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"THE FAERIE QUEENE" AND THE GREEK ROMANCE

The University of Oklahoma

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THE FAERIE QUEENE AND THE GREEK ROMANCE

A DISSERTATION
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degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
MARIANTHE Y. HADGOPOULOS
Norman, Oklahoma

1981

THE FAERIE QUEENE AND THE GREEK ROMANCE

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THE FAERIE QUEENE AND THE GREEK ROMANCE

INTRODUCTION

Among the variety of influences that shaped the character of Renaissance literature in England and the continent, Greek romance is often the most neglected in studies of the background of the period. This neglect stems partly from the fact that the scholarship of the Greek romance is still dealing with problems about the origins of the genre and the dating of the individual works: "Perhaps indeed the time has not come," writes Elizabeth Hazelton Haight "to write a new critical history of the Greek romance, for at any time added discoveries may demand still further revision of dates and consideration of types."¹ In addition to this, only a minimum of research has been directed towards tracing the continuity of this tradition from the early hears of Christianity through the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance.

¹Essays on the Greek Romances (New York: Longman's, Greene & Co., 1943), p. 6. For a substantial bibliography on the Greek romances (manuscripts, editions, translations, and criticism) see Haight, "Notes on Recent Publications about the Greek Novel," The Classical Weekly, 46 (1953), 233-37, and Gerald N. Sandy, "Recent Scholarship on the Prose Fiction of Classical Antiquity," Classical World, 67 (1974), 321-59.

At the beginnings of the present century Erwin Rhode's view on the derivation of Greek romance from the rhetorical schools of the sophists in the second century after Christ, had to give way to a new evaluation resulting from the discovery of some fragments that proved romances were actually written as early as the first century before Christ.² These findings form the basis of Bruno Lavagnini's more recent theory, which attributes the development of the Greek romance to local historical legends, with additional influences from satire, the novella, and New Comedy.³ Basically in agreement with Lavagnini, Ben Edwin Perry summarizes the various developments in the history of criticism of the Greek romance, and then gives his own account for its origins which, he believes, should be sought partly in the cultural conditions of the society that produced them and partly in the artistic purpose, or ideal of the individual author.⁴ The titles and the now accepted dating of the Greek romances appear as follows in Arthur Heiserman's recent study:

A few papyrus fragments of long prose fictions [the Ninus Romance and the Alexandrian Erotic Fragment] survive from the first two centuries before Christ, but only four of these so called Greek romances are extant: Chaereas and Callirrhoe, written by a legal secretary named

²Der Griechische Roman, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1914). For a summary of the circumstances and significance of the new findings see Haight, Essays, pp. 6-13, which is based on information from Aristides Calderini's Introduction to his translation Caritone di Afrodizia: Le Avventure di Cherea e Calliroe (Torino, 1919); Stephen Gaselle's "Appendix on the Greek Novel," in the Loeb edition of Daphnis and Chloe (New York, 1916); and R. M. Rattenbury's "Romance: The Greek Novel," in New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature (Oxford, 1933).

³Le Origini del Romanzo Greco (Pisa, 1921).

Chariton about 50 A.D.; Longus' Daphnis and Chloe and Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon, both probably composed in the 160s A.D.; and Heliodorus' Ethiopian Story, written in the 230s A.D. Two others come down in epitomes--an extensive summary of the Ephesian Story by Xenophon of Ephesus (made shortly before 150 A.D.) and a much shorter one of the Babyloniaca by Iamblichus (written around 165 A.D.). Several other narratives, Latin as well as Greek, also demand discussion here: the anonymous Apollonius of Tyre, the Clementine Recognitions, the Alexander Romance, and Apuleius' famous Metamorphoses, or Golden Ass. Apuleius aside, little or nothing is known about the authors of these complicated novels.⁵

About the continuity of the tradition of the Greek romances throughout the Middle Ages there are, unfortunately, many gaps in our knowledge of their transmission and overall significance as literary influences up until the Renaissance, when the editions and the translations of the originals began to be made systematically. Between the fourth and ninth centuries the conventions of Greek romance were applied to the writing of the saint's lives; after that and until the eleventh century, there is some evidence that the Greek romances began to be read again.⁶ A number

⁴The Ancient Romances (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1967), pp. 3-43.

⁵The Novel Before the Novel (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 3-4. There is also the epitome--not mentioned here--of Antonios Diogenis' The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule; and John Colin Dunlop, History of Fiction (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), I, 64-76 considers the religious story of Barlaam and Josaphat as a late Greek romance.

⁶Haight, in More Essays on the Greek romances (New York: Longmans, Greene and Co., 1945), pp. 48-81 discusses The Acts of Paul and Thecla, and of Xanthippe and Polyxena as Greek romances--The Life of Apollonius of Tyana also belongs in the same category. See Ebbe Vilborg, "The

of Greek romances and authors are mentioned in the ninth-century Bibliotheca, a collection of epitomes by Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople-- Antonio Diogenis' The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule, Iamblichus' Babyloniaca, Heliodorus' Aethiopica, and Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe.

In the twelfth century the genre had its first revival with a number of Byzantine imitations: Hesmene and Hesmenias by Eustathius is an imitation of Heliodorus and Tatius. Nicetas Eugenianus combines pastoralism with Heliodoran elements in Charicles and Drusilla. Heliodorus is also at the basis of the metrical Dosicles and Rhodanthe by Theodorus Prodromus. And Constantinos Manasses' Aristander and Callithea exists only in fragments.⁷ The Byzantine imitations are one of the channels for the transmission of the elements of Greek romance through the Middle Ages into the Renaissance. There is an unmistakable influence of Greek romance in a number of Medieval romances, while Boccaccio in his earliest work, Il Filocolo (c. 1337-39), and in the tales of the Decameron (1353) drew largely from the tradition.⁸

Transmission," in Achilles Tatius: Leucippe and Clitophon (Stockhol, 1955), p. lxxiii for evidence of the reading of the Greek romances after the ninth century.

⁷ See Dunlop, I, 77-82; F. M. Warren, History of the Novel Previous to the Seventeenth Century (New York: H. Hoet and Co., 1895); Rhode, pp. 56-67.

⁸ Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romance (Lexington, Ky: University Press, 1970), pp. 14-15 mentions the following Medieval works that are commonly cited as having roots to the Greek romance: Floire and Blancheflore, Aucassian and Nicolette, Partonopeus de Blois, Ipomedon, Blancandin, Guillaume de Palerme, Escoufle, Floriant and Florette, Galeran de Bretagne, and Cleomades.

The flourishing of interest in the classics during the Renaissance brought about a second revival of the Greek romance. Editions of the texts and translations in Latin and the vernaculars took place throughout Europe. Major works of the period bear the marks of the tradition. Although Ariosto died (1533) before a number of the editions and translations of the Greek romances saw the light, there is evidence of Greek material in the Orlando Furioso.⁹ Sannazzaro's Arcadia (1504), the Novelle (1554) of Bandello, Tasso's Aminta (1573), Guarini's Pastor Fido (1585), Montemayor's Diana (c. 1542-1558/9), De Vegas' El Peregrino en su Patria (1604), Cervantes' Persiles y Sigismunda (composed c. 1585), some plays of Racine, and other seventeenth century French works are marked by the imprint of Greek romance.¹⁰

The spread of the tradition in sixteenth-century England has been partly acknowledged by Samuel Lee Wolff's pioneering study of the influence of Greek romance on such prose writers as Lyly, Sidney, and Greene and also by Carol Gesner in Shakespeare and the Greek Romance.¹¹ Gesner, besides focusing on Shakespeare, presents a thorough picture of the

⁹Pio Rajna, in Le Fonti dell' Orland Furioso, 2nd ed. (Florence: Sansoni, 1900) points out the following parallel situations: The thieves' cave where Isabella is kept in OF xii, 86 is modeled after Charicleia's imprisonment in Aethiopica I, 28-29; the story of Gabrina, OF xxi, 13-66, recalls the story of Cnemon in Aethiopica I, 19-17; and the chastity test in OF xliii, 28 has a precedent in Aethiopica X, 8 and Clitophon and Leucippe VIII, 6.

¹⁰For a substantial bibliography of the critical sources connecting the Italian, Spanish, and French works with the Greek romance see Gesner's notes, pp. 172-81. The critic analyzes herself the influence of Greek romance on Boccaccio (pp. 19-33), and on Cervantes (pp. 33-46).

¹¹The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1912). For Gesner see note 8, above.

ongoing influences of Greek romance on the literature and drama of both England and the continent. With the exception of these two studies and Merritt Y. Hughes' article on "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," there is no other work directed specifically towards an examination of the influence of Greek romance on any writer of the period.¹² Hughes' article deals primarily with five Greek romance motifs in the sixth book of the FQ, and concludes that in all probability Spenser derived them from a number of Renaissance intermediaries rather than the Greek romances themselves. He admits, however, that the poet may have been influenced by them in a more general way: in the pictorialism of his style, and in his conception of the moral virtues, which is similar to Heliodorus'.

But a great deal more remains to be said about Spenser and the Greek romance. During the time of the composition of the FQ in the eighties and nineties, the romances of Heliodorus, Tatiush, and Longus had achieved tremendous popularity. Evidence for that is offered by the repeated appearances of Elizabethan translations, and by the incorporation of the type of suspenseful adventures typical of Greek romance in the popular fictions of Sidney and Greene--elopements, shipwrecks, pirate attacks, abductions by brigands, oracles, discovery of real parents. Actually the vogue of Greek romance was kept alive past the turn of the century

¹²Modern Philology, 23 (1925), 67-76. The subject of Spenser and Greek romance has also been partly dealt with in the following theses and dissertations: Henry C. Aiman ("The Friendship Theme in the FQ: Spenser's Indebtness to Aristotle and Heliodorus," MA thesis, Kansas State Teachers College 1964), focuses on the parallels between the love affairs of Thegenis and Charicleia of the Aethiopica, and Artegall and Britomart of the FQ. Peter Mortenson ("Structure in Spenser's FQ, Book VI: Primitivism, Chivalry, and Greek Romance," Diss. University of

in both fiction and drama, and it is in Shakespeare's last plays, as Gesner has shown, that "the final test of the importance of the genre seems to rest."¹³ It is very unlikely that Spenser would have remained indifferent to the facts of contemporary literary developments--much more so since Greek romance was another link with antiquity which is a vital force in the all-encompassing universe of the FQ.

The purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which the revival of the Greek romance during the Renaissance had any effect on the creation of the FQ. It also attempts to determine whether Spenser's debt to these ancient romances was direct or not. And the argument moves towards an assessment of the various ways that the poet's imagination shaped this material making a new contribution to the life of the genre.

Part I establishes the fact of the popularity of the Greek romance in sixteenth-century England, and explains it from an Elizabethan point of view. The first chapter singles out the characteristics that would have made attractive to the public the Elizabethan translations of Heliodorus, Tatiush, and Longus. The second, surveys the spread of the tradition in the Elizabethan writers before and after Spenser in order to

Oregon 1966) successfully places the sixth book in the tradition of Renaissance pastoral romance deriving from Longus; the research, however, is not directed towards a systematic study of Spenser's Greek sources. George F. Carter's diss. is primarily concerned with the general background of the Renaissance tradition of Greek romance, rather than its impact on specific Elizabethan writers ("Prolegomenon to a Study of the Nature of Greek Pastoral Prose Romances and their Influence on Elizabethan Writers," Diss. East Texas State University 1978).

¹³ Shakespeare and the Greek Romance, p. 140

establish the place of Greek romance in the literary context surrounding the creation of the FQ.

Part II examines the Greek romance materials of Spenser's allegory and the ways they are used to illuminate meaning. The first chapter claims that the type of romance-structure represented by the Aethiopica exercised a significant influence on the conception of Book I as a whole. The moral and religious argument of the allegory of Holinesse is set in a Heliodoran romance framework which blends harmoniously with the material from Christian sources (the Scriptures and the legend of Saint George). The design of the Redcrosse-Una narrative is an adaptation of the providential plot framework of the Aethiopica in which the lovers' journey, separation, trials, and reunion represents the fulfillment of a divine plan. Specific borrowings and an epic structure like the Aethiopica support further the view that Spenser had Heliodorus' romance in mind as a model. Thus, Book I looks back at the tradition of the religious romances of the early Christian era, mixing divine rhetoric with that of Greek romance.

The second chapter of Part II continues to examine Spenser's method of utilizing Greek romance material for Christian allegory. In the context of the allegory of Temperaunce the poet used an episode from the Cyropedia for the story of Amavia and Mordant, while the exemplum of incontinent Phedon points to the origins of this story in Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe. Britomart's career in the middle books relates to the heroine's in the Aethiopica, while the Egyptian lore of her visit to the temple of Isis in Book V has parallels in the Aethiopica and in Apuleius' eleventh book of the Metamorphoses.

Part III suggests that the sixth book of Spenser's FQ is chivalric Greek romance--Spenser adapts major characteristics of the Greek romance mode (narrative motifs, the use of Fortune, structure, and tonality) to suit a chivalric context. After a survey of the criticism linking Book VI with the Greek romances, the first chapter of this part considers the Renaissance translations available to Spenser in order to show that the Greek romance narrative motifs of Book VI were derived by the poet directly from them. The second chapter supports the view that the role of Fortune in Book VI is parallel to that in the Greek romances in its operation as agent of narrative, and antagonist to virtue and heroic ethos. The last chapter analyses the process of creation of Spenser's chivalric Greek romance. First, the particular elements that each of the two modes--Greek and chivalric--contributes to the structure and tonality of the narrative are defined. Then, the choice of this composite mode is justified thematically by showing how the associations of chivalry with ideal forms and of Greek romance with the sensory aspect of experience support Spenser's conception of Courtesie as Nature perfected by Art.

Compared to the debt to Homer, Aristotle, Virgil, Medieval romance, the Italian romantic epics, or the Neoplatonists the influence of Greek romance on the FQ is perhaps less easily discernible, yet as important. The concrete borrowings from Greek romance may be few, but the strength of the whole tradition acts as a catalyst in the imaginative process of Spenser's art of romance: the Greek genre enriched the fabric of romance in the FQ with fresh elements of thought structure, and style. Although Greek romance does not work alone in the FQ, this study ventures to untangle both the visible and invisible threads of Greek romance influence on Spenser's poem.

PART I

THE BACKGROUND

The Renaissance, in its uncritical acceptance of everything Greek and Roman as ipso facto classical, felt at liberty to choose according to its own taste, and thus established and for centuries maintained among the canons of classicism the late works of Alexandria and of the Hellenized and Romanized Orient--works which today are perceived not to be classical at all. Among them it chose to admire and imitate the Greek Romances.

Samuel Lee Wolff

1. THE ELIZABETHAN VIEW OF THE GREEK ROMANCES

The Hellenistic romances of the first three centuries after Christ bear the signs of the profound changes that mark the end of the classical world:

The quest for truth took the path of exact science rather than first philosophies, the urge to create in beauty took shape in a "Venus di Milo" or "Dying Gaul" rather than in the remotest Olympians of Phidias or Praxitelis, in the high finish of Alexandrian minatures rather than in the satuesque harmonies of fifth-century tragedy.¹

Most contemporary readers find these romances tedious, melodramatic, teeming with artificial morality, rhetoric, and digressions on pseudo-science. But this does not represent the way the Renaissance viewed the Greek romances. For the Renaissance definition of the "classics" was far broader than it is today to include, besides the classical epics, tragedies, and philosophy, all the antique forms that historically and aesthetically belong to the period of the decadence of

¹Moses Hadas, A History of Greek Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 197. The author explains elsewhere (Hellenistic Culture [New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1959], p. 223-24):

To speak of Hellenistic decadence in any sphere of culture is meaningless; with reference to the plastic arts it is wrong. We may ideally prefer and as ordinary humans be flattered by the high dignity of the

classical art and literature. In the Renaissance the popularity of the Greek romance follows the increasing knowledge and interest in the classics, the discovery of dusty manuscripts, and their printing in scholarly editions and translations. Between c. 1470 and 1642 the publishing of the Greek romances flourished in a worldwide scale "running east and west from Kolozvar to London, north and south from Copenhagen to Valencia."²

The Elizabethans contributed to this revival of the Greek romances with English translations of at least four of the works of the genre (Apollonius of Tyre, Aethiopica, Daphnis and Chloe, and Clitophon and Leucippe) thus joining the numerous continental productions in Latin and the vernaculars. Thomas Underdowne translated the Aethiopica in 1569. The romance had been available since 1547 in Amyot's French translation and parts of it had been included, along with material from Plutarch,

classic, and if dignity be the gauge then the hellenistic age shows a degeneration. But hellenistic art embraces a much wider range, and granted the change in spiritual climate, hellenistic artist were as masterly as their predecessors and achieved effects beyond those of their predecessors.

² Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romance (Lexington, Ky: University Press, 1970), p. 17. See her Appendix, "A Bibliographical Survey," pp. 145-62 for a complete listing of all the Renaissance translations of the Greek romances and the number of times they were reissued between 1470 and 1642. This survey reveals that Apollonius of Tyre, which was well known to the Middle Ages, appeared sixty-four times. The text of Clitophon and Leucippe was published in Latin by Annibale Cruceio, first in part (1544), and later in a complete version (1552); it appeared about thirty-eight times between 1544 and 1640, and it was especially popular in Italy where the first complete Italian translation was done by Francesco Coccio as early as 1550. The Aethiopica was published ninety-six times between 1534 and 1638, and Daphnis and Chloe fourteen between 1559 and 1628. The Greek text of Xenophon's Ephesiaca

in a book by James Stanford in 1567. Underdowne; however, based his translation on a 1551 Latin version by the Polish Stanislaus Warschewiczki.³ In 1576 Lawrence Twyne translated from the Gesta Romanorum the anonymous Apollonius of Tyre, which together with the Middle English version in John Gower's Confessio Amantis served as Shakespeare's source for his Pericles, Prince of Tyre.⁴ Longus appeared next in English with Angel Day's 1587 version of Daphnis and Chloe,

was not published until 1726 and it has no history of Renaissance translations. Yet it was known to Politian who refers to it in his Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima (1489), it seems to be among Boccaccio's sources of the Decameron (tales II, 7 and 5), and also the source of the live burial plot of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. The link between the Renaissance and the Ephesiaca is probably a thirteenth century manuscript discovered in 1809 by P. L. Courier in a Florentine monastery (La Badia codex), which is the only extant copy of the Ephesiaca today, and it also contains the texts of Daphnis and Chloe and Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe. There is no mentioning of Chariton's romance during the Renaissance, but it may have been the source of Matteo Bandello's tale XXII of the Novelle, which Shakespeare used for the Hero-Claudio plot of Much Ado About Nothing. There are hardly any traces of the Babyloniaca and The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule during the Renaissance--these were extant in Photius' epitomes of the Bibliotheca published in 1601 and 1611 (I am indebted to Carol Gesner's Shakespeare and the Greek Romance for the bibliographical information about the Renaissance translations of the Greek romances appearing in this section).

³ An Aethiopian Historie written in Greeke by Heliodorus: very vvitie and pleasaunt, etc., trans. Thomas Vnderdowne (London, 1569). Reissued in 1577, 1587, 1605, 1622, 1627. All quotations from Underdowne used throughout this study are from the following reprint of the 1587 edition: An Aethiopian History Written in Greek by Heliodorus, Enlished by Thomas Underdowne, Anno 1587, ed. W. E. Henley (London: David Nutt, 1895).

⁴ The Patterne of painefull Adventures, etc., trans. Laurence Twyne (London, 1576). Reissued in 1594?, 1607, 1608.

based on Amyot's superb French translation, and containing in the form of a digression The Shepeards Hollidaie, a dull pastoral in honor of Queen Elizabeth.⁵ The first appearance of Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe in English was with William Burton's translation in 1597, but the work had already been available in a number of Latin, Italian, and French translations.⁶

The interest in the translations of the Greek romances in sixteenth-century England stems from reasons that go beyond the desire to revive the literature of antiquity. The popularity of Greek romance should be sought in its own merits as a type of literature catering to the current taste of English readers. The Elizabethans liked Greek romance because it was pertinent to three areas of contemporary considerations: the increasing appeal of romance to all social classes, the cultivation of

⁵ Daphnis and Chloe excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of love, the purport of honest meaning, the resolution of men, and disposition of Fate, finished in Pastorall, etc., trans. Angell Daye (London, 1587). See also Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et de Chloe, escriptes premierement en grec par Longus, etc., trans. Jacques Amyot (Paris, 1559). Reissued in 1594, 1596, and 1606. All the quotations from Daye in this study are from the original first English edition. The quotations from Amyot are from an English version of his translation: Daphnis and Chloe, Preface by Jules Claretie, illustr. by Raphael Collin, Societe des Beaux Arts (Paris, n. d.).

⁶ The most delectable and plesant historye of Clitophon and Leucippe, etc., trans. W.B. (London, 1597). See also Achillis Statii Alexandrini de Clitophonis & Leucippes amoribus Libri VIII, trans. L. Annibale Cruceio (Bergamo, 1552). Reissued 1554, Basil; 1581, Cologne; 1587, 1589? Cambridge; 1587, Bergamo. And Achille Tatius Alessandrino Dell' Amore di Leucippe et di Clitophonte, etc., trans. Francesco Angelo Coccio (Venice, 1550). Reissued 1551, 1560, 1563, 1568, 1576, 1578, 1600, 1608, 1617, Venice; 1598, 1599, 1617, Florence; 1600, Triviso. All the quotations from Burton in this study are from The loves of Clitophon and Leucippe, trans. William Burton (1597), ed. Stephen Gasselee and H.F.B. Smith (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1923). The Latin quotations are from the

highly rhetorical styles, and the emphasis on morality. "hardly any other kind of fiction, hardly any other view of life, could appeal more strongly to the sixteenth century novel-reader and novel-writer than the ornate, spectacular, rhetorical, sentimental, fortuitous medley" of the Greek romances, writes Wolff.⁷

The long list of printed tales of love and adventure in the Short Title Catalogue is a testimony to the appeal of romances during the sixteenth century.⁸ A large number of the earliest books in England published by Caxton and his successors were prose and metrical romances. These "fell from the presses like leaves in autumn throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."⁹ With the increase of literacy among the middle classes, Caxton's earlier expensive editions--obviously addressed to aristocratic audiences--were soon followed by more affordable ones, and thus romance became easily available to the general public. We know from the testimony of Robert Laneham's letter describing the library of Captain Cox, a Coventry mason, that around 1575 the middle-

1589 reissuing of Cruceio's translation at Cambridge; the Italian are from Coccio's translation reissued in 1578 at Venice.

⁷ Samuel Lee Wolff, Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1912), p. 235.

⁸ See also Arundell Esdaile, A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed Before 1740 (New York: B. Franklin, 1971).

⁹ Lewis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 375. For the facts concerning the printing and reading of romances in England cited here I am indebted to this study.

class taste for romances included the stories of Arthur, Hunon of Bordeaux, Bevis of Hampton, Sir Eglamour, The Squire of Low Degree, Robinhood, The Four Sons of Aymon, etc.¹⁰ During the last quarter of the century, the increasing demand for romance turned the attention of the translators to the continent. This was the time of the Greek romances, and of Amadis of Gaul and the Palmerin, which together with the older romances continued to satisfy the reader's thirst for romance in court and marketplace alike.

To the aristocrats, the idealism of romance and its emphasis on such important Renaissance matters as heroism, love, friendship, and loyalty had a special appeal because they saw in it a view of life closely related to the courtly ideal. To the populace, the romances were an escape through the examples of high life and the strange adventures in faraway lands. "For despite the daring deeds of the Sidneys, the Drakes, and the Raleighs, the every day life of the plain citizen was often savorless and dull, and he was glad to seek excitement in company with Amadis of Gaul, or Guy of Warwick, or some such hero of the romances that were to feed the imagination of middle-class readers for generations to come."¹¹

In addition, the clear-cut distinctions of good and evil even in the least spiritual of the romances justified them as profitable reading in the conscience of the majority who felt that mere entertainment was

¹⁰Wright, p. 83-87.

¹¹Wright, p. 375.

not a sufficiently redeeming quality in a book. The increasing pressures of Puritanism and the respect paid to the Horatian precept of the dulce et utile by Renaissance literary theory were both strong factors in inculcating the belief that morality and profit were to be the criteria in the evaluation of literature.¹² Romance suffered several attacks by academically-minded critics and moralists alike, but it was also defended in the most influential critical document of the period, Sidney's Defense of Poesy.¹³ Despite adverse criticism, the reading of romances continued past the turn of the century, while publishers and translators took care to answer accusations in Prefaces and Letters to the Gentle Reader stressing the moral profit which was to be gained from the reading of the work.

The most likely one of the Greek romances to attain popularity and acceptance in Elizabethan England was Heliodorus' Aethiopica in Underdowne's highly moralized version (five English versions of

¹² See J. W. Saunders, "The Facade of Morality, Journal of English Literary History, 19 (1952), 81-114.

¹³ See Elizabethan Critical Essays, 2 vols., ed. G. Gregory Smith (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), I, 173 (Sidney); for attacks on romance see II, 309 (Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia); II, 15, 87, 166 (Puttenham, "Of Proportion"). Thomas Nash in "A General Censure," gives the following estimation of romance:

. . . what else I pray you doe these bable book-mongers endeavor but to repair the ruinous wals of Venus Court, to restore to the worlde that forgotten Legendary license of Lying, to imitate afresh the fantastickall dreames of those worne out impressions of the feigned nowhere acts of Arthur of the round table, . . . the four sons of Amon, with infinite others. (I, 323)

Heliodorus appeared a total of twelve times, out of which Underdowne's accounts for seven).¹⁴ The reason for this acclaim is that apart from the excitement of a new kind of adventures, elopements, shipwrecks, oracles, sacrifices, pirate attacks, abductions by brigands, imprisonment in dark caves, the Aethiopica provided the Elizabethans with many good examples of virtuous conduct, a conception of love similar to the courtly, and reinforcement of the belief in a divinely ordered universe.¹⁵ Ideas about chastity, heroism, friendship, the ideal monarch, and faith in the divine make the Aethiopica the most spiritual of the Greek romances. The Elizabethans perhaps liked it for the same reasons the Byzantines did: Heliodorus "was a kindred spirit. In him, more easily than in any other ancient romancer, they could find spiritual values of the kind they wanted to find, while enjoying at the same time that element of sensational adventure."¹⁶ The loftiness of context and the

¹⁴ See Gesner, p. 147.

¹⁵ The Aethiopica is about Charicleia, a priestess of Artemis at Delphi, but in reality the exposed daughter of the queen of Ethiopia, and Theagenis, a descendant of Achilles. The lovers elope with the help of a self-exiled priest of Isis named Calasiris, after an oracle reveals that they are destined to reign together in Ethiopia. After being attacked by pirates aboard a ship they fall into the hand of brigands in Egypt--here the story begins in medias res. Theagenis rescues Charicleia who is imprisoned in a cave by the enamored leader of the brigands, but they are soon separated to meet again as prisoners at the court of Arsace, the wife of the Persian satrap of Egypt. Arsace, who desires the hero, condemns Charicleia to burn at the stake, but the heroine is saved by her magic ring, Pantarbe. During an attack by Ethiopian soldiers the lovers are captured and conveyed to the capital, Meroe, where king Hydaspes includes them among the sacrificial victims for the local deities. The oracle is fulfilled when a timely recognition reinstates the lovers as successors to the throne.

¹⁶ Ben Edwin Perry, The Ancient Romances (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1967), p. 108.

epic structure of the Aethiopica prompted Sidney in the Defense to regard it as an epic in prose while Scaliger, in his Poetices libri septem, had recommended that epic poets should use Heliodorus' works as a model. It is not surprising then that during the youthful years of Edward VI the school curriculum included the Greek text of the Aethiopica, and that Underdowne's translation was among the textbooks of young King James VI of Scotland.¹⁷

Underdowne capitalized on the edifying qualities of Heliodorus' story. He provided a gloss at the margins of the text in which he abstracted the morals to be taught in every page, sometimes expanding with quotes from Seneca and bits of Elizabethan commonplace wisdom. In the letter to the Gentle Reader prefixed to his 1587 translation he exhibits a typical Elizabethan attitude in seeking to justify his labor with commendations of the moral quality of the work. In a conventional opening he retracts, like a Medieval narrator, the earlier appearance of his translation--possibly the 1569? or 1577 edition--realizing, as he claims, too late, in his riper years that it would have been better to publish "notable examples of goodly christian life then the most honest . . . historie of love."¹⁸ He then justifies his venturing on a new edition on the ground that this is a corrected and augmented one.

An interesting piece of criticism follows. Underdowne compares the Aethiopica with other popular romances, and thus reveals the very

¹⁷Cited in Gesner, p. 148.

¹⁸Letter to the Gentle Reader, p. xxix.

features that would have made this work attractive to its Elizabethan audience:

If I shall compare the reading of it to any, I might find other better to be commended. If I shall compare it with other of like argument, I think none commeth neare it. Mort Darthure, Arthur of little Britaine, yea, and Amadis of Gaule, etc. account violente murder, or murder for no cause, manhoode: and fornication and all unlawful luste, friendly love. This book punisheth the faultes of evill doers, and rewardeth the well livers. What king is Hidaspes? What patterne of a good prince? Countrariewise, what a leawde woman was Arsace? What a pattern of evill behaviour? What an evil end had shee?
(Underdowne, p. xxix)

Underdowne may have had a Greek text at hand, but his translation follows very closely Warschewiczki's Latin version, which served as his prototype even for errors. Despite his little Latin and less Greek, however, Underdowne's English rendering surpasses all precedents in its fresh approach to the givens of romance which are tinted with Elizabethan color:

You are in the very citadel of Romance; and the citadel is built in Elizabethan England; and the romance is unfolded to you, not in the tasteless phrase thought out by a man of culture in his sombre study, but in a medley of vivid words culled from the chap-books or heard at the street corner. For Underdowne was one of those who would put the gods into doublet and hose. His hero is "Captaine Theagenis," . . . such phrases as "Syr Priest" and "Jollie Dame" . . . sparkle on every page.¹⁹

¹⁹Charles Whibley, Introduction, in Underdowne, p. xvi.

The very year of Underdowne's reissuing of the Aethiopica (1587) marks the appearance of Daye's translation of Daphnis and Chloe, based on the French version by Amyot. The interest of Longus' story does not lie on worldwide adventures but on the contrast provided by the happening of highly dramatic events on a fixed background of unsurpassed natural beauty and serenity. The plot is simple. It treats the love of two foundlings brought up by shepards, and the discovery of their true parentage at the end and final marriage.²⁰ The subject was dear to the Elizabethans judging from the frequency that related motifs kept appearing throughout the literature of the period. Pastoral romance was in the ascent during the last quarter of the sixteenth century in England, and works such as Sidney's Arcadia, Greene's Pandosto and Menaphon, and Shakespeare's Cymbeline and Winter's Tale witness the fruitful transmigration into English forms of the genre originated by Longus.

Although Daye used as a basis Amyot's French translation of Daphnis and Chloe, his was more of a paraphrase, or an adaptation, than an English version of the original. The Elizabethan view of the pastoral as a vehicle for praise and as a rhetorical context for the artificial display of various emotions and ideas prevails throughout. With courtly

²⁰ Lamon, a goatherd, and Dryas, a shepherd, rear two foundlings. When the children reach adolescence they fall in love, as ordained by their protector Eros, Pan and the Nymphs. Their idyllic world is almost shattered when Daphnis is abducted by pirates, and Chloe by hostile citizens of the nearby Methymna--divine help is offered to them at both incidents. Further complications arise with the discovery that the landowner whose herds Daphnis has been tending, is his real father. As soon as a rich city-dweller recognizes Chloe as his lost daughter, the lovers get married in the country where they choose to remain.

superiority Daye emphasized the ridiculousness of rustic manners, while he removed most of the contents of the third book in order to insert a dull metrical pastoral in honor of queen Elizabeth, entitled The Shepheardes Hollidaie. Probably influenced by Italian pastoral, he also interjected a number of songs expressing various moods of his characters, and he emphasized the role of Fortune far beyond either Amyot or Longus.

Most importantly, the lucidity of style and the simple delight of Longus story, so masterfully preserved by Amyot, disappears completely in Daye's version. In a close comparison of the English and French readings Wolff observes:

With the spirit of Daphnis and Chloe Daye took even greater liberties than with the letter. Longus and Amyot after him, are simple and sensuous; they draw their persons and their scenes with the Greek pure outline, as well as with the full Greek range of definite sensations.²¹

Daye sentimentalizes emotions in Elizabethan fashion, uses "ink-horn" terms, and an abundance of oxymoron and antithesis. The English translator of Daphnis and Chloe transformed what is deemed the best-written of the Greek romances into a narrative heavily ornamented with the conventional rhetoric of Elizabethan prose. What this means, however, is that although Daye failed to capture the singular beauty of Longus' prose, he succeeded in presenting his contemporaries with a story written in the style they would most likely enjoy and appreciate.

In his study on Renaissance rhetoric and wit, Crane has emphasized

²¹The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, pp. 241-42.

that the formal basis of Elizabethan prose style was "amplification" or "ornamentation," i.e. the development and embellishment of a subject by the use of various figures. This was the major concern of the rhetorical manuals included in the sixteenth-century school curriculum, and there is "hardly a writer of the sixteenth century whose work does not bear the mark of such discipline."²² This traditional training, which the Middle Ages as well as the Renaissance had received from Cicero and Quintilian, is at the basis of highly rhetorical works of authors like George Pettie, Lyly, Sidney, and Greene.

At the same time, however, the stylistic influence of works from earlier periods on Elizabethan prose must also be considered. Not much critical work, however, has been done in this direction. Wolff has entertained the possibility that the stylistic exaggerations of Tatius and Heliodorus--especially the figures of antithesis, oxymoron, the debates, soliloquies, and the numerous digressions--may have played a role in Lyly's "Euphuism."²³ Recognizing the influence of Greek romance on Sidney and Greene, Baldwin calls their style "Renaissance Alexandrianism."²⁴ Crane also suggests that the highly-wrought rhetoric of the sentimental novels and romances which were translated into English before

²²William G. Crane, Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance (Gloucester, Mass.: Smith, 1964), p. 5.

²³Wolff, p. 256, n. 3.

²⁴Charles S. Baldwin, Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939), p. 202.

the middle of the sixteenth century exercised a considerable force upon English prose," and he includes among them Underdowne's translation of the Aethiopica.²⁵ Burton's translation of Clitophon and Leucippe (1597) came too late to have any direct effect on Elizabethan prose, but Tatius' work had entered England, as Tieje notes, through the Spanish Clareo y Florisea (1552), or through the early continental translations which, according to Wolff, Sidney and Greene must have read.²⁶

The works of Heliodorus and Tatius--and to a lesser extent Longus' --are typical products of the period called Second Sophistic, during which literary standards were prescribed by academicians and professional rhetoricians. The Greek romance of this period is in its latest and most artificial phase. The sophistic romancers, writes Perry, do not tell the love story for its own sake but in order to exhibit sophistical wares:

These may consist either of digressions upon topics of an informative kind, the tendency of which is scientific, pseudoscientific, philosophical, or paradoxological, or of rhetorical displays of one kind or another where the subject-matter, as in nearly all the great sophists of the day is of less consequence than the word-working. . . .²⁷

²⁵Crane, p. 162 ff.

²⁶Arthur Tieje, "The Greek Romances," The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XIII (1914), 484. See also Wolff, p. 247.

²⁷The Ancient Romances, p. 119. Besides Heliodorus and Tatius, Perry also classifies Iamblichus as a sophistic romancer--although Longus belongs historically to the same period he is less artificial than the others in his style. The earlier, pre-sophistic romancers were the authors of the Ninus fragment, Chariton, and Xenophon of Ephesus.

The high rhetoricism of Heliodorus' and Tatius' fictions--especially the fondness for "ekphrasis," the use of paradox and antithesis, and the apostrophes, soliloquies, or debates--were the very things that the Elizabethans sought to embellish their prose with. This coincident in taste becomes obvious in Underdowne's translation. He exhibits the same stylistic traits as Heliodorus, and he even goes further than the original in emphasizing the aphoristic and argumentative elements of the story.

It is the "Copious eloquence, pleasant and delightful stile" of Clitophon and Leucippe that Burton commends in the Address to the Courteous Reader prefixed to his 1597 translation.²⁸ And in the Epistle Dedicatory to Lord Southampton he views the work in terms borrowed from Sidney's Defense: "being a delightful poem, although in prose: which doth consist in the fiction, not in the meeter; although seeming full of prolixity, yet with delight avoyding satitie."²⁹ Burton based his translation on the Latin one of the Milanese scholar L. Annibale Cruceio, published numerous times since its first appearance in 1552, and including two reissuings in England (Cambridge 1587, 1589?). In the Introduction of the reprint (1923)

In contrast to the sophistic writers these were addressing more naive readers and emphasized less the "artistic exhibition of ethical qualities" than a kind of sentimental idealism "centering about young love and the sensational buffetings of Fortune that interfered with its realization and prolonged the dramatic suspense" (pp. 117-18).

²⁸Burton, sig. A4^r.

²⁹Burton, sig. A4^v.

of Burton's translation, Stephen Gaselle evaluates Cruceio's Latin as "vigorous and usually faithful," while Burton's English "is idiomatic, but remarkably close to his original" (p. xix-xx). The rhetoricism of Tatius' style was thus conveyed intact through Cruceio into Burton's translation to delight the Elizabethans with a copious variety of stylistic witticisms.

In addition to its stylistic attractions, the picaresque quality of Clitophon and Leucippe puts Burton's translation in the proscenium of current developments in Elizabethan prose fiction. The public's fondness for the picaresque adventures of a rogue-like character produced numerous types of prose that catered to this taste: the jest books, literature of confessions, crime exposures, rogue biographies by Greene, and descriptions of the London underworld by Dekker, Rowlands, Middleton. In 1586, David Rowland translated the Spanish picaresque novel Lazarillo de Tormes, which immediately became a success among all social classes.³⁰ This novel stimulated freshly the vogue for rogue fiction which flourished in the decade of the nineties. This was the climate that also produced Burton's translation of Clitophon and Leucippe.

Tatius' romance, usually classified as a comic romance, is a sustained parody of the idealistic dimensions of the genre through its

³⁰ Gabriel Harvey thought that Lazarillo was "foolish," but he had to read it because it was among the books that his friend Spenser offered him as a present in Dec. 1578 (see Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia, Library, ed. Virginia F. Stern Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, p. 228).

pragmatic, almost cynical point of view.³¹ Like a pair of picaresque characters, the hero and heroine of the story travel throughout the Meddier-ranean world making a mockery of romance values. The heroine remains chaste, but only because circumstance prevented her from doing otherwise. The hero is cowardly, unfaithful at least once, and constantly being beaten up like a buffoon. Love is primarily sensual, lying and cheating is the most common solution out of a bind, blind Fortune is the supreme divinity, and the candidness of certain descriptions often suggests decadance.³²

Like the Elizabethan translator of Lazarillo de Tormes, who eased the conscience of his pious readers by extolling the value of the book as a travel guide to Spain, Burton did his best to justify his task as a translator of Tattius' shady, but very amusing story: "As Fulgentius

³¹Arthur Heiserman in The Novel Before the Novel (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 128 writes: "That the Clitophon could have been appreciated as being specifically comic is suggested by its exploitation of six of the topics which comedy, according to the Tractatus, has at its disposal" (deception, impossibility, the unexpected, assimilation to the worse, reaching possible ends through illogical means, and making worse choices when better ones are possible).

³²Clitophon and Leucippe elope to avoid parental wrath. They undergo the usual shipwreck, attacks by pirates and brigands, and at two instances --afterwards proven to be mere tricks--Leucippe is thought dead by her lover. When she ends up as a slave in the household of Melitte, a rich Ephesian widow, she discovers that Clitophon is married to her mistress. Thersander, Melitte's husband, thought dead, returns unexpectedly, beats up the hero, files for adultery, but also tries to seduce the heroine, whom he finally imprisons, letting Clitophon again think that she has been killed again. Everything is cleared up at the trial, however, where Melitte proves her "innocence," Leucippe establishes her chastity, Thersander is punished, and Clitophon acquitted. With the sudden appearance of Leucippe's father, the lovers return to Tyre to celebrate their nuptials.

saith in his Mythiologicke, the morall dooth yeelde unfained profit," and "as Cruceius saith upon Heliodorus, there is none who is learned, and desirous of good instruction, which once having begun to read him can lay him aside, until he have perused him over."³³ This is what Burton claims in the prefatory Address to the Reader. However, his appeal to the authority of Fulgentius and Cruceio may not have been persuasive enough to some readers. For there are only two existing copies of his translation today. It may be that the book was immediately suppressed after its publication in 1597. This was the same year that the Archbishop had ordered Marlowe's "Amores" to be burnt publicly. But in contrast to that some critics think that the very scarcity of Burton's book attests to its popularity: "Perhaps," explains Gaselee, "like the more vulgar love-romances in chap-book form, the very popularity of such books causes them to be thumbed away to disappearance" (Introduction in Burton, p. xix). This last possibility should not seem surprising since Clitophon and Leucippe, despite the censure of Photius, was also read with relish by the Byzantines whose culture was based on supposed paragons of religion and society.

The element that rendered the romances of Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus congenial to the Elizabethan taste was a convergence of didacticism, pastoralism, sensational adventures, the picaresque, and elaborate rhetoric. Tending to extract a moral from everything--even the most unlikely places--the Elizabethan translators recommended the Greek romances highly to the public for their edifying qualities, along with the

³³Burton, sig. A4^r.

promise of amusement and commendations on their style. And with an impulse to assimilate everything foreign towards creating something essentially English, the translators converted these products of antiquity into Elizabethan fiction pleasurable to the courtier and the populace alike. The translations, however, are only one facet of the naturalization of the Greek romance in England. At the same time the materials of Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus were finding their way into the native products of the literature and drama with significant figures like Lyly, Greene, Sidney, Spenser, and finally Shakespeare.

2. THE GREEK ROMANCE IN ELIZABETHAN FICTION AND DRAMA

Other channels for the transmission of the materials of Greek romance in sixteenth-century England besides the Renaissance translations, were the Italian novelle, particularly Boccaccio's, and the Spanish pastoral Diana by Montemayor and his continuators. William Painter's collection of tales in The Palace of Pleasure (1566-67) had acquainted Englishmen early with the Greek romance materials in the tales of the Decameron, and in a number of Bandello's novelle. From this point on a number of English adaptations of Italian short prose stories began to be produced steadily for a whole century, despite the hostility of purists who, like Ascham, were against anything Italian.³⁴ The Greek romance machinery of Lyly's Euphues is an indirect inheritance from Boccaccio, and the same is true for a number of Greene's tales. Some of the Greek materials in Shakespeare's plays also trace back to stories by Boccaccio, Bandello, Masuccio, and Giraldis Cinthio. The Diana made its appearance in English rather late in Bartholomew Young's translation of 1598. There is evidence, however, that Sidney was well acquainted with the

³⁴ See Mary Augusta Scott, Elizabethan Translations from the Italian (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), pp. 3-108. She notes 79 translations of Italian prose tales and romances that took place between 1525-1660 in England. Among the most popular ones were Certain Tragical Discourses by G. Fenton (1567), and A Petite Palace of Pettie his Pleasure by G. Pettie (1576).

original which is among the sources of the Arcadia.³⁵

Wolff has shown that unmistakable verbal parallels confirm that the story of Lyly's Euphues derives directly from Boccaccio's "Tito and Gissipo" (Dec. X, 8), which in turn is indebted to a lost Greek original, probably a Byzantine one.³⁶ There is no way, however, of knowing whether Boccaccio drew directly from the original or indirectly through the Old French poem Athis and Prophilias, which treats a similar story. Whatever the actual source, "Tito and Gissipo" has all the conventional features of a Greek love romance slightly modified by the theme of friendship which is the central issue here: love at first sight, mistaken identity, separation, travel, disguise as a beggar, imprisonment, crucifixion, unexpected escape.³⁷

In Euphues Lyly borrowed narrative material from Boccaccio. The plot is essentially the same, and both tales have a similar structure, scenes of pathos, soliloquies, and dialogue. But as Wolff notes, while Boccaccio's is a tale of true friendship, Lyly's is a tale of fickleness

³⁵ See T. P. Harrison, "A Source of Sidney's Arcadia," Texas Studies in English, 6 (1926), 53 ff.

³⁶ See Wolff, pp. 248-49.

³⁷ In Boccaccio's story Gissipo, a citizen of Athens, gives his fiancée over to his Roman friend Tito, who falls in love with her. At a later time and under bad conditions, Gissipo travels to Rome, where, like the hero of the Ephesiaca, is condemned to be crucified for having falsely accused himself of murder. Tito recognizes him and offers himself in his place, but the real murderer is moved by Tito's generosity and suddenly confesses. As a result, the three are set free, and the story ends with Gissipo's marrying Tito's sister.

in love and friendship betrayed. Lyly, further has the friend who is a traitor meet his deserved punishment at the end and so makes the moral explicit.³⁸

The popularity of Boccaccio's Greek romance tale throughout Europe is attested by a Latin translation by Bandello, the inclusion of the story in Sir Thomas Elyot's Boke Named the Governour (1531), an English paraphrase by Edward Lewick (1562), another one in a miscellany by Oliver Goldsmith (1759), and its treatment in a French play by Alexander Hardy (1625-28).³⁹ "Thus," notes Gesner, "if Greek literature is behind the tale, it has achieved important places in Italian, French, and English literature as well, demonstrating clearly the pervasive influence the Hellenistic romances have exercised on the history of Western fiction."⁴⁰

Although Lyly derived the Greek romance materials of Euphues at second hand through Boccaccio's story, there is evidence that he was also in touch directly with the Greek romances. There are two allusions to the Aethiopica in two of his plays (Campaspe I.i.64 f. and 76 f., and Mother Bombie I.i.26 f.). In the Galathea I.i.28-34 the description of the flood is from Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe, while a number of passages in Euphues suggest specifically the influence of Tatius once more.⁴¹

³⁸See The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction p. 249.

³⁹Gesner gives a complete bibliography of the appearance of this tale in European literature (p. 171, n. 38).

⁴⁰Gesner, p. 32.

⁴¹See Wolff p. 248, n. 1, and p. 256, n. 3.

There is also evidence that the romances of Heliodorus and Tatius were among Sidney's sources for the Arcadia--the first perhaps in Underdowne's translation, the other in any of the continental versions. In addition much of this matter was derived secondarily through the Diana and the Amadis of Gaul, both marked by the influence of Greek romance.⁴² The absence of any direct influence from Longus is, on the other hand, noticable. The pastoral elements of the Arcadia derive mainly from the Italian and Spanish pastoral which, according to Greenlaw, stem directly from the tradition of the Virgilian eclogues.⁴³ Walter R. Davis has shown, however, that Sidney used Sannazzaro's and Montemayor's work primarily as structural models for "the importation of non-pastoral material and its formation into a whole by the techniques of pastoral romance."⁴⁴ His debt to these works as sources of narrative material is actually insignificant. For the most part Sidney drew his non-pastoral material from Heliodorus, Tatius, and the chivalric Amadis of Gaul.

⁴²See Harrison, "A Source of Sidney's Arcadia," p. 53; William Vaughn Moody, "An Inquiry into the Sources of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia," MS honors thesis, Harvard University, 1894.

⁴³Edwin Greenlaw, "Sources," Appendix III, in The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum edition, ed. Edwin Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), VI, 372.

⁴⁴"A Map of Arcadia: Sidney's Romance in its Tradition," in Sidney's Arcadia (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1965), p. 50.

In the Arcadia the mark of Greek romance appears in parallel plot situations, characters, and descriptions, all of which have been thoroughly assessed in Wolff's study.⁴⁵ What seems to present a problem, though, is determining the degree to which Sidney was directly indebted to Greek romance, particularly for situations that are simultaneously present in the Diana and the Amadis. For example, the story of Plangus and Andromana, treating the ill-fated love of a mother for her step-son, is assigned by both Wolff and Davis to the story of Cnemon in the Aethiopica, while Harrison argues in favor of the parallel of Montanus and Felisandra of the Diana.

Another problem stems from the fact that the tradition of Greek romance, obviously indirect in this case, behind the matter of the adventures and disguises of the two princes in the Arcadia, has not been sufficiently recognized. The suggested source for these has been the Amadis IX and XI, and the situation of Parthenius and Delicius in the Diana; but the whole spectrum of the adventures of two friends traveling together, suffering shipwreck, abduction by pirates, and imprisonment is a Greek romance theme, perhaps tracing back to the lost Byzantine prototype of "Tito and Gissipo." For the disguising of a lover in order to enter into the service of the beloved, this also originated in Greek romance, i.e., in the Byzantine Hysmene and Hysmenias, from which the story of Felismena in the Diana derives.⁴⁶

⁴⁵See The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, pp. 309-366.

⁴⁶See F. M. Warren, History of the Novel Previous to the Seventeenth Century (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1895), p. 262.

Besides the convergence of common romance motifs, the influence of Heliodorus on the Arcadia is even more specific and definite as a source for narrative material and as a model for the construction of an epic in prose. This can be seen most clearly in the revised Arcadia where the pastoral diminishes and a number of episodes are added, all of which, especially those whose setting is Asia Minor, "exhibit the characteristic themes and melodramatic atmosphere of the Greek romances."⁴⁷ Sidney organized these adventures, which are partly chivalric, partly Greek romance, within the Heliodoran framework of the oracle, also used in the old Arcadia. And as a further modification he gave the new version an epic structure in the manner of the Aethiopica which begins in medias res. His estimation of Heliodorus' romance as an epic is expressed in the Defense where he mentions it along with Homer's Iliad, Virgil's Aeneid, and Ariosto's Orlando Furioso. All these disparate works he put in one class on account of the high moral vision they all share "for every understanding knoweth the skill of each artificer standeth in that idea or foreconceit of the work, and not in the work itself."⁴⁸

Behind Sidney's use of the Aethiopica for source material and as a model of epic structure, lies the ambition to write a heroic and moral work of the class of Heliodorus' prototype.⁴⁹ His intentions in the Arcadia, as perceived by his friend and biographer Greville, were "to

⁴⁷Davis, p. 47.

⁴⁸Sidney, Defense, in Smith, I, 157.

⁴⁹See John Buxton, Elizabethan Taste (London: Macmillan 1963), p. 255. The critic cites Sir William Alexander, who understood this

turn the barren Philosophy precepts into pregnant Images of life" in both the public ("the Monarch's part") and the private ("the subject's case") spheres of moral action.⁵⁰ The Aethiopica offered Sidney plenty of support for this plan. According to Underdowne (p. xxix), the example of the ideal monarch could be found in the just Hydaspes, the king of Ethiopia, and its opposite in the lawless Persian queen Arsace. Theagenis, the hero of the story, was a model of conduct in the sphere of private affairs--in the Defense Sidney repeatedly refers to him as a prime example of heroism and as an ideal lover. Moreover, the complex web of moral arguments developed throughout the Arcadia, falls into perspective at the final trial scene, reminiscent also of the conclusion of the Aethiopica. It is here under the justice of Evarchus that order is finally restored, and the duties of the king, the subject, and the lover redefined. More than any other part of the Arcadia, this inspired denouement demonstrates how creatively Sidney assimilated the Heliodoran materials into the moral and narrative plan of his own work.

In his conscious attempt "to domesticate the genre of Greek romance" Sidney had a follower in Robert Greene.⁵¹ Besides the Arcadia, Greene's

well enough, so that in providing the link between the revised and the unfinished portion of the Arcadia (fifth edition, 1621), he spoke of the "methodical intricateness" of the Aethiopica and its hero who did "nothing that was not worthy to be imitated."

⁵⁰The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Nowell Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1907), pp. 15-16.

⁵¹See Wolff, p. 353: "Sidney has learned to write Greek romance in English. It is difficult not to regard the New Arcadia as a conscious attempt to domesticate the genre."

sources of Greek romance were the Decameron and the Renaissance translations of Heliodorus, Tattius, and Longus.⁵² His Menaphon came out in 1589 to satisfy the demand for pastoral raised by the circulation of the manuscript of the Arcadia, whose first edition (1590) occasioned Philomela (1592).⁵³ Moreover, three tales from the Decameron, all reputedly based on lost Greek romances, are behind Greene's Perimedes (Dec.II.6 and V.2), and Tullies Loue (Dec.V.1). And since Underdowne's translation of Heliodorus, Daye's version of Daphnis and Chloe, and the continental translations of Tattius were available during Greene's literary career in the eighties, it is no wonder that he also drew directly from the Greek romances. After all, his own style and talent in general had a distinct affinity to Greek romance with which he shared the following features noted by Wolff: pastoral tendency, love of pure plot, weak sense of motive and causal nexus, dependence upon Fortune, love of garish stylistic ornament, of ensemble scenes, of oratory, and of pathos.⁵⁴

Greene's fondness for antithesis and paradox, and the subjection of everything to Fortune link him in particular with Achilles Tattius. There are specific borrowings from Clitophon and Leucippe in a number of his tales. The structural framework of the Arbasto (1584) derives from

⁵²See Thomas H. McNeal, "The Literary Origins of Robert Greene," Shakespeare Association Bulletin, XIV (1939), 176-181.

⁵³Wolff lists Greene's borrowings from the Arcadia in Menaphon, p. 443, and in Philomela, p. 406, 415.

⁵⁴See Wolf, pp. 393-408.

Tatius. Borrowings of names, verbal echoes, and pictorial descriptions exist in Carde of Fancie (1584) and Morando (1584), and in Pandosto (1588), Philomela, and A Groatsworth of Wit (1592) there is similarity of situations.⁵⁴ The debt to Heliodorus is most evident in Pandosto and Menaphon, where, besides the incidental borrowings and verbal echoes from Underdowne's translation, the influence is primarily structural. Both stories have a Providential plot framed by an oracle, the pattern of exposed children, and a series of final recognitions in a trial-like scene at the end. Greene's best moments are those influenced by the Heliodoran tendency to create suspenseful and spectacular effects, but in most cases, he falls short of the high dramatic quality of his predecessor.

In Menaphon and Pandosto there are also a few direct borrowings from Daphnis and Chloe. Wolff has proven that these derive directly from Daye's version, for certain details are present neither in Amyot nor in the original Greek.⁵⁵ Besides specific borrowings, the pastoral background of both Pandosto and Menaphon is related in a general way to the stock pastoral plot the Renaissance derived ultimately from Longus, which treats the exposure of children of high birth, sojourn among shepherds, love in pastoral surroundings, abduction by pirates, rediscovery of real parents. In Pandosto the combination of the pastoral material of Longus with borrowings from Heliodorus and to a lesser extent from Tatius, represents Greene's best attempt at writing Greek romance in English. But when he repeated the same type of story in Menaphon he

⁵⁴ See Wolff, pp. 393-408.

⁵⁵ Wolff, pp. 432-39, 447-50.

was less successful in the organization of the Greek romance material in a coherent form. This work consists of a disjointed collection of Greek romance motifs filling up an artificially superimposed Heliodoran structure. Unlike Sidney, Greene's contribution to the continuation of the tradition of Greek romance in England lies less in his ability to assimilate their material creatively, and more in consolidating their conventions through mechanical imitation.

In contrast to Greene's treatment, Greek romance was endowed with new life in the great poetry of Shakespeare's late plays. Carol Gesner gives the following comprehensive estimation of the place that Greek romance has in Shakespeare's overall career:

Shakespeare's earlier works which embody Greek romance motifs and patterns have not utilized them with obvious or direct intention, but simply as convenient vehicles to carry forward other purposes. It is in Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest that we finally see the ancient genre deliberately utilized and lifted to new dimensions, turned from a new vision of reality, a vision created artistically by moving from the world of reality to a world of romance, wherein the compound of the primitive Greek materials and the psychological crudity and immaturity of the genre make possible, when combined with great poetic power of expression, symbolic interpretation of the characters and events.⁵⁶

Among Shakespeare's earlier plays, The Comedy of Errors, Twelfth Night, Romeo and Juliet, Much Ado About Nothing, Othello, and As You Like It are studded with the motifs and conventions of Greek romance. Shakespeare's use of Greek romance materials is obviously no guarantee

⁵⁶Shakespeare and The Greek Romance, p. 140.

that he was directly acquainted with the Greek originals. He, however, could have derived them indirectly, either from the Elizabethan translations, or through their popularization in contemporary fiction and on the London stage.⁵⁷ In the early plays the Greek materials function structurally (the Hellenistic separation plot of the Ephesiaca and Babyloniaca in Romeo and Juliet, and Longus' stock pastoral plot in As You Like It), or in the form of incidents and motifs (Tatius' Melitte episode appears in the Twelfth Night, and the slandered bride motif in Othello and Much Ado About Nothing trace back to Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe).⁵⁸ These adaptations confirm the time-tested continuity of the Greek romance throughout the history of fiction and drama up to the seventeenth century.

⁵⁷Sixteenth-century English plays marked by the influence of Greek romance are: Theagenis and Charicleia (1572), performed at Elizabeth's court at the Christmas celebration, non extant; the Queen of Ethioopia acted in 1578 by Lord Howard's men at Bristol--also non extant--may have been a version of the 1572 play; Common Conditions (c. 1576) and Clyomon and Clamydes (1599) have the structure and the separation plot motifs of Greek romance; Fletcher's Sea Voyage (1622) and Massinger's The Emperor of the East (1632) continue the tradition into the seventeenth century (see Gesner, p. 47, 180-81, n. 3.)

⁵⁸The link with the Renaissance for Chariton's story seems to be Bandello through his tale of "Signor Timbreo . . . and Fenicia Lionata" (1554). The first printed version of the legend of the Ephesiaca is Masuccio's tale of "Mariotto Mignanelli and Granozza Saraccini" (1474), followed by Da Porto's Historia Novellamente (c. 1530), which served as Shakespeare's source in Romeo and Juliet. Both Chariton's and Xenophon's romances were available to the Renaissance in a thirteenth century manuscript in the La Badia codex, which is the only extant manuscript of the two works today. Gesner (p. 64) suggests tentatively that Masuccio's contact with the humanist circles may have led him to read this manuscript, while Bandello may have known it as a result of a reference to it in Politian's work (p. 153). Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing owes a lot to Bandello's version for the slandering motif in the Hero episode, with additional details from the Ginevra episode of Orlando Furioso.

In his last plays Shakespeare went deeper than the mere surface of Greek romance. He developed the so far unexploited potential of the genre as metaphor for meaning: "The four late plays" notes Gesner, ". . . all carry the Greek romance separation plot through an orderly movement toward poetic justice softened with mercy, forgiveness, and reconciliation" (p. 140). Pericles (1607-08) follows very closely the ancient plot of Apollonius of Tyre, as found in John Gower's Confessio Amantis (1360) and in Twyne's version (1576). Cymbeline (c. 1608-10) is modelled after the Aethiopica, but it also carries a complex body of motifs related to the whole tradition of Greek romance--the wager plot (Chaereas and Callirhoe), the lost heir motif (Daphnis and Chloe), and apparent or mistaken death of the hero, or heroine (Ephesiaca, Clitophon and Leucippe).

The Winter's Tale (1610-11) is, like Cymbeline, dramatized Greek romance. Besides Longus' influence in the pastoral fourth act, Heliodorus' stamp is evident in the circumstances and the exposure of Perdita and the oracle, while the queen's "resurrection" links the play with a similar motif in Chariton's romance--Bandello's tale XXII is probably the link here. Finally, Longus' pastoral plot together with a host of parallel descriptions and situations is artfully disguised behind the mysterious atmosphere and events at Prospero's island in The Tempest (c. 1611). The power of Shakespeare's poetry transformed the materials of Longus' pastoral into a world animated by mythical and allegorical suggestions that offer a glimpse of the underlying patterns of conflict

and harmony, of evil and good, of death and rejuvenation in nature and in human life.⁵⁹

The years between the first appearance of Underdowne's translation of the Aethiopica (1569) and the composition of Shakespeare's last plays, is the period during which Greek romance was firmly established in England. The vehicles for its transmission were partly indirect (Italian novelle, continental romance, and Spanish pastoral), and partly direct (the Renaissance continental translations of Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus). In the sixteenth-century English scene the three major Greek romances were all translated by 1597, while the domestication of the genre gradually took place with Lyly, Sidney, and Greene in fiction, continuing into the next century with Shakespeare in drama. But this is also the period and the literary context in which Spenser produced the FQ. Underdowne's and Daye's translations, the manuscript of Sidney's Arcadia, and Greene's Pandosto and Menaphon were all available to Spenser before the publication of the first installment of the FQ in 1590. If nothing else, Spenser's respect for Sidney alone, to whom he had dedicated the Shepheardes Calender (1579), makes it unthinkable that he would not have been influenced by the very same material that underlies the Arcadia.

⁵⁹ The information about the influence of Greek romance on Shakespeare's individual plays is primarily drawn from Gesner's comprehensive study on this subject.

PART II

TOWARDS ALLEGORY

Spenser uses Christian terms for Christian doctrine, but not necessarily "Christian terms for Christian allegories." All Spenser's allegories are Christian, but not ecclesiological or doctrinal; and many are in classical terms.

Rosemond Tuve

1. CONCEPTUAL INFLUENCE: THE AETHIOPICA AND BOOK I

The first book of the FQ has been seen as a statement of the religious foundations of Spenser's "continued allegory." The series of knightly exempla illustrating how "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," have an anagogical counterpoint in the career of Redcrosse:

The history of the Red Cross knight in the poem traces a pattern more inclusive than that enacted by any other of the heroes; it exemplifies the imitatio Christi, that "retrospective typology" made available by the New Covenant, expressed in the lives of the Apostles, and preserved in the Book of Acts.¹

The substance of narrative details, personages, and allegory of Book I look back at the Scriptures, especially the second part of the Revelation, and the legend of Saint George. The poet knitted all this Christian material into a whole by setting it within a framework of romance.

The romance framework places Spenser's hero between the two worlds that Frye has described as the "anagogical" and the "demonic." Redcrosse fights his battles where these antithetical worlds meet, in the half-dark of fallen nature, and he is constantly exposed to the tensions

¹Isabel G. MacCaffrey, Spenser's Allegory, The Anatomy of Imagination (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), p. 133.

arising between the two. Kathleen Williams notes how this "doubleness," afforded by Spenser's choice of romance as a medium, makes the story human and touching:

Without it we would have another theological tract, a map of the way and not the way itself. Through the resources of romance the attaining of the theological virtue of faith is given actuality and poignancy, or the muddled efforts of a man struggling to reconcile divided loyalties are given shape and meaning. Either statement is a half truth for the confusion and the clarity, the realities of earth and heaven are held together in the romance narrative.²

The actual relationships of Spenser's fictional patterns and images with the context of romance, however, have not been fully explored.³ The heavy religious resonance of the legend of Holinesse has placed the focus of critical discussion on the shadowy truths behind the images, paying a minimum of attention to the literal level of Spenser's romance narrative as an autonomous poetic structure. Yet, the appreciation of the "literalness" of the poet's fiction is of primary importance for the better understanding of the allegory that arises from it. One of the best ways to approach Spenser has been suggested by A. C. Hamilton:

² Spenser's World of Glass (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1966), p. 6.

³ Josephine W. Bennett, The Evolution of The Faerie Queene (New York: B. Franklin, 1960), p. 116 mentions Spenser's debts to Ariosto and Tasso. Dorothy F. Atkinson, "The Wandering Knight, the Red Cross Knight and 'Miles Dei'," Huntington Library Quarterly, 7 (1944), 109-34 suggests this work as a romance source for Book I. In Appendix IV, Variorum I are mentioned Malory's Gareth, Bevis of Hamtoun, Huon of Burdeaux, Guy of Warwick, and Perlesvaus. Spenser's possible debts to Ariosto for Book I are explored by R. E. N. Dodge in "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, 10 (1897), 168-98.

Instead of treating the narration as a veil to be torn aside for hidden meaning, we should allow Sidney's art of reading poetry by using the narration "but as an imaginative groundplot of a profitable invention." Once we allow this art of reading, then Spenser's allegory need not be read as a complicated puzzle concealing riddles which confuse the reader in labyrinths of error, but as an unfolding drama revealing more and greater significance as it brings the reader full understanding of its complex vision.⁴

Accordingly, the romance narrative that forms the surface texture of Book I embodies truths drawn from the Scriptures. The more fluent the reader becomes in Spenser's language of romance, the more unobtrusively he can get to the heart of these truths, while preserving the moral and artistic vision of the poem all in one piece.

This chapter focuses on the literal foundations of Spenser's allegory in Book I. It examines the romance patterns and images of the Redcrosse-Una story in relation to Heliodorus's Aethiopica. Among Spenser's romance sources and analogues the Aethiopica exercised the most significant influence as a model for organizing within a romance framework the moral and religious concepts that are central to the legend of Holinesse. The relationship between the two works has not been noticed by critics before, but the numerous similarities and relationships between the two books suggest the Aethiopica was among Spenser's romance sources for Book I. More important than any concrete borrowings or verbal echoes is the realization that in the overall arrangement of

⁴The Structure of Allegory in The Faerie Queene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 43.

the Redcrosse-Una story the poet used the Aethiopica as a model of "divine romance" set in the narrative framework of the lover's journey, separation, trials, and reunion (the trademark of the plots of Greek romance). In addition, Book I and the Aethiopica have a similar structure --they are cast as epics. Such influence is conceptual and it suggests a conscious imitation of the type of romance structure represented by the Aethiopica.

The above by no means cancels the accepted view that the guiding principle for the structure and allegory of Book I is the Revelation and the legend of Saint George; the fictional patterns Spenser borrows from the Aethiopica actually enhance and reinforce the context of the Christian tradition. Although Heliodorus' method is not allegorical, his fiction communicates specific concerns about God, religion, and morals. These have been interpreted as an attempt to glorify the Sun cult of his native city Emesa--he even signs his novel suggesting that he is a descendant of the Sun. In a narrow sense the religious concerns of the Aethiopica are obviously pagan, but the images Heliodorus chose to represent them are peculiarly adaptable to Christian meanings. For, as Northrop Frye notes, "the myth of romance, though closely related to the myth of Christianity and for centuries contemporaneous with it, should not be thought of as derived from it."⁵ Thus, light and darkness in the Aethiopica represent respectively the powers of good and evil. Apollo,

⁵The Secular Scripture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), p. 88.

Orsiris, and the Sun point to Christ as their apogee. The fulfillment of oracles, or the final rewards bestowed on the virtuous testify to a divinely ordered universe. And the miraculous intervention of a deus ex machina is a form of Grace. It is not surprising then that Heliodorus met with a fate similar to Virgil's in the hands of early Christian and a bishop.⁶ Thus, in recent criticism Arthur Heiserman appropriately classifies the Aethiopica as "divine romance," in which to a great extent "characters and narrative are shaped by the ideas about divinity and human destiny that abound in the text."⁷

In reading the Aethiopica it is difficult to determine whether the love interest in the story or the religious context is the main argument of the work. Perry seems to think that the religious predominates over the love interest:

In Heliodorus love as an ideal or as something to be attained and enjoyed is decidedly secondary in interest to religious mysticism, sacerdotal solemnities and strategies, and the implication that a grandiose epic scheme of things, too complicated to be more than dimly understood, is being worked out by the design of an inscrutable Providence . . . Heliodorus is what Nietzsche might have called preexistently Christian," with reference to his religiosity and his priestly character as seen in the Aethiopica, as well as to the cultural outlook of the transitional age, mid-third century, in which he lived.⁸

⁶The information comes from the ecclesiastical historian of the fifth-century, Socrates, in his Historia Ecclesiastica.

⁷The Novel Before the Novel (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 186.

⁸Ben Edwin Perry, The Ancient Romances (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1967), p. 107.

But whether the author's actual intention was to glorify a specific religious cult or simply to write an entertaining love story, the arch-designer of his plot is Providence itself.

The narrative framework of Theagenis' and Charicleia's story is based on the providentially-designed journey they undertake towards the heroine's homeland. The hero's name means "God-begotten," and the heroine's "Glorious Grace." Along the way they suffer various trials which end when their betrothal is sealed with the recovery of Charicleia's rightful place as the sole heiress to the throne of Ethiopia. The love affair starts with a Delphic oracle, which predicts their destiny. Apollo and Diana appear as the special protectors of their love, speaking through dreams. Besides the heroine, who is a chaste devotee of Diana, three other characters are priestly personages. Charicles, the heroine's foster father at Delphi, is a priest of Apollo, Calasiris, an exiled priest of Isis, wisely promotes the designs of the gods on the lovers, and Sisimithres, an Ethiopian sage, in collaboration with Providence saves Theagenis from sacrifice at the end. Although the name of Fortune is on the lips of the characters more often than the name of Providence, by the end of the story nobody doubts that what happened was planned by the gods.⁹ In the concluding scenes, following a climactic amagnorisis of Charicleia's identity, the lovers are betrothed

⁹For an extensive study of the seeming coincidences which the gods actually control with Fortune as their instrument in the Aethiopica see Samuel Lee Wolff, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1912), pp. 111-17.

while the king appoints the two as high priest and priestess to the Sun and Moon respectively, and as successors to the throne. The story ends with the oracle fulfilled. "No wonder we infer that God is a romancer," writes Arthur Heiserman, "Heliodorus tells us that he is."¹⁰

The blending of religious and secular elements encountered in the Aethiopica is actually a common feature of third and fourth-century prose tales. The phenomenon reflects the struggle of pagan and Christian writers alike to reconcile the antithetical elements springing from the divergence of paganism with ascending Christianity. In the spiritual biography of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus, for example, the pagan hero moves along the example of Christ and Saint Paul as well.¹¹ The Christian writers of this era similarly produced prose fictions of religious subject matter employing the rhetoric of the Greek love romances. In this category belong the various saints' legends, the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla, and also of Xanthippe and Polyxena, and the Clementine Recognitions.¹² The conventions of romance are here applied to the worship of God: chastity is reserved for Him, all the reversals and miraculous happenings attest the divine power, and the usual adventures, trials, and separations lead to eternal rewards in the heavenly realm.

¹⁰Heiserman, p. 196.

¹¹See Heiserman, pp. 203-04.

¹²For a discussion on the Greek romance elements in the stories of Thecla and Xanthippe see Elizabeth H. Haight, More Essays on the Greek Romances (New York: Longmans, Greene & Co., 1945), pp. 48-80. For an analysis of Clement's romance see Heiserman, pp. 208-12.

The first book of the FQ looks back to this tradition mixing divine with romance rhetoric.¹³ The main argument, Holinesse, is religious and moral, but it is expressed by the conventions of the love-romances. The particular romance that appears as an analogue of the Redcrosse-Una story is the Aethiopica. The narrative framework of the lovers' journey in Book I is not unlike that of the Aethiopica, but it appears as a much more complex and diversified structure because Spenser enriched it with additional material from his Scriptural sources. Josephine W. Bennett has suggested that "not only the climax but the whole narrative structure of Book I is a combination of the Saint George legend with the second part of the Revelation," describing the flight in the wilderness of the beautiful woman attacked by a dragon, and finally saved and united with Christ, the dragon slayer.¹⁴ Una is commonly identified as the Woman clothed with the Sun, or as Christ's bride from the Revelation, while Duessa and Lucifera share in the features of the figure of Babylon. The various encounters with beasts and monsters have counterparts in Scriptures. Arthur's descent into the darkness of Redcrosse's dungeon suggests Christ's harrowing of Hell. And the last canto alludes to a variety of sources: "mystic historiography, commentary (especially on Apocalypse), typology, and of course the many versions of the Saint

¹³The connections between Book I and the religious romances have not been explored yet. It is possible to find many parallels. Archimago may owe something to the wizard of the Recognitions, Simon. The detail of the lion that befriends Una appears in Thecla's story. And in Apollonius' biography there is a seductress that plays the role of Duessa.

¹⁴Evolution of The Faerie Queene, p. 110, see also pp. 108-15.

George legend, popular and esoteric, visual and literary."¹⁵ There is no apparent contradiction in the blending of Christian elements with the material from the Aethiopica. As the following paragraphs will show, Spenser worked out a harmonious synthesis by selecting those fictional patterns and images from Heliodorus that enhance with fresh associations the religious foundations of the legend of Hollinesse.

It is difficult to argue, writes Isabel G. MacCaffrey "that any of the images in The Faerie Queene are 'independent' of Christian significance. They are all subsumed by a theory that saw pagan myths as versions of the one truth."¹⁶ Spenser adapted the lovers' providentially designed journey from the Aethiopica because he saw in it a central truth of the Christian thought: how utterly the natural man is dependent upon heavenly Grace. The part of Spenser's narrative commonly regarded as modeled after the second part of the Revelation blends beautifully with the suggestions offered by the Aethiopica. The journey to Ethiopia become Redcrosse's and Una's journey to a place of common origins--the ancient land of Eden. Theagenis' task was to accompany Charicleia safely back to her homeland where they were both destined to reign; Spenser made the liberation of Una's homeland from the dragon the end of the lovers' journey, and thus he worked the Revelation pattern into the Heliodoran framework. Redcrosse's adventures enact simultaneously the

¹⁵MacCaffrey, p. 191. See also Variorum I, pp. 379-90; F. J. W. Harding The Legend of St. George and Literature in England (London: Royal Society of St. George, 1965; John Erskin Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory, A Study of The Faerie Queene (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 99-119.

¹⁶Spenser's Allegory, p. 209.

example of Christ and Saint George, the dragon slayers, and also of the Christian Everyman who, with the help of divine Providence, is successful in his combat with evil. The king and queen of Ethiopia are represented by Una's parents, Adam and Eve, "symbolizing the human race, delivered by Christ from hell and the joints of death, and returning to the paradise of Eden. . . ." ¹⁷ The joy of reunion, return, and regeneration finds expression in the betrothal of the lovers at the end of both the Aethiopica and Book I--an ending which coincides with the conclusion of the Revelation, too. Here Heliodorus' fiction, the historical truth of Christ's life, and the revealed truth of the Scriptures work together harmoniously, giving form and meaning to the legend of Holinesse.

The redemption of time is a common theme of both Book I and the Aethiopica. In Heliodorus the progression of events that defines time is an irreversible movement towards the fulfillment of a divinely-given oracle. In the Christian work the events culminating in the slaying of the dragon are shaped by the inevitability of a historical truth found outside the fiction: Saint George's/Christ's victory against the forces of darkness. The adventures of both Redcrosse and Theagenis suggest, what Isabel G. MacCaffrey has called, "a conclusive fate," because the heroes are "chosen" to actualize a divine plan. ¹⁸ Thus God's presence enters the temporal dimension represented in the fiction, and infuses it with everlasting significance. The wondrous vision of the lovers at the

¹⁷Hankins, p. 112.

¹⁸Spenser's Allegory, p. 210.

conclusion of both works is above all the triumph of Grace and of a divine plan become manifest.¹⁹

The Aethiopica obviously lacks the visionary quality of Spenser's narrative constantly stretching meaning beyond the literalness of the romance images. And its conclusion does not crystalize into an act of crucial symbolic significance such as Redcrosse's slaying of the dragon. However, a similar event figures in the shadowy background of Heliodorus' romance: the legend of Perseus, the pagan counterpart of Saint George, and archetypal hero of the quest romance.²⁰ Heliodorus tells us that Charicleia was a white Ethiopian princess, because at the time of her conception her mother was staring at a mural representing Andromeda being rescued by Perseus from the sea-monster (the Ethiopians considered these two personages as their ancestors). Referring to the sacrifice which Charicleia escapes from upon her arrival in Ethiopia, Frye notes that "she herself, in one aspect, is an Andromeda figure, a heroine exposed for a sacrifice which she narrowly avoids."²¹ Theagenis slays no

¹⁹For this context see the classic article by A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," Journal of English Literary History, 16 (1949), 194-228. Also A. C. Hamilton, "'Like Race to Runne': The Parallel Structure of the Faerie Queene, Books I and II," PMLA, 73 (1958), 327-34; T. M. Gang, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene, The Problem Reviewed," Journal of English Literary History, 26 (1959), 1-22; and V. K. Whitaker, "The Theological Structure of the Faerie Queene, Book I, "in That Soueraine Light, ed. W. R. Mueller & D. C. Allen (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952), pp. 17-88.

²⁰James C. Nohrnberg, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), p. 194 writes, quoting Sir Harrington's Apology, that the Renaissance allegorization of Perseus victory "sounds rather like an exposition of Arthur's defeat of Orgoglio."

²¹Secular Scripture, p. 81.

dragon and, therefore, he is no Perseus figure in the sense that Spenser's hero is Saint George, but the pattern of his adventures is closely related to the context defining the concept of the quest. His actions help carry out a divine plan aiming at the triumph of good over evil, and the completion of which--the reinstatement of a lost princess--wins him a throne and the hand of his beloved. We have no proof that Spenser linked in particular the Aethiopica with the Perseus legend, but for the readers of Book I this wayward relationship brings Heliodorus' romance closer to the legend of Holinesse, which treats the Christian version of the same myth in the Saint George/Redcrosse story.

Besides the conceptual influence that the Aethiopica exercised on the providential design of the narrative framework of Book I, it also served as a source of material for two large narrative units of the poem. Redcrosse's and Duessa's visit to the House of Pride (canto iv), and the events surrounding Una's betrothal (canto xii). Both of these are good examples of the way Scriptural allusions converge harmoniously with material from the Aethiopica. The first critic who noticed any relationship between the House of Pride episode and Heliodorus' romance was Upton, who, in his 1758 edition of the FQ, observed that when Spenser was writing about Lucifera and her palace he "had in mind the Persian Princess in Heliodorus."²² At this point in the Aethiopica Theagenis and Charicleia are led captive in front of Arsace, who is ruling in the absence of her husband, the Persian satrap of Egypt. At the beginning she treats them majestically, but later on, when Theagenis refuses to

²² Edmund Spenser, Faerie Queene, ed, John Upton (London, 1758), II.

give in to her lust, she becomes vicious and throws both him and the heroine into jail. Evidently, only the first part of this material entered the House of Pride episode. The remaining portion was treated by Spenser in the Radigund episode of Book V, in which Artegall, just like Theagenis, is imprisoned by the amorous queen of the Amazons.²³

Lucifera's description (as well as Duessa's) has been connected with the figure of Babylon in the Revelation.²⁴ The parallelism fits the conception of Lucifera as an incarnation of Pride. On the literal level, however, her description seems to be based on the image of Heliodorus' queen Arsace. In his translation of the Aethiopica Underdowne describes Arsace surrounded by her chief Persian magistrates at the hall of throne as follows:

. . . a beautiful woman, and of tall stature, and singular wisdom to doe wnything, and of stout stomacke, for the nobleness of her birth, as is like would be in her that is sister to the great king yet for her unlawfull and dissolute lust she was not without reprehension and blame. (p. 176)

This description answers well to Lucifera's "beauty" and "pride" (I,iv, 9-11), and to the point that Spenser makes about her unlawful governance

²³The influence of the Aethiopica on the Radigund episode of Book V has been treated in detail by Henry C. Aiman, "Spenser's Debt to Heliodorus in The Faerie Queene," The Emporia State Research Studies, 22 (1974), pp. 5-18.

²⁴See Hankins, p. 102-04.

(rather than lust), carried out through "aduizement of six wisards old / That with their counsels bad her kingdom did vphold" (I.iv.12).²⁵

The poet even links specifically the luxury of Lucifera's court with Persia, "the nourse of pompous pride" (I,iv.7). The passage describing Redcrosse's and Duessa's passage through a splendidly-decorated hall crowded with courtiers, has verbal echoes from Underdowne's description of the entrance of Theagenis and Charicleia into Arsace's palace:

. . . to the Presence mount; whose glorious vew
Their frayle amazed senses did confound:
In living Princes court none euer knew
Such endless richesse, and so sumptuous shew. (I.iv.7)

. . . they came unto the deputies house and went
through the sumptuous entries, which were greater
and higher, then might beseeme any private man's
estate, furnished with the princes guard, and the
other courtly route. (Underdowne, p. 187-88)

The echoes from Underdowne continue in the spectacle of the haughty Lucifera seated on her throne, which recalls that of Arsace:

High above all a cloth of state was spred,
And a rich thorne as bright as sunny day,
On which there sate most braue embelished
With royall robes and gorgeous array,
A mayden Queene, that shone as Titan's ray'
In glistering gold, and peereless pretious stone.
(I.iv.8)

When he came in and sawe her sitting in her chair
of estate, clothed in purple and clothe of golde,
glorious with jolly jewels, and her costly bonet,
finely attyred and decked. . . . (Underdowne, p. 193)

²⁵ All quotations are from The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, ed. J. C. Smith et al. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1932).

Underdowne's description blends with the image of the Babylonian harlot "arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls" (Revelation 17: 4), from which, Hankins suggests, Spenser derives the characteristic detail of Lucifera seated above a dragon.²⁶

The relationship with the Aethiopica includes another detail offering an important insight for the meaning of the allegory at this point. Redcrosse kneels in front of Lucifera--he is tempted by Pride. This is a warning signal of his weakness, "for he is tainted by a tendency to self-reliance (which must in this context be also self-aggrandizement). . . ."²⁷ Contrastingly, Theagenis refuses to obey Arsace's orders "that such as went in to her, should fal downe and worshippe her" (Underdowne, p. 193). Heliodorus was making a point about the moral superiority of the Greek in contempt of "the Persian bravery." This detail from the Aethiopica may have suggested to Spenser, in a reversed way, Redcrosse's behavior. After all, his hero has been consistently and totally in the wrong despising Una's truthfulness and succumbing to the falsity of Duessa.

The next large narrative unit for which Spenser is simultaneously indebted to the Aethiopica and the Scriptures as sources is the last canto of Book I. Here the poet's art reaches its heights as the allegory captures one of the rarest and most difficult to articulate moments

²⁶ Source and Meaning, p. 102: "Lucifera seated above her dragon is basically the same image as Duessa seated upon her beast, both stemming from the Babylonian harlot and the beast of Revelation 17."

²⁷ Kathleen Williams, p. 14-15.

of experience: a glimpse into a paradisaical vision of earth harmoniously aligned with heaven. It is on the basis of such poetry that Spenser has earned the title of the visionary poet. "Transcendent ineloquence may be the poet's recourse at such moments," writes Isabel G. MacCaffrey;²⁸ yet, this is not an accurate description of the quality of the poet's vision here. There is nothing of the suggestive inarticulateness of the closing of Dante's Paradiso, or of the abstract mythological quality attached to the cosmic vision of the Mutability cantos. The allegory of the union of Holiness and Truth produces a curious effect as it keeps the reader's understanding fixed and balanced between the literal and figurative meanings without allowing either to dominate. It is true that the whole canto reverberates with Scriptural allusions and religious truths, but all these are so firmly substantiated in the fiction that meaning is inseparable from the image. The bright images of canto xii belong as much to the timelessness of the realm of romance as they do to the historical, political, and religious realities of Spenser's Protestant world.

Although Spenser's critics have fully explored the Biblical sources of canto xii in connection with the allegory, practically nothing has been said about its romance origins. The last canto of Book I is indebted to the last scenes of the Aethiopica and to Heliodorus' talent for constructing large ensemble scenes. Like the Elizabethans, Heliodorus was fond of great public scenes and spectacles, upon which he lavished

²⁸Spenser's Allegory, p. 226.

his talent for visual description. A typical Heliodoran ensemble scene usually involves a large crowd gathered at an open space, observing the coup de theatre worked out by the hand of Providence or Fortune--an intense dramatic confrontation among the major characters which takes the overtones of a trial through the judiciary presence of royalty, or of a person of high authority. During these highly suspenseful moments the hero or heroine, who are, of course, beautiful, chaste, and brave, win the adoration of the crowd in preparation for the final reversal of fortune. This comes about through some type of anagnorisis, the result of an unexpected appearance of a person, who untangles all the complications. Wolff points out four such scenes in the Aethiopica, among which the last one, describing Charicleia's reunion with her parents and her betrothal to the hero, is the most famous.²⁹

Sidney, before Spenser, had drawn material from the denouement of the Aethiopica for the grand trial scene at the conclusion of the Arcadia. In either case the presiding authority is a just monarch (Evarchus, Hydaspes), who condemns his own child to death (Pyrocles, Charicleia). The father has been unaware of the identity of the victim, but he does not alter the verdict even after he finds out this is his own child. Wolff, who has compared the two scenes in every detail, writes that "the recognition is brought about by the arrival of a person (Calodoulos, Charicles) who has travelled from a distance to the place of trial."³⁰

²⁹The Greek Romances, pp. 184-89.

³⁰The Greek Romances, p. 309.

The pairing of the lovers as predicted by an oracle closes both stories.

Spenser's treatment of the conclusion of the Aethiopica differs radically from Sidney's, because the essential situation of the Arcadia (a king's condemnation of his own child) is absent. In Spenser the focus is instead on the spectacular festivities following Redcrosse's triumph, the surprise ensuing from Archimago's unexpected entrance, and the hieratic atmosphere surrounding the lovers' betrothal, all of which have distinct parallels to the denouement of the Aethiopica. Evidently, Heliodorus' influence on the last canto of Book I comes directly from one of the translations of the Aethiopica rather than through Sidney's Arcadia. And it appears to be the result of Spenser's wider adaptation of the Heliodoran narrative framework of the lovers' journey, separation, and reunion.

Canto xii begins with a spectacular tableau that has the characteristics of a Heliodoran ensemble scene: the festive procession that leads Redcrosse to the palace after his victory over the dragon. With his talent for visual description, comparable to Heliodorus', Spenser organized this grand spectacle into a piece of Elizabethan pageantry by using some of the details present in Underdowne's text. For example, the whole is reminiscent of the Delphic procession in the third book of the Aethiopica, which also features rows of dancing virgins singing and carrying flowers (I.xii.6), and a band of youthful men (I.xii.5), among which the hero and heroine are the focus of the crowd's admiration.³¹ The ceremonial arrangement of the group according to age in the

³¹See Underdowne, pp. 79-82.

procession (the king appears surrounded by "sage and sober peres," the young men accompany Redcrosse, and the maidens flock around Una), resembles another public scene in the seventh book of the Aethiopica, which deals with the reunion of the lovers in front of a crowd at Memphis.³² Spenser even follows Heliodorus' mannerism of "pathetic optics," in emphasizing the emotions of the gazing crowd. As Wolff defines the term, it refers to Heliodorus' fondness "of describing persons, objects, and actions by means of the impression they make upon some observer, whose change of countenance he describes in turn."³³ Thus Spenser's reader views the slain dragon through the eyes of the citizens whose emotions of joy, fear, and amazement the poet paints with touching simplicity and penetrating detail (I.xii.9-10).

The presiding authority throughout this canto is Una's father, the king. Spenser invests him with the qualities of the ideal monarch that Sidney's Evarchus and Heliodorus' Hydaspes demonstrate at the concluding

³²Underdowne, p. 182:

. . . for great companies of every age came out at the gates into the open fields, and such as were youthful and newly come to man's estate, came to Theagenis: such as were of riper yeares, men grown in deed, drew to Thyamis, . . . but the maidenly sort, who now thought about Husbandes, flocked around Chariclia: but the old men, and such as were of the holier kind, stood about Calasiris: and thus was there made a sudden aacred pompe and braverie.

³³The Greek Romances, p. 177.

scenes of both stories. He is a king well loved by his people for his kindness, justice and piety. And as Evarchus juxtaposes Basilius, and Hydaspes Arsace, so the ruling of Una's father contrasts the unlawfulness and luxury of Lucifera. In his palace they sit "lowly" and nothing was "riotous nor vaine," for "th' antique world exesse and pride did hate" (I.xii.13-14).

Una's father, in typical Heliodoran fashion, plays the role of the arbitrator at the complications arising from the unexpected entrance of Archimago in the midst of the festivities. This happening follows closely the details of a similar surprise at the end of the Aethiopica: the sudden intrusion of Charicles, the heroine's foster father from Delphi, who has been looking for her ever since she chose to run away with Theagenis. The manner of his presentation to the king is identical with Archimago's: "The old man fell downe and kissed his feet," asking in a letter of recommendation permission to look for his daughter (Underdowne, p. 285). At the sudden sight of Theagenis, however, he turns and accuses the hero publicly for having defiled the altars of Apollo by abducting Charicleia. Archimago similarly "kist the ground, whereon his feet were pight," and presents a letter from Duessa in which mention is made of the altars that the hero "hath polluted oft yore" (I.xii.27) by giving her false promises of betrothal. The attempt to incriminate the hero finally fails in both cases. The king kindly asks for an explanation, the hero defends himself, and the heroine, prostrate at her father's feet, pleads successfully. The sudden appearance of an unexpected guest at court is a common structural device in romance, aiming at the heightening of suspense and the final unraveling of the

plot, as mentioned in the Variorum.³⁴ But the detailed parallels in the incidents of Archimago's and Charicles' appearance, as well as the overall similarity of context point to the Aethiopica as Spenser's particular source in this case.

The last obstacle removed, Una is free to celebrate her betrothal with Redcrosse. As she stands in the last canto wearing, like the beloved in the Canticles, a garment "All lilly white, withouten spot, or pride," and shining with heavenly beauty she is the picture of Charicleia the way she appears at the conclusion of the Aethiopica. Underdowne (p. 265) describes vividly how the spectators, who saw her remain unharmed amidst flames (a test for chastity) and radiating with beauty in the splendor of her holy Delphic robe, thought that she was a divinity. The heavenly aura that permeates the appearance and character of Una is not unlike Charicleia's. Una's sanctity is symbolized by that veil, the removal of which lets her shine "As bright as doth the mornings starre / Out of the East . . ." (I.xii.21). Similarly, in the sixth book of the Aethiopica Charicleia goes about in search of her lover disguised as a beggar and wears a tattered veil under which her eyes shine like the sun's rays through the clouds. These are obviously commonplaces in the description of romance heroines, but in this case the parallel is much closer because both heroines are also hieratic personages. Una represents Truth and the sanctity of Church, and Charicleia is an actual priestess at Delphi.

³⁴ Commentary (Warton), Variorum I, 308.

Regardless of the figurative meanings that Spenser attaches to Una, he does not let us forget that she is also a romance heroine:

Una is, with Beatrice, one of the most complex figures in poetry. Wisdom, Truth, Faith, the Protestant Church, the Church Triumphant, the body of the Redeemed, the morning star of Revelation; yet she remains upon the literal level "a goodly maiden Queene," a woman whom her lover possesses.³⁵

In the romance context Una relates closely to the heroine of the Aethiopica. They are both princesses outranking their lovers in courage and moral fortitude as well. Although Una appears frail and dependent at first, she proves brave and able to protect her knight on more than one occasion. As for Charicleia she "is the first among all the Greek romance heroines for ready wit and quick inventive intelligence in time of danger"; and on one occasion she, just like Una, prevents her lover from committing suicide when he feels their situation is desperate.³⁶ As a chaste, resourceful, protective, and divinely beautiful romance heroine Una is very much like Heliodorus' Charicleia.

The betrothal of both Una and Charicleia takes place in an atmosphere heavily charged with religious sentiment. The rituals performed by Una's father are loaded with Christian symbolism, and heavenly music reverberates throughout the palace. Spenser is celebrating the marriage of Holinesse and Truth, of Christ and the Church, in the sensuous terms of the Epithalamion. Although we can not be sure that Heliodorus

³⁵ A. C. Hamilton, The Structure of Allegory, p. 88.

³⁶ Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romance (Lexington, Ky: University Press, 1970), p. 130.

similarly intended an allegorical identification of his lovers with the Sun and the Moon divinities, he concludes his romance with the king's placing upon Theagenis' and Charicleia's heads the mitres symbolic of high priesthood of these cults. Sacrifices, lighted torches, and the music of flutes and pipes accentuate the religious aura that permeates the conclusion of the Aethiopica suggests that the lovers' union is, like the betrothal of Redcrosse and Una, divinely sanctioned.

Thus both works end in the typical manner of comedy, with the celebration of two lovers' union. The fact that Heliodorus refers to his work as a series of dramatic spectacles (tragic or comic) staged by a supernatural agent (Providence or Fortune) is well known.³⁷ In the conclusion of his story the presiding power is Providence, which, as the aftermath always proves, writes only comic plots. The narrative arrangement of Redcrosse's story has also been compared by A. C. Hamilton to a dramatic structure: "The first part is tragedy which ends with his marriage to Una."³⁸ Yet Spenser treats the end of his comedy with a profound difference. Una's marriage can not take place before her knight completes his six years service to the Faerie Queene. For Spenser's is a Christian comedy which, like Dante's, although given in terms of concrete imagery looks for its meaning toward the realm of spiritual realities. The key to the allegory of canto xii lies in this last image

³⁷See Wolff, pp. 181-84.

³⁸The Structure of Allegory, p. 59.

of Una "as we have seen her nearly always in the sight of our world--in sorrow, alone."³⁹

From the literary point of view this ending signifies the difference in the basic conception of the chivalric and the Greek love romances. The basis of chivalric romance is the knightly quest. Love in this context is ideally a source of inspiration for the quest, not a deviation from the life of arms into the comfortable domesticity of married life. This partly explains why love in chivalric romance is usually adulterous, something abhorred in the Greek romances. The end of the knight's quest and his return to court only signalizes the beginning of another quest in the chivalric ethics. Heiserman observes, however, that Frye's definition of romance as a human and historical mythos in processional form which is structured around a major adventure (quest), does not fit the Greek romances.⁴⁰ The latter are structured instead around the motif of separation and reunion of lovers, they are primarily stories of erotica pathemata, i.e., of erotic suffering.⁴¹ Unlike the knightly heroes the Greek protagonists never seek out adventures of their own accord. They seem to be the unwilling recipients of the adversities imposed by Fortune, the gods, human lust, or temptation. In the Greek romances there is no quest in the Medieval sense but rather only the quest for the reunion with the beloved, sealed with marriage within the familiar bounds of

³⁹Commentary (Cory), Variorum I, 305.

⁴⁰Before the Novel, p. 222, n.5.

⁴¹Heiserman, p. 4.

their own society.⁴² Spenser utilized to a certain extent the separation-trials-reunion plot motif of the Greek romance in the story of Redcrosse's and Una's journey, but he also maintained the quest motif as the focal point of the knight's career throughout Book I. In the legend of Holinesse the threads of the chivalric quest and the separation plot of the Greek love romances are running side by side.

Besides treating a version of the plot motif of the Aethiopica, Book I relates to it in yet another way: they both have an epic structure. Spenser's desire to emulate Ariosto or to follow Virgil by writing an epic at the end of his apprenticeship in the pastoral is so well known as to need further proofs. Yet the Aethiopica has been totally overlooked as a possible model of epic structure for Book I. Spenser and his contemporaries viewed Heliodorus' romance as a true epic --Scaliger had recommended it as a model to the writers of epic, and Sidney had grouped it together with the Cyropedia, the Homeric epics, the Aeneid, and the Orlando.⁴³ It is to be expected that the Aethiopica, along with the other epic forms listed by Sidney, would draw Spenser's attention as a structural model.

Heiserman describes Heliodorus as "the first novelist to devise a plot compounded of several lines of action and is the first to begin in medias res."⁴⁴ The Aethiopica is thus linked with the two major epic

⁴²For a more extensive comparison of the chivalric and Greek romance type of plot see below, "Greek and Chivalric Romance Modes," in Part III.

⁴³See p. 19, 35, above.

⁴⁴Before the Novel, p. 188.

influences at the background of the FQ, the Orlando Furioso and the Aeneid. The combination of several lines of action (the subplots of Cnemon's, Calasiris', and Thyamis' stories) looks forward to the intricate designs of the Ariostan type of plot whose imprint is more evident in Books III and IV of Spenser's poem. On the other hand, the sixteenth century view of the Aethiopica as a highly moral work cast in epic form, brings it to close relation with the Aeneid. For Heliodorus' ideas about Providence, and the virtuous conduct of his hero convey essentially the same lessons the Renaissance commentators read in the Aeneid. Scaliger and Landini, writes Merritt Y. Hughes, believed that the final meaning of the Aeneid consisted in its union of the principle of resistance to evil represented in Aeneas, with the belief in divine Providence.⁴⁵ This particular conception of epic poetry, found in the Aeneid and the Aethiopica alike, permeates the whole of the FQ.

It is commonly believed that in the first two books of the FQ the guiding idea is Virgil rather than the emulation of Ariosto. "There is much less borrowing from, and imitation of Ariosto in this book than in any other of the six," writes Josephine W. Bennett.⁴⁶ But although Spenser's view of epic poetry, as well as that of his contemporaries, was greatly indebted to the Virgilian conception, his debt to the Aeneid

⁴⁵Virgil and Spenser (London: Kennikat Press, 1969), p. 404. He notes that there is no proof that Spenser knew Landini's chief work, the Disputationes Camaldulenses, "but its interpretation of the Aeneid makes that poem correspond in all essentials with Spenser's Legends of Holliness and Temperance" (p. 402).

⁴⁶Evolution of The Faerie Queene, p. 120.

as a particular model has been overemphasized, especially with regard to Book I. As Hughes' study on Virgil and Spenser indicates, Spenser's Virgilian echoes suggest more of a time-dimmed reverence for the Aeneid rather than a systematic adaptation of its structure and narrative material.⁴⁷ This leaves room to reconsider the role of other epic forms besides the Aeneid as particular models for the first two books of the FQ. Compared to Book I, for example, Heliodorus' romance appears as a closer analogue than the Aeneid: besides having an epic structure it also treats ideas about the Providence shaped into the basic Greek romance framework of the journey, separation, trials, and reunion of two lovers, which is the basic design of the Redcrosse-Una story.

With Underdowne's translation in full view, the Elizabethan readers of the FQ did not have to lift "a veil" to get to the heart of the "dark conceits" of Book I. The story of Redcrosse and Una recalls the patterns and images of Heliodorus' romance and its familiar ideas about Providence, virtuous love, and destiny, which had made it so popular in the sixteenth century. Spenser used the Heliodoran material by deepening its significance with the Christian associations he attached to it, but he did not sacrifice its fictional power in order to create abstract theological allegory. A great imaginative allegorical poet like Spenser, writes Rosamond Tuve, evokes rather than imposes meaning on ancient images, "making full use of significances which had to come to inhabit an

⁴⁷ See p. 331, 335, 393, 396, and Forward: "Unlike Ariosto, however, Spenser was certainly not a habitual reader of the Aeneid."

image by virtue of its post-classical history of use."⁴⁸ The romance patterns and images that Spenser imitated from Heliodorus' fiction are (in Sidney's terms of reading poetry) an integral part of the "imaginative groundplot" of the allegory of Holinesse.

⁴⁸ Allegorical Imagery, Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity
(Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 226.

2. INCIDENTAL BORROWINGS

The Cyropedia and the Amavia-Mordant Episode

Among a variety of episodes in Book II of the FQ the story of Amavia and Mordant stands out like a bas-relief in which the figures, carved in intensely dramatic postures, strain to tear themselves live out of the stone. As an illustration of incontinence in love this story has the merit of the independent exemplum which can be lifted out and used in a number of appropriate contexts. Similarly striking and self-contained is the Panthea and Abradatas episode in the Cyropedia, which, I suggest, was used by Spenser in creating the story of Amavia and Mordant.

Xenophon's episode reappeared outside the context of the Cyropedia in numerous adaptations and imitations before Spenser's. Suidas mentions that in the time of Diocletian the epic poet Sotericus wrote an epyllion based on Panthea's love for Abradatas. Another version in prose circulated in the second century. According to Philostratus, Celer, Hadrian's secretary, wrote a book about it but falsely ascribed it to Dionysius of Miletus. Bandello included the famous lovers in his Novelle (III, 9), while Belleforest adapted it in his Histoires Tragiques (IV, 265). And in England it appeared in Painter's Palace of Pleasure (ed. 1566, I, 27).⁴⁹

⁴⁹See William Painter, The Palace of Pleasure, ed. Joseph Jacobs (London: David Nutt, 1980), I, lxiv.

Sidney mentions the story in the Defense where he expresses his admiration for Abradatas' services to Cyrus. He calls the Cyropedia an epic in prose and recommends it as a type of work emerging half-way between historical fact and "feigning," and aiming at establishing exemplary patterns of virtue:

Which delivering forth also is not wholly imagination as we are wont to say by them that build castles in the air; but so far substantially it worketh, not only to make a Cyrus, which had been but a particular excellency as a nature might have done but to bestow a Cyrus upon the world to make many Cyruses, if they will learn aright why and how that maker made him.⁵⁰

Behind Sidney's view of the Cyropedia stood a large body of Italian Renaissance epic theory. Castelvetro conceived of the epic as "imaginative history," and Cinthio had proposed enough flexibility to include the conventions and scope of the classical epic, the romance, and the biographical poem.⁵¹ According to the Renaissance estimation of the epic the Cyropedia met all the requirements of the kind: Xenophon "molds the conventions of the biography, the adventure and the story of erotic suffering, already ancient in his time, to didactic ends."⁵²

Cyrus' education has been called "the world's first Bildungsroman, a forerunner of Renaissance epics like the first two books of Spenser's Faerie Queene, and a distant and staid predecessor of Fieldings's

⁵⁰Defense, in Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), I, 157.

⁵¹See Bernard G. Weinberg, History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, 2 vols. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950), II, 967-71, and the relevant points in chaps. xix, xx on the quarrels over Ariosto and Tasso.

⁵²Heiserman, p. 7.

Tom Jones.⁵³ Spenser's practice in the FQ shows that he also shared Sidney's appreciation of the Cyropedia as an epic model setting up patterns of virtue for emulation through the example of its main hero. In the letter to Raleigh he rated the Cyropedia higher than Plato's Republic on the ground that Xenophon, in the person of Cyrus, shows that "so much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample then by rule. So I have laboured to doe in the person of Arthure. . . ." This suggests that he not only knew and loved Xenophon's work, but he also wished to follow the same technique in the creation of his hero. Arthur is an illustration of "doctrine by ensample" and as an incarnation of Magnificence, the perfection of all virtues, he unifies the argument of the FQ in the way Cyrus unifies the Cyropedia as an "effigiem iusti imperii."

The Cyropedia itself was probably Spenser's source for the Panthea and Abradatas story--the Renaissance adaptations by Bandello, Belleforest, and Painter were also available to him.⁵⁴ The story appears in portions of Books V, VI, and VII of Xenophon's work, and in summary it reads as follows: When Cyrus captures Susa, Panthea comes to camp as a prisoner meant to serve him. In spite of her disguise as a slave, Araspas, a squire to whom Cyrus has entrusted the care of Panthea, recognizes her by her innate grace and beauty as a lady of high birth. After a lengthy debate on passion and Reason Cyrus tries to warn Araspas, who is a

⁵³O. B. Hardison, The Enduring Monument: A Study of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 72.

⁵⁴Besides the Greek text of the Cyropedia published by Giunta in 1516 in Florence, the following translations were available to Spenser:

scorner, about the enslaving power of love. Shortly after, however, the squire falls madly in love with Panthea and attempts to rape her. Faithful and chaste Panthea finds herself now doubly threatened by Araspas' lust and by a grim future as Cyrus's concubine. Encouraged by desperation she appeals to Cyrus. As expected, magnanimous Cyrus forgives Araspas' transgression and in a stroke of military genius plans to utilize their reputed quarrel by sending him as a spy to the enemy camp. Moreover, he summons Panthea's husband Abradatas, who in return expresses his gratitude by volunteering to lead one of Cyrus' battles. Abradatas wins the battle only to be killed in the midst of his triumph. The tragedy doubles when Panthea, in spite of Cyrus' efforts to console her, is overwhelmed by grief and stabs herself to death while embracing the corpse of her husband. In a final gesture of magnanimity Cyrus gives orders for the burial of the couple in a grand monument with all due honors.

This is the story of Panthea's end as told by Xenophon. Though short, it harbors the seeds of a would-be romance, and this partly explains its intensity as an animated presence in the larger context of the Cyropedia. The story is not then a romance in the generic sense, as Perry objects,⁵⁵ but it is a story of erotic suffering, in fact, one of the earliest love stories in Western literature, which employs many

A French version by Vasque de Luceine (1370); two Latin translations by Filelfo (1476) and Reuchlin (1495); an English translation by W. Barker, published by R. Rolfe (1567).

⁵⁵ Ancient Romances, p. 357, n. 14.

of the themes and conventions later associated with romance. Unlike most of the Greek romances, however, the fictional interest of Panthea's story is subordinated to an overriding moral argument about the control of Reason over the passions. The story actually functions as an exemplum illustrating the main points of Cyrus' arguments about the enslaving power of passion in the debate with Araspas. This is not unlike the way Amavia's story works in the context of Spenser's legend of Temperaunce. As the following discussion will show, in spite of their differences, the two stories present a striking parallel in the details, manner, and motivation behind the heroine's death, as well as in their function as exempla of the same moral argument.

Both stories build toward the climactic conclusion of the heroine's suicide. The background of events leading up to this point is different in each case (Mordant is the victim of the seductress Acrasia, Abradatas has fallen in battle), but the motivation for the suicide is similar: uncontrollable grief for the loss of a deeply loved husband. On the narrative surface the spectacle of dying Amavia in the first canto of Book II recalls the images and sentiments that are part of Xenophon's description of Panthea's death. For example, Cyrus finds Panthea sitting by her husband's corpse at the banks of a river. Guyon meets Amavia in a similar position next to a spring, the difference being that Amavia, who carries an infant along, has already stabbed herself at this point. The spectacle of death provokes tears from both Guyon and Cyrus and each attempts, through words and deeds, to offer some help. Nothing avails, however, as each of the grief-stricken heroines ends her misery with a knife in her breast.

The similarities on the narrative surface extend to the final phase of the burial. Guyon and the Palmer bury the couple in the same grave and perform the appropriate rites. And "so shedding many tears, they closd the earth againe" (II.i.61). Similarly Cyrus, "having made lament over her, he went his way" with orders for their entombment in a lofty monument "with all due honors."⁵⁶ Genuine respect for the victim of passion, not harsh judgment, characterizes the attitude of Cyrus, the spokesman of Reason. The same feeling melts Guyon, the spokesman of Temperaunce, opposite the "image of mortalitie":

That seeing good Sir Guyon, could vneath
 From teares abstaine, for grief his hart did grate,
 And from so heauie sight his head did wreath
 Accusing fortune, and too cruell fate,
 Which plunged had faire Ladie in so wretched state.
 (II.i.56)

What we end up admiring in both Cyrus and Guyon is not the moralist but the compassionate bystander touched deeply by the awesomeness of human frailty.

Panthea's and Amavia's tragedies are exempla of basically the same moral argument, the debate about Reason and the passions that is part of this episode in the Cyropedia, and the issue of Spenser's Temperaunce that constitutes the underlying argument of Book II as a whole. In Xenophon's story, Cyrus, a man who obviously has control over his passions, warns Araspas about the enslaving power of love and the role that

⁵⁶Xenophon, Cyropedia, tr. Walter Miller (London: W. Heineman, 1925), II, 251. All quotations are from this edition.

Reason ought to play in controlling the rise of the passions in the human soul (II, 9-13, 141-43). The course of the story proves the validity of Cyrus' assertions through two central incidents: Araspas' attempt to violate Panthea, caused by uncontrollable lust, and Panthea's suicide, the result of overwhelming grief at the loss of love. During the debate Cyrus' view is strongly colored by Platonism, in fact, not unlike the Platonism that Spenser's critics have seen in his conception of Temperance:

It is the harmony and order resultant in the soul
after the reason has established rule over the
disturbing passions, and it is conceived by Plato
as the very health of the soul.⁵⁷

The view of Temperance Guyon offers in Amavia's episode is also basically Platonic for he defines intemperance as the enslavement of the rational part of the soul by the passions:

Behold the image of mortalitie
And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre,
When raging passion with fierce tyrannie
Robs reason of her due regalitie,
And makes it servant to her basest part. (II.i.57)

But this is not unmixed with some Aristotelianism when in the following stanza the Palmer looks upon Temperance as a mean between the excess and defect of pleasure (Nicomachean Ethics 3.10):

⁵⁷ J. S. Harrison, Platonism in English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, quoted in abstract in Variorum II, 417.

But temperance (said he) with golden squire
 Betwixt them both can measure out a meane,
 Neither to melt in pleasures whot desire,
 Nor fry in hartlesse grieffe and dolefull teene.
 (II.i.58)

Lust and grief, two deadly results of intemperate loving, are presented respectively as the causes of Mordant's and Amavia's destruction: "The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through smart" (II.i. 57). Guyon's aphorism suggests that there is no distinction between the strong and the weak in the victimization by passion. The same idea is at the root of Cyrus' argument. Araspas believes that only the "weaklings" are enslaved by passion and so wish to die to escape their misery, but contrary to this Cyrus maintains that also "the high-minded and the good," or even the gods can fall into the snares of passion (II, 11, 139). The debate, then, about Reason and the passions in the Cyropedia and the argument of Spenser's Temperaunce in the Amavia episode deal essentially with the same issue, the control of the passions by Reason.

Some additional details deserve mentioning because they reveal more vividly the striking similarities in the thought of the works. One of the emphasized issues is the destructive transformation that passion works on the enslaved personality. Amavia says about Mordant:

and so at last I found
 Where him that witch had thrall'd to her will
 In chains of lust and lewed desires ybound,
 And so transformed from his former skill
 That me he knew not, neither his own ill.
 (II.i.54)

Cyrus had also talked about the changes that occur in the victim's outlook:

But I have seen people in tears of sorrow because
 of love and in slavery to the objects of thier
 love, even though they believed before they fell
 in love that slavery is a great evil: I have seen
 them give these objects of their love many things
 that they could ill afford to part with. (II, 9)

Although such views were commonplaces in the current Renaissance theories of love and the soul (and obviously Spenser did not need Xenophon as inspiration here), it is the combination of these arguments along with a fiction clearly alluding to Panthea's tragic end that establish the Cyropedia as a particular source for the Amavia story.

It remains to account for the profound difference that separates the authors' treatment of this material. "For the Methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an Historiographer," explains Spenser himself in the letter to Raleigh. This difference becomes here apparent in the way the moral argument relates to the story in each case. Every part of Spenser's narrative--words, imagery, and action--is meant to illuminate the argument of Temperaunce; this tight organization signals the method of the allegorist. Contrastingly, Xenophon much prefers direct commentary to the language of symbols. In the Cyropedia the debate about Reason appears as a superimposed commentary on the story of Panthea. Spenser, however, integrates the meaning of Temperaunce in the poetry of the Amavia episode itself.

For example, the imagery framing Amavia's suicide allows for a symbolic stretch of meaning that is outside the scope of Xenophon's art of the historiographer. The blood imagery of this scene, besides being a pictorial commentary on the deadly effects of intemperance, shifts the meaning from the moral to the theological level of the

allegory. Spenser's critics have linked it with the taint and guilt of the original sin: ". . . the bloody-handed babe," writes A. C. Hamilton, "stands for mankind which from its infancy has been infected by original sin."⁵⁸ And the blood-stained corpses of his parents, Mordant and Amavia, are an emblem of the tragedy of Adam's fall brought about through his own intemperance--the concupiscence of the flesh.

In this context Temperaunce is conceived as having theological significance. It is the means through which the temperate man, with Reason and Grace at his side, can avenge his lost innocence by defeating the sinful impulses in himself. So the Palmer sees the infant's stained hands as a sign "to minde revenge" (II.i.10), and this is exactly what Guyon seeks to do when he sets out to destroy Acrasia, the cause of

⁵⁸"A Theological Reading of *The Faerie Queene*, Book II," *Journal of English Literary History*, 25 (1958), 156. Other studies interpreting Temperaunce from a theological point of view are: Robert Hoopes, "'God guide Thee Guyon': Nature and Grace Reconciled in *The Faerie Queene*, Book II," *Review of English Studies*, N. S. 5 (1954), 14-24; A. D. S. Fowler, "The Image of Mortality: *The Faerie Queene* II, i-ii," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXIV, 2 (1961), 91-110: Fowler, who interpretes the episode of Amavia as symbolic of baptismal regeneration, writes (p. 145):

The ablution is performed by Guyon to portray the intimate relation between baptism and temperance; for Spenser conceives temperance theologically as the destruction, by repeated mortification, of the 'body of sin,' the relic of the old man duried with Christ at baptism. Baptism, as it were, makes possible and initiates regeneration; temperance puts it into material effect."

See also the relevant parts in Harry Berger's Jr., *The Allegorical Temper: Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's Faerie Queene* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1957).

Mordant's and Amavia's destruction.⁵⁹ The theme of the avenging of mankind's original sin is thus set up in the first two cantoes, it runs throughout the book, and it constitutes its "whole subject," according to Spenser's written testimony to Raleigh.

Xenophon's exemplum lacks the emblematic power of Spenser's treatment because he kept the moral commentary and the dramatized portions of Panthea's story not only separate but also developed them fragmentarily over the length of three books. Xenophon, following the historiographical method, interjected a number of concurrent incidents which are, however, unrelated to Panthea's story. The result is an accurate chronological report of all events that take place at that time, which disturbs the continuity of Panthea's narrative. The story functions more as part of a documentary account of Cyrus' daily exploits in camp and battle. It is used to highlight Cyrus' qualities as a just man, compassionate leader, and clever militarist. The concern for realistically documented biographical facts deprives Xenophon of the freedom that Spenser, the poet, has to shape his material in ways that support better his intended meaning.

Moreover, although Spenser dramatized only the portion of the story that corresponds to Panthea's last moments in the Cyropedia, he developed

⁵⁹Fowler writes (p. 147):

Guyon's response to the image of mortality is, like Paul's, a groan (II.i.42); but the hopeful Palmer sees more than tragedy in man's situation. For him, Ruddymane's taint has a positive significance, both as a sign of his mother's innocence and a reminder that her death is to be revenged.

its romance elements more fully. His main departures from Xenophon's story, the hero's enslavement by Acrasia, and the exposed infant, form an entirely new framework for Amavia's suicide. These are both well established romance motifs, and known to Renaissance England through Homer, Ariosto, Heliodorus, and Longus. Spenser used them to embellish his episode with the romantic scene of the knight's passage through the dark forest, his involvement with an enchantress, the separation and brief reunion with his beloved, his destruction through the power of magic, the pastoral beginnings of an infant.

The dating of the Cyropedia (c. 400 B.C.) explains why Xenophon's treatment of Panthea's story does not include a richer variety of romance elements. Although these were scattered in the epics, the tragedies, or the elegies of the classical literature preceding Xenophon there was no consciousness of romance as a literary form yet. Paradoxically, while the Cyropedia eventually exercised a considerable influence on the earliest Greek romancers, its own author follows a tradition in which the interest in the heroic supersedes the interest in love, travel and adventure which are at the basis of the romance as we have come to know it today.⁶⁰ In this context the story of Panthea is the more striking for its emphasis on the erotic, although models for this type of story already existed in Homer and Herodotus. Xenophon uses here primarily two identifiable romance motifs: the situation of the former scorner of eros who becomes its victim and the threatening of the virtuous

⁶⁰For Xenophon's influence on the early Greek romances see Perry, pp. 169-74.

heroine's chastity. Elizabeth H. Haight says that this is "one of the most perfect romances found in classical writing."⁶¹ Her comment implies that there are distinctions in the tradition of romance stemming largely from the differences in the literary standards and developments of various eras. Xenophon's Cyropedia represents one of the earliest attempts at romance in an era when the literary standards were "classical" as opposed to the "decadence" of the Hellenistic fictions, or the allegorical outlook of a number of Medieval romances.

These distinctions are far too complex to be dealt with without careful analysis, but from a pragmatic point of view, at least, it is obvious why Spenser's treatment of the Amavia story is different from Panthea's by Xenophon, because the poet has the advantage of already established poetics of romance and allegory rooted in the experience of Hellenistic, Medieval, and Renaissance precedents. Regardless of the differences in technique, however, the fact remains that Panthea's story stands at the background of the Amavia episode as a serious influence. Cyrus' speculations about the passions, human frailty, and the role of Reason, which surround the main event of Panthea's suicide, reappear in the first canto of the legend of Temperance. The difference in Spenser's treatment not only defines the poet's method as apart from the historiographer's, but it also reveals that "imitation of the classics" for Spenser means the preservation of their thought under a new guise. And in this sense the poet imitated Xenophon's story successfully.

⁶¹Essays on Ancient Fiction (New York: Longmans, Greene & Co., 1936), p. 22.

The Slandered Bride Theme and Phedon's Story

Phedon's story in Book II.iv.16-36 of the FQ is a version of the slandered bride motif. This was well known to the Middle Ages, and was freshly introduced in Renaissance England through the Genevra and Ariodant episode of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso (Ferrara, 1516) and by Bandello's "Signor Timbreo . . . and Fenicia Lionata," tale XXII of the Novelle (Luca, 1554).⁶² In addition, traces of this plot appear in the early Spanish novel Tirante el Blanco (Valencia, 1490), by Johan Martorell, which in turn served as the basis of Giraldis Cinthio's story of Gianetta in the Hecatommithi (Venice, 1574).⁶³ With the exception of Cinthio who follows Martorell all the other extant versions of this plot are indebted either to Ariosto's or Bandello's versions.⁶⁴ As for

⁶²G. T. Grasse, Trésor de Livres Rare et Precieux, 8 vols. (Dresden, 1859), lists fifty-seven different editions of the Orlando published between 1516 and 1596. Sir John Harington's translation appeared in England in 1591; other translations are given in G. J. Ferazzi's Bibliographia Ariosteca (Bassano, 1881). Belleforest's volume III of the Histoires Tragiques (issued in Paris in 1568 twice, and in Lyon in 1574 and 1581), included Bandello's novella XXII.

⁶³Martorell's novel was reissued at Barcelona (1497), Valladolid (1511), and Venice (1538); there was also an Italian translation in 1538. John C. Dunlop, in History of Prose Fiction (London: George Bell & Sons, 1896), I, 398 thinks that the work was originally composed in 1400. Martorell's version, however, follows a pattern different from Bandello's and Ariosto's: The instigator of the deception is a woman in love with the hero, who hopes to alienate his affections for the heroine by making him believe she is fickle. The deception strategem involves a mock love scene between the heroine and one of her ladies in attendance wearing a mask that resembled the Negro gardener of the house.

⁶⁴Stemming ultimately from Ariosto is Peter Beverley's long poem Ariodanto and Ieneura (London, 1565-66), and George Whetstone's "The Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta" in the first section of The Rock of Regard (London, 1576); Bandello's version has long been recognized as a primary source for Shakespeare's Much Ado. See also Charles T. Prouty,

Spenser's episode of Phedon and Claribell in Book II of the FQ, at this point most critical discussions tend to consider Ariosto as the main source.⁶⁵

This discussion claims instead, that Spenser owes more to Bandello's version which serves as a link between the Phedon episode and the most ancient version of this theme in Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe. Spenser may have been indebted to Ariosto's version of the slandered bride motif for the basic deception strategem employed in the Phedon episode: a handmaid in her mistress' clothes deceives the husband/lover into believing that his lady is unfaithful. But Spenser's version differs radically from Ariosto's in its point of view, the characterization of the main hero, and the basic plot reversals.

The analysis that follows will prove that Spenser's departures from Ariosto are actually suggested by Bandello. For example, besides a number of situational elements that are either absent, or treated differently by Ariosto, Spenser is indebted to the sly characterization of Bandello's main hero Timbreo for a number of details employed in the allegorical depiction of Phedon as a victim of Fury. Such treatment results in the use of the slandered bride theme as an exemplum about the destructiveness of unbridled emotions, placed appropriately within the context of the legend of Temperaunce.

The Sources of Much Ado About Nothing (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press., 1950), pp. 13-14: he cites two lost English plays (1563, 1575) that seem to have dealt with the subject.

⁶⁵ Among others, Charles T. Prouty, Carol Gesner, John Upton, Thomas Warton, and R. E. Neil Dodge.

The indebtedness to Bandello brings Spenser's version closer to the ancient prototype of this plot: Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe (c. 150 A.D.).⁶⁶ Bandello's use of Chaereas and Callirhoe as a source for the tale of Timbreo was first suggested in 1898 by Konrad Weichberger, who pointed out the similarities between the two works.⁶⁷ In the Chariton version the husband goes into a fury, like Spenser's Phedon. Unable to catch the "lover" who escapes, he kicks his own wife brutally and causes what mistakenly appears as her death, and he finally turns suicidal. Bandello preserves all these elements, but he presents Timbreo's violent urges eventually checked by gentlemanly control. In a way, the Greek protagonist's violence, which Bandello's Timbreo succeeds in subduing, revives again in Spenser's Phedon in the context of the legend of Temperaunce.

Unfortunately at this point there is no proof that Spenser knew Chariton's work since the text was not printed in any form before the eighteenth century.⁶⁸ The only extant text that we know of today was

⁶⁶For a summary and an analysis of Chariton's romance see Heiserman, pp. 75-93 and Haight, Essays on the Greek Romances (New York: Longmans, Greene & Co., 1943, pp. 14-37.

⁶⁷"Die Urquelle von Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, 34 (1898), 339-45. Weichberger believes that Pio Ragna, Le Fonti dell Orlando Furioso (Florence: Sansoni, 1876) is wrong in believing that Bandello was influenced by Ariosto's version. A later critic, Thomas Marc Parott, "Two Dramatic Versions of the Slandered Bride Theme," Joseph Quency Adams Memorial Studies Memorial Studies (Washington, 1948), pp. 540-41, also agrees that in view of the dissimilarities it is unlikely that Bandello was influenced by Ariosto (or Martorell).

⁶⁸Charitonis . . . de Caerea et Callirhoe Amatoriarum Narrationum Libri VIII, ed. Jacobus D' Orville, trans. Joannes Reiskius (Amsterdam, 1750)--Greek and Latin.

then available in a thirteenth-century codex deposited at the library of the Benedictine monastery, La Badia, in Florence.⁶⁹ Although Spenser could read Greek, it is unlikely that he ever saw this manuscript. Carol Gesner mentions, though, that the manuscript was well known to the Renaissance, for in 1489 Poliziano quoted a part of it in his Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima.⁷⁰ It is reasonable to conjecture, Gesner suggests, that Bandello had read the La Badia manuscript as a result of Poliziano's notice, or perhaps some other which has since been lost.⁷¹

Weichberger also thinks that Bandello, who was well versed in classics, could have seen Chariton's manuscript at one of his journeys during the French and Spanish wars (1520-1525), while Ariosto, who stayed in Florence for two months, could not have possibly read it because he did not know Greek.⁷² Unless a lost manuscript or other form of Chariton's work is discovered that could have been available to Spenser, his debt to Bandello's version is the only basis for claiming that there is any link between Spenser's treatment of the slandered bride plot and Chariton's romance.⁷³

⁶⁹The same manuscript contained the only extant copy of Xenophon's Ephesiaca today, as well as the only complete text of Longus' Daphnis and Chloe.

⁷⁰Shakespeare and the Greek Romance, p. 152.

⁷¹Gesner, p. 153.

⁷²"Die Urquelle," p. 343, 345.

⁷³Boccaccio's "Bernabo da Genoa" in Decameron II, 9 is related to Chariton's story, especially to the middle portions of Chaereas and Callirhoe, which Bandello does not treat. However, the first and last part of Boccaccio's tale takes the direction of the wager plot motif

Both Bandello's and Chariton's treatments of this motif center around a basic plot device, the heroine's "apparent" death, which is the result of a physical blow in the Greek story and a psychic one in Bandello. Carol Gesner, who has studied the similarities between the two treatments, observes the following:⁷⁴ Both stories have a historical background set in Sicily, and the heroines belong to noble houses. The heroes, newly wed in Chariton and engaged in Bandello, both fall victims to a trick engineered by a rival who, with the cooperation of a servant, leads each to believe that he sees a lover entering his lady's quarters. The hero's reaction brings about a disastrous situation. Callirhoe is thought dead as a result of a blow she received from her enraged husband, and she is therefore buried alive. Fenicia sinks into a deathlike swoon after reading a deeply insulting letter from Timbreo, her fiance. Although she later recovers, her parents choose to keep up the pretense of her death by conducting a mock funeral while she is kept away from scandal in the country. The heroes realize the deception too late, they repent sincerely, and they are readily forgiven by the parents.

Following an interval describing Callirhoe's rescue from the tomb by a robber and her adventures over sea and land, Chariton's tale assumes a conclusion similar to Bandello's: The couples are reunited and they are publicly reinstated amidst celebrations sealed with the pairing of the hero's friend to his sister in Chariton, and to the

instead, and that precludes it from being a link between Chariton and Spenser.

⁷⁴See Shakespeare and the Greek Romance, pp. 67-68.

heroine's sister in Bandello. Thus Bandello follows only the first and last part of Chariton's romance and omits the middle portion covering the adventures of the protagonists away from home. All the alterations from the Greek original (the change from a physical to a psychic blow, and the substitution of the live burial, followed by the robber incident, with an empty grave while the heroine remains in concealment) indicate, according to Weichberger, an effort on Bandello's part to soften the original horrid details that would most likely shock the more delicate tastes of his contemporaries.

Spenser maintained the basic elements of Bandello's lengthy narrative in the compact treatment of the Phedon episode. He preserved, for example, the theme of betrayed friendship which underlies Bandello's story (in Chariton the hero's friend is other than the instigator of the deception). Following Bandello, who suggests that between Timbreo and Gironde, his rival, "there was a brotherly friendship," Spenser has Phedon describe how he and Philemon, the instigator of the deception, were brought up together as "sworn brothers" (II.iv.18).⁷⁵ In Ariosto the theme of friendship is only hinted at in two parenthetical lines and there is no further elaboration of it: ("For why there was good friendship in times past / Between them two, till love their hearts did tuch").⁷⁶

⁷⁵ All the quotes from Bandello are from The Novels of Matteo Bandello Bishop of Agen now First Done into English Prose and Verse by John Payne (London: Villon Society, 1890), I. See also, pp. 306, 320-23 for references to friendship.

⁷⁶ Orlando Furioso, translated into English heroical verse by Sir John Harrington, ed. Robert McNulty (1591; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

The theme of betrayed friendship however, is an important situational element in both Spenser and Bandello. Phedon laments not only the "losse of love," but also the "losse of frend" and his fury augments because of this double loss. And in Bandello, the restoration and triumph of friendship, following the repentance and confession of the false friend, becomes an important structural element for the final plot reversal towards a happy denouement.

Examining the motives behind the betrayal of friendship it appears that in Bandello there is a clear case of rivalry in love. The false friend wants the lady for himself, nevertheless, he chooses not to be directly involved in the execution of the deception strategem (the same happens in Chariton). First he employs as accuser a villain to "whom evil was more pleasing than good," and then he sends his servant disguised as "a lover." This dissociation is called for because only a villain could carry out such a scheme, and Gironde is not a real villain. Bandello describes him as a man in "frenzy, overmastered by amorous passion and having no regard unto any manner of reason, he suffered himself to be carried away into doing a thing blameworthy . . ." (p. 306). Unlike Gironde, Count Polynesso in Ariosto combines both the motivation of the rejected suitor and that of a villain. He executes the details of the deception plan himself, feeling that "the love that lates his heart so sore had burnt, / Was cooled all, and into hatred turned."⁷⁷

⁷⁷Orlando, p. 60.

Spenser treats this point altogether differently. The false friend Philemon is merely a villain. Phedon points out as reason for the evil deed villainy itself: "He either envying my toward good / Or of himself to treason ill disposed" (II.iv.22). This works well in the context of the allegory of Temperaunce where Phedon is supposed to be Fury, an incarnation of unbridled emotions, and Philemon Occasion:

Had Spenser preserved the Ariosto or the Bandello source intact with Philemon in love with Claribell, the very nature of Occasion would have been altered, and the application of the exemplum would have been confused.⁷⁸

As it stands now, Philemon's villainy illuminates the evil nature of Occasion, namely, the luckless event that gives rise to the madness of anger in people as ungovernable in their passions as Spenser's Phedon.

The conception of Phedon as a blind instrument of Fury is radically different from the characterization of Ariodant, Ariosto's sentimental hero. They both suffer indescribably from what appears to be the proof of their beloved's infidelity, but Ariodant is far from resorting to Phedon's vengeful violence. Excessive "wrath, gelosie, grief, and love" commit Phedon into the grips of hellish Fury. Like Orestes seeking to purge one crime with another, first he slaughters his lady, then he poisons his guilty friend, and lastly he seeks to kill the handmaid who had unwittingly participated in the staged deception. Sharply contrasting this frenzy is Ariodant's reaction. Neither wrath, nor jealousy

⁷⁸Prouty, p. 37.

nor revenge define his emotional state at the scene of the fictitious betrayal. Instead, "the grief and sorrow sinketh so profound / into his heart, he straight resolves to die."⁷⁹ His brother prevents him from suicide, but Ariodant soon takes off wandering through the length of several stanzas, and trying to decide whether he should drown himself at sea or not. It is very unlikely that this sentimental reaction could have offered Spenser the slightest suggestion for Phedon's fury.

Contrary to Ariodant's sentimentality, Tibreo of Bandello's novella hides violent passions under a mask of gentlemanly conduct. This hidden violence alludes back to the quick-tempered hero of Chariton's romance. It also points to the adjustment that Bandello had to make so that his hero's character fits the image of the Italian Renaissance gentleman. But take away the gentlemanly facade and what is left is a Phedon driven to fury by wrath, jealousy, grief, and vengeful thoughts. The following could have served as a seminal passage for Spenser's conception of Phedon;

. . . such and so poignant was the jealousy which gnawed at his heart and so sore the despite which inflamed him that he was like to issue forth of his ambush and falling fiercely on the three conspirators, to slaughter him whom he judged to be Fenicia's or else, abiding dead himself, at one stroke to end the anguish and misery he suffered for excess of dolour. However, remembering him of his plighted faith, and esteeming it overgreat baseness and wickedness to assail those who had the assurance of his word, he awaited the issue of the matter, all full of choler and despite and gnawing his heart for rage and fury.⁸⁰ (*italics mine*).

⁷⁹Orlando Furioso, p. 63.

⁸⁰The Novels of Bandello, p. 310.

In Timbreo lurks the fury of Phedon, and the wrathful violence of Chaereas when "overwhelmed with anger, he kicked at his wife as she ran forward, and his foot struck her squarely in the middle and stopped short her breath."⁸¹

The hero's striking the heroine in rage is a characteristic Greek romance motif, but in the Renaissance versions of the slandered bride plot the blow is as a rule psychic. However, as Carol Gesner observes, this is "hardly an advance in civilization, since the order of death would indicate some reflection, and the blow of the early Greek heroes was always the result of a spontaneous, hot-tempered reaction to circumstantial evidence."⁸² Evidently, the lack of premeditation that is at the basis of Phedon's irrational reaction relates closely to the hot-tempered response of Chariton's hero. The link could have been Bandello's Timbreo divested from his Renaissance guise by the penetrating eye of the allegorical poet.

A further illustration of the method by which Spenser utilizes clues from Bandello's novella for allegorical purposes appears in the following. When the rival Gironde asks Timbreo to kill him as a punishment for the betrayal of their friendship, he answers:

I propose not to take of thee any manner of vengeance for that to lose friend upon friend were to add dolour upon dolour; nor withal would Fenicia's blessed soul return to her body . . .⁸³

⁸¹Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe, trans. Warren Blake (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1939), p. 8.

⁸²Shakespeare and the Greek Romance, p. 8.

⁸³The Novels of Bandello, pp. 322-23.

A verbal echo of the above appears in Spenser, but in an inverted context, since for the purposes of the exemplum Phedon must go through with the crimes that Timbreo manages to avoid in order to illustrate the deadly effects of intemperance:

Thus heeping crime on crime, and grief on grief
To losse of love adioyning losse of firend.
I meant to purge both with a third mischief.

(II.iv.31)

Spenser, of course, rejects the happy endings of both Ariosto and Bandello in order to be consistent with the context of the allegory. Thus the heroine's "apparent" death in Chariton and Bandello becomes real death in Spenser. And there is no room for forgiveness of the false friend since he, along with his accomplice maid, has to be killed by Phedon to emphasize the extent of his fury which "piles crime on crime and grief on grief."

The "crime" that brings Spenser's story closer to Bandello and further apart from Ariosto is the innocent heroine's death. This functions as the basic plot reversal in both Spenser and Bandello. Following the heroine's death comes the realization of her innocence (through the confessions of the guilty accomplices) and the plot assumes a different direction. In Spenser it leads to the chain of crimes by which the enraged Phedon hopes to purge every previous wrong, in Bandello it leads repentant Timbreo back to Fenicia's parents and from there to the happy denouement of her "resurrection." Thus the heroine's death functions structurally in both stories as the event that sets in motion the reversal of the characters' fortunes, towards tragedy in Spenser, and comedy in Bandello. Similarly, in Chariton's romance the heroine's mistaken

death, followed by live burial and her disappearance from the tomb, instigates the reversals in the lover's fortunes as each undergoes all the fantastic ordeals and adventures typical of the separation plot of the Greek romances until their final reunion.

Ariosto's story has an entirely different development. The reversal occurs instead with Ariodant's reputed death, which causes his brother Lurcanio to accuse Genevra openly of causing his death by her unfaithfulness. AS a result the heroine faces mortal danger, unless a champion defends her innocence according to the law of Scotland. Matters are finally cleared up when Ariodant, disguised, suddenly reveals himself as one of the lady's champions. Genevra, then, does not suffer any real or apparent death, she is only in mortal danger. Consequently Ariosto's structure does not utilize the event of the heroine's innocent death as the basic reversal at this point. His story is actually moving along the lines of a similar episode in De Flores' Grisel y Mirabella instead, and it is far removed from Chariton's romance, from which Bandello derived the motif of the heroine's mistaken death.⁸⁴ Spenser's version may seem altogether different because of its allegorical character, but the event of the heroine's death still functions as the basic plot reversal in the manner of Chariton and Bandello. The heroine's murder instigates Phedon's moral decline through a chain of avenging crimes committed as his fury increases.

⁸⁴ See Barbara Matulka, The Novels of Juan De Flores and Their European Diffusion (New York, 1931), p. 189.

The particular element that links Spenser to the tradition of the slandered bride motif deriving ultimately from Chaereas and Callirhoe, is the heroine's death, which was caused by the hero's anger. The only other version dealing with this element is Bandello's novella of "Signor Timbreo . . . and Fenicia Lionata." Since Spenser's heroine dies as a result of a physical blow as opposed to the psychic one in Bandello, the story of Phedon is closer to Chariton's original in which the hero "kicks" the heroine. This similarity can only be accidental, since there is no evidence that Spenser had seen the text of Chariton's manuscript. In this case Bandello's version may have functioned as an intermediary--a view further substantiated by the verbal parallels between the descriptions of Phedon's fury and Timbreo's inner turmoil. In the Phedon episode Spenser expanded the allegorical possibilities of the tradition of violence originated in Chariton's romance. Contrastingly, Ariosto's hero is molded after the fashionable sentimental pattern characteristic of the unrequited lovers of the sonneteers. But Spenser may have used Ariosto in the subplot of the handmaid Dalinda, who, dressed in her mistress' clothes, promotes the deception. This strategem, along with the pursuit of the handmaid by Phedon afterwards, seems to have been Spenser's only debt to Ariosto.

Despite the difficulty in establishing a direct debt to Chariton's romance, it is yet possible to claim on the basis of the accumulated evidence that Spenser's version of the slandered bride motif owes more to the tradition of Chariton's original evinced in Bandello's novella than it does to Ariosto's episode of Ariodant and Genevra. It was Spenser who added the allegorical perspective to this well known pattern. The poet's

contribution lies in the unique treatment of this theme in an exemplum on the irrationality and destructiveness of unbridled emotions. Didactic elements are also present in the other versions, but, if there is a didactic purpose it is considerably blurred by the delight of the happy endings. Spenser alone emphasized the potential tragic outcome of such a situation by an alchemic reduction of this theme into its bare essentials. The image of Phedon who lost his humanity through blind fury is another key to the meaning of the allegory of Temperance. The technique is typically Spenserian. Phedon turned into Fury itself, resembles Malbecco (III.x), who was also reduced from human to a monster called "Gelosie" as a result of his excessiveness. Spenser's contribution to the reconstruction of the ancient plot is again the result of an artistic inclination that chooses to shape the materials of this world, including literary sources, into emblems of lasting truths.

Egyptian Lore: Britomart at the Temple of Isis

An unusual effect of the revival of the classics in Renaissance Italy was the flourishing of interest in Egyptian matters. For it was through the classics that the fifteenth-century Italian scholars received fascinating reports on how Plato and Pythagoras had come to Egypt to study its wisdom, or how Plotinus was actually an Egyptian. Plutarch's Isis and Osiris offered information of religious and anthropological interest; and the writings of Iamblichus, along with the Hermetic treatises were regarded as genuine sources of the Egyptian mysteries.

All these were particularly appealing to the Florentine Neoplatonists and became part of their studies. Thus Egyptian wisdom, Neoplatonic philosophy and the humanist studies that blend together in works such as

Ficino's De Christiana Religione and the Theological Platonica, became "consecutive links in an unbroken chain of tradition, joined together and united with Christianity by their common aim: the knowledge and revelation of God."⁸⁵ In this syncretic context the myths connected with Osiris appear as a recurrent topic in the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The profusion of elements in Osiris' adventures (his suffering on earth, his unjustified killing followed by his resurrection as "king of the dead" and "saviour," and the connection with the virgin Isis and beloved son Horus) impressed the humanists as an imperfect anticipation of the Christian Passion.⁸⁶

The Renaissance hieroglyphic studies are another testimony to the period's preoccupation with Egyptian mysteries. The Renaissance mind, guided by Neoplatonism in believing that true knowledge was a contemplation of ideas in visual forms, found in the Egyptian hieroglyphics a congenial medium for the symbolic expression of profound truths. The book that started it all was the Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, a Greek collection of generally inaccurate interpretations of the Egyptian script. The work was discovered in 1419 and got its first publication in 1503 by Aldus in Venice.⁸⁷ The Italian scholars studied and promoted it with such

⁸⁵Erik Iverson, The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphics in European Tradition (Copenhagen: Gad, 1961), p. 60.

⁸⁶See Iverson, p. 62.

⁸⁷Within the next hundred years appeared thirty editions, translations, and reprints of Horapollo's work, in addition to the numerous commentaries. The authenticity of Horapollo's interpretation was challenged in the seventeenth century by Nicolas Gaussin; Champollion, in the nineteenth century, proved that only thirteen of Horapollo's hieroglyphics

enthusiasm that it soon became the basis of a series of hieroglyphic publications rapidly distributed all over Europe. The first and most influential of these publications was Valeriano's monumental Hieroglyphica (1556) which, along with Alciati's Emblemata (1550), contributed greatly to the development of the Renaissance artistic and literary traditions of decorative hieroglyphic pictures. In England, particularly, the hieroglyphic material found expression primarily through the emblem books, such as Geoffrey Witney's Choice of Emblems (1586).

In sixteenth-century England, in addition to the artistic and literary applications of the hieroglyphics, the classical texts in circulation (especially Plutarch and Diodorus) and publications like Comes' Mythologia were the obvious sources of information on Egyptian matters. Another important, yet critically unacknowledged avenue was the rich storehouse of Egyptian lore in ancient fiction. In Heliodorus' and Achilles Tatius' romances, for example, part of the action takes place in Egypt. And in the eleventh book of Apuleius' Metamorphoses the hero undergoes some strange experiences with the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris.⁸⁸ The

were actually correct (See George Boas. The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo [New York: Pantheon Books, 1950], p. 29).

⁸⁸For the arguments relating the origins of Greek romance to Egypt see: J. W. B. Barnes, "Egypt and the Greek Romance," Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongress fur Papyrologie, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrus-sammlung der Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Neue Serie, 5. Folge, ed. H. Gerstinger (Vienna, 1956), 29-36; K. Kerényi, Die griechtlicher Beleuchtung, 2nd edition (Darmstadt, 1962); R. Merkelbach, Roman und Mysterium in der Antike (Munich and Berlin, 1962). Barnes believes that a fusion of Greek and Egyptian fictional elements was made for the Greek reading public of Alexandria. Kerényi suggests that the plots of the Greek romances are based on the mythological accounts of Osiris.

purpose of this discussion is to show that Spenser, in line with his contemporaries' fascination with Egyptian mysteries, included in Book V of the FQ images and situations deriving from the Egyptian lore of ancient fiction.

Plutarch's "Isis and Osiris" in the Moralia and Diodorus' Bibliotheca Historica (1.11 ff.) are the most commonly cited sources for the episode describing Britomart's visit to the temple of Isis (V.vii).⁸⁹ Plutarch's work, however, is mainly directed towards a comparative study of religion. Spenser may have consulted Plutarch for historical information (which admittedly he did not follow accurately) on the subject of the Isis cult, but his main purpose was to shape these facts into romance situations illustrating the meaning of Iustice. Fictional situations related to the worship of Isis were already dramatized in the Greek romances and the Metamorphoses. It is more probable that Spenser would have consulted these precedents which were more congenial to his art, rather than Plutarch's or Diodorus' historical expositions.

For the episode of Britomart's visit to the temple of Isis, Spenser used material from the Aethiopica and Apuleius' Metamorphoses (Book XI). Britomart's love for Artegall recalls the romance of Charicleia and Theagenis. The most striking similarity is the identification of Spenser's lovers with Isis and Osiris, which relates to the crowning of Heliodorus' lovers as high priestess and priest of the Moon and the Sun respectively.

Merkelbach treats all ancient romances as Mysterienroman and interprets Apuleius' tale of Cupid and Psyche in the context of the Isiac worship.

⁸⁹See Variorum V, pp. 214-17.

The details of Britomart's vision of Isis are closely modeled after Lucius' vision of the goddess in the Metamorphoses. Finally, Plutarch may have not been the only source for the description of the austere life of the Isis-priesthood: the example of Calasiris, the self-exiled priest in the Aethiopica, and the priests at the temple of Isis in the Metamorphoses offer close parallels. These instances from ancient fiction become in Book V the basis for a complex allegory with moral, historical, and political applications.

First a summary of the situation in Spenser. Britomart arrives at the temple of Isis while she is on her way to liberate Artegall from his enslavement by the Amazon Radigund. At the temple where she stops, the priests, all wearing linen robes and mitres shaped like the moon on their long locks, receive her kindly. She soon falls asleep at the feet of the goddess' silver idol, which is dressed in linen, has a gold crown, and holds a white wand while one foot rests on a crocodile. There Britomart has a vision "which did close implie / The course of all her fortune and posteritie": She saw herself sudeenly wearing a scarlet red royal robe and a gold crown. Flames threaten to envelope the temple, the crocodile devours them, and he in turn threatens Britomart. But Isis checks him and turns his hostility into a loving embrace, the result of which is an offspring lion. In the morning the high priest explains this strange vision. The crocodile is Osiris and represents Artegall who, as a champion of Iustice, will help her defeat the foes of her kingdom, so that in time they can both reign there "in equal portion," and blessed with a valiant heir.

For the background of the Isis-Osiris cult which is part of this episode, Lotspeich observes that the conception of Osiris as a just king who, because of his reputation, afterwards became a god of justice, is found in Plutarch, Diodorus, and Natalis Comes. Isis as "that part of justice which is equity" appears in both Plutarch and Diodorus where she is said to have "caused men to practice justice among themselves."⁹⁰ Plutarch, however, conceives Isis in the main as "mother of the world," both male and female, which reminds one of Spenser's depictions of goddess Natura and Venus.¹⁰⁰ The same catholic picture of Isis as mother of the world also appears in Apuleius' Metamorphoses (XI.5): "I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all elements, the initial progeny of worlds."¹⁰¹ In Heliodorus' Aethiopica the figure of the goddess is even more diffused. Haight sees this as the author's effort to simplify and unify mythology while "bringing back religion to its Eastern and Egyptian origins."¹⁰² Thus in the Aethiopica the figures of Diana and Apollo in Greece, of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, and of the Moon and the Sun deities in Ethiopia are actually manifestations of a similar concept of divinity.

⁹⁰Variorum V, 215 (Lotspeich cites Moralia 13 and Bibl. Hist. 1.17).

¹⁰⁰Edwin Greenlaw, "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," Studies in Philology, 20 (1923), 240.

¹⁰¹Apuleius, The Golden Ass, trans., William Aldington (1566), revised S. Gaselee (London: W. Heineman LTD, 1935).

¹⁰²Essays on the Greek Romances, p. 88.

In Britomart's episode Spenser did not follow this catholic image of Isis. The details in the description of her idol must be of his own invention since he omits many details associated with the traditional image of Isis.¹⁰³ Within the legend of Iustice Spenser limited Isis' attributes to one characteristic: equity. For the same reason he modified Plutarch's depiction of Typhon, the crocodile, as the enemy of Isis and Osiris, into a symbol of Iustice that links the figure of Osiris with Artegall's function as the champion-knight of the virtue. Spenser was creating his own myth here, or his identification of the crocodile with Osiris might have been the result of a syncretistic approach to all sources available.¹⁰⁴

The *Variorum* generally cites Plutarch as Spenser's source for the details of the priests' chaste life at the temple. The same information, however, is also available through the Aethiopica (II), and the Metamorphoses (XI.19, 21, 22), namely their hospitality, linen robes, chastity, and abstinence from meat and drink. The Aethiopica in particular offers a clue to a standard question asked by overzealous Spenserians: Why does Spenser give his priests "long locks," contradicting Plutarch and all the other sources, which mention the custom of closely shaven heads?¹⁰⁵ The answer to that may be that Spenser's model was Calasiris,

¹⁰³ See Rene Graziani, "Elizabeth at Isis Church," PMLA 79 (1964), 386, n. 58.

¹⁰⁴ See Clifford Davison, "The Idol of Isis Church," Studies in Philology, 66 (1969), 80.

¹⁰⁵ See *Variorum* V, Greenlaw, 214, Lotspeich, 216, Upton, 217; also Graziani, p. 387.

the priest of Isis from the Aethiopica, who had "long haire after an holy fashion" (Underdowne, p. 60).

Regardless of the sources for Spenser's background information about the Isis cult, the fictional elements of this episode have distinct analogues in the Aethiopica and the Metamorphoses. Britomart's love-affair with Artegall throughout Books III, IV, and V has many similarities with the romance of Charicleia and Theagenis. Henry C. Aiman who discusses these similarities in detail notes a series of parallels in the characterization of the heroines' guardians Charicles and Clauce, in the role of Calasiris and Merlin as interpreters of the designs of the gods for the lovers, and in the episode of the amazon Radigund and her servant Clarinda, which is largely modeled after Theagenis' and Charicleia's involvement with the Persian queen Arsace and her servant Cybele.¹⁰⁶

Britomart and Charicleia are both alluding to the image of the chaste moon-goddess Isis. During the vision that Britomart has at the temple she sees herself wearing a golden mitre, and eventually her identity merges with Isis. Similarly, in the Aethiopica Charicleia appears at the beginning of the story in her Delphic robes and crown, provoking the admiration of some pirates who take her to be either Isis or Artemis. Both heroine's are invincibly chaste, an attribute of the moon-goddess. In the course of their stories they undergo successfully the chastity tests. As the flames will not touch Britomart at the entrance of

¹⁰⁶ See "Spenser's Debt to Heliodorus" (also mentioned p. 56, above).

Busirane's castle, so Charicleia remains unhurt by the fire designed to test her virginity at the end of the story. Thus, the chaste pair of lovers fits perfectly the concept of wedded chastity implicit in the union of Isis and Osiris in Book V of the FQ, or in Heliodorus' Moon and Sun divinities.

Britomart's destiny as the future mother of British kings, revealed by Merlin earlier in Book III, has a second confirmation in the prophetic vision she experiences at the temple of Isis. As the priest explicates the vision later, the crocodile-Osiris figure signifies Artegall, the knight who will subdue all the foes hindering unjustly her rightful inheritance to the throne--the two of them are destined to reign together blessed with a valiant offspring. The oracular framework underlying Britomart's story works similarly to the Delphic oracle that delineates the royal destiny of Heliodorus' lovers. After a perilous journey to Ethiopia during which the hero acts as the heroine's champion, Charicleia will reign there as the rightful heiress to the throne, together with Theagenis. Unfortunately, the unfinished FQ does not allow us to see Britomart and Artegall at their moment of triumph as they are crowned together in fulfillment of the prophecy. However, the last scene of the Aethiopica fully dramatizes the fulfillment of the Delphic oracle. Underdowne summarized in the margin: "Theagenis and Cariclia are married by consent of Hidaspes, and are made priests, he the Sunnes and she the Moones" (p. 286). This instance in the famous denouement of the Aethiopica may have suggested to Spenser Britomart's and Artegall's identification with Isis and Osiris in Book V, while the oracular framework of Britomart's story as a whole relates to the Delphic prophecy

that determines a similar outcome for the love of Theagenis and Charicleia.

Britomart's vision, the focal event of her visit to the temple of Isis, belongs to the allegorical type of dreams forecasting the future, and its characteristically Egyptian background relates it to the dream-lore of ancient fiction. Besides Lucius' vision of Isis in Apuleius' Metamorphoses XI, there is also the strange apparition of Isis dreamed by Thyamis, a character in the Aethiopica.¹⁰⁷ Britomart's dream also relates to the Medieval and Renaissance political prophecy--especially the Galfridian--or to scriptural precedents, since the vision also concerns the future of her "posterity" on the throne of England.¹⁰⁸

Dreams and epiphanies abound in the ancient romances. Basically they offer foreknowledge, although sometimes this finds expression in the form of divinely-given advice about a certain course of present action with specific future consequences. Such revelations take either a literal or an allegorical form. The sixteenth-century reader in England classified them according to the Oneirocriticon, the ancient book of dreams by Artemidorus, which first appeared in English in 1563. The book informed its readers that the kind of dream that forecasts the future may be literal, "As when a man dreams that the ship wherein he is in doth perish,

¹⁰⁷ Thyamis' dream takes place in a temple of Isis all lighted up by fires, as in Britomart's dream. There the goddess delivers him an obscure message about the outcome of his love for Charicleia, which he totally misinterprets.

¹⁰⁸ See Graziani, pp. 384-85.

and rising find it to be true and saves himself with some few besides," or it may "by one thing signifie another. Whereupon our soul doth naturally advise us, what under them there is somewhat abstruse, secret hidden."¹⁰⁹

William Aldington who translated the Metamorphoses in 1566 read Lucius' transformation into an ass allegorically:

Verily under the wrap of this transformation is taxed the life of mortal men, when as we suffer our minds so to be drowned in the sensual lusts of the flesh and the beastly pleasure thereof¹¹⁰

At the basis of Lucius' vision of Isis, during which the goddess suggests to him to eat some roses that would give him back his human form again, there is also a hidden meaning: "so we can never be restored to the right figure of ourselves except we taste and eat the sweet rose of reason and virtue which the rather by mediation of prayer we may assuredly attain," explains Aldington.¹¹¹ Although such an approach to the Metamorphoses would be almost unthinkable today, it is representative of the way Apuleius' work had impressed the long period from the Middle Ages up to the nineteenth century.¹¹² The rich allegorical suggestions that

¹⁰⁹Quoted in Davison, p. 78.

¹¹⁰To the Reader, in The Golden Ass, p. xvi.

¹¹¹To the Reader, p. xvii.

¹¹²See Elizabeth H. Haight, "Apuleius, the Writer of Romance From the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in Apuleius and His Influence (London, George G. Harrap & Co., 1927), pp. 111-34. See also Heiserman (pp. 145-166), for a representative contemporary approach to the Metamorphoses which refutes all the traditional views of this work as allegory

Spenser's age read in Lucius' vision of Isis must have rendered it a perfect model for the type of allegorical dream-vision that Britomart experiences in the fifth book of the FQ.

Although Spenser could have read the Metamorphoses in Aldington's translation, the commentators of Book V have overlooked, as Osgood observes, the obvious traces of Spenser's reading of Apuleius:

The experience of Britomart in "Isis Church"--the vigil, the dream, the investiture of the sacrifice, the encounter with the priest at dawn--is all already based upon that of Lucius the Ass in Met. 11.4-8, where Isis restores him to human form and he becomes a priest of Isis and then of Osiris.¹¹³

Lucius has actually many dream-visions which disclose his future and guide his actions. Once when still in the form of an ass he has a dream of Isis while asleep at the sea-shore. The goddess reveals to him that by eating a certain garland of sacred roses he can attain once again his former human form. She then foreshadows his future as one of her priests.

Britomart's dream also discloses her future, her marriage to Artegall and her transformation into a mother of British kings, signified by the change of her linen garment into a royal scarlet robe and gold crown. After the dream Britomart seeks the advice of the high priest to guide

of man's salvation, conversion literature, or propaganda for Isis. Heiserman who calls the Metamorphoses "comedy of the marvelous," writes that the eleventh book is "primarily a comic resolution of a comic novel that is not governed by any formulatable religious or moral idea" (p. 162).

¹¹³Variorum V, 216.

her "out of error blind" by deciphering these "dark conceits." And Lucius after each of his several visions resorts to the aid of a priest who clarifies and confirms the divine message. In two of these occasions Lucius meets the priests busy preparing "the matins of the morning" (XI.20, 27). Spenser echoes this in "Whereas the priests she found full busily / About their holly things for morrow mas" (V.iv.17). Although Britomart's story differs in every respect from that of Lucius, the ass-man, the narrative background of her visit to the temple of Isis testifies to Spenser's close reading of the eleventh book of the Metamorphoses.

The Egyptian lore that Spenser uses from the fictions of Apuleius and Heliodorus in this episode gives rise to moral, historical, and political allegory. On the moral level of the allegory Britomart's and Artegall's identification with Isis and Psiris (an echo of the merging of Heliodorus' lovers with the Moon and Sun divinities) defines the respective roles of Spenser's lovers as Equity and Justice in this book. But the episode functions as quasi-historical allegory, too. Just like the Delphic oracle in the Aethiopica, Britomart's vision of Isis works in connection with Merlin's earlier prophecy to establish a link between Britain's antique past and glorious future. However, not only the future but also the troublesome politics of the England of Spenser's present emerge from it. For Britomart's vision also hints at "Elizabeth's final dealings with Mary, Queen of Scots," relating "severity," "clemency," and "equity," all key-words in the vision, to Elizabeth's manner of confronting this serious problem, while presenting the Isis Church as Parliament.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴See Graziani, pp. 377.

The range of political and historical allusions throughout Book V is vast and already treated exhaustively by the commentators in the *Variorum*. "The most important events in the history of Elizabeth's development of a powerful government are treated, not badly and incoherently as in the chronicles, but in an allegory that unifies and interprets."¹¹⁵ Here Spenser carried the aims of the legend of Iustice far beyond the mere presentation of a moral virtue:

Nought is on earth more sacred or diuine,
That Gods and men doe equally adore,
Than this same vertue, that doth right define:
For th'heauens themselves, whence mortal men implore
Right in their wrongs, are rul'd by righteous lore
Of highest Joue, who doth true iustice deale
To his inferior Gods, and euermore
Therwith containes his heauenly Commonweal:
The skill whereof to Princes hearts he doth reueale.
(V.vii.1)

Book V is actually an exposition of a theory of state based on the divine authority of the monarch's jurisdiction.¹¹⁶

The episode of Britomart's visit to the temple of Isis unifies the allegory of the legend of Iustice through a mesh of moral, historical, and political inferences that tie in with Spenser's complex concept of this virtue. In this instance the allegory acquires particular poignancy by

¹¹⁵ Greenlaw, in *Variorum V*, 306; see also Appendix II and III, 299-347, for an analysis of the historical and political applications of the allegory in Book V. The historical allegory is also treated in detail by Bennett, pp. 187-205.

¹¹⁶ For a comprehensive treatment of the sixteenth-century meanings of Iustice see James E. Phillips, "Renaissance Concepts of Justice and the Structure of *The Faerie Queene*, Book V," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 34 (1970), 103-20; also Jane Aptekar, *Icons of Iustice* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1969).

the use of a "specialized" kind of romance images: Egyptian lore from the ancient fictions of Heliodorus and Apuleius. The Metamorphoses is the only source that dramatizes a situation remarkably similar in narrative details to Britomart's visit to the temple of Isis. In addition, the oracular framework that links the lives of the lovers in the Aethiopica with a royal destiny and the Sun and Moon divinities, seems to have suggested to Spenser a similar destiny for Britomart and Artegall, the counterparts of Isis and Osiris in Book V. Both the Aethiopica and the Metamorphoses are sources of material generically closer to the romance narrative of Britomart's story than the "factual" accounts of Plutarch or Diodorus, whose works are commonly cited as Spenser's sources for this episode. The Egyptian lore of ancient fiction is an integral development of the origins and development of the genre in a Mediterranean world. But Spenser approached these distant mysteries as hieroglyphic emblems of hidden truths that his art brought up to light once more.

PART III

TOWARDS GREEK ROMANCE: BOOK VI

What mimesis of reality there is lies in the author's attitude to the world not in its mimetic reproduction.

Rosalie Colie

In the legend of Courtesie allegory retreats into the background and the images and action of romance dominate the narrative. Here Spenser "is relaxing his narrative into its romance origins more completely than he does elsewhere in The Faerie Queene."¹ And in this respect, most critics would agree, VI is unique among the other books. Since this is the last complete book of the FQ, the distinctive characteristics that set it apart--in this case the predominance of pure romance action--takes on the significance of a possible clue towards resolving the riddle of the poet and his unfinished poem. But whether there is a certain answer for this complex issue or not, the understanding of what is already here should be a firm precedent to any speculation. Given that the predominant narrative mode in VI is romance, I believe that existing criticism has not yet made clear certain distinctions about the type of romance narrative

¹Isabel G. MacCaffrey, Spenser's Allegory, The Anatomy of Imagination (Princeton, N. Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), p. 409.

employed in Book VI. In particular, the extent to which Spenser utilized Greek romance sources in this book needs more careful consideration. No one can say with certainty how Spenser would have completed the remaining portion of his poem, or in what direction his expanding artistic vision would have led. But the assessment of the influence of Greek romance on the sixth book, which the present chapter undertakes, could offer a new perspective for speculation on this matter in future studies.

The narrative of the legend of Courtesie is an elaborate adaptation of the Greek romance mode manifested in Spenser's choice of narrative motifs, design, and method. The fashionable revival of this ancient genre of romance in Elizabethan times was due partly to the wide circulation of Renaissance translations, and partly to the extensive incorporation of Greek romance material in the prose fiction of the eighties. During Spenser's visit to London from Ireland in 1590-91, there were already two reissuings of Underdowne's Heliodorus (1577, 1587) in circulation, Daye's translation of Daphnis and Chloe (1587), Greene's Pandosto (1588) and Menaphon (1589), and the quarto edition of Sidney's Arcadia, newly published the year of Spenser's arrival in London.

The translations and influence of Greek romance was continuing well into the nineties. In 1593 the folio edition of the Arcadia circulated, 1594 was the year of Twyne's second edition of the translation of Apollonius of Tyre, and in 1597, only a year after the publication of the sixth Book of the FQ, came the first English version of Clitophon and Leucippe, already available in Latin, Italian, and French. Book VI was

published in the midst of this literary output, and as Josephine Waters Bennett notes, "in every respect Book VI appears written after 1590 and to have incorporated only a minimum of old material," and that in "structure, style and subject matter Book VI represents a fresh approach which seems clearly to reflect the literary stimulus of the visit to England."²

The sixth Book is a turning point in the evolution of the FQ. Readers usually regard the development of the poem as a gradual decline from the gripping effect and the artistic merits of the first two books, to the unsatisfactory fifth, a fact that many indicate the poet's weariness with his material and method. Then suddenly comes the sixth, a book hard to place in terms of generic affinities.³ For the narrative of VI has only a few links with chivalric romance sources, and there is no significant influence of the Italian romance epics, as the Variorum has shown.⁴ Most of the characteristics that make this book hard to place, however, fall into perspective through reference to the framework of the Greek romances. Book VI, this study claims, is the place in the evolution of the FQ where Spenser, inspired by the literary vogue of these times, shifts his attention to Greek romance sources in order to

²The Evolution of The Faerie Queene (New York: B. Franklin, 1960), pp. 207-8.

³C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 353: ". . . the poem begins with its loftiest and most solemn book and thence, after a gradual descent sinks away into its loosest and most idyllic. . . .; and the loose structure of the sixth is a suitable relief after the very high proportion of pure allegory in the fifth."

⁴see Variorum VI, Appendix III, 365-388.

revitalize his poem, and possibly himself in the remoteness of Ireland, with new material and style.⁵

Although Spenser had drawn from the Greek romances in previous books, not until the sixth Book did he decide to experiment with such a wide range of conventions and elements of the Greek form all employed together in the same book. Circular patterns of adventurous separations and lovers' reunions dominate over the linear progress of the knight's quest, and there is elaboration of pastoral motifs, the use of Fortune as an agent of plot, emphasis on emotionalism, predominance of realistic concrete imagery and action over allegory, newly introduced fictional motifs --abduction of the heroine by brigands, imprisonment in a cave, simulated illness and false report of her death, cannibalism, slavery--and all these told with an air of simple delight typical of the fairy-tale.

Critics who pointed out the singleness of the sixth Book have frequently referred to a number of these features, yet without making a definite connection with the framework of the Greek romances. Bradner talks about the contrasting powers of a diversity of imagery without realizing that the reason for this contrast is partly the juxtaposition of images derived from Greek romance with those from chivalric romance:

⁵J. W. Bennett notes that the "need for new story material may have arisen partly because of the exhaustion of the Florimell and Britomart matter which forms so large a part of Books III, IV, and V, but the poet was moving in the direction of a more free and frankly romanctic style of narrative which required a new kind of story material" (p. 208).

It is full of striking contrasts, of subtly blended lights and shades, and of romantic coloring. Pirates, cannibals, hermits, noble savages, and wild bears with babies in their mouths jostle each other in kaleidoscopic procession along with the usual knights-errant and ladies in distress.⁶

Isabel G. MacCaffrey emphasizes the unusual role of Fortune and also notes that the world of VI is "preallegorical," dominated by images and motifs from "ancient fiction," but avoids the naming of any Greek sources.⁷ Similarly, Arnold Williams in a detailed analysis of the narrative mode of VI remarks that "the romance mode is somewhat different from what it is in the other books."⁸ This critic emphasizes the "realism" of VI in the form of departures from our normal expectations from romance--the absence of dragons slain, enchanted weapons, terrifying ogres, talking animals.⁹ He comes very close at time in defining aspects of the Greek romance mode, but he is now aware of Spenser's use of a different line of romance tradition. The argument linking Book VI with the Greek romance mode has barely surfaced in the remarks of the most percetive of critics, but the actual connections with the framework of Greek romance have not yet been made clear. This will be the task of the present chapter.

⁶Leichester Bradner, Edmund Spenser and The Faerie Queene (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 138.

⁷Spenser's Allegory, The Anatomy of Imagination, p. 374-75.

⁸Flower on a Lowly Stalk (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1967), p. 29.

⁹A. Williams, p. 30.

Part III suggests that the romance narrative in VI is nothing less than Spenser's imaginative version of chivalric Greek romance. The versatility with which Spenser employs the elements of the Greek mode proves that he was well versed in the Renaissance translations of the originals by Heliodorus, Tattius, and Longus. This becomes most obvious in the first chapter, which examines closely Spenser's use of these translations as sources for various fictional motifs. The second chapter compares the role of Fortune as an agent of plot and an antagonist to ethos in Book VI and the Greek romances. Finally, Spenser's employment of a narrative design and method alluding to the circular pattern of the adventurous separations and reunions of lovers, and to the concrete depiction of action in the Greek romances, is the focus of the last chapter.

Although Courtesie is nowhere mentioned by name in Spenser's Greek models, the narrative mode of Greek romance he employs supports well his definition of this virtue. The Greek plot motifs serve as illustrations of courteous or discourteous actions and the predominance of Fortune in them stresses the need for Courtesie as another moral absolute ordering human relations in an unstable world. Lastly, the grafting of a chivalric ideal on a fictional content with the tonality of Greek romance, provides a metaphorical frame of reference for Spenser's view of Courtesie as a reconciliation of Art and Nature.

My approach in this part is based on certain assumptions about the way the Renaissance viewed the genres. In her book The Resources of Kind, Rolalie Colie has already given valuable insights on this matter. Her main position underlies the argument of this part. She has shown that a rigid system of genres never really existed in practice, and barely in

theory, in the Renaissance. The actual tendency was towards "inclusionism," the mixing, transformation, and amalgamation of literary kinds, and this was the result of a view of literature as paedeia, transmitting and comprehending all knowledge.¹⁰ The genres in this sense were myths or metaphors of a man's vision of truth, each suggesting a different way to look at, and to interpret the world:

. . . genre functions as a mode of communication--a set of recognized frames or fixes upon the world. In this perspective genre is not only a matter of literary convention, as we sometimes tend to think--a way of signaling the connections between topic and treatment within the literary system--but it is also a myth or metaphor for man's vision of truth.¹¹

But since the word "genre" for us still has connotations with a rigid system of form--and in this sense Spenser's imitation is by no means generic--the term "mode" is preferred instead, throughout this discussion. It includes the use of the conventions of form, but it refers primarily to the viewpoint or the kind of experience conveyed by a work. This overall effect constitutes the "tonality" of the work.

The dynamics of each kind, then, lie in its meaningful relations with experience, not in the observance of rigid rules of form. And this is exactly how Spenser used his models in Book VI. He valued chivalric romance, the product of the Middle Ages, and Greek romance, an antique form, primarily for their thematic associations and implications. Each

¹⁰The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973).

¹¹Colie, Foreword by Lewalski, p. vii-viii.

represents a different way of looking at the world, a separate vision of reality. The chivalric mode moves towards the direction of the ideal, the Greek mode offers a worldly perspective. For, as Rosalie Colie writes, "what mimesis of reality there is lies in the author's attitude to the world not in its mimetic reproduction."¹² Spenser was eclectic in his imitation. He employed from each mode only those elements that would illuminate thematically his conception of Courtesie, and by mixing them in a "modern version," he produced a new meaning based on his own vision of truth.

¹²The Resources of Kind, p. 77.

1. THE GREEK ROMANCE SOURCES OF BOOK VI

Survey of Criticism.

The history of criticism linking Book VI directly with the Greek romances is distressingly brief. In his 1758 edition of the FQ Upton suggested three borrowings from Greek romance motifs. The episode of Serena and the cannibals parallels the incident of Leucippe's sacrifice by wild denizens of the Nile in Tatiüs, the exposure of Pastorella is modelled after Cloe's in Longus, and the cave where she was kept captive by the brigands has its analogue in the cave where the leader of the robbers confined Charicleia in the Aethiopica.¹³ Since Upton there has been little added to Spenser's debt to the Greek romances.

Greenlaw, in the few pages devoted to Spenser in his article "Shakespeare's Pastorals," declared that "the true source of the Pastorella-Calidore episode is Sidney's Arcadia."¹⁴ Greenlaw, however, gives no particular reasons for discounting Longus as a direct influence, especially for those parts in Spenser's episode that are not present in Sidney's work (the foundling motif, the rustic upbringing of the heroine, and the courtship of the rustic suitor, all of which have precedents in

¹³Spenser, Faerie Queene, ed. Upton, vol. II (1758), 648, 649-50, 653.

¹⁴Edwin Greenlaw, "Shakespeare's Pastorals" Studies in Philology, 13 (1916), 122-54.

Longus' Daphnis and Chloe). Greenlaw's contribution rests in his emphasizing the major role that Longus' fiction played in the Renaissance in the formation of a composite type of pastoral plot, which was employed by Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare alike.¹⁵

An important omission of Greenlaw, noted also by Mortenson (see note 23 below), is his dismissal of Heliodorus' and Tatius' major contribution to the development of the Renaissance stock pastoral plot he proposes. And he ignores completely Samuel Lee Wolff's work, which shows the importance of Heliodorus as a source in Sidney's Arcadia and in Greene's Pandosto, and

¹⁵Greenlaw (p. 128), summarizes the elements of the Renaissance pastoral plot:

Daphnis and Chloe supplied the chief elements in the plot of a type of pastoral which was used, with some modifications, by Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare. . . .

1. A child of unknown parentage, usually a girl, is brought up by the shepherds. As a variant, the heroine may merely be living in seclusion among shepherds.

2. A lover is introduced, who may be a foundling, or, more commonly, a man of high birth who falls in love with the heroine and for her sake adopts the dress and life of a shepherd or a forester.

3. This lover story is complicated by the rivalry of a blundering shepherd, usually characterized as a coward, his function being to supply comedy and to serve as a foil for the hero.

4. Melodramatic elements are supplied by the attack of a lion or a bear, and this affords the hero another opportunity to prove his prowess.

5. A captivity episode is usually introduced; the heroine is stolen by pirates or outlaws; the hero goes to her rescue.

6. At length it develops that the girl is of high birth, and she marries the hero.

7. From Italian and Spanish sources comes an extra character, not vitally connected with the plot, often the author of the romance; usually this man is afflicted with melancholy and is living among shepherds because of his woes.

Tatius' in Menaphon.¹⁶ More recently, Carol Genser also has shown that Shakespeare's Cymbeline can be called a "Heliodoran romance" with elements from Longus and Tatius, while in the Winter's Tale "Heliodorus and Longus are present where Shakespear follows Greene."¹⁷ Actually, the introduction of non-pastoral motifs from the Aethiopica and Clitophon and Leucippe into a pastoral plot, was an established practice in Renaissance pastoralism. The following discussion will show that the same is true for Spenser's episode of Pastorella as well.

The first extensive article on Spenser and Greek romance since Upton is Merritt Hughes' "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances."¹⁸ It concerns primarily Book V because in it Hughes discusses Upton's three notes, and conjectures that they "exhaust the resemblances in concrete detail between The Faerie Queene and the Greek romances."¹⁹ After adding a fourth instance of his own (the Heliodoran type of riddling oracle given to Sir Bruin (VI.iv.32)), Hughes concludes:

. . . it appears that there are only four motifs in The Faerie Queene which derive with significant immediacy from the Greek romance. None of them is developed by Spenser in a way to commit them with any

¹⁶The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction (New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 1912), pp. 376-408, 455-57.

¹⁷Shakespeare and the Greek Romance (Lexington, Ky: Univeristy Press, 1970), p. 114, 123.

¹⁸Merritt Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances, Modern Philology, 23 (1925), 67-76.

¹⁹Hughes, p. 68.

certainty to a definite Greek source, and all of them had many analogues in the literature of the Renaissance.²⁰

Hughes is uncommitted because he approaches his subject, as he himself admits, in the manner of a "quick survey."²¹ Although he points out obvious similarities and differences in Spenser's treatment of the Greek romance analogues, he makes no attempt to find special reasons for these, and he offers no assessment of the use of similar motifs in the "many Renaissance analogues or intermediaries." Since Hughes' method is not that of a systematic study of sources, his conclusion that Spenser's use of these motifs "relates him as much to Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini, and Sidney as it does to the ancient romances" (p. 76), is indeed questionable for the generality of its premises.

The first attempt to throw light on the ways Spenser used the basic Greek romance motifs in Book VI was made in Dorothy Culp's article examining the role of Fortune in relation to Courtesie.²² Using Upton's and Hughes' observations as a stepping stone, the critic moves further by suggesting a special significance in Spenser's choice of these particular episodes in the Greek romances. These motifs emphasize the role of chance in human life and, therefore, highlight the moral aspect of Courtesie as mercy and compassion, both much needed for survival in a fallen dimension.

²⁰Hughes, p. 71

²¹Hughes, p. 68.

²²"Courtesie and Fortune's Chance in Book Six of The Faerie Queene," Modern Philology, 68 (1971), 254-9.

Moreover, in his unpublished dissertation Mortenson points out the influence of Greek romance motifs and design in the Serena and Pastorella episodes, and relates the sixth Book to the tradition of Renaissance pastoral romance to which Longus, the Italian and Spanish pastoralists, and Sidney are the main contributors.²³ Mortenson, however, is not interested in a close examination of the Greek sources themselves, nor does he attempt to define the full extent to which Spenser is indebted to them. His approach to the subject of the Greek romances is in the main historical. He affirms the place that the well known motifs from Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus have in the context of the Renaissance tradition of pastoral romance before and after Spenser, and establishes Spenser's place in it on the strength of evidence offered by his use of the same materials with special reference to the thematic debate of Nature and Art, or Nature and Nurture inherent in the pastoral tradition.

Incidental references discounting the Greek sources have appeared in a series of articles directed mainly at finding other possible sources for Book VI. For example, Harrison, in agreement with Greenlaw's assertion that the main source of Spenser's pastoral episode was the Arcadia, calls attention to possible influence from the Spanish Diana, which had also influenced Sidney.²⁴ Dorothy F. Atkinson proposes the Mirrour of

²³Peter Mortenson, "Structure in Spenser's Faerie Queene, Book VI. Primitivism, Chivalry, and Greek Romance," Diss. Oregon 1966 (cf. DA [1967] 3015A).

²⁴T. P. Harrison, Jr., "The Faerie Queene and the Diana," Philological Quarterly, 9 (1930), 51-6.

Knighthood (1583), parts four and five, which has a strictly pastoral interlude framed by chivalric context.²⁵ For the sacrifice of Serena, Staton believes that incidents describing sacrifices in Italian pastoral are more important as models than the analogue in Tattius.²⁶ It is worth noticing, however, that all sources proposed as alternatives above, are themselves indebted to Greek romance one way or another.²⁷

The preceding survey reveals that the issue of Spenser's Greek romances sources in Book VI has not been properly assessed for three reasons: First, the critics regard as sole evidence of the influence of Greek romance on VI the handful of borrowed narrative motifs identified originally by Upton. But as the second and third chapters of this part will show, there are a number of subtler ways through which Greek romance left its imprint on Spenser's narrative, and which still remain unnoticed --influence on structure, philosophical ideas, method of narration, tonality. Second, with the exception of Dorothy Culp's article, there has been no serious attempt to justify Spenser's use of the material of the Greek romances thematically, and show the ways in which these borrowings relate to his definition of Courtesie. Third, the general

²⁵"The Pastorella Episode in The Faerie Queene," PMLA, 59 (1944), 361-7.

²⁶Walter F. Staton, Jr., "Italian Pastorals and the Conclusion of the Serena Story," Studies in English Literature, 6 (1966), 35-42.

²⁷see Atkinson, p. 363, Staton, p. 40, Harrison, p. 51-2.

reluctance to admit direct influence from the original sources, even for these few recognizable motifs, is unjustified. For although such motifs had already become Renaissance commonplaces, this by no means precludes the current translations of the Greek romances from being among Spenser's sources. But no systematic study of the Greek romance sources in relation to Book VI has been made yet to prove that.

After examining closely a number of Renaissance translations of the Aethiopica, Clitophon and Leucippe, and Daphnis and Chloe I have concluded that Spenser knew and used their narrative materials directly as models for the plot motifs of the *Serena* and *Pastorella* stories. Without discounting the wider influence of Sidney's Arcadia as inspiration, the next discussion will offer firmer grounds for claiming that Spenser was influenced directly by the Greek romance translations rather than by intermediaries.

Spenser and the Renaissance Translations.

Tracking down identical passages and details in description in Spenser's sources, is, if not tedious in itself, of limited merit towards a better understanding of either Spenser or his models, unless it aims at more meaningful connections. Such is the justification behind the approach of the present discussion, directed mainly towards a systematic comparison of Spenser's narrative motifs with analogues in the Greek romance translations. For it is necessary to prove first that Spenser was well versed in the originals themselves, before the main claim of this part--that here Spenser adapts the mode of Greek romance--can be defended. And the most obvious way to go about it is by showing that Spenser, side by side with other material, used the texts of these

translations directly as sources for a number of narrative motifs in the Serena and Pastorella stories. This discussion, therefore, emphasizes the similarities in Spenser's treatment of Greek romance motifs with material from the Renaissance translations of Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus. The assessment, however, of the way these motifs relate to Spenser's theme of Courtesie, is omitted here since this is one of the main considerations of the next chapter on Fortune.

Commenting on Upton's suggestion that the sacrifice of Serena by the savage nation is modelled after Leucippe's in Tatius, Hughes notes that it "resembles the scene in Clitophon and Leucippe in too many respects to disclaim all connection with it, but the relation has probably been transmitted through intermediaries."²⁸ According to Staton, these intermediaries may have been a variety of Italian pastorals: Sannazaro's Arcadia, Beccari's Il Sacrificio, Guarini's Pastor Fido and Tasso's Aminta.²⁹ His article, however, is far from proving concretely that either one of these alternatives to Tatius may have been Spenser's source, for neither of the situations examined which describe sacrifices, is as near to the situation, or bears the characteristic details of Serena's incident--the cannibalism motif, for example, is absent from all of them.

A careful consideration of the translated text of Clitophon and Leucippe reveals more similarities and relationships with Spenser's

²⁸"Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," p. 68.

²⁹"Italian Pastorals and the Conclusion of the Serena Story," pp. 37-39.

episode than Upton and Hughes were willing to admit. Unlike Spenser's rendition, the parallel situation in Tatius shows both lovers at the hands of robbers described similarly as savages (Cruceio, sig. F2^r). Serena's opening complaint, in which she wrongly blames her faithful lover for all the adversities she has met with (viii.33), is an inversion of the situation at the opening of Tatius' episode, where Clitophon laments Leucippe's fate right after they have been captured by the robbers. He blames himself for all the suffering of Leucippe who in spite of everything continues to be faithful and loving (Cruceio, sigs. F3^v-F3^r). Serena is seized by savages while asleep, just as Leucippe was forcefully dragged away from among the other captives at dawn. In both cases the authors pay a lot of attention to the religious motives behind the sacrifice. One of the passages of Book VI most commented upon for its irony is where Spenser's cannibals decide to dedicate Serena to their god as thanksgiving (viii.38). Tatius, in Cruceio's translation, explains the reasons of his savages as follows:

Interea responsum iis ab oraculo redditum fuit, ut
virginem immolarent, et suum ipsorum receptaculum
expiarent, immolataque iocinore degustato, ac reliquo
corpore humato recederent ut sacrificii genus hostium
adventum retardaret. (sigs. F8^v-F8^r)

The irony of this wrong kind of piety becomes even more poignant later on when Clitophon, who watches the sacrifice from a distance like Calepine (vii.48), exclaims indignantly: 'O diras altaris faces. O ciborum inauditum genus, et dii sacrificia huiusmodi e coelo spectarunt, et ignis extinctus non est . . .'" (Cruceio, sig. F6^r).

The details that Spenser uses for the ritual of the sacrifice are close to the Latin and Italian translations of Tatius' original passage about Leucippe's sacrifice:

magnum etenim latronum numerum in armis esse transforssam illam cernebamus, ii aram quanda eluto, iuxtaq; sepulchrum ex tempore construxerat: ac viri duo puellam manibus post tergum revictis eo aduxerunt, quos viros propterea quod armis tecti erant, haud quamquam cognovi: sed puella Leucippe erat, ii ergo tum capiti eius libamina infundentes, circum aram in orbem illam duxerunt, sacerdote quodam Aegiptium uti verisimile est, carmen ei accinente. Ori etenim figura & vultus distortio canere illu subindicabut, deinceps dato fingo, ab ara omnes procul recessere. Tum adolescens alter ex iis qui adduxerant eam reclinans quo maxime modo figuli Marsyan arbori alligatum effingunt, gladiumque iuxta cor infixum ac ima ventris usque traxit, sic ut viscera omnia statim exiluerint quae illi manibus corripientes arae imposuerunt, coctaque dissicuerunt, ac interse partiti omnes devorarunt.
(Cruceio, sig. F5^r)

Il giorno seguente si apparecchiava à passare, e attendeva di far sì che la fossa, che a far ciò era d'impedimento, fusse riempita perchioche dall'altra parte di essa vedevamo i ladroni con infinita moltitudine di gente, laquale si era posta in arme. Quivì fra loro era un' altare rozzamente fatto di terra, e appresso dell' altare stava un' urna da seppellire. e due menavano una fanciulla legata con le mani di dietro, quegli io non conosceva chi fussero. perchioche erano armati, la fanciulla ben conobbi io che era Leuccippe costoro spargendole acque sacra sopra la testa, la menavano attorno dell' altare, e uno di loro diceva a lei non so che parole, et il sacerdote catava (si come è da credere) un canto in lingua Egittia perchioche il gesto del corpo, e il movimento della testa quasi dimostrava il canto. dipoi a un segno tutti si scostarono alquanto lontano dall' altare, e l' uno de giovani facendola chinare supina, la legò a certi pali fitti interra, sì come i pittori dipingono Marsia legato a un arbore. poscia preso un cortello glielo ficcò nel core, e tirandolo a basso infino al vètre l'aperse, e subitamente saltaron fuori l' interiora e così strepandole cō le mani, le poscero sopra l' altare.

poiche furono arrostate, le divisero, e tutti
ne mangiaro la lor parte. (Coccio sigs. F7^I-F7^V)

Spenser also describes the priest preparing his "bloudy vessels" and "holy fire" (39), the subitary altar (42), the chanting and the music, this time of "bagpipes and horns" (45-46). As Hughes observes, the "tone of Achilles Tatius' story is unmistakeable" in Spenser's treatment of this whole episode.³⁰

In the Pastorella episode, Spenser's use of such well known Greek romance motifs as the foundling, sojourn among shepherds, abduction by brigands, imprisonment in a cave, and slavery also reveals greater affinities with the originals than with such suggested intermediaries as Sidney's Arcadia and Greene's Pandosto. The foundling motif, which is absent from the Arcadia, appears in the Pandosto; but, as Greenlaw notes, the plot of this story differs from Spenser's "in almost every respect save that a prince becomes a shepherd to win the love of a maiden thought to be the daughter of an old shepherd."³¹ In the Spanish Diana, the situation is entirely reversed and could not readily have served for Spenser's model: the foundlings were two noblemen, and the heroine, whom they are both enamored with, is really the daughter of a shepherd.³²

³⁰"Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," p. 68.

³¹"Shakespeare's Pastorals," p. 127. On similar grounds Greenlaw rightly discounts the influence of the story of Erminia in Tasso's Ger-Lib. 7 and 19 (p. 128).

³²See Harrison in Variorum VI, 379-81 for a close comparison of the plots of the two stories. Although the critic maintains that Diana was actually the source of the Pastorella story, the dissimilarities between the two become immediately obvious in his exposition.

As a source for the foundling motif Upton had suggested Chloe's exposure in Longus; Hughes, however, is right thinking that Pastorella's exposure in The Aethiopian History. . . Chloe was exposed by her father as a sordid mater of course because she was a superfluous baby."³³

The similarity with Heliodorus extends to some important details in the recovery of Pastorella's true parentage. Blanchard has pointed out that in neither Daphnis and Chloe nor in Pandosto the means of identification is a birthmark like Pastorella's, and therefore, he concludes that Boiardo (Orlando Innamorato 2.27.25 ff.), who alone includes this detail, is closer to Spenser than anyone else.³⁴ But Blanchard makes no mention of the Aethiopica where a similar detail occurs: Charicleia is also identified as the daughter of the king and queen of Aethiopia by a black mole on her arm (Underdowne, p. 269). In addition, the recognition scene in Heliodorus has two more details in common with Pastorella's story that do not occur in Boiardo: The identification of the true identity of Charicleia is worked out through Sisimithres, the person to whom the queen had initially entrusted the care of the unwanted infant (a parallel to Melissa's role in Spenser). And it was the combination of the birthmark, the age factor, and some tokens left with the exposed infant that actually persuaded the parents of Charicleia's identity (the same is implied by Spenser in xii.18.8 and 20.1-6). Thus, both the circumstances of the exposure and the recognition of Spenser's heroine bear a definite

³³"Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," p. 69.

³⁴H. H. Blanchard, Commentary, in Variorum VI, 262.

similarity to these events in Charicleia's story, a combination of that should leave no doubt that here Spenser had mainly the Aethiopica in mind.

The homely details and the stress on the shepherd's life, however, are a direct echo from Daphnis and Chloe. The shepherds' simple enjoyments--singing, or conversing with one another while tending sheep--and the care to drive the flocks back home as night approaches which Spenser describes in the ninth canto, all exist in detail in Longus' story.³⁵ For instance, a variant of the image of Pastorella surrounded by a ring of "louely lasses," and admiring "lustie shepheard swaynes" (ix.8,9), appears at the vintage scene in Longus, where Daphnis and Chole are each surrounded by an admiring host of women and men who are praising their beauty (Amyot, p. 46-47; Daye, sigs. E2^r-E3^v). The details also of Calidore's lodging with Meliboeus' hospitable cottage have significant parallels in the description of Daphnis' spending a night as a guest at Chloe's cottage. In Amyot, more so than in Daye, we find the same vivid details about the hearty enjoyment of supper and the clearing of the table afterwards (VI.ix.17-18 and Amyot, p. 97). As for Meliboeus' name, though common enough in pastorals, Daye may have provided a hint: In "The Shepheardes Hollidaie," the digression he inserts in Longus' translation, there is a Meliboeus who, like Spenser's, discourses on fortune.

This "realistic" treatment extends to the description of the courtly personages of Book VI. Sidney in his Arcadia does not show the two

³⁵Upton notes, p. 649: ". . . or rather Spenser might borrow from the original, viz. the pastoral of Daphnis and Chloe by Longus, which pastoral-romance if the reader consults, he will find some corresponding passages and imitations."

knights sojourning among the shepherds involved in any rustic labors. And in the Pandosto, as Greenlaw notes, descriptions are generally about "the struggle between the love of Dorastus and his feeling that it was beneath him to love a shepherdess."³⁶ Only in Spenser we find that the knight's change into "shepherd's weed" is not merely decorative. Actually, Calidore wins Pastorella's favor by helping her with all the rustic tasks that Daphnis had performed for his Chloe; "loue so much could," explains Spenser:

So being clad, vnto the fields he went
With the fair Pastorella every day,
And kept her sheepe with diligent attent,
Watching to driue the rauinous Wolfe away,
The whylest at pleasure she mote sport and play;
And euery euening helping them to fold:
And otherwhiles for need, he did assay
In his strong hand their rugged teats to hold,
And out of them to presse the milk. (VI.ix.37)

They tended their flocks and herds together and carried on all their vocations in common. Daphnis frequently collected such of the sheep as had strayed; and if a goat ventured too near a precipice Chloe drove it back. Sometimes one took the entire managment both of the goats and the sheep whilst the other was engaged in some amusement.

(Amyot, p. 10)

The part in Spenser describing the courtship of the rustic rival Coridon--the gifts he offers and the contest with Calidore in canto ix--corresponds to the missing part of the famous lacuna in the Greek manuscripts of Daphnis and Chloe, which was not filled authentically until Courrier's discovery in 1809 of a thirteenth century manuscript in the

³⁶"Shakespeare's Pastorals," p. 127.

Laurentian library. This is the only one we possess today that contains the complete text. The newly discovered part supplies the details of the love of Daphnis' rival shepherd Dorcon, his trying to win Chloe's favor through gifts, and how he and Daphnis become involved in a beauty contest for Chloe's kiss as the prize.³⁷ There is no evidence that either Amyot or Daye had ever seen this complete manuscript. Using Amyot as a basis Daye filled up the lacuna section with an interpolation of his own invention (Sigs. B2^r-C1^v). He gives a lengthy description of Dorcon's emotions in typical Elizabethan style, and describes his efforts to beguile Chloe by becoming neater in appearance and through gifts (cheeses, flowers, a calf), but there is no mention of any contest.

Since it is also very unlikely that Spenser knew the complete text of Longus' pastoral in the Laurentian manuscript, it is by mere coincidence that he was right on some of the details of the lacuna part. He repeats the pattern of courtship through gifts, which is admittedly a common motif, but he mentions the offering of "little sparrows stolen from their nest," a characteristic detail which occurs only in the missing part of the original. Moreover, there is a contest between Calidore and Coridon with Pastorella as judge, which differs from the analogue in Longus only in that it is a wrestling contest and the prize, a garland of flowers. In two points only is Spenser closer to Daye than to the original: the emphasis on the rival's gnawing jealousy, and the contrasting galantry of Califore-Daphnis, a perfect situation for

³⁷Longus, Daphnis and Chloe, fr. George Thornley, ed. J. M. Edmonds, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935. The lacuna is located in Book I.13-17.

another example of Courtesie which Spenser seized upon. The fact, however, that Spenser comes closer than either Amyot or Daye to the details in the missing part of the lacuna, without having ever seen the completed text, proves how unerringly he could mix the conventions of the pastoral in a context moving to the direction of romance, and for which Daphnis and Chloe provided the earlier model.

In Daye's and Amyot's translations of Daphnis and Chloe Spenser may have also found hints for one of the most important images in the poem for the understanding of Courtesie: Calidore's vision of the dance of the Graces on Mount Acidale. Although "Acidale" appears in all sources as the name of a fountain consecrated to Venus and the Graces, Spenser makes it a mountain with a fountain at its foot.³⁸ John E. Hankins explains that here Spenser "is perhaps thinking of this as a parallel to the haunt of the Muses on Mount Helicon, from which flow the springs of Helicon."³⁹ It is more probable though, that the grotto of the Nymphs in Daphnis and Chloe is the actual source. Amyot says that it was "hollowed out of a large rock rounded at the summit," and that "a spring gurgled from the rock, and its waters spreading into a copious stream refreshed the soft and abundant meadow that stretched before its entrance" (pp. 5-6). The scenery is not unlike what Spenser describes in canto x: "a hill plaste in an open plaine," surrounded by woods, "And at the foote

³⁸ cf. Boccaccio, Della Genealogia de gli Dei (Venice, 1627), f. 51^v. Also Natalis Comes, Mythologiae, IV.XV: "De Gratiis" (Padua, 1616), p. 222-23. Both cited in Hankins, p. 192, n.1 and 193, n.1.

³⁹ Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 193.

thereof, a gentle flud/His siluer waves did softly tumble downe/Vnmared with ragged mosse for filthy mud" (6,7). In Longus a great deal of the action takes place around the cave of the Nymphs since they are the special protectors of the lovers.⁴⁰ So in Book VI, Mount Acidale is central for its meaning. It is there that Calidore acquires a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of Courtesie through Colin's interpretation of the dance of the Graces.

The connections of the Graces with Courtesie has been traced to a variety of classical and Renaissance sources, especially Renaissance iconography.⁴¹ As past studies have shown, however, it is impossible to ascertain a specific source for the emblematic representation of the Graces in Spenser, because he drew material from a number of places. But for placing the Graces in the middle of the pastoral world, Spenser had a clear precedent in Daye's rendition of Daphnis and Chloe. The Greek text of the original does not specifically identify the Nymphs with the Graces, except by mentioning that they were three in number and smiling.⁴² It

⁴⁰Chloe was found there as an infant, she fell in love with Daphnis after seeing him bathe in the fountain, it was in the shirne of the Nymphs that Chloe sought protection when pursued by the Methymnians, the Nymphs themselves appear in a series of visions to the parents of the lovers and to Daphnis offering help.

⁴¹See Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (London: Faber & Faber, 1968); De Witt T. Starnes, "Spender and the Graces," Philological Quarterly, 21 (1942), 268-82, and also his Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, NC., 1955), pp. 50-5, 87-96 [with E. W. Talbert]; Tonkin, pp. 248-59; Hankins, pp. 192-98.

⁴²Francesco Piccolomini, the Aristotelian Commentator, "quotes Seneca concerning this aspect of the Graces, that they are always cheerful and laughing, as befits the giving and receiving of benefits. . ." (Hankins, p. 199).

was actually Daye's imagination which saw the Nymphs in terms of the Renaissance conception of the Graces. He agrees in the main with Amyot describing the statues of the Nymphs as having "their feet bare, their arms also naked, their hair flowing loosely upon their shoulders, their waists girt, their faces smiling, and their attitudes similar to these of a troop of dancers" (Amyot, p. 5-6). At this point of the description, however, Daye adds a few more details that leave no doubt that he has in mind the traditional emblematic representation of the Graces in Renaissance iconography and literature: ". . . and their countenance such, as seemed with interchangeable fauour in delicate sorte to greete each other" (sig. A3^v).⁴³ This becomes even clearer later on, when he describes the apparition of the three Nymphs to Daphnis and alludes to the bestowing of mutual benefits associated with the liberality of the Graces:⁴⁴

And lying before the statues of the Nymphs in such kind of Extasie, there appeared to him in a vision thre women seming by their port to have bin godessesse, their attire altogether Nimphlike, their countenaunces freyght with manifest pleasures, who yelding unto him sondrie and most amiable graces, appeared to put forward to his relief many occasions of comfort. (sig. G2^v)

⁴³See Alciati, Emblemata (Ausborg, 1550), Emb. CLXXV, "Gratiae": E. K.'s note in the "Aprill" Eclogue, in The Sheperdes Calender; FQ VI.x.24; Cartari, Le Imagini (Venice, 1625), p. 411.

⁴⁴See Seneca, De Beneficiis, 1.3, and Giraldus' description of the Graces in Hist. Deorum, Syntag. III, in Op. Om., I, col. 419 C-D (cited in James C. Nohrnberg, The Analogy of The Faerie Queene [Princeton, N. Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976], p. 463, n.62): "amiable hilarity is reciprocal, that is, it ought to be shared back and forth and ought to be flourishing."

The examples from Daye above indicate that his perception of the Nymphs in Daphnis and Chloe was shaped by the Renaissance imagination of the three Graces; and this was in perfect accord with the function of the Nymphs in Longus' sotry as bestowers of gifts and benefits to the lovers. The emblematic presence of the Graces in the pastoral world of Daphnis and Chloe, was a major inspiration to Spenser, who was interested in emphasizing the alliance of Nature and Courtesie as taught by the Graces in Calidore's vision.

Moving on to the episode of Pastorella and the brigands, the influence of narrative motifs from Heliodorus and Tatius becomes again apparent. The plundering of Meliboeus village by brigands for instance, has a precedent in the incursion of the Methymnians in Daphnis and Chloe, but the details of this episode are modelled closely on situations from the Aethiopica and Clitophon and Leucippe. Hughes thought that "there are no detailed resemblances to identify Spenser's treatment with the suggested Greek source Heliodorus , and that the common element of a pirate raid means nothing."⁴⁵ This is, however, not true; a careful comparison of texts reveals many detailed similarities. For example, the description of the habitation of the thieves comes from the Aethiopica. At the margin of his translation of this passage Underdowne summarizes: "The habitation and place where the theeves of Egypt aboad describeth with their common wealth, and trade of life" (p. 14). The details of the island dwelling of the brigands that Underdowne's translation describes in the text are also present in Spenser:

⁴⁵"Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," p. 69.

Their dwelling in a little Island was,
 Couered with shrubby woods, in which no way
 Appeared for people in or out to pas,
 Nor any footing fynde for ouergrowen gras.

For vnderneath the ground their way was made,
 Through hollow caues, that no man mote discover
 For the thick shrubs, which did them alwaies shade
 From view of liuing wight, and couered ouer. (xi.41.5-9, 42.1-4)

The underground cave that the brigands conducted Pastorella is also identical to the den that Charicleia was imprisoned in soon after her captivity by the Egyptian brigands in Aethiopica I, as Upton had initially pointed out. Underdowne (p. 36), writes that it was underground, and therefore, dark, with an entrance well protected by locked doors (see FQ VI.x.42-3 and xi.43). Ariosto, Rajna suggests, may have also been indebted to Heliodorus for the cave that Isabella was kept to be sold as a slave by thieves (OF XII.86), but apart from that the story has nothing else in common with Spenser's.⁴⁶ For the same reason the captivity episode in the third book of the Arcadia is not Spenser's source for this motif. It is entirely chivalric in nature and the pastoral, unlike the situation in Spenser, has completely disappeared.

There are two additional details in Spenser's treatment of the captivity motif that suggest direct indebtedness to Greek romance: the amorous bandit, and the heroine's dissimulation as defense against his advances. The pirate or robber who falls in love with the captive heroine is a typical occurrence in the Greek romances, and so are the

⁴⁶Pio Rajna, Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso (Florence: Sansoni, 1900), p. 227. See also Greenlaw (p. 126, n.6), where he assesses the difference between Pastorella's and Isabella's stories: "Even if Spenser had in mind Isabella's story, therefore, this is not the source of the Pastorella story as a whole."

heroine's crafty excuses and delays in order to defend her chastity. Sometimes the pirate or thief ends up being portrayed sympathetically (as Thyamis in the Aethiopica, or Hippothous in the Ephesiaca), but the heroine as a rule remains inflexible and tempers her oppressor's lust by offering false hopes, which she soon cuts short by simulating illness. The particular example that Pastorella's situation recalls most distinctly is from the fourth book of Tatius' romance. Wishing to avoid Charmides, the general in whose camp Leucippe is kept with Clitophon, she first cozens him with a few days' delay, just like Pastorella who "thought it best for shadow to pretend/Some shew for fauour" (xi.6). Soon after, however, Pastorella was forced to "faine a sodaine sickness," which a stanza later Spenser treats as an actual sickness, "not of the body but of the mind" (xi.7-8). The pattern follows the development of Leucippe's dissimulation in Tatius: She also gave the general false hopes, pretended that she was sick, but later suffered an actual attack of madness. Just like the captain in Spenser (xi.8), Charmides paid visits to the sick heroine and sought all means for remedying, what Burton also translates as, her "sodaine sickness" (p. 73). One may even discern in Spenser's treatment of this episode an intention to give the captain a redeeming quality (perhaps the poet was influenced by the portrayal of Thyamis in the Aethiopica) by showing how steadfastly he defended Pastorella against the slave traders.

For the slavery motif, appearing here for the first time in the FQ, Spenser is also most likely indebted to Clitophon and Leucippe. Spenser had probably in mind another abduction incident, where Chaereas, enamored with Leucippe, fights against his companion pirates who insist that

Leucippe should be sold and the money equally distributed amongst them:

ma poi che egli allo 'ncontro rispose dicendo le
fue ragioni, cioè producendo in suo favore patti,
che erano tra loro, che egli non m' havea rapita
accioche essi l'havessero da vendere, ma a fin di
tenerla per sua innamorata. (Coccio, sigs. P4^V-P4^R)

The conflict is finally resolved with Chaereas murdered and Leucippe in the hands of slave merchants. Verbal echoes of this episode appear in the analogous scene by Spenser. The brigands rebel against their captain and request

. . . that those same captives there
Mote to them for their most commodity
Be sold, and mongst them shared equally. (xi.10.3-5)
.

To whom the Captain in full angry wize
Made answer, that the Mayd of whom they spake,
Was his owne purchase and his onely prize,
With which none had to doe, ne ought partake
But he himself, which did that conquest make. (xi.12.1-5)

At this point in Spenser, the armed conflict erupting as a result of the disagreement among the brigands follows along the lines of another related episode, this time in the fifth book of the Aethiopica. There, Charicleia is the disputed prize between the pirate Trachinus and his lieutenant Pylorus. The two were driven to a "blind and foolish quarrel . . .being with wine and anger almoste made starke madde" and the gloss at the margin of Underdowne's translation of this passage, reads: "The pyrates fall together by the eares, and are slaine with mutuall wondes" (p. 150). The futility, madness, and confusion of the situation dominates Spenser's treatment, too:

Thus as words amongst them multiply,
 They fall to strokes, the frute of too much talke,
 And the mad steele about doth fiercely fly,
 Not sparing wight, ne leauing any balke,
 But making way for death at large to walke:
 Who in the horror of the griesly night,
 In thousand dreadful shapes doth mongst them stalke,
 And makes hugh hauocke, whiles the candlelight
 Out quenched, leaues no skill nor difference of wight. (xi.16)

The senseless slaughter concludes similarly in either case. Theagenis in the Aethiopica, and Pastorella in Spenser are mortally wounded, and the amorous leaders slain by their own companions. But what leaves no doubt that Spenser drew for this incident from Heliodorus, is the grisly detail of bleeding corpses strewn all over the place. This image, which opens the Aethiopica in medias res, must have impressed Spenser a great deal since he repeats this detail at least four times in the eleventh canto (20.1-2; 22.1; 47.4; 49.5).

The Aethiopica also provided details for the incident of Calidore's rescuing of Pastorella which is modelled after Theagenis' recovery of Charicleia from the cave in the second book. We can find the following four parallels: Calidore's attempt at suicide at the false report of Pastorella's death (xi.33-34), echoes the details of the situation in which Theagenis, assuming that his beloved is dead, though she is really imprisoned in a cave, tries to kill himself (Underdowne, p. 46).⁴⁷ The coward Coridon who accompanies Calidore to the cave is the counterpart

⁴⁷The false report of the hero's or heroine's death is a very common motif in Greek romance (see Gesner, p. 62-68). It is Coridon in Spenser, who gives Calidore the false news. In Heliodorus, Theagenis discovers the corpse of another woman in the cave--Thisbe--and assumes that it is Charicleia (Underdowne, p. 47).

of timorous Cnemon, Theagenis' companion during the expedition to the cave.⁴⁸ Each author displays how during the lovers' reunion joy becomes distraught through excess.⁴⁹ Finally as the lovers are leaving the cave, attention is drawn to the thieves' treasures and spoils accumulated in it.⁵⁰

These detailed resemblances between Book VI and the Renaissance translations of Greek romance in the treatment of various narrative motifs should be sufficient evidence for dispelling two basic misconceptions in the existing critical approach to Spenser and Greek romance: First, that Daphnis and Chloe, in comparison to the other Greek romances exercised the most pervasive influence in the outlining of the Renaissance stock pastoral plot used by Spenser and his predecessors Sidney and Greene, and, second, that Spenser was more indebted, for the use of Greek romance material, to Renaissance intermediaries than to the original sources. The present discussion has proven instead that in Book VI there is as

⁴⁸ See Underdowne, pp. 58, 60, 126 for references to Cnemon's timorous disposition.

⁴⁹ See VI.xi.45.6-9 and Underdowne, p. 49: "At length they fell soudenly to the ground, holding either other in their armes, without uttering any woord, except a little murmuring, and it lacked but a little that they were not both dead. For many times too much gladness is turned to sorrow, and imoderate pleasure hath engendred fgeef, where of ourselues are the causes." Spenser conveys the same sentiment in stanza 45 of the alternative ending of Book III (ed. 1590), which describes the reunion of Scudamor and Amoret: ". . . she faire Lady ouercommen quight/Of huge affection, did in pleasure melt,/And in sweete rauishment poured out her spright:/No word they spake, nor earthly thing they felt,/But like two senceless stocks in long ebracement dwelt."

⁵⁰ Underdowne notes in his gloss (p. 128) that the lovers seeing the treasure "would not haue it because it was ill gotten and not their own." Spenser treats this matter differently, influenced perhaps by the customs

much material from Heliodorus and Tatius as there is from Longus. Pastorella's exposure and recovery of parents follows the pattern from the Aethiopica. For the trials of her captivity and her rescue by Calidore Spenser rearranged and combined material from both Tatius and Heliodorus. Finally, he drew from Daphnis and Chloe the images and homely atmosphere of his hero's staying among the shepherds, the prototype of the boorish rustic rival, and suggestions from Daye's treatment of the Nymphs for Calidore's vision of the Graces on Mount Acidale. Above all, the close relationship of these motifs in Spenser with the translated originals establishes the latter among the poet's immediate sources, especially since a number of characteristic parallels are completely absent from such important intermediaries of Greek romance material as the Diana, Pandosto and the Arcadia.

The influence of the Arcadia, however, is undeniable as a major inspiration behind the conception of Book VI. The popularity following its publication in 1590 must have inspired Spenser to follow Sidney's footsteps in a work combining elements of the heroic and the pastoral, and held together by a vision of considerable moral scope. Sidney and Spenser agreed in the theory of life expressed by this combination:

Both poets held in high contempt the shallowness and
indolence of courtly life and voice frequently the

of chivalry: he has Calidore restore to Coridon the flocks usurped from the pastoral land, but he and Pastorella keep the rest "which fortune now the victors meed make" (xi.51).

Renaissance ideal of honor. In this regard, perhaps there is a definite parallel in Book VI of the Faerie Queene when Calidore doffs his armor and forgets the quest commanded by Gloriana. He, like Musidorus, assumes the garb and adapts the life of the shepherd with disastrous delay in the accomplishment of his quest. Spenser obviously censures Sir Calidore's pastoral aberration; yet he, like Sidney, is inclined to paint the rural picture sympathetically.⁵¹

Spenser wrote Book VI with the Arcadia in mind as an inspiration, and with the intention to remind his readers of it. Bennett finds that the melancholy shepherd Colin, representing Spenser himself, is a direct allusion to Sidney's pastoral disguise in the Arcadia as Philisides.⁵²

Yet apart from this wider influence of the Arcadia "there is very little actual borrowing of plot from it."⁵³ Greenlaw's insistence that the immediate source for the Pastorella episode is the Arcadia is indeed questionable since, as Harrison also notes, the "various elements in this type episode were too well known and too generally represented in the literature of the time to warrant the conclusion that Spenser drew mainly from the Arcadia. Sidney's influence was larger."⁵⁴ The present

⁵¹T. P. Harrison, Jr., "The Relations of Spenser and Sidney," PMLA, 45 (1930), 719-20.

⁵²The Evolution of The Faerie Queene, p. 214: "Sidney brings himself under his pastoral name Philisides (Book II, Chap. 21), and Spenser is doing the same thing. Sidney makes reference to his love for Stella, and Spenser celebrates Amoretta. Sidney represents himself in the characteristic activity of tilting, and Spenser assumes the posture conventional for a poet, the shepherd's." It is worth noticing that although Greenlaw sees the derivation of the melancholy shepherd as originating from Spanish pastoral, as precedent exists also in Longus in the character of Philetas.

⁵³J. W. Bennett, p. 214.

⁵⁴Harrison, "The Relations of Spenser and Sidney," p. 720.

discussion has shown that for the readily familiar fictional motifs of the Serena and Pastorella stories Spenser drew mainly from the available translations of the Greek romances themselves. However, the remaining of this study will prove that Spenser's actual indebtedness to the Greek romances was considerably wider than these specific borrowing.

2. THE ROLE OF FORTUNE IN BOOK VI

If The FQ starts with the book of Providence, its provisional finale takes place with the Book of Fortune. In no other book are there so many incidents attributed to Fortune, or is the name mentioned so often.⁵⁵ Capricious Fortune is one of the most persistent themes in Book VI, and as Tonkin suggests, the words of the captive squire "might stand as a kind of epigraph to the whole book": "My hapless case / is not occasioned through my misdesert, / But through misfortune" (1.12.5-7).⁵⁶

Book VI suggests a view of Fortune characteristic of the framework of the Greek romances. Fortune, in Greek romance, works as a narrative convention for the progress of action. She instigates adventures through sudden turns of events that keep the story moving and the reader breathless. Such employment of Fortune has also serious implications for the ethos of the work--it curbs severely the character's freedom of action and moral choice. Thus, the limitation of Fortune on character in Greek romance is responsible for the unheroic ethos of its sentimental heroes and heroines, and for the prudential means they often employ to elude

⁵⁵ MacCaffrey gives a count which proves that the occurrence of "Fortune" and other related words in Book VI strikingly outdistances the count for other books (VI, 51; III, 33; IV, 29; V, 24; II, 22; I, 18), p. 371.

⁵⁶ Humphrey Tonkin, Spenser's Courteous Pastoral (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 119.

her power. But if events happen through the aimless activity of Fortune, rather than causality or the operation of moral laws, then the whole suggests a disturbing picture of the world as a place of utter disorder and uncertainty. This impression, the final triumph of virtue, with which all Greek romances conclude, attempts to erase by stressing, instead, the idea that the gods have the final word in the games that Fortune plays.

The conclusion of the Greek romances must have been very appealing to the sixteenth century reader. "This booke punisheth the faults of evill doers, and rewardeth the well livers," observes Underdowne in his note "To the Reader" prefixed to his translation of Heliodorus. The divine sanctioning of virtue at the end of a Fortune-tossed life offered to the Elizabethans a familiar viewpoint, not unlike the philosophy underlying the Christianized version of pagan Fortune passed on to the Renaissance by the Middle Ages through the wisdom of Boethius. Patch notes that it was Dante who first gave poetic reality to Boethius' treatment of Fortune as a servant of the immense goodness and justice of God:

In the familiar account of Fortune which it is
Virgil's part to deliver in the seventh canto of
the Inferno, the capricious goddess becomes the
ministering angel entirely subservient to the
Christian God. She still appears to be arbitrary,
she still receives the scorn and reproaches of
mankind; but she has her own concealed method in
her apparent madness, and to all blame she is
serenely indifferent:

Con l' altre prime creature lieta
volve sua spera, e beata si gode.⁵⁷

⁵⁷Howard Rollin Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 19.

The pagan and the Christian traditions are thus united in Dante's representation. And the idea of a Christian Fortuna finally prevailed in Europe through a number of Italian, French, and English works based essentially on the concept Boethius had expounded in his De Consolatione Philosophiae and Dante had outlined in his Inferno.⁵⁸ The Elizabethans accepted it, too: ". . . the large general contention is that man has it in him to survive the blows of Fortune, and that ultimately Fortune herself is, like nature, the tool of God and the educator of man."⁵⁹

The triumph of virtue at the conclusion of a tempestuous plot developed by the improbabilities of Fortune in Greek romance, actually did more than reinforce the current orthodox regard of the Elizabethans for Fortune as a subject to Providence. It also created a precedent for the production of a type of fiction rivaling Greek romance in the complexity and variety of the ways the surprises of Fortune complicate the action until the final rewards are doled out to the virtuous. Wolff has already assessed in great detail the significant influence that the Greek romance concept of Fortune had on Elizabethan prose fiction. Concerning Sidney's and Greene's use of Fortune, he concludes that Greene's "imagination, like that of Achilles Tatius, employs Fortune as a vera causa, the mistress of his plot, to begin his action, work its peripeteia, furnish its moments of suspense, and accomplish its denouement or catastrophe."

⁵⁸Ariosto, according to Patch, follows the pagan concept of Fortune (pp. 20-32).

⁵⁹E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956), p. 51.

On the contrary, Sidney's use of Fortune as a vera causa is rare in the Arcadia, although he frequently uses the word in conventional fashion, and the dominant force that shapes his story is the will of the gods resulting in the grandiose providential design of Heliiodorus' plot.⁶⁰

As this chapter will show, Fortune appears to be the vera causa in most of the episodes of Book VI, but Spenser, unlike Greene, exploited this thematically. All the chance happenings and adventures instigated by Fortune serve as the background for the illustration of Courtesie. Thus, just as the will of the gods designs the frame of Sidney's plot, Spenser forces the purposeless activity of Fortune unobtrusively into a design that highlights his theme of Courtesie.

In Book VI then, Fortune operates in the manner of Greek romance but with a difference: Influenced by the popular Renaissance concept of the opposition of virtue and Fortune, Spenser shows his characters opposing Fortune with the ethos of Courtesie--this saves them from appearing as unheroic and sentimental as the people in Greek romance. Moreover, Spenser turns the sensationalism of the customary world of "hap" of his Greek models into a functional background for the definition of Courtesie. The various adventures which Fortune instigates provoke reactions that highlight the inner and outer manifestations of Courtesie (compassion, mercy, courage, hospitality etc.), its moral aspect as an expression of Christian humanism, and its operation as a principle of order in the disordered world of human society. Thus, the

⁶⁰The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, pp. 387, 324, and 328.

employment of Fortune in the manner of Greek romance, as an agent of plot and as an antagonist to the ethos, by no means questions the Providential premises of the FQ--it has primarily a thematic justification. Spenser then, follows faithfully the conventions of Fortune of Greek romance on the narrative level, but he enlarges considerably the thematic significance of the opposition of virtue (Courtesie) to Fortune. As a result, he gives greater moral depth to his consideration of the problem of Fortune than the easy solution that the artificial denouement of the Greek romances implies.

Fortune and Plot.

The Hellenistic romances present a picture of a disordered world in which the links of causality are broken and Fortune reigns omnipotent. As Wolff explains, this is a symptom of the dissolution of the communal tradition of the Hellenic race already dispersed in the vastness of a cosmopolitan empire:

As the links of Cause are broken, and Fortune takes direction of the affairs of Men, events are no longer calculable, as they had been in any imaginative work based, like the Attic drama, for example, upon the ancient myths, and exhibiting the laws of the gods; indeed their [Greek romances] interest comes to be in the very incalculableness. The reader's pleasure no longer consists in seeing how law works itself inexorably out, but in being surprised, shocked, made to "sit up" by the unexpectedness, the queerness of the turns things take. (p. 4)

Thus, the use of Fortune as an instigator of action in the Greek romances is above all a statement of the writer's experience of the chaotic

conditions he perceived in the world around him.⁶¹ And this is particularly poignant in Clitophon and Leucippe where the story supposedly takes place in a setting contemporaneous with the author's lifetime. The plot is tempestuous and the prime mover is Fortune. For all their mis-
 happens the characters blame Fortune. The surprises of Fortune are so numerous and so consistently defying all laws of probability that at one point Clinias, the hero's friend, seems to be parodying the action of the story as he tries to console Clitophon who has just heard that Leucippe is dead: "Tum ille, bono, inquit, animo esto, quiscis, an denuo reviviscat: non ne aliquoties iam mortua est, semperque revixit" (Cruceio, sig. N2^r)?

Sometimes, however, the hand of the gods is visible in providential rescues of the characters from the vicissitudes of Fortune. Wolff

⁶¹As early as the fourth century B.C. Demetrius of Phalerum, Aristotelian and politician, reflecting on Alexander's career he wrote in one of his treatises on Fortune:

No need to look back endlessly through time, generation after generation; the last fifty years show the violence of Fortune... Fortune is not affected by the way we live; she transforms everything against all expectation; she reveals her power in the unexpected. At this moment I suspect that in establishing the Macedonians in the former glory of the Persians she is demonstrating that they have those blessings on loan only, till she changes her mind about them.

Centuries later, Pliny the Elder (c. 23-79 A.D.) expresses the same feeling for the uncertainty of his times: "We are so dependent on Chance that Chance proves God uncertain and takes his place." Both quotes cited in John Ferguson's The Heritage of Hellenism (London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), pp. 73, 74-5.

suggests that in the Aethiopica, Providence controls the main action while Fortune rules the minor events. In Daphnis and Chloe, Eros controls the action--a change in emphasis necessitated by the shift from the diversity of adventures in the other romances to pastoralism.⁶² Without exception, the writers of Greek romance work to impress upon us the idea that in spite of the fact that "common experience of the world shows moral anarchy there are divinities who shape the ends of their special charges."⁶³ Thus, Greek romance ends indiscriminately with the triumph of the virtuous as a sign of divine care and approbation. But since throughout Fortune has already established its claims on the action, such a conclusion takes the form of a moral superficially imposed at the end of the story without organic support from internal evidence.

In the Aethiopica, for example, the most Providential of all romances, it is impossible to distinguish the activities of Providence from those of Fortune in the course of the story. As for the activity of Eros in Longus, it may be taken as nothing more than a euphemism for Fortune, especially since Longus announces in his poem that his story will be about "the fortunes of love" (tychen erotiken). In Clitophon and Leucippe Artemis appears in dreams as the protectress of the heroine's virginity. Yet, her presence touches the characters more as the imposition of a mechanical ritual than as a genuine source of guidance worthy of respect. As Haight observes, "Achilles Tatius does not end with

⁶²Wolff, p. 113-17 (Aethiopica), p. 117-20 (Clitophon and Leucippe), p. 120-24 (Daphnis and Chloe).

⁶³Moses Hadas, Introduction, in An Ethiopian History (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1957), p. viii.

thanksgiving to her."⁶⁴ Actually, the triumph of virtue at the end of Tatius' novel is accomplished not through divine agency but via rhetorical persuasion, intolerable amounts of which occupy the forensic episodes of the two last books dealing with Clitophon's trial. Against all evident, however, that the world is basically run by the paradoxes of Fortune, the contorted conclusions of the stories counterpose the idea that underneath it all the gods work invisibly for the final victory of goodness.

In Book VI Fortune works as an instigator of action, too. Most of the important events are attributed to her in the familiar manner of the Greek romances where everything is blamed on the activity of Fortune. We must distinguish, however, as Dorothy Culp suggests, the usual chance occurrences with hostile knights, evil customs, giants, monsters, and hermits that take place in chivalric romance

. . . from those passages in which either the language or the type of episode suggests that a special emphasis on chance or fortune is intended. Such an emphasis is found in book six, for in contrast to the typical "expected" chance occurrences of the other books of The Faerie Queene, here Spenser repeatedly uses the "unexpected" chance event. He has patterned the episodes to emphasize the one special motif: the interruption of an unwary moment of repose.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Essays on the Greek Romances, p. 111.

⁶⁵Culp, p. 256. In a note on the same page she also cites the following studies which have dealt with Spenser's use of the motif: Graham Hough, A Preface to The Faerie Queene (New York, 1963), p. 214; Harry Berger, Jr., "A Secret Discipline," in Form and Meaning in the Poetry of Ed. Spenser, ed. William Nelson (New York, 1961), p. 40; Donald Cheney, Wild Man and Shepherd in The Faerie Queene (N. Haven, Conn., 1966), pp. 184-87, 189, 190-91.

AT this point the critic concludes that for his repeated use of this motif Spenser is greatly indebted to his Greek romance models, which primarily emphasize suspenseful "hairbreadth escapes by the characters from a series of unexpected mishaps."⁶⁶ Influenced by Greek romance narrative motifs, Spenser emphasized the "unexpectedness" of Fortune in a series of events organized around the motif of the interrupted moment of repose. Although this motif relates directly to Greek romance Spenser used it not only in the episodes derived from Greek models (such as Serena's capture by the cannibals or Pastorella's adventures), but also in the chivalric episodes of the first three cantoes. Thus, the squire and his lady are attacked by Malefort quite unexpectedly and without provocation, the Knight of Barge interrupts Aladine's and Priscilla's delight in a "couert glade," and Callidore intrudes on the privacy of Calepine and Serena.⁶⁷

The special emphasis that Book VI puts on chance and Fortune also stems from the use of another theme derived from Greek romance and already made popular in the sixteenth century through numerous imitations. This is the motif of the pastoral exposure of children, the basis of Longus' story and also present in the Aethiopica. Spenser used it more than once in the sixth book in the stories of Tristram, the Slavage Man,

⁶⁶Culp, p. 255.

⁶⁷Other examples of this motif are in the following situations, all of which have precedents in Greek romance. Timias, Serena, Calepine and Pastorella are at one time attacked by animals, the cannibals capture Serena while she is asleep, the peace of Melibeus' world is ruined when the brigands attack suddenly.

Matilda's baby, and Pastorella.⁶⁸ The development of such a motif requires and emphasizes the role of Fortune for both the initial recovery of the child by a passerby and the final reinstatement to the true parents. Although the stories that Spenser built around the exposure and recovery of lost children remain incomplete (presumably he would continue them in later books), the determining role of Fortune is already obvious in all of them.

Two other central episodes, similarly deriving from Greek romance, suggest Fortune as the instigator. Serena's misadventure with the cannibals (modeled after Leucippe's mock-sacrifice in *Tatius*) is attributed to "false Fortune" (viii.34.7-8), and so is her rescue by Calepine whom "fortune hether drove", "by chance, more then by choyce" (vii.46.7-8). In the second of these episodes, the abduction of Pastorella and her imprisonment in a cave, capricious Fortune takes over completely. She causes the brigands' attack, stirs the captain's lust, and plans the heroine's subsequent release. All of the above episodes describe scenes in which the role of Fortune predominates. Spenser repeats and so emphasizes this situation consistently throughout Book VI and, in most cases, the language used points to Fortune as the main cause. It would seem

⁶⁸Tristram has been growing up in pastoral exile for through "fate or fortune," his wicked uncle had usurped his rights (II.27-29). About the Salvage Man Spenser reveals that he was of noble blood, but "How euer by hard hap he hether came," he promises to tell at a later time (vi.2). Fortune had helped Calepine save the infant he presented Matilda with saying "Lo now good fortune doth to you present / This little babe" (vi.21, 35). And Melibeus found Pastorella "by Fortune" (ix.14), after the "stormes of fortune" (xii.10) had forced her mother to expose her at birth.

as though the reinforcement of the image of Fortune is the result of Spenser's adaptation of Greek romance narrative motifs, in which chance or Fortune plays the major role. But this is only partially true because in Book VI the dominion of Fortune is just as prominent in incidents related to chivalric material. Spenser might have derived the use of Fortune as a narrative tool from Greek romance, but he applied it consistently throughout VI regardless of source material.

In addition, Spenser speaks of Fortune as the instigator of adventures in a set of metaphors that traditionally link Fortune with the image of a ship on a tempestuous sea. The same image appears in Books I and II, but in VI it occurs with greater frequency. This special feature brings Book VI a step closer to being Spenser's imaginative version of Greek romance. The connection of Fortune with the sea is a characteristic topos of Greek romance. Another way Fortune writes her plots in it is through the perilous sea voyage. Most lovers' adventures start aboard a ship set on a voyage full of disasterous surprises-- storms, shipwreck, pirate attacks, separation of lovers, slavery, all of which the lovers attribute unconditionally to the cruelty of Fortune. Although the voyage in Spenser's Faerie land is one on land, the poet, who is after "sweete variety," does not hesitate to speak of it in terms of a sea voyage. Calidore sees his pursuit of the Blatant Beast as a long and perilous sea voyage, and weary, wishes to rest his "barke which hath bene beaten late / With stormes of fortune and tempestuous fate / In seas of troubles and toilsome pain" (ix.31). Like a storm-beaten and shipwrecked hero of Greek romance, Calidore seeks some repose at the green haven of Pastorella's world, which he thinks is "free and

fortunate / From all the tempests of these worldly seas" (ix.19). Later on, he compares the courtier's life to a ship on a hunt "after shadowes vain / Of courtly favour, fed with light report / Of every blaste, and sayling alwaies in the port" (x.2). Obviously, the difference is that instead of the concrete descriptions of tempests and shipwreck of Greek romance, Spenser uses the sea imagery metaphorically to denote the difficulties of a life stormed by the vicissitudes of Fortune.

For the metaphorical use of Fortune and the sea Spenser had in front of him the rich tradition of the Medieval and Renaissance iconography of Fortune, depicting her as a persona in a background of sea imagery, as a pilot in a ship blowing wind on its sails, or, as one of Alciati's emblems, with one foot resting on a globe on land and a ship visible in the far horizon.⁶⁹ All of these representations answer to the idea expressed in an important literary equivalent in Boethius: "Life is a sea of troubles stirred by Fortuna and with our light skiff we venture on on its way."⁷⁰ But the figurative representation of life as "a sea of troubles" would not have arisen without the literal idea, i.e., the actual experience of the sea and its dangers, as Patch notes: "The goddess Fortuna guiding the vessel in the sea of life, must have come from the idea of the goddess guiding the real vessel on the sea" (p. 107, note).

⁶⁹ See Orlando Innamorato II.1.7, Orlando Furioso XXII.7 ff., and Jerusalemme Liberata X.V.6. For a bibliography of primary and secondary sources of the literary and iconographic representations of Fortune see Patch, pp. 101-110 and Analogy, pp. 309-10, especially the notes.

⁷⁰ Rendered by Patch, p. 101, and based on the De Conlolatione Philosophiae II pr. iv, 28-31.

This actual belief in Fortune underlies the accounts of sea voyaging in the Greek romances. The connection of Fortune and the sea in them illustrates the stage before the literal and figurative levels of this imagery became dissociated, i.e., before meaning broke asunder from the concreteness of the image. The perilous sea voyage on a tempest-tossed ship is not a metaphor for the vicissitudes of Fortune in the Greek romances, but an actual event in the story based on a first hand knowledge of the actual hazards of the Mediterranean of this time. As for the conventional blaming of Fortune for all mishaps, that too, is the expression of an actual belief in Fortune as a powerful deity unscrupulously manipulating human affairs--this would be most evident at sea with one's life constantly at the mercy of the natural elements. The concreteness of the situation results in some magnificent set pieces describing storms and shipwreck. Heliodorus opens the Aethiopica with a vivid picture of a ship loaded with treasure and abandoned on a shore strewn with wreckage and bloody corpses, the remnants of a dubious piratical attack--the description so impressed Sidney that he imitated it at the opening of the Arcadia.⁷¹ It is hard to say to what extent, if any, the sea imagery of the Greek romances has influenced the Medieval and Renaissance emblematic depictions of Fortune. In Spenser's case, at least, we can be sure that these descriptions were available to him at the time he was composing the

⁷¹"The conjunction of great riches and death, the ship and the bodies, and the use of the viewers to obtain pathos are similar, as are the descriptive processes applied by Sidney to the ship and by Heliodorus to the bodies" Walter R. Davis, "A Map of Arcadia," in Sidney's Arcadia (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1965), p. 91.

sea metaphors for Book VI since the Greek romances were among his immediate sources for many other episodes.

Certain images from Tatius may have been the source for some of the details in Spenser's sea metaphors on Book VI. They are from the famous description of shipwreck in the third Book of Clitophon and Leucippe, which had influenced Ariosto's description of Ruggiero's shipwreck in canto 41 of the Orlando Furioso.⁷² In Tatius it is Clitophon, the hero, who narrates how, on the third day of their voyage, a storm overtook the ship which he and Leucippe used for their elopement. Amidst lightning, rain, and violent winds the ship was at the mercy of huge waves; the dashing of one against another threatened to swallow the vessel in a deep gulf (Cruceio, sigs. E5^r-E6^r). Lamentation arose when the helmsman decided to abandon the ship to the mercy of the sea, but as passengers and crew started a fight about who was going to get first into the jolly-boat, "navis autem ipsa undis lactata in gyrum agebatur, ac tandem ad aquis contectum saxum imprudenter delata, illisa, solutaque tota est maloque altera in parte callabente partim quidem fracta, partim vero submersa" (Cruceio, sig. E7^v-E7^r). The agony of those perishing in the waves is described. The lovers, found themselves floating on a piece

⁷²Ariosto gives most of the details from Tatius:

From all sides the tempest mounted a cruel
frightening assault. At one moment they saw the
sea rear up so high upon a crest to look down
seemed like a glance into hell . . . A barren
rock appeared before them. . . Time and again the
pale-cheeked helmsman struggled to force the
tiller round steer a safer course but the rudder
broke and the seas carried it away. . . There

of wreckage amidst corpses, until they were washed up safely by the waves on the shores of Egypt (Cruceio, sigs E7^r-E8^v).

In Spenser the image of the hidden rock appears in Book I.vi.1 where Redcross, who manages to escape its hidden threat (Lucifera), is compared with a mariner. The image of a ship tossed between opposing waves and in danger of being swallowed by threatening gulfs, describes Guyon's fight with two opponents in II.ii.24. In VI.iv.1 Calepine, who is wounded but still engaged in an unequal battle with Turpine, is like a lost "ship with dreadful storm long tost / Having spent all her mastes and her groundhold." But the Salvage Man, like a passing "fisher boat," shows up in time and rescues him, feeling "pittie" and "compassion of his evil plight." The main elements of Spenser's description are interestingly present in Tatius again. After the famous shipwreck in the third book, where the detail of the ship's broken mast also occurs, Clinias, the hero's friend, is stranded in the open sea until a passing boat rescues him. Characteristically, Tatius also makes a point about the "pity" and "compassion" of the rescuers. However, while Spenser uses this instance to emphasize the inborne courtesy of the untutored Salvage Man, Tatius plays with the ironic ambiguities of the situation: Clinias

was a race to leap into the ship's boat. . .
 It sank to the bottom, carrying down all those who
 relied on it to abandon ship. Anguished cries to
 heaven were heard. . . Here a swimmer's head
 emerged, then an arm or a bare leg. Ruggiero
 nothing daunted by the storm's menace, struggled
 to the surface. . ." (trans. Guido Waldman [New
 York: Oxford University Press, 1974], p. 487).

comments that he is not quite sure whether it was his rescuers' pity and compassion that saved him or simply the wind that flew them thither: "sive quod vicem meam dolerent, sive quod ita ventis agerentur" (Cruceio, sig. 15^v). Where the allegorist sees a moral crux, the novelist seizes an opportunity for irony.

In the opening of the last canto in Book VI the poet steps boldly into the poem and for the first time he openly defends his using Fortune as the instigator of adventures in his narrative:

Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde
Directs her course vnto one certaine cost,
Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,
With her winged speed is let and crost,
And she herself in stormie surges tost;
Yet making many a vord, and many a bay,
Still winneth way, ne hath her compasse lost:
Right so it fares with me in this long way,
Whose course is often stayd, yet neuer is astray.

For all that hetherto hath long delayd
This gentle knight, from sewing his first quest,
Though out of course, yet hath not bene misayd,
To shew the courtesie by him profest.

Here the course of the poet's narrative is like the ship that keeps her right course undaunted by the hardships of a sea stirred by Fortune. Comparing the progress of a long narrative to the voyage of a ship was a well known tropes in the sixteenth century with precedents in Statius, Chaucer, and Dante, and Spenser had himself used it twice before at the beginning and end of the last canto in Book I. What is most important here is the poet's apology for the prominent role that he assigns to

The abandoned ship in Ariosto, just like the lovers in Tattius, was finally washed ashore by the waves in Egypt.

Fortune in his narrative--an apology offered ingeniously by the context of a Fortune metaphor itself. Spenser admits that Fortune has led his hero astray from his initial task, but he adds that this has not been beside the point. For stronger than Fortune is the poet's hand which without deviation has continued to edify the reader with examples of Courtesie along the way. As Fortune moves the lovers in Greek Romance from port to port, so in Book VI she "strays" the ship of narrative with the hero aboard, at the harbor of the pastoral world. However, this is only a spatial deviation. For the main point of Spenser's defense is that the narrative has never ceased following the right course, i.e., to show the operations of Courtesie in an orderly way.

In Spenser's sea metaphors it is not difficult to discover traces of the convergence of the two traditions similarly linking Fortune to the sea: the stylized Medieval and Renaissance emblematic representations of Fortune on a background of allegorical sea imagery, and the concrete descriptions of storm and shipwreck caused by Fortune in Greek romance. Spenser uses specific details answering to the descriptions of the storm-tossed ship in Greek romance in metaphors comparing the "fortunes" of his characters and of his narrative to the fortune of a ship sailing on a tempestuous ocean. Both are familiar tropoi derived from the Medieval tradition of Fortune. These tropoi appear in the sixth more frequently than in any other single book, increasing the thematic importance that Fortune generally has here. As a matter of fact, the last one of Spenser's metaphors assigning to Fortune the responsibility for the adventures met by the ship of narrative, should be taken as something more than a convention. It is Spenser's defense for adapting the conventions of

Fortune of Greek romance, based on the explanation that though Fortune sways the narrative action capriciously, the poet remains firm in his initial moral purpose, the development of his theme of Courtesie. Nevertheless, such a statement brings out the implicit conflict between the aimlessness of the activity of Fortune and moral purposefulness in general. This conflict will be examined next, in a closer view of how the employment of Fortune as an agent of plot influences the ethos of the characters, first in Greek romance and then in the sixth Book.

Fortune and Ethos.

The tyrannical control of Fortune over the personages of Greek romance curbs severely their freedom of action and moral choice, which according to Aristotle is the true indicator of character. The actions of the heroes and heroines of Greek romance are actually limited to situations in which they are either trying to extricate themselves from the complications of Fortune, or endure passively their ordeal with a great deal of sentimentalized pathos. Thus, the only kind of ethos revealed by the characters is the one prescribed by their opposition to Fortune. The pagan recipe for the control of Fortune had traditionally required the power of virtue, and especially that of fortitude and prudence. In the Aeneid, for example, we read that "Fortune aids the brave" (x.284), Juvenal suggests "prudentia" (Satires x. 363), while the value of "patience and endurance" in suffering underlies all Stoic doctrine. The traditional emphasis on classical virtues, particularly fortitude and prudence, determines the type of ethos that the characters of Greek romance oppose to Fortune.

The relation of the Greek Romance heroes to that active part of fortitude which Aristotle associates with fearlessness of death, especially in battle, is rather disappointing--a sharp contrast to the way the Greek heroes of the classical epics stand in our estimation.⁷³ Theagenis of the Aethiopica is undoubtedly heroic. He does not hesitate to attack the pirates in book V, and he exhibits great nobility in the last book when, waiting to be sacrificed, he fights fearlessly against the champion wrestler and a fierce bull.⁷⁴ However, his heroism proves ineffectual to control Fortune, as he is constantly victimized by imprisonment, physical and emotional torture, and various other adversities up until he faces imminent death at the end. What finally saves him is not his valor but the ex machina arrival of Charicleia's foster father who initiates his long due recognition as the betrothed of Charicelia. The rest of the major characters in either the Aethiopica, Clitophon and Leuippe, or Daphnis and Chloe hardly qualify as heroic. Cnemon, Theagenis' friend, is a stock figure for cowardice being even afraid of the dark. Clitophon is a "wretchedly weak and pusillanimous being and twice allows himself to be beaten by Thersander without resistance--he has neither sense nor courage, nor indeed any virtue except uncommon fidelity to his mistress."⁷⁵

⁷³Nichomachean Ethics, book iii, ch. 6.

⁷⁴see Wolff on characterization in the Greek romances, p. 138 ff. One should disagree with Wolff who questions the validity of Theagenis' valor: "What in the hero's supreme hour is this final manifestation of his excellence? Why, a mere piece of theatricals; a bit of spectacular heroics" (p. 191). Actually Theagenis' valor at this point is a true embodiment of Aristotle's definition of fortitude as the ability to face death in a noble way.

⁷⁵Dunlop, I, 44.

Daphnis, a mere child-shepherd, chooses to break into tears at the most critical moments. Heroic ethos is totally bankrupt in the romances of the Second Sophistic period.⁷⁶ The time of the epic heroes is long past and writers now aim at pleasing a middle class audience by extolling instead the mores they would more easily identify with. Concerns for marriage and making it in the world, chastity, and relations with parents are the basic concerns of the largely individualistic bourgeois ethos of the later phase Greek romances. In this background the sword of Achilles or Aeneas would surely be out of place. The unheroic entrapment of the Greek characters by Fortune comes to signify the defenselessness and insecurity of the average citizen of the empire amidst the chaos of the diverging waves of cultures, languages, and religions of an open society. The case may be pushed further in time, for the victimization of a character like

⁷⁶Heroism is more prominent in the earliest Greek romances because of the quasi-historical nature of their plots fictionalizing the exploits and adventures of ideal personages that existed in history or myth (Cyrus in Cyropedia, Alexander in the Alexander Romance by pseudo-Callisthenis, Ninus in the Ninus Romance). In the last book of Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe, however, the hero becomes, Perry notes, like Cyrus in Xenophon's Cyropedia, or Ninus in the homonymous romance, "but unlike any hero in the extant later romances, a commanding general who triumphs over the enemy's forces. . ." (p. 176). Perry explains that the pretense to historicity was necessary for the earlier romancer "in order to launch his book into a literary world that would recognize and accept serious narration in prose only in the guise of history, science, philosophy--not as belles lettres" (p. 168). See also Martin Braun's account of the early hero-romances in History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature (Oxford: Blackwell, 1938). Referring to the fictions about Ninus and Semiramis, Sesostris, and Nectanebus Braun writes: "This popular narrative literature is the spiritual bread without which no proud people can stand the pressure of alien domination, and it is individual heroic figures in whom the feeling and longing of the masses come to a concentrated expression" (p. 3).

Clitophon by Fortune resembles the predicament of the anti-hero of most contemporary novels, pitted against the modern goddess Absurdity.

Sentimental ethos prevails over the heroic in Greek romance. The pathos arising out of the suffering caused by Fortune takes the place of action against her--especially since no possible course of action is open in most cases. Hadas suggests that the sentimentality of the Greek romances "reflects an actual view of life," and attributes it to the broken links of causality in the vastness and diversity of the Hellenistic world:

. . . if events in the outer world follow no discernible pattern, in the moral world choices are undeliberated, even unmotivated. With no vital interaction between the outer and inner worlds there is no necessary connection between character and event. Emotion is reduced to sentimentality which is fingered, probed, savored, for its own sake.⁷⁷

There is hardly any causal connection between the activity of Fortune and character in Greek romance. The source of suffering is external, events for which the characters can assume no moral responsibility. Thus, affliction does not result from misconduct, but it is clearly a chance happening. Very rightly then, the victims curse and lament their mis-
haps in long apostrophes against the cruelty of Fortune. These emotional outbursts are often accompanied by great nobility in a passive resistance to circumstances, as in the case of Theagenis while he is being tortured by Arsace's orders:

⁷⁷Introduction, in An Aethiopian Romance: Heliodorus, p. viii.

But he plaid the man agreat deal more, and withstood them most of all then and suffered his body to be afflicted: but by reason of his chastity, he took a lofty stomach to him, and rejoyced, and gloried in that fortune, because though his greatest part was tormented, yet his best and most noble part was well pleased, and for that he now had occasion to declare what good will be bare to Chariclia.

(Uncerdowne, p. 215-16)

Or the option of suicide may seem more attractive. Perry ironically comments on the "heroic (!) readiness on the part of the lovers to give up and commit suicide whenever external circumstances seemed to triumph over their struggle" (p. 117). On the other hand Wolff finds that there is a kind of "pagan courage" in this decision (p. 151). Probably the widespread influence of Stoicism shows through the attitude of either total resignation and endurance, or escape through suicide--either case is a passive opposition to Fortune. At a memorable occasion Leucippe's moral fortitude towards adversity results in one of the noblest utterances in Greek romance:

I am both naked, alone, and a woman: and have no defense, except by liberty, which can neither be whipped with rods, nor cut with iron, nor burnt with fire: that will I never leese, and if you cast me into the middle of the flame: there will not be force inough therein to take it from me.

(Burton, p. 120)

Although unaccustomed to high spirituality in Greek romance, the words of Leucippe to her tormentor Thersander strike us, in sentiment and terminology, as the words of a Christian martyr about to die for her faith. Indeed the ability of the lovers to endure all hardships in the name of sentimental ideals of chastity, and fidelity makes up for the underplay of physical heroism as a weapon against Fortune. When the enslavement

by external circumstances is so absolute that heroic action proves ineffectual to control, active courage easily turns suicidal, or withdraws into passive resignation expressed in set speeches and descriptions overflowing with pathos and sentiment. This explanation underlies the sentimental rhetoric of the Greek romances.⁷⁸ Nothing could convey better the pessimistic outlook of the Hellenistic world than the sentimental ethos of its romance heroes and heroines. For in a disjointed society where larger ordering patterns are not possible, the individual can at least feel secure with whatever pertains strictly to the self: constancy in love, preservation of chastity, endurance in suffering, and the final option to seek release in death.

Besides a passive opposition to Fortune the personae of the Greek romances defend themselves through actions of prudence and cunning. The special courage for that stems from the individual's confidence in his own ability to judge and foresee the way events will develop in the future, and thus, act to his own advantage. This intellectual, rather than moral or intuitive, ability to deliberate and act, relates closely to the Aristotelian virtue of practical wisdom or prudence.⁷⁹ More

⁷⁸Wolff has analyzed the rhetorical aspects of these speeches in pp. 143-144. He compares these speeches to the hypothetical speeches used as rhetorical exercises expressing what someone in a given situation would appropriately say (ethopoieia). "The interest of the rhetoricians who wrote the Greek romances is not in the ethical choices and avoidances of life. . .so much as in sentiment or emotion, with the rhetorical expression of it in set speeches, and the sophistical accounting for it in comment and analysis" (p. 144).

⁷⁹Nichomachean Ethics vi.7.1141.

specifically, the type of prudential attitude taken by the victims of Fortune in Greek romance is of the special category that Aristotle describes as "this state in virtue of which one attains what one ought to but not by the right means."⁸⁰ Lies, deceptions, cunning, schemes, and equivocations for the sake of expediency are practically conventional weapons in the battle against Fortune.⁸¹ This philosophy finds expression best in Charicleia's own words: "For that manner of a lie is tolerable, whiche prpfiteth the inventor, and hurteth not the hearer." (Underdowne, p. 35). As a result, there isn't a character in Greek romance who has not lied or deceived expediently at least once.

These questionable tactics probably belong to the type of intrigues used in New Comedy. The end in view is to avoid or resolve complications of a domestic sort: angry parents, unwanted suitors, erotic suffering due to separation of lovers, etc. In the Aethiopica, "Destiny is assisted by comic intrigue."⁸² The priest Calasiris is the arch-engineer

⁸⁰N. Ethics vi. 9.1142.25.

⁸¹Charicleia lies about her identity and her relation to the hero, and deceives her suitors throughout the story; Leucippe, when caught redhanded equivocates to her mother in order to conceal her lover's visit in her room; and quite readily the pair of lovers in Longus manufactures a lie to offer their parents to cover up a missing goat, while Astylus tells his father that his horse is responsible for ruining the garden Lamo tends--a gallant lie to protect the shepherd.

⁸²See Arthur Heiserman, The Novel Before the Novel (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 193. The author mentions that intrigues are also common in the earlier romance of Chariton: Callirhoe's rise and decline does not proceed through a sequence of perils encountered and escaped but through a system of intrigues of the kind conventional in New Comedy."

of intrigues and Charicleia his helper. Calasiris worked out an elaborate plan so that the young protagonists fall in love with each other. He also staged their elopement, and handled expediently the conflicting interests of two of Charicleia's suitors. One of the most fantastic deceptions in Tattius concerns Leucippe's dissimulated sacrifice executed by her friends, who pierced with a retractable knife a blood filled pouch placed on the heroine's body and thus satisfied the religious zeal of her cannibalistic captors. Disguise, as part of the paraphernalia of the art of intrigue, has a prominent place too. Dorco, disguised as a wolf, tries to abduct Chloe in Longus' story, Clitophon, dressed as a woman, attempts to escape imprisonment by Melitte's jealous husband, and Calasiris with Charicleia go around searching for Theagenis dressed as beggars.

It soon becomes apparent that these devious manoeuvres are truly effective for survival in a world ruled by the tricks and the surprises of Fortune. Conspiratory tactics, combined with ingenuity, offer opportunities for taking one's own Fortune by surprise instead, minimizing her harmful effect on human life. This provoking, individualistic solution to the problem of Fortune, is a practical lesson that the modern reader can deduce from the Greek romances. The only hope then for the active anticipation of the complications arising from the caprices of Fortune relies on the individual's sound judgement of the circumstances, and foresight in determining which course of present action would be most advantageous for his own ends. This is basically the function of Aristotelian prudence (practical wisdom) and defines exactly the ethos of those characters in Greek romance who are survivors in the battle against Fortune.

Since Fortune is an important agent of action in VI, the opposition with ethos arises as one of the major issues of the book. Spenser actually makes a stronger point about heroic ethos than do the Greek romances. His characters, at least the courteous ones, exhibit greater valor and nobility in the face of danger. This happens because, unlike the situations in Greek romance heroic fortitude is a major expectation in the chivalric context of Spenser's poem being above all one of the qualities of Courtesie. Calidore, the model of chivalrous Courtesie, is among other things, "well approve'd in batteillous affray, / That him did much renowne, and far his fame display" (i.2.8-9). The heroic courage that Spenser is concerned with here is the special courage of the arms of Courtesie, and it is evinced in the actions of courteous personages such as Tristram, the Salvage Man, Calepine, and of course Calidore and Arthur. Contrastingly, a discourteous person like Turpine proves a coward, while Curdor and the Knight of Barge, though skillful in arms, possess the wrong kind of valor--it is directed toward discourteous acts.

Heroism could not have been a definitive characteristic in the sophisticated romances since in a context extolling love and marriage as sentimental ideals, virtues such as chastity or fidelity are more relevant to it than the valor of arms. But in the chivalric context of Book VI, heroic ethos matters as one of the manifestations of Courtesie. When valor is accompanied with skill in arms, as in Calidore's case, it is a characteristic of perfect knighthood. When found in its natural state--the Salvage Man's unskilled courage is such--it is still as valid a manifestation of Courtesie as the former example. And since Courtesie is the overall organizing moral principle of the whole book, the behavior of the courteous personages emphasizes the heroic ethos.

But how effective is the opposition to Fortune of the heroic courage that Courtesie affords? Book VI answers this question in the manner of the Greek romances: heroic action is most often ineffectual to control Fortune. In her chapter dealing with "Fortune and the Limits of Heroism" in Book VI, MacCaffrey writes:

Book VI is a world of "hap," of surprising conversions, moving accidents by flood and field, purposes mistook or diverged. In such a world there is little scope for the heroic control of fate; Callidore can rescue Pastorella, hiding his sword under his shepherd's cloak, but he cannot prevent her abduction. In Book VI, the stoically relaxed will is often the only strategy that will suffice. (p. 375)

This is a lesson that the wise in worldly wisdom characters in Greek romance seem to know in advance, and therefore, instead of even attempting the direct confrontation of Fortune with arms, they resort to more cunning means of defense, or stoically resign themselves to the circumstances. Spenser's heroes are more heroic than prudential, closer to the magnanimous naiveté of the epic heroes than the sophistic wit of Alexandrian rhetoric, and for this reason the more vulnerable to the insidiousness of Fortune. Calepine offers the best example. He is basically a valorous and noble knight, as he amply proves in the incidents of the infant and the bear, and in Serena's rescue from the cannibals. Yet in the earlier part of the book he is reduced by Fortune to circumstances that are not simply unheroic, but utterly humiliating for a knight. He is repeatedly insulted, attacked while unarmed, wounded, even forced to find refuge "behind his Ladies back," and finally saved by the intervention of the Salvage Man. The stories of Aladin, Tristram, and Timias are additional illustrations of the victimization of a valorous

person by Fortune. Even Calidore, the champion knight, proves as vulnerable as any inhabitant, good or bad, of the Faerie land. His delay in the pastoral world for the sake of Pastorella, a circumstance attributed to Fortune, reinforces the "unheroic" strain of Book VI and suggests once more that the heroic control of Fortune is not always possible.⁸³

The limitations of Fortune on her victims offset their vulnerability in turn. In no other book of the FQ are there so many reports of suffering, or descriptions of what Northrop Frye would classify as demonic aspects of experience: festering wounds, illness, despair, torturing, cannibalism, live burial, suicide.⁸⁴ The undefinable elegiac quality prevailing the whole book stems primarily from the organization of this material into regular patterns of imagery. The effect of such imagery compares to the flood of pathos and emotionalism that pours out of the laments and descriptions of the physically and psychically tormented victims of Fortune in Greek romance. One description of Calidore (xi.33.1-6), a close imitation of Theagenis' suicidal grief at the opening of Aethiopica II. In similar circumstances (the heroines are believed dead while they are actually imprisoned in a cave) both heroes fall into a violent fit and seek to kill themselves.

In emulating this episode from the Aethiopica Spenser preserved the paganism of the ethos of suicide. Calidore is the only one of Spenser's

⁸³ See Julia M. and Peter E. Bondanella, "The Deterioration of the Heroic and Pastoral Ideals in Spenser's Calidore and Pastorella Episode: Book VI, Cantos ix-xii," Erasmus Review, 1 (1970), 11-17.

⁸⁴ See Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, N. Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 417-50.

champion knights who contemplates suicide for love. If we assume that Redcrosse's experience at the cave of Despair in I.ix represents Spenser's true position on suicide, we must conclude that what seems here as a contradiction of Christian ethos, is directly the result of the pervasive influence of Greek romance material on Spenser's narrative. Charicleia's imprisonment in a cave was one of the most famous incidents in the Aethiopica, and, if Spenser was to preserve at all its integrity in his version, he had to convey intact the most characteristic, therefore recognizable, details of the action. The idea of suicide as a means of escaping the suffering of separation was such an essential element in the sentimental code of the lovers' behavior in Greek romance that Spenser could hardly avoid the issue, especially since the narrative mode of Book VI was meant to be in the vein of Greek romance.⁸⁵

In reality, however, what Spenser must have found attractive in the sentimental ethos of the Greek heroes and heroines of his models, is surely not their readiness for suicide, but rather the moral fortitude with which they oppose misfortune. The emphasis of Greek romance on the noble endurance of suffering--an indication perhaps of stoic influence--harmonizes in this case with the doctrinal importance of the idea of Passion in Christian ethics. The Christian hero is essentially a

⁸⁵See Variorum VI, 365: W. L. Renwick observes that "It is only in the Sixth book that Senecan borrowings appear in any quantity; the Sotic doctrine of the right of suicide, for instance, is mentioned only to be condemned by the Red Cross Knight." But since the episode of Calidore's attempt of suicide is closely modeled after the similar incident in the Aethiopica, one may conjecture that in this instance the Stoic influence on Spenser could have come through his Greek sources.

suffering hero; thus, the trials and humiliations that Aladin, Timias, or Callepine endure for the sake of their ladies, Mirabella's willingness to suffer her penance, and Pastorella's ordeals in order to defend her chastity are all exempla of Christian patience at the face of adversity. The sixth book and Greek romance exhibit a harmonious convergence of stoic and Christian thought by recommending fortitude for a passive opposition to Fortune. The pathos and sentimentality of Book VI is to a great extent the inheritance of Spenser's pagan sources. Although in the Greek romances this appears as the result of a pagan viewpoint explaining human suffering in terms of the capricious control of Fortune upon human life, the characters' extraordinary ability to endure all misfortune in the name of love, chastity, and fidelity sets an example of human dignity which is readily reconcilible with Christian ethos, and therefore, with Spenser's purposes.⁸⁶

While the characters in Greek romance primarily counterbalance their passive resistance to Fortune with prudential action, Spenser's characters boldly oppose her with acts of Courtesie. The potential of Courtesie as a weapon against the limitations of Fortune is stressed in all those cases where the give and take of the virtue succeeds in resolving the complications arising from mishap. It is not that Spenser ignores completely the classical remedy of prudence. There are actually a number

⁸⁶Walter R. Davis in Sidney's Arcadia (p. 76), draws the following distinction between Christian patience and the Classical view: "Christian patience is founded on firmer ground than the classical virtue, for it proceeds from a sure faith in Providence, its rewards are greater, too, for its exercise cleanses the soul and brings it nearer the image of God, and its great exemplar Christ in His Passion."

of examples illustrating his use of this formula.⁸⁷ But the ethos of Courtesie predominates over prudence for it is the major thematic concern of the Book. Besides the heroism of Courtesie, applied for the defense of those in distress, the courteous personages of the sixth book also employ various other courteous acts in opposition to Fortune. For example, Calidore and Priscilla save the wounded Calepine and thus cancel out the malicious blow of chance. Through the gracious act of forgiving a defeated enemy, Calidore works a small miracle in the case of Crudor: he tempers the latter's cruelty, meaning that there will no longer be sudden attacks on unsuspecting travellers. And the hermit's hospitality and honest concern for others provide Serena and Timias the cure for their wounds. Throughout Book VI the virtuous personages oppose mishap by trying to balance out its harmful effects on others through the altruistic gestures of Courtesie. For this treatment Spenser drew support from the popular Renaissance concept of the opposition of virtue and Fortune, which he reworked into the conflict of Courtesie and Fortune instead.

The idea of the opposition of virtue to Fortune was known primarily through the classics, but the concept had continued developing independently, taking on various shades of meaning representative of individual writers. Besides, for example, the classical remedies of fortitude

⁸⁷The hermit, basically a prudence figure, offers as a cure for the bite of Slander advice of cautionary nature; the need for prudence is emphasized in situation where unarmed knights (ii.18, iii.20, iv.17), or the careless Serena (iii.23-24) are surprised by danger; Callidore prudently lies to Priscilla's parents, foreseeing the consequences of the disclosure of her disobedience on her reputation; Arthur overcomes Turpine through deception; Pastorella, like all chaste and resourceful Greek

and prudence, Petrarch has advised in his De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae opposition to Fortune's wiles by wisdom and spiritual devotion,⁸⁸ while Machiavelli thought "that it is better to be impetuous than cautious, for fortune is a woman, and it is necessary, if you wish to master her, to conquer her by force."⁸⁹ In the Providential scheme of the Arcadia the gods essentially control the activity of Fortune through the virtues. Pyrocles' words to Musidorus capture this beautifully: "Farewell my Musidorus, the gods make fortune to waite on thy vertues."⁹⁰ In Spenser the opposition of virtue to Fortune is implicit in every one of the books of the FQ where, as it turns out, the champion knights oppose her, each shielded by the titular virtue. This conflict is more obvious in Book VI where Fortune has a more than usually prominent part in the design of action. Spenser rejected the Machiavellian solution to the problem of Fortune, and instead, he took a more orthodox Renaissance position which is the result of a combination of Classical and Christian attitudes. In Book VI, he proposed endurance and prudence, but above all Courtesie, a moral virtue that actively cancels the inhumanity of Fortune through acts of humanity.

heroines, feigns "a sodaine sickness" to avoid her captor's lust; and Calidore, disguised as a shepherd, rescues her.

⁸⁸cited in Patch, p. 20.

⁸⁹The Prince, The Modern Library (New York, 1940), Chapt. XXV, p. 94.

⁹⁰From the Folio of 1627, Book III, p. 349, Quoted in Wolff, p. 328.

Fortune and Courtesie.

The works of Fortune in Book VI are designed to support the theme of the moral virtue of Courtesie. First of all, the conflict of Courtesie and Fortune highlights the moral aspect of this virtue as an expression of Christian altruism and love, manifested in helping those in need. The association of Courtesie with "milde humanity" proves a comforting resource for survival in a world filled with uncertainties and unexpected mishaps. Culp's article on Fortune and Courtesie shows Spenser's choice of narrative motifs emphasizing the role of Fortune. The helplessness of the victims of chance, reveals that "courtesy is concerned in part with the help that each individual needs from other men in order to survive."⁹¹ MacCaffrey also notes that the examples of the courteous personages in VI prove that Courtesie "may artfully prevail over the unexpected, and one of its wisdoms is Mercy, a necessary virtue in a world ruled by Fortuna."⁹² The Christian dimensions of Spenser's Courtesie (compassion, mercy, kindness, hospitality, simplicity) change the basic conception of this virtue from a graceful code of manners operating exclusively at court to a moral code governing relationships in the every day world of man according to the principles of Christian humanism.⁹³ The support

⁹¹"Courtesy and Fortune's Chance," p. 259.

⁹²Spenser's Allegory, p. 361.

⁹³On the relation of Courtesy and Christian Charity, see P. C. Bayley, "Order, Grace and Courtesy in Spenser's World," Patterns of Love and Courtesy, ed. John Lawlor (Evanston, 1966), pp. 148-90. Also Evans Maurice, "Courtesy and the Fall of Man," English Studies, 46 (1965), 209-20.

for this fresh definition of Courtesie comes from a series of adventures dramatizing the conflict of Courtesie and Fortune away from the court in the every day world of Faerie land, and involving people from all levels of society. Courtesie proves to be what Spenser promised at the outset: a virtue planted on earth from "heauenly seedes," and which is not in outward shows, but inward thoughts defyned (Proem VI.3-5). This context is entirely different from the open in which the opposition of virtue and Fortune arises in the Greek romances. Spenser substituted the individualism of the intellectual virtue (prudence) with the altruism of a moral one (Courtesie) and thus, he spiritualized the pagan remedy to Fortune suggested in his Greek models, with a virtue he associated with Christian humanism, and which he renamed Courtesie.

The power of Fortune as an instigator of adventures in Book VI also contributes to the definition of Courtesie by giving rise to actions illustrating courteous or discourteous qualities. This empirical approach works particularly well for the definition of Courtesie since it is harder to decipher than any other virtue: "It is vaguer and more diffuse in its manifestations, harder to isolate in terms of doctrine."⁹⁴ In the first canto Spenser gives us a comprehensive list of the qualities of this virtue. We learn that these are "gentleness of spright," "manners mylde," "comely guize," "gracious speech," courage in battle, and love of truth and honesty. The above qualities of Courtesie are manifested in action in the various adventures caused by Fortune throughout. All the major adventures, those built around the motif of interrupted repose--for which

⁹⁴Bradner, p. 139.

Spenser is primarily indebted to the patterns of Fortune in his Greek models--and those resulting from the typical chance meetings of romance, bring forth the qualities of Courtesie that the characters possess in various degrees, or illustrate total lack of it in the discourteous personages.

For example, Calidore tries to correct his unwitting act of discourtesy--his intrusion into the privacy of the lovers (iii.20)--by applying gracious speech. The courage of arms shows in the rescues of ladies in distress by courteous knights. What Spenser means by "gentleness of spright" is present in the kind and hospitable attitudes of the Salvage Man, the hermit, and Meliboeus. And the best manifestation of Courtesie's lore of honesty reigns in the pastoral world where Calidore's fortune places him for a while. In these and in many more examples the persona of Fortune and the writer coincide as they set out the outlines of action within which the special qualities of Courtesie are defined. Thus, unlike Greek romance where no law controls the surprises of Fortune, Spenser controls the blind activity of Fortune through his definition of the attributes of Courtesie.

A background ruled by Fortune also highlights Courtesie as another one of Spenser's principles of order, this time operating within the disorderliness of the secular dimension. The world of "hap" which traditionally forms the background of the sensational adventures of Greek romance, becomes in VI a fitting place for evincing the works of Courtesie. It is so, because Courtesie operates exclusively in the fallen world of men, a terrain of action traditionally associated with the activities of Fortune:

. . . Fortune's powers have to do with more secular matters, and we find her particularly associated with the world (which, adapting her qualities, becomes more than ever temporal and "mundane") and the court. Both the world and the court are fickle.⁹⁵

The role of Courtesie in the disorder and uncertainty of the terrestrial dimension contrasts sharply the operation of Holinesse in Book I. The latter is a theological virtue concerned with the relationship of the individual soul with God. Its activity, therefore, takes place between earth and heaven. Redcrosse's example shows that Holinesse cannot be attained, or sustained exclusively in human terms and without a link with Grace. This by necessity suggests a Providential order, and trust in it is established firmly as we witness the hand of Providence opposing the Orgoglios that confront Redcrosse in every turn of the way. But the nature of Courtesie is secular. It is a moral virtue with social applications, concerned not with the salvation of the soul, but with the ordering of human relationships. Spenser's Courtesie is among other things a kind of decorum. It teaches like the ordered dance of the Graces, "how to each degree and kynde / We should ourselues demeane, to low to hie, / To friends, to foes, which skill men call Ciuility" (x.23).

The social dimension of Courtesie relates it rather close to Iustice. They are both moral virtues meant to instil order in society. Thus, the backgrounds of Book V and VI similarly impress various images of disorder, against which Iustice or Courtesie intercept as correctives.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁵Patch, p. 58-59.

⁹⁶On the relation of Iustice and Courtesie Tonkin notes (p. 200): "the Book of Justice and the Book of Courtesy form a continuum, both

egalitarian giant, Radigunt, and Grantorto in V as well as Crudor, Turpine, the Knight of Barge, the cannibals and the brigands, and the Blatant Beast itself in VI are all elements of disorder upsetting the propriety of society or nature, and suggesting the imperfect foundation of a fallen world ruled by Fortune.⁹⁷ To an Elizabethan who loved order like Spenser, the activity of "brute and blind" Fortune would be the best emblem for the shortsightedness of mortality that constantly diverts and confuses human endeavour. In Aldus' words,

Such is the weaknesse of all mortall hope;
 So tickle is the state of mortal things,
 That ere they come vnto their aymed scope,
 They fall too short of our fraile reckonings,
 And bring us bale and bitter sorowings,
 Instead of comfort which we should embrace. (VI.iii.5.1-7)

The series of unexpected mishaps in Book VI is emblematic of the uncertainties and ambiguities that underlie life in the everyday world and especially at court. The activity of Fortune sums up this melancholy but comprehensive picture of mortality. Such a tableau is especially suited for the unfolding of Courtesie for this virtue is relevant to the whole range of human experience:

dealing with similar problems of social exploitation, the one through law, the other through courtesy. Law can only deal with wrongs once they have arisen, but courtesy can create an attitude which renders law superfluous." See also MacCaffrey, p. 345, Cheney, pp. 176-196.

⁹⁷ Book V actually offers the prelude to the theme of Fortune: Artegall, "He through occasion called was away to Faerie Court" (V.xii.27.2), i.e. before he was able to finish his task--the reform of Irena's "ragged common-weale."

. . . one needs not far to realize that Spenser's courtesy has little to do with the courtesy books but much to do with nature, providence, love, death, and the generous exchanges of compassion and mutual respect among men. . . .⁹⁸

In Spenser's terms then, a background ruled by Fortune ceases to be a mere narrative convention inspired by Greek romance models. It becomes instead, a mirror of the disturbing actualities of the fallen world within which Courtesie actually operates.

However, one cannot argue for long about VI as the book of Fortune without accounting for what has been so far the fundamental premise of the poem: Spenser's testimony of Providence, given as early as Book I. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Louise George Clubb notes, the Counter Reformation writers of tragedy in Italy used to attach a disclaimer to their work "explaining that the use of words such as fortuna, fato, sorte etc. by pagan characters did not represent the views of the author, a good Christian who knew that the only real Fortuna is the Providence of the Prime Mover."⁹⁹ Spenser, of course, says nothing that overtly, but unless we assume that he means it, some readers may take the emphasis on Fortune in VI as a serious change in the poem's viewpoint. Spenser's disclaimer for Fortune is actually the first book of the FQ which confirms a worldview ordered by the Grace of God's design. In addition, the Mutability fragments offer evidence that the book immediately

⁹⁸Katheleen Williams, Spenser's World of Glass (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1966), p. 202.

⁹⁹"Italian Comedy and The Comedy of Errors." Comparative Literature, 19, 1967, 249-250.

following VI would be an open reaffirmation of faith in the purposefulness of design in nature implied in the defeat of Mutability: ". . . all things steadfastness doe hate / And changed be; yet being rightly wayd / They are not changed from their first estate" (VII.vii.58.2-3). In Book VI the poet, unlike his hero, is not guilty of truancy. He never quite abandons or loses sight of the Providential premise which sustains the ethical scheme of his poem as a whole. Providence is not totally absent from Book VI. It remains veiled underneath the surface of chaotic appearances, it sometimes half emerges or remains obscure behind events.

There are many instances in Book VI which suggest what Kathleen Williams calls a "purposeful ordering of fortune" (p. 209). The fulfillment of the oracle promising Sir Bruin a son takes place with the aid of "good Fortune" which presented Matilda with a foundling (v.35); and it was "heavenly grace" that returned Pastorella to her parents (xii.16). Spenser even hints in puns at the word "grace," which inevitably provokes an analogy with the Grace of the first book.¹⁰⁰ Book VI uses "grace" in connection with the ideal manners of Courtesie and in reference to the three Graces on mount Acidale. In a most ironic context it occurs at the incident of Serena's capture by the cannibals, who think that she fell into their hands "by grace of God" (viii.38.5). Ironic underplay is also present in Calidore's complete misunderstanding of Meliboeus' Boethian wisdom. The shepherd says that "each hath his fortune in his brest"

¹⁰⁰For a close comparison on the analogies between Book I and Book VI see Nohrnberg pp. 676-687, 704-733. For the role of Providence in VI see also Kathleen Williams' "Courtesy and Pastoral in The Faerie Queene, Book VI," Review of English Studies, 13 (1962), 337-46.

(ix.29.7), meaning that everything is the result of an ultimate design. and Calidore takes it as implying that he is free to change his chivalric vocation for the pastoral otium. This hide and seek game with Providence beneath the surface of the chaotic chance events of Book VI amply confirms the poem's prior faith in ultimate design.

Book V is simply written from a new perspective. "In the Mutability Cantos," writes MacCaffrey, "the poet's visionary power removes us from the immediate scene of suffering and loss so that, like Caucer's Troilus, we can look down upon the universe with the eyes of God" (p. 428). In the sixth book, however, the poet does not maintain this distance. He views and reports instead, of the disordered world of mortals directly from within. After all this is where Courtesie belongs. The worldly perspective of Book VI is to a great extent the result of Spenser's adaptation of the Fortune conventions from Greek romance. The disorder, the surprises, and the sufferings that take place at the background of "hap" of the Greek romances, Spenser transported right into the middle of his Faerie land. He borrowed Greek romance narrative motifs emphasizing the role of Fortune, which he combined with the usual chance occurrences of chivalric romance, and thus, he made Fortune the instigator of action throughout Book VI. The result is not only a type of fiction in the vein of the fashionable "new" genre of Greek romance, but the creation of a functional background for Spenser's definition of Courtesie. For, above anything else, the operation of Fortune in Book VI has a thematic justification.

In Greek romance no law controls the activity of Fortune but the extraneous of suspense and sensationalism. The lovers have to undergo

adventures both as many and as fantastic as possible before their virtue is finally rewarded with a safe homecoming together. But Spenser, less interested in light entertainment and more concerned with moral edification, turned the sensationalism of his Greek models into a lesson of Courtesie. The unexpected chance events give rise to actions illustrative of the special attributes of the virtue. The limitations that Fortune imposes on her victims provoke altruistic reactions, a response that highlights the moral aspect of the virtue as a manifestation of Christian love and compassion. And the worldview of disorder suggested by this background of "hap," mirrors the actualities of the temporal dimension within which Courtesie operates as a principle of order. It is actually the theme of the moral virtue of Courtesie that controls the activity of Fortune in Book VI instead of the other way around.

In the words of a later poet, "though Fortune hath a powerful name, / Yet Vertue overcomes the same."¹⁰¹ Spenser's Courtesie does exactly that. Through the colorful adventures of Book VI, Spenser essentially tests how far the morality and the external defenses of Courtesie can outdo the caprices of Fortune. In a complex issue like this, Spenser shuns a simple answer. It is true that to a great extent the acts of Courtesie are responsible for offering relief to ladies and knights in distress, or for restoring Pastorella to her real parents, thus working up to a conclusion where the virtuous receive their due rewards and the ill-doers punishment. But not everything works according to this expectation. The virtuous

¹⁰¹George Withers, quoted by Samuel C. Chew in The Pilgrimage of Life (New Haven, Conn., 1962), p. 67.

Meliboeus had met an underserving death, evil and disorder, represented in the brigands, have ruined the harmony of the pastoral place, and the Blatant Beast is once more free to ravage the world with its poisonous bite. There is actually no easy, or absolute solution open to mortals for conquering Fortune, and Spenser's treatment shows that he is deeply aware of the true significance of this problem. Thus, unlike the unqualified triumph of virtue with which all Greek romance concludes, Book VI ends with an open question, as befits the poet with a philosophical awareness of the coexistence in this transitory world of good and evil, of moral absolutes and Mutability, and of their perpetual conflict.

3. GREEK AND CHIVALRIC ROMANCE MODES: THE NATURE AND ART OF COURTESIE

Part III has dealt so far with the most obvious of Spenser's debts to Greek romance. Actually, what Book VI owes to the Greek romances is something subtler and more important than incidental material and the conventions of Fortune. It has inherited their tonality: concrete action, depicting lovers' adventures patterend in a circular movement of separations and reunions, and placed on a background modelled close on the actuality of the real world. In Book VI chivalry and Greek romance co-exist.

This section analyses the process of Spenser's creation of chivalric Greek romance.¹⁰² It results from grafting the fundamental idealism of the chivalric quest romance onto a fictional context reminiscent of the concrete particulars and the circular design of the action of Greek romance. I shall illustrate this by examining first the structure, and

¹⁰²For the merging of chivalry and ancient history or classical myth, see Tonkin, p. 71: ". . . before 1550 or so it was perfectly usual for the historian or the moralist to apply the terminology of chivalry to the examples of ancient history. Chivalry was a more culturally contemporaneous, if romanticized, mode of right conduct than classical modes of virtue, and it had the advantage of being associated with Christian morality." Also, Arthur B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (Durham, N. C., 1960); Rosemond Tuve, "Ancients, Moderns, and Saxons," Journal of English Literary History, 6 (1939), 165-90.

then the tonality of the narrative--the kind of experience that the book conveys as a whole--in relation to one's formal expectations from the Greek and chivalric romance modes respectively. This, in turn, will be helpful in demonstrating how the integration of the elements that each mode contributes to the whole supports Spenser's conception of Courtesie as a reconciliation of Nature and Art.

Book VI is composite of two different modes of romance. One alludes to the idealistic vision of chivalry--in this case particularized on the quest of Courtesie--, the other, to the mundane world of love and adventures of the Greek romances. The first operates mainly thematically, as the spirit that animates the form. The second, provides for the most part the fictional content, that is, the raw materials of form, through which the ideal of Courtesie materializes concretely in action. The closest analogy to the way the two modes operate can be found in the Aristotelian distinction of form and content which underlies the doctrine of Art as imitating Nature. In literature, as Frye explains, there is always an integration of form and content: "...the art is the form and the nature which the art imitates is the content so in literature art imitates nature by containing it internally."¹⁰³ A similar integration between chivalry (form-Art) and Greek romance (content-Nature) underlies the composition of Book VI. The legend of Courtesie is undoubtedly chivalric in spirit but "dressed" in the garb of Greek romance. It is chivalric Greek romance.

¹⁰³Secular Scripture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), p. 35.

The synthesis of chivalry and Greek romance that Spenser worked out here is a perfect embodiment of his conception of Courtesie as a reconciliation of Art and Nature. Criticism concerned with this issue has proven that Spenser defined Courtesie using as a metaphorical point of reference the terms of the familiar Renaissance debate on Nature and Art, or the related one on Nature and Nurture.¹⁰⁴ By general agreement, the critics' conclusion is that the juxtaposed elements of pastoralism and chivalry in Book VI support thematically, the first, the Nature aspect of Courtesie, i.e., its true origins, and the second, its Art, the perfection of natural Courtesie in forms of "civilitie." Using as a basis this well accepted interpretation the present study proposes an amplification. In addition to pastoralism, the whole garb of Greek romance which Spenser adapts at the fictional level of Book VI, and to which the pastoral can be ultimately traced, functions as a metaphor for the Nature of Courtesie.

Above all Spenser sought the origins of Courtesie in a context free of courtly associations with knighthood, code, hierarchy, manners, i.e., all the civil Arts that suggest ideal forms for the raw materials of Nature. Greek romance provided this alternative context. As a product of antiquity it was far removed from any courtly idealization of Spenser's present. Its fictional materials were easily adaptable because the viewpoint expressed is more individualistic than representative of a particular set of politics or collective belief. Most of all,

¹⁰⁴ see Edward W. Tayler, Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 178-226, Tonkin, pp. 178 ff., Mortenson, passim.

unlike the courtly and chivalric forms, Greek romance does not hint at worlds above and below, but its focus remains on the level of Nature, our world of experience and sensory perception. For these reasons, as a metaphor Greek romance refers more directly to the primary ways of experience than the courtly or chivalric metaphors concerned with the artful organization of experience into civil patterns of code, hierarchy, conduct etc.¹⁰⁵ Thus, although Courtesie is nowhere mentioned by name in Greek romance, those aspects of it which Spenser associates with the primary and spontaneous responses in human nature (compassion, courage, gentleness, mercy, hospitality) are, nevertheless, practiced by the virtuous characters, reaffirming the point that Courtesie does not originate in the context of organized "civilitie" but in the deeper resources of human nature.

Spenser borrowed a number of situations from Greek romance for the illustration of natural Courtesie, but more important than any specific borrowings is the realization that the whole point of mixing up two kinds of romance modes in the narrative arrangement of Book VI was to highlight the synthesis of two different perspectives in the conception of ideal Courtesie. The closer associations of Greek romance with the order of Nature makes it a metaphor for the spontaneous growth of Courtesie in human beings. And the chivalric, signifies the Art of

¹⁰⁵ see Tonkin (p. 23), for the connection of Art with the courtly-chivalric: "Callidore, riding out on his quest, sets forth as it were, from the artistic framework represented by Faery Court...Those knightly heroes, in certain aspects of their character, are messengers from the realm of ideal art--living representatives of the effect of art on life."

Courtesie, the channeling of the natural energies of the virtue into civil forms, identified in this case as the code of ethics, manners, and customs of the courtly-chivalric institution.

Structure

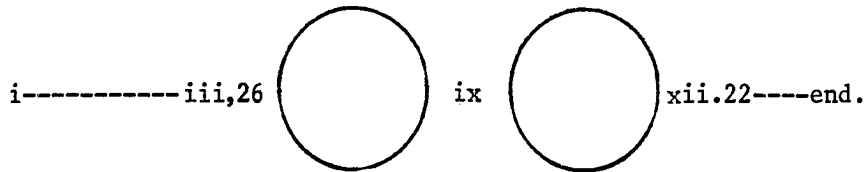
The structure of Book VI falls into four distinct parts. The first part describes the adventures Calidore meets at the outset of his quest. These involve the stories of Crudor and Briana, Aladin and Priscilla, and Tristram, all of which relate to chivalric romance sources.¹⁰⁶ The interest in the next two parts shifts from the quest to the adventures of Serena and Pastorella. These are self-contained stories, built around Greek romance motifs, and with a single line of action following the separation, trials, and reunion pattern of the Greek romances, and the simultaneous development of the foundling motif in the Pastorella section links this story in particular with the tradition of the pastoral originated by Longus. The remaining part is a hurried return to the quest theme. After capturing the Blatant Beast Calidore returns to the court, but the monster manages to escape again and the book concludes with this note of failure.

Frye describes the quest as "the element that gives literary form to the romance." The questing knight's movement from place A to the place of the quest B, gives the romance "a sequential and processional form," while "the complete form of the romance is clearly the successful quest."¹⁰⁷ Apparently none of these works for Book VI. The quest line

¹⁰⁶ see Variorum VI, pp. 365-371.

¹⁰⁷ Anatomy, pp. 186-87.

breaks off as early as canto iii.26, Calidore disappears until canto ix, and he has abandoned his quest from this point on to canto xii.22. In this sense Book VI is closer structurally to Books III and IV, where the quest is also abandoned and absorbed through a variety of episodes and characters, than it is to I, II, and V, in which the hero's quest remains central throughout. Thus, if we were to represent graphically the structure of Book VI we would have two circles enclosed parenthetically within the two ends of an interrupted line, representing respectively the circular Greek romance design of the Serena and Pastorella sections held loosely within the broken framework of the knightly quest pattern:



Calidore's task, the pursuit of the Blatant Beast, works here more as a thematic framework expressive of chivalric idealism, and less as the main structural element of the form. It is actually dislocated at the periphery of the main body of the narration which describes episodes that are not directly connected with the quest.

In spite of the structural inefficacy of the quest, however, chivalry continues to operate as an ideal throughout Book VI. We see that in the acts of chivalry performed by other knights (Arthur, Timias, Ennias, Calepine) in the middle part of the Book where Calidore is absent; in the Pastorella episode the chivalric ideal surfaces again as it is presented in sharp opposition to the pastoral life, a difficult choice that Calidore has to make. It is knighthood that prevails finally.

Calidore's return to court after capturing the Blatant Beast proves that Spenser's real intention was not to reject the courtly-chivalric ideal but rather to redefine it in new terms along with Courtesie. Contemplation in the pastoral world taught Calidore that the ideal of Courtesie, and by extension his quest, is valid only if it is informed by first principles found in Nature. Thus, in typical Renaissance manner, Spenser reconciles knightly action with the contemplation afforded by the natural world. Although then there is a movement away from the chivalric romance framework through the dilocation of the quest, the ideal of chivalry still functions as thematic mode in Book VI; it is transplanted, however into a new fictional context.

This new context is largely defined by the narrative motifs (already considered in the first chapter above) and by the design of Greek romance. Here Spenser adapted the design of the circular action of the Greek romances in the self-contained tales of *Serena* and *Pastorella*. This circularity consists of a movement with three discernible stages: love at first sight between the hero and heroine, their separation, wanderings and trials in a world-wide scale, and finally their reunion which is usually consolidated with marriage at their homeland. Unlike the knight who sets out after a quest willingly, in the Greek romances there is no "major adventure, usually announced from the beginning," which the pair of lovers runs out to meet of its own accord--their separation and journeyings are always the result of misadventure, while their heart remains set at the possibility of return and reunion back at their own societies.¹⁰⁸ Thus while in chivalric romance the boundaries of the

¹⁰⁸ Anatomy, p. 187.

quest which can be stretched "ad infinitum" suggest a processional onward movement, the circular movement of Greek romance defines the closed course of the ideal love: its inception, its testing against all kinds and temptations and obstacles, and its final triumph and approval by the rest of society.¹⁰⁹

The closed circle of the love story in the Greek romances signals, as in the comic modes, the consolidation of the young lovers in society through marriage. In chivalric romance, however, the completion of the quest as a rule signals the beginning of another in a perpetual onward movement that defines the ideals of knighthood away from the sphere of the practical and the domestic, the usual domain of Greek romance. This basic distinction between the action of chivalric and Greek romance is useful because it lets us see more clearly how the design of the latter enters the structure of Book VI.

In both the *Serena* and the *Pastorella* episodes, for example, the primary consideration is romantic love, while the quest theme has fallen out of sight. Calepine is only "a lover," he is not after a particular quest, and Calidore abandons his as soon as he sees *Pastorella*. The action in both episodes is circular. Both pairs are separated by unexpected mishaps modelled after Greek romance motifs (attacks by wild animals, cannibals, brigands, threat of sacrifice, or imprisonment), and reunited after hairbreadth escapes from danger. Since Spenser planned

¹⁰⁹ See Eugene Vinaver, *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 68-98, for a complete definition of the "onward" movement of chivalric romance. Also, see next discussion on "Tonality" for a detailed comparison of the chivalric and Greek romance modes.

to continue these stories in future books, the pairs do not get married here, but we can almost be certain that Spenser would choose to round up at least the traditional type of story by having Calidore come back and claim Pastorella as his bride.

Spenser had used a similar pattern of separation-trials-reunion in the Redcrosse-Una story of the first book. This love, however, was totally subordinate to the theme of the hero's quest for Holinesse, which remains uninterrupted throughout. Una's love has primarily an allegorical significance supporting the meaning of the quest by suggesting the relationship of Truth and Holinesse. The same can be said for the trials and separation of Britomart and Artegall. Their "romance" is actually an anagogical framework in which the heroine as Chastity and the hero as Iustice undergo chivalric adventures directed to illuminate these virtues. Perhaps the story of Scudamor and Amoret, if Spenser ever completed it, would have been closer to the Greek romance pattern, for its emphasis on the suffering of the lovers due to separation, but as the poem stands now their story is just one out of many converging plot lines that make up the Ariosto-like design of Book III. Only in the sixth book, in the Serena and Pastorella stories, we have a sustained application of this kind of circular plot in the manner it functions in the Greek romances.

The question arising at this point concerns the implications that the dislocation of the quest by Greek romance design has for the theme of Courtesie. For the failure of the quest to function structurally inevitably suggests that chivalry is not the right metaphor for the definition of Courtesie. Moreover, the hero's truancy in the pastoral

world and the fact that the Blatant Beast remains finally unsubdued, carry this point even further. The limitations of the quest should be explained in terms of Spenser's conception of Courtesie as a virtue properly belonging to the court, from where it derives its name, but with applications far wider than the ones suggested by the courtesy books. The kind of virtue that Spenser has in mind has actually little to do with the court and more with human nature and the power to restore harmony to individual relationships, and to society by extension. As the poet explains in the proem, the courtly practices of the virtue in his days had degenerated into "fayned showes," and "forgerie, / Fashioned to please the eies of them, that pas, / Which see not perfect things but in a glas." As a consequence, the Faerie court of the poem, as a microcosm of the real court of Spenser's present, would inevitably suggest to the reader the same faults and lack of proper education in Courtesie. The courtly idiom then, to which the chivalric quest belongs, could not in its own terms convey as broad a definition of Courtesie as Spenser wished to give, or as removed from the kinds of practices he condemns.

This is why the allegorical pursuit of the Blatant Beast fails to represent the final triumph of the virtue, as does, for example, the killing of the dragon in the legend of Holinesse, or the capture of Acrasia in the legend of Temperaunce. Bradner explains that the moral significance of the hero's quest is not central because the significance of the Blatant Beast as Slander and Malice is too restricted to be the sole enemy of such a complex and varied virtue as Courtesie.¹¹⁰ In his

¹¹⁰ Edmund Spenser and The Faerie Queene, p. 139.

important essay on this subject J. C. Maxwell gives a different but equally valid explanation as to why Calidore's success can only be temporary:

. . . in the first two books, primarily spiritual and individual in their significance, the overthrow of the enemy fitted the allegorical meaning. In Book VI, in which the enemy's field of action is the world of society, there could be no such conclusion without a utopianism fundamentally at variance with Christianity.¹¹¹

The structure of Book VI was meant to reflect a movement away from the chivalric framework. It was the only way for defining Courtesie in a context free from the restrictions of the courtly, as Spenser's conception of this virtue required:

In the earlier episodes Calidore remains bound to his society. Only later he discovers a new set of standards outside the chivalric framework, and this set of standards turns out ultimately to be true courtesie. But he can find this true courtesie only by bursting the bounds of the quest.¹¹²

In the interval between the broken ends of the quest, Spenser achieved the variety and freedom of narrative necessary for the new definition of Courtesie. He accomplished that by the employment of a line of plot focusing on the love stories of Serena and Pastorella, each story shaped by the design of the Greek love romances. The converging of the chivalric and Greek romance structures in Book VI is the signal that we

¹¹¹"The Truancy of Calidore," in That Sovereign Light, ed. William R. Mueller and Don C. Allen (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1952), pp. 63-69.

¹¹²Tonkin, pp. 175-76.

are entering into the two different worlds of experience represented by each kind. The way Spenser mingles the two modes and the type of romance narrative that emerges as a result of this synthesis is the subject of the next section.

Tonality

The narrative of Book VI marks a novelty in the art of the FQ. Up to the fifth book Spenser had been consistent with the original plan of the poem, at least, as we understand this plan to be from the letter to Raleigh and from its application to the earlier parts of the poem. The material and pattern of narration had been closely related to the chivalric forms--Medieval romance, and the Italian romantic epics, interspersed with classical and Biblical allusions and modified for the most part into "dark allegorical conceits." Up to this point Spenser had used chivalry as a metaphor for the ideal manifestation and cultivation of the moral virtues which he proposed to fashion his gentleman with. In the sixth book, however, the chivalric form begins to flaw through the introduction of Greek romance elements. The preceding discussion has demonstrated how the quest ceases to function as the main structural element while the circular plot design of Greek romance takes over instead. And in addition to the unusual accumulation of narrative motifs related to Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus, the operation of Fortune has proved identical to that in the Greek romances. The present discussion will turn to the less visible features of Book VI that place it even closer to the tradition of Greek romance and further away from the context of the chivalric. The focus will be on tonality, the overall effect of the particular kind of experience that the book conveys.

For the first time magic of Faerie land is so invisible. The impression one gets is very much like that of the actual world. Here Spenser handles his fictional materials in the direction of ordinary experience and against all expectations of a dream-like place such as the land of the Faeries. We certainly cannot call Book VI "realistic" in the sense that Frye defines the term: "In realism the attempt is normally to keep the action horizontal, using a technique of causality in which the characters are prior to the plot."¹¹³ Book VI is far from exhibiting this kind of realism, since the law of improbability, and coincidence, discontinuity of episodes, and preeminence of plot over character--all features of the romantic tendency--continue to operate strongly. Yet, the emphasis on what is supposed to be the essential principle of romance is missing. There is no sharp distinction of action between two "levels neither of them corresponding very closely to the ordinary world of experience."¹¹⁴ The "demonic" and "apocalyptic" mythic levels of romance are here less differentiated and we are moving instead, in the direction of realistic fiction towards the representational and the displaced.¹¹⁵ This is also the direction of the Greek romances and although one cannot be certain that their influence alone is responsible for the representational tendencies of Book VI, the fact that they were among Spenser's major sources makes such a case plausible.

¹¹³ Secular Scripture, p. 47.

¹¹⁴ Secular Scripture, p. 49.

¹¹⁵ Secular Scripture, p. 37.

For since Spenser wished to revitalize his poem with new materials by turning to the popular genre of the Greek romances, it follows that, apart from specific borrowings, he would have been open at the same time to their wider influence as an alternative to the courtly chivalric modes of the other Books. This wider influence becomes evident in Book VI in the form of a departure from the idealizing tendencies of chivalric narrative and a movement towards the concrete depiction of action characteristic of the Greek mode. Before the discussion turns to specific examples from Book VI, it is necessary to clarify further this important difference in the nature of the Greek and the chivalric romance action.

Love and adventure is the subject matter of all romance, but entirely different aspects of each are mirrored by the action of Greek and chivalric romance respectively. "Trial through adventure is the real meaning of the knight's existence."¹¹⁶ The knight who sets out on a quest acts willingly as the champion of the ethos of feudalism, aiming at the same time at self-perfection. The knightly ideal, as Auerbach describes it, is an absolute and personal one emphasizing inner values and diverted from any practical or earthly purpose--this is the reason why the values of chivalry were easily adaptable by cultures following the dissolution of feudalism as a political reality.¹¹⁷ The background for the chivalric adventures is not the everyday world of common

¹¹⁶ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1953), p. 135.

¹¹⁷ See *Mimesis*, p. 134 and 137.

experience but an idealized version of it, peopled with images from dream and fairy tale: The romantic tendency suggests implicit mythical patterns in a world associated with human experience but with the laws of nature slightly suspended.¹¹⁸

Far from seeking adventures willingly, the heroes and heroines in Greek romance regard their trials as unwelcome mishaps imposed by the cruelty of Fortune. To be sure, the suffering experienced emphasizes their chastity and loyalty to each other, but this is too narrow a definition of virtue to qualify these trials as a test for moral self perfection. Adventures in the Greek romances are actually at the service of the sensational rather than the ideal--shocking and surprising the reader is the measure of the success of the genre. What partly accounts for the high dramatic quality of the action is the fact that adventures take place on a level modelled after the world of ordinary experience. There are no attacks by dragons, giants, or monsters, but invasions of pirates, robbers, shipwrecks, and slavery, all of which recall the contemporaneous actuality of the Mediterranean world. In addition, the hero or heroine, though superior in physical beauty far beyond the ordinary, are not really removed from the common lot of humanity. They are one of "us" and we easily respond to their plight and vulnerability. Greek romance is, therefore, related closely to what Frye calls "analogy of experience," the characteristic direction of the low mimetic modes depicting worlds like our own, or even worse.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ See Frye, Anatomy, p. 33, and 139-40.

¹¹⁹ Anatomy, p. 154.

Love, that other important ingredient in the action of romances, is also treated differently by the two modes. The centrality of the separation-reunion pattern sealed with marriage within the bounds of a familiar society, relates Greek romance to the comic modes, especially New Comedy. In spite of the differences in the treatment of individual writers, Greek romance emphasizes the earthly dimension of love. It is largely a sensuous passion socially accommodated through marriage. Tatius is famous for the realism of his erotic descriptions and the playful, almost cynical, view of love. Longus unabashfully depicts the growth of two children in erotic knowledge, and Heliodorus sublimates a strong physical attraction into a sentimental ideal. As soon as the pagan sensuality of Greek romance began to appear as vice to the Christianized view of love, the dissolution of the genre became inevitable:

A fitting epitaph for the Greek erotic romance was penned by Nietzsche: "Christianity," he says "gave Eros poison to drink; he did not die of it, certainly, but degenerated to Vice." How true this is will be realized by anyone who reads the apocryphal Acts of Christian martyrs or the lives of the saints. Eros, healthy, pagan, and not yet poisoned, had been the principal prop of Greek romance in its beginning and its prime; and when that prop weakened and decayed, by degenerating into vice or trifling, the form supported by it collapses therewith, inevitably, and died.¹²⁰

After its transfiguration through religious romance, love as a secular passion reappeared again at the proscenium of prose narrative

¹²⁰ Ben E. Perry, The Ancient Romances (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 105-06.

with the twelfth century chivalric romances in the west, and their Byzantine counterparts in the East. But while the Byzantine romances were limited attempts to revive the Hellenistic love romances through Christian baptism--and for this they were doomed to fail--chivalric romance met with amazing flourishing under the fresh impetus of a new view of love, courtly love.¹²¹ In contrast with the physicality of love in the Greek romance, love in chivalric romance is a state of mind conducive to virtue--the knight performs acts of valor to gain his mistress's probitas. If not a religion, as C. S. Lewis puts it, love in the courtly culture is a system of ethics, attested by those parts of Capellanus' De Arte Honeste Amandi "where he dwells upon the power of love to call forth all knightly and courtly excellence: love which makes beautiful the horridus and incultus, which advances the most lowly born to true nobility, and humbles the proud."¹²²

A more detailed appreciation of the nature of love and adventure in Greek and chivalric romance would be out of place here, but for purposes of defining the tonality of the romance mode of Book VI, it suffices to conclude that the main distinction between the two types of romance narrative examined stems from the fact that the action of each imitates entirely different aspects of experience. Greek romance imitates the particular and the sensory, therefore temporal, aspects of reality. The chivalric, imitates its idealization.

¹²¹See C. S. Lewis, pp. 1-49.

¹²²C.S. Lewis, p. 39.

For the worldly point of view of the Greek romances Wolff writes: "One and all they suggest the spirit to the sense, one and all they minister to the lust and pride of the eye; one and all they rest in a world of sound and show."¹²³ From this it may appear that the level of experience described in Greek romance is superficial and devoid of any deeper connection with human conduct, but this would not be totally true. For, if there is a moral to be learned from the Greek romances, it will be found imbedded in the action itself, not in conceptualized images, allegory, or explicit commentary. Auerbach's explanation about the way antiquity represented reality is apt here, too: "They do not know the antagonism between sensory appearance and meaning, an antagonism which permeates the early and indeed the whole Christian view of reality."¹²⁴ This helps explain the love of pure plot in the Greek romances. Action is central because it is the means for suggesting the overriding patterns of meaning embedded in the sensory aspects of reality which it imitates.

Contrastingly, the action of chivalric romance imitates the ideal aspects of reality--its emphasis is on inner values rather than sensory appearances. The series of adventures in the plot spells out patterns of virtue, and love is subordinate to it: "For the conception of chivalry as a sublime form of secular life might be defined as an aesthetic ideal assuming the appearance of an ethical ideal."¹²⁵ This does not

¹²³ Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, p. 191.

¹²⁴ Mimesis, p. 49.

¹²⁵ Auerbach, p. 58.

mean that there are no concrete depictions of ordinary experience in chivalric romance. Rosamond Tuve has emphasized "the realism" of Medieval romance, "the firm grasp of most Medieval romance writing upon actuality and the habitual use of that element as the ground of these fictions."¹²⁶ However, these concrete descriptions are only details in a generally geographically and historically unlocated background, subject to the "logic" and dream-like ambiance of fable and fairy-tale. Typical chivalric romance presents an idealized world which is the result of shaping reality into forms of wish fulfillment. Frye calls this world the "analogy of innocence," and here "heroes are brave, heroines beautiful, villains villainous, and the frustrations, ambiguities, and embarrassments of ordinary life are made little of."¹²⁷

In the sixth book of the FQ, however, the idealized representation of reality encountered in the chivalric mode of the earlier books is tempered by the employment of a narrative method which, in line with the art of Spenser's Greek romance sources, represents action particularized as close to the concreteness of the sensory world as possible. For example, very little of the action of Book VI is purely allegorical, that is suggesting a conscious effort from the poet's part to construct allegory. With the exception of the Blatant Beast and a handful of monstrous personifications pursuing Timias and Mirabella, the rest does not depend on allegory for its meaning. Even these few allegorical

¹²⁶ Allegorical Imagery (Princeton, N. Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966) p. 338.

¹²⁷ Anatomy, p. 151.

instances fail to function effectively in the context of the Book. The inefficacy of the significatio of the Blatant Beast has already been pointed out. Timias' reappearance here, connects more with previous books, where his story first began, than with the present one. As for Mirabella, Josephine W. Bennett remarks that the "whole story is out of key with Book VI." because "it was an early invention, interpolated here in order to give the poet still another opportunity to make an allegorical apology to Raleigh."¹²⁸ Moreover, none of the human personages stands as an abstraction of Chastity, Beauty, or Lust as was the case in the earlier books.¹²⁹

Similarly, the adventures that Calidore encounters are real life type situations. In the main he is given into straightening out problems in the love lives of others and finally in his own involvement with Pastorella. Unlike the idealized loves of Una and Redcrosse, Britomart and Artegall, or Florimell and Marinell, which are designed to support conceptually the meaning of various virtues, the love stories of Book VI are firmly grounded in the literal level of the narrative. We have the sense that we are dealing with people and issues recalling familiar situations in the everyday world. There are no magical weapons, invisible shields, enchanted castles, giants, or witches. The stories center on the problems arising in relationships among private individuals and for which human nature is solely responsible: Brianna's love is subjected to

¹²⁸The Evolution of The Faerie Queene, p. 211.

¹²⁹MacCaffrey notes: "The personages--lost maiden, old shepherd, hermit, wild man, young squire, discourtesous knight--are what they are. They are not figural shadowings of invisible truths, but shadowy types

an inhuman test by the cruelty of her lover, Priscilla's parents object to the lower social standing of her lover, a wicked uncle deprives Tristram of his rightful inheritance, Calidore finds true love but neglects his duty, and Pastorella discovers her real parents. The fictional power of these stories draws them out so independently that there is a serious risk to forget that their function is not merely to entertain but also to serve as exempla for the illustration of a virtue.

Concrete particulars dominate over conceptualized imagery and the style is of such clarity and simplicity that it almost renders action visible. After all, Courtesie is the kind of virtue that can be defined best through its function i.e., its practical application in concrete situations rather than through reference to an abstract model set outside the narrative. The representational tendency of the action in VI at times approaches triviality. The series of episodes leading up to Calidore's encounter with Serena and Calepine "presents a spectacle of increasing triviality, from the fierce battle against Cruelty in the name of courteous love, to the sorting of domestic troubles and an unfortunate intrusion on a sunny afternoon," according to Tonkin.¹³⁰ Berger notes the unusual accumulation of details that may be called "homely or realistic--the care of babies, the adjustment of harness and pasturing

which live in our minds and enact the imagination's never ending romance with the world" (p. 418).

¹³⁰ Spenser's Courteous Pastoral, p. 51-2.

of mounts, the gathering of food. . .," which keep "the actual world always before us even in the heart of Faerie."¹³¹ In Book VI the concreteness of action is all.

The pull towards the concrete, the ordinary, and the temporal expressed by the fictional aspect of VI, places this book closer to the narrative tradition of the Greek romances, and the novellae of Boccaccio and Green than to chivalric romance, which moves in the direction of myth and fairy-tale. Yet, the idealistic assumptions of chivalry continue to operate strongly on the thematic level of Book VI, creating a kind of tension in which one recognizes the old antagonism between the ideal and the actual. This underlying tension is a characteristic feature of Book VI and it has already drawn a lot of critical attention. Tonkin, for example, suggests that here Spenser may well be questioning the chivalric context of his poem as a suitable enough metaphor for the teaching of virtue, for ". . . the optimistic note sounded by the metaphor of the chivalric quest stands in ironic contrast to the seeming futility of human action in the face of destiny and human imperfection."¹³² On the other hand, in an introspective analysis Berger relates this tension to the problems of the Renaissance poet trying to make sense of the world around him: "The contrivance of the narrative, the inconclusiveness of

¹³¹ Harry Berger Jr., "A Secret Discipline: The Faerie Queene, Book VI," in Form and Convention in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser, ed. William Nelson (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1961), p. 40.

¹³² Spenser's Courteous Pastoral, p. 269.

the adventures, the gradual flawing of the romance world, the failure of chivalric action--these dramatize the claims imposed by actuality on the life of the imagination."¹³³

The dichotomy of the ideal and the actual suggested by Book VI welcomes a number of different approaches, a freedom offered by the rich complexity of Spenser's art. The discussion following chooses to focus on the thematic justification for this dichotomy. It views the tension resulting from the juxtaposition of the idealistic assumptions of chivalry and the perspective of actuality, afforded by Greek romance fictional materials and method, as a metaphor for an implicit debate between the Art and Nature of Courtesie. This thematic consideration underlies continuously the narrative surface of Book VI, and shapes the action to the direction of Spenser's conception of ideal Courtesie.

Nature and Art

It is by now a critical commonplace to suggest that the controlling elements in Spenser's definition of Courtesie belong to the framework of the familiar Renaissance debate of Art and Nature. The general argument of the critics summarized, is as follows: Spenser's conception of Courtesie as a virtue defined by "inward thought," and not just by the "outward shows," which in the proem he identifies with the prevalent manners of his courtly society, calls for a re-evaluation of the virtue. The new view of Courtesie he proposes is based on first principles found

¹³³"A Secret Discipline," p. 41

in Nature--a typically Elizabethan viewpoint. Functioning to this effect, the theme of primitivism represented by such natural figures as Tristram, or the Salvage Man, culminates in the pastoral episode of the last three cantoes. The primitivism and pastoralism of the book explores the natural origins and attributes of the virtue divested from secondary, societal considerations: courage, mercy, hospitality, gentle speech and manners, honesty. Kathleen Williams explains:

For such a definition the gracious natural background of pastoral and the simple truth of the shepherd are in place even if only to distinguish between the outward show of courtly manners and true courtesy's delicate concern.¹³⁴

But as the argument goes, although Courtesie is a flower of "a lowly stalk," yet it "brancheth forth in brave nobilitie,/And spreads it selfe through all ciuilitie" (Proem 4.3-5). This implies that Courtesie meets its perfection only in the artful forms taught by courtly or civil education, and Calidore, the representative of his courtly chivalric society, is the prime example of this ideal. "Chivalry and knighthood" then, stand for the Art of Courtesie, they "become a large metaphor for the form in which the natural virtuous instincts of Courtesie find full civil bloom."¹³⁵ Of course not all Nature or all Art is good. Spenser treats the ambiguities of each in representative figures of perverted Nature, like the cannibals or the brigands, and of wicked Art, as Crudor's misuse of the arms and courage of chivalry, or Mirabella's courtly pride

¹³⁴"Courtesy and Pastoral in The Faerie Queene, p. 341.

¹³⁵Mortenson, p. 63.

implies. The answer lies in the reconciliation of the two: "The example of Book VI requires us to remember that untutored or unenlighted Nature may be condemned and that Art, when it is not needlessly complicated, . . . may enhance and complement Nature."¹³⁶

In exploring the relationship of Courtesie to Art and Nature, Spenser exploited the thematic possibilities inherent in the linking of chivalry with pastoralism, a precedent set by the practices of Montemayor and Sidney. The pastoral mode with its implicit praise of Nature and the criticism of the court obviously supports the conception of Courtesie as a virtue whose origins are found in the natural world. This is the basis of Spenser's conception of true Courtesie, and in this sense Book VI illustrates on the thematic level a sustained application of the underlying thought of the pastoral mode. Thus, in conclusion to the preceding summary, critics unanimously agree that the contrast provided by pastoral and chivalry, or primitivism and the courtly highlights Spenser's double perspective of Courtesie as Nature perfected by Art.

It is possible, however, to go further than this, by suggesting that the thematic debate of Art and Nature in the name of true Courtesie has its analogy in the narrative arrangement of the book itself. As maintained so far, the narrative mode of Book VI is a composite of elements from both Greek and chivalric romance, and the contrast of the two kinds of experience abstracted from the two suggests the antagonism of the actual and the ideal respectively. This study proposes that the whole context of the Greek romance mode, not only primitivism or the

¹³⁶Tayler, p. 119.

pastoral in VI, functions as a metaphor for the Nature of Courtesie in juxtaposition to chivalry as its Art. There are two basic reasons for that.

First, some of the most memorable examples of natural Courtesie, and its opposite, come from Greek romance sources including Longus' pastoral. In the sacrifice of Serena, modelled after Leucippe's sacrifice in Tatius, the perversion of the natural laws by the cannibals is for Spenser a prime example of discourtesy. The model for Pastorella, the flower of natural courtesy, is Longus' Chloe, and Meliboeus' hospitality and kind nature is an attribute to her father Lamon. A mesh of additional illustrations of the natural manifestations of the virtue, as well as its perversions, takes place in the episode of Pastorella's trials in the hands of the brigands until rescued by her lover, based on a mixture of parallel situations from Heliodorus and Tatius.

These specific borrowings are less important than the more general contribution of the Greek mode for the illustration of the Nature of Courtesie. In seeking a context free from the restrictions of the courtly metaphors, Spenser recreated a background reminiscent of the tonality of Greek romance, instead. The way he achieved that, as the preceding discussion has demonstrated, goes beyond the mere borrowing of narrative motifs and designs. Throughout Book VI Spenser employed the Greek romance uses of Fortune as an agent of unexpected mishaps in sharp opposition to heroic ethos, thus emphasizing the disorder and vulnerability of our world of fallen Nature. In line with the art of his Greek models, he also handled narration in terms of literal action depicting the particulars of ordinary experience. Allegory has practically

disappeared and he has rejected most of the marvels and enchantments common in the earlier books. This context shows Courtesie outside the court testing its strengths against what appears to be a naturalistic environment of chance happenings, suggesting the complexities of everyday life in a less than perfect dimension.

The examples of natural Courtesie that Spenser unfolds here, comes as a healing reaction to life's adversities. He presents mercy, compassion, love, courage, and gentle speech and manners, i.e., all the artless forms of natural Courtesie, emerging in various degrees directly from human nature and untouched by considerations of organized society. Like the Greek romances, Book VI narrows down on human nature by focusing on individual relationships. For the Nature of the virtue has in view the help that one individual needs from another in order to survive in an uncertain world. This common human need is expected to stir the seeds of Courtesie planted naturally in human nature and make it grow in acts of giving.

In this context of ideas the pastoralism of Book VI has its own justification. It functions emblematically. It reflects the ideal state of Nature--postlapsarian but innocent enough to confirm the natural origins of true Courtesie outside the societal framework. The pastoral as metaphor, however, is as restrictive in itself as the chivalric for envincing the entire spectrum of the spontaneous manifestations of the virtue. The pastoral makes its point about the origins of Courtesie, but it is a limited point when it comes to a comprehensive view of the applications of the virtue. For true Courtesie operates in the actuality of everyday life, not in idealized states of Nature. More comprehensive

for the manifestations of natural Courtesie than the pastoral vision is the background with the tonality of Greek romance that Spenser re-created throughout the poem, employing the Greek romance uses of Fortune, narrative motifs, design, and method. It is a background alluding to the chaotic world of actuality where natural Courtesie can be seen functioning as a valuable resource of survival for the individual.

By placing the works of Courtesie on the level of the individual Spenser turned the issue inside out. He showed that the artful civil forms of Courtesie (courteous speech and manners, excellence in arms, knighthood, and all the things prescribed by the court, the arbiter of Spenser's society) can indeed be meaningful if guided by first principles found in Nature. Thus by defining the Nature of Courtesie Spenser actually enriched the meaning of its Art by interpreting it as a means for perfecting society through shaping the materials the natural instincts of the virtue into civil forms.

It is with this understanding that Calidore returns to court, the place of the Art of Courtesie. And the poem ends where it began, with the quest unfinished. Only this time it does not matter. What really matters, as Calidore has learned, is not the outcome, the "outward show" of the quest, but the understanding of what lies behind such artful metaphors. All along, the narrative has been pulling towards this conclusion by keeping constantly alive the tension that the fusion of the two different worlds of the Greek romance and chivalry generate. This tension Spenser resolved, at least temporarily, within the narrative framework of his poem through a conception of Courtesie that embraces the meaning of both these worlds. On the way, we have witnessed how a

Renaissance poet transforms and enriches the possibilities of old forms by mixing them together so that with a new meaning they throw light onto the present.

CONCLUSION

In the year of 1621 Robert Burton wrote in The Anatomy of Melancholy:

Love is the sole subiect almost of all Poetry, all our inuention tends to it, all our songs, what euer those old Anacrion, Greeke Epigrammatists, Loue writers, Anthony Diogenes the most ancient, whose Epitome we finde in Phocius Biblotheca, Longus Sophista. . . . Our new Ariosto's, Boyardes, authors of Arcadia, Fairy Q. &c. haue written in this kinde, are but as so many Symtomes of Loue.¹

It may seem strange that a writer in the generation closest to his own remembered Spenser, not as a great allegorist or the composer of a great national epic, but as a "Loue writer" like Longus and Diogenis, both writers of Greek romance, among others.²

Today Spenser's readers may feel uncomfortable with a comparison between the FQ and the Greek romances. They may wonder how a poem

¹Cited in Spenser Allusions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. William Wells (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1972), p. 161.

²Diogenis wrote The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule (second or third century A.D.) which is extant only in epitome in Photius' Bibliotheca. There is no evidence that Spenser knew his work since the text of the Bibliotheca was first published in 1601, i.e., two years after Spenser's death.

which is the epitome of Renaissance idealism could resemble the sensuous, unspiritual, and artificial hybrid genre of dying antiquity. Apparently the Elizabethans, and especially Spenser, did not think so. This study has attempted to explain the reasons and to offer proof for that.

Heliodorus, Tatius, Longus: the Renaissance imagination read them differently from the way we do today. The Elizabethan translators idealized their works by emphasizing above anything else the edifying qualities and the splendor of an elaborate rhetoric. And the strange loves and adventures in distant times and lands satisfied with fresh impressions the increasing taste for romance of the times. The Elizabethan translations of the romances by Heliodorus, Tatius and Longus flourished in a milieu eager to absorb and assimilate as many and as varied literary influences as possible for both profit and pleasure.

In the FQ Spenser treated the Greek romance the way all great poets treat the literary legacy of the past. He recreated them by expanding the symbolic dimensions of the genre to fit the artistic and moral scheme of his poem. From the preceding discussions emerges a pattern that suggests two different ways by which the Greek romance entered the universe of the FQ: as the "imaginative ground-plot" of Spenser's allegory, and as a metaphor of the particular kind of experience that the genre stands for.

The first of the two ways is most clear in Spenser's use of the Aethiopica as a model for Book I. Here the allegory of Holinesse is understood through a narrative shaped after the providential design of the lovers' journey in the Aethiopica. In addition, the poet worked out a harmonious fusion of Heliodoran and Scriptural images and situations, which fixes the meaning of the allegory tightly on the fictional

level of the story. The same method guides the poet's use of Greek romance motifs and images in two of the exempla of Temperaunce and in the polysemous allegory of Britomart's visit at the temple of Isis in the legend of Iustice.

In the last book of the unfinished FQ, Greek romance is not simply a source of material for allegory, but above all an invigorating influence and a model for Spenser's art of narration. The legend of Courtesie shows a fresh approach to style and subject matter, for the idealization of allegory gives way to the direct language of action and the literalness of imagery. This change in method is the result of Spenser's adaptation of the major characteristics of the Greek romance mode, which becomes the vehicle for a systematic re-evaluation of the natural beginning of the moral virtue of Courtesie opposite the artfulness of the chivalric-courtly ideal.

It is in the first and last complete book of the FQ that the mark of the Greek romance is mostly visible. The Aethiopica is as serious an influence in the creation of Book I as the other sources commonly suggested. In the last book the strength of the entire tradition of Greek romance asserts itself in the domain of Spenser's allegory with a new point of view. There is enough evidence in these two books to claim that Spenser was familiar with the contemporary translations of the Greek romances and drew from them directly, as well as from the numerous Renaissance intermediaries that could have served as indirect sources. Moreover, a number of Greek romance patterns and images are present in Books II and V. However, in the middle books if Greek romance had any

impact at all (especially in the story of Britomart and Artegall), it is too diffused to sustain any proof.

The explanation for this unequal distribution of the effect of Greek romance on the books of the FQ relates directly to the background of the complex issues that determined the evolution of the whole poem. Josephine W. Bennett concludes that the history of the composition of the FQ has a "wavering course". Although at the inception of his poem Spenser desired to emulate Ariosto, "the formal illustration of the virtues which grew out of it, as it is preserved in the first two books, seems to represent a period of composition during which Ariosto gave way to older models"; but before the decade of the eighties during which he composed the first three books was over,, "for some reason, after a struggle to create an allegorical epic in illustration of the virtues, Spenser turned back, in a more mature spirit," to Ariosto for story material--the result was the creation of Book III and IV.³

Since in the serious undertaking of the legend of Hollinesse Spenser turned to older and more suitable models than Ariosto, it is not surprising that Heliodorus' Aethiopica was among these alternatives. It was a good choice in which the poet seems prompted not only by the high moral quality of this work but also by the public acclaim of Underdowne's translation, which had been issued three times (1569, 1577, 1587) during the decade of the composition of Book I. On the other hand, the loose structure and the great amounts of story material from Ariosto in the

²The Evolution of the Faerie Queene (New York: B. B. Franklin, 1960), p. 237.

middle books, in which the poet returned to his earlier model, left no room or desire for the consideration of Greek romance material.

The fervor with which Spenser embraced Greek romance again in Book VI grew out of the climate of literary conditions in England in the years between the first and second installments of the FQ (1590-96). During this time the Greek romance translations kept coming out of the presses and Sidney's Arcadia was the focal point of attention with two editions (1590, 1593). After his visit to London in 1590-91 Spenser returned to Ireland inspired by the challenge of new possibilities for the continuation of his poem, which had opened up by the match of chivalry and Greek romance in Sidney's work. It is in the last complete book of the FQ that the threads of Greek romance weave a new design in the evolution of the poem. The narrative mode of Book VI is a rich metaphor that surveys reality from a perspective born out of a meaningful debate between civalric idealism and the sensory world of the Greek love romances.

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