> Yet Calepine again disarms, and it proves to be a help rather than a hindrance. He hears the cries of a little babe, who is caught in the mouth of a bear, and

Well him chaunst his heavy armes to want,  
Whose burden mote empeach his needful speed,

(iv.19).

Being unarmed is not an unequivocal action betraying the call of knighthood. Calepine's first action does, however jeopardise his knighthood because it appears to be a partial reason for Serena's vulnerability to the Blatant Beast.

The best example of the consequences of disarming comes in the Pastorella episode in which Calidore takes off his armour and "himself addrest / In shepherds weed" (ix.36). He bemoans his condition among "this worlds gay shoves" (ix.27), but the old shepherd Meliboe replies by saying that

. . . fooles therefore  
They are, which fortunes doe by voves devize,  
Sith each unto himselfe his life may fortunize.

(ix.30)

<sup>50</sup> See Vance, p.228.

Calidore's response is very human indeed, for he expresses his wish to rest for a while his weary "barke." The narrator comments in the next canto that Calidore is "Unmyndfull of his vow and high beheast" and is "now entrapt of love" (x.1). It is obvious from the next verse, though, that Calidore has not betrayed his ideal, but rather, he has become overburdened with the negative aspects of the real situation, with the "shadowes vaine." Calidore is seen as an older man (xii.11) and Spenser views his dallying in this pastoral setting ambivalently. Certainly it is not all bad.<sup>51</sup> Calidore does take up his armour again in defence of Pastorella (xi.36). His lesson here is that the pastoral world has a lot to offer, but even it is infected with the bad parts of man's nature. The pastoral land of Meliboe is good, but it is helpless against the brigands "because its warriors have refused the burden of being strong."<sup>52</sup> Calidore has learned a lesson during his sojourn in the idyllic forest that he must again assume his arms and perform his duty as a courteous gentleman and knight. Pastorella, the beautiful shepherdess, is really a noblewoman (xii), and Calidore's quest, symbolized in the

<sup>51</sup> Vance, p.243.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.244.

capturing of the Blatant Beast, will be to take on again the duties of a courtier, to assume the heavy burden of a knight of courtesy.

#### 4. Prince Arthur

The last major knight of The Faerie Queene is, of course, Prince Arthur. He appears in each of the six books and, according to the "Letter to Raleigh," he portrays the particular virtue celebrated in each legend.<sup>53</sup> Moreover he has been seen, by one critic, as a unifying principle throughout the poem.<sup>54</sup> However, his quest for Gloriana is "largely ineffective as a narrative device," because of its intermittant character.<sup>55</sup> Does the poem thus lack any type of unity? Some have answered this question by saying that Arthur represents the glorification of the House of Tudor, of national fame in the figure of Elizabeth.<sup>56</sup> This is certainly true in the first five books, but not in the sixth. Arthur's role, even in the third book, is only to show

<sup>53</sup> Spenser: Poetical Works, p.407.

<sup>54</sup> Hughes, p.330.

<sup>55</sup> Hough, p.226.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.227. See also Tillyard, The English Epic, p.289.

his love for Gloriana, and his purpose in the sixth is to portray a perfect princely courtier, with no overt political and religious overtones. Is Arthur then an ineffective device for unity within the poem? The answer again lies in Spenser's use of the armorial metaphor.

The best known example of the power of Arthur's armour takes place in the battle between Orgoglio and the Prince (I.viii.6-24). Orgoglio is able to knock Arthur to the ground, but the shield of the Prince "Did loose his vele by chaunce," and the beast is overcome by the "flashing beames," the secret power of the shield (19-20). Arthur's foes, Duessa and Orgoglio, here represent the political and religious power of Spain. As we have seen before, Orgoglio had given to Duessa a "triple crowne," an obvious replica of the papal tiara (vii.16). Moreover, Arthur in this battle rescues Redcrosse from a spiritual death. The power of the shield can therefore be correctly interpreted as the manifestation of divine grace. Yet Arthur here does not himself represent the operation of grace, as held by Prof. Woodhouse;<sup>57</sup> rather, he represents the human agent through whom grace is unwittingly conveyed. It is not

<sup>57</sup> "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," p.352.

through Arthur's will that grace is conferred because the sacred light of the shield is "loosed by chance."<sup>58</sup> The power of the shield is the sign of God's grace, but there is nothing in the description of the shield itself to warrant a one-to-one correspondence between it and the nature of Arthur's conscious role. The armour, then, must be able to freely change its signification, so that Arthur does not always represent the agent through whom grace is conveyed.<sup>59</sup>

In most instances where Arthur appears in the poem, he seems to be the agent of "a special providence which insures, not salvation in the religious sense, but the triumph in battle of a chosen hero over the enemies of England and Protestantism."<sup>60</sup> The Orgoglio episode is clearly included, yet rises above this "special providence," but there is no other example in which salvific grace is implied in the powers of Arthur's magic shield. The only other example which approximates this first episode is Arthur's fight with the Souldan in Book V. In contrast

<sup>58</sup> See Ellrodt, p.51.

<sup>59</sup> Professor Woodhouse is very careful to state that Arthur represents the operation of grace in Book I only (p.352), and that he has a triple role in the poem as a whole (p.356).

<sup>60</sup> Ellrodt, p.200.

to the first example, however, Arthur uses his conscious will to defeat his enemy:

At last from his victorious shield he drew  
 The vaile, which did his powrefull light empeach;  
 And comming full before his horses vew,  
 As they upon him prest, it plaine to them did  
 shew.

(viii.37)

The grace shown here is not the same as that of the former episode, and Arthur's cognizance of the shield's power against "paynim" foes is a clear indication of this fact. The "Adamantine shield" also proves victorious in Arthur's fight against Gerioneo (V.x.10). Its power is again a manifestation of nationalistic, religious, and moral certitude (x.17).

Arthur's armour in other parts of the poem also signifies this national and religious certitude, but far less obviously. Morddure, Arthur's sword, wielded by Pryocles would not strike its master, for "The faithful steele such treason no'uld endure" (II.viii.30). Arthur finds it difficult to fight with this "paynim" foe because he is using Guyon's shield upon which Gloriana's resemblance is emblazoned (43). The use of this shield by Pyrocles is a type of treason, for it was "rudely snatcht" from its senseless owner, a very unknighly deed (22). Arthur offers this Saracen the chance to live if he will renounce his "miscreaunce," but Pyrocles

stubbornly refuses. Arthur executes him for "he so wilfully refused grace" (52). Prince Arthur, liberator of England from the tyranny of Rome (x.49), is also the protector of knights, knights who belong to the Order of Maydenhead, and executioner of those who falsely wear that badge.<sup>61</sup>

Arthur also fights against a pagan in Book IV, and the frame of reference is again the political and religious one. Arthur's armour is not very significant as a force in itself; however, its meaning is perhaps close to his "readie quicke foresight" (viii.42-44). Corflambo, as his name suggests, seduces women and captivates their thoughts. Yet his victims are only women of political importance, and he is able to lead many "Nations into thraldome" (47). He is a pagan, a sure Spenserian label for the political and religious enemies of England. He is a foe of concord and friendship among nations because of his deceitful and lecherous tactics. Arthur's victory over him is therefore quite significant in light of the overall theme of concord in Book IV.

<sup>61</sup> Spenser's nationalistic moral righteousness is very evident here when seen in light of Artegall's assumption of pagan armour (V.viii.26).

The major exceptions to Arthur's role as a political and religious agent are in Books III and VI. In Book III he is seen only in his guise as lover of Gloriana (iv - v).<sup>62</sup> Yet Book III is integrally connected with Book IV, and Arthur does play a significant political role in the Corflambo incident, even though the armorial metaphor does not emphasize it as in Books I, II and V. The armorial metaphor in relation to the Prince returns somewhat to its functional use in Book VI, but without the political and religious aspect. Arthur's most significant actions take place in the seventh and eighth cantos, Book VI being no exception. He strips Sir Turpine of his armour because of that knight's latest misdeed (vii.27), which was an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the unarmed Prince. Turpine is a prime example of a most uncourteous knight. Immediately following this is the Mirabella episode in which Arthur fights with Disdain. Spenser builds up to this battle by giving what appears to be very important information. Disdain is "sib to great Orgoglio, which was slaine" by the Prince (I.vii.41). Furthermore, Disdain swears by "Turmagant and Mahound" (VI.vii.47), but this is the

<sup>62</sup> It is interesting to note that Book III is the only exception to Arthur's appearance in the eighth canto of each book.

only reference to the pagan motif. When Arthur fights with him the battle seems to be on a parallel with his fight with Orgoglio. However, this semblance proves faulty for a number of reasons. Disdain may not be killed because Mirabella's "safety" lies in his "health" (viii. 18). The Prince also must do no more than take up his shield and fight an ordinary battle (viii.7). Arthur's foe is very close to the reality of court life and may not be destroyed, for to do so would be to disrupt completely the little harmony that does actually exist there.

How then does the armorial metaphor operate when it refers to Prince Arthur? The answer lies partially in Spenser's first description of Arthur, a description very similar yet very different from that used for other major knights of The Faerie Queene. Arthur is dressed in "glitterand armour" (I.vii.29), but there is nothing that defines any unique personal quality shown in the six books in which he appears. The "bauldrick" that he wears appears only here, and the stone "Shapt like a Ladies head" is but a vague reference to Queen Elizabeth. His helmet has "a Dragon" upon the crest, and this can only be an even more general reference to one of the "historical" coats of

arms attributed to him, a coat in "which he bare three dragons."<sup>63</sup> Spenser does not rely on any heraldic significance in Arthur's shield, for it bears no relation whatever to the accepted heraldic designs for the Prince.<sup>64</sup> It most certainly may represent St. Paul's shield of Faith in Book I, but it loses this spiritual significance in the other books.<sup>65</sup> Its source may be the "machinery" of the chansons de geste, or from Tasso's epic-romance,<sup>66</sup> but nonetheless it operates in a peculiarly Spenserian manner. Furthermore, the "Adamant rocke" out of which his shield is hewn is not used as a modifier solely for some Arthurian characteristic. Artegall's character is said to have been shaped "in th'Adamantine mould" (V.vi.2), and his sword, Chrysaoar, had been "Tempred with Adamant" (V.i.10). Even the Dragon against which Redcrosse fights has a body like this stone (I.xi.25). All of the other knights, excepting Calidore and Arthur, display significant heraldic images. The only conclusion to be drawn, then,

<sup>63</sup> Dame Juliana Berners (b.1388?), The Gentleman's Academie, or The Book of St. Albans: . . . compiled by Juliana Barnes, in . . . 1486, and now reduced into a better method by G. M. (London: Printed by Humphrey Bownes . . . 1595), S.T.C. number #3314, sig. Qiii, p.55.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ellrodt, p.200.

<sup>66</sup> Ellrodt, p.200.

is that Spenser purposely made Arthur's armorial description vague in order that his main hero could take on a different aspect in each book. In this he has succeeded, for most readers feel a sense of unity whenever Arthur is present, and the aid that he gives to the respective knight is perfectly suited to that knight's particular quest. Finally, Arthur is always, in varying degrees of political and religious significance, the regal representative of the glory of England.

## 5. The Armorial Metaphor in Retrospect

Hopefully this work has shown that Spenser's use of the armorial metaphor is complex and that an appreciation of this fact further enhances the reader's understanding and enjoyment of Spenser's artistry. While the political and religious aspect of his thought dominates most of the poem, it is also true that there are interludes in which he subdues this weighty matter. He is not an historian, and hence his use of armorial detail and heraldic design only goes so far as to achieve his eclectic purpose. Nonetheless his symbolism is rich with significant heraldic and armorial detail. He follows a pattern for as long as it proves useful and almost always abandons it for another. Thus it is very difficult to generalize about Spenser's use of this metaphor. However, a few points can be drawn together.

Evil places and characters often display hung armour which is a visible sign of the dishonour due to the knight who owned it. Acrasia, Busyrane, and Radigund are prime examples of this feature. Sir Turpine's armour is hung up by Arthur in Book VI as a sign of degradation, but this action in no way signifies an evil characteristic in the Prince. The personal armour of good knights is also hung up, but willingly, as a sign of duty

done and honour gained. The hermit in Book VI witnesses to this act. Disarming and the hanging up of armour are thus defined not in themselves but through the agent who performs these actions and through his motives for doing them.

In general the taking off of armour has bad consequences. Redcrosse is captured by Orgoglio; Artegall is defeated by Radigund; and Calepine, for a time, is unmindful of his quest. Yet all of these examples are different and have to be greatly qualified before they can justly be put beside one another. Arthur's "baffuling" of Sir Turpine is nothing like the disgraceful display of Acrasia's last victim, although both show hung armour. Artegall's exchange of shields with Braggadochio only resembles the Sir Burbon episode on the surface, and the deceit of Archimago (I.ii.11) and that of Artegall (V.viii.26) clearly are of a different nature. Thus symbolical action involving the armorial metaphor can only be defined within the context of the particular episode. Finally, since Spenser's poem is basically audience-oriented, and since he abundantly reflects his milieu, the religious and political motif helps to define and is itself defined by the armorial metaphor.

## Appendix I

A brief over-view of critical approaches to Spenser's use of the armorial metaphor reveals the obvious problem of scant treatment of complex argumentative patterns. Nonetheless, such a survey with its inherent limitations is necessary in order to place this thesis in the context of the historical treatment of armour as metaphor in The Faerie Queene.

A few critical methods of inquiry immediately present themselves, and these can be discussed under the three general headings of classical, philosophical and allegorical approaches to the subject. Obviously these labels are not meant to be stringent categorizations but merely focal points to facilitate such a study. The doctorate thesis of Eugene Augustus Vance, "Warefare As Metaphor in Spenser's Faerie Queene" (Cornell Univ., 1964) is the most direct treatment of Spenser's armorial metaphor and will be dealt with in the body of this thesis, especially in Part I, section one.

M.Y. Hughes in his well known work Virgil and Spenser (Berkley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1929) finds in Spenser's poem ample evidence of a classical Virgilian world. At times Spenser expressed his debt to the Roman poet "by actually echoing his language." Guyon's

"epic speech" to Alma (II.ii.39ff) is a prime example (p.331). Although Hughes states that Spenser's recollection of The Aeneid was vague (p.347), nonetheless the English poet often directly echoed Virgilian themes (e.g., "Troynovant," III.ix.44-46) and characters (e.g., Glauce and Britomart, III.ii.30, from Carme and Scylla in Ciris, II. 220-252). Britomart is a "true heir of Virgil's Camilla" but modified through Ariosto's Bradamante (p.357). However, Hughes does not find in The Faerie Queene exact imitations of Virgilian models, and when he looks at armour he finds only that "the details of Camilla's weaponry happen to be very like Belphebe's . . ." (p.359). Hughes then supplements the Gilbert article which is concerned only with the literal presentation of armour.

William S. Webb (to whom I am greatly indebted) in "Vergil in Spenser's Epic Theory" (ELH, 4 ('37), 62-84) finds that Spenser "responded to Vergil's strong patriotic feeling in a peculiarly significant way" (p.70). In The Aeneid Spenser found "epic precedent for his functional use of British history" (p.74). Webb deals with the shield of Aeneas as an "artistic structural form" (pp.73-76), an idea which I discuss at length in Part I, section one (iii). He looks not at the similarities of the literal presentation of armour, but rather at Spenser's

reworking of Virgilian epic precedent. However, while Webb sees Virgilian influence concerning the epic use of national history, he does not see any pattern emerging in Spenser's use of the armorial metaphor. The two preceding critics, then, represent an approach to the study of The Faerie Queene which emphasizes classical armorial elements but finds no particular pattern in Spenser's armorial metaphor.

The approach which I classify as philosophical includes those critics who study Spenser's poem from the vantage point of differing philosophical schemes. J. H. Harrison in his classic work Platonism in English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1903, rpt., N.Y.: Russell and Russell Inc., 1965) fostered a view which saw the Platonic system of morality and love in Spenser's works. He does not discuss the armorial metaphor in particular, but he does make a statement concerning Britomart which is to influence later critics following this trend of thought. He states that there is almost a worship of Britomart (p.35) in the poem (III.ix.23-24; IV.i.13-15; vi.21-22). His observations seem innocent enough, but they are picked up by a later critic, Mohinimohan Bhattacharje (Platonic Ideas In Spenser, London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1935) and

become somewhat twisted. Bhattacharje postulates that Britomart feels no temptations and that her "noble love is really the magic spear which gives her victory everywhere" (p.61). Accordingly, Britomart's moral attributes are mental energy and strength of will (p.58). Yet if feminine power in battle, embodied in weaponry or armour, is the only criterion for good, then Radigund must be excellent! Bhattacharje does not see any personal development in Britomart (cf. Part II, section two, above) and herein lies the weakness of his arguments. Furthermore, he sees no armorial pattern developing and comments on the use of armour only in a limited fashion.

Of far greater critical merit, however, is the article of Maurice Evans on "Platonic Allegory in The Faerie Queene" (RES, 12 ('61), 132-143). Yet even here the study is limited to Books III and IV only. In these books Evans sees an emerging armorial pattern which relates closely with the general Renaissance symbol of the "Armed Venus" (p.134) and the Platonic mythical graces--Ficino's Urania and Dione and Pico's Venus Vulgaris (p.133). His main thesis is that the major female figures in these books are closely linked with the three graces, and their armorial attire in general indicates this connection. Yet Evans, like Harrison and Bhattacharje,

does not find in the whole work an overall pattern in the armorial metaphor. Indeed, none of them set out to do so.

Similarly, certain critics see Spenser essentially as an Aristotelian. H.S.V. Jones ("The Faerie Queene and the Medieval Aristotelian Tradition," JEGP, XXV ('26), 283-298) is probably the best known; but, like the "Platonic" critics, he too mentions only the major episodes involving armorial significance (e.g., Redrosse Knight "putting on the armor of the Christian man," p.290) and neglects political and religious overtones. From this critical tradition, however, comes the middle group of critics who see Spenser as an eclectic poet. R.L. Renwick in his article "Spenser's Philosophy" (in The Prince of Poets, ed. J.R. Elliott, N.Y.: N.Y. Univ. Press, 1968, 66-84) stands as a major exponent of this approach. His view opens up the field of criticism and enables readers to see Spenser's use of metaphor on its own ground, devoid of predetermined, philosophically one-sided explanations. He is followed by Robert Ellrodt (Neoplatonism in Spenser, Geneva: Libraire E. Droz, 1960), who applies Renwick's general observations to specific cases. Thus Arthur's shield can represent religious grace (on one level) in Book I and in the

remaining books "a special providence which ensures not salvation in the religious sense, but the triumph in battle of a chosen hero over the enemies of England and Protestantism" (p.200). Furthermore, this grace is nowhere doctrinaire (see pp.197-208). Ellrodt, like the preceding critics, does not present a pattern around which the armorial metaphor operates, yet he does implicitly allow for the possibility.

Finally, the third group of critics (the "allegorical") presents a general view, often combining many of the views found in the two other approaches. From a critic like Edwin Honig (Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory, N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966) we learn that the reader of allegory knows what a hero is, by his physical signs, before he knows who he is (p.81). In addition to this general approach, critics like Rosemond Tuve ("The Medieval Heritage in Spenser's Allegory," in Elizabethan Poets: Modern Essays in Criticism. ed. P.J. Alpers, N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967, 473-524) and Paul Alpers (The Poetry of The Faerie Queene, Princeton, N.Y.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1967) offer suggestions concerning major instances involving the armorial metaphor but do not, again, suggest any over-all patterns.

However, as one might expect, this gap is filled to a certain extent by one of Spenser's greatest

proponents, C.S. Lewis. In his Spenser's Images of Life (ed. Alastair Fowler, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967) Lewis presents his last ideas on the great poet. While the above critics found no significant pattern in relation to Spenser's use of armour, Lewis did. I do not agree entirely with his observations concerning "the unveiling of the good . . . (and) evil," but I cannot disagree with his statement that the function of "putting on and removal of armour, . . . is often, at least in part, that of a mask" (p.81). His comment is vague enough to cover a very complex topic. He was looking at armour from the vantage point of images of good and evil. On this aspect, rather than on armour as metaphor throughout the poem, Lewis concentrated his tremendous primary knowledge of Spenser's epic-romance.

Thus the study of armour in The Faerie Queene has been neglected almost entirely, and the above survey of pertinent critical ideas gives a fair indication of work done in this area.

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An Abstract of  
Armour As Metaphor in Spenser's Faerie Queene:  
The Political and Religious Aspect

The purpose of this thesis is to show that Spenser found in the armorial metaphor an apt vehicle to convey his religious beliefs in terms of England's political situation. However, given the limitations of allegorical reference to the real world, the armorial metaphor can range from the certitude of a well known heraldic emblem to the vagueness of a colourful description. This flexibility in Spenser's use of the armorial metaphor adds a certain unity to the work and displays the poet's rich eclectic spirit.

Part I deals with pertinent background material which is culturally distant from the modern reader. Spenserian modifications of chivalric virtues, the importance of the Arthurian myth, the limitation of heraldic display, and Spenser's imitation of Virgil's political and religious spirit are all studied in relation to this metaphor. Part II is concerned with the armorial metaphor as it applies to specific knights rather than specific books, since the private and public education and quest of the major knights extend beyond the boundaries of this poetic unit. Special attention is

obviously given to those knights who embody, to a great extent, Spenser's political and religious purpose.

Included in the second section are broad statements concerning the use of the armorial metaphor; these tentative conclusions extend the insights of critics who have commented on Spenser's utilization of metaphor in general.