PAGAN-CHRISTIAN TYPOLOGY IN SPENSER'S

FAERIE QUEENE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Though Spenser's Faerie Queene has deservingly attracted the attention of scholars, a careful reading of the critical evaluations of the poem generally reveals the neglect of a central concept in the poem, Spenser's usage of pagan-Christian typology. The traditions of biblical typology as they were inherited by the Renaissance are undoubtedly evident in the first book of the poem, but the recognition of a purely Christian typology on the part of the poet would mean for Spenser the denial of the validity of cultures other than Judeao-Christian--a concept totally alien to his mind. Spenser's interest in a "secular" typology, if one may so call it, manifests itself in the prefatory remarks to The Faerie Queene, where in narrating the relationship between Gloriana and Elizabeth the poet recognizes the images and characters as "that true glorious type of Thine."[1] In the prefatory verses to The Faerie Queene, generally attributed to Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's interest in typology is evidenced through the remark: "Thou dost vayle in Type of Faerie Land, Eliza's blessed field."

The Renaissance had extended the conventions of biblical typology and its method of implicit or "innate" association through a variety of ways--through color as in the wine/blood connection of the Eucharist and the harlot Rahab's scarlet thread (Joshua 2:18),[2] through numbers as seen in the connection between the twelve disciples and the twelve

tribes of Israel, through words that may be philologically related, such as Adonis/Adonai, and finally through the typology of pagan myths which entailed correspondences between pagan and Christian events, persons, and places. This last form of exegesis, generally known as pagan-Christian or humanist typology, encompasses sometimes the typology of colors, numbers, and philology, and hence does not limit itself exclusively to the explanation of classical myths. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate the existence of pagan-Christian typology in Spenser's Faerie Queene by interpreting the myths that form "the allegorical cores" of the various books from a humanist typological point of view. Such an interpretation would reveal how the different "centres" and the personages involved in them prefigure concepts, settings, personages or events in the Christian dispensation, or adumbrate existing realities and thus become "shadows" of the "true."

FOOTNOTES

[1] Book I, Proem, 4, Spenser: Poetical Works, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 3. All references to Spenser's poems will be to this edition, unless otherwise indicated, and future references will be cited parenthetically within the text.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, all biblical references are to the Geneva Version.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the vast amount of Spenserian scholarship, pagan-Christian typology plays a minor role as do its effects on Spenser's handling of time. Over the past centuries, typological concepts have often occurred in discussions of allegory, but the emphasis has generally been secondary. Sixteenth-century commentators either ignore the subject or deal with it in cursory terms. E. K. fails to recognize the existence of pagan-Christian typology in Spenser's works,[1] but Gabriel Harvey in the Commendatory Verses on The Faerie Queene (1590) seems to comprehend the implications of the word "type" in the Proem to Book I.[2] Other critics such as William Webbe,[3] Thomas Nashe,[4] and George Puttenham[5] do not offer any comments on this aspect of Spenser's work. Though Sir Walter Raleigh admits Spenser's debt to Homer and implies thereby the Renaissance poet's interest in Homeric allegories, he does not elaborate on these ideas.[6] Samuel Daniel, perhaps, is the first critic who explicitly discerns Spenser's technique of using "figures." In Delia: Contayning certayne sonnets with the complaint of Rosamond (1592) he praises Spenser for "Paint[ing] shadowes in imaginary lines."[7] Likewise, Charles Fitz-Geffrey in his book Sir Francis Drake (1596) praises Spenser's characters as types, especially in his reference to the poet's "types of true honor."[8] In his famous Virgidemiarum . . . (1597) Joseph Hall indicates unqualified approval for the typological mode used by

Spenser. In his chapter entitled "Defiance of Enuy" he applauds the "rusted swords of Eluish knights / Bathed in Pagan blood: or sheathe them new / In misty morall types."[9] Some critics, though not so explicit in their remarks, recognize the "allegorical" or typological mode[10] in Spenser through their comparisons of Homer and Vergil with Spenser. Francis Meres in Palladis Tamia (1598) discerns many similarities between the ancient poets and Spenser and even though he does not mention "types" explicitly, his cognizance of allegorical qualities of the ancient poets leads one to infer that he was, perhaps, aware of Spenser's "allegorical" traits as well.[11]

The seventeenth century critics increasingly recognize Spenser's debt to Homer and Vergil, but they do not notice his use of pagan characters as types of the Christian personages, though they were aware of his use of biblical typology. Literary men such as Robert Aylett in Song of Songs . . . (1621),[12] Alexander Gill in Logonomia (1626)[13] and Sir Kenelm Digby[14] in his comments on the Castle of Alma rank Spenser alongside Homer and Vergil, but makes no implicit or explicit statement regarding the poet's use of humanist typology. Others recognize Spenser's usage of biblical typology but remarks on this subject remain scattered and uneven. Michael Drayton, for example, calls St. George "an allegory of our Saviour Christ and our admired Spencer hath made him an emblem of religion"[15] (italics mine). In a similar vein, Tristram White's prefatory remarks to The Martyrdom of St. George of Cappadocia: Titular Patron of England (1614)[16] state that the "poet in the person of an holy propheticall Father, instructed the champion of the Cross"--a statement which is somewhat suggestive of White's understanding of the prophetic element so closely connected

with typology. An awareness of Christian typology is illustrated in Robert Salter's Wonderful Prophecies (1626) wherein the writer is cognizant of a Christ type in the figure of the Red Cross Knight.[17] He describes a fourfold "state of the man in Christ" and such a state he finds embodied in the Red Cross Knight. Salter states:

> And even this very mystery is that a right learned and virtuous gentleman hath so lively deciphered in his legend of the Patron of True Holiness, the Knight of the Red Cross; whereby, and by his lovely raptures, he hath justly purchased the laurel of honourable memory, while the pilgrimage of those of his worthies are to endure.
>
> Here there he has brought our noble Saint George, at first only in the state of a swain. . . .
>
> But when he had arrayed himself in the armour of his dying Lord, his presence is then become gracious, and his person promising great things, as one for sad encounters fit. Which he first passively . . . and after actively . . . doth so victoriously pass through and finish that at the length . . . he is become altogether impassable, whether of assaults of the fraility of nature within, or affronts of adversaries without, as being fully possessed of that Kingdom, against which there is none to stand up.[18]

The various extensions of biblical typology, however, did not go entirely unnoticed, for Peter Heylyn observes secular typology in the poem when he asserts that the Queen and the great men of her court were "shadowed in such lively colours . . . and represent[ed] such ideas of all moral goodness" that they became emblems of virtue.[19] In A Supplement of The Faerie Queene (1635) Ralph Knevett also sees an extension of biblical typology in the poem, which he claims is "onely an exact treatise / Of moral Philosophy enveloped in an Allegorical Romance."[20] He seems to interpret his characters typologically: his Malfida (Book VII.i.5), a counterpart of Spenser's Duessa typifies the "Roman Catholic Church."[21]

Another extension of biblical typology--the typology of geometric forms--manifests itself in the work of William Austin who applies this method to Spenser's works. In his book Haec Homo Wherein the Excellency

of Creation is described, By Way of Essay (1637) he demonstrates the body as a type of soul and does so using various illustrations of geometric forms.[22] Only one critic, however, recognizes Spenser's use of pagan-Christian typology. Henry More, known for his association with the Cambridge Platonists, is naturally predisposed to an appreciation of Spenser and in his preface to *Ψυχωδια Platonica or a Platonicall Song of the Soule* (1642) he claims that "all-approved Spencer, sings of Christ under the name of Pan."[23] In the preface he defends the pagan-Christian types by citing the authority of Saint Paul, who, he claims, in Acts 17, "transfers those things that he hath spoken of Jupiter, to God himself"[24] so that Jupiter becomes a type of God. In suggesting these pagan-Christian precedents More seems to observe in Spenser the elements of humanist typology, even though, like his contemporaries, he does not attempt to theorize or elaborate upon the subject.

Unlike their predecessors in the seventeenth century the critics of the Restoration and of the era following it generally deal more extensively with the moral implications of poetry than with the humanist typological form of exegesis. Consequently, critics such as John Jortin in *Remarks on Spenser's Poems* (1734)[25] and Richard Hurd in *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) are more interested in the "justness of a moral" governing a poem rather than in the typological implications even though Hurd with Spenser recognizes the poem to be a "*perpetual allegory or a dark conceit*."[26] Other critics such as Alexander Pope,[27] Joseph Addison,[28] John Spence,[29] and Joseph Warton[30] denigrate the intermixture of the pagan with the Christian and fail to see the significance of the typological import in the poem. Despite this trend among the Neo-classical scholars, some critics exhibit much interest in humanist

typology. Edward Howard, though he does not speak of typology per se, observes in his preface to Caroliades . . . (1689) the presence of "fiction" or pagan myth along with "allegory" in the poetry of Spenser.[31] Likewise, Sir William Temple in his Miscellanea Upon Poetry, The Second Part (1690) cites approval of Spenser's use of pagan-Christian typology. Temple claims that

> The religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the Contexture of all ancient Poetry, with a very agreeable mixture, which made the Moderns affect to give that of Christianity, a place also in their Poems. But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction so well, as a false had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase Religion than to heighten poetry. Spencer attempted to supply this with Morality, and to make Instruction, instead of Story the subject of an Epicke poem.[32]

Temple also cites approval of the intermixture of the pagan and the Christian (pp. 24-25) and even approves of Aesop's morality as being compatible with Christian morality. Following Temple's emphasis on "instruction," John Hughes makes some very perceptive remarks on humanist typology in the prefatory "Essay on Allegorical Poetry" in his edition of The Works of Mr. Edmund Spencer . . . (1715).[33] Hughes quotes Plutarch's definition of allegory, which he claims, is a fable wherein imaginary persons "shadow" some "real action or instructive moral."[34] He goes on to define allegory as a

> kind of Poetical Picture of Heiroglyphick, which by its apt resemblance conveys Instruction to the mind by an analogy to the senses. . . . Every Allegory has therefore two Senses, the Literal and the Mystical; the literal Sense is like a Dream or Vision, of which the mystical Sense is the true Meaning or Interpretation.[35]

The literal sense for Hughes consists of the fictitious persons who are merely creatures of the poet's brain and of events and actions that exist beyond the pale of probability. In the "mystical Sense" the

reader, he claims, cannot be content with the literal meaning "but is of necessity driven to seek for another meaning under these wild Types and Shadows."[36] Despite these illuminating remarks, Hughes does not apply his theory to Spenser's poetry. Like Hughes and Temple, John Upton notices the existence of pagan-Christian types in the poem. In the preface to The Fairy Queen (1758),[37] Upton claims that the poet makes his fable "allegorical" in the "Greek" sense, and that the "Forms and persons might be introduced, shadowing forth and emblematically representing the mysteries of physical and moral sciences. . . ."[38] He further claims that the poem should be read as a continued allegory and the poet should give his work a variety whereby his "Allegory might be enlarged and varied by his pointing at historical events under concealed names, and while his story is told consistently, emblematically and typically, some historical characters and transactions might be signified."[39] Upton's remarks are clearly indicative of his cognizance of Spenser's use of humanist typology, and despite his claims of applying this kind of exegesis to Book V,[40] he does not construct a framework nor does he go into a detailed application of his ideas with reference to the Fifth book of The Faerie Queene. Another editor of Spenser, Ralph Church,[41] is not interested in citing classical sources as parallels, but is, nevertheless, aware of Spenser's use of humanist typological motifs. His recognition of types is seen in his analogy between Una and Queen Elizabeth, wherein he observes Una as a character in whom the Queen is "typically represented," and in his warning to the reader to consider the poem as a continued allegory.[42] However, Church like his fellow editors, does not attempt to elaborate on these ideas but simply recognizes their presence in Spenser's poetry. Though Thomas Warton

in his Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser (1762)[43] approves of Spenser's use of pagan-Christian typology, he suggests the necessity of restraints on such interpretations. Commenting upon the juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane, Warton generally condemns those who "place the licentious sallies of the imagination upon a level with the dictates of divine inspiration" and those who "debase the truth and dignity of heavenly things, by making the Christian allegory subservient to the purposes of Romantic fiction."[44] However, Warton does not condemn such a syncretism in Spenser, for in Spenser the "extravagancies of Pagan mythology are not improperly introduced into a poem of this sort, as they are acknowledged falsities; or at best if expressive of any moral truth, no more than inventions of men."[45] This assertion seems to be correct since Warton here is suggesting the exact import of pagan-Christian typology wherein the pagan gods are regarded as shadows of the true God and therefore "false" and subservient to the Christian deity. Some of Warton's criticisms against pagan-Christian syncretism in general are refuted by John Wilson, who, as an ardent supporter of Spenser's religious views defends Spenser against the attacks of Warton and Spence.[46] Wilson begins by defending the intermixture of the pagan and the Christian by citing the example of the greatest painters who have so studied and used the scriptures that despite the presence of "profane" material in their work, they have sanctified and glorified religion. But on Spenser's usage of types, both Warton and Wilson seem to concur. Wilson agrees with Warton's interpretation of Duessa as a type of the "scarlet whore" because of both character's historicity. He claims:

> Thus Duessa, who is formed upon the idea of a romantic enchantress, is gorgeously arrayed in gold and purple,

> presented with a triple crown by the giant Orgoglio, and seated by him on a monstrous seven-headed dragon, whose tail reaches to the skies, and throws down the stars--she bearing a golden cup in her hand. This quoth he, is the scarlet whore and the red dragon in the Revelations. True. But we utterly deny that there is here either defect of judgment or contempt of religion.[47]

In affirming that the poet's aim was so high that he was privileged to employ imagery from the Apocalypse, he seems to suggest the poet's role as prophet, a suggestion that implies Wilson's awareness of types:

> There is here no desecration of things holy, but effect worship. It is the sublime application by a poet of a prophet's verses, even to the same subject. It is not too bold to say that Edmund Spenser borrows from the pen of St. John--and that the two revelations coincide--or rather that there is but one revelation--at first derived from heaven, and then given again --in poetry, which, though earth-born, claims kindred with the issue of the skies.[48]

However, in keeping with the general trend of the age, Wilson does not work systematically with this aspect of Spenser's poetry.

The criticism of the nineteenth century, unlike that of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth century, seems to be totally devoid of any interest in humanist typology. The critics in this period tend to neglect the concept of types or "allegory" primarily because the early nineteenth century writers refuse to "take seriously Spenser's expressed premises and statements of intention."[49] Hazlitt's advice to disregard Spenser's allegory (1818)[50] and Lowell's suggestion that The Faerie Queene could best be appreciated as a "series of lovely pictures"[51] reveal, perhaps, the general attitude toward medieval allegory and hence toward typology. Coleridge certainly discerns the existence of pagan-Christian "allegory" in the writings of the poets of the fifth century, but he does not think highly of it as is apparent in his marginal notes in his copy of The Faerie Queene as well as from his notes for lectures.[52] Lamb,[53] Scott,[54] Ruskin,[55] and Lowell[56] follow closely the

patterns set by their contemporaries in either rejecting or ignoring the typological motifs in the poem. The Romantic critics, furthermore, generally avoid dealing with one aspect of the poem, for such a notion is opposed to their concept of the unity of impression. For example, Dowden[57] does not see any value in the moral philosophy of Spenser unless he views this aspect in the totality of the entire poem. Moreover, these critics move away from the medieval concept of allegory and begin to consider this term more frequently as an externalization of an internal state of mind, an idea that becomes far removed from the notion of typology. Consequently, no significant criticism from the typological point of view occurs during this period.

Among the twentieth century critics dealing with this aspect of Spenser's work, three distinct groups seem to emerge: those who deny or denigrate the existence of pagan-Christian typology in Spenser, those who deal with it rather cursorily, and finally those who accept and support this sort of interpretation, but have not undertaken a systematic study nor have constructed a framework for further investigation in this area. Some leading Spenserians such as Ernst de Selincourt,[58] W. L. Renwick,[59] Josephine Bennett,[60] Janet Spens,[61] Edwin Greenlaw,[62] Leicester Bradner,[63] and more recently, Paul Alpers[64] avoid any discussion pertaining to this aspect of Spenser. This neglect of humanist typology evinces itself also in the works by Virgil K. Whitaker[65] and Arnold Williams.[66] Williams sees Spenser's mythology only as a means of "externalizing for narrative use certain conceptualized psychic forces"[67] and fails to notice the typological implications in Spenser's myths. Others such as A. C. Hamilton[68] and Charles Osgood[69] take a negative view of Spenser's pagan-Christian typology. Though Hamilton

believes Spenser's treatment of mythology to be useful in the understanding of The Faerie Queene and sees the emergence of a point-counterpoint analogy between classical and Christian statements of man's fall and restoration, he remains an enemy of the "hidden allegorical significance."[70] Likewise, Osgood does not consider Spenserian allegory as meritorious since it clothes no moral system as does Dante's allegory. The coherent structure of doctrine and symbols so essential to allegory disappears, he claims, with Spenser. Consequently, Osgood affirms the absence of "any system of thought derived from the ancients or the Middle Ages, or from Calvin," but is willing to grant "certain congenial ideas and a pervading quality"[71] in Spenser's works. Similarly Derek Traversi generally condemns Spenser for his "fatal" attraction to Neo-Platonism. Affirming that The Faerie Queene is the "last expression of the great allegorical tradition, which its author only imperfectly understood, of the Middle Ages," he claims that the "allegorical habit of seeing unity beneath diversity is shattered."[72] Northrup Frye, however, does concern himself with the Christian parallels of the four levels of existence present in The Mutabilitie Cantos, but he reduces the poem to a biblical quest romance.[73]

The second group of Spenserian critics do not by-pass Spenser's use of humanist typology no matter how cursorily they treat the subject. Some such as Grace W. Landrum[74] and John E. Hankins[75] are concerned primarily with biblical typology, whereas others deal with the subject generally in an attempt to elucidate another idea or an aspect of the poem. Joseph Galdon[76] affirms that Spenser's works are susceptible to typological interpretation, particularly so The Faerie Queene, but he does not enter into a detailed analysis of this poem. Like Galdon,

G. Wilson Knight[77] does not interpret the poem from the typological standpoint, even though he regards the poem as "rich in pagan lore" and discerns the intertwining of pagan and Christian mythology together with the fact that Renaissance poets include Christianity in a "humanistic comprehension."[78] Humphrey Tonkin's article,[79] like that of Charles Cannon's,[80] deals with this topic in general terms. Though Tonkin views Spenser under the influence of the Neo-Platonists who saw "sacred mysteries in myths," he does not pursue the subject. In his book Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, H. O. Taylor remarks that Spenser synthesizes the world of the symbol, the allegory, and the type idea, and that he is the "final sacred vessel of allegory."[81] He observes Spenser's tolerance of the heathen gods and recognizes, implicitly, Spenser's use of pagan-Christian syncretism in The Faerie Queene, a poem, which he feels, "gathers alike from pagan mythology and the Old Testament."[82] However, Taylor like several of his peers does not enter into any significant discussion of typology despite his implied recognition of it in the poem. Isabel E. Rathborne in The Meaning of Spenser's Faerieland[83] discerns the existence of types: Gloriana she considers a "type" of earthly fame and Lucifera an "antitype" of Gloriana. Her terminology, however, is not quite clear since she does not attempt to define any terms specifically. With her usual perceptiveness, Kathleen Williams[84] observes the presence of types in The Faerie Queene but does not dwell on this point. Likewise, B. Nellish shows much interest in the use of Christian types as seen in his treatment of the ship typology as well as in the humanist types which appear in his linking of the pagan concept of "prudence" with the Christian figure of the "palmer";[85] but he, too, does not put forward a theory nor does he

elaborate on the subject of humanist typology. Recognizing Spenserian characters more significantly as types "in terms of types from the Bible and also as the figures in Virgil,"[86] Pauline Parker shows how Glorianna's earthly fame, which marks the pagan aspect of humanism rather than the Christian, can be seen as a type of Christian glory. She clearly delineates the differences between allegory, symbol, and type, but constructs no elaborate framework or guidelines regarding the theory of types. In C. S. Lewis's Spenser's Images of Life, the author affirms Spenser's inheritance from the Florentine Platonists like Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola who believed not only that "all myths and heiroglyphs hide a profound meaning but also that this ancient pagan under meaning is really in agreement with Christianity."[87] Lewis considers Spenser an authority on iconographic art, and even though he deals with the pagan-Christian parallels in Spenserian characters and though he seems aware of the typological tradition (as is evident in his usage of antitypes in the second chapter), he still remains on the periphery of the mainstream of typological critics. This position is also maintained in The Discarded Image, wherein he demonstrates how "Paganism . . . becomes in full sense religious; [and] mythology and philosophy . . . [are] both . . . transmuted into theology,"[88] but he does not discuss significantly the concept of typology. Rosemary Freeman, similarly, deals with this subject in cursory terms even though she links allegory with typology. In her few remarks on the subject of typology of The Faerie Queene she asserts that "the action opens on a realistic plane with characters recognizibly human behaving naturally on a social occasion; it ends in typology and personification."[89] Evelyn Albright also casually comments on the

allegorical Garden of Adonis. In her monograph entitled "Spenser's Cosmic Philosophy and Religion" she claims that the Garden is "Greek and more or less pagan; and yet it includes with the pagan powers a definite recognition of God the Creator."[90] In a similar manner, Lewis H. Miller Jr. claims that Spenser was not incapable of veiling theological doctrine "under mythological drapery,"[91] but his treatment like that of several others, remains a rather cursory one, and does not extend beyond these remarks.

Some recent criticism, particularly that of the last two decades has been hospitable to the humanist typological approach even though no systematic study of Spenser's Faerie Queene has been undertaken entirely from this point of view. Numerological typology, which in essence, is an offshoot of biblical typology has been well covered by Alastair Fowler's Spenser and the Numbers of Time,[92] and Maren-Sofie Røstvig's The Hidden Sense and Other Essays,[93] and The Shepheard's Calender: A Structural Analysis.[94] The last is an attempt to show that Spenser's pastoral is organized in terms of "those numbers that ensure harmony and a return to the creative monad."[95] Even though this shows some elements of pagan-Christian typology, the critics in general refrain from theorizing on the subject. Detailed discussions on this topic are relatively recent and a critic such as Harry Berger has contributed much to this field of study.[96] His Allegorical Temper describes allegorical imagery as one "that hides itself under the mantle of these tales and is a truth hidden under beauteous fiction. . . ."[97] Thus Ovid's delineation of Orpheus taming wild beasts implies a wise man softening cruel hearts. This mode of allegory Berger calls poetic. Opposed to this kind is theological allegory, which depends on history

and in its proper form is always exegetical and is a phenomenon of the theological rather than the literary tradition. It presupposes furthermore a space and time which are given and not fictitious. Berger also claims that for humanist allegorists the theological aspect is irrelevant or does not exist, but the uniqueness of Spenser lies in the fact that he juxtaposes the theological and humanist allegory. Berger seems to understand well the concept of biblical typology and its emphasis upon historicity, but replaces the term "typology" with "allegory."[98] However, he does not clarify his stand on poetic allegory--even though one may infer that it deals with fiction and thereby with the myths of the classical gods. By recognizing the fact that poems like The Faerie Queene and the Divine Comedy are "radically different" from the allegories of the time, and that both embrace poetic as well as theological allegory, Berger seems to formulate some kind of theory, however incomplete, about pagan-Christian typology. He does not, in spite of his perceptive comments, enlarge upon this concept in any significant manner.

Allegorical Imagery, the posthumously published book by Rosamond Tuve, is immensely valuable to those interested in typology or allegory as the author calls it.[99] Tuve extracts and illustrates the meaning of allegory from various medieval and Renaissance books and uses allegory synonomously with typology, defining the concept as something that "prefigure[s] or shadow[s] what later comes to pass, and thereby fulfill[s] the figures."[100] She also recognizes this to be an essentially religious conception, connected with the historical viewpoint of time, and with the Old and New Laws. Affirming that types precede the figure that fulfills them and in a strict sense God alone can so write history that

the types can foreshadow antitypes in another existence, she does grant that this doctrine of typology had a great influence on the detection of types in the secular works of Spenser and Shakespeare. In her observations on Spenser she claims that "if Spenser had not been so influenced by the medieval ideals and material he may be just outside the circle of typological influence but he comes just within the time when that long tradition of exegesis and of reading spiritualiter could still impel a secular but Christian author to write images with a truly 'allegorical' impulse."[101] Her attitude towards pagan-Christian typology manifests itself in the observation that Spenser is more Christian by being more Platonic, for those ideas that can exist "purely" in a deity, exist only in shadows in the types of deity. On Spenser's intermingling of the pagan and Christian she feels that the poet's Christian concepts and ideas "improve" upon the pagan ones so that Arthur's Magnificence in the Christian sense enriches and embraces the paleness of the concept as borrowed from Aristotle. Aware of Spenser's borrowings from the Renaissance mythographers who were essentially euhemeristic, Tuve has difficulty in justifying her belief that Spenser generally "skimps" on euhemeristic rationalization. She seems to accept pagan-Christian typology, but not in its entirety--she is willing to grant Christ in The Shephearde's Calender as an antitype of Pan, but cannot allow the connection between Cupid and Jesus. Despite all the significant points brought out by Tuve, the book does not deal in any systematic way with the problem of typology. These general comments are invaluable, yet they do not show the humanist typology of The Faerie Queene.

Similarly, Douglas Bush offers several very general comments on pagan-Christian typology. In his book Pagan Myth and Christian Tradition,[102] he believes typology to be a mode of reconciliation between pagan myth and Christian ideas. Claiming that for the ancient Greeks Homer was a sort of a Bible, he suggests that several incidents in the poems (as Plato had indicated) were allegorically interpreted in order to conform to the Greek religion. This allegorical method, he says, was carried on into the Christian era, and was for many centuries "an agent for reinterpreting first the dubiously moral or miraculous events in the Bible and then the myths of pagan poets."[103] Bush recognizes and praises Spenser's intermixture of the pagan and the Christian, particularly in The Shephearde's Calender where following E. K. he considers Pan to be a type of Christ. Though he calls the poet "the soberly Christian Spenser," he is extremely aware of the Christian platonism or Christian humanism present in his work as it was in the work of his great disciple, Milton. Bush however, does not, despite his insights into Spenserian poetry, work closely with any of the poet's works.

Spenserian scholars such as Angus Fletcher,[104] James E. Phillips,[105] Henry Lotspeich,[106] and Frank Kermode[107] have discussed ideas that are closely connected to my thesis. All of them, in some form or another, have commented on Spenser's syncretism and, more importantly, on his humanist typology though none of them seem to concern themselves with demonstrating how the pagan concepts foreshadow the Christian ones. Since these scholars appear to be working with the common subject of pagan types I intend to regard their comments as equally significant and as carrying equal weight for the purposes of this study.

Angus Fletcher's The Prophetic Moment develops the premise that The Faerie Queene is a prophetic poem. His definition of prophecy as that which holds the eternal in the ephemeral in simultaneous correspondence leads him to believe that prophetic utterance is historicism, for in prophetic hands the past, present and future merge into one moment. Spenser, Fletcher believes, concentrates his larger vision in a periodic revelation of the "prophetic moment," that critical juncture when the prophetic order of history is revealed. These prophetic moments occur in The Faerie Queene through an interplay between two main archetypes: the temple and the labyrinth. He further affirms that insofar as the poem is prophetic it draws on five matrices of myth, one of which is the typological matrix. In the chapter entitled "Typological Matrices" he asserts that the poem rounds off typologically, and claims that Spenser anticipated the typological fad as it occurred in the seventeenth century. Equating prophecy and typology, he claims that Book I deals entirely with biblical typology. His recognition of the Renaissance mythographers' influence on Spenser, especially that of Boccaccio, enables him to deduce that The Faerie Queene makes a "similar translation of sacred myth and vision into its own poetic variant which touches the lay reader."[108] He further believes that Spenser writes, particularly in Book V a "Christian allegory of the realization of types finding their consummation, and oracles their fulfillment and events their ordained reenactment."[109] Moreover, he observes the typological value rather than the timeless moral value given to all significant events in history together with Spenser's interest in the pagan and the Christian, for he believes, in reference to the latter idea that the

poet, like the Renaissance poets and philosophers, could conflate pagan and Christian divinities to make "one large and varied group of spirits."[110]

Though Fletcher recognizes that pagan elements in Spenser lead to Christian truths, he does not attempt to demonstrate significantly how this happens. Moreover, he seems to misunderstand typology by equating it completely with prophecy. The two are not identical despite the fact that typology is dominated by a strong element of prophecy. At the same time, Fletcher does not define "typology" so that his usage of the term is unclear and he himself admits that the term poses many problems.[111] Yet he claims that Book V remains typological, Book II prefigures Book V, and in spite of these affirmations, he does not develop the concept of typology nor demonstrate its application to The Faerie Queene.

In his study on Spenser's syncretistic religious imagery, James E. Phillips feels that Spenser like the continental syncretists regarded pagan, Hebraic, and Graeco-Roman religious belief as foreshadowing and thereby confirming the "trewness of the Christian religion."[112] His observation that Spenser's images synthesize the Christian and the pagan, and that pagan images reveal remarkable evidence of Christian foreshadowing, suggests an equation of the two cultures so that Phillips does not seem to comprehend entirely the implications of pagan-Christian typology. Moreover, his belief that the Renaissance syncretists' (Mornay and Du Bellay) recognition of the elements common to all religions was regarded as "completely appropriate and decorous" by Spenser,[113] suggests Phillips' view that Spenser considered all religions to be on an equal basis. Such equality is negated in pagan-Christian typology,

for the Christian religion being the antitype of the pagan must be subordinate to the "true" religion. Furthermore, at times, such as in his discussion on the Bower of Bliss, Phillips is more interested in mere syncreticism rather than in a typological rendering of it.

Henry G. Lotspeich's interesting and informative study of Spenser's mythology entitled Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser deals not only with the sources of Spenser's myths but also with their function in his poetry. Though he does not deal explicitly with pagan-Christian typology, he does suggest implicitly its presence in the poet's works. He feels that Spenser turns to classic myth in order to portray the substance of his vision, and that Spenser was in a tradition which regarded myth "as an essential substance of poetry and one with it."[114] Above all, Lotspeich's comments on the function of myth are of immense importance, for Spenser, according to him, used myth not only for "ornament and picture," but also for allegory "especially for shadowing forth the moral doctrines which he considered of first importance."[115] Mythology for Spenser, as for Boccaccio and Comes, was polyseme and "as he found it interpreted was allegorical."[116] Moreover, Spenser's treatment of myth, in accordance with Renaissance interpretations of classical legends, emphasized the euhemeristic tendency as well as the moralistic interpretation of myth. Boccaccio and Comes both show that fables are real because in them lies historical truth. Moreover, the conception of gods as real people thus supported by tradition helps to explain how they became natural members of Spenser's world and are "on terms of every day familiarity with his own heroes and heroines."[117] Lotspeich therefore seems to suggest that Spenser's myths did shadow forth moral doctrine, even though he does not offer any detailed

evidence for this, nor does he show that the classical myths were types that foreshadowed Christian antitypes. He seems to be more concerned with tracing the actual sources of Spenser's mythology rather than dealing with the aspect of pagan-Christian typology.

More closely allied to my thesis are the ideas presented by Frank Kermode, who seems to be interested in this line of thought. Aware of Spenser's consciousness of the iconographic and exegetical tradition, Kermode is able to show how Spenser's work is susceptible to typological interpretation. He also recognizes the fact that Spenser is in the euhemeristic tradition and that he does not "convert event into myth, but myth into event and welcomes and accepts history no matter how cruel the claims of mutability."[118] Kermode believes Book I of The Faerie Queene to be studded with prophetic elements of Revelation,"[119] views Archimago as a type of antichrist, Sansfoy as the pagan antichrist,[120] the Red Cross Knight as a type of Christ, and his bride Una as a type of the Church.[121] He also claims that the first book of The Faerie Queene fulfills the plan of history which Spenser understood as being laid down in the Bible, but his understanding of what may be typology manifests itself more clearly in his discussion of Guyon's descent into the Cave of Mammon. Kermode believes that Christian themes of the Renaissance could be given pagan expression "for Christian truth is hidden in pagan stories,"[122] a fact that is true not only of Renaissance writing but also of Renaissance art which is a recombination of old myth and allegory to reveal truth. He finds in Guyon's descent into the Cave parallels with the descent of Aeneas and with the initiation pattern, and he suggests at the same time parallels between Guyon's temptations and those of Christ. He affirms:

> The passive resistance of Guyon is related by a typical syncretist device, to the pagan mysteries as well as to Christ as hero. Guyon undergoes like in the allegorized Aeneiad a purgatorial experience and emerges no longer a knight of mere temperance but an exemplar of heroic virtue and a direct instrument of Providence.[123]

Kermode, however, never explains what this syncretistic device is; one may infer that it is typology, but Kermode does not directly say so. He also interprets Book V from the typological standpoint, considering Elizabeth as the "rarissima Phoenix, ultima Astraea, the renewer of the Church and faithful true opponent of antichrist."[124] Because the Queen is the "defender of the true church in an evil world," he asserts that "in a sense she is that Church."[125] He observes that Spenser tends to think of "Elizabeth as Astraea, and as Isis . . . [and] as the Blessed Virgin."[126] His interest in the typological interpretation is also seen in his remarks about Radigund, whom he considers as a "type of female tyranny."[127] But despite Kermode's perceptive remarks, his observations do not encompass the other books of The Faerie Queene and remain somewhat limited.

The purpose of this study is to support and extend the above views by showing that all the "allegorical cores" of the various books are indeed susceptible to a humanist typological interpretation by interpreting the myths, personages and settings involved therein from a typological point of view. The allegorical centre such as the Bower of Bliss may be regarded as a type of Hell, the Temple of Venus as a type of a Church and Venus herself as a type of the Virgin. The Garden of Adonis may be viewed as an adumbration of the heavenly Paradise, Isis-Osiris as a prefiguration of the Virgin and Christ, and the Graces as "shadows" of the Grace of God. Finally, the revolt of Mutabilitie and her ultimate defeat may be considered as a prefiguration of Satan's revolt against God, and

her overthrow as a reaffirmation of God's power. In demonstrating a character as a type, I will attempt to establish first the correspondences between the Christian antitype and the pagan type, and in cases where eschatalogical types are involved I will attempt to point out the historicity of the pagan types. Then the correspondences between the types and antitypes, as they appear in the works of medieval and Renaissance scholars will be traced, and finally, Spenser's employment of these types in the various allegorical centres will be demonstrated.

FOOTNOTES

[1] E. K., "To the Most Excellent and Learned . . . Master Gabriel Harvey," rpt. in E. Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford, eds., The Works of Edmund Spenser (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1966), III, 186. Hereafter referred to as The Variorum Edition.

[2] Gabriel Harvey, "To the Learned Shepherd," Three, Proper and Wittie, familiar letters (1580), rpt. in The Variorum Edition, X, 471-472. He observes:

> So mought thy Redcrosse knight with happy hand
> Victorious be in that faire ilands right:
> Which thou dost vayle in Type of Faery land
> Eliza's blessed field, which Albion hight.

[3] William Webbe, A Discourse of English Poetrie (London: John Charlewood, 1586).

[4] "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities" in Preface to Green's Menaphon (1589); rpt. in R. B. McKarrow, ed., Works of Thomas Nashe (London: A. H. Bullen, 1910), III, 323.

[5] The Arte of English Poesie (London: Richard Field, 1589).

[6] Sir Walter Raleigh, Commendatory Verses to the Faerie Queene (1590); rpt. in Walter Oakshott, The Queen and the Poet (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), p. 596.

[7] Delia: Contayning Certayne Sonnets with the Complaint of Rosamond (London: J. Charlewood, 1592), Sonnet 50, p. 50, fn. 5.

[8] Sir Francis Drake: his honorouble life's commendation (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1596). He claims that Spenser deals with

> Types of true honour, Pheobus Tripodes
> Hell charminge Orphei, Sirens of the Sence
> Wit's substance, Jove's braine-borne Pallades. . .
> B5-B5.

9 *Sixe bookes. First three bookes of toothless satyrs* . . . (London: Thomas Creede, 1597), p. A5.

10 Allegory and typology are used synonomously in the Middle Ages and this usage continues in the Renaissance and the seventeenth centuries. Some of the synonyms for typology are "figure," "shadow," "mystery," "sign," and the most frequently used "allegory."

11 *Palladis Tamia; Wits treasury, being the second part of Wit's Commonwealth* (London: P. Short, 1598), Fol. 283, 280.

12 *Song of Songs, Which Was Salomon's* . . . (1621; rpt. in *Divine and Moral Speculations in Metrical Numbers* . . . 1654, Sig. B8 (*The Proem to The Brides Ornaments*) reads as follows:

> . . . to some great Princes Court their youth applys
> Knights honourable actions to behold;
> Chaste Ladies Doves,and nobles courtesie
> Of such have Homer, Vergil, Spencer told.

13 (London: J. Beale, 1621).

14 "Observations on the 22nd Stanza of Canto 9," rpt. in *The Variorum Edition*, II, 472-485.

15 *Poly-Olbion, or a chorographicall description of Great Britain* (London: M. Lownes, 1612), p. 68. The Fourth Song refers to St. George as an "allegory of our Saviour Christ. . . ."

16 (London: William Barley, 1614), p. A2. White further claims that the picture of St. George on horseback is both symbolicall and figurative and that Martin Luther affirms this.

17 (London: W. Jones, 1626).

18 Ibid.

19 *Cosmographie* (London: Henry Seile, 1652).

20 Ed. Andrew Lavender, Diss. New York University, 1955, p. 9.

21
Ibid., p. 593.

22
(London: Richard Olton, 1637), pp. 73-80.

23
(Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1642).

24
Ibid. He quotes the original Greek version of this translation:
arat. φ× νοℓγα
πℓντη Διδζκογρημζθα παντεζ
τα˜γαρ ×ιγενθ ετμℓι.

25
(1734; rpt. New York: Gerald Publishing Inc., 1970).

26
Rpt. in Hugh Maclean, ed., Edmund Spenser's Poetry (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1968), pp. 527-31.

27
"A Discourse on Pastoral Poetry," rpt. in The Poems of Alexander Pope, Twickenham, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), I, 31-3.

28
Spectator, 419 (1 July, 1712), rpt. in D. F. Bond, ed. and comp. Critical Essays from the Spectator (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), III, 573. Addison claims that "we find a whole creation of the like shadowy persons in Spenser, who had an admirable talent in representations of this kind."

29
"The Defects of our Modern Poets in their Allegories: intranced from Spenser's Fairy Queen," Polymetis, pp. 302-307, rpt. in Edwin Greenlaw et al., ed., The Works of Edmund Spenser (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1966), I, p. 363.

30
Joseph Warton's Essay on Spenser is rpt. in William R. Mueller, ed., Spenser's Critics: Changing Currents in Literary Taste (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1959).

31
(London: Randall Taylor, 1689).

32
2nd ed. (London: Ralph Simpson, 1690), pp. 46-47.

33
(1715; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1973), pp. xxviii-xxix.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. xxxviii.

[36] Ibid.

[37] (London: J. R. Tonson, 1758), I.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] _The Faerie Queene . . . A New Edition with Notes Critical and Explanatory_ (London: W. Faden, 1758).

[42] Ibid.

[43] 2nd ed. (1762; rpt. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1969).

[44] Ibid., p. 368.

[45] Ibid., p. 369.

[46] "The Fairy Queen," rpt. in _The Variorum Edition_, I, 369.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., p. 370.

[49] William R. Mueller, ed. _Spenser's Critics: Changing Currents in Literary Taste_ (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1959), p. 24.

[50] _The Complete Works of William Hazlitt_, ed. P. P. Howe (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1930), V, 35-44.

51
James Russell Lowell, "Spenser," rpt. in Paul J. Alpers, ed., _Edmund Spenser: A Critical Anthology_ (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969), pp. 138-146.

52
"Excerpts from notes for lectures and marginal notes in a copy of _The Faerie Queene_ (1818), rpt. in Paul J. Alpers, ed., _Edmund Spenser: A Critical Anthology_ (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969), pp. 138-146.

53
Lamb's Criticism: A Selection from the Literary Criticism of Charles Lamb, ed. E. M. W. Tillyard (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 6, 13, 26.

54
Sir Walter Scott, "Rev. of The Pilgrim's Progress," rpt. in Paul J. Alpers, ed., _Edmund Spenser: A Critical Anthology_ (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969), pp. 150-152.

55
The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderbum (London: George Allen, 1904).

56
See note 51.

57
"Spenser, the Poet and Teacher," _Transcripts and Studies_ (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1910), p. 286.

58
Joint ed., _Spenser: Poetical Works_ (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). See introduction.

59
An Essay on Renaissance Poetry (London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1925), pp. 117-150.

60
The Evolution of the Faerie Queene (New York: Bert Franklin, 1960).

61
Spenser's Faerie Queene (1934; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967).

62
Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932).

63
Edmund Spenser and The Faerie Queene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

64
The Poetry of The Faerie Queene (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967).

65
The Religious Basis of Spenser's Thought (New York: Gordian Press Inc., 1966).

66
Flower on a Lowly Stalk: The Sixth Book of The Faerie Queene (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

67
Ibid., p. 34.

68
"Spenser's Treatment of Myth," *English Literary History*, 26 (1959), 335-354.

69
"Spenser and the Enchanted Glass," *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, 29 (1930), 8-31.

70
A. C. Hamilton, *The Structure of Allegory in "The Faerie Queene"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

71
Osgood, p. 340.

72
"Spenser," *Pelican Guide to English Literature*, ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966), I, p. 213 and p. 219.

73
"The Structure of Imagery in The Faerie Queene," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 30 (1961), 109-127.

74
"Spenser's Use of the Bible," *PMLA*, 41 (1926), 517-544. Miss Landrum deals specifically with sea typology.

75
"Spenser and the Revelation of St. John," *PMLA*, 60 (1945), 364-381. Hankins views Duessa as a type of the Babylonian Harlot, Archimago as a type of a false prophet, Una as a type of a woman clothed in the sun (Rev. 12) as well as "antitype to Duessa."

76
"Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature," Diss., Columbia University, 1965, pp. 114-120.

77
"The Spenserian Fluidity," The Burning Oracle: Studies in the Poetry of Action (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 7. He sees pagan deities replaced by biblical ones but does not discern any typological implications.

78
Ibid., p. 1 and p. 3.

79
"Some Notes on Myth and Allegory in The Faerie Queene," Modern Philology, 70 (1972-73), 291-301.

80
"William Whitaker's Disputato de Sacra Scriptura," Huntington Library Quarterly, 25 (1961-62), 129-138. Cannon says that "Dante and Boccaccio had appropriated for literary theory the Church's exegetical method and Englishmen like Lodge, Sidney, and Spenser had faithfully followed in their footsteps" (p. 130).

81
Rev. ed. (New York: Ungar, 1959).

82
Ibid., p. 112.

83
(New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1965).

84
"Venus and Diana: Some Uses of Myth in The Faerie Queene," English Literary History, 28 (1961), 101-120.

85
"The Allegory of Guyon's Voyage: An Interpretation," English Literary History, 30 (1963), 89-106.

86
The Allegory of The Faerie Queene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 51.

87
Ed. Alastair Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 9.

88
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 66. Lewis also states that "the stories about the gods in Hesiod or Orpheus . . ." are

examples of "how the knowledge of holy things is here hidden under a pious veil of figments" (p. 65).

89 *The Faerie Queene: A Companion for Readers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 74.

90 (University of Chicago Monograph Series, Chicago, 1929), p. 37.

91 "A Secular Reading of *The Faerie Queene* Book II," *English Literary History*, 33 (1966), 154-169.

92 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1964).

93 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963).

94 *Renaissance and Modern Studies* (University of Nottingham), 13 (1969), 49-75.

95 Ibid., p. 60.

96 *The Allegorical Temper: Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's Faerie Queene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 170. Pp. 180-187 also deal with these ideas.

97 Ibid., p. 180.

98 Berger also uses typology and allegory synonomously.

99 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966).

100 Ibid., p. 46.

101 Ibid., p. 47.

102 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968).

103 Ibid., p. 2.

104 The Prophetic Moment: An Essay on Spenser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

105 "Spenser's Syncretistic Religious Imagery," English Literary History, 36 (1969), 110-130.

106 Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser (New York: Octogon Books, 1965).

107 Shakespeare, Spenser and Donne (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971).

108 Fletcher, p. 68.

109 Ibid., p. 71.

110 Ibid., p. 72.

111 Ibid., p. 57, fn. 1.

112 Phillips, p. 123.

113 Ibid., p. 120.

114 Lotspeich, p. 16.

115 Ibid., p. 14.

116 Ibid., p. 16.

117 Ibid., p. 19.

118 Kermode, p. 22.

119 Ibid., p. 40.

[120] Ibid., p. 46.

[121] Ibid., p. 43.

[122] Ibid., p. 63.

[123] Ibid., p. 83.

[124] Ibid., p. 41.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., p. 58.

[127] Ibid., p. 57.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY OF PAGAN-CHRISTIAN TYPOLOGY

To interpret the allegorical centers of The Faerie Queene from a pagan-Christian typological view may not require an elaborate framework, but the lack of any established theory on the subject does necessitate a construction of some sort for the present study. However, before formulating the general principles of humanist or pagan-Christian typology, it is essential to understand the basic concepts underlying biblical typology which forms the center from which humanist mode of interpretation extends.

In the biblical sense, a type as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary is "a person, object or event of Old Testament history, prefiguring some person or thing revealed in the new dispensation."[1] This concept is evident in I Corinthians 10:1-6 where Paul views the Hebrews crossing of the Red Sea as a type of Christian baptism. Similarly, in Matthew 12:40 Christ says: "For as Jonas was thre dayes and thre nights in the whale's bellie: so shall the Son of man be thre P dayes and thre nights in the heart of the earth." In the same context, he refers to Solomon, saying "a greater then Solomon is here," and since Matthew sees Christ as fulfilling certain promises of the Old Testament, he establishes a connection between the historicity of the Old Testament and the New. This indicates a time-lapse, and some scholars[2] have suggested this aspect as a necessary concomitant of biblical typology. Hebrews

9:24 suggests, however, that the holy places are figures or types of heaven, the antitype, so that the type and antitype can exist concurrently: "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself." However, from these scriptural passages and from the commentaries on typology by various scholars, certain other characteristics of biblical typology emerge. Foremost among these attributes is the historicity of both type and antitype, without which history cannot be interpreted from an exclusively Christian point of view. The person who may be a type such as Adam, who is "ye figure of him that was to come" (Romans 5:14), is not aware of the event in which he participates, for the type has no relevance until the appearance of the antitype which fulfills the type. And since the antitype completes, fulfills and reveals the significance of the type, it is more important than the type. Types, furthermore, differ from symbols in that a symbol is not a historical event that adumbrates or prefigures another historical figure. A type also differs from allegory because allegory rejects the historical or real world by creating its own fictional framework which ignores the existence of an eschatological movement, and it is richer than allegory because it is capable of fulfillment. Moreover, in typology one thing does not mean another: it involves it, or has inferences about it, or suggests it.[3]

Like biblical typology, pagan-Christian or humanist typology, as it is sometimes called, may be licensed by the Bible as well as by some Church fathers. This method of interpretation also exists in a rather rudimentary form in the works of the ancients as well. It attempts to find the latent principles of scripture in pagan myths, in which characters, events, and places adumbrate or foreshadow scriptural counterparts

and sometimes by extension secular and political counterparts. Such an idea is reflected in Isaiah 45:1, where the word "Messiah" is applied to Cyrus, a gentile king who becomes a type of the Saviour in the sense of delivering the chosen people from captivity. An equation of this kind suggests further the necessity of only one point of correspondence between the type and the antitype. Moreover, in Paul's speech on Areopagus (Acts 17:22-31) there appears an explicit identification between a pagan deity and the Christian God. In verse 28 Paul says: "For in him [Jehovah] we liue, and moue and haue our being; as also certeine of your owne Poetes have said, For we are also his genracion." The interpretation of the word "his" in the latter part of the sentence is considered as a reference to Zeus, who, according to some scholars, is a type of Christ. Addressing the men of Athens in the same context (Acts 17:22) Paul makes note of the fact that the pagans have dedicated an altar "vnto the vnknowen God," which suggests that even pagans are driven by an inward instinct which only revelation can make intelligible, as is referred to in Paul's argument in Romans 2:14-16.

Antecedents of this mode of exegesis are found in the classical era when the ancient commentators apply allegorical interpretations to expound and purify the otherwise unworthy events in their sacred books. Hellenistic allegorical interpretation, though not identical to the methods of Christian typology, has many similar characteristics and manifests itself in Heraclitus' _Homeric Allegories_, Phromutus' _Commentary on the Nature of Gods_, and Sallust's _Treatise on the Gods and World_, in which allegorical "readings reveal the true meaning which came to represent _signs_ or steps along man's way to an understanding of the nature of divinity" (italics mine).[4] Much evidence appears to support

the idea that among the pagans of all ages there exist intimations of the knowledge of One God and of the Saviour. According to Vincent Fitz-Simon's The Christ of Promise in Homer, Hesiod, Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Etc. their temples such as that of Eleusis "while openly a pagan temple exhibits strong proofs of having been really a propaganda for disseminating the cult's [the cult of Christianity] mysteries."[5] The pagan poets, able to perceive the truth and narrate it in stories, employ the figurative method which conveys ideas in veiled statements. Homer in Illiad II, line 204, seems to recognize the monotheism of later religions in his assertion: "A multitude of masters is no good thing; let there be one master," or again, in line 412, where he applies Christian terminology to Zeus in his address: "Zeus, most glorious, most great, lord of the dark clouds that dwellest in heaven. . . ."[6] Hesiod, likewise, demonstrates in his Works and Days[7] some conception of the "true" god, and Ovid's Amores, especially I Amores V,[8] according to Vincent Fitz-Simon, displays some knowledge of the Christian God since Ovid writes "of love--of a God of love, and of the love of God; he . . . [writes] of Corinna, his 'Domina' and our 'Lady'--the 'mater amorum,' the mother of all love, the mother of God. . . ."[9] For the Renaissance, Vergil was the most enlightened of the pagans, and as J. Auffret has observed, his Fourth Eclogue was considered as a prophecy of the Coming of Christ, and was believed to be dictated to him by the Holy Ghost.[10] Christian overtones are also found in some of his other works, particularly in the description of the afterworld in the sixth book of the Aeneid, and in the Fifth Eclogue where Daphnis the shepherd can be seen as typifying the Christian shepherd, Jesus.[11] In addition to Homer and Vergil, the tragedians, especially Aeschylus, seem to possess

foreknowledge of the Christian truth. In Agamemnon 896, Clytaemestra's reference to Agamemnon as "the watch dog of the fold, the saviour fore-stay of the ship . . . only begotten son unto a father . . . ,"[12]

> Χεγοιμ αν ανδρα τονδε των οταθμων κυνα,
> σωτηρα ναοζ προτονον, υψηλης στεγης
> στυλον ποδηρη, μονογενεζ τεκνον πατρι,
> και γην φανειοαν ναυτιλοιζ παρ ελπιδα . . .

suggests that the hero possesses several parallels to Christ.

Influenced by the Hellenistic allegorical habits, the Church Fathers, particularly Clement of Alexandria, adapted some of these methods to the Christian typological modes of interpretation. Exegetes generally agree that the Alexandrian Jews adopted the pagan techniques in order to explicate the unclear or "immoral" passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Jewish scholar whose exegeses greatly influenced the Fathers was Philo of Alexandria, who "implicitly interpreted Greek myth in terms of Scripture."[13] Clement borrows from Philo, from the Greek παιδειх, and incorporates in his analyses elements from the Gnostic tradition. This incorporation of Greek culture into Christian thinking does not suggest, however, that this typology ceases to be specifically Christian, but that Greek and Jewish culture plays a supporting role.[14] Though the Fathers generally voice polemics against pagan religion, some are cognizant of the insights by the pagans and often use the formula of "the true . . ." in application of Apollo, Helios, and Orpheus to Christ.[15] In his First Apology, Justin Martyr condemns pagan myths, yet he is willing to grant that the Logos was present even among atheists: ". . . those who lived before reasonably are Christians."[16] Clement of Alexandria supports more fully this idea. He considers Plato a Christian before the Advent,[17] claims that the philosopher in Timaeas

was convinced of the Triune God,[18] and explains the doctrines of Hebraizing Plato.[19] He claims, moreover, that the pagans had veiled the first principles of things and hidden the truth in "symbols, allegories and metaphors,"[20] and that the true knowledge of the word is revealed only to the elect among the heathens just as it revealed only to the initiated among the Christians.[21] Origen, too, accepts the pagan Christian types and like his master Clement, he does not deny the historicity of gospel events.[22] He further asserts the esoteric teaching of Christ,[23] believes in the foreknowledge possessed by the Sibyl and Hermes Trismegestus, who he claims knew the Logos and were able to foresee the Advent and the mission of Jesus.[24] Even Augustine does not fail to discern adumbrations of Christian thought in pagan works. In his Epistles he claims: "From the beginning of mankind, at times covertly and at times openly . . . He continued to prophesy, and before He became incarnate there were men who believed in Him . . . among people of Israel . . . and among other peoples."[25] Elsewhere he asserts that the Gentiles by the "nature of things contained in the law . . . have the work of the law written in their heart."[26] The Fathers attempted to show, however, that the pagans had only a "dim knowledge" of the truth. Their knowledge, they claim, was faulty because in their borrowings from the Jewish culture (which existed long before any of the barbarian or even the Greek and Roman cultures), the pagans had assimilated a distorted version of the truth, which in reality they had stolen from the Jews.[27] Jean Daniélou observes that the Fathers thus attempted to show the superiority of the Christian religion, and the apologists interpreting the syncretism of the pagan and the Christian in art conclude that "Just as the truths of Greek philosophy derived

from the same word that was to become incarnate in Christ, so the symbols of Greek religion too were 'heirophanies' which constituted distant prefigurings of the mysteries of Christ."[28]

From these passages in the scriptures, the classics, the Church Fathers, and the commentators on them, certain general principles of humanist typology emerge. This mode of exegesis is an assimilation of pagan methods of allegroical interpretation into the strictly biblical method, and becomes in the final analysis an extension of Christian typology. It aims at demonstrating how some fables of the pagan era were regarded as prefigurations of Christian truth, so that pagan characters, events, and settings find their antitypes in the Christian dispensation. Humanist or pagan-Christian typology may therefore search for correspondence between the pagan and Christian usage of numbers, of geometric forms, of words, and, above all, of myths. The most significant factor in pagan-Christian typology is its emphasis on the concept of historicity. The "reality" of the persons, events, and myths involved must be established in order for them to exist as types adumbrating Christian antitypes. The historicity of myth is established as "soon as myths have lost their original meaning by the personification of their figures . . . [by which they] often actually attach themselves to historical persons and historical actions."[29] Mythology here tends to reconcile itself with theology, for the method of interpretation applied to it is the same as that applied to the Bible. The historical attitude toward myth is advanced by Euhemerus as well as by the Church Fathers. Euhemerus in his <u>Hiera Anagrapha</u> presents the theory that the gods of mythology had their origin in kings or heroes deified by those whom they had ruled or benefited.[30] Clement of Alexandria and Origen,

likewise, emphasize the "historicity" in pagan-Christian typology. In his interpretations Jean Danièlou claims that Clement "is to a great extent dependent on Philo; but by introducing [Biblical] typological exegesis into the exegesis of the Philonic kind, he gives a whole historical perspective" to pagan-Christian typology.[31] Moreover, since the knowledge among the pagans is capable of giving only "a pale religious light," the types found in their religion are merely "shadows" of the true, and at the same time "foreshadowings" of what was to come.[32] Consequently, the types in pagan-Christian typology, like those of biblical typology, are less significant than their antitypes, and cannot be equated under any circumstances. Furthermore, only one point of correspondence is needed between the type and the antitype, as has been illustrated earlier in the example of the Cyrus/Messiah type. Perhaps, the most significant attribute of humanist typology is that though types must exist before their antitypes in historical time (which indicates a time lapse), they can also exist concurrently with their antitypes as they do in biblical typology. This concurrent existence occurs as a result of the extension of time into space--a trait characteristic of both pagan-Christian and biblical typology. From the above discussion it becomes evident that humanist or pagan-Christian typology has several similarities with biblical typology. The only significant difference lies in the fact that humanist typology employs persona and settings from pagan myths as "types" that look forward to or adumbrate Christian antitypes.

Like biblical typology, which had enjoyed immense popularity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, pagan-Christian typology too had become a popular mode of exegesis for the Renaissance. Hence the

existence of pagan-Christian typology can be readily documented in several works of that period. The Reformers of the Church, bent upon finding a new mode of exegesis which would break away from what they considered to be the erroneous allegorical interpretations of the Catholic Church Fathers, did not favor this method of interpretation. No matter how much the Reformers denigrated typology (or "allegory" as they sometimes called it) of this kind, they could not ignore the fact that the Bible at times implied more than it literally stated. Consequently, an ambivalent attitude towards typology resulted. Among the supporters of humanist typology was Miles Coverdale, who, in his Writings and Translations suggests that the mystery in both the Bible and the Book of Creatures, as well as in "all things ought to be looked upon . . ."[33] and that in all these "the spirit . . . and not the letter must be specially searched out and allegories handeled not dreamingly or unfruitfully, neither with subtle disputations . . . but favouredly after the ensample of the old doctors."[34] Perhaps the most significant comments on typology of this kind evince themselves in the commentaries of John Calvin. In his remarks on Acts 17:23-24 Calvin uses the term "shadowes" when he speaks of the Greek gods such as Apollo and Minerva as "vain shadowes and ghosts insteed of God,"[35] and thereby reveals his interest in pagan-Christian typology. The Reformers of the Church, though wary of allegory, never condemned it outright; on the contrary they endorsed and followed this mode of exegesis.

Humanist typology also appears in the works of the Renaissance Neo-Platonists, who because of their fundamental belief in the triad of God, Mind, and Soul are basically synthesizers of Christianity and Platonism. The influence of Plotinus in the Renaissance appears in

Marsilio Ficino and, later, in his pupil Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Citing the testimony of Numenius and St. Augustine, Ficino believes that there is a fundamental agreement between the Christian religion and Platonic philosophy. He considers men such as Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato as precursors of Christianity, and allows them a share in eternal salvation along with the prophets of the Old Testament.[36] Pico, however, is more explicit in his use of pagan-Christian types. He is interested in the typology of numbers, in the planets as types of Christ,[37] and believes that Moses veils a profound meaning under the "show of simplicity and . . . [speaks] in enigmas or allegories even as Plato and Jesus Christ were wont to do, in order that they might not be understood except by those to whom it was given to understand."[38] Pico also suggests that Plato is a type of Moses and his differentiation between the Son of God as conceived by Plato, Hermes and Zoroaster and the Son of God of Christian theology leads one to believe that Pico regards the pagan conception as inferior, and hence as a type of the Christian Son of God who is creator and not creature.[39]

The multiple interpretation of Scripture was not peculiar to Pico; it was commonly used in his day, and commentators following this level of interpretation were generally content in dealing with the three senses: the literal, the anagogical, and the allegorical, and the latter two senses according to Victor Harris[40] and Henry Caplan[41] were connected to the figural mode of interpretation. Citing the authority of Augustine and Aquinas to support his claim, Harris states that for Augustine "the allegorical interpretation was made when a passage was 'to be understood in a figure,'"[42] and for Aquinas the allegorical was indicated when "things (not words) in the Old Testament signified those in the New."[43]

Similarly, in "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation," Henry Caplan states that according to Augustine analogia is that which "studies the text from the point of view of congruence of the Old and New Testament,"--a method which appears to be typological. This method of exegesis, which had filtered into the Renaissance consciousness, found its way in a modified form, not only in the works of Pico, as has been mentioned earlier, but also in the works of other Neo-Platonists. Thus Giordano Bruno, writing under the influence of Hermes Trismegestius,[44] employs humanist typological exegesis. Bruno is interested not only in the purely Biblical aspect of his allegory but also in myth, into which he seems to have a remarkable insight. In his work "the fable, the poetic image, and the metaphor, are no longer vain ornaments but become vehicles of thought."[45] P. H. Michel, in The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno states that in his Cosmological Treatises Bruno employs a profusion of mythological figures which serve not merely as ornamentation, but as explication of the passages--a movement "from semblance to essence, from shadow to substance"[46] (italics mine). Moreover, in the Eroici furori the Petrarchan conceits are used as images, signs, seals, characters, and voices which are in direct contrast to the empty pedant language.[47] It may also be noted that the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, which was so significant to Pico and Ficino in their process of synthesizing the Christian and the pagan, is not absent from Bruno's Eroici furori.[48] Like Bruno, Nicholas of Cusa reaffirms the idea of the pagans prefiguring the true God. He claims that the pagans adored God "in His infinitely simple unity which comprised all things whilst others who saw in a sensible sign a guide to its cause and principle, worshipped Him wherever they found a manifestation of the Deity."[49]

The presence of pagan-Christian typology appears also in the medieval poets and writers who exercise a significant influence on the Renaissance poets, and especially on Spenser. Though Dante shows the influence of biblical typology, others such as Alexander Neckham, Jean de Meung and Christine de Písan are influenced by classical mythology--particularly that of Ovid--as well by the scriptural exegesis which "takes them beyond the book to the 'book of nature' and to the books of the ancients. . . ."[50] Alexander Neckham in De naturis rerum finds correspondences between the Holy Spirit and the planetary gods, and endows these deities with virtues, which according to St. Augustine, prepare man for Christian wisdom.[51] Jean de Meung's Roman de la Rose, likewise, employs medieval typology, but it is Jean Molinet who explicates the poem in terms of the mythographic tradition as well as in terms of the biblical tradition of exegesis.[52] The methods of humanist typology are further employed by Christine de Písan in her Epitre d' Othea, which has its influence on the writers of the early Renaissance including Spenser. Ovid's influence is seen also in the Ovide Moralisé, a poem composed in the first years of the fourteenth century by an anonymous author who sees the "whole Christian morality in the poem and even the Bible itself."[53] Viewing Diana as the trinity, Actaeon as Christ, Phaeton as Lucifer, and Ceres' search for Proserpina as a type of Church seeking to recover the souls of the faithful, he anticipates the humanist typological tradition of the Renaissance.

Much evidence of pagan-Christian typology exhibits itself in the mythographers of the sixteenth century whose main concern is with the interpretation of the ancient myths. Boccaccio's Genealogy of the Gentile Gods, following the tradition of Ovid and Fulgentius, affirms

the existence of hidden meanings under fables. Boccaccio employs euhemerism, and, more significantly, he uses typology. An example of this kind of interpretation appears in the fable of Perseus decapitating the Gorgon and rising into the air. This illustration signifies on the one hand the account of an actual happening, and on the other hand, that is from the typological point of view, a type of the triumph of Christ.[54] Moreover, in keeping with the Renaissance traditions, Boccaccio regards myth to be "polysemous" and therefore he can interpret it from the pagan-Christian typological point of view. Another leading mythological source book for the sixteenth century is that of Martianus Capella, which has been through several editions and interprets myths in an allegorical fashion and seeks to establish pagan antecedents for the Christian religion.[55] Servius' Commentary follows, in the same way, the allegorical interpretations of the ancient writers. His interpretations of the Aeneid reveal that he follows the euhemeristic and typological modes particularly in his analysis of the Chariot of Cybele which he treats as significantly as if it were the chariot of Ezekiel.[56] Natalis Conti's book Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem (1551) explicates myth from the humanist typological stand. The allegorical interpretation of myth is found in the tenth book of the Mythologiae entitled "that all philosophical teachings are contained in fables." Conti's allegorical emphases are Christianized by the interpretations of "Anonymous" who compares Eden to the Garden of Adonis; Bacchus Deucalion and Janus to Noah; Japhetus to Japheth; Orpheus to Christ; Vulcan to Tubalcain and Saturn to Adam.[57] Finally, Stephen Bateman's The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes (1577)[58] deals with the various gods of the heathens, explicates their myths, and interestingly enough, discusses

at the end of the book, the God of the Christians or the "true" God, an arrangement which in itself is suggestive of the significance of the Deity when compared to the pagan gods. Though there is no direct reference to typology, the implications are nevertheless there, for the final presence of the Christian God watching over the rest seems to suggest Bateman's awareness of the humanist typological tradition. Another book which deals in detail with this type of exegesis is Alexander Ross's Mystagogous Poeticus (1647). Though the book was written after Spenser's death, it continues the tradition of humanist typology into the seventeenth century, and analyzes in detail the various pagan gods that are to be regarded as types of Christ and other members in the Christian dispensation.[59]

Like the mythographers and the authors of mythological handbooks, Ovidian commentators of the Renaissance also saw the "harmonies between the Holy Scriptures and the fables of the poet."[60] In England, the Metamorphoses was translated by Arthur Golding and George Sandys. In Golding's translation (1565), the author in his preface defends the theory of the allegorical interpretation of Ovid. The pagan gods represented in poetry, he claims, are really only types of people. At the end of the poem there follows a commentary which deals with the characters "historically" and then allegorically.[61] This tradition of pagan-Christian typology is further espoused by Thomas Lodge. In his "Reply to Stephen Gosson Touching Plays" (1579),[62] he observes the parallels between Jupiter, Apollo and the Father of Lights (italics mine), clearly implying the Christ/light and Jupiter/Christ and Apollo/Christ typology. Moreover, the fact that he considers the Father of Lights as being above the others is indicative of his cognizance of the

superiority of Christ over the pagan types. Sidney, in following the interests of his contemporaries, employs the same concept in his famous Defence when he justifies the laurel crown for poetry because "Holy Scripture . . . hath whole parts in it poetical and that even our Saviour Christ vouchsafed to use the flowers of it"[63] so that even the ostensibly "pagan" associations of the laurel are given a Christian coloring. This entire tradition is summed up by George Chapman:

> . . . mysteries and allegorical fictions of Poesy . . . have been of special reputation . . . ever held in high reverence and authority as supposed to conceal within the outer bark (as their eternities approve), some sap of hidden truth, as either some dim and obscure prints of divinity and sacred history on the grounds of natural or rules of moral philosophy.[64]

Chapman is much influenced in his philosophical reading of myth by Natalis Conti,[65] whose humanist typological analyses are followed by the major writers of the day. This convention continues well into the works of seventeenth-century writers such as Jonson,[66] Reynolds,[67] and above all, in that of Milton.[68]

This method of exegesis, furthermore, is not limited to poetry alone. It evinces itself in the drama of the Renaissance as well. The drama of the Middle Ages is generally typological in the Christian sense, but the classical revival of the sixteenth century encourages the rise of the tendency of Christianizing Terence and Seneca so that "beneath its classical exterior many religious mysteries existed."[69] Shakespeare himself is not outside the pale of its influence. In the vision at the end of Cymbeline V.iv, Jupiter ascends to ordain a happy ending, and in The Winter's Tale the unseen Apollo turns evil into good (III.ii) so that in both cases the pagan deities typify the Grace and greatness of the Christian God.

This daring humanist belief of juxtaposing pagan and Christian elements and discerning heathen personalities and ideas as prefigurations of those existing in the Scriptures, appears also in Renaissance art. The leading exponent of this method is Michelangelo Buonaratti who boldly juxtaposes the Sibyls and the prophets on the walls of the Sistine Chapel.[70] Minor artists of the age also follow this tradition, and in several early paintings Heracles is depicted as a type of Christ.[71] Vasile Grecu has pointed out that Church paintings, dating back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which were found in the convents, reveal the presence of types. Men such as Socrates, Plato, Thuycidides, and Homer predict the coming of Christ as seen through the inscriptions painted above each of the characters' heads. This is suggestive of the fact that the enlightened pagans were aware of the coming of the Messiah even though they were not aware of the types.[72] What these artists, along with the great painter like Michelangelo try to establish in art, Spenser attempts to establish in poetry.

Inheriting a rich tradition of humanist typology from the Bible, the Church Fathers, the Reformers, the Neo-Platonists, the mythographers, and the commentators on the classics, Spenser, like his great disciple, Milton, exhibits a great interest in blending the pagan and Christian, but his deeply eclectic and religious nature compels him to proceed beyond mere syncretism and discern the pagan deities, settings, personages, and ideas as shadows of the "true." His use of pagan-Christian typology is not limited to The Faerie Queene. Already in the Shepheardes Calendar Spenser views Pan as a type of Christ, and later on in his "Hymn in Honour of Love" he addresses Cupid as "My Guide, my God, my Victor, and my King." The opening verses of The Faerie Queene explicitly suggest

Spenser's leaning toward this mode of interpretation where in narrating the relationship between Gloriana and Elizabeth he uses images and characters which become "that true florious type of thine." Again in the prefatory verses to The Faerie Queene, attributed to "Hobynoll" (Gabriel Harvey), he states "Thou dost vayle in Type of Faerieland, Eliza's blessed field." Though Spenser is not so explicit in his terminology when dealing with the classical myths at the "centres" of his books, there is ample evidence to suggest that the myths could be interpreted typologically and because Spenser wants these myths to be interpreted in this fashion, he reconciles the Hellenic and the Hebraic. In the final analysis he allows the Christian viewpoint to emerge in his work.

FOOTNOTES

[1] OED, xi, s.v. "type."

[2] Various scholars have suggested the idea of a time-lapse. Erich Auerbach in Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 73-75, has recognized this element, as have W. A. Madsen, From Shadowy Types to Truth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), and A. C. Charity, Events and Their Afterlife (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

[3] The preceding discussion owes much to Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 73-75, 150-158, 194-200, and to "Figura," Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Meridian Books Inc., 1959), pp. 49-59; to Madsen's From Shadowy Types to Truth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); and to Dr. D. S. Berkeley's class notes and lectures on the KJV.

[4] Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 86.

[5] (New York: G. W. Dillingham and Co., 1909). See Preface.

[6] Homer: The Illiad, ed. A. T. Murray, Loeb Classical Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), II, 412.

[7] Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, trans. and ed. H. G. Evelyn White, Loeb Classical Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), ll. 1-201. In "Works and Days," l. 60, Zeus is referred to as "the father of men and gods" and as "the creator of the universe."

[8] Ovid: Heriodes and Amores, trans. Grant Showerman (New York: Putnam Sons, 1921), p. 333. In Amore I.v. the poet speaks of his love for Corinna.

[9] The Christ of Promise in Homer, Hesiod, Vergil . . . Etc. (New York: Dillingham and Co., n.d.), p. 79 and p. 84.

[10] J. Auffret, "Pagano-Christian Syncretism in Lycidas," Anglia, 87 (1969), 26-37.

[11] Vergil's Eclogues, trans. C. S. Calverly (New York: Heritage Press, 1960), pp. 46-49. Scholars such as T. F. Royds, Vergil and Isaiah (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1918), p. 68, and Cyril Bailey, Religion in Vergil (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), clearly see the poet as a prophet who foretells of Christian events.

[12] Aeschylus, ed. Herbert W. Smyth, Loeb Classical Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 75.

[13] A. M. Cinquemani, "Henry Reynolds and the Continuity of Ancient Modes of Allegoresis in Seventeenth Century England," PMLA, 85 (1970), 1046.

[14] Jean Danièlou, Gospel Method and Hellenistic Culture, History of Early Christian Doctrine Series (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1973), II, 77.

[15] I am indebted to D. S. Berkeley, Inwrought With Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's "Lycidas" (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 29, for this information.

[16] Chapter 46, Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo, N.Y.: Christian Literature Pub. Co., 1886), I, p. 178. Hereafter cited as ANF.

[17] Stromata, V, 12, ANF, II, 463.

[18] Stromata, V, 14, ANF, II, 465.

[19] Stromata, I, 22, ANF, II, 334.

[20] Stromata, V, 4, ANF, II, 449.

[21] Stromata, V, 9, ANF, II, 455, 457.

22 *Origen Against Celsus*, I, 15-18, *ANF*, IV, 402-403.

23 *Origen Against Celsus*, I, 8-9, *ANF*, IV, 582.

24 *Origen Against Celsus*, VII, 53, *ANF*, IV, 632-633.

25 *Patrologia Latina*, vxxxiii, col. 709-18. Quoted by D. C. Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1970), p. 18.

26 Augustine, *On the Spirit and the Letter*, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Christian Literature Pub. Co., 1887), V, 102-103.

27 Jean Danièlou, p. 79.

28 Ibid., p. 72.

29 Ignaz Goldhizer, *Mythology Among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development*, trans. Russell Martineau (New York: Cooper Square Pub., 1967), p. 22.

30 Ibid., p. 39 and p. 17 ff. J. D. Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Medieval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," *Speculum*, 2 (1927), 396-410, seems to concur with Goldhizer on this matter.

31 Jean Danièlou, p. 255.

32 John Calvin, *Commentaries . . . Upon the Acts of the Apostles* (London: G. Bishop, 1585), p. 426.

33 *Doctrinal Treatises* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), XIV, 3, 511.

34 Ibid.

35 John Calvin, *Commentaries . . . Upon the Acts of the Apostles* (London: G. Bishop, 1585), p. 426.

[36] P. O. Kristeller, _The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino_, trans. Virginia Conant (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 26-28.

[37] Francesco Pico, _Giovanni Pico della Mirandola_, trans. Sir Thomas More, ed. J. M. Rigg (London: David Nutt, 1790), Introduction.

[38] Ibid., p. xiv.

[39] Ibid., p. xvi.

[40] "Allegory to Analogy in the Interpretation of Scriptures," _Philological Quarterly_, 45 (1966), 1-28.

[41] "Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation," _Speculum_, 4 (1924), 282-290.

[42] Victor Harris, p. 4.

[43] Ibid., p. 5.

[44] Frances A. Yates, _Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition_ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 169 ff.

[45] Ibid., p. 174.

[46] (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 52.

[47] Ibid., p. 283.

[48] Ibid., p. 284.

[49] Nicolas Cusanus, _Of Learned Ignorance_ (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 58.

[50] J. V. Fleming, _The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography_ (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 90. The influence of biblical typology on Neekham is dealt with in the Preface to Alexander Neckham's _De Naturis Rerum_, cited in Thomas Wright,

ed. Rerum Britanicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Roll Series, 34. Jean de Meung's interest in typology is discussed by Fleming. And Christine de Pisan's predisposition to this mode of exegesis may be seen in her work, Epistle of Othéa, trans. Stephen Scrope, ed. Curt F. Buhler (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). In Christine's poem, there follows a "glosse" after every section of poetry, and which in turn is followed by an "allegory" that explicates the hidden significances. This type of allegory, Rosamond Tuve in Allegorical Imagery (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), has rightly called "imposed allegory," which we can call, for our purposes, humanist typology.

51
Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, II, 7; Alexander Neckham, De Naturis Rerum, cited in Thomas Wright, ed. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Rolls Series, 34, I, p. 7. In the Preface, Wright states "That singular passion for moralization upon facts, which perhaps, had its foundations in the moralization which accompanied Aesop's Fables, which was carried to such an extent from the eleventh to the fifteenth century and which was the root of much of the symbolism of the middle ages, finds abundant exemplifications in the present volume. . ." (p. xv).

52
J. W. Fleming, p. 92.

53
Jean Seznec, p. 92.

54
Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth books of Boccaccio's genealogia deorum gentilium, Boccaccio on Poetry, ed. and trans. Charles G. Osgood (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1956), p. xviii.

55
Jean Seznec, p. 225.

56
I am indebted to J. W. Jones, Jr. "Allegorical Interpretation in Servius," Classical Journal, 55 (1961), p. 225, for this information.

57
D. C. Allen, Mysteriously Meant, p. 235.

58
(London: T. Marshe, 1577).

59
(London: Richard Whitaker, 1647), p. 114 ff., and p. 154.

60
Epistolae obscorum Virorum, ed. and trans. F. G. Stokes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 343-45. In this book, an

Ovidian commentator Friar Conrad Dollenkopf, in his commentary on the Metamorphoses, makes this observation.

61
The XV bookes of P. Ovidius Nasos Worke, entitled Metamorphosis, trans. A. Golding (London: W. Seres, 1567).

62
The Renaissance in England; Non-Dramatic Prose and Verse of the Sixteenth Century, ed. Hyder E. Rollins and Herschel Baker (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1968), p. 603.

63
Ibid., p. 615.

64
"A Free or Offenceless Ivstification: Of a lately publisht and most maliciously misinterpreted Poeme; Entituled Andromeda Liberata," rpt. in Phyllis B. Bartlett, ed. The Poems of George Chapman (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941), p. 327.

65
Because of the unavailability of the primary source, I have relied on the following article for this idea; F. L. Schoell, "Les Mythologistes Italiens de la Renaissance et la poésie elisabethaine," Revue de litterature comparée, iv (1924), 5-25.

66
"Pan's Anniversary," Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques, ed. John C. Meagher (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 45 and p. 192, and footnote 42. In "Pan's Anniversary" Jonson says

Pan is our all, by him we breathe,
we live,
we move, we are . . .

and such a statement is clearly indicative of humanist typological tendencies.

67
A. M. Cinquemani, "Henry Reynolds and the Continuity of Ancient Modes of Allegoresis in Seventeenth Century England," PMLA, 85 (1970), 1041-1047.

68
Milton's "Nativity Ode," "Lycidas," parts of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, are, as is commonly known, rich in pagan-Christian typology.

69
M. Roston, Biblical Drama in England (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 54, suggests that Terence and Seneca are certainly Christianized.

70
Valerio Mariani, Michelangelo the Painter (Milano: Arti Grafiche Ricordi, 1964), p. 58. Mariani says of the artist "He conceived a marmoreal architecture composed of twelve thrones on which the vigorous figures of the prophets and Sibyls are seated." In the illustration that follows one can discern this juxtaposition--the Libyan Sibyl, the Prophet Daniel, the Cumean Sibyl, the Prophet Isaiah, the Delphic Sibyl. Mariani then states that in the other remaining spaces of the Vault, Michelangelo painted the Ancestors of Christ awaiting the Messiah.

71
Several minor artists who remain anonymous have depicted pagan/ Christian types in their works. Studies by scholars such as Vasile Grecu "Darstellengen Altheidnisher Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerie des Morgen Lands," Academia Romania (Bukharest Sectionea), 2 (1924), pp. 1-70; Otto Von Premerstein, "Greichisch Heidnische Weise as Verkender Christlicher Lehr in Handschriften und Kirchenmalereine," and Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), demonstrate the presence of pagan types in Christian works.

72
The ideas are borrowed from Vasile Grecu's article, pp. 28-30. Grecu has pointed out, through a posteriori evidence that was found in heathen philosophers and authors and especially in the literary writings before the time of Christ that these men are connected with the biblical prophets and are types of them.

CHAPTER IV

PAGAN TYPES IN THE FAERIE QUEENE

Since The Faerie Queene is an essentially Christian poem, Christian theology forces itself up and reflects itself in the central episodes of the poem. But the poem is also a product of Renaissance humanism abounding in the rich traditions of pagan myth--a heritage that Spenser cannot ignore even in a specifically Christian poem. This reconciliation of the classical and the Christian Spenser accomplishes through his skillful use of pagan-Christian typology, rather than through syncreticism, as some scholars have suggested. For syncreticism involves an equation of the pagan and Christian elements whereas typology, by revealing the heathen figures as prefigurations of Christian personages or as reflecting imperfect shadows of the "true" emphasizes the inferiority of the pagan element to the Christian rather than the equation of the two. Spenser, who is well versed in the study of hermeneutics and typology through his training at Cambridge, is aware of this difference and hence deals with typology rather than with syncreticism.

Spenser is inclined to a humanist typological mode of thinking, because, as has been indicated earlier, he was under the direct influence of the Renaissance mythographer Boccaccio who was interested in treating myths from a typological standpoint. Moreover, the fact that Spenser went to Cambridge rather than Oxford further helped develop his interest in the figural mode of interpretation. At Cambridge as J. Bass

Mullinger has observed, "hermeneutics were confined in the old manifold interpretations of types and symbols,"[1] and the lectures on the Old and New Testaments were in Latin and Greek with special emphasis on the exegesis of the texts. This training in the methods of typological interpretation, combined with the poet's interest in humanistic studies which stressed the study of the ancients, together with the influence of the Renaissance mythographers and the numerous mythological dictionaries of the time, inclined Spenser to incorporate into his great epic "darke conceit[s]" or, among other things, types of the Christian and the pagan-Christian kind. In dealing with humanist types Spenser takes into consideration both historical and vertical types. Because The Faerie Queene presents a world irreparably fallen, true goodness and virtue can exist only in heaven, and any representation of such virtue on earth is but a pale shadow of what exists in heaven. In this sense, then, the poem makes use of ontological types, the treatments of which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had definite platonic overtones.[2] The presence of ontological types in the poem does not imply, however, that Spenser disregards eschatalogical types. In his letter to Raleigh he expressly states the role of the poet as prophet who visualizes certain events as foreshadowing others: "a poet thrusteth into the middest, even where it most concerneth him and there recoursing to thinges forepaste, and diuining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all."[3] It is therefore possible to discern in Spenser's poem an intermixture of historical and ontological types even though the latter seem more prevalent.

Spenser's usage of "horizontal" and "vertical" types is not limited only to pagan-Christian typology: when he sees fit he recourses

to purely Christian typology as is evident in the first book of The Faerie Queene, which is rich in biblical types. These types have been the focus of attention of several scholars. John E. Hankins has considered the great Dragon and the false prophet Archimago as types of Satan and Redcross's vision as a type of the Revelation of St. John.[4] Graham Hough, likewise, interprets Redcross's defeat by Orgoglio as "a type of the captivity of the true religion under the temporal power of corrupt churches, more specifically of the Church of Rome."[5] However, since my concern in this paper is primarily with pagan-Christian typology (which as has been earlier indicated has received a cursory treatment in Spenserian criticism), I intend to omit from my discussion Book I, which by the very nature of its theme deals essentially with biblical types. I also plan to confine my interpretations only to the most significant set-pieces of each book and to the central characters and events in these episodes. No critic has as yet dealt with all the allegorical cores of the various books in The Faerie Queene from a humanist typological point of view. In the following pages the Bower of Bliss and Acrasia will be interpreted as types of Hell and Satan, The Garden of Adonis, Venus and Cupid as types of the Heavenly paradise, the Virgin Mary and Christ, respectively. In the allegorical center of Book IV the Temple of Venus will be considered as a prefiguration of the Church, and Venus as a type of Christ. Osiris and Isis will be regarded as types of Christ and His Church, the Graces as types of Divine Grace and the entire scene of Mutabilitie as a prefiguration of Satan's revolt against God (Nature). In some cases I have dealt with the long tradition of certain types, but in cases where no such tradition existed, I have dealt with them briefly.

The Bower of Bliss

The allegorical center of Book II which deals with the Cave of Mammon has already been typologically interpreted by Frank Kermode's excellent article entitled "The Cave of Mammon"[6] and by Maurice Evans "The Fall of Guyon."[7] Kermode's perceptions of typological relationships have been explicitly illustrated in the first and third chapters of his book Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne wherein he says of Book I that "it presents a version of world history founded rather closely upon the English Protestant interpretation of the Book of Revelation" and he views the book as an "active interplay of actual history with apocalyptic sybilline prophecy."[8] It is this method of interpretation that Kermode follows in his analysis of the Cave of Mammon. Claiming that the biblical mode of exegesis, "given certain assumption about its relation to revealed truth" was "applicable to pagan wisdom" he identifies Guyon with Aeneas and convincingly demonstrates parallels between the temptations of Guyon / Aeneas and Christ asserting that which "Guyon undergoes is a total temptation parallel to that of Christ in the wilderness,"[9] and which involves not only seductions of worldliness but of forbidden knowledge also. His inclination towards interpreting the Mammon episode from a typological standpoint is illustrated in the following statement:

> My assumption is that the Cave of Mammon had such a programme [a programme of types] and that it is similarly enigmatic; that it is an invention of this kind, requiring the sort of attention given by art historians to Primavera. One may make this assumption without at all disputing that Spenser's allegory is frequently medieval, that he is staid, 'church-wardenly', openly didactic. Underneath all that, there is profounder mythopoeic activity; the great allegorical centres of his poems are planned like enigmatic pictures. . . . The marrow of a Spenserian allegory is designed to be extracted by the

> same enlightened method as that of an Orphic mystery, an Egyptian hieroglyph, a Renaissance emblem or indeed an ancient epic.[10]

Though he regards Christ as an antitype of Guyon and Aeneas, he does not state whether the type is eschatalogical or ontological. Following the same mode of interpretation, Maurice Evans considers Guyon as a type--but a type of a fallen man such as Adam. Evans claims

> Guyon is not Christ and he has therefore to pay the penalty for driving his virtue so hard that it has itself become almost a form of excess. . . . His fall is due to pride: he has failed to realize the limitations of human strength and as we have seen, he is overconfident in his own virtues and praiseworthy deeds, so he squanders his virtue in seeking out occasions for its exercise which he would have been wiser to avoid.[11]

Later, Evans demonstrates that "Guyon's faint clearly symbolizes the Fall of Adam,"[12] and his general interpretation of Guyon is that Spenser's character is a type of the fallen man. Since both these scholars have covered well the types present in the Cave of Mammon, I intend to confine my discussion of typology pertaining to the second book of _The Faerie Queene_ only to the episode of the Bower of Bliss, which I tend to view as a type of Hell, and the central character in the Bower, Acrasia, I intend to interpret as a type of Satan and Antichrist.

Types of Hell in the Christian tradition tended to be eschatalogical, because, as D. S. Berkeley has pointed out, in the Bible "_sheol_, the place of all dead (except Enoch and Elijah), slowly was particularized into the place of the unrighteous dead (Dan. 12, 2 and _gehenna_ in the N. T.), and the place of the justified before removal."[13] But these types are also ontological according to Berkeley: "When these types are vertically related to their antitype, they sketch or embody,

by reason of hostility to God, cruelty, concupiscence, false values, and delusion, the inhabitants of a spiritual realm of vast significance, Hell."[14] Spenser generally uses ontological types of Hell and his Bower of Bliss which corresponds to Circe's garden in Homer becomes a shadow of Hell. The Bower of Bliss appears as an ontological type of Hell because of its representation of everything that is an antithesis of Heaven. Instead of love, one finds here sensual pleasure; instead of life, a strangulation of life. The couples engaged in sexual activity are without issue, and the Genius of the Bower, unlike that of the Garden of Adonis, is no true Genius. He is not "that celestiall powre," who guards "life and generation of all," but one who is "the Foe of life, that good enuyes to all." Although Spenser compares the Bower to "Eden selfe . . . if ought with Eden mote compaire" (II.xii.52), the picture is that of a "false, premature or regressive Eden."[15] The beautiful places compared to the garden are, according to Kathleen Williams, "associated with what is unnatural . . . and monstrous, the giant babe, the suicide, the vegetable metamorphoses of Daphne, the lusts and angers and conflicts of Troy . . . for there is nothing in actuality now that with Eden may compare."[16] Moreover, the Bower of Bliss is not a place of healthy animalism or activity of any kind. An inertia, a kind of living death prevails, and as C. S. Lewis has aptly observed, the Bower "is not a picture of lawless, that is unwedded, love as opposed to lawful love. It is a picture, one of the most powerful ever painted, of the whole sexual nature in disease."[17]

The Bower of Bliss also embodies concupiscence, false values and delusion, and hence may be considered as a type of Hell. Throughout the episode, the emphasis on lust is strong; Guyon almost succumbs to

the temptations of Phaedria (II.xii.17) and to the "two naked Damzelles" (II.xii.68) who increase their "wanton merriments" when they behold in Guyon the appearance of "the secret signes of kindled lust. . ." (II. xii.68). The false values are well illustrated in stanzas seventy-three through seventy-seven where the beautiful ladies remind Acrasia's lover of the transience of this life and the beauty of such "passing of a day"--a reminder which enables Verdant to justify his actions and continue his indulgence in the "horrible enchantment, that him so did blend" (II.xii.80). The Bower also succeeds in deluding the visitor. At first sight, it seems beautiful, but a closer examination of it reveals the unnaturalness and artificiality abounding in the garden. No storms exist here, nor frost; there are no changes of seasons, "nor scorching heat nor cold intemperate" (II.xii.51), and the "supposedly natural must commit itself to the obviously unnatural in order to keep itself going."[18] The excessiveness of the "painted flowres," and of the artificial in general--the "silver flood" of the fountain, the gold ivy etc.--is reinforced by the presence of the figure of Excesse. Verdant and Acrasia symbolize the surrender to sensuality and total passivity which is contrary to Christian thinking.

The Bower of Bliss also becomes an eschatalogical type of Hell in that it looks forward to a place of the unrighteous dead. The inhabitants of the Bower are unrighteous because they have transgressed by succumbing to fleshly pleasures.[19] The knights who are entranced by Acrasia indulge in "lewd loves and wasteful luxuries," and because of their excessive sensuality degenerate to the level of animals:

> . . . These seeming beasts are men indeed,
> Whom this Enchauntresse hath transformed thus,
> Whylome her louers, which her lusts did feed,

> Now turned into figures hideous,
> According to their mindes like monstrous . . .
> (II.xii.85).

The men who fall a victim to the enchantments of the Bower are dead because they become inactive, passive, and totally devoid of reason. Verdant's warlike arms, "the idle instruments/Of sleeping praise . . . are hong vpon a tree," and he is engulfed in a sense of inertia. The other men whom Acrasia has converted into animals have become "hideous," "monstrous," and "intemperate" beasts in accordance with their dominating passion. The association of beasts with sinners has been part of Christian tradition--a tradition that Spenser seems to follow closely. Jude 10 connects the corruption of sinners with the beasts and in the nineteenth verse the writer considers lustful men to be those who "separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit." II Peter 12 regards sinners as "natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of the things they understand not; and shall utterly perish in their own corruption." Origen's typological interpretation identifies the clean animals in the Ark with "memory, culture, understanding, reflection, and judgement upon what we read," and the unclean animals with "desire and anger."[20] He further claims that the clean animals signify the seven powers of the soul, and the unclean animals represent "the ill uses which man too often makes of the powers of the soul. . . ."[21] Alan Watts has pointed out that in the thirteenth century, "to a very considerable extent, the attainment of perfect sanctity was identified with a suppression of lust."[22] In the Medieval conception of Hell, the sinners were generally considered as "poor labouring slaves."[23] Spenser's men in the Bower of Bliss seem to possess all these attributes: devoid of reason, immersed in sensuality, subject to

Acrasia's whims and passions, they appear as animals and slaves. Moreover, Spenser appears to regard these beasts as unclean; Grille, we are told, is a hog "The dong-hill kind/Delights in filth and foule incontinence," while the rest of the animals are "wild-beasts" who are fed on Acrasia's lust.

Still another reason why one may consider the Bower of Bliss as a type of Hell appears in the formidability of the approach to Acrasia's Bower. Howard R. Patch has demonstrated how in the visions of the various saints the path to Hell is dangerous and crooked, and relates the latter attribute to Isaiah 59:8.[24] The danger associated with the sea has also been treated in detail by David S. Berkeley who, in _Inwrought With Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's Lycidas_, contends that the sea is a type of Hell in the biblical, patristic, medieval and the Renaissance traditions.[25] He claims that Spenser employs traditional Christian sea symbolism in The Faerie Queene (II.iv.8) where Britomart refers to the sea as the "sea of sorrow and tempestuous griefe" and again in Book V.ii.37-39 where the lawlessness of the seas is emphasized. This typology of the sea could also be extended to Guyon's voyage to Acrasia's island. Several obstacles present themselves to Guyon; he must cross the Gulfe of Greediness, whose "threatfull waues are capable of swallow[ing] . . . him aliue / In the hugh abyss of his engulfing graue" (II.xii.5). He has to overcome the seductions of Phaedria and the deformed monsters who inhabit the seas, and steer his way clear from traps such as the Whirlpool of Decay. Sea typology is also present within the Bower of Bliss and its presence reinforces the idea of Hell as the antitype of the Bower. From the fountain in the center of the Bower "Infinite streams continually did well . . . and

shortly grew to so great quantitie / That like a little lake it seemd to bee. . ." (II.xii.62). The unrest and commotion of these waters is emphasized, for Spenser uses the word "waues" twice in describing the sea (II.xii.62, 64). The lawlessness of the seas is emphasized in the Bible and it blends easily with Spenser's condemnation of the lawlessness in the Bower of Bliss.

The figure of Acrasia herself is an ontological type of Satan and an eschatological type of antichrist because she adumbrates an existing reality and foreshadows the destruction by Antichrist in time to come. M. Y. Hughes identifies Acrasia as a counterpart of Homer's Circe.[26] Spenser is probably acquainted with the Circe myth through Natalis Comes, who, in this myth, tries to support "the common notion that the Greeks and Romans had ideals similar to those of the Christians."[27] The historicity of Circe / Acrasia is established, for Von der Hardt observes that according to Homer "Circe's island was near Italy even though it was _actually_ off Colchis"[28] (italics mine). Spenser subtly incorporates Circe's seductions in the figure of Acrasia, whom he intends to be construed as the devil. The New Testament does not apply the term "type" or "antitype" to Hell, but by implying that Satan represents ultimate depravity, it seems to suggest that evil of the worst kind may be regarded as a type of the devil. Thus the Church Fathers interpreted the Pharoah of Exodus as an adumbration of Satan.[29] Acrasia appears as a type of Satan because she works as an all pervasive demonic force opposing the divinely led incarnation of Reason.[30] She is also an ontological type of the devil because, like Satan, she is an existing reality and the leader of the depraved. She is one who entices men to infidelity (I Corinthians 8:5) and a tempter who seduces men with

sensual allurements. She succeeds in deluding "frail harts" by "baring" her "snowy brest" to "hungry eies" (II.xii.78), and like Satan "works towards the destruction of the flesh."[31] Acrasia may also be regarded as an eschatalogical type of the Devil because she is an enemy of God, the type of antichrist who will bring his subversive lawlessness to a terrible climax before he is finally unmasked and deprived of all power (II Thessalonians 2:9 ff.).

In the Renaissance, the Circe myth had captivated the minds of many learned men, all of whom seem to use her story to convey a moral. Christefero Landino regards her as the embodiment of all spiritual evil of the _dea saeva potentibus herbis_.[32] The evil and the satanic qualities of Circe are also acknowledged in Pico's letter to his nephew, Johan Fraunces, wherein Pico claims that indulgence in Circe's sensualities causes men, as translated by Sir Thomas More, "to deforme ye image of God in our soules after whose image we be made. . . ."[33] Such a suggestion seems to imply clearly the connection between Circe and Satan. Jean Bodin regards Circe as a witch in league with Satan,[34] a view supported by Jean de Sponde.[35] Whether Circe / Acrasia possesses characteristics of Satan or of a demon working with Satan, she remains, because of her connections with evil, a depraved character. Spenser implies, as Charles Lemmi has shown, "a correspondence between the various forms of Acrasia's victims and the various kinds of depravity,"[36] and such depravity allows one to consider her as a type of Satan.

The Garden of Adonis

Like the other set pieces of the poem, the garden of Adonis in the third book of _The Faerie Queene_ may be interpreted from a typological

point of view. The Garden of Adonis may be regarded as an ontological type of Paradise since it adumbrates an existing reality, corresponds in many ways to Paradise, and possesses Christic correspondences.

In the Bible the paradise of Adam and Eve and other Old Testament gardens are presented as ontological types of Heaven. D. S. Berkeley has noted the absence of the word "Paradise" from the Hebrew in Genesis 2:8 and hence suggests the indication of a typology for "Paradise" in the New Testament which he supports on the basis of Luke 23:43 where Christ says "Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise," and on the basis of II Corinthians 12:4 where Paul speaks of one who "was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable words. . . ."[37] The references here imply that the heavenly Paradise is a present and existing reality, and hence the types of Paradise are necessarily ontological. The Church Fathers too, particularly Ambrose and Chrysostom, consider the earthly paradise as a type of the celestial home for souls--the kingdom of Heaven.[38] Irenaeus, likewise, states that "earthly things are types of Heavenly," a statement which could imply that an earthly paradise could be a type of a heavenly one.

This tradition is apparent in literary works as well. In Claudian's _Epithalamion de nuptiis honorii_, 49, the Garden of Love is represented as a paradise.[40] In Ovid's _Fasti_ (Book V, 208),[41] Flora's Garden appears as a type of paradise. Dante's _Divine Comedy_, particularly the landscapes of the _Inferno_ and the _Purgatorio_ reveal, according to A. B. Giamatti's _The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic_, that the earthly paradise or Eden though superior to other defective sublunary places is a norm only on earth--"it is simply a prefiguration of the celestial paradise."[42] In the _Divine Comedy_, Eden is a culmination and

a commencement. It is the end of Virgil's guidance and the beginning of Beatrice's--hence it represents an imperfect vision of the perfect heaven. Both Giamatti and C. S. Lewis maintain that the image of the Christian earthly paradise thus prevails behind the secular gardens.[43]

In Spenser's Garden of Adonis, which is a secular garden, the image of a Christian earthly paradise is explicit. Spenser identifies the Garden with Eden as early as Book II.x.70-71, where he claims that the first man found the "author fo all womankind" (Eve) in the Garden of Adonis. Later (Book III.vi.29), Venus' visit to her "joyous paradise / Where most she wonnes when she on earth does dwell," explicitly indicates the Garden to be an earthly paradise. Moreover, the Garden, like Eden, possesses a fecundity and abundance which the Almighty "bade . . . to increase and multiply. . ." (III.vi.34). Spenser's Garden grows spontaneously without the help of a gardener, and needs no one to take care of its "goodly flowres" and its "fruitfull soyle." The abundance of this Garden, according to Comes, is part of the earthly paradise tradition.[44] The beauty of the Garden of Adonis, like that of Eden, is unparalleled, and the location of this Garden on a mountain top parallels the location of the Christian earthly paradise. Yet another feature of such a paradise according to A. B. Giamatti's <u>The Earthly</u> Paradise and the Renaissance Epic, concerns the remoteness of the place "in space and time" and involves some ideal of love and harmony.[45] Spenser seems to employ both these aspects in his description of the Garden of Adonis. The location of his Garden remains unclear:

> Whether in <u>Paphos</u>, or <u>Cytheron</u> hill
> Or it in Gnidus be, I wote not well
> But well I wote by tryall, that this same
> All other pleasant places doth excell.
> (III.vi.29)

The element of harmony also pervades the Garden, for the Garden is a reconciling force that binds up the "fundamental conflicts of the poem in overtly sexual, ultimately Christian, terms."[46] Even the animals and the vegetation in the Garden reflect this harmony. The trees and plants grow "without fell rancour, or fond gealosie" (III.vi.41); there is continual spring, and there is no fear of "wicked beasts" who might destroy the "tender buds" of the plants. Furthermore, as H. R. Patch has observed, the presence of Venus and Cupid in the earthly paradise was common enough in the Middle Ages "when the court of love adopted the setting of the older paradise tradition."[47] This complete identification of Eden with the Garden of Adonis on Spenser's part seems to be deliberate; for through such an identification, he is able to convert the secular garden into an ontological type of the heavenly paradise, which as stated earlier, had become an antitype of the paradise of Adam and Eve.

Another reason for the consideration of the Garden of Adonis as a type of Paradise is Spenser's delineation of it in the proximity of a mountain. Although Genesis doesnot portray Paradise on a hill, the intimations of height are, nevertheless, present. Psalms 14:2 and 53:2 speak of the Lord looking down from heaven, and Proverb 25:3 states height as a characteristic of Heaven. In the New Testament, specifically in II Corinthians 12:2 ff., Paul's statement concerning the third heaven as entrance to paradise suggests height as a concomitant of paradise. Among the Church Fathers, Lactantius in _De Ave Phoenice_ places paradise in an area higher than the highest mountain.[48] Likewise in Dante's _Divine Comedy_, the earthly paradise is a mountain with a sacred grove on the top (_Purgatorio_ 28-33). Spenser, in placing his earthly

paradise on a mountain top, is merely following the tradition of the typology of paradise as it appeared in the works of his predecessors.

Not only is the Garden of Adonis susceptible to a typological interpretation, but the figures associated with it also lend themselves to such an exegesis. Adonis, for instance, may be regarded as an eschatalogical and an ontological type at once: he prefigures the historical Christ and at the same time adumbrates the present existing reality of Christ.

Pagan types of God are not entirely absent from the Christian tradition. The biblical example of such a type appears in Paul's Areopagitica (Acts 17:22-23) where the Apostle says: "For in him we liue, and moue, and haue our being; as also certeine of your owne Poetes have said, For we are also his generacion." D. S. Berkeley has demonstrated that in using the word "his," Paul, following Cleanthes, refers to Zeus and "this God worshiped under the name of Zeus or no name . . . was, in fact, Jehovah."[49] The Church Fathers continued this tradition, and applied the formula of "the true" to Apollo, Jove, Helios and other gods. This tendency filters into the Renaissance when the mythographers, following the allegorical tradition of the Middle Ages and the allegorical interpretations of the classical writers, attempt to show the pagan gods as "types" of Christ. Such an attempt also appears in the works of Jacques Hughes, a Renaissance writer who devoted his life to finding Christian prophecy in the classics, and who considers Hercules and Adonis as prefigurations of Christ.[50]

Adonis emerges as a type of Christ because of the parallels existing between the two figures. Like Christ, Adonis is a king, for Pliny observes that "nothing was admired in Antiquity more than the gardens

of Hesperides, and those of King Adonis and Alcinous."[51] Again, like Christ, Adonis dies, is mourned, and resurrected, and the rituals associated with the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ are similar to those of the dead and risen Adonis.[52] Furthermore, an examination of the etymology of the word reveals another parallel, for "Adonis" stems from "Adon," which in Semitic is the "Lord," and the "Lord" and "Adonai," as is commonly known, are used concomitantly with Christ. Still another parallel between Christ and Adonis lies in their connection with the sun. In Malachi 4:2 Christ and the sun are identified through their typological connection--a connection that has also been endorsed by the Church Fathers.[53] In classical literature Adonis and the sun are identified. Proculus in his hymn to the sun addresses that deity as Adonis.[54] Macrobius in _The Saturnalia_, likewise, equates Adonis and the sun, and Martianus Capella mentions Adonis as one of the names of the life-giver.[55] Among the Renaissance mythographers, Natalis Comes associates Adonis with the sun,[56] as does Alexander Ross in the seventeenth century.

Cognizant of these correspondences, Spenser, trained in the methods of hermeneutics and typology, tends to treat the pagan types such as Adonis as foreshadowing a Christian antitype. Aware of the Venus-Adonis story as the "sun myth in which Adonis represent[s] the sun" he describes the sun and Adonis as the source of vivific powers. The sun appears in the poem as

> Great father he of generation
> Is rightly cald, _the author of life and light_;
> And his faire sister for creation
> Ministreth matter fit, which tempered right
> With heate and humour, breeds the liuing wight. . .
> (III.vi.9).

Such a description possesses overtones which identify the sun and Christ, who also is "the author of life and light." The figure of Adonis, likewise, appears as the life-giving source; or, as Josephine Bennett states, "the symbol of the generative force in creation represented in the material world by the sun. . . ."[57] In his description of Adonis, Spenser evidently seems to have in mind the formative vital force of the sun which enables him to identify the sun and Adonis:

> . . . For he may not
> For euer die, and euer buried bee
> In balefull night, where all things are forgot;
> All be he subject to mortalitie,
> Yet is eterne in mutabilitie,
> And by succession made perpetuall,
> Transformed oft, and chaunged diuerslie:
> For him the Father of all formes they call;
> Therefore needs mote he liue, that liuing giues to all.
> (III.vi.47)

As one who "liuing giues to all" Adonis is analogous to the sun, and like the sun who foreshadows Christ, Adonis also appears as a prefiguration of Christ. Other parallels between Christ and Adonis emerge in Stanza 47. Like Christ, Adonis "may not / For euer die, and euer buried bee"; he is one who is "transformed oft" and one, who like Christ when he was on earth, remains "eterne in mutabilitie." Adonis undergoes a resurrection similar to that of Christ, and hence is "made perpetuall," another parallel that allows the consideration of Adonis as a type of Christ.

Another important correspondence that contributes to the Adonis / Christ typology appears in the usage of the term "form" that Spenser applies to the figure of Adonis. Spenserian scholars generally agree that Adonis represents Form--a term that has also been applied to the Lord. In Philippians 2:6 Christ Jesus is one "who being in the Form of

God thought it not robbery to be equal with God. . . ." Form here suggests not the substance but the outer appearance, that is the image or the "shadow" as opposed to the reality, and is used in conjunction with Christ. The Platonists of Alexandria also sought to identify "form" with God in one way or the other. Philo Judaeus makes "forms" the thoughts of God and claims that "these ideas are thoughts of God, the heavenly models of things upon earth, the types which imprinted upon matter, like seal upon wax, give to it life, reality, durability."[59] In the Middle Ages too, this identification between "form" and God was maintained. Boethius in De Trinitate observes: "But Catholic Christians allowing no difference of merit in God, assuming Him to be Pure Form and believing Him to be nothing else than His own essence, rightly regard the statement that the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God, and the Trinity is one God."[60] The Renaissance Neo-Platonists, like Pico della Mirandola, also attempt to establish the identity between Being (the realm of Forms) and the One. In the Republic, Book I, Plato had maintained that the One is superior to or beyond Being. Aristotle, on the other hand, held that the One and Being were really the same thing in fact, and differed only in mental concept and perception. Pico reconciles the Aristotelian and Platonic views of God by identifying both with "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,"[61] and equates Form or Being with God. This identity between Form and God as it emerges from Pico's interpretation is of value, since Pico read "pagan literature and philosophy to find in it a prefiguration of religious truth."[62] A somewhat similar idea is presented in the works of Marsilio Ficino. Ficino does not identify Form (Being) with the One, but following Plotinus and Proclus claims that "dialectical form is only

an outer covering for profound metaphysical content," and "that the being of things resides precisely in their form."[63] If Pico's interpretation allows an identity of God and Form, Ficino's considers form as the Shadow--perhaps the ontological type--of the true reality. Spenser, whose debt to the Renaissance Neo-Platonists is well known, seems to employ both these ideas in his description of Adonis. Following Pico, he may be identifying Adonis, the "Father of all Forms," with God, and following Ficino, he may be considering Adonis as merely the "form" or the imperfect shadow of reality, for the type remains a shadowy figure lacking the completeness of its antitype.

If we accept the above ideas, then Adonis seems to appear both as an ontological and an eschatalogical type of Christ. As a vertical type, he is a shadow or form of Christ existing in heaven, but because he prefigures the historical Christ, he is also an eschatalogical type. Despite C. S. Lewis' assertions concerning the passivity of Adonis and the superiority of Venus over him, Adonis emerges as a type of Christ. Lewis seems to suggest Adonis' role as subservient, for "he has to wait Venus' will and her leisure," and "he is the flower and she the bee," to whose commands Adonis must bow.[64] But in Renaissance art the theme of the chastisement of Adonis as a type of redemption was prevalent. Edgar Wind observes that in the _Hypnerotomachia_, written by an anonymous author, the chastisement of Adonis is itself "understood as a purification rite, _Adonia_ being the atonement for _impura suavitas_."[65] If one considers Spenser's Adonis' forced submission to Venus and his passiveness as a result of "chastisement" Adonis still emerges as a figure of redemption.

The figure of Venus in the Garden of Adonis episode may also be rendered from a typological point of view. Venus may be considered as an eschatological type of the Virgin since she, as a historical character, prefigures another "real" figure. The historicity of Venus has been attested by the Renaissance mythographers such as Stephan Bateman, William King and Alexander Ross[66] who claim that she lived in Paphos in Cyprus and had her temple there. Venus may also be regarded as a type of the Virgin because of the several parallels between her character and that of Mary.

In the Bible the Virgin appears as the Mother of God, whose chief characteristic is maternal love (John 19:25). She also assumes the role of the Queen of Heaven as seen in Revelation 12:1 and in the dogma of the Assumption which maintains "that after her death, the Virgin Mary was assumed bodily in heaven where she was subsequently crowned--'more glorious than the Cherubim and Seraphim. . . ."[67] Moreover, the Virgin is generally associated with the rose (Song of Songs 2:1) and the garden (Song of Songs 4:12), both of which have been considered as types of the Mother of God.[68]

Similar characteristics evince themselves in the character of Venus according to the myths that were current in the Renaissance. In the various legends she is the mother of the god of love and the "mother of gods." She is also the "queen of heaven," for, according to William King, the goddess, shortly after her arrival in Cyprus, "was received by Horae or the hours who immediately braided her hair with gold and carried her up to heaven."[69] She is associated, moreover, with the hyacinth, the violet and the rose, for she remains the goddess of gardens and flowers. Apart from these similarities (between the Virgin

and Venus), which could be detected by an alert and sensitive mind, direct connections between the Virgin and Venus were not altogether absent in the Renaissance. In Sannazaro's epic *De Partu Virginis* the Virgilian tone acquires a mystical ardour that is unmistakably Christian, and here, according to Edgar Wind, "the Virgin is assimilated to Venus."[70] Renaissance art also produced many images of Venus which resemble the Madonna or the Magdalen. One such instance, Wind claims, is the *Hypnerotomachia* in which Venus is depicted as the *mater dolorosa*, nourishing her infant son with tears: "Non lac saeve puer lachrymas sed sugis amaras" (Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, 1499), fol. z. vii^{v2}. Wind points out that once "the transference of types" became a universal practice, it was applied without much thought by several artists.[71] What was occurring in the field of art was also, perhaps, happening in literature. Jacques Hughes in his *Vera historia Romana sen orgio Latii vel Italiae ac Romanae urbis* (1655) identifies Christ with Adonis and Hercules. Commenting upon this identification D. C. Allen asserts: "If the latter comparison is correct, Venus is plainly the mater dolorosa."[72]

In Spenser's Garden of Adonis, Venus' attributes correspond to those of the Virgin, a correspondence which permits the consideration of the pagan goddess as a type of Mary. She is referred to as the "great mother" of the gods (III.vi.40), and her maternal love appears in the search she undertakes in order to find her lost son. She leaves her "heavenly hous" in pursuit of Cupid, but her efforts are in vain. She finds instead Amoret, who seems to take the place of Cupid in Venus' affections, and whom she plans to instruct in the Garden of Adonis. In this respect, then, Spenser demonstrates the maternal love of the goddess. The poet also attempts to delineate his Venus as the "queen of

heaven." He does so by demonstrating Venus' abode as a "heavenly hous / The hous of goodly formes and faire aspects" (III.vi.12). In her heavenly dwelling, Venus is the Neo-Platonic Venus Urania, living in the world of Ideas--similar to the one in the Hymne of Beauty--and appearing as a heavenly, spiritual power. When, however, she leaves her celestial home and steps onto the terrestial earth, she seems to be endowed with the characteristics of the earthly Venus. But this dichotomy between her spiritual and physical nature is by no means irreconcilable. Edgar Wind observes that for the Neo-Platonists of the Italian Renaissance, particularly for Pico della Mirandola

> the Platonic doctrine of the 'two Venuses' no longer designated two opposite kinds of love, one chaste and noble and the other sensuous and vain, but two noble loves called _Amore celeste e umano_, of which the second, confined to the variegated medium of sensibility, was but the humbler image of the first.[73]

From his statement the inference can be drawn that the earthly Venus is the "vicar" of the higher Venus "of whom she is only an image or shadow (ombra)."[74] Her role on earth, then, does not detract from her position as the queen of heaven. Even on earth she is the mistress of the Garden of Adonis. Finally, she is associated, like the Virgin, with the Garden. Though the garden is "called by her lost louer's name," it is primarily Venus' garden; it is _her_ "joyous paradize" where she reigns supreme. The Garden is, moreover, an enclosed one "girt in with two walls on either side. . ." (III.vi.30). This enclosed garden reinforces Venus' typological relation with the Virgin Mary, for as Gilbert Cope has observed that such a garden was a type of the Virgin because "the seal of Mary's virginity was unbroken by the birth of Christ."[75]

Because of all these parallels Spenser's Venus may be regarded as a type of the Virgin.

Such an interpretation of Venus is not incongruous with the poet's theme in the Garden of Adonis. The emphasis in this episode is on the continuity of life; Venus is a type of the Virgin, who in turn prefigures the Church, which is the stable antitype. Adonis, on the other hand, dies--"All things decay in time"--but the stanza that follows assures the joyous life that depends on this death. Adonis dies only to be re-born; like Christ he is made perpetual, and Venus and Adonis together as types of the Virgin and Christ succeed in making "death unto life, change into perpetuity."[76]

The myth of Cupid and Psyche, which Spenser incorporates into his episode of the Garden of Adonis, is also susceptible of a typological interpretation. His treatment of this myth, like that of Venus, remains very elastic throughout the poem, but in Book III Spenser uses the Cupid-Psyche myth as a type of a pious soul's union with Christ.

Several parallels may be discerned in the characters of Cupid and Christ. In the first place, both are connected with "love"; Cupid's love cannot survive wherever disbelief and distrust prevail: for Psyche's distrust of Cupid causes him to flee her. Christ's love, likewise, cannot prevail where distrust is rampant; hence, He repeatedly exhorts people to believe in Him if they wish to be the recipients of His love and grace (Ephesians 6:24). In Galations 5:6, faith in Christ almost appears to be a prerequisite of his love. Another identification may be seen in the similar roles of the pagan child Cupid and the Christ child Jesus. E. R. Goodenough in his book _Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period_ attempts to show the similarities between the two. He claims

that in the trinity the child was by extension God. Commenting upon F. R. Legge's work, Goodenough says:

> Legge discussed the common identification in Greek usage of Horus with Cupid, and shows how Horus-Cupid was Osiris returned to earth in ancient Egyptian tradition; in terms of the Eleusinian mysteries, he was both Iaachus and Dionysus (Iaachus is Dionysus at the breast), which means that Iaachus-Horus-Eros (the three are identical) is Dionysus-Osiris at the breast: that is Eros-Horus is the great god in the winsome and accessible form of the little child.[77]

This equation of infant Cupid with Godhood is a direct parallel of the Christian identification of the child Christ with God. Goodenough elaborates on this point when he states that in "the concentration of the father, mother,and son into a single god in three persons or manifestations," the child in "this trinity, by whatever mythology or name may he be described, presented God in extension. . . ."[78] These similarities between Christ and Cupid allow the pagan god to be thought of as a prefiguration of the historical Christ.

The typological relationship of Cupid to Christ is not entirely foreign to the Renaissance. Alciati delineates the transformation of the lascivious Cupid to a virtuous one in his Emblems CIX and CX, and it is in the latter Emblem that Cupid appears to symbolize divine love. Jean Seznec points out that though Alexandrian eroticism had been spiritualized and moralized by opposing Αντερωζ in the sense of Agape to Ερωζ (Eros), a further step was taken for "Cupid [who] yields his bow and arrows to the infant Jesus who uses them to pierce human hearts."[79] In the emblem books of the sixteenth century the reconciling of the pagan and Christian worlds allowed all kinds of combinations and transpositions. "Christian emblems," says Seznec, "utilize elements of pagan iconography to illustrate the teachings of the faith: Cupid,

wearing a halo as disguise, becomes the infant Jesus."[80] Aware of these tendencies, Spenser, who is interested in typological relationships, weaves into his poem a pagan god as a prefiguration of the Christian.

An analysis of Psyche reveals the goddess's role as an ontological type of the human soul seeking unification with Christ. Because she adumbrates an existing reality in her relationship with Cupid, she may be regarded as an "ontological" type. The word "Psyche" in Greek is ψυχη, that is "soul," and in the Christian tradition the soul is portrayed as seeking the Lord (I Chronicles 22:19; II Chronicles 15:12; Isaiah 61:10). The fulfillment of the quest, however, as has been pointed out in Psalm 34:2 and 35:9, requires "a firm trust and discerning belief"[81] and "complete confidence in the Lord's help."[82] Without the love and faith in God this goal is unattainable. In its attempt to unite itself with the divine by freeing itself from the bondage of the flesh, the soul encounters several difficulties. Just as the Christian soul has to undergo trials and tribulations, Psyche undergoes much suffering before she is united with Divine Love/Christ or Cupid. However, in the myth when she falls prey to her wicked sisters' temptations, doubts beset her, and she breaks the promise and pledge of trust that she has made to Cupid and the sacred bond is torn asunder. She incurs Cupid's displeasure and is left alone to pine away in her sorrow and misery. However, after a series of suffering she repents and redemption eventually comes her way, for she is ultimately united with Cupid.

This interpretation of the Cupid-Psyche myth as an allegory of the reunion of the soul with Christ had currency in the Renaissance. Mythographers such as Fulgentius regarded this myth as a pious soul's reunion with the Lord.[82] Apuleius in his commentaries on Metamorphoses 5, 6

also develops the allegorical meaning of this myth.[83] But it is Boccaccio who makes the typological interpretation of this myth explicit. He believes that "Psyche is the soul . . . and there is joined with her that which preserves the divine rational element, that is, pure love."[84] Discussing Psyche's trials and purgations, he claims that: "at length . . . she attains to the consummation of divine joy and contemplation, and is joined to her lover forever, and, with mortal things sloughed off, is born into eternal glory; and from this love is born pleasure which is eternal joy and gladness."[85] Spenser, following Boccaccio, presents his myth in accordance with the mythographers version. At the end of the scene in the Garden of Adonis, Cupid returns to his mother's garden, and "laying his sad darts / Aside" he has reconciled himself with Psyche whom he had earlier "cruelly exyled." Psyche herself, "after long troubles and vnmeet vpbrayes," finally succeeds in winning Cupid's favor, has married him, and borne him a child. Psyche's trials and sufferings have made her an exemplar of a good soul; even Venus accepts her in her garden, and it is to Psyche that she brings Amoret for instruction "In the lore of loue, and goodly womanhood" (III. vi.51). And it is under Psyche's guidance that Amoret grows to perfection:

> To be the ensample of true loue alone,
> And Lodestar of all chaste affectione. . .
> (III.vi.51).

Thus, Psyche--a type of the Christian soul--through her unification with Christ is able not only to achieve perfection itself, but radiates this perfection to others.

The Temple of Venus

In this great set-piece of The Faerie Queene, Spenser once again weaves the classical concepts into a Christian framework, thereby elevating the pagan personae as "types" of the Christian figures. He incorporates into his schema the Temple of Venus and the great Queen herself and invests his scene with typological significance.

The Old Testament mentions several temples such as that of Solomon, which in the typological tradition foreshadows the temple or the House of God, that is, the Church. The Old Testament does not apply the word "type" to its temples, but because Micah 4:2 presents the House of God as a place of instruction--a characteristic belonging also to the Church of the New Testament, one may regard the Old Testament temple as a type of the Church. The Church appears as a place of instruction, for it is under Paul's preaching (Acts 14:1; 16:5; 17:4; 18:8). Moreover, its function is to "perfect that which is lacking in . . . [one's] faith" (I Thessalonians 3:10) and in this sense is a "fulfillment" of something imperfect. Spenser, I believe, tends to follow this temple/Church typology in his tale about the Temple of Venus.

Venus' temple may be considered as an eschatalogical type of the Church because of its "historicity" and because of its parallels with the Church. The mythographers had attested the historical reality of the temple, which they claim "Marcellus built . . . after the subduing of Syracusa, a mile from the cities."[86] Spenser's Temple of Venus becomes a type of the Church because its salient feature is, like that of the Church, instruction: this is the place where Amoret is instructed in spiritual values. Like the Church, it is a sanctified place where

lovers dwell, and "on chaste virtue ground . . . their desire" (IV.x. 26). Sensuality or baseness have no place in this temple whose sacred and celestial aura is marked by the notable absence of Eros (Cupid) who does not venture near the "Angels playing heavenly toyes . . ." (IV.x. 42). At one point Scudamore himself compares the temple to a Church: "For sacrilidge me seem'd the church to rob" (IV.x.42). Moreover, like the Church, the Temple of Venus possesses a certain sanctity. The inmost sanctuary of the temple fumes with frankincense and Spenser is at pains to show the sanctity and the beauty of the temple, which is later reinforced by his comparison of it, to the two most magnificent temples of Antiquity--Solomon's and Epheseus'. His description of the temple is significant:

> Vpon a hundred marble pillors round
> The roofe vp high was reared from the ground,
> All deckt with crownes, and chaynes, and girlands gay,
> And thousand pretious gifts worth many a pound,
> The which sad louers for their vows did pay;
> And all the ground was strow'd with flowres, as fresh
> as May.
>
> An hundred Altars round about were set,
> All flaming with their sacrifices fire,
> That with the steme thereof the Temple swet,
> Which rould in clouds to heauen did aspire,
> And in them bore true louers vowes entire:
> And eke a hundred brasen caudrons bright,
> To bath in joy and amorous desire,
> Euery of which was to a damzell hight;
> For all the Priests were damzels, in soft linnen light.
> (IV.x.37-38)

Furthermore, like the dangers that beset the early Church, Venus' temple has its problems. Spenser's Amoret does not receive the ideal education in this sanctuary, for, in her emphasis on chastity, she neglects a very important aspect of education--trust, love, and friendship for her fellow *men*. In Spenser's scheme true chastity can only exist in married

love,[87] but when Amoret shuns the idea of married love, and dislikes Scudamore because of her unnatural fears, she seems to neglect an important part of chastity. Apart from the danger that Amoret's attitude presents, there is the constant threat of the possibility of strife in the Temple. The harmony here is held in a precarious balance: Love and Hate both occupy the Temple, and even Hatred resides here so that the contentions that threaten the true Church (I Corinthians 1:11) manifest themselves in the Temple of Venus too. Moreover, like Paul who attempts to "accoplish [perfect] that which is lacking" in the people's faith (I Thessalinians 3:10), Scudamore comes to perfect Amoret's faith, even if he has to use force to do so,

> For _Cupid's_ man with _Venus_ mayd to hold,
> For ill your goddess seruices are drest
> By virgins, and her sacrifices let to rest.
> (IV.x.54)

He also has to overcome Doubt and Daunger in order to carry out his mission successfully, and must proceed with fearlessness.

The central figure in the Temple of Venus may also be analyzed from the typological standpoint. Since Venus can serve as a great symbol of _discordia concors_, of the reconciliation of opposites on every level of creation, she remains a complex type when considered from the figural point of view. A close examination of her character reveals her as a type of Christ/God.

The Old Testament contains several prefigurations of Christ, the most relevant of which, for the present purpose, is the figure of the King (Psalm 2:6), and in the New Testament of the Master of the House. Venus may be regarded as a type of Christ because, like Christ, she is a King (Queen), and like him the ruler of her temple. She also emerges

as a type of God the Father because of the many correspondences between her character and the Lord's. Like God she is the ruler of Heaven--"Queen of Heaven," and like God who is Love (I John 4:8-16) she is the goddess of Love.

The consideration of Venus as a type of God is evident in the works of some Renaissance writers and artists. The Christianizing of Venus had been occurring throughout the Middle Ages[88] and in the Renaissance a linking of Venus and God was continued. The poet-astrologer Lorenzo Bonincontri in his Rerum Naturum et Divina uses Venus as God's agent on earth.[89] The connection between Venus and God also appears in the work of the fifteenth century Christian Platonist, Nicholas of Cusa who, in his De docta ignorantio, claims: "Hermes [Trismegistus] argued that the Cause of All, God, comprised in himself the masculine and feminine sexes, of which he believed Venus and Cupid to be manifestations--Valerius Romanus also shared this view and sang of an omnipotent Jupiter who was God the father, and God the mother."[90]

Spenser's Venus possesses all the attributes that would permit her classification as a prefiguration of Christ. In the first place Spenser invests his goddess with all the characteristics of a king, or rather with those of the female counterpart of a king. She is referred to as the "Queene of beauty and of Grace" (IV.x.47), and again as the "queene of the ayre" (IV.x.47). As a queen, her power and majesty are akin to that of Christ the king himself. Her kingdom is vast, and the realm she governs is equal to that of Christ. Spenser addresses her as

> Great Venus, Queene of beauty and of grace
> The joy of Gods and men, that vnder skie
> Doest fayrest shine, and most adorn thy place,
> That with thy smiling looke doest pacifie
> The raging seas and makest the storms to flie;

> Thee goddess, thee the winds and clouds do feare,
> And when thou spredest thy mantle forth on hie
> The waters play and pleasant lands appeare,
> And heauens laugh, and all the world shews joyous
> cheare. (IV.x.44)

and such an address is one befitting Christ who reigns over heaven (Isaiah 57:7).

Not only is Venus a type of Christ because of her omnipotence, power, and majesty and other "kingly" qualities, but also because she appears, like Chirst, as the master of her house. In her temple, she is the mistress. To her "seruices are drest / By virgins" (IV.x.54), and even Scudamore, in his venture involving the rescue of Amoret, keeps his eyes fixed on the goddess "for feare of her offence" (IV.x.56). She is the "goddess" of the Temple and is so addressed several times (stanzas 39, 44, 54, 56). Spenser explicitly indicates the identity between Venus and Christ/God. Her face is veiled so that she is like God whom "no man hathe sene . . . at any time" (I John 4:12). In stanza 47 Spenser acknowledges that "all the world . . . at first was made" by the goddess, an intimation that also parallels John 1:1, and refers to her as the "Great God of men and women."

Another parallel between God and Venus that further substantiates her conception as a type appears in the attribute of hermaphroditism that is present in her character. According to scholars such as Gilbert Cope, Genesis 1:27 suggests that the image of God is both male and female. Origen has suggested in his comments on Genesis 2:24, which reads "and they shall be one flesh," the same idea of the duality of God when he remarks "Let us learn through allegory how man is made . . . in the image of God."[91] In the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa had already stated the male and female characteristics of God (see page 90),

and in the Renaissance Raleigh's History made a similar claim. Citing a quotation from Raleigh's book, W. S. Renwick says "The first of all is God. . . . He is male and female too."[92] Almost all the myths of Venus, likewise, deal with her androgynousness and Spenser, whose perceptive mind is quick to grasp these connections, employs this characteristic in his figure of Venus. Asserting that Venus has both kinds in one, he regards her as

> Both male and female, both vnder one name
> She syre and mother is her selfe alone,
> Begets and also conceiues, ne needeth other none.
> (IV.x.41)

All contraries are thus reconciled in Venus, just as they are reconciled in God, and her ability to conceive and beget without any help is further suggestive of her "divinity" that strengthens the idea of her typological relationship to God.

Isis Church

A close examination of the Osiris-Isis myth so subtly woven into the set-piece of Isis Church reveals, once again, Spenser's dextrous employment of pagan types. The complex figure of Osiris emerges as an ontological type of Jehovah but as a result of the transformation that Osiris undergoes, he also appears as an ontological type of Christ. Both antitypes are closely related to the thematic structure of Spenser's book, and shed much light on the poet's concept of justice.

Osiris may be regarded as an ontological type of Jehovah because of the several similarities between the Egyptian and Hebraic God, and because of the antitype's reference to a present and existing reality. The Old Testament accounts of Jehovah present him as the "maker" or the

Creator of the earth. Various statements such as those in Job 35:10, Psalm 95:6, Isaiah 17:7, and 45:9 attest this role of Jehovah. The Old Testament also emphasizes God's strict justice as is evident in Psalm 47:2, Isaiah 46:21, 35:4; and Zachariah 9:9. Another characteristic of God as it appears in the Old Testament is his eternal existence, a good example of which appears in Deuteronomy 33:27. All these attributes are also found in the Egyptian god Osiris. According to E. A. Wallis Budge,[93] the name "Osiris" carries the connotations of a verb "meaning 'to make,' 'to do,' 'maker,' 'doer,' etc." so that "Osiris" possesses definite overtones of the Old Testament Creator. The strict execution of justice and the just implementation of the law are also characteristic of Osiris, who as the "Lord of Justice" metes out his judgments "with righteous impartiality" and is "in fact a just judge." His justice is, moreover, rigid, for he is said to have kept an "account of all . . . men's deeds and words, which were duly written in . . . registers, and reckoned up in the accounts on the tablets, and kept in the books carefully."[94] Budge also observes that "every man's actions were known to him, nothing was hidden from him, and his verdict in each man's case was according to the evidence written in the Registers of Doom. . . ."[95] This sternness of Osiris' character is also evident in the pictorial representations. In the illustrations Budge includes in his book, Osiris is generally seen brandishing a whip in one hand and a flail in the other.[96]

In the Renaissance the myth of Osiris became popular because of the renewed interest in the classical writer Plutarch whose book _De Iside et Osiride_ had treated the Egyptian myth in detail. Plutarch deals with the role of Osiris as judge, and also emphasizes the sternness of his

character evident in the description of the tribunal "commonly depicted as the weighing of the soul."[97] H. G. Lotspeich has observed that Spenser's source of the myth is Plutarch, and it is through his reading of Plutarch that Spenser is aware of these attributes of Osiris. In Book V of The Faerie Queene, Spenser elects to treat Osiris as an ontological type of Jehovah, for he explicitly states in the second stanza of Canto VII that the Egyptian god is one who is "shading a true case."

Spenser shows in the episode of Isis Church Osiris' role as akin to that of God, and emphasizes the severe justice executed by this god. At the very beginning of Canto VII he states:

> Well, therefore did the antique world inuent
> That Iustice was a God of soverain grace,
> And altars vnto him, and temples lent,
> And heauenly honours in the highest place,
> Calling him great Osyris, of the race
> Of th' old Aegyptian Kings, that whylome were,
> With fayned colors shading a true case;
> For that Osyris, whilest he lived here,
> The iustest man aliue, and truest did appear.
> (V.vii.2)

Here Osiris appears not only as the Lord God whom all men worship but also as a just God, whose severe justice Spenser brings out through the identification of Artegall and Osiris:

> That righteous knight, that is thy faithfull louer,
> Like to Osyris in all iust endeuer.
> For that same Crocodile Osyris is,
> That vnder Isis feete doth sleepe for euer.
> (V.vii.22)

And Artegall, as Spenserian critics have long noted, executes not the merciful justice of "ladies, Litae, and Christ, but the rigorous, righteously wrathful justice which typically emanates from Jove's judgement seat."[98] Jove, who has been interpreted as a type of Old Testament God by scholars,[99] exhibits the same harsh concept of justice that

Jehovah does. According to Macrobius, Jove is properly represented as wielding a whip in his right hand, and many Renaissance representations follow Macrobius' description, the most notable among them being that of Agostino di Duccio's bas relief of him in Tempio Malatestina.[100] In Spenser, the association of Artegall with Jove, and therefore of Osiris with Jove, is evident. Artegall, the knight of justice, demonstrates and enforces his decrees through the power of his mighty sword, Chrysoar. The sword itself is connected with Jove, for the name "Chrysareus" was, according to Strabo, a surname for the Carrain Zeus.[101] Furthermore, Talus's flail, as pointed out by Jane Aptekar, recalls Jove's whip.[102] Because of these associations of Artegall with Jove, Osiris (because of his identity with Artegall) emerges as a character possessing Jovian or Jehovian attributes which enable us to interpret him as an ontological type of the Old Testament God.

Yet another correspondence between Osiris/Artegall and God is found in their relationship to the Crocodile. Spenser, as has been stated earlier, identifies the Crocodile as Osiris "For that same Crocodile _Osyris_ is. . . ." But Plutarch identifies the Crocodile with God, explaining that the reptile "is the living representative of God, since he is the only creature without a tongue; for the Divine Word has no need of a voice."[103] Following Plutarch, Spenser may have regarded the Crocodile as analogous to God: but by identifying him with Artegall, he tends to view him as a type of Jehovah, for, "Artegall [and therefore Osiris and the Crocodile] represents force; and there are times when force is not appropriate. . . . He represents a justice that is rigorous even to cruelty; the mercy of Christ and good queens must counterbalance it."[104] All these numerous similarities portray the figure of

Osiris, as he appears at the beginning of the episode as typifying the "rigour of the Old Law" instead of the "Gospel of Christ which makes glad."[105]

But Osiris does not appear as an ontological type of Jehovah throughout the episode at Isis Church. He undergoes a change, apparent in Britomart's dream, and assumes the attributes of Christ, thereby becoming in the final analysis an eschatalogical and an ontological type of Christ. Just as the Old Law remains imperfect and prefigures, as Hebrews 8:5-7 indicates, the new covenant of Christ's "more excellent ministry," in the same way Osiris, as a type of Jehovah, remains for Spenser imperfect (for in Spenser's scheme true justice is that which is tempered with mercy) and must be replaced by a more perfect form of justice which appears in the person of Christ. Hence, Spenser attempts to transform Osiris in the incident at Isis Church.

Osiris emerges as a type of Christ because of the several parallels that manifest themselves in the two characters. In the Bible, Christ appears as a judge but as a merciful judge. II Timothy 4:1 presents Christ as "judge of the quick and dead," and Revelation 19:11 regards him as the highest judge of nations. Christ becomes, because of his association with justice, what D. S. Berkeley calls "the antitypological judge of human history."[106] Apart from justice, another important attribute of Christ is mercy. Jude 21 mentions the "mercy of Lord Jesus," and throughout the New Testament the mercy of Christ is constantly stressed (I Corinthians 7:5; Romans 11:32; Ephesians 2:4; II Timothy 1:18; etc.). Furthermore, Christ is also associated with the sun as is evident in Malachi 4:2. All these traits are apparent in the character of Osiris. Wallace Budge observes that Osiris was not only "a just

judge, but he was also a merciful judge . . . for he had lived among men on earth, had possessed a human nature like theirs, and understood all their weakness and strength, and could therefore make allowances for their sins and defects."[107] This description reveals not only the merciful characteristics of Osiris, but also his human characteristics which are analogous to those of Christ.

For the Renaissance, Plutarch had become the authority on Egyptian myth, and his book also deals with the aforementioned characteristics of Osiris. Plutarch views Osiris as king of the dead, as the "leader and king" of freed souls, and "this view is intended to include his role as a judge."[108] The element of mercy is also recognized in Plutarch's interpretation of the Egyptian god. He considers Osiris as a great king and benefactor, one possessing "great love," and one who civilizes the world not by arms but "by persuasive speech together wuth all manner of song and poetry."[109] Moreover, Osiris' association with the sun is explicitly stated by Plutarch, and this similarity also substantiates the typological relationship of Osiris and Christ, for as H. V. Blavatsky, in his discussion of certain types, has stated: "For is not king Messiah the sun, the Demiurge of the heliolaters, under various names? Is he not the Egyptian Osiris and the Grecian Apollo. . . ?"[110]

In Spenser's episode, Osiris' generous nature manifests itself through Britomart's influence on Artegall. Britomart shows Osiris/ Artegall that "clemence" is "amis" or "at fault" in many instances, and she teaches him restraint by controlling his actions. His transformation begins once Britomart has restrained him by her rod, and he begins to seek the "grace" and "love" of Britomart. As a result of such an

influence, Artegall at the end of the book is transformed into an exemplary justiciar, milder than the "mildest man aliue" (V.xii.42), and he becomes a true reflection of the Divine. This merciful and mild nature of Artegall/Osiris is in keeping with the theme of Spenser's book, for as Kathleen Williams observes: "Britomart's influence upon Artegall can figure the tempering of justice by mercy which is essential if human society is to reflect, however dimly, the purposes of God."[111] Spenser also specifically associates Osiris with the Sun (stanza 4), which, according to the Geneva Bible's marginal notes on Malachi 4:2, is a type of Christ. Osiris' associations with the merciful judge and with the sun (both of which themselves are types of Christ) thus allows us to regard him as a type of Christ, but because Spenser incorporates in his work the theme of discordia concors, Osiris seems to adumbrate and foreshadow two antitypes: the Old Testament Jehovah and the New Testament Christ.

In the figure of Isis further possibilities of typological interpretation appear. Because of the duality and complexity of Isis's nature, she too seems to prefigure two antitypes--the Virgin and the Church. Once again the correspondence between the Virgin and Isis, together with the historicity of both the characters, allows one to consider Isis as a prefiguration of the Virgin. In his translation of De Iside et Osiride, J. G. Griffiths attests Plutarch's belief in the historicity of this myth,[112] and hence it is possible to assume that Spenser too believed in the actual existence of Isis and Osiris.

Several parallels appear between Isis and the Virgin. Apuleius calls Isis the "Queen of Heaven," a term which is also applied by the Christians to the Virgin. Among the many attributes of Isis is that of

the God-Mother, "an attribute identical . . . [with that] of Mary, mother of Christ."[113] She is also the bride of Osiris (himself a type of Christ) just as the Church is the bride of Christ (Revelation 21:9; II Corinthians 11:2). Plutarch observes that Isis and Sophia are identical and eminent scholars such as Gilbert Cope and Alan Watts have demonstrated the identity of the Virgin and Sophia.[114] Plutarch mentions the relationship of Isis and the moon, and Alan Watts in his _Myth and Ritual in Christianity_ claims that the Virgin "as the 'Woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet,' . . . is also everything signified in other mythologies by the goddesses of the moon, which shines by the sun's light and appears in the night (crowned) with stars."[115] Spenser, following Plutarch's _De Iside et Osiride_, is cognizant of these attributes of Isis and he subtly incorporates them into his framework. He mentions that "Isis doth the moone portend" (V.vii.4), and stresses her role as a mother when he mentions the birth of her son (the Lion) through her union with Osiris. Spenser also indicates that Isis is the "wife" of Osiris, thereby connecting her with the wife/bride role of the Virgin. Finally, Isis remains for Spenser "that part of justice which is Equity," the latter attribute being an essential concomitant of justice. In Spenser's scheme, since true justice cannot exist without mercy, equity and moderation, Equity (Isis) must be united to Justice (Osiris). This concomitance of equity and justice or Isis and Osiris is analogous to that of the Virgin and Christ, for "the Virgin . . . is that without which there would be no Christ."[116]

But if Isis emerges as a type of the Virgin, she also appears as a type of the Church. In the Bible, prefigurations of the Church are found, for example, in Psalm 45:9 where, according to the marginal

comments of the Geneva Version, the queen and the Virgin are considered as prefigurations of the Church. Because Isis herself is a queen and a Virgin, she could be regarded as a type of the Church. In Spenser she is addressed (because of her identity with Britomart) as the "Magnifique Virgin," and as a Virgin she becomes a type of the Church. She is also the "queen" of her temple, and by virtue of this trait she prefigures the Church. Furthermore, she wears upon her head a "crowne of gold" and in many old cathedrals "the common type for the Church was a noble woman, wearing a crown."[117] The Isis/Church typology might have been in Spenser's mind because he explicitly associates the "church" rather than a "temple" or a "house" with Isis in the epigraph to Canto VII. In his comments on Isis, Frank Kermode has observed that Equity is "indeed the source of law which makes Justice just," and that Equity is the "mediator between natural and human law."[118] If we consider "natural law" as the law of God, and "human law" as the law of man, then the Church or equity becomes the mediator between the two. In this sense, then, the figure of Isis (or Equity), because of her "mediative" qualities, becomes a prefiguration of the Church.

Closely allied to the Isis/Virgin/Church type is the Lion/Christ type. The lion which is born through the union of Isis/Britomart and Osiris/Artegall may be viewed as a prefiguration of Christ. This type is not altogether absent in the Christian tradition. On the basis of Revelation 5:5-6 the lion may be regarded as a foreshadowing of Christ. The Wycliffe Bible in its prologue to Isaiah indicates that "sum tyme a lioun signifieth Christ for his power."[119] In the _Speculum Sacredotale_ (1425) one reads "And therefore he [Christ] is called a lyon" (ll. 118-24).[120] Likewise, in the _Croxton Play of the Sacrament: The_

Non-cycle Mystery Play (1500), Christ is referred to as the "God and Savyouer, strong Lyon of Juda" (l. 700).[121] This typology also evinces itself in the medieval church windows, particularly in that of the Bourges window where the associations of Christ and the lion are continued.[122]

The Renaissance had inherited these Christian versions of the lion, but its humanist tendencies enabled the development of the pagan versions of the lion as well. Among the Egyptians the lion was regarded as a symbol of God and is usually associated "with the sun-god Horus and Ra and with the deities of a solar character."[123] According to Plutarch, the authority for Spenser, one of the main functions of the lion is to protect the temple or building which it guards against evil.[124] Thus the "pagan" lion, in its role as protector, and in its associations with the sun possesses characteristics similar to those of Christ, who becomes its antitype.

In the episode at Isis Church, Spenser seems to have in mind the Lion/Christ type. Aware of the attributes of the Egyptian lion through his reading of Plutarch and of the connections between the lion and Christ in the Christian tradition, Spenser skillfully combines the two traditions by making the lion (the son of Isis the Virgin and Osiris the Father) a foreshadowing of Christ. Such an interpretation gains further support when one finds that Spenser identifies the Lion with Christ in Book I:

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

Such an interpreation achieves further validity when one considers Spenser's theme of discordia concors that allows the existence of complex and discordant ideas within a unified structure.

The Graces

Several events in The Faerie Queene reveal the importance that Spenser ascribes to the concept of Grace. In Book I, Grace saves the Red Cross Knight from annihilation, frees him from his state of hell and allows him victory in Christ. Arthur's identification with Grace reinforces further this redemptive quality so pervasive in Book I. Spenser's interest in the idea of heavenly Grace finds its full manifestation, however, in the allegorical core of the sixth book. Dextrously intertwining the classical and the Christian views, Spenser subtly reveals the classical Graces as shadows of heavenly Grace. The Graces may be regarded as ontological types of the Divine Grace since they adumbrate a present and existing reality--not something fulfilled at the end of time, and possess similarities with Divine Grace.

The use of Χαριϛ (charis) in the New Testament is in reference to God's redemptive mercy whereby he grants pardon for offences, bids those who have gone astray return, and accept his gift of salvation and everlasting life (I Corinthians 15:10). However, the full meaning of Χαριϛ involves spontaneous favor, for Grace is a gift freely bestowed on men (Romans 5:15) involving no ulterior motives (I Peter 4:10). Apart from its spontaneity, Grace always implies a "direct reference to the pleasure or joy . . . which is indeed suggested by the connection of the word with χατρειν, 'to rejoice'."[125] It evinces itself in self-sacrifice (II Corinthians 8:9) and is allied to God's benevolence and mercy

(Daniel 9:18). Central to the concept of Grace is Love, for "grace implies that God overcomes not by necessity or force, but by the freeness of his love" (Romans 5:20-21).[126] According to Titus 3:4-5, the element of charity is also apparent in Grace. The usage of Χαρις for "thanks," the correlative of favor or the "return favor," is also an attribute of Grace. Hastings has observed that the employment of metaphors like "new birth" (John 3:3-7), "new creature" (II Corinthians 5:17, Ephesians 2:10), or the "new," the "resurrection" (Ephesians 2:5; Colossians 2:13, 3:1), in reference to Grace "emphasizes the fact that renewal of heart and life is accomplished only by the power, the Grace of God."[127] Most of these ideas concerning Divine Grace are echoed by the Renaissance men such as Calvin and Luther. In his Commentaries Calvin dwelt on this concept which, he felt, signified salvation for human beings.[128] Calvin also claims that Grace was provided "not only for our necessity, but likewise for our pleasure and delight."[129] Luther also believes in Grace as a gift, a favor which God bestows because of his love. He believes that "God takes pity on our estate and preaches the gospel of Christ to us, declaring his true will and heart of love and favor toward us in spite of our bondage."[130]

The classical Graces, as Edgar Wind has shown,[131] carry a wide range of symbolic meanings for the Renaissance. The views of Seneca and Servius are upheld by Renaissance mythographers such as Boccacio, Perotti, Fulgentius, and by poets such as Spenser. The general view (in the Renaissance) concerning the Graces is that they are figures of generosity which consists "of giving, accepting and returning."[132] This triad manifests itself in their description where "one of them is pictured from the back while the two others face us because for one

benefit issuing from us, two are supposed to return."[133] The Graces are also regarded as Charities, that is, "Thanks."[134] Jean Seznec observes that the classical Graces imply "the renewal of an order and the re-awakening of a harmony,"[135] an idea that also appears in several paintings of the Renaissance as well.[136] The Graces further represent Faith, Hope and Charity as D. C. Allen has shown in his discussion of Besuire's Metamorphoses Ovidina Moraliter (1515),[137] and this conception of the Graces is reaffirmed in the following century by Alexander Ross, who sees the pagan figures as types of the Christian.[138]

These attributes of the Graces correspond to those of Divine Grace, and since the Bible, the Church Fathers[139] and the Renaissance writers[140] were not opposed to finding types in pagan religion and history, it is possible to consider the classical Graces as a type of the Christian Grace.

Spenser's description of the Graces in Book VI of The Faerie Queene draws on the classical, biblical, and Renaissance traditions. He depicts the Graces as bestowing "gracious gifts" upon men, as being "mylde and gentle," and free from malice, guile, or "dissemblaunce." Like the Grace of God, they are bestowed upon everyone--even on those who are not perfect, such as Calidore. Spenser, following tradition, shows the Graces as "unfolding the attributes of Venus, thus demonstrating in a variety of ingenious ways, the nature of love."[140] Like the classical Graces and Divine Grace, Spenser's Graces also affirm harmony and a renewal of order. Mount Acidale is a symbolic landscape reflecting peace. The stream that runs at its bottom is gentle and mild:

> His siluer waues did softly tumble downe
> Unmard with ragged mosse or filthy mud,

> Ne mote wylde beastes, ne mote the ruder clowne
> Thereto approach, ne filth mote therein drowne.
> (VI.x.7)

and the general atmosphere is one possessing a freedom from self-concern and from the evils of society; even the lover's Petrarchan mistress is kind: "Thy loue is present there with thee in place / Thy loue is there advaunst to be another Grace" (VI.x.16). The pastoral scene itself is significant, for as Kathleen Williams has affirmed, "the pastoral meanings . . . show courtesy, in Spenser's rich sense of it, as natural to man when unspoiled by selfishness . . . and corresponding to the _divine benevolence_ for which pastoral nature is a metaphor" (italics mine).[141]

The most significant parallel found in Divine Grace and the classical Graces, whom Spenser incorporates in his poem, lies in the circular movement of God's Grace and the classical Graces. This correspondence further supports the consideration of the classical Graces as adumbrating the Divine Grace, and I have elected to deal with it separately because it is an important parallel. The Church Fathers in their discussions on Grace seem to deal with the circular movement of God's Grace. Clement of Alexandria in _Stromata_ VII.7 states:

> Whether the Father draws (ελ×ει) to himself everyone who lives in purity . . . or whether the liberty that is in us, tending to the knowledge of the Good, leaps (σκιρτα) and bounds (πηδα) over the obstacles . . . it is never without the aid of special grace that the soul receives wings (πτδρουαι) and rises (ανιοταται) toward transcendent things, laying aside all that weighs it down (βρτθον), and returning toward that which is akin to itself.[142]

According to Irenaeus, the Incarnation, which is the key to salvation, may "be looked at in two ways, either as God's drawing near to man, or Man's drawing near to God, and this mutual approach reaches its perfection in the God-Man."[143] The Church Fathers seem to be echoing a

doctrine that is present in the Bible--the Incarnation. Commenting on this concept of Grace, Jean Danièlou asserts that in the "Old Testament, not only does God habituate himself to Man, but in addition Man adapts himself to God. . . . Thus the Old Covenant while preparing the divine nature to be united with that of Man, also prepares human nature for union with the divine."[144] In each of these cases, the emphasis lies in the circular movement of the descension of Grace on man, and the ascension of man to his Creator.

In the Renaissance, the Neo-Platonists such as Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino also affirm the circular movement of the Grace of God. Both these men see the circle of love as divine love emanating downward to chaos and kindling in it the love of its Creator, and the human love, which inspired by beauty, causes the lover to propagate the eternal forms. Pico states: "Of the Graces one is painted looking toward us; the continuation of our being is no reflex act. The other two with their faces from us, seeming to return; the operations of the Intellect and Will are reflexive: 'What comes from God to us, returns from us to God.'"[145] Ficino, likewise, affirms:

> This divine quality of beauty stirs desire for itself in all things: and that is love. The world that was originally drawn out of God is thus drawn back to God; there is a continuall attraction between them--from God to the world and from the world to God--moving as it were in a circle. This circle may be said to display three qualities; beginning in God, it is beauty; passing into the world, it is love, and returning to unite the creation with the Creator, it is pure delight.[146]

It is precisely in the light of such Neo-Platonism that the humanists, including Spenser, discover in the myth of the Graces something greater than a moral; they discover, as Seznec says, "religious teaching--the Christian doctrine itself."[147] For Pico and Ficino's thoughts synthesize

the classical and the Christian so that the doctrine of Incarnation by which humanity is taken up into the Bosom of the Divine and the "deepest humiliation becomes a gauge of Love and Wisdom that prompted it" becomes an antitype of the circular movement of the classical Graces.

In Spenser's dance of the Graces this circular movement of the Graces is evident. Spenser describes the Graces in their characteristic position:

> That two of them still forward seem'd to be
> But one still towards shew'd herselfe afore,
> That good should from us goe, then come in greater store,
> (VI.x.24)

so that they illustrate the "circle of eternity, emanating from and returning to the divine."[148] Spenser's imaginative conception here embodies the ideas of the Renaissance Neo-Platonists. His observation in the last line in stanza 24 "That good should from vs goe, then come in greater store" is clearly indicative of Divine Grace--God's love of man through Christ raising him up, and Man's love of Christ drawing down Grace upon himself. For Spenser, the Grace of God is a central idea, the significance of which has been observed by Virgil K. Whitaker:

> Catholic doctrine taught . . . that fallen man needed grace to be healed and to perform meritorious works, but Protestant teaching laid far more emphasis upon its role, and Spenser's preoccupation with Grace is an important indication of his fundamental Protestantism. For if man is incapable of doing good works of his own volition, his performance of it must depend on the sustaining power of the Grace of God.[149]

Spenser discerns that the Grace of God, manifesting itself through the Incarnation and the Passion, ultimately restores the man of Faith to the Creator. Calidore's vision of the Graces is a visitation of Divine Grace, for it brings about a reawakening, and a renewal of Order, and a new commitment, so that with the help of God's Grace he is able to

reconcile Pastorella with her family, and complete his hitherto forgotten mission--the conquest of the Blatant Beast.

Because of the several correspondences between Divine Grace and the classical Graces in Spenser's poem, one could regard the latter as ontological types of God's Grace--the supreme example of which appears through God's love for man through Christ.

The Mutabilitie Cantos

In the final Cantos of Mutabilitie, which form the allegorical core of the incompleted Legend of Constancie, Spenser once again reveals his interest in the humanist typological tradition. His major figures appear as pagan ontological types adumbrating Christian antitypes. Spenser's Nature, who is the classical goddess Natura, adumbrates God, Mutability exists as a type of Satan or Antichrist, but because of her transformation becomes a type of God's agent. Jove is presented as a type of the viceroy of God while the story of Mulla and Faunus adumbrates the entire revolt of Mutabilitie.

The goddess Natura appears as an ontological type of God because she possesses similar characteristics to those of God, and adumbrates an existing reality. In the Bible, the superiority and omnipotence of God is mentioned constantly, a notable example of which is apparent in Psalm 95:3, "For the Lord God is a great God, and a great King above all gods." Moreover, the role of God as the father and the sustainer appears throughout the Old and New Testaments. The pagan goddess Natura embodies these very attributes: one of the Orphic hymns considers Physis (Natura) as the "age-old Mother of All; father, mother, nurse, sustainer . . . first born; eternal life and immortal providence . . . ."[150]--epithets

used in conjunction with the name of God. Claudian in the third century regards her as a cosmic power that reconciles the strife of the elements,[151] and because of such correspondences Natura emerges as a type of God.

The equation of Natura and God continued through the Middle Ages as well. So strong was this consideration of Natura as a type of God, that the Church Fathers, like Lactantius and Prudentius, directed their polemics against this goddess, who seems to have been popular as late as the tenth century.[152] Bernard Silvestrius in his De universitate mundi describes Nature as the power which shapes matter into "harmonious order," who sets the course of the stars and finally, with the assistance of Urania, "heavenly" and Nous (the personification of divine intelligence--a feminine form of Godhead) creates man.[153] In Alain de Lille's De planctu naturae, the goddess Natura is placed at the center of the allegories, and she appears as Urania "through whom divine ratio is expressed."[154] She is also "God's deputy," and her most significant role in the De planctu is as a source of moral law.[155] And finally, Chaucer, in The Parliament of Fowles, compares Nature to the splendour of the sun,[156] which itself was a traditional type of Christ. The idea that Nature is the "vice regent of God the Creator" is found in Alain de Lille's De planctu naturae, Prose, 3, and H. G. Lotspeich believes that from there it passes into The Romance of the Rose (1. I6970) and to Chaucer's Physician's Tale (1. 19-21), and "is implicit in the role which Nature plays in Mutabilitie and explains the transition at the end from Nature to the God of Sabboath."[156] For all these writers Natura is a representative of God. For Spenser, as Lotspeich points out, she is the creator, nurse and orderer of life as seen throughout The

Faerie Queene.[158] However, since the world of The Faerie Queene is a fallen world, Nature appears in the ultimate analysis as a shadow of the true God in heaven--an adumbration of an existing reality of God. Hence, Kathleen Williams' observation that "Nature though not God, is a shadow of God" (italics mine)[159] seems very appropriate.

In the Mutabilitie Cantos, Spenser assigns to Nature this superior role over Mutabilitie, describing her as "far greater and more tall of stature / Then any of the gods or Powers on hie" (VII.vi.5), and as one who "gods no more than men . . . doth esteeme; / For euen the gods to . . . her as to gods, do seeme" (VII.vii.5,15). She also remains hidden; her head and face "that mote to none appeare," reverberates John's description of God whom "no man hath sene . . . at any time" (I John 4: 12). Moreover, her sex is dubious, for her head, covered with a veil remains "uncouth" to mortal men, so that like God she is invisible. Spenser makes so explicit the theological reference describing the dazzling brilliance of Nature that no careful reader can overlook it. The splendour surrounding her is one "that eye of wight could not indure to view," one that is brighter than the sun itself: "That it the Sunne a thousand times did pass / Ne could be seene, but like an image in glass" (VII.vii.6). This brilliance is reiterated in the description of her garment which is "so bright and wondrous sheene" that the "frail wit" of the poet fails him as did that of Peter, James and Mark (Mark 9: 2-3; Matthew 17:1-8): "When they their glorious Lord in strange disguise / Transfigur'd sawe; his garments so did daze their eyes" (VII.vii. 7). Like God she resides in a palace "not . . . made by hands" (Acts 17: 24), for Spenser explicitly tells us that her residence is

> Not such as Craftes-men by their idle skill
> Are wont for Princes states to fashion:
> But th' earth her selfe of her owne motion,
> Out of her fruitfull bosome made to growe. . .
> (Vii.vii.8).

Moreover, the "earth far vnderneath her feete" (VII.vii.10) becomes her "footstoole" embellished with flowers and "odours sweet," "like a throne"--a description reminiscent of Matthew 5:34-35 and Psalm 99:5 where "heaven . . . is the throne of God . . . the earth . . . is His fote-stole." Just as all contraries are reconciled in God, all opposing forces are reconciled in Nature, for she is the "great grandmother of all creatures bred . . . euer young yet full of eld," "still mouing yet unmoued from her sted" (VII.vii.13). In the final analysis, she is like God, the acknowledged judge and ruler of all things in the natural world, and after acting as an arbitrator in the quarrel between Mutability and Jove, she vanishes into a realm "whither no man wist" just as God appears and vanishes when he so chooses.

The enigmatic and complex figure of Mutabilitie is also susceptible to a typological interpretation, but because of the duality of her character, she becomes a type possessing two antitypes. A careful reading of the Cantos reveal two aspects of Mutabilitie (whom Natalis Comes had identified as the Goddess Fortuna),[160] the earthly and the providential. As the earthly character she is identified both with the cause and the effect of the Fall. Hence she may be regarded as a type of Satan.

In the Bible the words such as "type" and "shadow" do not explicitly apply to Satan, but by regarding Satan as ultimate depravity, this personage becomes the end of any evil that is seen in the typological dimension in the Old and New Testaments. David S. Berkeley has traced the

types of Satan in the biblical and the patristic traditions and has demonstrated that evil forces and events that are anti-God may be construed as types of Satan, and regards such types as generally ontological.[161]

The concept of Fortuna or Mutability as akin to the satanic force seems to have a long tradition. During the decadence of Rome and the early Middle Ages, she was considered an omnipotent though degraded form of the universal deity, more powerful even than Jove. Her appeal was enormous then, and the Church Fathers from Lactantius and Augustine to Aquinas attack her worship as idolatry.[162] Lactantius and William of Malmesbury both identify the goddess as the spirit of evil.[163] Prudentius, in his _Contra Orationem Symmachi_, Liber II, condemns Fortuna as idol worship of Natura that detracts from the worship of the true God, and Pico della Mirandola, in the Renaissance, presents her as the devil, while the mythographers recognize both her power and her evil attributes.[164]

In Spenser's _Mutabilitie Cantos_, she appears at the beginning as a type of the fallen angel. As a descendant of the Titans, who were the instigators of hatred and strife, she too begins to "reare / Gainst all the Gods" (VII.vi.1). The Titans or Giants are, according to Kathleen Williams, "pagan shadows of Lucifer's rebels,"[165] and Mutabilitie, who inherits her ancestors' rebellious characteristics, becomes a pagan type of Lucifer as a result of leading the rebellion against Jove. She acknowledges no master and appears as the agent of man's Fall, the destroyer of Eden and of the golden age. Throughout Canto VI her figure is reminiscent of Lucifer. Like Satan, her pride is overweening; she makes both "heauen and earth . . . tremble at her pride" (VII.vi.3) and

and even succeeds in confusing Jove by the "gathering spirit of her nature's pride" (VII.vi.26). The poet speaks of her as "proud change" (VII.vi.Arg.), of her "bold presumption" (VII.vi.2), of her "pride and impudence" (VII.vi.25), and finally of her hot "bold enterprize" (VII.vi. 30). Like Satan, Mutabilitie is ambitious: she seeks power first on earth, then over men and "eke all other creatures" (VII.vi.4). She revolts directly against the order of God which Nature "had established first in good estate" (VII.vi.4). She perverts the established order and curses all "that God had blest" (VII.vi.5). Moreover, she breaks not only the laws of Nature, but also those of Justice, and of Policie so that Chaos is let loose. Just as Satan claims authority over the world (Luke 4:6), and challenges the authority of Christ (Matthew 4:3), Mutabilitie claims her power over the world and defies Jove. A certain splendour invests Mutabilitie: a splendour reminiscent to us of Milton's Satan, and this splendour captivates Jove for his bold speech softens considerably when he confronts Mutabilitie. She is as tall as the other Gods "and beautifull of face," yet her serpentine qualities are not underscored by the poet who calls her the "off-scum of that cursed fry" (VII.vi.30). Because of all these parallels between the character of Mutabilitie (or Fortuna) and Satan, she emerges ultimately as a pagan type of Satan.

But Mutabilitie does not remain an entirely Satanic type. Towards the very end, there seems to be a transformation and she appears as a type of God's agent on earth. This aspect of the goddess Fortuna was not unknown to scholars of various ages. As Howard R. Patch has brilliantly illustrated, Fortuna has a duality about her.[166] The Church Fathers who had voiced polemics against this pagan deity felt at the

same time that "since Fortune and Astrology are both ministers of the Divine Will, they are simply modes of expression of that will."[167] Boethius, likewise, retains the idea of a Christian God and a pagan goddess,[168] and does not necessarily consider them as totally antithetical. Despite her associations with the Antichrist or Satan, she appears in Dante's Inferno, Canto VII, as an agent of the Divine Will. In fact, Patch remarks that in Dante "the capricious goddess becomes a ministering angel entirely subservient to the Christian God."[169] Pico della Mirandola also considers her as a God despite his equation of her to the devil.[170] Among the Renaissance mythographers too, Fortuna was interpreted as a type of divine Providence.[171] Patch has observed that this double nature of Fortuna continues in the works of other Renaissance men such as Fazio degli Uberti, Burchiello, Frezzi, Sannazaro, and others.[172] In Frezzi's work, she is considered as a servant of God, even though her function is diabolical.[173]

This aspect of Mutabilitie as God's agent is not entirely foreign to Spenser, and because of this ambivalence in her character, Mutabilitie reflects two antitypes instead of one. On one level, Mutabilitie is seen as a shadow of Lucifer rebelling against the kingdom of heaven. On another level, because she appears as a part of the divine plan of ordered change, a means of self-perfection, she is not altogether evil. As Josephine Bennett points out:

> Such a divine plan of which Mutabilitie is a part moreover, is the verdict of divine wisdom itself, for to those who attend the trial, Nature's veil is suddenly removed, and 'all creatures' look . . . in her face, that face which is so beautiful that it 'a thousand times did pass' the brilliance of the sun. It is with this sight of eternal truth that the answer comes, the vindication of a divine plan working through the order of the universe.[174]

According to Bennett, Mutabilitie is moreover "a part of the scheme of creation, not something apart from it, originating in chaos."[175] And it is precisely because of her role in the order of things that she assumes the characteristics of the agent of providence on earth. In the *Mutabilitie Cantos*, Mutabilitie, at the beginning, when she is confined to the "earthly" world, emerges as a type of Antichrist. But in the last quarter of the book she has evolved into a "higher sphere" (VII.vii.13), for in the final analysis, she submits herself to the verdict of God, apparently accepting Nature's judgment. Furthermore, in stanza 59, Nature refers to her as her "daughter," thereby accepting her into a higher realm--a realm which according to Northrup Frye is far above that of Mutabilitie.[176] Thus Mutabilitie becomes an agent of God on earth, submitting herself to Nature's love and wisdom. From a fallen state she evolves and ascends into the ranks of the followers of God. She becomes a Christianized Fortuna, a type of God's agent on earth. For Spenser, the Christian overtone is imperative, for unable to reconcile his conflicts, he seeks refuge in the Divine, the "Sabbaoth God." Hence his Mutabilitie must evolve from a type of antichrist--suffering and rebelling for worldly power--to a type of an agent of Providence submitting herself to the Divine Will.

The figure of Jove may also be interpreted as a type of God's agent on earth. God's earthly representatives could be the prophets, evangelists, judges or kings, the functions of whom are subsumed in Jesus. In this limited sense we can consider Jesus as agent of the divine. If we accept Jesus' role on earth as the agent of God, then it is possible to interpret Jove as a type of this divine representative because of the several similarities between the two. Like Jesus, who is a prophet

(Luke 24:19; John 4:19), Jove too possesses the gift of prophecy as is exhibited in Aeneid I (p. 291) where he prophesies the termination of war.[177] Moreover, just as Jesus appears in the role of a king (Acts 17:7; John 19:14), Jove appears as king of the Olympian deities. Another correspondence between the two figures appears in their roles as judges. Revelation 19:11 regards Jesus as the judge of all nations; likewise Jove is the supreme judge in his realm. It is in this role of prophet, judge and king--all of whom are earthly representatives of God, and whose functions are all included in the person of Jesus--that Jove appears as a type of the divine agent, Jesus.

This equation of Jove with the divine agent is found in several works. As early as the twelfth century Bernard Silvestrius' Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, which concerns itself with the reconciliation of the pagan ideas with the doctrine of the Trinity, states:

> Philosophy then, refers to the Trinity directly by these names: Father, Mind, World Soul. But in mystical terms Jove is the name of divine potency, Pallas of divine wisdom, Juno of divine will. . . . Thus Jupiter seeks the assent of Juno and the advice of Pallas regarding the act he is about to perform; for God's will urges and his wisdom orders what his potency brings to accomplishment (italics mine).[178]

The fact that Jove who is "divine potency" must seek the assent of Divine Will, and follow the orders of Divine Wisdom, reveals him to be an agent who "executes" the work of God. In this sense then, Jupiter does not correspond to God, but rather to God's agent on earth. In the Renaissance, the idea of Jupiter as God's auxiliary and agent evinces itself in the work of the poet-astrologer Lorenzo Bonincontri, who addresses his father thus:

> Te duce, effulgent Jovis astra coelo
> Reddis et clarum Veneri nitorem,
> Atque Fortunam variare cogis
> Infima summis.

> (Under your guidance, Jupiter shines in the sky,
> you restore her brilliance to Venus and by you
> if Fortune obliged to diversify earthly doctrines
> through superior influence.)[179]

Boccaccio feels that the story of Jove may conform to Christian truth or adumbrate it in analogical fashion. Boccaccio, according to Charles Osgood, considers the gods as "angels and emissaries of God imperfectly understood without revelation, and even some myths gropingly shadow forth the Christian mysteries."[180] Jupiter is also regarded as a type of the divine representative rather than a type of God himself by Alexander Ross, who says: "By Jupiter may be meant kings and judges for as Jupiter is called King by the poets, so kings were called Joves."[181]

Spenser's Jove, because of his subjection to the decrees of Fate (or Providence or God) remains a type of God's agent on earth. In Book IV.ii.51, Spenser points out "for what the Fates do once decree / Not all the gods can change, nor Jove himself can free." As a planetary god, Jove is the ruler of the Day and Night and the father of the Hours. Even Cynthia is subject to him, for he is king and father of the natural world and the dispenser of justice among its inhabitants. Yet he remains <u>subordinate</u> to Nature (a type of God) as well as to Fate whom Spenserian scholars equate with God,[182] so that he becomes, at best, a representative of God on earth. In Canto VI, Spenser identifies the "highest heaven" with Jove, but in Canto VII one learns that a higher celestial region, which is above the realm of Jove, is in existence. Moreover, Mutabilitie's last appeal to Dame Nature, which supersedes her previous appeal to Jove, is further suggestive of the secondary nature of Jove,

who is ultimately Nature's agent on earth. As God's agent on earth, that is, as judge, king and prophet, he executes his duty: in the capacity of a judge he passes his verdict on Mutabilitie's claim, and his kingly qualities are mentioned in reference to his appearance which is "full of grace and Majestie" (VII.vi.24). As a prophet he predicts the outcome of Mutabilitie's rebellion, that "not the worth of any liuing wight / May challenge ought in Heavens interesse . . ." for Fate's decree is that "the Empire of the Heavens bright . . . ourselves we hold. . ." (VII.vi.33). Because Jove possesses so many similarities with the various agents of God on earth, he appears as a type of prophets, kings, angels, and judges.

The episode of Faunus and Molanna, which Spenser borrows from Ovid but modifies to suit his own purposes, may also be viewed in a typological dimension. Faunus' historicity has been established by Isidore of Seville in his Etymologie,[183] and he was also known as Pan. He was worshipped as the god of fields and shepherds and of prophecy. Because of his role of a shepherd, he may be interpreted as a type of Christ. The Bible licenses the Christ/shepherd metaphor, for in Psalm 23:1 we read "The Lord _is_ my Shepherd . . ." and John 10:14 depicts Jesus as saying "I am the good shepherde. Hebrews 13:20 likewise presents Christ as the "great shepherd of y[e] Sheep." Moreover, the role of Christ as prophet (Luke 24:19; John 1:21, 25; John 4:19) parallels that of Faunus. In the Middle Ages Christine de Pisan in _Epitre d' Othea_ connects Pan with Christ,[184] while the Renaissance Neo-Platonists tended to depict Pan as a god "in whom all opposites are one."[185] Rosamond Tuve points out that Spenser in the _Shephearde's Calendar_ definitely uses Pan as a type of Christ,[186] and this tradition is continued later on in the Renaissance,

for Alexander Ross also interprets Pan as a type of Christ,[187] and Milton in the Nativity Ode presents the Pan/Christ typology. Spenser, instead of using Faunus as a type of Christ, uses him as an "inverted" figure of Christ in keeping with the theme of Mutabilitie. The whole episode of Faunus and Molanna reflects the discord that Mutabilitie has unleashed in the main episode. The "foolish God Faunus" tries to corrupt Molanna, and is punished by the wood gods who in turn clad him in "Deare's" skin and leave him to Fate. Angered by Faunus' behavior, Cynthia seeks to punish not only Faunus but also the nymph who is involved. The deciet and cunning practised by Faunus upsets the entire established order, for Arlo Hill becomes as a result of this incident a fallen Eden, where Diana has "abandoned her delicious brooke," has forsaken all those fair forrests about Arlo" which is now defaced and spoiled. Instead of a type of Christ, Faunus emerges as a type of an antichrist, and Arlo Hill becomes a type of inverted paradise.

Thus Spenser dextrously weaves the types into the set-pieces of the Mutabilitie Cantos and subtly conveys through his usual complex method the multiple levels of meaning.

FOOTNOTES

[1] J. Bass Mullinger, A History of the University of Cambridge (London: n.p., 1888), p. 118.

[2] William Guild, Moses Unveiled . . . (London: Iohn Budge, 1620), speaks of Christ as the "express Image and ingraven character of the Father." Similarly, in his Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews . . . (London: Felix Kingston, 1605), pp. 200-201, Calvin writes of Hebrews 10:1 that "Paul borrows this similitude from the art of painting . . . they [shadows] were like rude draughts, which are but the shadows of lively painting. For painters are wont to drawe that which they purpose to counterfeit or represent with a cole, before they set Lively colours with a pensill."

[3] Spenser: Poetical Works, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[4] John Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory: A Study of The Faerie Queene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 367.

[5] Graham Hough, A Preface to The Faerie Queene (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1967), p. 147.

[6] Frank Kermode, Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 60-96.

[7] English Literary History, 28 (1961), rpt. in Harry Berger, ed., Spenser: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1968), pp. 88-95.

[8] Kermode, p. 68.

[9] Ibid., pp. 61, 79, 83.

[10] Ibid., p. 64.

11
Spenser's Anatomy of Heroism: A Commentary on The Faerie Queene (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 91.

12
Ibid., p. 92.

13
Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's 'Lycidas' (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 52.

14
Ibid., p. 60.

15
Kathleen Williams, Spenser's World of Glass (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 74.

16
Ibid.

17
C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (1958; rpt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 332.

18
Williams, p. 75.

19
This reference is to I John 3:4 and I John 5:17. All references from the Bible are to the KJV, unless otherwise indicated, and will be henceforth mentioned within the text.

20
Quoted by T. M. Davis, "The Traditions of Puritan Typology," Typology and Early American Literature, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Cambridge, Mass.: University of Mass. Press, 1972), p. 43.

21
Ibid.

22
Myth and Ritual in Christianity (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 225.

23
Howard R. Patch, The Other World: According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 28.

24
Ibid., p. 131.

[25] Berkeley, pp. 114-126.

[26] "Spenser's Acrasia and the Circe of the Renaissance," *Journal of History of Ideas*, 4 (1943), 381-399.

[27] D. C. Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), p. 226.

[28] Ibid., p. 99, n. 42.

[29] Theodoret regards Pharoah as a type of the Devil. I am indebted to D. S. Berkeley's *Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's 'Lycidas'* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), pp. 171-172 for this information.

[30] M. Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia . . . ," p. 297.

[31] Ulrich Simon, *Heaven in the Christian Tradition* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1958), p. 163.

[32] *Allegorie Platoniae* in Xii lib. Aeneidos (Basileae ex Officiana, 1577); quoted in M. Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia . . . ," p. 388.

[33] *Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola: His Life by His Nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico*, trans. from Latin by Sir Thomas More, ed. J. M. Rigg (London: David Nutt, 1790), p. 30.

[34] Hughes, p. 395.

[35] Ibid., p. 398.

[36] C. W. Lemmi, "The Symbolism of the Classical Episodes in *The Faerie Queene*," *Philological Quarterly*, 8 (1930), 279.

[37] Berkeley, p. 89.

[38] Giamatti, p. 14. I have been unable to document Ambrose's statement concerning the earthly and heavenly paradise, but John Chrysostom, in Homily 29 on Second Corinthians, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed.

Philip Schaff, Second Series (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1889), XII, 417, claims that the earth is a shadow of heaven and earthly things of heavenly things: "But it is not only his good things which are shadow but his evils also, whether it be death thou mention, or poverty or disease, or any other things which abide, both good and evil? The eternal kingdom and the everlasting hell. . . . Let us escape the one and enjoy the other, letting go the shadow, let us cling to the real things. . . ."

39 Chapter 19, "Irenaeus against Heresies," ANF, V, I, 486, reads as follows: "Things which are invisible and ineffable on earth are in turn the types of celestial things."

40 Claudius Claudian, trans. Maurice Platnaeur, Loeb Classical Series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 247-249.

41 The Fasti of Ovid, ed. and trans. James G. Frazer, 5 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1929), I, 261.

42 Giamatti, p. 102.

43 C. S. Lewis, pp. 119-120 and Giamatti, p. 61.

44 Natalis Comes' ideas are quoted by Josephine W. Bennett, "Spenser's Garden of Adonis," PMLA, 47 (1932), 59.

45 Giamatti, p. 84.

46 Ibid., p. 289.

47 Howard R. Patch, "Some Elements in the Medieval Description of the Other World," PMLA, 33 (1918), 620.

48 I am indebted to D. S. Berkeley's Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's 'Lycidas,' p. 99, for this reference. Berkeley cites Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, XXVII, 135, to document this point. My own research in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, 324-326, which deals with Lactantius' homilies, indicates a connection between height and heaven. Lactantius says that the Phoenix builds its grove on level ground and once she is reborn she goes to the "rising of the sun" and then she flies through heaven--a region of pure ether, so that heaven is above or higher than the level ground, perhaps in the sky--the home of the rising sun.

49
Berkeley, p. 28.

50
Allen, p. 101.

51
Natural History, XIX, 19 (4). Quoted by Josephine Bennett, "Spenser's Garden of Adonis," *PMLA*, 47 (1932), 70.

52
The New Golden Bough: A New Abridgement of the Classic Work by Sir James G. Frazier, ed. Theodore H. Gaster (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), p. 356.

53
The marginal comments in the Geneva Bible on Malachi 4:2 makes this connection explicit.

54
Quoted by Bennett, p. 71.

55
Chapter 21, trans. P. V. Davies (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 14; Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (Frankfurt, 1836), p. 237, quoted by Bennett, p. 71.

56
See H. G. Lotspeich, *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), pp. 32-33; Alexander Ross, *Mystagogus Poeticus* (London: Richard Whitaker, 1647), p. 6.

57
Josephine Bennett, *The Evolution of The Faerie Queene* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1960), p. 71.

58
The Interpreter's Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), XI, 48.

59
Charles Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 37, and R. T. Wallis, *Neo-Platonism* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1972), p. 30.

60
Boethius, *The Theological Tractates*, trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, Loeb Classical Series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 15.

61 Pico Della Mirandola, On the Dignity of Man, On Being and the One, Heptaplus, trans. Charles Glen Wallis et al. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965), p. xviii. See Introduction.

62 Ibid., p. xx.

63 Ibid.

64 C. S. Lewis, p. 345.

65 Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1968), p. 147, n. 24.

66 Stephan Bateman, The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes (London: T. Marshe, 1577); William King, Heathen Gods and Heroes (1710; rpt. London: Centaur Press, 1965); Alexander Ross, Mystagogus Poeticus (London: Richard Whitaker, 1647).

67 Gilbert Cope, Symbolism in the Bible and the Church (London: SCM Press, 1959), pp. 161-162.

68 Ibid., p. 166.

69 King, p. 136.

70 Wind, pp. 24, 331.

71 Ibid., p. 25.

72 Allen, p. 101.

73 Quoted by Wind, p. 139.

74 Ibid., p. 140.

75 Ibid., p. 166.

76 Williams, p. 147.

77 Bolingen Series XXXV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), VII, 10.

78 Ibid., p. 12.

79 Jean Seznec, _The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art_, trans. Barbara F. Sessions, Bollingen Series XXXVII (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 103.

80 Ibid., p. 273.

81 _The Interpreter's Bible_ (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), IV, 178.

82 Ibid., p. 184.

83 Lotspeich, p. 104.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Alexander Ross, p. 264.

87 Lewis, p. 345.

88 Rosamond Tuve, _Allegorical Imagery_ (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 267, points out that in Jeun de Meung, Venus seems to support Christian concepts and ideas and in _Kingis Quair_ (stanza 138, 142), the Christian Aphrodite is presented as temperate and chaste. C. S. Lewis in _The Allegory of Love_, p. 237, observes that Chaucer's Venus is very definitely a Christian one, as is indicated by her relationship to Minerva "who will not help . . . [the poet] without assurance that his love is grounded in God's law and set in 'christin wise.'"

89 II, 12ff. Quoted by Seznec, p. 82.

90
Nicolas Cusanus, *Of Learned Ignorance*, ed. W. Stark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 57.

91
Cope, p. 134. Cope says that Genesis 1:27 suggests that the image of God is male and female.

92
W. S. Renwick, in *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), VII, part I, 480.

93
Osiris (New York: University Books, 1961), p. 25.

94
Ibid., p. 309.

95
Ibid.

96
Ibid., pp. 261, 263, 265, 267, 310.

97
Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride, ed. and trans. J. Gwyn Griffiths (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1969), p. 72.

98
Jane Aptekar, *Icons of Justice: Iconography and Thematic Imagery in Book V of The Faerie Queene* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 20.

99
Berkeley, p. 28.

100
Macrobius, Chapter 21, *The Saturnalia*, trans. P. V. Davies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 14. Augustino's bas relief is illustrated by Jean Seznec in *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, figure 98 and p. 253.

101
Alastair Fowler, *Spenser and the Numbers of Time* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1964), p. 201.

102
Aptekar, p. 54.

103
Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride, ed. J. G. Griffiths, p. 103.

[104] Aptekar, p. 96.

[105] Thomas Jenner, *The Soules Solace* (1626). This emblem is reproduced in Rosemary Freeman's *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948), p. 87, no. 14.

[106] Berkeley, p. 71.

[107] E. A. Wallace Budge, *Osiris*, p. 315.

[108] *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, p. 72.

[109] Ibid., p. 235.

[110] H. P. Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled* (Point Loam, Calif.: Aryan Theosophical Press, 1919), II, 450, n. 1972.

[111] Williams, p. 168.

[112] *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, "Introduction," p. 101.

[113] E. A. Wallace Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians or Studies in Egyptian Mythology* (London: Meuthuen and Co., 1904), p. 221.

[114] *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, p. 49. See also Gilbert Cope, Symbolism in the Bible and Church, pp. 114-115, and Alan Watts, *Myth and Ritual in Christianity*, pp. 104, 111.

[115] Watts, p. 107.

[116] Ibid., p. 102.

[117] F. R. Webber, *Church Symbolism*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1971), p. 238.

[118] Kermode, pp. 51-52.

119
In *The Wycliffe Bible* (c. 1395), the Prologue to Isaiah reads: "as men ben clepid liouns for pride ether raueyn ether sum other synne; and sum tyme a lioun signefieth Christ for his power, and sum tyme a lioun signefieth the devel for tirauntrie and raueyn."

120
Ed. E. H. Weatherly, *EETS*, 200 (1936), 46-75.

121
Ed., O. Waterhouse, *EETS*, 104 (1909), 54-87.

122
Cope, p. 56.

123
E. A. Wallace Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*. . . , p. 360.

124
Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride, p. 445.

125
Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James A. Hastings (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1902), II, 254.

126
Ibid.

127
Ibid., p. 256.

128
Calvin: Commentaries, trans. and ed. Joseph Haroutunian, The Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press), XXIII, 192-195.

129
Calvin: On the Christian Faith, ed. John T. McNeill (New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1957), p. 79.

130
Ian Kingston Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 82.

131
Wind, pp. 26-52.

132
Ibid., p. 28.

133
Ibid.

134
Ibid. Wind quotes the gloss from the Shephearde's Calendar which shows that Spenser incorporated the views of Seneca, Servius, Theodontius, and Boccaccio.

135
Seznec, p. 205.

136
Ibid., p. 303.

137
Allen, p. 172.

138
Alexander Ross, p. 107.

139
Clement of Alexandria and Origen, as has been pointed out in Chapter III, advocate typology of this kind. The Church Fathers, particularly Clement associated Grace with Spirit" and regarded it as the "gift of spiritual energy that ranged itself to the heart of the believer. . . ." Thomas F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdman's Publishing Co., 1959), p. 140, to whom I am indebted for the above comments, also makes the point that "the grace of God is the divine counterpart to the gentleness and humility and meekness acquired by men" (p. 53).

140
See Chapters II and III.

141
Williams, p. 208.

142
Quoted by Jean Danièlou, Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture, trans. and ed. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973), II, 120. See also Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, VII.vii, ANF, V, 534-535.

143
Danièlou, p. 167.

144
Ibid., p. 169.

145
A Platonick Discourse vpon Love, p. 35. Quoted by Kathleen Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, p. 213.

146
Quoted in Williams, p. 213.

147
Seznec, p. 98.

148
Williams, p. 212.

149
The Religious Basis of Spenser's Thought (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966), p. 41.

150
E. R. Curtius, European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1953), p. 107.

151
Ibid., p. 106.

152
Ibid., p. 108.

153
Ibid., p. 109.

154
Winthrop Wetherbee, Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 188. Nature also appears as a type of a Church; for the Nature/Church type, see p. 198.

155
Ibid.

156
The Parlement of Fowles, 299-301, in Chaucer's Major Poetry, ed. Albert C. Baugh (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1963), pp. 60-73.

157
Lotspeich, p. 88.

158
Ibid., p. 87. In The Faerie Queene references to Nature in this role are found in I.ii.47, II.ii.6, II.vi.15-16, II.xii.23, III.vi.30, IV.vi.30, IV.vi.24, IV.ix.16, IV.x.21.

159
Williams, p. 231.

160
Lotspeich, pp. 87-88.

161
Berkeley, pp. 58-60.

162
H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 4.

163
Ibid.

164
Prudentius, ed. T. E. Page et al., Loeb Classical Series (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), II, 77. Pico's consideration of Fortuna as a devil is cited by H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*, p. 24. Among the Renaissance mythographers, I have been able to document only one mythographer, Alexander Ross, who in *Mystagogus Poeticus*, pp. 94-95, equates Fortuna and the Devil. It is possible to speculate, however, that the tendency of such an equation was current in the Renaissance.

165
p. 159.

166
See note 162.

167
H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*, p. 76.

168
Ibid., p. 18.

169
Ibid., p. 19.

170
Ibid., p. 24.

171
See note 164.

172
Patch, p. 23.

173
Ibid.

174
Josephine Bennett's comments from *The Evolution of The Faerie Queene* are from *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), VI, 415.

175
Ibid.

176
"The Structure of the Imagery in *The Faerie Queene*," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 30 (1961), 109-127.

177
Virgil: The Aeneid, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Series, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), I, 1.291.

178
Quoted by Winthrop Wetherbee, p. 123.

179
Quoted by Seznec, p. 82.

180
Boccaccio on Poetry (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1956), p. xix.

181
Alexander Ross, p. 138.

182
Brents Stirling, "The Concluding Stanzas of Mutabilitie," *Studies in Philology*, 30 (1933), 193-204.

183
Quoted by Allen, p. 212.

184
Rosamond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, pp. 300-301.

185
Wind, p. 199.

186
Rosamond Tuve, p. 228.

187
p. 210.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

From the preceding discussion it is evident that Spenser is deeply interested in figures and types and assigns them a central role in his poems. As a Christian humanist Spenser has to reconcile his deeply eclectic religious ideas with those of the pagan classics, and the best available medium for the expression of such a reconciliation is pagan-Christian typology. Not satisfied with the mere syncretism of the Renaissance, he attempts to show the superiority of the Christian viewpoint over the pagan, and in doing so, relies on humanist typology.

It has not been sufficiently recognized that in order to fully understand *The Faerie Queene* in all its richness, the reader must understand the entire concept of pagan-Christian typology. To comprehend the multiplicity of meanings, the convergence of varied themes and the reconciliation of disparate and opposite concepts--all resulting from Spenser's theme of *discordia concors*--one must be able to discern the various types and their respective antitypes. This does not suggest, however, that the types in the poem tend to simplify the interrelationships of characters and events; on the contrary a certain complexity emerges in Spenser's use of typology. His types do not necessarily adumbrate or foreshadow only *one* antitype: at times a type may possess two different antitypes, as has been argued earlier in the case of Venus, Osiris, and Mutability.

Spenser's use of pagan-Christian typology also creates a unifying structural device that becomes central to his imagery. By introducing pagan types in the "allegorical cores" of each of his books, he provides not only the internal unity so essential to each book but also the overall unity between the various books of The Faerie Queene.

Another important aspect of Spenser's types lies in their contribution to the comprehensibility of some of Spenser's scenes which are understandable only through his reference to pagan-Christian typology. Two significant examples of such scenes are those dealing with Isis/Osiris and with Mutability. Isis and Osiris become relevant only in terms of types and antitypes which are so dextrously related to the theme. Similarly, in the Mutabilitie Cantos, the enigmatic figure of Mutability gains full significance when interpreted in the light of typology, for it is through such an interpretation that her stand against Jove becomes clear.

Finally, typology serves as a vehicle for the expression for Spenser's didactic intentions. With subtle artistic dexterity he weaves into the intricate pattern of questing knights and jousting ladies stories from pagan myths that reveal to the trained and alert mind "shadows" and "foreshadowings" of Christian concepts and events. Baffling three centuries of literary critics who have failed to appreciate the significance of the "glorious type[s]" which allow, through the daring of genius, the juxtaposition of antithetical elements, Spenser's enigmatic work indicates a mind capable of constructing rich typological relationships. Such relationships combine the classical and the Christian, the ideal and the real, and the delightful and the moral.

No wonder, then, Spenser's great disciple Milton remarked that "our sage and serious Spenser" is a far greater teacher than Aquinas or Scotus, a tribute which took the form of emulation of the work of the "Prince of Poets."

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