

**MARTIAL AND MARITAL: REPRESENTING
MASCULINITY IN THE FAERIE QUEENE AND THE NEW ARCADIA**

by

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of English
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Martial and Marital: Representing
Masculinity in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia

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This thesis examines the representation of masculinity in Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene (1596) and Philip Sidney's New Arcadia (1590). Most men in these texts are either bachelor knights or husbands, and these roles represent early modern conceptions of youth and adulthood respectively. Drawing on anthropological theory, I argue that Spenser and Sidney establish chivalry and patriarchy as competing systems, each with its own codes. In the one, masculine status and institutional order derive from errantry and autonomy, same-sex identification established through knightly competition, and martial qualities such as vengeful aggression and desire for fame. In the other, status and order depend upon the male's civic responsibilities, on his relations to others in a household, and on the role of that household in maintaining civil stability. The thesis analyzes the intersections of these systems and the ritual and textual means by which passages between them are negotiated--taking up of arms and separation from mother and domestic governance; transvestite disguise; marriage; and tournaments.

When patriarchal status is anticipated by encounters with potential brides or with androgynous figures who embody the union of masculine and feminine, knightly status becomes insecure, and chivalric codes become inadequate. The knight enters a transitional state, figured by anonymity or disguise (sometimes involving crossdressing) and by a movement outside male-governed order to feminine communities or feminized

geographical space. Spenser and Sidney equate this anomalous period with 'death,' associating it with magic and with dangerous maternity. Here chivalry and patriarchy clash. The knight sees marriage and procreation as the destroyer of autonomy, but the bridegroom regards them as necessary to civil order. Some males in this state may be unable to relinquish exclusively masculine chivalric status. Others are reborn into a new androgynous masculinity which serves the commonwealth. Although chivalry has valid social and political functions, it can undermine social order unless it is subordinate to patriarchy. Spenser shows how chivalry may serve civility and continually resolves martial and marital tensions in moments of social productivity and harmony. For Sidney, however, chivalry and patriarchy become increasingly incompatible, resulting in the tragic 'ending' of the 1590 Arcadia.

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NOTE ON QUOTATIONS AND CITATIONS

Citations from the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene are taken from Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia), ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); and Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. A. C. Hamilton (1977; London: Longman, 1980). When quoting from these and all other printed texts, I have retained original spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and use of italics for emphasis. I have modernized i-j and u-v spellings and have changed the italics used for proper names in The Faerie Queene to roman (as is conventional). Where meaning is obvious, I have expanded abbreviations (indicating them with italics).

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ELH</u>	<u>English Literary History</u>
<u>ELR</u>	<u>English Literary Renaissance</u>
<u>HLO</u>	<u>Huntington Library Quarterly</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>JMRS</u>	<u>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</u>
<u>LCL</u>	Loeb Classical Library
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
<u>NA</u>	Philip Sidney, <u>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)</u> , ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987)
<u>NQ</u>	<u>Notes and Queries</u>
<u>OA</u>	Philip Sidney, <u>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)</u> , ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973)
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
<u>PQ</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Renaissance Quarterly</u>
<u>SCJ</u>	<u>Sixteenth Century Journal</u>

<u>SEL</u>	<u>Studies in English Literature</u>
<u>SP</u>	<u>Studies in Philology</u>
<u>SQ</u>	<u>Shakespeare Quarterly</u>
<u>STC</u>	A. W. Pollard, and G. R. Redgrave. <u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640</u> , 2nd. ed, revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katherine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-91)
<u>The FQ</u>	Edmund Spenser, <u>The Faerie Queene</u> , ed. A. C. Hamilton (1977; London: Longman, 1980)
<u>TSLL</u>	<u>Texas Studies in Literature and Language</u>
<u>UTQ</u>	<u>University of Toronto Quarterly</u>
<u>Var.</u>	Edmund Spenser, <u>The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition</u> , ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, and Frederick Morgan Padelford, 11 vols. (1932; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1966)

Martial and Marital: Representing Masculinity in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia

Introduction

While much has been written about the men of The Faerie Queene (1596) and the New Arcadia (1590), little has been said about what it means to be a man in these works. In part, this void in Spenser and Sidney studies reflects the general history of early modern studies: literary critics and cultural historians have only relatively recently begun to consider sexual difference. But, although 'feminist' criticism to many scholars means 'gender' criticism, in practice it has tended to yield studies of women and femininity: its many contributions to our understanding of Tudor and Stuart culture say comparatively little about early modern men and their masculinity. I am by no means equating the current state of 'men's studies' with that of 'women studies' a couple of decades ago. Then, we knew little about women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: we had not yet begun to consider many of the sources that might tell us about them, and we had not yet begun to use what we knew to read texts in alternative ways. This is not the case with men. There is no need to pose the question 'Did men have a Renaissance?'¹ because much of what we do know of Renaissance culture tells us about men: they are the authors and subjects of the majority of our sources, and we have long read texts from their point of view.

¹ Cf. Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?"

These critical practices perhaps reflect our acceptance and subsequent endorsement of scholarly definitions of early modern English society: it was a patriarchy.² Valuable readings of Tudor and Stuart literary texts have been provided by examinations of women's relationships to patriarchy: among other things, they have shown how women respond to the sex roles dictated to them by male-governed culture; demonstrated how women were often regarded as imperfect aberrations judged against an unwaveringly stable male norm; differentiated the experience of women from that of men; and defined the place of women in early modern society by showing the means by which women were subordinated (sometimes forcibly) to patriarchal control, and the strategies that women used to resist these means.³

² Primarily responsible for advancing this view of the household and the corresponding social order are Laslett (esp. 2-6, 12) and especially Stone. Their findings have been subsequently challenged--particularly regarding the extent of the inviolability and restrictiveness of patriarchal order (especially for wives) and the lack of familial affection that Stone describes. See L. Pollock, Forgotten Children, esp. 58-59; Ezell, esp. 4-8, 127-63; Wrightson 66-118; Houlbrooke; Warnicke 134-37; Prior; and Wiesner, "Family," esp. 65-68, and "Women's Defense of Their Public Role." Such scholarship provides evidence for a more equal division of power between husbands and wives; it also examines the discrepancy between the ideal hierarchy posited by treatises and the reality of women's lives in the household (from letters, diaries, etc.). However, these challenges do not deny that the basic hierarchical arrangement of patriarchy permeated most if not all aspects of life and that it characterized the ordering of family, church, and state. For a general treatment of 'patriarchy,' see Kelly, "Social Relation," 11-14.

³ E. g., Rewriting the Renaissance, a collection of essays edited by M. Ferguson, Quilligan, and Vickers, is divided into sections headed "The Politics of Patriarchy," "Consequences of Patriarchy," and "Exceptions to the Rule of Patriarchy." See also its introduction and the introductions which summarize similar collections (Thirsk 15-18; Travitsky; Mary Beth Rose, Women in the Middle Ages; and Brink, Coudert, and Horowitz).

Studies of gender in Sidney and Spenser make similar arguments. Katherine J. Roberts, for example, shows how Sidney's women exhibit the traditional imperfections and weaknesses associated with their sex in the period, albeit in a more psychologically complex fashion than their counterparts in Sidney's sources (esp. 3, 26). And Anne Shaver warns us not to be fooled by the New Arcadia's increased emphasis on the princesses' virtues. Rather, she argues, "Women are trashed" and "kept firmly in their place" in the text: "chaste by male restraint; effectively silenced by prison or death; obedient to male standards of behavior, and subsumed by the real business of chivalry, the proving of male valor" (4). In Spenser studies Margaret Olofson Thickstun demonstrates that Britomart rejects her "independent quest in favor of marital and social subordination" (25) to men because the ultimately male-governed "Protestant companionate marriage ... effectively channels and controls female power" (44; see 37-59). In another study of how apparently independent women in The Faerie Queene are subject to male control, Mihoko Suzuki shows how patriarchal order inherited from the epic tradition purges itself of feminine challenges, resulting in, for example, the unfortunate diminishment of Britomart (150-209, esp. 186-89). In short, in Sidney and Spenser criticism as in much scholarship on the early modern period, patriarchy is often assumed to be equivalent to being male. There has been much work on what patriarchy and patriarchal standards mean for women--they are often represented as fixed institutions against which women react or to which women are forced to comply--but relatively little work on what patriarchy means for men.

However, we have begun to apply the tools of gender theory to men's experience. Pioneering this work, particularly in literary studies, is Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's Between Men. Examining literary works from a variety of periods, Sedgwick describes a triangular, 'homosocial' relationship between male rivals and the female object of their desire in which the woman is merely a token of masculine power which cements the male-male relationship through its exchange.⁴ Also underlying the relatively new 'masculinist' approach is the current 'men's movement.'⁵ These efforts have contributed to and converged with a wave of (often interdisciplinary) men's studies in the humanities.⁶ Such studies suggest why future inquiries into manhood might yield more than its mere equation with patriarchy. First, manhood is something that is reached, and it is constructed in response to culturally determined models and prescriptions of masculine behaviour. Second, potentially competing versions of manhood may exist simultaneously: some versions may dominate others, but 'manhood' should not be

⁴ Esp. 2-3, 21, 25-26. In an application of these ideas to a sixteenth-century text, Sedgwick examines the triangle of speaker, young man, and dark lady in Shakespeare's sonnets (28-48, esp. 38-40).

⁵ On men's studies or masculinity/masculinities, see Morgan, esp. vii, 4, 44-47; Stearns, esp. 2-3, 6, 10-11; Seidler, Rediscovering Masculinity, esp. 3, 7-9, 12-13, and The Achilles Heel Reader, esp. 5-6, 9, 12-13; Segal, esp. ix-xiii; Brod, esp. 1-17; Brittan, esp. 1-45; and Pleck, esp. 15-27, 135-53.

⁶ For example, D. Rosen discerns that "acting like a man means suspecting one is not a man" (xviii) in texts from Beowulf to Sons and Lovers; C. Williams examines the influence of classical education on masculinity in the eighteenth century; Sussman considers the anxieties underlying masculinity in the Victorian era; and Mosse argues that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "Masculinity was the rock upon which bourgeois society built much of its own self-image" (263) to defend itself against "forces of dissolution" such as "Economic crisis, labour unrest and the new technology...[, Fears of depopulation, ... threats to individual health..., lesbians and homosexuals ...[, and] women's quest for equality" (252).

regarded as an abstraction which does not need to be defined. Third, the competition among various 'masculinities' as well as the influence of what is 'other' mean that masculinity may be fraught with anxieties. Fourth, masculinity is not an inviolable concept but dynamically responds to such tensions and challenges. And finally, in male-governed societies, masculinity has been inevitably bound up with the stability of the entire social order.

These five areas of potential investigation and my own study of Spenser and Sidney also owe much to previous work on the early modern period. We have learned that identity, including gender identity, was 'fashioned' in the period by the inscription of social rules, norms, and expectations⁷; and that status might be represented to a contemporary audience by recognizable, manipulable signs.⁸ We also know that the

⁷ Greenblatt provides an influential description of how self or identity in the sixteenth century is fashioned by a "poetics of culture" (Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 4-5), one aspect of which is early modern sexual discourse (Greenblatt, "Fiction," 75). Self-fashioning depends on certain conditions, and those perhaps most relevant to fashioning sexual or gender identity include the positing of an Other against which the self might be defined, and submission to "authority situated at least partially outside the self"--in this case often a patriarchal authority (Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 9; cf. "Fiction," 75-76). Kelso provides a general account of what social inscription on the early modern 'gentleman' would have comprised as well as an excellent bibliography of sources (although her account is limited by its focus on the 'gentleman' alone and on courtesy literature) (Doctrine of the English Gentleman). Cultural prescriptions of 'normal' masculinity might also be discerned in studies of anomaly such as the investigations of homosexuality by Bray, and of transvestism by Howard, Rackin ("Androgyny"), and Levine ("Men"; and Men, esp. 1-25).

⁸ Particularly applicable to studies of masculinity are Eisenbichler's discussion of how virility is represented in a portrait of a young nobleman (esp. 22, 26); Levine's argument that male sexual behaviour might be symbolically enacted or performed (Men, esp. 6-9); and examinations of how clothing signified both economic and gender status to the Elizabethans (Howard, esp. 420-25; Garber 25-32, 36).

period had ideas of what constituted immature and mature male behaviour and that 'manhood' was not conferred by sex; rather, it had to be 'achieved.' Those males who had achieved it thus coexisted with those who had not.⁹ Indeed, it is precisely because culturally prescribed perfect manhood was not automatic that patriarchy was insecure. As some scholars have shown, this insecurity informs much of the misogyny and male authoritarianism of the period: patriarchy continually reinforced itself through literary affirmations and cultural practice and through defining itself against 'others' (Woodbridge 8, 49-113; Anthony Fletcher, esp. 3-29). Moreover, even what was depicted as 'masculinity' or 'manhood' was not an imperturbable constant: its definitions shifted, and it was fraught with anxieties and contrarities.¹⁰

Accordingly, this thesis considers masculinity in the New Arcadia (1590) and The Faerie Queene (1596) as a culturally determined identity, status, or role which, because of social pressures and expectations, creates similar ambiguities, tensions, paradoxes, and difficulties.¹¹ As the work of feminist scholars has shown, men maintain a patriarchal

⁹ The historians Yarbrough and Ben-Amos identify the processes by which males matured in the period as well as the rituals and customs which signified the stages of that maturation and the cultural expectations associated with them. In literary studies, Kahn's Man's Estate and Adelman's Suffocating Mothers illuminate Shakespeare's plays by judiciously combining twentieth-century psychology with contemporary attitudes, customs, and practices surrounding development to adulthood.

¹⁰ E. g., Hutson describes a new masculinity in which rhetorical skills--that is, "practices of 'mental husbandry' which involve the ability to plot strategy and make economic use of enemies" (12)--supplant the martial and chivalric masculinity celebrated by romance. Levine argues that there was no 'fixed' masculine self in the period (Men, esp. 8-12).

¹¹ For a general discussion of 'gender,' see Kelly's discussion of "Sex as a Social Category" ("Social Relation," 4-9); for a more recent definition of 'gender' and a summary of the tools offered by gender theory, see Jehlen. But for warnings about

order; however, these men do not always occupy the status of patriarch, nor do they begin as patriarchs, a role which implies fatherhood, household governance, and civic responsibility. What are men if they are not patriarchs, or before they become patriarchs? How do men end up contributing to patriarchal order in the commonwealth or achieving it within their own households? If the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene join many Renaissance texts in their portrayals of women as 'widows, wives, or maids,'¹² the roles they allow men are at least as limited--or as varied. In these texts, I shall argue, masculine identity depends as much on men's relationships (or lack of relationships) with women as feminine identity depends on women's relationships with men. Specifically, masculinity in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene is represented by two largely disparate roles or statuses, that of autonomous bachelor knight and that of engaged man or husband.

* * *

anachronistic application of current ideas about gender as well as a thoughtful account of what "sexual difference" means in the period, see Rackin, "Historical Difference/Sexual Difference." For the ideas on which sexual difference was based, see Maclean. Particularly important among these ideas were Galenic and Aristotelian theories of conception which defined the newly created entity or fetus as sexually ambiguous or, because of its composition of bodily matter, as feminine (Maclean 28-46, esp. 31-33, 37-39; Rackin 39): masculinity was thus a later development. On how ideas of form and matter and theories of conception contribute to "gender" difference in the period, see Greenblatt, "Fiction," esp. 76-80, 93; Levine, Men, 139-40, n.16; Rackin, "Historical Difference/Sexual Difference," esp. 48-52; and Anthony Fletcher xvi-xviii, 33-43.

¹² Woodbridge demonstrates that these categories represented a standard classification in the period (84, 93, 224-29, 233).

There are, of course, many perceptive studies of males in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene. Much of this work focuses on flawed yet heroic men and emphasizes their moral development, characterization, or psychology. For example, Edwin Greenlaw observes that Amphialus is "a man of noble instincts" yet "swollen by a windy ambition" (278). In a more comprehensive study, Joan Rees offers a psychological reading comparing several of the men of the Arcadia and exposing the flaws and "moral shadings and discriminations" in human nature (27): to her Amphialus foils the princes because he makes the wrong choices in comparable situations (27-41). Other critics view the men of the texts as undergoing some process of development or education which eradicates their flaws and perfects them in virtue. Josephine Roberts contends that the journey of the princes in the New Arcadia represents their education in architectonic knowledge: Pyrocles' and Musidorus' growing understanding of ethics and politics teaches them how to make the right choices, but Amphialus is unable to learn these lessons.¹³ Critics of The Faerie Queene offer similar arguments. The heroes of Books I and II "realize the perfection of [their] own nature" and transcend their inadequacies, argues A. C. Hamilton (Structure of Allegory, 101). Examining the middle books of the poem, T. K. Dunseath describes the like transformation of a flawed Artegall--subject to wrath, pride, and concupiscence--into a refined, ideal hero (esp. 45-46, 86-140, 183-235).

¹³ Architectonic Knowledge, esp. 203-84. Other critics who argue that the princes undergo an initiation or education include W. Davis, esp. 38-39, 68, 82-83; Lindheim, Structures, 128, 167, passim; and Dipple 340-41. For a challenge to these arguments, see Weiner 51-100.

Though helpful, this work is also limited by its focus on individuals.¹⁴ Josephine Roberts teaches us much by comparing men to other men, but why is it males and not females who acquire architectonic knowledge? Or why do the architectonically educated princes or Dunseath's perfected Artegall--or the many figures who, as it has been argued, have learned why they should know better or have transcended their inadequacies--nonetheless occasionally slip back into their bad habits? And why, then, are undesirable traits--such as wrath, aggression, vengefulness, or desire for fame--sometimes used to praiseworthy effect? Finally, what does it mean when Dunseath describes Artegall's loss of knighthood in Radigone as a loss of manhood (134)? Or when Nancy Lindheim (Structures, 88) and Joan Rees (67) describe Musidorus as being more 'masculine' than Pyrocles? Little work has been done on men in groups in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, and their culturally dictated gender roles have not been much defined by critics. This thesis will consider what the careers of individual males reveal about manhood and its relationship to the entire social order in sixteenth-century England.

In light of this mandate, though, the scholarship on the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene discussed above does offer some useful approaches to masculinity in the

¹⁴ Whether these individuals be considered figures, characters, models for exemplary behaviour, or something else. It has long been recognized that Spenser and Sidney are not creating 'psychology' or 'personality' in the way that their contemporary Shakespeare does. For a summary of the critical debate over the 'characterization' of Spenser's figures, see Lockerd 11-15. An analogous discussion in Sidney studies may be represented by, on the one hand, critics such as Greenlaw or Marenco (305) who discuss the Arcadia's figures more as 'exemplary,' or, on the other hand, critics such as J. Roberts (Architectonic Knowledge) or Lindheim (Structures, esp. 25-33) who consider them more as 'characters.'

texts. First, because many of these studies deal with individual development, they have helped me to determine how manhood generally was achieved in the period and how the period defined masculine maturity. The discrepancy between the New Arcadia's princes--the more reasonable and temperate Musidorus versus the more aggressive and glory-hungry Pyrocles--may not be explained merely as character difference (J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 63-79). As I shall argue, it may also derive from the princes' age differences and how they fulfil social expectations regarding particular levels of maturity. Additionally, some previous scholarship shows how individual males respond to behavioral codes. In creating an argument about Amphialus' insufficiencies, Roberts draws our attention to collective male chivalric rituals (esp. 193-202). Though focused on Basilius, Alan D. Isler's description of the duke's "abysmal inadequacy as the head of a household" (363) relies much on cultural expectations of the adult male in the period. Basilius' actions, I shall argue, tell us not only about his character but also about conflicting roles for men. Indeed, a few more recent studies of Spenser's and Sidney's men have shifted their focus from individual males to more universal gender issues. For example, Barbara J. Bono shows how men in the New Arcadia are subject to a general "masculinist anxiety" (105) over reproductive power.¹⁵ And, in a socio-cultural examination of The Faerie Queene III-IV's chivalric codes, Lauren Silberman argues that 'homosocial' masculine sameness is maintained by knightly rivalry and by defining

¹⁵ For a related argument that describes male appropriation of female reproductive power, see Sullivan 14-15; for an examination of reproduction in its relation to general anxieties about male virility, see Martin.

itself against what it is not (Transforming Desire).¹⁶ It is with a similar focus on 'men in groups' that I propose to read the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene.

* * *

Certainly, the largest such grouping in each text is chivalric. But identifying knighthood with masculinity first requires reassessing the implications of a critical commonplace: that the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene are 'heroic poems,' 'epic-romances,' or 'romance-epics.'¹⁷ That is, the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene rely on and participate in literary traditions which offer as male models the heroes of medieval romance, and of classical epic and history: men renowned for doing great and virtuous deeds such as Heliodorus' Theagenes, Ariosto's Orlando, Virgil's Aeneas, Xenophon's

¹⁶ For other readings of the poem which attend to masculinity, see Berger's ur-feminist assessment of Book III's thematic problems as "generic and archetypal ... in the sense that they arise from one's being a masculine or feminine creature rather than a unique individual" ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 395); and D. Miller's more recent Lacanian reading of the 1590 Faerie Queene as a quest for androgynous wholeness capable of dispelling the poem's tensions between 'feminine' and 'masculine.' Like Silberman, Miller argues that masculine sameness reinforces itself through definition against the female other and through absorption of androgynous or feminine challenges (esp. 28, 215-81).

¹⁷ The NA and The FQ are influenced by both romance and epic (as well as other traditions) though the terms have been much questioned and the nuances of the forms debated. Both texts have also been labelled 'heroic poems' (as defined in Sidney's Defense of Poetry). For the categorizing of The FQ, see Lewis 297-310, esp. 304-05; N. Frye 158; Evans 3-22; and Nohrnberg, esp. 5-35. For the categorizing of the NA, see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 1-7, 159-93; Rees 72; W. Davis 5, 13; Shaver 4; Lindheim, Structures, 111-28; Greenlaw 271-73; Isler, "Heroic Poetry"; Myrick 86, 110-50; and Lawry 1-13. Most accurate is perhaps Greenblatt's argument that Sidney employs mixed modes in the Arcadia ("Sidney's Arcadia"); cf. Mark Rose's description of both the NA and The FQ (Heroic Love, 1-3).

Cyrus, and Tasso's Rinaldo and Godfredo (Sidney, Defence of Poetry, e. g., 79.1-4, 92.17-23; Spenser, "A Letter of the Authors").

The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene imitate these heroes' deeds and qualities in the chivalric mode. The texts are populated by knights who operate under chivalric codes; each narrative is structured on martial deeds, challenges, and formal contests. Except to notice the place of the texts in the romance tradition or the "ceremonial establishment" of their major themes,¹⁸ however, critics have largely ignored these chivalric backdrops. The few who do comment on chivalric elements tend to focus on the symbolism of armour or on historical connections to contemporary institutions and events such as the Order of the Garter or the Accession Day tilts.¹⁹ Sidney's and Spenser's knights have also long been recognized to function as exemplary models for imitation which lead a man to virtue or "make many Cyruses" (Defence of Poetry, 79.13-16, cf. 88.24-32), or which "fashion a gentleman" ("A Letter of the Authors").²⁰ In both texts such instruction is generally considered to apply to the

¹⁸ W. Davis 116; cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 193-202;

¹⁹ See, e. g., Leslie, Fierce Warres, esp. 1, 132-55, 170, 175, 186-95; Hanford and Watson; Coulman 179-80; and Young, "Sidney's Tournament Impresas." See also Leslie's discussion of the limited study of chivalry in The FQ (1-5).

²⁰ Greville praises the Arcadia's abilities to provide "moral images and examples ... to guide every man through the confused labyrinth of his own desires and life" (134); later critics who comment on the Arcadia's role as exemplary literature include Greenlaw, esp. 272; and Lawry 162-63. On how the knights of The FQ fulfil this role and on the tradition of knighthood as the expression of often specifically Christian virtues, see Evans, esp. 60-63; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 78-79; Alpers 119; Yates 108-11; and Leslie, Fierce Warres, 134-37. As Leslie puts it in his discussion of armed virtue (42-45), "any reader of renaissance literature knows that it is almost axiomatic that full armour is an attribute of personified virtue" (42).

gender-neutral "noble person" ("A Letter of the Authors"; my emphasis), as Spenser labels the reader. That is, both works regard many knightly qualities (wisdom, temperance, or holiness, for example) as equally suitable for persons of either sex to emulate.

However, although taking up arms and joining in knightly combat are to an extent metaphors for human exercise of virtue and struggle against evil in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia, the exercises of many of Spenser's and Sidney's knights do not serve this purpose. At an even more basic and inclusive level, knighthood may be defined as a culturally determined, gender-specific role or status. In both works the taking up of arms is equivalent to reaching early manhood. In The Faerie Queene Spenser comments on the coming of age of Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond: "to ripenesse of mans state they grew: / Then shewing forth signes of their fathers blood, / They loved armes, and knighthood did ensew" (IV.ii.46). Artegall's achievement of "mans yeares" (V.i.8) likewise coincides with his effective wielding "in wrath ... [of] his steely brand." In Arcadia, Ismenus, the squire of Amphialus, "mak[es] his tender age aspire to acts of the strongest manhood" (343) when he follows his master into battle. Musidorus' history of the princes' education similarly equates maturity with bearing arms. While the princes are trained not only in arms, but also in virtue, command, history, and wisdom--"in sum, all bent to the making up of princely minds" (164)--the true mark of their maturity is their ability to "fall to the practice of those virtues which they before learned" (164) in actual combat. King Euarchus sends for his son and nephew when they are 16 and 19 or 20 respectively--man enough to help him in his wars,

or "to enter into" "that kind of life" (164). As contemporary conduct books such as Elyot's Governour (75-80; l.xvii) and Peacham's Compleat gentleman (1622) (177-79) suggest, martial skills are part of the education of the gentleman (Kelso, Doctrine of the English Gentleman, 49, 149-62). Thus, because it separates men from boys, and what is 'masculine' from what is not, knighthood is an appropriate focus for a study of masculinity in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene.

In many ways the knights of Sidney and Spenser are conventional. But, if knighthood is equivalent to manhood, what do these conventions tell us about masculinity? John Ferne's The glorie of generositie (1586) associates knightly prowess with sexual difference when it warns that knights should not boast of their "manhod" (115). That is, the chivalric guide equates masculinity with martial performance. And this performance--and through it masculine status as knight--is signified by armour and by fame. Men were what they wore: "Armes are borne" partly because they conveyed honour, but also because "signes painted upon Targes, Sheelds, and Armors ... signify ... the estate, vertue, qualitie, or life, of the first bearer thereof" (149). In performing this identifying office, the shield was particularly important. According to the Book of the ordre of chyvalry (1484), the shield is a kind of metonymy for knighthood, "gyven to the knight to sygnefye the offyce of a knight."²¹ The signs of identity borne upon the shield, however, derive from a knight's fame; the young, unproven knight therefore

²¹ Lull Ev. Cf. Favyn, The theater of honour and knight-hood (1623): the "Shield ... is the essentiall note of a Nobleman, as also of an Esquire and Knight"; it is also the "principall part of Armes for a Knight" (12-13).

carries a blank shield because he has yet to earn fame.²² Christine de Pisan's Othea explains how masculine status depends on martial glory: "a knyght is not knowen but bi his deedis of armys" (87-88; ch. 71), and "the good knyghte [should] ... beholde himselfe in his good deedis" (27; ch. 16). Fame is equivalent to public identity; it is the name knights create for themselves and by which they are recognized. Thus, in Malory's Morte d'Arthur, Kay appropriates Launcelot's armour, shield, and horse because he knows that Launcelot's reputation will ensure safe passage (198).

Such conventions surrounding armour and fame likewise help to establish masculine status in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene. The most laudable males of the works, those described as the best knights, or the best men, are recognized by their armour, and their identities are established through fame earned by chivalric accomplishment (e. g., NA 61.34-62.2, 262.24-29, 264.4-12; The FQ III.ii.14, IV.i.39, V.iii.10, 14). In fact, the best men seem to be measured against one another more often by the fame of their deeds than by the deeds themselves. So Kalanders steward ranks the principal knights of the New Arcadia:

I think the earth hath no man that hath done more heroical acts than [Argalus], howsoever now of late the fame flies of the two princes of Thessalia and Macedon, and hath long done of our noble Prince Amphialus, who indeed in our parts is only accounted likely to match him--

²² For this shield and contemporary accounts of other impresa shields, see Camden, Remaines, concerning Britaine (1623), 181-97: "Another presenting himselfe at the Tilt, to shew himselfe to be but yong in these services ... tooke onely a white shield, as all they did in old time, that had exployted nothing, ... with this ... word, ... Make of me what you will" (196). Leslie provides a discussion of the significances, both practical and symbolic, of the armour which appears in The FQ (Fierce Warres, 11-100; on shields specifically, see 11-37).

but I say, for my part, I think no man ... equalled to Argalus. (27; my emphasis; cf. 91.4-7)

This desire for honour, the male's desire to assert his status, is concurrent with coming of age. In The Faerie Queene Scudamour explains that, immediately after he has taken arms, he "gan advise / To winne [himself] honour by some noble gest, / And purchase [himself] some place amongst the best.... (so young mens thoughts are bold)" (IV.x.4).

The knightly accomplishments required to achieve fame sometimes depend on the exercise of knightly virtue or courtesy, but they almost always depend on the knight's desire for glory, aggression, valour, and martial prowess. They also depend on errantry, the wandering or travelling which provides opportunities for the exercise of these qualities. Arthur, Spenser's model of exemplary knighthood, relates that he was "upbrought in gentle thewes and martiall might" (I.ix.3). Sidney's Queen Helen similarly explains that Amphialus' "manhood" (61), like that of the princes, is a consequence both of his prowess and of his virtue: "Amphialus, whose excellent nature was by this means trained on with as good education as any prince's son in the world could have.... Nothing was so hard but his valour overcame; which yet still he so guided with true virtue, that although no man was in our parts spoken of but he for his manhood, yet ... he was commonly called 'the courteous Amphialus'" (61).²³ The best knights manage to be both aggressive and virtuous, but the paradox and difficulty of being so is conveyed by the two uses of "yet" in Helen's speech and by a discrepancy in the training patterns of

²³ That knights should be proficient in courtesy and other gentlemanly virtues such as temperance and humility is a view advanced in the period. See Kelso, Doctrine of the English Gentleman, 42-53, 70-110, esp. 79-88; Leslie, Fierce Warres, 134-37; and Kipling 11-30, esp. 13.

Spenser's knights. The knights Marinell and Artegall are trained to arms as Arthur is in the seclusion of a cave, but, unlike Arthur, they receive no training in courtesy. In fact, in both works the majority of men are knights who seem to have managed to skip virtue in knight school. Nevertheless, even obviously flawed figures such as Spenser's Terpine and Sidney's Anaxius deserve the status of knight. As Sidney writes of Anaxius,

there was ... no man that in his own actions could worse distinguish between valour and violence; so proud as he could not abstain from a Thraso-like boasting, and yet ... he would never boast more than he would accomplish; falsely accounting an unflexible anger a courageous constancy; esteeming fear and astonishment righter causes of admiration than love and honour. (390)

Anaxius may be intolerable, but he earns "admiration" nonetheless. The status of knighthood may be acquired through a lust for honour equally defined as Arthur's noble Gloriana or as the satisfaction of Anaxius' pride.

The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene also define masculinity through the directives which govern knightly conduct and the bonds which unite knights in same-sex groups.²⁴ For example, perennial chivalric challenges create hierarchies among the knights, a characteristic of romance according to Roger Ascham: in the Morte d'Arthur, he says, "those be counted the noblest knights that do kill most men without any quarrel" (68). But this competition paradoxically strengthens their ties. Spenser emphasizes the sameness of knightly combatants engaged in the chivalric institution of tournaments:

As two fierce Bulls, that strive the rule to get
Of all the heard, meete with so hideous maine,

²⁴ For elaborate contemporary descriptions of these codes, see Ferne 302-41; and Segar, Booke of honor and armes (1590), and Honor military, and civill (1602), Book III.

That both rebutted, tumble on the plaine....
(IV.iv.18)

In the New Arcadia, Phalantus' and Amphialus' to-the-letter, carefully worded challenges (365-66) achieve a similar effect: though they create violent competition, they simultaneously unite the combatants, even when they are political enemies fighting in a war; formal challenges and jousting establish out of opposition a league of males unified by chivalric principles such as "The liking of martial matters" and "the love of honour" (365).

Related to these same-sex codes are male familial attachments and male friendship. Because of the fraternal bonds of Spenser's Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond, "t'increase affection naturall, / In love of Canacee they joyned all" (IV.ii.54) to fight together in a tournament. Paradoxically, battle for the same prize does not sever their bonds but strengthens them. Pyrocles and Musidorus, of course, display exemplary male friendship, a fidelity depicted to a lesser extent among many other knights throughout the New Arcadia and by Cambell and Triamond and others in The Faerie Queene. In the background of such masculine ties are early modern beliefs that friendship was indicated by sameness, or that friendship created sameness: a friend "is, as it were, another self."²⁵

²⁵ Cicero, De amicitia (Of Friendship), XXI.80; cf. XXI.81. This idea influences many treatments of friendship in the period. In The French academie (1586), La Primaudaye claims, "a friend is a second selfe" (139); and Elyot remarks, "frendshippe ... is a ... stable connexion of sondrie willes, makinge of two parsones one in havinge and suffringe. And therefore a frende is proprely named of Philosophers the other I. For that in them is but one mynde and one possession" (152; II.xi). Cf. Montaigne, "Of friendship," 140, 143; and Erasmus, Adages, 31.29-31; I.i.1-2. For the Ciceronian or Aristotelian notion of sameness and for other traditions of friendship (including

However, masculine identity is created and reinforced not only because it includes those who are 'same' in all-male groups governed by masculine codes, but also because it excludes those who are 'other.' A defining characteristic of some knights of the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene is avoidance of women, or indeed of anything 'feminine.' This aversion to women may be as strong as the scorn of Spenser's Artegall--so intensely absorbed in the masculine world of contests of arms and acquisition of fame that he is "wont to despise them all" (IV.vi.28)--or Sidney's Anaxius: "'I, that in my heart scorn them as a peevish, paltry sex, not worthy to communicate with my virtues, would not do you the wrong, since ... you do debase yourself so much as to affect them'" (391). While Anaxius is an extreme case, his censure of his best friend Amphialus differs little from that of the more praiseworthy Musidorus when he tells Pyrocles: "'you must resolve, if you will play your part [as an Amazon] to any purpose, whatsoever peevish imperfections are in that sex, to soften your heart to receive them--the very first down step to all wickedness'" (71).

Except in exceptional circumstances such as the participation of Parthenia or Britomart in knightly challenge, women do not participate in the codes and challenges that define 'knighthood.' They tend instead to be physically excluded from the spaces in which such challenges and quests for fame take place. Of course, many ladies are the beneficiaries of knightly service, and many knights in these works have ladies of their

Lucretian, Pythagorean, and Christian) in the period and in the texts, see Erskine; C. Smith; Hankins, Source and Meaning, 141-44; Mills; Heberle; Greenlaw 277; Isler, "Allegory of the Hero," 190-91; Lindheim 153-54; Rees 78; P. Cheney 142-43; and Hutson 52-85.

own. But most of these women are mere extensions of the knights who show them off: same-sex groupings of knights tend to deny female subjectivity. In the first two cantos of the 1596 addition to The Faerie Queene (IV.i-ii), a community of knights win ladies through competition and show them off as badges of martial prowess: these knights also participate in a continuous process of 'trading up.' For example, Paridell challenges Britomart, "Take then to you this Dame of mine ... And I ... Will challenge yond same other for my fee" (IV.i.35) (i.e., Britomart's lady Amoret). Similarly, Sir Ferraugh arrives with the False Florimell, who, Spenser reminds us, has been taken from Braggadocchio (IV.ii.4): in turn, Blandamour and Paridell end up competing for her. The knights of Spenser and Sidney thus establish masculinity through the triangular, homosocial rivalry that Sedgwick describes, or through a form of competitive exchange in which the female is merely a token.²⁶ Thus while the identities of many of Spenser's

²⁶ Sedgwick relies on anthropological work by Levi-Strauss and Rubin. Levi-Strauss describes how this gift economy between men functions in marriage systems in several societies (esp. 52-68, 134-45, 233-309). In a feminist qualification and application of these arguments to the sex/gender system, Rubin shows how rival male givers become related and create affinity not with the given wife but between themselves (esp. 172-92). Silberman describes a similar "system of male competition" in The FQ: "Book IV presents structures ... of triangular desire between rivals in which the drive to imitate the other suiter's desire takes precedence over their drive to win the putative object of desire.... The woman at the center of male rivalry is so much a structural convenience that the psychological dimension collapses" (Transforming Desire, 109; cf. 77-79, 95, and passim; and D. Miller 215-81. In other work on the period, Kahn describes how masculinity in Shakespeare depends on same-sex identification and comprises virility, valour, honour, aggression, and vengefulness--qualities created and maintained by defending rights to female property in war or combat. And Hutson identifies a pervasive socio-economic system of male-governed households "concerned not with the love between men and women, but with women as signs of love and friendship extended between men" (2). Though she does not develop the idea to the extent that these critics do, Shaver briefly comments on how the NA's adherence to the chivalric codes of its romance tradition privileges "chivalry between men" above "any role played by women.

and Sidney's women derive from their status as wife or maid--that is, from their relationships to men--the identities of many of Spenser's and Sidney's men are in many ways defined by their lack of relationships to women.

By knighthood, then, Spenser and Sidney usually mean autonomous masculinity based on fame for knightly deeds. Clearly a gender-specific role, knighthood is by far the most prevalent masculine status held in the texts. Males who are not knights have few other options. They may be shepherds, but this is not a permanent option for the gentleman as the experiences of Sidney's Musidorus or Spenser's shepherd-knight Calidore show. A few of Spenser's males are older bachelors who are magic-users or hermits (sometimes retired from knighthood). By far the largest male grouping of non-knights in each text, though, includes those men whose status is that of public office-holder and/or married householder: the New Arcadia's Kalander, Philanax, Basilius, Chremes, or Clinias; and The Faerie Queene's Aldus, Dolon, Malbecco, or Bellamoure. These men are primarily occupied by the business of their estates or public life; however, if the need arises, as it does in the rebellions of the New Arcadia, most of them don their armour and become full-time knights once again.

Thus, despite the prevalence of exclusively masculine knighthood in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, the presence of these many 'semi-retired' knights indicates that marriage and/or civil duties are the actual or potential fate of some knights. To say that heterosexual union is important in each work is an understatement.

Or, to put it another way, the rescue or the imprisonment of women, be it attempted or realized, is primarily the occasion for a demonstration of the valor and courtesy that prove the worth of fighting men" (4).

One need only look at Sidney's praise of the exemplary couple Argalus and Parthenia, or the exalted imagery with which Spenser describes the marriage of the Thames and Medway, a pageant characterized as "the highest expression of the joy and fullness of Spenser's conception of marriage" (Roche, The Kindly Flame, 183). The description of the embracing, betrothed lovers Scudamour and Amoret as "that faire Hermaphrodite" (at the conclusion of the 1590 Faerie Queene, III.xii.46) has likewise been recognized as perfected and transcendent marital union.²⁷ Sidney relies on similar imagery when he describes how Argalus and Parthenia make "one life double because they ma[k]e a double life one" (372), a union perhaps anticipated by the Old Arcadia's conclusion in the paired marriages of the princes and princesses.²⁸ The importance of marriage is likewise intimated by Spenser's three-part chronicle of the Tudors, one of the major themes governing The Faerie Queene, with its emphasis on patrilineage (II.x.5-68; III.iii.27-50; ix.41-51)²⁹; and by Sidney's depiction of how Basilius' late production of an

²⁷ On the hermaphrodite as an image of transcendent perfection and/or marriage in the poem, see Lewis 344; N. Frye 167; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 220; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 135-36; K. Williams, "Venus and Diana," 215; Nohrnberg 600-08; Robinson, esp. 341-55; Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 127-28; D. Cheney, "Spenser's Hermaphrodite"; Silberman, "Metamorphosis of Spenserian Allegory," 222-23; Lockerd 47; Paglia; Cirillo; D. Miller 129.

²⁸ Hoskins states that the Arcadia provides examples of "mutual virtuous love: in marriage, in Argalus and Parthenia ... ; out of marriage, in Pirocles and Philoclea, Musidorus and Pamela" (41). On how marital union represents perfection in the text, see Lawry 167, 176-78; and W. Davis 130.

²⁹ Critics have also focused on how women represent the central books' dominant themes of married love or Christian love (e. g., Lewis 339-40; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 106-07, 114-16).

heir causes anxiety and civil insurrection.³⁰ Like scholarship on chivalry in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, however, scholarship on marriage and heterosexual union in these texts tends not to consider the gender implications of these institutions as they relate to men: critics tend to focus on women's roles as wives or future wives, or marriage tends to be regarded as a resolution into perfection for all concerned.

However, just as they may assume knighthood, men may also assume husbandhood, likewise a social role defined by gender-specific attributes, created by social expectations, and situated in public institutions. Though far less prevalent, this status is certainly as important to men as knighthood. Mark Rose describes how a major theme of each work is the male and female protagonists' achievement of 'heroic love' or married love (Heroic Love). For Artegall in The Faerie Queene union with Britomart is "the crowne of knighthood" (IV.vi.31). For Argalus in Arcadia, marriage is "what more than ten thousand years of life he desired" (45). In many cases, this private role for men is accompanied by a public one. Redcrosse Knight's chivalric accomplishment is rewarded with marriage to Una, and this marriage in turn confers public rule (I.xii.20). Artegall's union with Britomart makes him the founder of the great civilization of the New Troy. In Arcadia Basilius and Euarchus are husbands and/or fathers not only to their immediate families but also to the countries that they rule, and their abilities in

³⁰ For Sidney's concerns with lineage in the text, see Baughman; Lindheim, Structures, 174; Sullivan. See also n. 15.

their private relationships are linked to their respective failure and success in their public relationships.³¹

Spenser and Sidney may not define the bridegroom's role as frequently or as directly as they do the knight's, but they do not need to do so. Contemporary audiences would already be aware of the importance of the husband's role because it pervaded early modern culture. Patriarchy meant 'order.' It was thought that exemplary patriarchy would solve the practical concerns and problems of everyday life as well as ensure spiritual salvation and establish social and political harmony.³² At the head of a hierarchical household was the husband--with his wife as second-in-command or vice-governor, and their children and servants beneath them (e. g., Whately, A bride-bush (1617), 18-19; Gouge 357-58). The husband's main duty was to govern, but he was not to do so through tyranny, force or coercion. Rather, society dictated that the husband should rule through gentle moderation and mediation and by setting an example.

³¹ Many of the private and public difficulties which arise in the Arcadia have their source in Basilius' neglect of his dukedom and in his (and his wife's) adulterous inclinations (Isler, "Moral Philosophy," 364-67; Weiner 56-60; Lindheim, Structures, 40, 154-57).

³² For the following summary of the householder's duties, the structure of the early modern family, and the relationship of family to state and church, I have depended on the scholarship mentioned in n. 2, as well as on Amussen and Ozment, who examines European family history in its protestant and reformation context (esp. 8-9, 50-63). Additional references to specific ideas are cited below. For the ideas which underlie hierarchical familial structure, see Maclean 19-20, 50, and passim. My understanding of English practices and beliefs has also been informed by studies of the continent by Flandrin, Families in Former Times; and Klapisch-Zuber. However, as Wiesner points out in her recent overview of scholarship, "fatherhood, as with so many other aspects of masculinity, is still waiting for its historians" ("Family," 64).

The best rule that a man may holde and practice with his wife, to guard and governe her, is to admonish her often, and to give her good instructions, to reprehend her seldome, never to lay violent hands on her.... This is also a duty not to bee forgotten, namely, that husbands bee diligent and carefull to make provision for their houses, to cloath their wives decently, to bring up their children vertuously, and to pay their servants dulle: because that in voluntarie matters, men may be neglicent, but the necessities of their house, do neither suffer negligence, or forgetfulnesse. The dutie of the husband, is to get goods ..., to travell abroad to seeke living, ... to deal with many men ..., to be entermedling ..., to bee skilfull in talke ..., to be a giver ..., to bee Lord of all.³³

As the main provider and the highest authority, the husband was thus responsible for the wellbeing of all members of the household. If an estate owner, he was responsible for helping to maintain the local economy. Because he set the example and others followed him, he was also accountable for the moral behaviour of household members. The exemplary behaviour and guidance of the husband (with his wife) ultimately led to spiritual reward for the entire household and to civil stability.³⁴ In Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst," for example, the source of bounty and order (enjoyed even by the king), is ultimately located in Penshurst's lord and his lady and the example they set their children; even more precisely, the poem's final line attributes the plentiful harmony specifically to the lord's fulfilment of his duties.

When the individual household was well governed and well ordered by its male head, a strong and stable commonwealth was created. In one sense, the household was

³³ Robert Cleaver, A codly [sic] form of householde government: for the ordering of private families (1598), 168-69. Cf. La Primaudaye, 500-11; Becon, Offices of all Degrees [1560], 334-39, 346-57, 359-63; and Agrippa, The commendation of matrimony (1540), C6r-D4r. On husbandly duty, see Woodbridge 76; Ezell 101-05.

³⁴ On the responsibility to others (as well as other duties), see La Primaudaye 523-36; Ben-Amos 222-35.

regarded as a building block in the commonwealth or, as Peter Laslett calls it, an individual "cell" which joined with others to make up the whole of government (94). In the New Arcadia, Sidney observes that a brook is made of many springs "like a commonwealth of many families" (57). If the patriarch and his wife provided effective moral training through guidance and example, good citizens would be created to the benefit of the entire state. In Of domesticall duties (1622), William Gouge explains, "Necessary it is that good order be first set in families: for as they were before other polities, so they are somewhat the more necessary: and good members of a family are like to make good membres of Church and common-wealth" (fol. 2v). And the bridegroom in Spenser's Epithalamion thus anticipates that he and his bride will "raise a large posterity" (417) of "blessed Saints" (423) who will achieve both communal, earthly prosperity and spiritual reward. Moreover, "By creating families, marriage filled a land with homes and communities, instruments of civil peace. It reduced war and hostility" (Ozment 8).

In another sense, the commonwealth depended on the household because the two were thought to be analogous to one another. The microcosmic government of the individual household corresponded to the macrocosmic government of the entire state.³⁵ The Elizabethans also identified correspondences among an individual's

³⁵ In The office and duetie of an husband [1555?], Joannes Ludovicus Vives states that, when a man is a husband, he is regarded as "an honest ... and ... wise man, considerynge that he so moderatly can handle so difficulte and hard matters, and worthye to rule a common wealth, that with such wisdom and judgement doth rule his owne house, and that he may easely conserve and kepe his citezyns in peace and concorde, that hathe so well stablyshed the same in hys owne house and familie" (2Cv-2r; cf. N3v-4v; Q4r-v; T8v). Almost 80 years later Gouge is still employing the traditional

maturity and internal governance, his ability to govern a private household, and his ability to contribute to a political state. In the New Arcadia, it is clear that "private disorder breeds public tragedy,"³⁶ and, in the Defence of Poetry, Sidney says that virtue "extendeth itself out of the limits of a man's own little world to the government of families and maintaining of public societies" (83).

As this relationship of household to state suggests, the male's role and duties as patriarch--householder, husband, and father--were connected to his status and responsibilities as citizen. For men in the early modern period marriage signified the "entry to full membership" in society (Laslett 12); it was a badge of adulthood that admitted the male to certain social and economic opportunities and, in some cases, gave him a political voice. Husbands or patriarchs were men, but not all men were husbands or patriarchs. That is, husbandhood was a recognizable status which had to be achieved. "Many distinguish[ed] the whole course of a mans life into foure parts," often called the 'ages of man': childhood (birth to 14 years), youth (14-25), man-age (25-50), and old-

political model for familial hierarchies: the wife's supremacy over the household does not undermine her husband's authority just as "in all estates the king or highest governour hath other Magistrates under him, who have a command over the subjects, and yet thereby the kings supreme authoritie is no whit impaired.... So is it in a family" (259). Cf. La Primaudaye 523-24; Filmer, Patriarcha (1680). e. g., 1-2, 7-19 (this text may have been written as early as 1631: see Sommerville xxxii-iv). On the hierarchy of the family and its correspondence to and support of other political and social systems of order, see Amussen, esp. 34-66; Schochet, esp. 1-84; N. Davis, "Women on Top"; Wiesner, "Family," 68; Yost; and Ben-Amos 208.

³⁶ Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 43; cf. W. Davis 135; Lindheim, Structures, 61.

age.³⁷ Beginning at around age 25 (Gouge 526), the stage of man-age or manhood coincided with the typical age of marriage for early modern males.³⁸ But manhood depended not so much on age as it did on marital status. According to Whately's A care-cloth (1624), married, younger men supersede older, unmarried men in seating hierarchies at meals and meetings (61-63). Thomas Becon's Catechism [1560] divides duties of men into those "of young men unmarried" and those of husbands, fathers, or masters; the latter share responsibilities as heads of households, but the former must observe the counsel of their elders and are warned against their common youthful faults (366-67). These elders are not necessarily older in years. Rather, marriage itself conferred adult status. The husband received these opportunities because he was thought to be responsible enough to handle them; immature men were not considered ready for the domestic and civil responsibilities that marriage conveyed.³⁹ It is Basilus'

³⁷ Gouge 525-26. The number of 'ages' might vary. Cf. the descriptions of stages of life or ages of man by La Primaudaye (561-43); and Shakespeare (As You Like It, II.vii.142-66). On "ages of life" divisions and pictorial representations of them, see Ariès 15-32; Chew 154-73; Ben-Amos 10-11. In some divisions, a stage called 'adolescence' is said to intervene between 'youth' and 'man-age,' but I follow Gouge in considering this stage and its attendant characteristics as part of 'youth.'

³⁸ Laslett demonstrates that for men entering a first marriage, "the most common age was 24; the median age was something like 25 1/2 and the mean age over 26 3/4.... the average of bridegrooms was nearly 28" (85). See Vives, Duetie of an husband, J3r-v; Wrightson 68; Houlbrooke 63-64; Ben-Amos 227.

³⁹ On marriage as a sign of responsible adulthood and membership in social and economic life, see Houlbrooke 166; Yarbrough; and Ben-Amos 208. The concept of 'marriage' in the period differed from our own. It should be remembered that formal union comprised a series of stages (depending on economics, location, local custom, and so on)--among them betrothal, church ceremony, and consummation (but not necessarily in that order). On the variety of potential definitions of 'betrothal' or 'marriage' in early modern England and the rituals associated with them, see Laslett 100-02, 151-52; Ben-Amos 296, nn.1-2; Houlbrooke 78-81.

disregard of these responsibilities in both domestic and state affairs that earns him the censure of his minister, Philanax: "In sum, you are a prince--and a father--of people, who ought ... to set down all private conceits in comparison of what, for the public, is profitable" (418).

In the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, then, pervasive cultural convictions establish the patriarch and patriarchal family as the foundation of a normal, desirable order. Consequently, knighthood--despite its praise from Spenser and Sidney and its literary roots in epic and romance--is in some ways deviant and atypical, offending and contradicting patriarchal order. The harmony created by the patriarch in the household opposes the competitive violence and conflict of knight errantry; sexual contact with women and attachment to them in marriage curtail the autonomy and masculine exclusivity of knighthood; chivalric focus on self in the quest for fame conflicts with the householder's responsibility to others. Spenser and Sidney recognize this incompatibility. Redcrosse Knight, for example, must leave his betrothed Una and the kingdom he governs to carry out the chivalric dictates of the Faerie Queene: he cannot play the roles of knight and bridegroom simultaneously (I.xii.41). If Artegall scorns women (IV.vi.28), how can he father the New Troy? In the New Arcadia, Argalus must choose between his wife and his chivalric reputation and duty when he is summoned from domestic bliss to defend the honour of his sovereign (372-73).

Sidney's revision of the Old Arcadia and Spenser's 1596 revision of the Book III ending of the 1590 Faerie Queene seem particularly to acknowledge this dilemma. The 1590 Faerie Queene concludes the chivalric exploits of Books I-III with lasting male-

female union in the hermaphrodite, the union denied Redcrosse and the fulfilment of the poem's quest for androgyny (cf. D. Miller 28, 215-81). However, when Spenser adds the Books of Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy, he excises the hermaphrodite and the eternal marital union it signifies. In their stead, he offers a more sustained and explicit examination of knightly masculinity than that of the earlier books, delaying depictions of male-female union, and devoting attention to chivalry as an institution: to tournaments, chivalric codes, and competition and friendship among knights, particularly in the opening cantos of Book IV.⁴⁰ The Old Arcadia follows a Terentian, comedic structure which concludes in the paired marriages of princes and princesses. But how Sidney will effect these marriages again, if indeed he will effect them at all, is not clear from the vantage point of the 1590 Arcadia's unfinished concluding sentence. Though Sidney's friend Fulke Greville claims that the marriages would still have taken place (10), one of the final episodes of the 1590 version depicts the irrevocable destruction of the exemplary marriage of Argalus and Parthenia, destruction caused by the knightly vocations of tournament and war.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Silberman similarly "treats the cancellation of the Hermaphrodite stanzas in 1596 as the focus of Spenser's shift from the construction of an ideal of creative love and understanding to a critical exploration of the cultural forces that frustrate that ideal. These forces are specifically identified as the desire for absolute security and an ideology of sexual hierarchy [which she generally sees as chivalric] designed to provide guarantees of security and control" (Transforming Desire, 8).

⁴¹ For the possible relationships between the two versions of Arcadia and their relation to the hybrid version published in 1593, see Sidney, Poems, 370-80; NA, xiii-xvii, lxiii-lxxix. A. Patterson summarizes potential reasons why the NA ends in the midst of a sentence and a combat: "We do not know whether this was for reasons internal to the text, Sidney's dissatisfaction with it, perhaps; or whether its composition was simply interrupted when he left to take up his military commission in the Netherlands, where he

Responding to some of these tensions, several critics have proposed that Spenser and Sidney disparage chivalric qualities and ideals because chivalry is limited--either within the worlds of the texts or in the actual political world that produced those texts; some scholars argue that "chivalry" is ultimately rejected and replaced by another model of behaviour: Lawry's "'new heroism'" of patience (see esp. 263-67), Josephine Roberts' "new heroic model" (17) of architectonic knowledge (esp. 193-202, 244-84), or Evans' Christian heroism (Anatomy of Heroism).⁴² Moreover, they point to the extreme martial concerns manifested in such figures as Braggadocchio and Anaxius as evidence of chivalry's evils.⁴³ But, if chivalry is rejected or replaced, why does it remain very much in evidence? Why do the qualities which define it--desire for glory and martial

died of gangrene. Nor do we know how much authorial instruction Sidney's friend Fulke Greville was working with when he published the revised version, in its incomplete state, in 1590" (358). In an argument akin to Silberman's (see n. 40), Dipple contends that Sidney could not have assigned the Old Arcadia's conclusion to his revision because "There is too much radically new thinking" in it (328; cf. McCoy, Rebellion, 136-37, 161-217; and Lindheim, "Vision, Revision"). It has also been argued that the seriousness which characterizes the end of the Old Arcadia is incompatible with its beginning and looks forward to the revision (Popham 4-5; Lindheim, Structures, 86, 132-63, esp. 139), and that the Arcadia's revisions show that Sidney had a clear sense of an ending for the NA in mind (Rees 116-17; Lawry 166).

⁴² E. g., Neuse discusses the failure of chivalry in The FQ, Book VI ("Book VI as Conclusion"); Popham relates the inclusion of chivalric elements in the NA to Sidney's own frustration with the insufficiency of chivalry in real politics; and C. Kinney argues that by animadverting chivalry Sidney rejects the romance tradition. For related arguments, see Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 37-73; and Shaver 6-7. Leslie also discusses deficiencies in chivalry but not because he wishes to suggest that chivalry is rejected in The FQ; rather, he argues that Spenser criticizes the Order of the Garter and other contemporary uses of chivalry (Fierce Warres, 132-55, 186-95).

⁴³ These figures have similar roots in Cicero's (in De officiis [Of Duties], I.xxxviii) and Terence's bragging soldiers (Thrasy in The Eunuch) and in the comedic miles gloriosus figure. See Nohrnberg 355, 363-64, 597-98; Lawry 269; NA, 570, n.390.14; Lindheim, Structures, 27.

aggression--continue to be exhibited and even praised? Why must even the most exemplary men--Sidney's Argalus, Kalander, or Musidorus, or Spenser's Arthur or Redcrosse Knight--continue to participate in it?

Although some of its practitioners are censured, chivalry itself is not discarded in a linear progression toward some other model of heroism. Rather, chivalry deserves the praise it gets within its own parameters and according to its own rules. A commonwealth of well governed households may signify order; chivalry opposes that order not merely because it can represent disorder but because, as I suggested in my definition of knighthood, such masculinity also exists in an alternative order with its own regulations and values. The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene present knighthood and husbandhood as two acceptable masculine statuses and associate each of these statuses with its own system of order--chivalry and patriarchy. It is where chivalry intersects with patriarchy or marriage that it becomes inadequate. What exactly is the relationship between these two types of praiseworthy masculine roles and male-governed systems of order? Why are both needed? Are they mutually exclusive or even threatening to one another, or are there ways in which they can be complementary? If those who are not patriarchs are positively depicted yet remain outside desirable order as it is overwhelmingly conceived by Elizabethan culture, then what is the function of their role as knights? And what happens in the gaps between these systems and in the shifts between these masculine statuses?

* * *

Because it deals with systems of order and non-order and their convergence, the discipline of anthropology offers useful approaches to many of these questions. Especially useful to my study of patriarchy and chivalry (and husbandhood and knighthood) are those theories which posit a 'normal' order--its rules, hierarchies, and values--and then determine the functions of what is outside of or what violates that order, both for individuals and for social groups. Non-order may simply be regarded as formless, anomalous, or ambiguous; or, more negatively, it may be associated with an often dangerous disorder or inversion of normality--with its own rules, hierarchies, and values. That is, it becomes its own normality. In her introduction to The Reversible World, Barbara A. Babcock identifies "an organizing concept for ... diverse perspectives on cultural negation" which she terms "symbolic inversion." "'Symbolic inversion' may be broadly defined as any act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates, or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values, and norms, be they linguistic, literary or artistic, religious, or social and political" (Babcock 14-15). Such symbolic inversions create boundaries and margins between order and disorder; they also establish spaces of freedom in which normal order may be challenged and new ideas may be tested (Babcock, esp. 24-29). For example, the relationship of order to non-order may be discerned in studies of 'play': akin to festival, play constitutes a freedom from normal order which nonetheless becomes another order with its own codes and regulations (Babcock 24-26; Huizinga, esp. 1-27, 46-75; Geertz, "Deep Play"). Another area concerned with the relation of order to non-order is initiation studies. In their analyses of passage rites, Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner describe the

transitional state between positions (e. g., child to man) or systems of order (female-centred domestic groups to male-centred hunting groups or excursions) as a kind of reversible world. Van Gennep calls this state a liminal 'threshold' (see esp. 20-25); Turner (relying on van Gennep) develops the concept of 'liminality' or 'anti-structure': its characteristics, and the characteristics of those who experience it, often invert normal order or 'structure,' or they completely elude the "classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities ... are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (V. Turner 95). Finally, Mary Douglas shows that it is the relationships between symbolic systems of order which create 'pollution.' That is, "ritual pollution ... arises from the interplay of form and surrounding formlessness" (104). The anomalous or aberrant--what exists "beyond the confines of society" (Douglas 95)--is often deemed to be dangerous, dirty, or magical because of its very difference (94-97, 121).

Emerging from these models are three general points of particular use to my own argument. First, what constitutes normality and what constitutes inversion of that normality is very much a question of perception and context. As Douglas explains, what is considered non-order in one set of conditions may not be so in another (esp. 35-36). Thus even an element of normal order might be considered aberrant if transferred to another system of order.⁴⁴ Next, the relationship between order and non-order is often

⁴⁴ Douglas defines a 'system of order' or a 'social structure' as "not ... a total structure which embraces the whole of society continually and comprehensively" but as "particular situations in which individual actors are aware of a greater or smaller range of inclusiveness" (100).

mediated through ritual--whether it be seasonal festivals, rites associated with changes in positions, religious or political ceremonies, or some other customs. As well, ritual is often used to reinforce a given system of order. Finally, as all the points I summarize here suggest, systems of order and non-order must be considered in relation to one another because, despite their discreteness, they affect one another. In her discussion of symbolic inversion, Babcock summarizes two competing views regarding the function of inversion. On one hand, ritual inversions might serve as a 'steam valve,' releasing tension but ultimately remaining contained by the authority which sanctions them; on the other hand, they might incrementally change standard order through their challenges to authority (22-24, 31; cf. N. Davis, "Women on Top," esp. 152-55). Similarly, Douglas explains that the interaction of form and formlessness inspires a "triad of powers" which would not otherwise exist: "first, formal powers wielded by persons representing the formal structure and exercised on behalf of the formal structure: second, formless powers wielded by interstitial persons: third, powers not wielded by any person, but inhering in the structure, which strike against any infraction of form" (104). And Douglas (95) and Turner (103-05) argue that the mysterious powers accessible only in interstitial states might be imported--whether for ill or good--into normal order.

Of course, reliance on these models demands awareness of how the biases of their proponents influence and limit their investigations. It also requires sensitivity to the individuality of any particular social group. A paradigm used to illuminate one group may not simply be transferred to another; one group's sign may have a different meaning in another: as Clifford Geertz explains in an article that has been much relied on by new

historicists, each culture has its own complex system of meanings ("Thick Description," esp. 10, 49). However, significant understanding of the early modern period has been yielded by judicious application of anthropological theory in conjunction with sensitivity to early modern semiotics. For example, the historian Alan Macfarlane relies on anthropology to provide new types of problems to investigate, new questions to ask about these problems, and alternative approaches to them (211-53, esp. 247-51). In Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, he writes that anthropology "provided the framework within which it became possible to see" (247-48) how each aspect of society is "intimately linked to every other feature of society" (251). He thus concludes that attributes of witches and their victims draw attention to tensions between different social groups (e. g., 240), but the nature of the tensions he identifies is culturally specific: economic differences, gender concerns, religious influences. Similarly, in a literary application of anthropological theories of sacrifice and scapegoating, Mihoko Suzuki is able to demonstrate how the generic conflict between community and threatening Other is manifested in specifically 'epic' environments (such as that of The Faerie Queene) concerned with empire, patrilineage, and the voice of the national poet.⁴⁵ Especially relevant to my study are investigations which consider the function of particular rituals in

⁴⁵ Other successful applications of anthropological theory to historical and literary texts of the period include the essays in Persons in Groups, a study of how ritual and social behaviour--what is expected and prescribed as well as what is actually performed and manipulated--establishes individual or group identity (Trexler, esp. 4-6); and Ong's reliance on theories of initiation to discuss marginalization and violence in the all-male, Renaissance classroom (esp. 105-07). An overview and critique of relevant anthropological theories (esp. V. Turner and Rene Girard) and their applications in literary criticism specifically is provided by Hardin ("Ritual in Recent Criticism").

the early modern period. Mikhail Bakhtin has shown how residual folk humour and communal participation in periods of carnival negate, invert, or subvert 'normal' order,⁴⁶ and several scholars have examined the ritual opposition of rule and misrule, particularly in annual festivals such as New Year's or May Day and in acts of chari-vari such as ridings and rough music.⁴⁷

As I shall demonstrate, in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, males leave what Elizabethan culture defined as a 'normal' system of order--the patriarchal household of their childhood and early youth, with its rules, values, and hierarchies--to venture out into the world as knights. This movement to knight errantry serves the same function as the young male's separation from the household in early modern England: a break from familial, and particularly maternal, control was thought to be essential to the coming of age of males in the period. When they become knights, the men of the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene enter an alternative, chivalric system of order--still male-governed but with different rules, values, and hierarchies, some of which oppose or contradict those of patriarchal order. Some males then rejoin the patriarchal order of the household as bridegrooms or betrothed men, a status signifying a more advanced coming of age. My thesis focuses on the interval between departure from and return to

⁴⁶ Carnival involves rituals, disguises, and parodies; it establishes and follows its own rules and norms; it is defined by absence of rank and by violations of boundaries; and it creates periods of relative freedom which allow for special forms of communication among members or groups in a society (5-15, passim).

⁴⁷ See Underdown 1-145; Ingram; Thomas; N. Davis, "Reasons of Misrule," and "Women on Top"; Burke 178-204. See also Manley on how the world turned upside-down is employed by Tudor complaint (77-91).

the household that chivalric existence necessarily entails, and it also concentrates specifically on the departures and returns themselves. These departures and returns are not so much alternative systems of order as they are between systems of order in often amorphous and ambiguous space. They are often effected in graduated stages: indeed, the entire period of early modern 'youth' might be regarded as an extended transitional space encompassing 10 to 15 years.⁴⁸ The thesis also investigates the texts' 'ritual moments' and its allusions to more formal contemporary rituals.⁴⁹ Departures and returns are affirmed by customs which mark movements between the stages of life, and particular systems of order are reinforced through ceremony: these rituals, customs, and ceremonies include private experiences such as childbirth, sending male children away from home for education, and marriage as well as public experiences such as seasonal festivals or tournaments.⁵⁰

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⁴⁸ Ben-Amos, esp. 4-9, 208, 246, n.6; Yarbrough 67, 69, 75-76.

⁴⁹ Hardin praises anthropological theory--particularly V. Turner's theories of ritual--for drawing the attention of literary critics to the function of ritual in "the context of community" (847) and to more individual-centred "ritual moments" in texts ("Ritual in Recent Criticism," esp. 851-52).

⁵⁰ When I refer to "ritual" or "custom," I usually employ these terms in their most general, common usage (OED). For debates over the meanings of the terms in the social sciences, see Leach, and Mitchell. A sample definition is provided by Douglas: "ritual [is] an attempt to create and maintain a particular culture, a particular set of assumptions by which experience is controlled.... rituals enact the form of social relations and in giving these relations visible expression they enable people to know their own society" (128).

I have focused this thesis on the 1590 Arcadia and on Books III-V of the 1596 Faerie Queene. More than the Old Arcadia and the 1590 Faerie Queene, these texts seem to recognize the conflict between martial and marital in Sidney's destruction of the marriage of Argalus and Parthenia, and in Spenser's revision and postponement of the hermaphrodite image which concludes the 1590 poem. In addition, because they are more concerned than their originals with 'public' virtue and civil order,⁵¹ Sidney's revision and Spenser's addition provide more opportunity to examine social expectations of men and their actual performances of their roles. The revision of Arcadia and the 1596 addition to The Faerie Queene particularly highlight knightly codes and formal challenges; in these texts knights act in groups instead of as individuals.⁵² Finally, the many additional narratives and characters in these later works provide greater scope for comparisons among men.⁵³

I have further focused this thesis on a few, relatively complete adventures undertaken by men who have the option of martial or marital masculine roles: Artegall

⁵¹ These concerns have often been identified. On the NA, see Greville 10-11; Greenlaw; W. Briggs; Ribner, "Machiavelli and Sidney," and "Sir Philip Sidney on Civil Insurrection"; A. Patterson, esp. 367, 372; Popham 6-7; Rees 21, 116-18; Myrick 270-71, 306; Zandvoordt 121, 149-50; W. Davis 3. On The FQ, see Roche, The Kindly Flame, 200; N. Frye 160; Nohrnberg, esp. xi-xii, 780.

⁵² In Sidney studies, this shift in focus is often related to the shift in genres or modes from OA to NA (Greenlaw 274; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 41-59, 159-202). For an alternative view which ascribes increased interest in chivalry to Sidney's politics, see Popham.

⁵³ Called by Nohrnberg "dialectical" characterization, inherited from the romance tradition (429, passim). It has been argued that Sidney includes a large number of new characters in the NA to ensure that their "moral standing ... is always defined against a wide range of alternatives" (Rees 57; cf. Myrick 173-74, and J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 266-73).

and Marinell in The Faerie Queene (that is, Books III-V)⁵⁴ and Pyrocles and Amphialus in the New Arcadia. All are skilful knights who in their early appearances are not connected to women, but all also eventually desire to be bridegrooms. Their careers provide patterns which inform those of other knight/potential bridegrooms such as Sidney's Musidorus or Argalus and Spenser's Scudamour or Timias. Other male figures such as Sidney's Euarchus or Spenser's Braggadocchio are types: because their identities and qualities remain relatively static, these men furnish points of reference for interpreting the masculinity of men whose status is less secure. Although relationships with women help to define masculinity, an examination of women's experience is beyond the scope of this thesis. I shall consider the status of women only in the context of chivalry or patriarchy.

Specifically, Chapters One and Two demonstrate that estrangement from women and from the domesticity of the household contribute to chivalric masculinity; in the autonomous state of knighthood, men are primarily concerned with establishing their status through fame acquired from honourable deeds. But each of these chapters also investigates a paradox: those who have reputations as the 'best' knights lack secure masculine status. Chapter One shows how the intrusion of feminine and androgynous forces on exclusive masculinity disrupts masculine status, and suggests that Pyrocles' and

⁵⁴ I follow Broadus in reading Books III-V as a unit because they deal with social order and the relation between personal love and the love supporting the commonwealth (esp. 13-14). I also follow Roche (The Kindly Flame) and Silberman (Transforming Desire) in seeing the necessity of Book III to understanding Book IV. Finally, Book III provides a suitable starting point because it marks increased focus on chivalry as a system (cf. Leslie, Fierce Warres, 132).

Artegall's lapses of identity or disguises signify a transitional state from knighthood to husbandhood. Conversely, for Marinell and Amphialus, these disruptions expose their immaturity and lead to regression. Situating their upbringings in the context of early modern childrearing patterns, Chapter Two identifies a correspondence between knighthood and 'youth' and suggests that Marinell and Amphialus are unable to relinquish their chivalric status for the more adult role of patriarch.

The violations of chivalric status and order experienced by these knights ultimately lead them to states defined as 'death,' and Chapter Three investigates why this is so. While the patriarch regards his partnership with woman as creating household order supporting the commonwealth, the knight perceives contact with women as destruction of his autonomy and procreation as recognition of his mortality. Accordingly, women's overwhelming and absorbing presences are signified through the affinity conveyed by their maternal potential and through feminine physical surroundings, and communities.

In Chapters Four and Five, however, I show how the lapses of status and feminine intrusions which threaten the knight are redefined from a patriarchal standpoint. Chapter Four shows how the anomalous, interstitial state viewed by knights as 'death' may instead be viewed as a prelude to rebirth. Some men achieve an androgynous, patriarchal status which allows them to serve the commonwealth. Chapter Five then defines the relationship of chivalry to patriarchy and sets forth conditions under which the tension between these two systems may be resolved.

Chapter One

The Non-Existent Knight: Anonymity and Insecurity in the Careers of Pyrocles and Artegall

For most of Sidney's and Spenser's male figures, masculinity is established when glory accrues to the name of a knight; for some of these men, masculinity may also be represented by the bridegroom's assumption of his household responsibilities and, in turn, his corresponding civil role. The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene both stress the fame (and fame-seeking) of the exemplary knights Pyrocles and Artegall: at the same time, the texts anticipate these men's social duties as husbands in a patriarchal order. The Faerie Queene introduces Artegall as the beloved of Britomart in the magic mirror of III.ii.24-26, a role also defined in the following canto by Merlin's prophecy that the two will marry and establish the civilization of the New Troy (III.iii.26ff.). The New Arcadia likewise anticipates Pyrocles' future position and responsibilities as king of Macedon throughout Books I and II. In particular, by portraying the model ruler in King Euarchus, Sidney implies that Pyrocles is expected to be what Euarchus is--an exemplary governor, "who, as a father, should give a fatherly example unto his people" (160). However, Pyrocles' status as Euarchus' own son concurrently intimates that, to achieve public stability, the young prince must also be responsible for marriage and the production of his own heirs in his private household, a duty emphasized by the New

Arcadia's political histories.¹ Several of the states mentioned in the text suffer from civil problems caused by absent or negligent patriarch/sovereigns. Arcadia itself was and is troubled by the strife that results when Basilius tardily produces an heir, causing Cecropia, the mother of the supplanted Amphialus, to foster civil insurrection: while even Macedon itself suffered, almost irrevocably, from several periods of "the worst kind of oligarchy" (159), especially during Euarchus' minority rule (159-60).

However, despite the chivalric and patriarchal statuses assigned to Pyrocles and Artegall, each spends little time actually being 'Pyrocles' or 'Artegall.' Pyrocles becomes 'Pyrocles,' famous knight and heir to Euarchus, only in private and only for brief periods. More often, Pyrocles is masquerading as Daiphantus or Zelmane, or is maintaining anonymity as an unknown combatant. Similarly, Artegall first enters the narrative as "A stranger knight" (IV.iv.39) of obscure origins (IV.vi.4; III.iii.26). Consequently,

Most answerable to his wyld disguise
It seemed, him to terme the salvage knight.
But certes his right name was otherwise....
(IV.iv.42)

Artegall obscures his "right name" twice in fact, initially as the Salvage Knight in Satyrane's tournament and later as Braggadocchio in the tournament of V.iii; he is made to assume a feminine identity by Radegone in V.v-vii; and, in his battle with Grantorto in V.xii, he sacrifices his shield, a signifier of identity itself. Given the importance of fame and public responsibility to masculine identity and to the identities of Pyrocles and

¹ In Basilikon doron (1599), James I (at the time James VI of Scotland) similarly describes to his own son the role of a king to his subjects--"as their naturall father and kindly maister" (29, cf. 64)--and the importance of making a proper marriage (96-100).

Artegal in particular, why do these men allow their true identities--not just once but several times--to be supplanted or obscured?

Sidney's plot provides obvious reasons for Pyrocles to assume disguises,² but Artegal's shifting roles are less easily explained and are characterized by paradoxes. In his first role as the Salvage Knight, for example, Artegal bears the motto Salvagesse sans Finesse--savageness without subtlety, refinement, or art. Artegal himself, however, is far from lacking in finesse: the exemplary knight in the mirror of Book III wears the arms of Achilles, but in Book IV he wears rough weeds. Either he has artfully disguised his nobility, or the mirror has refined his actual rudeness. Similarly, although Artegal's unsportsmanlike departure from Satyrane's tournament signifies that he desires the glory that such a contest can provide, he lacks a "name" (IV.vi.4; cf. III.ii.9) to which that glory might be attached and shuns "known armes" (IV.vi.5). In Book V, although Artegal has no reason to maintain a disguise--his true name having been revealed in IV.vi--he nonetheless again prefers anonymity. In the tournament of V.iii, Artegal "streight that boaster [Braggadocchio] prayd ... To change his shield with him, to be the better hid" (V.iii.10). In a final paradox, just after denouncing Burbon for sacrificing his "honours stile" (or title) and, in turn, his "fame" (V.xi.55, cf. 52), Artegal finds that he can

² As a group, Pyrocles' disguises tend to be read as mere plot devices. More analytical approaches are provided by Cantar, J. Roberts, and Dipple. Cantar believes that the disguises express the "difficulties of coming of age" for men (15) but does not develop the idea; Roberts sees the disguises as establishing links between the education of the princes in Book II and the experiences of the princes in Arcadia (Architectonic Knowledge, 283); Dipple argues that the disguises show the incompatibility of the two versions of Arcadia. Scholars have also analyzed individual episodes of disguising, particularly the Zelmane disguise (see Chapter Four, pp. 204-09). However, the fact that the prince wears a series of masks has inspired little commentary.

triumph over Grantorto only when he loses his own shield (V.xii.22-23). In fact, Artegall's identity becomes confused or obscured precisely during those occasions when The Faerie Queene is most aware of the importance of fame to chivalric masculinity--that is, during rituals which support and define knighthood such as tournaments or formal challenges. And most of Artegall's losses of identity occur in the book which seems especially concerned with such honour: throughout Book V the shield is a recurring motif, and several knights are publicly disgraced.³

Dunseath has suggested that Spenser's "ambivalent" (17-18) portrayal of Artegall and the knight's shifting roles and disguises anticipate the transformation of his flaws into perfected virtues (46; cf. 28ff.). Alternatively, Judith Anderson has argued that the paradoxes which characterize Artegall in Book V reflect the tensions between his roles as private, human knight and public, abstract Justice, as well as the conflict between his existence in an idealized romance world and his existence in a realistic political world. At the same time, however, Spenser's presentation of Artegall illustrates conflicting social prescriptions for masculinity--a tension that becomes more apparent when Artegall's guises are compared to those of Pyrocles. Specifically, the early roles of both Pyrocles and Artegall are assumed in wars and tournaments. For men holding the status of knighthood, these events are formal celebrations of male solidarity, and they provide

³ Episodes concerned with honour and dishonour include Artegall's first act of judgment of Sanglier (V.i.19, 27); the trading of shields of Artegall and Braggadocchio and the latter's subsequent defamation (V.iii); the disarming and shaming of many knights by Radigund (V.iv-v); the display of the broken arms of the Souldan (V.viii.44-45); and the losses of the shields of Burbon and Artegall, and the latter's subsequent defamation (V.xii).

conventional and public venues for winning martial fame. However, Pyrocles and Artegall also assume other roles when they are confronted with women to whom they are attracted or with androgynous figures who embody male-female union. Pyrocles disguises himself as the Amazon Zelmane because of his relationships with the real Zelmane and Philoclea; Artegall loses his chivalric identity as the Salvage Knight after he encounters Britomart in IV.iv and IV.vi, and he is made to wear women's clothing after he is defeated in an erotically charged battle by the Britomart-like Radigund in V.v. For both men, loss of identity is produced when chivalric institutions are subverted, fame is undermined, or masculine autonomy is violated. At the same time, however, loss of identity occurs because feminine or androgynous forces anticipate the future patriarchal status of Pyrocles and Artegall, a role these knights are not yet able to fulfil.⁴ As a consequence, the identities of Pyrocles and Artegall remain in flux: neither their status as knights nor their status as bridegrooms is secure.

II

When Artegall and Pyrocles join the narrative action of The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia, they do so as exemplary knights: the spaces they enter, the alliances they form, and the roles they play are intensely and exclusively masculine (cf. Lawry 218). When Artegall first appears in the magic mirror in Book III, he does so as a supreme

⁴ Though he is primarily concerned with how providential order and typological ideals are located in the particular, Angus Fletcher briefly notes the tension throughout Book V between the immediacy of chivalric vocation and the future marriage and dynastic success of Britomart and Artegall (e. g., 287).

warrior, a status Spenser conveys by identifying his knight with Achilles (III.ii.25). As the Salvage Knight in Book IV, Artegall again appears primarily as a participant in exclusively masculine chivalric order. He is known for avoiding women (IV.vi.28) and defeats his opponents in "sole manhood" (IV.iv.43). In Book IV, Artegall travels with the fiery and belligerent Scudamour. In Book V, Artegall's alliance with Scudamour is replaced by his more constant companionship with Talus, who, though not so hasty as Scudamour, shares his unmoderated aggression and vengefulness. In a sense Scudamour and Talus manifest an extreme version of Artegall's (or any knight's) celebrated chivalric prowess and bloodlust.⁵ In Book IV Artegall's role as the anonymous, weed-clad Salvage Knight sans finesse stresses his reliance on such traits, and he continues to rely on them when he effects Justice in the early episodes of Book V. As suggested by Astraea's training of Artegall in combat and by her provision of the sword Chrysaor (V.i.8-9)--the acts which bring him to "mans yeares" (V.i.8)--qualities of martial aggression are as necessary to reaching successful manhood as a knight as they are to successful exercise of the virtue of Justice.⁶

⁵ Cooper defines talio as "An equall or like paine in recompense of an hurt." Though the attributes of Talus have not been related specifically to Artegall's chivalric traits, critics have long observed that Talus is an extension of Artegall and/or Justice and that, in his roles as executioner, as law, or as retributive justice, the iron man displays unyielding vengefulness and often violent physical power. See Var. 5.276-80; K. Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, 156-59; Dunseath 66-67; Aptekar 41, 47-54; Nelson, Edmund Spenser, 264-65; Hough 196; The FQ, V.i.12nn.; and Nohrnberg 289, 380, 410-15.

⁶ That Artegall's training might also be considered in terms of gender is indicated by details such as Artegall's ability to swim in full body armour (V.ii.16-17). This contemporary trope not only amuses the audience but also expresses the knight's extreme chivalric competence. Elyot, for example, describes swimming as necessary to

In the New Arcadia, Pyrocles is similarly described as a well-trained participant in chivalric order, a characterization conveyed by his name itself: it means "fiery-fame," "fire and glory," or "lover of glory."⁷ Like Artegall, Pyrocles is portrayed with an "omnipresent sword,"⁸ and early in the text he is depicted as more impetuous, passionate, and aggressive as well as more martially skilled than his older cousin Musidorus.⁹ As Josephine Roberts notices, when Pyrocles describes his early adventures as knight errant in the retrospective narratives of Book II, he "begins with his youthful desire to establish a reputation for honor, independent of his older cousin" (Architectonic Knowledge, 99); Pyrocles is deeply concerned about his fame and is eager to define his place in the competitive hierarchy of males: he wishes to fight Anaxius because he has heard that Anaxius has never defeated the famous Amphialus (235). Anaxius in some respects resembles his rival Pyrocles: "a proud man himself thoroughly consumed with matters of courage and prowess" (J. Roberts. Architectonic Knowledge, 100; see also 271). While not quite so single-minded as Anaxius, the young prince does have strong chivalric and martial inclinations, and, like Artegall, Pyrocles assumes roles

manly education (77-79; I.xvii), and knights are depicted swimming in armour in conduct books (West).

⁷ W. Davis 69; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 64; W. Ringler's list of etymologies (Sidney, Poems, 382); Isler, "Allegory of the Hero," 178. Cf. the etymologies of the names attached to Pyrocles' disguises--that of the Amazon, Zelmane ("Passion"), and that taken on by the prince when he enters Arcadia, Daiphantus ("Fire-brand" or "Torch") (Isler, "Allegory of the Hero," 178).

⁸ J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 71. Roberts also provides a catalogue of references to this sword (n. 20).

⁹ J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 63-64, 69, 71-72.

which express these tendencies. In one of his first appearances, Pyrocles leads a rebellion against the gentlemen of Laconia as the nameless, much admired general of the lower-class Helots. Here Pyrocles, like Artegall in his first appearance, is characterized as Achilles, the warrior hero, in an allusion to the battle of Achilles with the Amazon queen Penthesilea (38).¹⁰ In another early appearance in the New Arcadia, Pyrocles enters a tournament as an unidentified Ill-apparelled or Ill-appointed (because he is dressed in rags) Knight, whose brute strength and lack of pretension earn him "the reputation of some sturdy lout" (103), not unlike the lower-class Helots in his aggression and lack of refinement. In each of these roles, the knight excels at combat and bests all other men through his aggressive martial skills. Like Artegall, Pyrocles is fulfilling his training as knight: fortune may have prevented the prince from putting his education to use in Euarchus' wars, but he nonetheless demonstrates that he is capable of doing so. Because of his anonymity in both roles, here 'Pyrocles' is characterized solely by the exemplary chivalric skills which he exhibits in forums designed to reward such skills.

In fact, the early roles of both Pyrocles and Artegall are assumed in venues which reinforce male-male bonds and same-sex identification, affirming the institution of chivalry and the status of knighthood. In the New Arcadia, the Helot war excludes women by preventing or deferring marriage: the betrothed Clitophon and the soon to be betrothed Argalus are the prisoners of the Helots (26, 33). Sidney also pointedly

¹⁰ Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy, l.538ff. For a contemporary description of Pyrocles as an Achilles figure, see Harvey, Pierces supererogation (1593), 52 (3Gv). See also Isler, "Allegory of the Hero," 178-79.

excludes women from the war by masculinizing the allusion to Achilles and Penthesilea. After Achilles slays her in battle, his warlike passions are arrested when the lovely face of Penthesilea is revealed beneath her helmet: Thersites' subsequent dismay over Achilles' emasculation leads to temporary discord among the Greek troops. In the New Arcadia, however, the war between the Helots and Lacedaemonians is resolved when the Helot captain Daiphantus (Pyrocles) dislodges the helmet of his Arcadian counterpart and recognizes his best friend Palladius (Musidorus). The use of male friendship instead of heterosexual attraction to settle the dispute eradicates the danger to martial masculinity and male solidarity implied in the source.¹¹ The importance of same-sex bonds stressed by the recognition between Daiphantus and Palladius is further emphasized when the attacking combatants Kalander and Clitophon similarly recognize one another as father and son. The Helot-Lacedaemonian treaty which concludes the strife formalizes the union of men in war when it provides the following terms: "the distinction of names between helots and Lacedaemonians to be quite taken away, and all indifferently to enjoy both names and privileges of Laconians: ... and as you hated them before ..., so now to love them as brothers" (41).

In both the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, knightly masculinity is similarly sanctioned by the ritual institution of tournament, the contemporary functions of which

¹¹ Cf. Tasso's version of this episode (Jerusalem Delivered III.21ff.) where Tancred is made defenceless as a warrior when Clorinda is unvizarded in battle (and cf. his first meeting with the helmetless Clorinda at I.46-48); eventually, his pursuit of Clorinda leads him to further emasculation in the castle of the Circe-like Armida (VI-VII). Cantar argues that the princes' assumption of the roles Daiphantus and Palladius (who loves Zelmane/Daiphantus) expresses the homoerotic attraction between Pyrocles and Musidorus (15-16).

offered Sidney and Spenser a means of validating chivalric values and codes.¹² The tournaments of late sixteenth-century England were in many ways about masculine identity. Their internal fictions reflected or commented on the real world narrative of life in court as contestants used costumes, pageants, and verse to further their public reputations, or to attempt to alter their current roles at court. The courtier knight might endeavour to improve his standing with the queen, for example, or to advance a political agenda.¹³ In addition, the Elizabethan tournament had a public role. The presence of

¹² As Angus Fletcher observes of The FQ, "Ceremonial forms, not horses, are the basis of chivalry. As both the institution and the ideal the poem assumes, chivalry is a ritualized social arrangement where custom is the predominant cohesive force" (190). For a recent examination of the joust as a 'model of order' and institutional power in The FQ, see Silberman, Transforming Desire, 9, 87-116.

¹³ Identity was created (or obscured) through costumes, impresas, pageants, and verses--and sometimes through the elaborate literary fantasies which accompanied martial contests. For descriptions of such strategies, see Strong, Cult of Elizabeth, esp. 140-52; Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, esp. 33-34, 123-84; McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 58-60 and passim. For a contemporary description of two Elizabethan tournaments (the first of which is particularly theatrical), see Lupold von Wedel, "Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585," 258-59, 262. (The combatants of the earlier tournament, says von Wedel, were more interested in defining themselves through theatrics, depending on elaborate costumes and speeches, while the contest between the bachelors and the husbands was more a display of real athletic skill (262).) At times the roles taken on were randomly imaginary, but often they related to the individual's current social standing (as, for example, did Sidney's spero and speravi mottos (McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 63, 67; Young, "Sidney's Tournament Impresas," 14-15, 22)). At other times these roles were designed to provide identity or change current standing, or to express hopes for the future: the disguise of the Unknown Knight was employed by Sir Robert Cary in 1593, and by the Essex circle in 1600, in attempts to regain the favour of the queen (Strong, Cult of Elizabeth, 141). As Trexler observes in his introduction to Persons in Groups, "to have an identity is, among other things, to have done things in the presence of others.... actions performed in social spaces partly create and change individual and collective identities. Social spaces are ... central to the formation, expression, and modification of individual and group identities" (4). Tournaments constitute just such a social space.

representatives from all levels of society made it a microcosm which could represent or comment on that society; moreover, through its spectacle and ceremony the tournament reinforced nationalism and political stability.¹⁴ Finally, on a cross-cultural level tournament offers the validating functions of both ritual and 'play'.¹⁵ Play is in many ways indistinguishable from sacred festival and ritual and has the same capacity to sustain order. Johan Huizinga defines play as a freedom from order which nonetheless "creates order, is order" (10). More recently, Clifford Geertz demonstrates that the play community is "a simulation of the social matrix" in which the participants live (436), and that "it provides a metasocial commentary upon the whole matter of assorting human beings into fixed hierarchical ranks and then organizing the major part of collective existence around that assortment. Its function ... is interpretive: it is a ... story they [i. e., the players] tell themselves about themselves" (448).¹⁶

¹⁴ On tournament as microcosm, see Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 74-86, 90. On tournament as propaganda, see Yates 108-11; Kipling 96-136, esp. 116-36; Strong, Cult of Elizabeth, 161; Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 35-37. (Tournaments could, though, also implicitly criticize the state: see Orgel, esp. 107-10.)

¹⁵ On the tournament as ritual, see Yates 109; Strong, Cult of Elizabeth, 114-28; Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 36; McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 2-3, 26, passim.

¹⁶ I derive my definition of 'play' from Huizinga, esp. 1-27, 46-75, and, on tournaments in particular, 40-41, 65; and Geertz, "Deep Play." Huizinga and Geertz suggest that, in communities where play exists, it supports but cannot affect non-play activities. However, play is not, as Huizinga (2, 17-18, 49, 65) and Geertz (443-44) define it, an end in itself (cf. criticism of Geertz by McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 4, 24-27). Thus Angus Fletcher's description of Spenser's V.iii tournament as a "game" is inadequate: "For such is the mythic meaning of a tourney--justice as play, and therefore as the archetypal festive imitation of a divinely free and fortunate pattern.... The act is also recreative: men try their strength, ... and when the fight is over and a comic recreation has taken place, they go out to do battle in a real world" (191). More accurate than Geertz's work is recent anthropology which perceives how the dynamic

By using a contemporary ritual in their texts, Spenser and Sidney employ its powers of official and communal sanction to create and then reinforce social roles and social order. The New Arcadia's Tournament of Beauty is presided over by royal authority, and it follows standard protocols and rules.¹⁷ "Phalantus in this pompous [i. e., ceremonious] manner brought Artesia with her gentlewomen into one tent, by which he had another, where they both waited who would first strike upon the shield, while Basilius, the judge, appointed sticklers [i. e., umpires] and trumpets to whom the other should obey" (98). In Satyrane's tournament in The Faerie Queene, IV.iv, the Knights of Maidenhead and the Knights of Friendship parade their symmetry in the opening ceremonies: "There this faire crewe arriving, did divide / Them selves asunder: ... The knights in couples marcht, with ladies linckt attone" (IV.iv.14). In The Faerie Queene the ritual of tournament is anticipated as a purgative "folke-mote" (IV.iv.6) which has the power to order that which has been disrupted (cf. IV.ii.26, iv.12). In the tournaments of both Sidney and Spenser, these ceremonies consolidate and affirm the rules and values of the system they depict: knightly masculinity and chivalric order. For example, the tournaments confirm that praiseworthy masculine identity is conveyed by armour and established by fame acquired from chivalric skills. And, as Lauren Silberman remarks of

quality of play affects non-play relations, or Fletcher's "real world." Thorne notes, "Play and ritual can comment on and challenge, as well as sustain, a given ordering of reality" (87). I shall reserve discussion of this capacity of play until I return to tournaments in Chapter Five, but for a survey of work on (not necessarily childhood) play which takes it into account, see Schwartzman.

¹⁷ For the rules of contemporary tournaments, see Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 14-15, 43-48; and Segar, Booke of honor.

the spears in the tournament of The Faerie Queene, IV.iv, "both sides seem engaged in a contest of mutual phallic display. This is particularly emphasized in the description of the first day's fight, in which the knights have at each other 'strong and stiffly' with 'huge great,' 'beamlike' spears" (Transforming Desire, 105-06; cf. Leslie, Fierce Warres, 77-79). Tournaments likewise celebrate and reward martial aggression and hunger for glory.¹⁸

In addition, tournaments sustain a homosocial economy when they demarcate a masculine space which relegates women to conventionally passive positions on the sidelines as prizes or audience.¹⁹ In the tournament for her hand in marriage,

Fayre Canacee upon a stately stage
Was set, to see the fortune of that fray,
And to be seene, as his most worthie wage,
That could her purchase with his lives adventur'd gage.
(IV.iii.4)

Women enter the tiltyard itself only as objects. In Satyrane's tournament in the following canto--the contest in which the Salvage Knight appears--women appear as rewards for the best knight and in a beauty pageant which is viewed, organized, and judged by men.

¹⁸ In the tournament of IV.iii, the ring that heals wounds appears to be concord, but its real effect is "to prolong the violence of the fight while neutralizing the consequences of that violence" (Silberman, Transforming Desire, 96).

¹⁹ On the role of women in contemporary tournaments, see Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 85-86; and cf. the roles of Elizabeth I as prize and audience in The Four Foster Children of Desire: 1581. While Elizabeth might also enter the action of the tournament by determining the winner (as she does, for example, in one of the tournaments described by von Wedel (262)), her intervention seems to have depended more on her rank than her sex. On the place of women as subject and object in The EQ's homosocial economy, see Silberman, Transforming Desire, esp. 6, 10, 77-79, 94-95, 109.

Then next ensew'd the Paragon to see
Of beauties praise, and yeeld the fayrest her due fee.

Then first Cambello brought unto their view
His faire Cambina....
Next did Sir Triamond unto their sight
The face of his deare Canacee unheale....

And after her did Paridell produce
His false Duessa, that she might be seene....
Then did Sir Ferramont unto them shew
His Lucida....

(IV.v.9-11)

In Sidney's Tournament of Beauty--the contest in which the Ill-appointed Knight appears--women in an even more objectified form, as portraits, are paraded round the tiltyard; ultimately, their worth is not judged even by their own physical attributes but by the martial skill of the knights who defend those portraits.²⁰ In the New Arcadia

²⁰ Understanding of visual representations of women in tournament is usefully informed by Laura Mulvey's work on film. Mulvey argues that the female object of the male gaze can simultaneously provide sexual pleasure yet threaten in its otherness, and that, in a patriarchy or "a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed" (19). In one effect of these dynamics, women "freeze" storyline development: "An active/passive heterosexual division of labour has similarly controlled narrative structure"; consequently, "split between spectacle and narrative supports the man's role as the active one of advancing the story" (20). Mulvey suggests that the 'buddy film' is one strategy for maintaining narrative activity. Homosocial systems of chivalric encounters and challenges similarly advance the plots of the NA and The FQ. This narrative movement might be best discerned in a comparison of the 'romance-epic' with the Renaissance sonnet sequence, a form in which 'plot' is not advanced by the sole male speaker's ruminations on the female object of his desires (cf. Vickers, esp. 104-05, 108-09). In the tournaments of Sidney and Spenser, jousting seems to combat the stultification of the blason-like descriptions of women. For the application of Mulvey's arguments to The FQ, see Krier. For a similar argument about the male narrative point of view in The FQ, see Silberman, Transforming Desire.

Artesia's status as most beautiful depends more on Phalantus' martial skills than on her actual appearance (it certainly does not depend on her virtues), and Phalantus achieves a kind of possession of other knights' ladies when he wins their portraits by defeating the combatants who have provided them. But Phalantus is more incensed and offended by assaults on his arms than by the assaults on Artesia's honour, coming forward to fight because he is "angry of [the] defacing [of] his shield" (102); and his motto is "The glory, not the prey" (367): the goal of his possessions is ultimately his own fame-based masculine status. Similarly, in Spenser's *Book of Friendship* the knights dispose themselves into two teams, one based on the bonds of male-male Friendship and the other based on the bonds of Maidenhead, a construct which actually depends more on martial prowess and masculine honour than on women and their honour.²¹ If knights do derive honour from their connections to women, they do so in a manner which makes women vehicles through which chivalric glory is transported to men. Satyrane's tournament ritually sanctions this dynamic as Satyrane explains the process whereby feminine honour derived from beauty ultimately becomes the martial honour of male knights:

And of them all she that is fayrest found,
Shall have that golden girdle for reward,

²¹ Cavallo and Cerutti provide an analogous demonstration of how female honour was a commodity and object of male exchange in early modern Italy; because women's honour was inseparable from their sexuality, it was subject to male control. While women's reputations depended on their sexuality (or lack thereof), the sexual conduct of men might have influenced their public image but did not entirely define it (78). See also Maclean, who demonstrates that, although there was a classical tradition awarding fame to virtuous women (57-58), public honour largely tended to be the province of men (62).

And of these Knights who is most stout on ground,
 Shall to that fairest Ladie be prefard.
 Since therefore she her selfe is now your ward.
 To you that ornament of hers pertaines,
 Against all those, that challenge it to gard,
 And save her honour with your ventrous paines:
 That shall you win more glory, then ye here find gaines.
 (IV.ii.27)

Silberman's observations on how gendered honour and a homosocial economy function in the tournaments of The Faerie Queene, Book IV, also apply to the tournaments of the New Arcadia. Jousting, she points out, is not at all about sexual desire: "While competition between males is ostensibly for the purpose of winning a lady, the joust depends on the lady's remaining aloof and untouched so that the two knights can continue a relationship, the fundamental purpose of which is their own mutual self-assurance and self-definition.... As the joust is construed in Book IV, the lady's chastity is appropriated as part of a structure designed to ensure the knights' self-definition" (Transforming Desire, 9).²² As play, as ritual, and as microcosm, the tournaments of Spenser and Sidney thus validate and propagate traditional values and codes which establish the social norms of chivalric order throughout The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia. And honoured as exemplary manifestations and upholders of this system and the masculinity it promotes are the Ill-appointed Knight and the Salvage Knight: the first

²² For Silberman's development of this argument, see Transforming Desire, 99-116. Of the tournament for Canacee in particular, Silberman remarks that Canacee is merely the catalyst for the working out of male relations and that Spenser's revision of Chaucer displaces romantic attraction with "male mimetic desire, in which the reciprocal measuring up of one knight with the other takes precedence over sexual love." The brotherhood of the three competitors demonstrates the privileging of male sameness over heterosexual attraction: this is a story not of heterosexual love but of homosocial friendship (Transforming Desire, 95).

wins the Tournament of Beauty, and the second appears in Satyrane's tournament as a "paragon" (III.ii.13) of martial skills and "The doughtiest knight that liv'd that day, and most of might" (IV.iv.42).

However, this status quo is not sustained. In both the Tourney of Beauty (NA) and Satyrane's tournament (The FQ), chivalric order is disrupted by the entrances of ill-apparelled and androgynous contestants. And in both tournaments, the contestants who disrupt chivalric order are the very knights who exemplify chivalric masculinity as victors: in the New Arcadia, Pyrocles disguised as Zelmane who is in turn disguised as the Ill-appointed Knight; and in The Faerie Queene, Artegall as the Salvage Knight, and, in a sense, Britomart, who is thought to be male and who proves in chivalric combat that she is the best knight that day. In the New Arcadia the Amazon Zelmane enters the tiltyard and promptly initiates a brawl in which organized single combat--set up by Phalantus, judged by the Duke Basilius, and umpired by "sticklers" (102)--disintegrates into a mismatched free-for-all:

... he went on towards the shield, and with a sober grace strake it. But as he let his sword fall upon it, another knight, all in black, came rustling in, who strake the shield almost as soon as he.... The Ill-appointed Knight ... hit him such a sound blow that they that looked on said it well became a rude arm. The other answered him again in the same case.... But Phalantus, angry of this defacing his shield, came upon the Black Knight ...; which presently was revenged not only by the Black, but the Ill-apparelled Knight, who disdained another should enter into his quarrel; so as, whoever saw a matachin dance to imitate fighting, this was a fight that did imitate the matachin, for they being but three that fought, every one had [two] adversaries striking him who struck the third, and revenging perhaps that of him which he had received of the other. (102)

Similarly, in The Faerie Queene the Salvage Knight enters the symmetrical two-team combat of Friendship and Maidenhead, but indiscriminately attacks the first knight he

sees: his victories consequently accrue to Friendship, but he actually fights in "sole manhood" (IV.iv.43). When Britomart subsequently appears, her alliance with Maidenhead is similarly determined by her immediate attack on the currently dominant team and, more specifically, on the currently dominant Salvage Knight. Moreover, her refusal to follow the rules and then to accept her prize--the False Florimell--creates disordered squabbling (IV.v.20ff.). Despite this chaos, however, each tournament manages to name a victor--in each case, the androgynous knight.

When they enter the martial contests, Zelmane and Britomart relocate the passive and objectified femininity of the portraits and beauty contest to the masculine activity of the tournament. There the intrusion of previously excluded femininity and the disorder created by their victories threaten knightly masculinity and the chivalric institutions which nurture and celebrate it. For Pyrocles and Artegall in particular, the presence of the androgynous victors anticipates these knights' future roles. The female knight Britomart evokes the hermaphroditic embrace which ends the 1590 Faerie Queene and the hermaphroditic Venus of the 1596 version (Book IV), both of which relate to the betrothal of Amoret and Scudamour; the Amazon Zelmane embodies a wedded union like that shared by Argalus and Parthenia, "each making one life double because they made a double life one" (372). As well, the aim of Pyrocles' disguise is marriage to Philoclea, and the readers of The Faerie Queene, aware of the augury of III.ii-iii, know that the combatants will soon become the marriage partners Britomart and Artegall.

However, Zelmane and Britomart are not the only ones who disrupt chivalric order. Zelmane is, after all, the knightly Pyrocles himself, and the Salvage Knight

(Artegall) disrupts two-team combat before Britomart even appears. It is because of Pyrocles' and Artegall's anticipated roles in patriarchal order that tournament culture is threatened. As potential bridegrooms, these knights themselves unsettle the very masculinity and system of order that they seek to preserve. Whether they are yet aware of it or not, each has a responsibility not only to chivalric order but also to patriarchal order, and this division in allegiances manifests itself through insecurity and lapses of identity or status.

III

From a young age both Pyrocles and Artegall have led resolutely masculine existences. Pyrocles' mother dies shortly after his birth; Astraea, who "noursled" (V.i.6) Artegall, ensures that he has an Achillean/Arthurian upbringing--raised in a cave and trained in arms--and then departs shortly after, leaving him with the masculine Talus.²³ Each knight occupies his subsequent time with chivalric education and pursuits. For these knights, encounters with hitherto alien feminine forces both portend their roles as husbands and imperil their chivalric status, but precisely how and why is this so?

For Artegall these feminine forces, embodied primarily in Britomart and Radigund, represent a twofold peril to masculinity. First, the autonomy necessary to knightly status is threatened by potential sexual union; the androgyny of Britomart and

²³ This feminist reading of Artegall's upbringing is not intended to obviate the significance of Astraea as 'justice' or her departure as the end of the Golden Age (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.149-50; cf. Virgil, *Eclogue IV*). For Spenser's use of the myth of Astraea and the related figure of Justitia, see Aptekar 32, 52, 56, 110-15.

Radigund reflects the unified identity of male and female in marriage or in sexuality. In addition, the qualities which define knightly status--fame, vengefulness, aggression--are criticized or appropriated by Britomart and Radigund.

Britomart most evidently undermines Artegall's role as 'best knight' when she wins the tournament of IV.iv, but in fact her assaults on his position begin before Artegall even appears. In a conversation between Redcrosse Knight and Britomart in III.ii, Britomart already appears in a role she will play throughout the poem, that of unsettling threat to Artegall's knightly status. Britomart's early strategy consists of combatting good fame with bad. That is, desire for fame was recognized by contemporaries as a praiseworthy trait, especially in knights, but also as potentially proud and destructively vainglorious. It is this ambivalence that Britomart exposes, revealing the inadequacy of a previously sufficient knightly quality--and, in turn, of the chivalric status which fame is supposed to uphold.²⁴ Redcrosse Knight remarks that

²⁴ Knights are warned against pride and over-eager ambition for glory (e. g., Ferne, The glorie of generositie, 115), yet their very existence depends on the acquisition of fame. Though they reject vainglory, Burgundian texts advance perceptions that glory rewarded the virtuous individual and his society (Kipling 24, 29, 72-95, 106-07). Likewise, while northern humanists such as Erasmus praise humility, southern humanism advances a Ciceronian doctrine which praises rapacity for glory: virtus earns fame which is not merely individual but national, especially when it is acquired by princes or others in positions of power (Skinner 413-41). Such ambivalence toward fame is most obviously portrayed by Spenser through the figure of the Blatant Beast in Book VI. In Latin fama may mean 'renown,' 'reputation,' or 'rumour' and can therefore be either positive or negative (see Chew for a discussion of fame and rumour (181-85)). The Latin root of fama, for, which means 'to defect,' further confirms its duality or double-sidedness (Lewis and Short). Spenser's most evident source for a fame which simultaneously embodies these meanings is Chaucer's House of Fame in which Lady Fame (whom Chaucer makes the sister of the equally capricious Fortune) arbitrarily issues good and bad fame to her supplicants (III.1534ff.). In the sixteenth century, the multivalence of fame is illustrated by its depictions in emblem books. For example, in his Emblemes

Artegall is continually occupied "Defending Ladies cause, and Orphans right, ... So is his souveraine honour raisde to heavens hight" (III.ii.14). Conversely, Britomart accuses Artegall of "shame of knighthood" (III.ii.12) and dishonour to women, saying,

Fame blazed hath, that here in Faery lond
Do many famous Knightes and Ladies wonne.
.....
But mote I weet of you, right curteous knight.
Tydings of one, that hath unto me donne
Late foule dishonour and reprochfull spight,
The which I seeke to wreake, and Arthegall he hight.
(III.ii.8)

Though Britomart immediately regrets her accusations (III.ii.9), this report, once given, cannot be recalled. It will remain with its audience, both within and without the text, and there is, in fact, a grain of truth in Britomart's words: the Salvage Knight does have a reputation for lacking respect for women (IV.vi.28).

Redcrosse also reports that Artegall's skill at tournament is matchless and particularly renowned (III.ii.9), and Britomart's next strategem consists of expropriating that reputation by besting Artegall in the very forum designed to provide such knightly "name" (III.ii.9). She charges the Salvage Knight specifically "in midst of his pryde" (IV.iv.44), a term which denotes 'honour' or 'glory' or 'aggressive spirit' (OED). Britomart reinforces this victory in the tiltyard by unseating the Salvage Knight (again) in IV.vi, as well as his companion. Scudamour is very much a creature of tournament culture and the masculine values it celebrates. His subsequent tale of his 'courtship' of

(1586), Whitney portrays a fame who/which is variously positive, negative, and ambiguous (38, 40, 42, 47, 96, 183); and one of Giovio's mottos is "Alterutra clarescere fama. Sive bonum, sive malum, fama est" (F7v).

Amoret demonstrates his identification of woman with prize and recalls Artegall's participation in the IV.iv tournament: the shield which Scudamour wins by defeating twenty knights at jousting bears the words, "Whose ever be the shield, faire Amoret be his" (IV.x.8). In IV.vi, Scudamour and the Salvage Knight unite against Britomart in bonds of sexually possessive jealousy, competition, revenge, anger, and aggression because they recognize Britomart's arms and believe her to be male: "A stranger knight ... unknowne by name, / But knowne by fame, and by an Hebene speare" (IV.vi.6). Her status is thus based on the same foundation as their own, and she is particularly threatening to them because she has 'stolen' the fame of Artegall's victory in the tournament as well as the prizes they believe they have earned through their martial skill: False Florimell, the prize of Satyrane's tournament, and Amoret, whom Scudamour wins in a courtship described as a tournament (IV.x.8-10).²⁵ Thus, when Britomart rends Artegall's mail (IV.vi.15), what she damages is the badge of his knightly status. Similarly, when she separates both Artegall and Scudamour from their horses, her skilful jousting unseats the values of tournament, or chivalric, culture (cf. Dunseath 41-46). Like desire for fame, qualities such as wrath or vengefulness are praiseworthy in a knight, yet they may also be excessive.²⁶ Again, Britomart exposes the failings or at

²⁵ Scudamour relates his tale from what Silberman labels Book IV's "retrospective stance": the "male point of view ... reduces the female other to an object and occasion for male competition and camaraderie" (*Transforming Desire*, 6).

²⁶ In the period these qualities were regarded with ambivalence. In *De ira (On Anger)*, Seneca presents alternative ways of regarding wrath. Angry vengefulness may be condemned as a vice which leads to the fall of cities and civilizations and which represents descent into uncontrolled passions (I.ii.1-2, ii.5, xvii.5-7; II.xix.1-5). However, if anger "listens to reason and follows where reason leads, it is no longer anger" (I.ix.2;

least the ambiguity of knightly 'virtues.' In Satyrane's tournament itself and in its follow-up battle, then, Britomart is dangerous to masculinity because she assaults the institutions which establish it: homogeneity, fame, and a system which excludes women except as commodities of masculine honour. Ordinarily, such rivalry would ultimately affirm same-sex identification and bonds, yet here it cannot do so: Britomart's unvizarding reveals her to be female.

Britomart threatens autonomous masculinity because her presence represents the mingling of masculine and feminine in sexual union, in part through her androgyny and in part through the sexuality she introduces into knightly combat.²⁷ In addition to its meaning as 'glory,' the "pryde" (IV.iv.44) that Britomart attacks in Satyrane's tournament

see I.xi.5; II.xviii.1.). Likewise, adherence to codes of vengeance may lead to tragedy (as in Romeo and Juliet), yet devotion to such codes was necessary to protecting personal and familial honour (Muir: Kelso, Doctrine of the English Gentleman, 97-105). For conflicting views on the value of wrathful vengeance in The FQ, see Aptekar 228, n. 7; Dunseath 28-85, 90-91; and Angus Fletcher 249-53. That such traits as anger, passion, vengefulness may be both deplorable and admirable is best expressed in Book II: Pyrocles and Cymocles represent the irascible and concupiscible passions; Guyon likewise participates in such passions to achieve various praiseworthy feats but controls them with reason and temperance (MacLachlan, "Revenge and Atonement in The Faerie Queene"). See also Alpers' discussion of how Spenser employs phrases such as "greedy will," "envious desire," and "threatfull pride" not only to characterize a somewhat inadequate knight such as Scudamour but also to describe the exemplary Arthur: these are simply the "kind[s] of term[s] that Spenser uses of any knight ... who is engaged in combat" (399-400).

²⁷ On the androgyny of Britomart specifically, see Robinson 346-55; Paglia; Berger, "The Faerie Queene, Book III," 400-01, 413-14. On the union of male and female in androgyny, see p. 22, nn. 27-28. Hamilton argues that Britomart "conquers Artegall's manhood" (Structure of Allegory, 182). For the sexual imagery of their battles in IV.iv and IV.vi, see Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 182-83, and The FQ, IV.iv.44.6n. Marriage may also be anticipated in the wounding of Artegall by Britomart: Plutarch notes that a severe wound is delivered at the inception of marriage as a means of integrating the partners ("Dialogue on Love," 769e-f; section 24).

has the sexual connotation of desire (OED). Her subsequent penetration to Artegall's "bodie bare" (IV.vi.15) likewise helps to turn their combat into a sexual encounter while Britomart's unhorsing of her opponents suggests that she must combat concupiscent as well as irascible passions. To express how each partner experiences the intrusion of the other, or heterosexual union, Spenser makes Britomart and Artegall mirror images of one another (cf. IV.v.8, vi.6, and IV.vi.21, 29). (Later, Britomart is even mistaken for Artegall (V.vi.34), and, when she gazes at herself in the mirror of III.ii, it is Artegall whom she sees reflecting herself.)²⁸ In the battles of IV.iv and IV.vi, Spenser suggests that Britomart signifies the Salvage Knight's first encounter with his own sexuality. In Spenser's version of the Penthesilia-Achilles encounter in this second battle, the revelation of Britomart's face, and sex, beneath her helmet frightens and bewilders Artegall, who "of his wonder made religion, / Weening some heavenly goddesse he did see, / Or else unweeting, what it else might bee" (IV.vi.22). Spenser implies that this ambiguous awe or "secret feare" (IV.vi.21), which--like Britomart herself who remains undefined as "some heavenly goddesse" or an even more ambiguous "it"--is a fear of sexuality and an as-yet-unknown femininity existing beyond the boundaries of masculine experience and same-sex identification.²⁹

²⁸ On this mirroring and its effects on Britomart, see Dunseath 40-41. The discovery of the self in the other relies on neoplatonic tradition, but this does not lessen the intrusion of shared identity on autonomy.

²⁹ An analogous example of men's inability to understand and define the non-masculine is provided by Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra. In an allusion to Cleopatra's role as his "serpent of Old Nile" (I.v.25), Antony attempts to describe the crocodile for Lepidus: "It is shap'd, sir, like itself, and it is as broad as it hath breadth" (II.vii.42-43). "[C]unning past man's thought" (I.ii.145), Cleopatra seems to exist beyond

On one hand, when he regards Britomart as attractive goddess, Artegall anticipates his future role as her husband. On the other hand, this same image emasculates the previously aggressive Salvage Knight: "trembling horror ... made ech member quake, and manly hart to quayle" (IV.vi.22). Their bloody battle is simultaneously their "loves beginning, their lives end" (IV.vi.17); that is, to the knight the heterosexual relationship not only threatens his autonomy but also portends his mortality. Spenser is not simply making the standard Elizabethan association between orgasm and death; rather, he is also presenting the encounter of Britomart and Artegall as the beginning of fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy. Artegall will leave "his Image dead" (III.iii.29) with Britomart, and their progeny will found a New Troy; the fact that Britomart will be regent suggests that Artegall has not long to live after procreation. Indeed, Merlin's prediction to Britomart makes these events seem contemporaneous:

Long time ye both in armes shall beare great sway,
Till thy wombes burden thee from them do call,
And his last fate him from thee take away....
(III.iii.28)

To the knight the imposition of his role in patriarchal order signifies an end both to the identity which he has acquired through martial glory and to his earthly existence.

Glauce's address to Artegall after the battle--"And you Sir Artegall, the salvage knight" (IV.vi.31)--identifies Artegall's competing roles as Britomart's foreordained partner and as knight, and locates him between patriarchal and chivalric order in a vulnerable state in which he has no fixed name. The consequence of the Britomart-

their full comprehension, a state that underpins a threatening sexuality rivalling that of any female literary figure of the period.

Artegall meeting is their betrothal, but Artegall cannot forsake his knightly status so easily. The resolution of their battle in love is followed by Scudamour's mocking assessment from a chivalric perspective of the Salvage Knight's behaviour as a potential husband³⁰:

He thus bespake: Certes Sir Artegall,
I joy to see you lout so low on ground,
And now become to live a Ladies thrall,
That whylome in your minde wont to despise them all.
(IV.vi.28)

For Britomart awareness of Artegall leads to her androgynous disguise in III.iii, and willing submission to her future partner (e. g., IV.vi.26). However, for Artegall Scudamour's words become a self-fulfilling prophecy as Artegall eventually manifests his perceived emasculation as a "thrall" in the "service" of Radigund (V.v.17).³¹ In V.iv-vii, the threats that Britomart represents intensify when they reappear in Radigund, a

³⁰ Cf. Silberman's reading: Scudamour "reinscribes Britomart and Artegall in a homosocial economy by his interpretation of events" (*Transforming Desire*, 115).

³¹ Scudamour defines the consequences of Spenser's version of the battles of Achilles-Penthesilia and Tancred-Clorinda as Quintus Smyrnaeus and Tasso do the originals--as emasculation (see n. 10). In particular, the speech recalls how Thersites censures Achilles and identifies the importance of war and glory to masculine identity:

... Dost not know what misery
This self-same woman-madness wrought for Troy?
Nothing there is to men more ruinous
Than lust for woman's beauty; it maketh fools
Of wise men. But the toil of war attains
Renown. To him that is a hero indeed
Glory of victory and the War-god's works
Are sweet....

(I.733-38)

However, while threats to warrior masculinity are eliminated by the deaths of Penthesilia and Clorinda, Britomart is not slain, and *The FQ* must find another way to deal with the potential danger she embodies.

demonized and distorted mirror image--a 'False Britomart' who recalls the False Una and the False Florimell.³²

In V.iv, the knightly status of Artegall again becomes unstable when he comes upon a group of Amazons torturing a bound knight. After freeing Sir Terpine, Artegall recalls Scudamour's characterization of his own emasculation in the questions

... have you lost your selfe, and your discretion ...?
Or have ye yeelded you to proude oppression
Of womens powre, that boast of mens subjection?
(V.iv.26)

His queries emphasize the loss of chivalric status that Terpine undergoes when he is

³² Radigund's role as an emasculator, her kinship with Britomart, and the parallels between the battle of Artegall with Radigund and that of Artegall with Britomart have been commented on by many critics: either Britomart and Radigund are read as positive and negative aspects of a single force or idea, or Radigund is regarded as a reflection of threatening aspects of Britomart which must be eradicated before she can continue in her relationship with Artegall (though critics are not agreed about whether Radigund is more the nemesis of Britomart or of Artegall). One critical tradition examines the 'good' Britomart and the 'bad' Radigund in the context of 'unnatural' female rule and its threats to male authority (*Var.* 5.197-98; Neill, "Regiment of Women"; Phillips, "Woman Ruler," 219-20, 233-34; and Benson, esp. 279-80). More relevant to my argument is another (often related) tradition which identifies Radigund's emasculation of Artegall and blames his susceptibility to her on his romantic attraction to Britomart; this tradition relies, for example, on Radigund's affinity with Elizabethan conceptions of concupiscent Amazons who challenge male governance, or on the sources of Artegall's crossdressing in the Achilles and Hercules-Omphale/Iole stories (*Var.* 5.198; Hamilton, *Structure of Allegory*, 183-85, 189, and *The FQ*, V.v.20.8n., v.24n.; Alpers 127-31; Dunseath 126-40, 177; Aptekar 172-200; Angus Fletcher 247-48, 279-80; D. Cheney, *Image of Nature*, 170-71; and N. Davis, "Women on Top," 133). Finally, recent readings of Radigund more fully explore the relationship between anxiety over emasculation and anxiety over female rule (Suzuki 177-95; and J. Roberts, "Radigund Revisited," 189-92, 195). In this context, Suzuki examines several of Spenser's female doubles (150-209) and argues that "Radigund functions as a convenient scapegoat for Spenser and his heroine Britomart: Radigund's destruction allows Spenser to dissociate Britomart from anxiety-producing qualities traditionally associated with Amazons and to assert her prerogative to found the Tudor line" (179). My own reading is closest to that of Suzuki in that I am concerned only with male perspectives of Radigund and her relationship to Britomart.

made to crossdress and spin under feminine rule; they also stress Terpine's own culpability. Yet Artegall himself almost immediately sacrifices his own knightly identity and earns the same blame. Moreover, Artegall's experience almost duplicates that of Braggadocchio in the tournament of V.iii. There Braggadocchio is made to endure an emasculating ritual of public infamy for posing as a true knight (V.iii.37). Talus strips Braggadocchio of his status by shaving his beard and breaking and scattering his sword and armour, the badges to which fame is attached.³³ Just two cantos later, however, Artegall's sword is broken, his shield is surrendered, and his arms are hung up "that mote his shame bewray" (V.v.21). Here it is Artegall (and several other virtuous knights) whose chivalric status is eradicated. It is Artegall who must endure emasculation when Radigund "doth them of warlike armes despoile, / And cloth in womens weedes" (V.iv.31). And it is Artegall who well deserves his punishment, at least to his own mind, because he, like Terpine, is "Left to her will by his owne wilfull blame" (V.v.20).

Spenser prepares his readers for the battle of Artegall and Radigund by indicating that Radigund poses an obstacle to chivalric order. Artegall prepares for battle not as an individual but as a representative of a social group and its institutions while Radigund selfishly suits herself: "The Knight, as best was seeming for a Knight, / And th'Amazon,

³³ On the ritual of defamation of a knight, see Upton V.iii.37n. (2.923-24). Segar describes a ceremony similar to that experienced by Braggadocchio as common in about 1020 (Booke of honor and armes, P1v-P2r, and Honor military, and civill, G2r); for a description of a contemporary defamation, see the proclamation of how the traitor Northumberland is stripped of his "armes, ensigns, and hatchments" when he is expelled from the Order of the Garter (Nichols 1.263).

as best it likt her selfe to dight" (V.v.1). Spenser's description of Radigund as "Unknowen perill of bold womens pride" (V.iv.38) succinctly identifies the twofold danger she represents to knighthood: the sexual intrusion of femininity on masculine autonomy, and the usurpation of chivalric fame.

In the first case, the "bold" (V.iv.38) Radigund recalls Artegall's bold-but-not-too-bold betrothed Britomart, and, like Britomart, Radigund represents the mysterious otherness of the nonmasculine, or, as Spenser labels it, an "Unknowen perill" (V.iv.38, cf. IV.vi.12). But through Radigund this mystery, and Britomart herself, become more threatening. The sexual amalgamation of male and female is reflected in part by Radigund's androgyny and mirroring of Artegall (V.v.1) and in part by how her sexually charged battle with Artegall recapitulates the battle of Artegall with Britomart (V.v.8-9; cf. IV.vi.28, 40 and V.v.17).³⁴ Ultimately, when Radigund's face, like Britomart's, is revealed beneath her helmet, Artegall's decision to serve the Amazon conveys the same mortal end to chivalric masculine existence as had his earlier submission to Britomart. His loss to Radigund and "long death" (V.v.36) in women's clothing evoke his words to the defeated Terpine: "what other deadly dismall day / Is falne on you, ... As for to lead your selfe unto your owne decay?" (V.iv.26). Paradoxically, Spenser assigns culpability for such death and emasculation to the male knights rather than blaming their female assailants (e. g., V.v.16-17, V.vi.1). One implication of this blame is that Artegall is self-conquered because his previously autonomous masculine self has incorporated a

³⁴ On parallel imagery between the battles, see Nohnberg 383-84; Hamilton, *Structure*, 183-85; Dunseath 132-33.

partnership (both sexual and socio-economic) with the feminine other. Moreover, Radigund reflects masculine perception of that incorporation. Significantly, Artegall encounters the Amazons of Radehone in the canto following his presence at the nuptials of Florimell and Marinell. To the bachelor/knight, the role of husband is one of degradation, a seeming end to masculinity because it is an end to masculine autonomy. Despite acknowledgement of the future union of Artegall and Britomart in IV.vi, in many ways Artegall retains his knightly status, upholding chivalric codes and values.

Besides her intrusive femininity and sexuality, it is similarly knightly attributes which earn Radigund the epithet "Unknowen perill of bold womens pride" (V.iv.38). Terpine is "made the scorne of Knighthod" (V.iv.27), but he explains that the prisoners of Radigund have fallen victim to her because they are "desirous (as all Knights are woont) / Through hard adventures deedes of armes to try, / And after fame and honour for to hunt" (V.iv.29). Terpine's speech demonstrates causality: he attributes shame and emasculation to a seemingly laudable desire of "all Knights"--their appetite for honour. Such honour is in fact the goal of the tournament which precedes Artegall's encounter with the Amazons (as it is the goal of the tournament where Britomart thwarts Artegall's pursuit of it in IV.iv). In V.iii, Artegall wins the accolades but only enhances the fame of the exaggeratedly vainglorious Braggadocchio in an animadversion of such chivalric codes. In the next canto, similar vainglory is exhibited by Radigund (e. g., V.iv.33), who is likewise constantly boasting and "vaunting vaine" (V.v.10). Compared even to Spenser's glory-hungry knights, Radigund is unusually proud, especially in her dealings

with Artégall and his fellow knights.³⁵ Spenser reinforces Radigund's role as vainglory by assigning her a second-in-command who evokes both Braggadocchio's squire Trompart and the figure of Fame with her trumpet--Clarín (or Clarinda), who sounds "loud a Trumpet from the wall" of Radegone (V.iv.50).³⁶ But this fame is likewise sought by Sir Artégall, and in their battle he mirrors Radigund when he attacks "Like to an Eagle in his kingly pride" (V.iv.42). Ironically, Artégall's disgrace--the sacrifice of his shield and the hanging up of his arms--resembles contemporary rituals that celebrated and enforced knightly fame. The hanging "on high" (V.v.21) of Artégall's arms evokes the mounting of shields on the Elizabethan Tree of Chivalry,³⁷ while Radigund's

³⁵ 'Pride' and 'proud' (and their variants) are used to describe Radigund nineteen times. While Radigund reflects aspects of both Artégall and Britomart, almost all of these references (sixteen of them) occur in the context of the Amazon's encounters with Artégall in cantos iv-v.

³⁶ Her name recalls Tasso's female warrior Clorinda (Jerusalem Delivered II.38) and, through its likeness to 'clarion,' indicates her role as spokesperson for Radigund (The FQ, V.iv.48.3n.). The latter possibility combined with her trumpet and her sex evoke contemporary iconography of Fama. Fame or Glory depicted as a woman or with a trumpet appears, for example, in emblem books by Whitney (42), Alciato (Emblem 133), and Wither (146) (here the emblem appears to depict fame as masculine, but pronouns used in the verse make fame feminine); and in Anthony Munday, Zelauto. The fountaine of fame (1580), (Ev), rpt. in Strong, Portraits of Queen Elizabeth, (120-21, fig. W.4). Such feminized fame has a history of threatening masculinity. As Suzuki notes, "Virgil figures Fama with her thousand tongues as a demonized double for the fame he will bestow on Aeneas. The monstrous and disorderly female Fama spreads the rumor of Aeneas' dalliance with Dido, while Virgil, allying himself with male Jupiter's orderly fatum, sings the fame of the Roman Empire" (196).

³⁷ In a similarly ironic conflation of conventional chivalric glory with rituals of defamation, Arthur hangs the shield and arms of the displaced tyrant, the Souldan, "on a tree, before the Tyrants dore" (V.viii.45). These ceremonies have two resonances. First, a knight conventionally signified his entry to a formal chivalric contest by hanging his arms from a Tree of Chivalry. On the origins of this tradition and its evolution in England, see Kipling 117ff., esp. 120-21. For a visual depiction, see the portrait of the Earl of Cumberland posing next to the Tree in ceremonial armour (Young, Tudor and

placement of his shield in her "long large chamber" among the identifying badges of her other knightly victims evokes Elizabeth I's collection of the shields of her honoured knights in the long gallery at Whitehall where her annual tournaments were held.³⁸

Thus Radigund does not merely threaten knightly status by emasculating knights, but she also demonstrates the inadequacies of that status and undermines the foundations of chivalry.³⁹

IV

Crossdressing does not shame and confine Pyrocles as it does Artegall. At this point, though, I would like only to identify similarities in the paths which bring both men to assume feminine identities characterized as deaths, and to demonstrate that, for both

Jacobean Tournaments, 138-39, fig. 70; and Strong, Tudor and Jacobean Portraits, 2.100; cf. Strong, English Icon, 63, pl. 52, 246, pl. 222; Whitney 126; Alciato, Emblem 47. Second, the hanging up of arms in The FQ also contains elements of the rituals used for public shamings in the villages of early modern England. Communities often advertised social transgression and chastised offenders by displaying some sign which represented the transgression on or outside the door of the offender's home (e. g., horns for those who had been cuckolded) (Underdown 99-103; Ingram 87).

³⁸ For contemporary descriptions of the gallery, see von Wedel 235-236; and Peacham 199 (ch. 15).

³⁹ As n. 32 suggests, critics have tended to notice how Radigund threatens male sexual and social or political dominance, and how she reflects aspects of Britomart (to the detriment of Artegall and/or Britomart). Two critics who come closest to noticing how Radigund mirrors aspects of Artegall's chivalric status are Suzuki, who remarks that Artegall is attracted to Radigund because they share qualities of tyranny and cruelty (181, 183); and Angus Fletcher, who argues that Radigund perverts chivalric ideals (247-49), and that "the triangle of Britomart, Radigund, and Artegall presents the political flaw of chivalry, showing the human element, especially a sexual component, at the center of that ideal system" (109). I shall suggest that Spenser himself does not sustain what Fletcher considers 'chivalric ideals' and that Suzuki's 'tyrannous cruelty' is part of what the chivalric system is celebrated for promoting.

men, heterosexual union represents a sacrifice of chivalric status. For Pyrocles, as for Artegall, there is a disjunction between his roles as knight and as potential bridegroom. Like Artegall, Pyrocles experiences a loss of identity when, as a knight errant, he falls in love for the first time, and the crossdressing of both men is preceded by encounters with women whose sexuality threatens knightly status and chivalric order.

When Pyrocles falls in love, he views Philoclea as an alien force; just as Britomart is undefinable to Artegall in their first meeting, Philoclea initially is defined as remote by Pyrocles--as "some goddess" (51). In response to his attraction, Pyrocles disguises himself as the Amazon Zelmane, and his choice of a feminine role derives from an experience which resembles the first meeting of Artegall and Britomart in its emphasis on mutual submission and experience. What Pyrocles remembers most about the real Zelmane who inspires his disguise is the selfless service she performs for him when she crossdresses as a page, sacrificing her femininity to masculine disguise. When Pyrocles becomes 'Zelmane,' he too submits his independent identity to that of Philoclea. In "Transformed in show, but more transformed in mind," Zelmane sings, "What marvel, then, I take a woman's hue, / Since what I see, think, know, is all but you?" (69).⁴⁰

While the integrity and virtue of the true Zelmane and Philoclea (and of Britomart) are incontrovertible, to men who hold the status of knighthood the admission of feminine influence that love demands violates the chivalric masculinity in which they have been trained. The slightly older Musidorus regards Pyrocles' disguise as a loss of

⁴⁰ In the OA, Sidney directly indicates the imposition of Philoclea on Pyrocles by naming his Amazon 'Cleophila,' the inversion of 'Philoclea,' because Pyrocles' "mind is wholly turned and transformed into her" (18).

identity--as unsuitable to his role as prince and as dangerous to manhood and fame:

And is it possible that this is Pyrocles, the only young prince in the world formed by nature and framed by education to the true exercise of virtue?... See with yourself how fit it will be for you ... to overthrow all the excellent things you have done which have filled the world with your fame.... if we will be men, the reasonable part of our soul is to have absolute commandment, against which if any sensual weakness arise, we are to yield all our sound forces to the overthrowing of so unnatural a rebellion. (70-71)

Musidorus begs Pyrocles, "'remember what you are, what you have been, or what you must be'" (72), and, distinguishing Pyrocles' formerly masculine from his currently feminine identity, he chooses the third person to warn his cousin: "'for Pyrocles' own sake ... purge your self of this vile infection'" (75). Musidorus thus defines 'Pyrocles' as famous prince and (Ciceronian) friend to himself. While he accepts neoplatonic tenets which sanction the lover's loss of identity when the thing loved is pure (71-72), Musidorus does not approve a transformation into the thing loved when that thing is a woman: "'this effeminate love of a woman doth so womanize a man that, if you yield to it, it will not only make you an Amazon, but a launder, a distaff-spinner, or whatsoever other vile occupation their idle heads can imagine and their weak hands perform'" (72).

Further, just as Artegall's alliance with Britomart undermines the bonds of homosociality which establish chivalric status and order, the love of Pyrocles for Philoclea leads to similar violations. Musidorus first notices Pyrocles' affliction because the younger prince absents himself from the all-male activity of hunting. Like war and tournament, hunting establishes masculine sameness through competition. The hounds are the soldiers, the huntsmen, "their faithful counsellors": "the war was already begun.... Then delight and variety of opinion drew the horsemen sundry ways; yet cheering their

hounds with voice and horn, kept still as it were together" (54). Musidorus also scolds Pyrocles for offending masculine ties of family and friendship, or the "'expectation ... desired of [his] old father and wanted of [his] native country'" (70) as well as "'breaking laws of ... friendship with [him]'" (71). With his use of the words "old" and "laws" the elder prince reminds Pyrocles of his place in and duty to a male-governed social order. Concerned with preserving such pristine masculine bonds, Musidorus describes love as annihilating: like Scudamour, he delivers these judgments from a chivalric point of view.

However, implicit in his speech is the sense that there is more than one 'Pyrocles': "what you are, what you have been, or what you must be" (72). Musidorus alludes to Pyrocles' role as heir, and, in turn, to Pyrocles' own duty to beget such an heir. Like "Sir Artegall, the salvage knight" (IV.vi.31), Pyrocles in Amazon disguise is caught between masculine roles, neither knight nor husband. Pyrocles' future role as king is not so explicit as Artegall's prophesied future; in the cases of Pyrocles and Musidorus, Sidney gradually provides the reader with the princes' identities and backgrounds. Consequently, Sidney's effect is not Spenser's: whereas Artegall seems to resist husbandhood, Pyrocles seems to grow into awareness of his responsibilities. The reader eventually learns not merely that he is heir to the patriarch-king Euarchus but also, through Basilius' incompetence and the inset narratives of governance in Book II, what it means to be so.⁴¹ Nonetheless, even in the argument between the princes early in the narrative, a tension between chivalric status and patriarchal status can be detected,

⁴¹ On these how these narratives provide examples of good and bad governance, see Greenlaw 275-80; W. Davis 114-35; J. Roberts, *Architectonic Knowledge*, 88-109, 170-91; Lindheim, "Retrospective Narrative." On Basilius and Euarchus, see pp. 23-24.

and Musidorus' predictions ultimately come true. 'Pyrocles' no longer accrues fame, but Zelmane earns honour in the Tourney of Beauty of Book I and the peasant rebellion of Book II. Androgyny erodes independent masculinity so that, like Artegall, Pyrocles is 'dead': his disguise is explained by a rumour that Pyrocles perished at sea, and Pyrocles himself refers to the disguise as a "strange death" (121).

Although Pyrocles differs from Artegall in his willing acceptance of transvestism, the Amazonian disguise and the heterosexual attraction it signifies are not without peril. The impetus of Pyrocles' disguise, his attraction to Philoclea, represents his first encounter with sexual desire, and, for Pyrocles as for Artegall, sexuality signifies a particular threat. Pyrocles' relationship with the actual Zelmane is devoid of sexual attraction, but in the adventures detailed in Book II the prince witnesses the consequences of the sexual desires of others.⁴² The chronological history of the prince places the Book II adventures after he leaves the shelter of his childhood home to take up arms (135), and before he loses his identity as Zelmane or assumes his responsibility as king in patriarchal order: that is, Book II details Pyrocles' participation in chivalric order. For the young knight errant, most of these experiences of male-female relationships confirm the degradation and misfortunes described by Musidorus more than they reflect the honourable outcome later anticipated by the disguised Pyrocles. Once the sovereign Erona, for example, experiences passion, her irrational decisions

⁴² These adventures (types of 'heroic journeys') are rightly regarded as a training period by J. Roberts (*Architectonic Knowledge*, 77-79, 110-58, esp. 114-15, 152-58) and Lindheim (*Structures*, 87-108, esp. 94). Roberts observes that Pyrocles' sexual encounters distinguish the younger prince from the older (155).

affect her government policies and cause her to lose her kingdom (cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 170-71). Pyrocles also encounters the androgynous Andromana who dominates her husband and son Palladius both privately and publicly. She makes sexual advances to her foster-son Plangus (they were once lovers), and seeks his death when he refuses them; to Pyrocles and Musidorus, the young knight-prince counterparts of Plangus, she signifies the same sexual threat when she refuses to release them from prison unless they respond to her interest.

Finally, Pyrocles meets Dido, the leader of a group of women who have all succumbed to their passions for Pamphilus:

I heard certain cries, which ... made me well assured by the greatness of the cry it was the voice of a man, though it were a very unmanlike voice so to cry.... I saw ... a gentleman, bound with many garters hand and foot... Upon him, like so many eagles upon an ox, were nine gentlewomen, truly such as one might well enough say they were handsome. Each of them held bodkins in their hands wherewith they continually pricked him (having been beforehand unarmed of any defence from the waist upward, but only of his shirt), so as the poor man wept and bled, cried and prayed, while they sported themselves in his pain, and delighted in his prayers as the arguments of their victory. (236)

While Dido's story of how Pamphilus abuses the womens' affections arouses sympathy, the episode also demonstrates the peril in sexual contact: the women are repaying the tyranny that Dido deplores in Pamphilus with an equally deplorable tyranny of their own. Their graphic assault on the male body, or their intrusion on masculine wholeness, is particularly ominous to the male viewer. When these women attack the "unarmed" Pamphilus, they anticipate the Amazons whom Artegall observes stripping the armour from Spenser's knights:

... a troupe of women warlike dight,

With weapons in their hands, as ready for to fight.

And in the midst of them he saw a Knight,
With both his hands behinde him pinnoed hard,
And round about his necke an halter tight.

.....
But they like tyrants, mercilesse the more,
Rejoyced at his miserable case,
And him reviled, and reproched sore
With bitter taunts, and termes of vile disgrace.
(V.iv.21-23)

Just as the encounter of Artegall with the Amazons (and with Britomart) leads to his emasculation and loss of fame, Pyrocles' rescue of Pamphilus robs the prince of his knightly reputation. When Pyrocles abandons his combat with Anaxius to aid Pamphilus, he inaugurates a pattern which repeats itself throughout Book II, with the result that Anaxius broadcasts his 'cowardice' far and wide.⁴³ For Pyrocles as for Artegall, these occasions expose the drawbacks in chivalric dependence on fame.

Sidney's use of the Book II episodes as flashbacks after Pyrocles has already taken on Amazonian disguise thus emphasize what that mingled identity can mean to knighthood. Just as the inception of Artegall's relationship to Britomart leads to her demonization through Radigund, Pyrocles' revelation of his identity to Philoclea and their consequent swearing of love for one another are accompanied in Book II by these histories and their warning depictions of desire.⁴⁴ When he allows his awakened

⁴³ Cf. J. Roberts, *Architectonic Knowledge*, 100-01, and her related observation that Pyrocles' "series of tales stress ... the difficulty of the pursuit of honor, as it is constantly disrupted by conflicting demands" (103).

⁴⁴ J. Roberts notes that Miso's tale of the hangman Cupid presents another disturbing view of love, and one that is especially distressing to Zelmane (*Architectonic Knowledge*, 172-74). Of course, the functions of the narratives of Book II extend

sexuality to dictate a feminine displacement of his autonomous chivalric identity, then, Pyrocles not only partakes in the faithful service of the true Zelmane but also experiences sexuality's threats to order. At the same time, however, these same flashbacks depict the history of the successful patriarch-king Euarchus, a role which necessitates braving the heterosexual relationship. This tale--as well as the combination of heterosexual attraction and political governance in the rest of the Book II narratives--anticipate the young prince's patriarchal responsibilities and civil duties. But Pyrocles is between roles--his knightly status implicitly and explicitly threatened by the sexuality in these tales, and his patriarchal status forecasted by their depiction of governance.

V

This chapter raises many questions. What enables the martially exemplary Pyrocles and Salvage Knight both to be a part of chivalric order yet to disrupt that order? Why does contact with femininity signify mortality? What are the positive implications of sexual love with the virtuous women Britomart and Philoclea? Responses to these queries occupy much of the rest of this thesis. My intention in this chapter has been limited. I have endeavoured to identify parallels in the types of roles taken up by Pyrocles and Artegall, and I have tried to show that masculinity depends in part on context, on whether the individual is regarded as a participant in chivalric or in patriarchal order. As I suggested in the Introduction, both the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene offer two versions of masculinity: Pyrocles and Artegall support and participate in chivalric

beyond their implications for sexuality (see n. 41).

order yet also transgress the rules and ceremonies that reinforce it; each is a resolutely masculine knight, yet each is also a potential bridegroom although he may resist or be unaware of that role. Consequently, what supports one system of order may disrupt another, and the same signs may be perceived as their inverse depending on an individual's current status and the system of order in which he operates. In particular, the autonomy and the fame which contribute to knightly masculinity are threatened by the heterosexual union which is necessary to patriarchal masculinity, and, though confronted with their future role as husband, neither Pyrocles nor Artegall seems ready to assume it. For both Pyrocles and Artegall, shifts between the roles of knight and potential patriarch create similar ambiguities and tensions which at times exclude these men from either status, leaving them in vulnerable transitional states.

In the rest of this thesis, I will use the anthropological paradigms of order and non-order set forth in the Introduction to examine transitions between chivalric and patriarchal systems, and I shall rely on early modern customs and rituals to show how each system and the transitions between them are validated and reinforced. Subsequent chapters will explore how knights exchange their status for that of husband, why many knights are not able to fulfil or conform to that new role, and what is necessary to allow them to do so. Both the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene suggest that the adult male may not immediately assume the status of husband. Chapter Two will demonstrate that much of the behaviour and many of the traits of Artegall and Pyrocles detailed in this chapter are characteristic of early modern definitions of 'youth,' and that holding knightly status, or maintaining a period of autonomous masculinity in non-familial,

chivalric order, is necessary to manhood. For Marinell and Amphialus, as for Artegall and Pyrocles, contact with androgyny similarly affronts famous knightly identity and leads to 'death' for each knight. However, while Artegall and Pyrocles are threatened because they have graduated from childhood to the exclusively masculine companionship of youth but are apprehensive about assuming the more adult status of husband, Marinell and Amphialus are threatened for another reason. These knights regress from a manhood that is signified by chivalric status and fail to maintain the separation from maternal influence which is necessary to masculine maturity.

Chapter Two

The "famous ... Inglorious now lie": The Regressions of Marinell and Amphialus

Even among the many exemplars of chivalric achievement in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, Marinell and Amphialus are distinguished by their martial skill and concomitant fame. In their early appearances, these men maintain their status as participants in chivalric order by rigorously refusing to be distracted by women. Marinell shuns their company and instead directs his energies to combat and to the preservation of his wealth and property. Amphialus likewise rejects a potential union with Helen to preserve his ties with his friend and foster-brother Philoxenus. As I argued in the Introduction and in Chapter One, this emphasis on masculine solidarity helps define a manhood based on knightly status. Like the resolutely masculine knights Pyrocles and Artegall, however, Amphialus and Marinell pay a price for their determination to remain in the homosocial world of tournament and battlefield. Their autonomy is threatened and their fame diminished when they are wounded and defeated in combat by as yet unsung, and androgynous, opponents--Zelmane and Britomart. These assaults eventually lead Marinell and Amphialus, like Artegall and Pyrocles, to experience the ultimate non-existence and loss of identity: 'death.' Amphialus attempts suicide, and Marinell relinquishes his will to live. Why--despite their success as knights--do they come to these disastrous ends?

The most obvious response is that Cecropia and Cymoent, the mothers of Amphialus and Marinell, are responsible for their sons' difficulties, both for the excessive pride that contributes to many of their misfortunes and for their deaths.¹ This chapter and the following one extend this observation of detrimental maternal influence into an examination of what is less obvious: why Marinell and Amphialus are in positions to succumb to this influence; how such influences relate to pride and susceptibility to androgynous forces; and what contemporary attitudes toward such influences reveal about masculine maturity in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia.

In their early appearances, Amphialus and Marinell are in the stage of life regarded as 'youth,' a state signified in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene by the taking up of arms. To the Elizabethans, youth constituted a relatively autonomous, free, and peripatetic period between memberships in more stable patriarchal orders--between a childhood spent in the parental household and an adulthood spent fulfilling the duties

¹ Labelling Marinell an over-protected and narcissistic mama's boy is a commonplace in Spenser studies (Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 183, The FQ, III.iv.20.2n.; Alpers 381; Goldberg, "Mothers," 9; Berger, "The Faerie Queene, Book III," 403). Most compatible with my argument is Silberman's location of Cymoent's power in her "daemonization" by Marinell and the narrator after she intrudes on Marinell's narcissistic autonomy (Transforming Desire, 28). Maternal control has also been recognized as a factor in Amphialus' career (Myrick 269-70; Lindheim, Structures, 26-27, 114), but only J. Roberts examines in detail (Architectonic Knowledge, 246-73) how Amphialus' increasing selfishness and his "primary interest in his own honor" (250) derive from the egotistical Cecropia's increasing influence over him (247). Generally, though, commentary on Amphialus tends to focus on his roles as admirable tragic hero (Myrick 177; W. Davis 131-33) or as admirable pitiable lover (McCoy, Rebellion, 188-89), or on his role as foil to the princes (Lindheim, Structures, 82-86; Rees *passim*). In fact, although more recent, psychoanalytic work on the Arcadias has addressed mother-child dynamics, it tends to skirt or give short shrift to the Amphialus-Cecropia relationship (Martin; Cantar 13; Bono 113, 118).

which accompany headship of another such household. This stage of separation from familial, and particularly maternal, jurisdiction was considered necessary to the coming of age of men in early modern England. But Marinell and Amphialus both discover that they are unprepared to progress beyond 'youth' to participate in adult heterosexuality. Their careers do not record the achievements of exemplary manhood but depict a regression from it as these men return to the familial, household order of their childhoods--but with an important omission. These 'households' lack patriarchal overseers and instead operate under the domestic control of the mother. The historical and literary contexts of the relationships of Amphialus and Marinell with their mothers further suggest that these men do not maintain even the full autonomy which signals the advent of masculine maturity, or knightly status. Although each mother encourages her son's knightly achievement, she simultaneously inhibits his independence. Amphialus and Marinell cannot advance to patriarchal order, but neither can they continue to participate successfully in chivalric order. Ultimately, like Pyrocles and Artegall, Amphialus and Marinell are left without any masculine status.

II

As the Introduction and Chapter One demonstrate, chivalric status depends on fame and pride in fame; consequently, when the quest for fame is disrupted, so is knightly masculinity. For Marinell the transformation of his renowned martial role to an "Inglorious" (III.iv.29) state is swift. Just as Artegall is bested in the tournament, a forum in which he is reputed to excel, Marinell is wounded on the strand he has

successfully and famously defended from numerous opponents (III.iv.20-21). And, just as the androgynous Britomart emasculates Artégall and undermines the chivalric attributes contributing to his status as knight (see pp. 61-66), the same female knight likewise strikes directly at Marinell's martial prowess, vengeful aggressiveness, and vainglory (III.iv.16-17). Spenser compares the wounded Marinell to a castrated sacrificial ox "that carelesse stands" (III.iv.17), his flamboyant pride obscuring the truth of his own vulnerability. The ox's "dying honor" (III.iv.17) represents Marinell's own loss of fame, and consequent loss of status as preeminent knight: wounded by Britomart, "the famous Marinell ... Inglorious now lies" (III.iv.29). Thus, in what Marinell has defined for Britomart as a contest of manhood (The FQ, III.iv.14.6n.), he is, for the first time, unable to prove his own.

The fate of Amphialus, the once honoured "right manlike man" (195), ultimately resembles that of Marinell in its ignominy, but, unlike Marinell's unwilling and swift loss of chivalric status, Amphialus' forfeiture of his knighthood comprises a semi-voluntary series of vacillating rejections and resumptions of arms. In the first of these, Amphialus offends the same-sex bonds and knightly codes which underpin chivalric status and order. When Philoxenus discovers that Helen prefers Amphialus to himself and attacks him, rivalry does not affirm masculinity. Rather, Amphialus accidentally kills his best friend (64), and his offense is compounded when Timias--his foster-father and chivalric mentor--dies in sorrow. In response Amphialus abandons arms and martial responsibilities: he loses status, or, as Sidney puts it, "pass[es] himself" (64). However, Amphialus later recovers this status when he returns to his own kingdom and leads his troops in the

rebellion Cecropia has begun to gain Basilius' throne for her son--but not because he is interested in military or political victory. Rather, he now hopes that martial achievements will win him the hand of his hostage Philoclea, with whom he has fallen in love during his statusless wanderings. But Amphialus soon denies himself knightly status for the second time after poor behaviour on the battlefield and after he causes the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia in the tiltyard--paradoxically, where chivalric qualities are celebrated and instilled in their participants. Recognizing that his actions do not contribute to his reputation as "the courteous Amphialus" (61), Amphialus rejects his chivalric role by breaking his sword, "counted the best in the world, which with much blood he had once conquered of a mighty giant," saying that it is not "worthy to serve the noble exercise of chivalry" (400).

After he curses himself for the death of Parthenia, however, Amphialus is compelled by a challenge from the forsaken knight (Musidorus) to attempt yet another return to chivalric status. Yet, during this battle, Amphialus recognizes the disjunction between his proclaimed reputation for courteous chivalry and the dishonour which his recent actions have brought him. "'What,' said Amphialus to himself. 'Am I Amphialus, before whom so many monsters and giants have fallen dead when I only sought causeless adventures?... since I lost my liberty, have I lost my courage?... am I indeed Amphialus?'" (409; cf. 442.26-27). Moreover, Amphialus' martial exploits no longer earn him fame: "'but now, caitiff that I am, whatever I have done serves but to build up my rival's glory'" (414). In his final speeches, Amphialus' repetition of his own name (441-42) reveals how much he defines himself through chivalric reputation, yet the final

catalogue of his offenses to his name (441.3-22, discussed below, p. 95) challenges earlier proclamations of his good fame. Thus, like Marinell whose desires for chivalric achievement result only in loss of status and 'ingloriousness,' the Amphialus who unwillingly survives a suicide attempt is no longer the knight who returns to his kingdom secure in his "immortal fame" (317) at the beginning of Book III. Instead, Sidney ironically assigns him only "the honour to be called the friend of Anaxius" (443).

The knightly identities of Marinell and Amphialus are thus insecure, but why are they insecure? Certainly neither is inadequate in his fulfilment of chivalric duties or display of martial skills, and Amphialus' inadequacy in courtesy is manifested only after his knightly status has been unsettled. However, as I observed in the Introduction, while knighthood or taking of arms signifies the onset of manhood, there is a further step to mature masculinity--marriage. Like Pyrocles and Artegall, Amphialus and Marinell find their chivalric status undermined when they confront potential adult roles as patriarchs, roles which require them to enter a heterosexual relationship or to assume the responsibilities of husband or governor. And like Pyrocles and Artegall, Amphialus and Marinell consequently find themselves in vulnerable, insecure states in which they hold neither the status of knight nor the status of bridegroom.

The hitherto secure knightly identity of Amphialus is subverted when he confronts adult responsibilities beyond his chivalric ones: the death of his foster-father Timotheus, an event which implies the passing of patriarchal responsibility from father to son; the desire to unite with Philoclea; and the attempt to usurp the position of his uncle Basilius, governor of a kingdom. Both Amphialus and Marinell (like Pyrocles and

Artegall) discover the inadequacy of chivalry when they encounter the androgyne. Britomart and Zelmane introduce femininity into martial combat, the province of chivalric order. Faced with Zelmane, Amphialus chooses not to adopt his usual, aggressively offensive stance: consequently, the jealous Amazon delivers him a thigh wound which signifies his attraction to Philoclea. Similarly, the blow Britomart inflicts on Marinell's torso is a love wound (The FQ, III.iv.16.5n.). Both wounds signify an intrusion on masculine autonomy that neither knight has experienced before. The androgynes not only embody male-female union but also represent the 'other' in a potential relationship. Amphialus' rival mirrors Philoclea: Zelmane sings, "What marvel, then, I take a woman's hue, / Since what I see, think, know, is all but you?" (69). And Britomart's career parallels that of Marinell's intended, Florimell: each leaves court in search of her Achilles-like beloved, and Florimell's troubled journey on the sea with its near rape (III.viii.20ff.) dramatizes Britomart's metaphoric lament with its storm-tossed "feeble barke" (III.iv.8) and "lewd Pilot" (III.iv.10).

After confrontations with adult responsibilities, Marinell and Amphialus successfully participate in neither chivalric nor patriarchal order. The roles of knight and bridegroom are incompatible: while pride is necessary to the fame which forms knightly identity, it does not contribute to the identity of the bridegroom, whose responsibilities are to others before they are to himself. Indeed, although his downfall at woman's hand has been prophesied, it is because knighthood and heterosexual union are thought to be incompatible that Marinell is allowed to continue his martial career: Cymoent does not expect her son to encounter romantic love while he is "arm'd"

(III.iv.27), or engaged in knightly duties. This disjunction in masculine roles means that Marinell can be both famous and inglorious: he seems to have achieved one form of manhood as famous knight, but his contact with Britomart exposes his inability or unwillingness to fulfil another masculine role, that of the bridegroom. Marinell's name evokes Middle English and Early Modern English 'He nill marrye' (Heatt, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, 94), and he obviously avoids adult responsibilities and prefers his solitary existence on the strand, an open landscape which contrasts with the domicile of the household governor and reinforces Marinell's independently errant state. The strand also opposes Book III's central image, the productive Gardens of Adonis; the shore's sterility intimates Marinell's refusal to become a father. Yet Spenser indicates Marinell's removal from even this chivalric existence when the injured man, neither peerless knight nor potential husband, is transported to a mythological otherworld under the sea. In a sense, passage beneath the water's surface anticipates Alice's trip through the looking glass. As a space which disregards order as the poem defines it--either current chivalric order (Gloriana's knights) or projected patriarchal order (the New Troy)--The Faerie Queene's undersea milieu constitutes a version of Babcock's "reversible world" or "symbolic inversion." Beneath the sea, the once powerful and territorial Marinell is ill and completely helpless, bereft of chivalric status and subject to the power of his mother.

Sidney expresses Amphialus' similar position between chivalric and patriarchal statuses and orders. In an inset tale following his attraction to Philoclea and wounding by Zelmane, Mopsa addresses the effect of heterosexual attraction on chivalric identity. A knight falls in love with a princess, but the water-nymphs who have raised him have

"so bewitched him that if he were ever asked his name he must presently vanish away" (214). And vanish away he does when the princess demands the name as a condition of their relationship. Both the princess and the nymphs have affinities with Philoclea, who is a princess and also evokes the "Arcadian nymphs" (188) who are accustomed to bathe in the Ladon, the river next to which the nymph Syrinx is transformed into reeds (Ovid, Metamorphoses, I.689-712); the vanishing knight parallels Amphialus, whose attraction to a princess will leave him without secure status. Amphialus' story--like Mopsa's--remains unfinished, but The New Arcadia's final intelligence concerning him is that he attempts to obliterate himself entirely--to "vanish away" (214) like Mopsa's knight.

Between Amphialus' attraction to Philoclea and his suicide attempt, the instability of his identity is expressed in various ways. Unlike Marinell, who seems to avoid patriarchal responsibility, Amphialus accepts it, both as leader of his people in the rebellion and as Philoclea's would-be husband. The attire Amphialus chooses for courting expresses his desire to represent himself in these more mature roles:

Amphialus ... gat up. And calling for his richest apparel, nothing seemed sumptuous enough for his mistress's eyes; and that which was costly, he feared were not dainty; and though the invention were delicate, he misdoubted the making. As careful he was too of the colour.... At length, he took a garment more rich than glaring, the ground being black velvet, richly embroidered, with great pearl and precious stones--but they set so, among certain tufts of cypress, that the cypress was like black clouds through which the stars might yield a dark lustre. About his neck, he wore a broad and gorgeous collar, whereof, the pieces interchangeably answering, the one was of diamonds and pearl set with a white enamel so as, by the cunning of the workman, it seemed like a shining ice; and the other piece, being of rubies and opals, had a fiery glistering.... (321)

In early modern portraiture the male subject is often presented either as a representative of chivalric order--a knight wearing his armour--or as a representative of patriarchal

order--a title-holder or statesman wearing regular costume (or sometimes robes of office) and an elaborate collar such as that worn by Amphialus.² Amphialus thus exchanges his more flamboyant knightly attire for a costume which conveys his sober maturity, his political and social standing as governor of castle and principality, and his wealth--an attribute which implies his capacity to provide for wife, household, and community. Yet, though as knight Amphialus is without peer, as husband, patriarch, or governor, he is inadequate. Consequently, he finds himself not quite fulfilling either role, a condition signified by the division in his self-address.

² For representations of male gentry as either knights or householders/title-holders/statesmen, see Strong, Tudor and Jacobean Portraits; and the illustrations in Young, Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments. These two types of representations seem quite distinct, and many individuals were painted playing each of the two roles: e. g., Leicester (Strong 2.378-392); the third Earl of Southampton (2.587-92); Henry, Prince of Wales (2.316-325); or the third Earl of Cumberland (2.100-04). That is, although a chivalric portrait may contain the family arms, it often employs an outdoor landscape, reference to actual military campaigns, and chivalric motifs: e. g., the Earl of Cumberland with the tree of chivalry (Strong 2.100); Sir James Scudamore (Young 142, fig. 72) in an Arcadian setting; or the Earl of Essex before his tent with possible reference to the Normandy campaign (Young 171, fig. 80). On the other hand, although the male may wear a sword in a portrait which stresses his patriarchal role as title or office holder, this portrait is usually set indoors or has a view of the family manor (or even, in the case of Cumberland, the family itself, both descendants and ancestors). In this type of portrait, the subject often holds a staff of office or wears another such badge in an elaborate collar. Examples of such portraits include those of Burghley (Strong 2.50-61), Hatton (2.270), and the Earl of Devonshire (2.115), as well as those listed above. Although the OED lists various definitions of the word 'collar,' that worn by Amphialus clearly resembles those depicted in these portraits. Their subjects often wear the collar of essés, a badge of public office (e. g., More (Strong 2.452)); an elaborate jewelled collar most like that described for Amphialus, often the ornament of kings (e. g., Henry VIII (2.305, 309, 313)); or the collar of the Order of the Garter (with its greater or lesser George) (e.g., Hatton (2.270)), a badge which in the mid- to late sixteenth century signified courtiership and civil service as much as or more than it indicated strict chivalric duty (Leslie, Fierce Warres, 190-93). Such collars are not shown worn with armour.

Just as Marinell's chivalric pride seems to exempt him from heterosexual union. Amphialus discovers that heterosexual love and martial fame seem to have an inverse relationship. Amphialus begins the rebellion secure in his hard-earned "immortal fame" (317), yet he soon finds himself in an adversarial relationship with glory. In his love song to Philoclea, it is Philoclea and not Amphialus who earns fame:

Fame is with wonder blazed;

 To see my night of evils, which hath no morrow.

 My fall her [Philoclea's] glory maketh--

 Fame, say I was not born:

 Fire, air, sea, earth, fame, time, place, show your power.
 Alas, from all their helps I am exiled....
 (392-93)

The "fall" Amphialus describes characterizes the decline of his fame. Amphialus has "climb[ed] fame" (61) in his chivalric training, and his mother has encouraged him to ascend the "the hill of honour" (318); however, in the rebellion his mother has begun, Amphialus' actions reverse this ascent, diminishing his honour. "Amphialus was but even then returned from far countries (where he had won immortal fame both of courage and courtesy) ... and now, when he heard of this [that Cecropia had assumed power during his illness and captured the princesses], was as much amazed as if he had seen the sun fall to the earth" (317). Indeed, the insignia that he adopts in his final knightly appearance--the sun eclipsed and the catoblepta--express both his fall from honour and his related love for Philoclea. "In his shield he bare for his device a night, ... painted with a sun with a shadow, and upon the shadow with a speech signifying that it only was

barred from enjoying that whereof it had his life, or, 'From whose I am, banished'" (404).³ "His impresa was a catoblepta, which so long lies dead as the moon, whereto it hath so natural a sympathy, wants her light. The word signified that the ... poor beast wanted the moon's light" (405). The catoblepta, according to Pliny, is "little of bodie otherwise ..., but his head onely is so great that his bodie is hardly able to beare it; hee alwaies carrieth it downe toward the earth" (I.206: VIII.xxi). Amphialus eventually discovers that the chivalric title of "Philoclea's lover," which he bestows upon himself in the rebellion's first battle (346), actually conflicts with his roles as both suitor and knight: "'Recreant Amphialus!' would he say to himself. 'How darest thou entitle thyself the lover of Philoclea, that hast neither showed thyself a faithful coward nor a valiant rebel'" (414). Not only, then, does Amphialus recognize his inadequacy as potential bridegroom, but he also perceives that he is no longer the "courteous Amphialus" (61), the impeccably trained knight, and he breaks his sword. As his song "The fire to see" puts it, Amphialus desires to be "not born" or sees himself as "exiled" (393): like Marinell, he is 'outside' order and without status.

Although Amphialus rejects his chivalric role after the death of Timotheus and after the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia, he does not exchange it for a patriarchal one. If anything, Amphialus shows his inability to fulfil patriarchal duties. After Timotheus

³ Sidney employs the same metaphor to describe Urania (5.14-18) and Stella (*Astrophil and Stella*, 8, 71, 91). This conventional expression of love as a desire to approach the transcendent sun is connected to fame (albeit poetic rather than chivalric fame) in Petrarch, and Sidney similarly relates love to fame in an *Old Arcadia* poem which also appears in the 1593 *Arcadia* (ed. Evans): Musidorus defines his love for Pamela as an Icarus-like desire "to the sunne with waxen wings to fly" ("Like diverse flowers, whose divers beauties serve" (*OA*, 199-200; *NA* (1593), 652-53)).

dies, Amphialus does not step into his foster-father's shoes: instead, like other figures in the New Arcadia such as Basilius or Helen, Amphialus abandons responsibilities and leadership. Even when he later accepts the role of governor of his household and armies and is simultaneously eager to assume the role of Philoclea's husband, Amphialus is unable to fulfil the duties associated with these positions. His vainglorious leadership of his armies leads first to a scolding by his significantly labelled "old governor" (345, 366), who complains that Amphialus "would rather affect the glory of a private fighter than of a wise general" (366) who is (paternally) responsible for all who serve under him (cf. 346.1-2). More tragically, instead of achieving the marital union for which he hopes, Amphialus' behaviour leads to the destruction of marriage in the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia. In fact, it is Amphialus' recognition of such offenses against adult obligations which motivates him to attempt suicide.

O Amphialus! Wretched Amphialus! Thou hast lived to be the death of thy most dear companion and friend, Philoxenus, and of his father, thy most careful foster-father. Thou has lived to kill ... so excellent and virtuous a lady as the fair Parthenia was. Thou hast lived to see thy faithful Ismenus slain in succouring thee--and thou not able to defend him.... Thou hast lived to bear arms against thy rightful prince--thine own uncle.... But ah! wretched Amphialus! Thou has lived ... to have Philoclea tormented. O heavens! In Amphialus' castle! Where Amphialus commanded! Tormented!... Fear not, cowardly hand, for thou shalt kill but a cowardly traitor. (441)

Amphialus perceives that he has offended patrilineal, familial bonds and has separated from his roles as brother to Philoxenus and son to Timotheus. In addition, when he laments his treatment of Parthenia and Philoclea, the female marriage partners, he implies his own inability to uphold such a union. Finally, Amphialus fails in his paternal role as master to his servant Ismenus, and in turn he likewise fails in his duties as

nephew and citizen in the system of order headed by his uncle and governor Basilius. His attention to the domestic site of these failures--"Amphialus' castle! Where Amphialus commanded! Tormented!" (441)--reinforces these patriarchal irresponsibilities. Amphialus is a governor neither in his private home nor in his public offices. Ultimately, his final words express an incongruity: he has met some requirements of masculine maturity yet has not satisfied others.⁴

For Amphialus and Marinell, then, knighthood and patriarchy appear to be incompatible. As a result of the intersection of these roles, both men are left in vulnerable positions outside of order. Both men, whether consciously or unconsciously, have reacted to potential maturity with the responses of 'youth' and a desire to protect their chivalric status.

III

As explained in the Introduction, 'youth' was an identifiable stage of a man's life which preceded 'man-age' and marriage. The Elizabethans characterized male youth by its greedy passions, desire for glory, selfishness, bestial irrationality, and violence. William Whately is one of many commentators who describe a recognizable type--"rash and undiscereete Youths" who resent authority and who are subject to pride (A care-cloth, 61-63). Others rely on the stereotype of youth to convey the immaturity of adults. George

⁴ Cf. J. Roberts' argument that Amphialus "believes in the model of the self-centered warrior and does not recognize that the heroic life may consist of higher values" (Architectonic Knowledge, 246). She also recognizes the disjunction between Amphialus' responsibilities as knight and as leader: "the chivalric ideal covers primarily behavior in love and war, not the area of public governing" (263).

Sandys, for example, identifies the immoderacy of the adult king Phaeton with that of the chariot-driving youth of the same name:

This fable ... presents a rash and ambitious Prince, inflamed with desire of glory and dominion: who in that too powerfull. attempts what so ever is above his power; and gives no limits to his ruining ambition.... In that rash and unexperienced, he is said to be a boy, and refractory to counsell ... and therefore altogether unfit for government; which requires mature advice.⁵

The intemperate tendencies of youth are not merely figments of literary imagination or useful sermon topics. Young men roamed the streets of towns in unruly packs on holidays or at night. They were known to be responsible for public drunkenness, gang rapes, and riots; certain social rituals involving freedom from restraint such as Shrove Tide celebrations and charivaris were the particular provinces of youth. Youth was thus associated with inversion--with what was not normal, patriarchal order.⁶ Consequently,

⁵ Ovid, Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished (trans. Sandys) (1632), 66-67. The marchants avizo verie necessarie for their sonnes (1607) represents youth as proud, self-confident, and unwilling to accept wise counsel (Browne 3-4. 61-70). Shakespeare's Romeo, roaming the streets with his unmarried friends, brawling, and rashly falling in and out of love, appears to be in this 'age of man.' In Stephen Bateman's Golden booke of the leaden goddes (1577), Apollo's beardlessness reflects the "Lustines of youth," and his role as a sun god and his oft-used arrows conveyed this state's "intemperate heate" (A2v-3r). Maturity, as defined by Elyot, is equivalent to wisdom and temperance, to being able "spede slowly" (94-96; I.xxii). Cf. Abraham Fraunce, The third part of the countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch (1592), fol. 35r-v; Erasmus, Education for Children, 298, 304-05; Whitney 185; or Edgeworth, Sermons, 137-38, 354. For a survey of such early modern characterizations of youth, see Yarbrough 74, and Ben-Amos 10-38; although Ben-Amos rightly identifies an alternative view of youth in which it represents innocence, stability, and hope (20-23), it is important to note that these depictions of youth tend to refer more to its early stages or 'adolescence' than to the intemperate post-pubescent 'youth' of young adult males.

⁶ On youth as a period of "waywardness, 'riotous living,' pride, lust, and defiance of authority" in England, see Yarbrough. For continental practices of youth, see N. Davis, "Reasons of Misrule"; see also Flandrin, who argues that the late age of marriage (in the mid- to late twenties) frustrated the biological drives of men at this age ("Repression and

in the literature of the time, males in the stage of youth are often warned against their common faults of intemperate aggression and pride in themselves and in their physical or martial skill. Though 'youth' is by no means irredeemably wicked and may indeed be heroic and admirable (Ben-Amos 19-28, 34-37), it is nonetheless a dangerous period of greedy waywardness which lacks checks and controls. Such is the condition of Sidney's Plangus when he imprudently embarks on an illicit affair with Andromana: "the errors in his nature were excused by the greenness of his youth (which took all the fault upon itself)" (215). On the other hand, 'adulthood' demands responsibility and connotes the male's preparedness for such responsibility or membership in civic order; immature men are not ready to govern as masters in their own households or to participate in society.⁷

Change," 197; cf. Yarbrough 69-71) and consequently created "an age of virile friendships, an age of irresponsibility and sexual freedom" manifested in violent public rapes by errant gangs of bachelors (199). On such public rapes, also see Flandrin, Families in Former Times, 189-90; however, while Flandrin argues that marriage functions to repress this youthful sexuality (190), it seems more likely that marriage instead validates sexuality and provides it with an outlet. A more cautious discussion of youthful misrule in England is provided by Ben-Amos, who points out that youth in England did not operate within the formal social structures which brought youth together on the continent (176-77), and that, as well as apprentices and youths, masters and other adults were often implicated in 'ridings,' riots, drunkenness, illicit sexuality, and other acts of idleness and lawlessness (183-207). However, despite these qualifications, Ben Amos does identify a culture of youth (156-207, esp. 178-80) and demonstrates that "apprentices were indeed notorious for their riotous activities" (183) and for reacting against adult control and 'normal' social order (183-207, esp. 192-200). It is also important to recognize the metaphoric dimension in the accounts employed by these historians. In discussions of actual events, the tendency to blame youth as a cohesive group even where adults were involved nonetheless says much about sixteenth-century attitudes toward youth; that is, adults were being described as displaying recognizably youthful behaviour.

⁷ Whately cautions those who would make rash decisions because they desire to escape the jurisdiction of their parents and married superiors (61-63): "Well, take heed, lest in catching after such honour, thou stumble not upon so many troubles, as shall

Described in these ways, the period of youth parallels the simultaneously immoderate and heroic state which the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene identify as bachelor knighthood. Spenser refers to the knightly contestants of Cambell's tournament, for example, as a "youthly rout" (IV.ii.40). In like manner, Sidney's wars and tournaments are the parade ground both for conventional knightly feats and for culturally recognized characteristics of youth; these chivalric forums are likewise the occasions by which males such as the princes, Agenor, Ismenus, and Palladius reach early manhood by taking up arms. The attributes of literary chivalric status parallel youth's dependence for identity on martial action, aggression, vainglory, intemperance, and physical appearance and costume. Further, like youth, knighthood sanctions peripatetic 'roaming' or street freedom in knight errantry and its subsequent engagement in martial actions; this errantry largely enhances self-worth.⁸ Young men and knights may experience (often immoderate) sexual passion, but these attractions do not lead to formal contracts of marriage. In other words, both knighthood and youth share an independence from household and from family ties and responsibilities, and both place the self at centre.⁹ In The Faerie Queene the relationship of youth and knighthood is

make thee wish again, to sit at the lower end of the boord, and to give place to thy youngers in such complements, rather then to bee equall with them in such cumbers" (A care-cloth, 62-63; cf. Becon 366-67, cited on p. 28).

⁸ J. Roberts discusses the importance of such knight errantry in Book II of the NA as a means to gaining experience (Architectonic Knowledge, 78-79). On the peripatetic lifestyle of early modern youth and its consequent freedom from patriarchal order, see Ingram 354, 365; and Ben-Amos 206-07.

⁹ In a comparison of youth to knighthood, it is important to remember that a male might be considered a youth up to and even beyond the age of 25 (Ben-Amos 85; see also 1-9). For general parallelisms between youth and knighthood, cf. Yarbrough 76;

perhaps most evident in the heroic yet troubled figures of Timias and Scudamour. In his first appearances, Timias is "A gentle youth" who must keep his "stubborne steed" under close control (I.vii.37) and who rejects the pursuit of Florimell for a more violent encounter with the Foster who pursues her (III.i.18); the young squire is repeatedly led into danger by his laudable desire for 'honour' (the etymological root of his name) (The FQ, III.i.18.9n.). A more vainglorious pursuer of honour, Sir Scudamour is a fiery youth subject to immoderate outbursts of passion.

Spenser and Sidney indicate that Marinell and Amphialus are in a state of youth in three related ways. First and most obviously, each knight's martial pride tends toward the narcissism and selfishness which characterize youth. Variants of 'pride' are Marinell's most frequent attributes (with variants of 'fame' a close second).¹⁰ Spenser further emphasizes Marinell's pre-adult status with allusions to the Narcissus myth (Ovid, Metamorphoses, III.341-510).¹¹ For Renaissance readers this tale connected egotism and asocial withdrawal to immaturity. Narcissus in part represents the perils of

Ben-Amos 20, 23-27, 36-37. Mary Beth Rose discovers an identification of youth and knighthood in twelfth-century France and considers this relationship in sixteenth-century England (Expense of Spirit, 189-97).

¹⁰ E. g., 'pride' or 'proud' is used to describe Marinell at III.iv.15, 17.3, 9; IV.xi.5; and 'Fame' or 'famous' at III.iv.20, 21, 29. Marinell's self-centred materialism and proud rejection of love has been long observed: see Var. 3.325; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 71; Nohnberg 431-32, 435; and n. 1.

¹¹ Both Marinell and Narcissus are the sons of water nymphs, who seek prophetic advice about their son's fates; both scorn the company of males and females equally and live in solitary self-love; and both demonstrate obtuse resistance to their lovers' voices. On how these allusions stress Marinell's self-love, see Roche, The Kindly Flame, 71; and Nohnberg 431-32, 645-46. Christine de Pisan compares the "yong bachelere" Narcissus to the knight who is too proud of his own fame (27; ch. 16).

a threshold state between childhood and adulthood, "namque ter ad quinos unum Cephisius annum / addiderat poteratque puer iunenisque videri" ("For Narcissus had reached his sixteenth year and might seem either boy or man") (Ovid, Metamorphoses, III.351-52). Other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century versions of Ovid's story and commentaries on it are careful to retain this point. Narcissus thus represents "a youth: that is, the soule of a rash and ignorant man"; his story "presents the condition of those. who ... are tranported with selfe-love, and perish, as it were. with that madnesse."¹² Spenser's connection of Marinell to Achilles in part serves a similar purpose. Spenser relies not only on the overprotective mother and the famous martial hero in the Achilles story (Var. 3.239-40; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 184-89; Alpers 122) but also on that hero's pride and narcissistic motivations for personal glory; the poet also alludes to the intemperance or the "extremes of aggression and passive submission" in statues of Achilles and rites associated with him and in their treatment in Spenser's classical and medieval sources.¹³ A figure such as Achilles aptly represents the ambivalence toward

¹² G. Sandys 106. Sandys uses the word "boy" many times in his translation (89-91). Cf. Golding's "youth" and "boy" (Ovid, Metamorphoses, 73); Pontanus' "adolescentulus" (Ovid, Metamorphoseon, 142-44); Estienne's "Nam cum Narcissus iam adultus" (313); Conti's "cum tenerioribus annis" (Mythologiae, 285). Baudouin's translation of Conti calls Narcissus "cruel orgueilleux adolescent" and even assigns an age of "seize ans" (2.1025-26). Fraunce also assigns this age and calls him "either a boy, or a batchler" (fol. 14v). Ariès notes the interchangeability of puer and adolescens to describe the teenage or puberty years (25).

¹³ K. Williams, "Venus and Diana," 216-17. Achilles was known in the period both for his wrathful, aggressive feats as famous warrior and for his effeminate, crossdressed youth and passive subjection to women (Homer, Iliad; Ovid, Ars Amatoria I.689-702, Metamorphoses, XIII.162-69, 288-301; Statius, Achilleid; and Conti, Mythologiae, IX.12 (IX.13 in Baudouin's translation)). Spenser was not alone in his interest in this ambivalence. Cf. Shakespeare's Troilus and Criseyde which opposes Achilles' skills and

'youth' because his heroic actions and desire for fame are both admirable and extreme. As Aristotle notes, "When representing people who are hot-tempered or lazy, or have other such traits of character, [the poet] should make them such, yet men of worth; take the way in which Agathon and Homer portray Achilles" (Poetics XV.11).¹⁴ The likenesses of Artegall and Pyrocles to Achilles thus not only emphasize their heroism but also convey their immaturity (see pp. 47-49); both Pyrocles and Anaxius are compared to Achilles (38.5-18, 464.13-16).

Though Amphialus begins the New Arcadia renowned for his knightly virtues, he is revealed to be increasingly motivated by youthful pride and selfishness,¹⁵ and he is increasingly subject to youthful immoderation. Ultimately, his chosen companion and later surrogate master of his castle is the martially accomplished yet proudly self-centred Anaxius. Anaxius comprises "parts worthy praise, if they had not been guided by pride and followed by injustice" (390); initially, what distinguishes him from his "match" (390) Amphialus is lack of courtesy (cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 258). However,

honour (I.ii.247-48) to his extreme pride and desire for fame (I.iii.366-85; II.iii.184ff.) and to his exclusive masculinity and homosexual attraction to Patrocles (III.iii.216-41, V.i.14-24).

¹⁴ Hamilton identifies the influence of the Iliad on The FQ, Book II (Structure of Allegory, 116-19): "In Renaissance moral terms, ... the story of Achilles' baneful wrath is the story of intemperate man whose irascible affections overcome reason" (117); "these Achillean affectations" (118) are overcome by Guyon. For the ambiguity of Achilles and for summaries of the hero's connotations in the period, see K. Williams, "Venus and Diana," 204-05, 216-17, 219; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 185-86; Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 135; Goldberg, "Mothers," 10-11; M. Turner 63-82; Rathborne, 89-104; Leslie, Fierce Warres, 35-36, 50-51; Nohrnberg, esp. 301-02.

¹⁵ Amphialus' motivations have been identified (Myrick 252; Rees 34; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 200, 239, 246-74) but have not been related to stereotypical behaviour of 'youth.'

when Amphialus' own 'pride and injustice' in the rebellion invalidate his usual epithet, he is no longer distinguished from Anaxius, and his fame results not from courtesy but from a narcissistic desire for glory and from unmoderated aggression and vengefulness (cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 273). Indeed, Anaxius' appearance at this point in the narrative emphasizes their homosocial affinity through the shared identity posited by Renaissance theories of friendship.¹⁶ In Book III. Amphialus "forg[ets] all ceremonies" (376; cf. 397.12). By the time he engages in his final battle with the Forsaken Knight, he has "all his thoughts bound up in choler" (405), the humour associated with youth, and he vents its untempered emotions--or "over-sharp humours" (409): "Spite, rage, disdain, shame, revenge, ... desire, ... hope and fearless despair, with rival-like jealousy" (406).¹⁷ Amphialus' subsequent recognition that he behaves not as man but as "beast" (409; cf. 394.20-21) acknowledges his pre-adult state. According to Erasmus, for example, the transition to adulthood begins with the acquisition of reason and education; the bestial, unreasonable state characterized the immoderate and

¹⁶ W. Davis describes Anaxius as a figure of pride and as Amphialus' "evil double" (133); and J. Roberts argues that "One of the ways in which Sidney carefully marks the decline of Amphialus is through his final association with the braggart soldier Anaxius" (Architectonic Knowledge, 273). On Anaxius as a figure of vengeance, his name meaning 'unworthy,' see Roche, "Ending the New Arcadia," 7, 11. For additional views on Anaxius, see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 182-83, 185; Lawry 269-71; and p. 31, n. 43.

¹⁷ On the inception of such youthful qualities in untempered humours, or excessive red choler, see Ben-Amos 16-17. Youth was traditionally associated with fire or the hot and dry humours--and consequently with unbridled passions of irascibility and concupiscence (see, e. g., Wack 100, Fig. 5.4, and her translation of Peter of Spain's Viaticum, Version A, 222-25).

immature.¹⁸

In addition to his consumption by extreme, violent emotions, Amphialus also displays his immaturity when he confuses self-promoting vainglory with his private hopes for Philoclea's hand and with his public responsibilities as ruler of his subjects. Although Amphialus ensures that his courting costume has nothing of vulgarity about it, the attentions he gives to choosing it do not so much stress his concern for Philoclea as they signify his subjection to stereotypical youthful vanity (e. g., Browne 3-4), and in fact its sober colours anticipate those of his final chivalric ensemble (cf. 321, 404-05). Such vanity is repeatedly stressed by Sidney in his detailed descriptions of chivalric costume, particularly those of Amphialus¹⁹: the tiltyard or battlefield provides a culturally sanctioned fashion runway for self-promotion and self-definition (pp. 50-52). The immaturity of Amphialus is also demonstrated by his confused amalgamation of his desire for Philoclea with his desire for chivalric glory. He is not motivated in knightly

¹⁸ Education for Children, esp. 304-305. Ozment notes that in reformation writings, "A child was not believed to be truly human simply by birthright; he was a creature in search of humanity--unpredictable, capable of animal indolence, selfishness, and savagery--traits that would dominate his adult life if they were not controlled in childhood" (138-39; cf. 147). Ben-Amos explains the relationship between experience and reason and summarizes its roots in Aristotelian and humanist thought and in popular or folk literature (28-34): as individuals grew older, they were thought to acquire "rational powers and the capacity to make choices based on informed judgement, and hence they could make moral judgements and have some discretion to govern themselves" (30).

¹⁹ For the costumes of Amphialus, see 366.33-367.8, 404.15-28. For the costumes of participants in chivalric events, esp. those of the immature Phalantus, see 98-101, 255-56, 367, 374. It is not Amphialus' role as a central character which earns him such full descriptions: cf. the relatively unattractive or undetailed descriptions of the costumes of Pyrocles or Musidorus (102-03) or the lack of such description of the princes' costumes in the Iberian tournament. On apparel, cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 255.

contests by a paternal desire to end the rebellion to which he has subjected his people but by a more selfish hope that he will win Philoclea's love through his martial prowess (346.10-12). He enters Phalantus' chivalric challenges only after he ensures that Philoclea is brought to "a window where she might with ease perfectly discern the combat" (366) in the traditional feminine position of audience to knightly activity. In the sun insignia Amphialus adopts during the rebellion, his desire to wed Philoclea is undistinguished from chivalric glory. Not only does the sun figure the beloved, but it simultaneously evokes the youthfully ambitious approaches to the sun of Phaeton and Icarus,²⁰ whose falls are perhaps also echoed in Amphialus' own "fall" (392) from "the hill of honour" (318) and Sidney's allusion to that descent in the simile of the sun falling to the earth (317). Like Sandys' king Phaeton, Amphialus has patriarchal responsibilities but handles them with the self-indulgent rashness of youth; like Ovid's youth Phaeton, Amphialus is similarly unable to achieve the paternal rights and kingdom his mother pushes him to claim because of his intemperate and selfish behaviour and his immature unpreparedness (Ovid, Metamorphoses, I.765-66; cf. Golding's translation, I.970-77). Amphialus, then, approaches adult love and duty with self-focused and still knightly ambitions. Like Spenser's Scudamour, Amphialus can view male-female relations only from a chivalric perspective.

Amphialus is thus caught between statuses because he attempts to assume the responsibilities of patriarchy--but with the attitudes and responses of youth. He fails.

²⁰ Ovid, Metamorphoses, I.750-II.328, VIII.195-235; Golding's translation, "Epistle," 177-79; G. Sandys' translation, 290.

Just as Marinell's martial supremacy deteriorates and his pride is exposed as a negative trait when he faces Britomart (the representative of heterosexual union), Amphialus' chivalric motivations begin to be revealed as selfish when he attempts to transfer them to an anticipated patriarchal status. The masculinity of Amphialus is perhaps not merely divided between two roles; rather, Sidney also implies that a disjunction in Amphialus' identity arises when the characteristics of youth clash with the demands of patriarchy. When heterosexual contact undermines fame acquired through traditional masculine achievements, Spenser and Sidney intimate that knighthood and patriarchy oppose one another or at least that they promote different values and validate different characteristics. For the knight or the youth, fame and its related traits of aggression, valour, ambition, and martial prowess are praiseworthy and necessary, but such qualities do not aid a man in his patriarchal role and may even disqualify him from assuming it. Marinell and Amphialus enter an ambiguous state between youth and adulthood where they encounter adult duties but cannot relinquish youth.

A second means by which Spenser and Sidney demonstrate that Marinell and Amphialus are on the threshold of 'man-age' is the two knights' responses to unrequited love. (In Marinell's case this response occurs later in his career, after his obstinate rejection of women is transformed into a love for Florimell which her imprisonment prevents him from fulfilling.) Amphialus' condition is actually termed melancholy (400); though unlabelled, Marinell's symptoms (IV.xii.19-20) resemble those of Amphialus, as well as the explicitly identified melancholy of his Book IV counterparts Timias

(IV.vii.38) and Scudamour (IV.vi.2).²¹ Notably, melancholy is a malady of youth which appears only after the onset of puberty; it is related to immature immoderation.²² In one sense, the conditions of Amphialus and Marinell resemble the love malady which Ferrand calls "erotic melancholy" and which Burton calls "heroical love."²³ At the same time, however, the knights' conditions evoke a related form of melancholy provoked by lack of moderation--what Burton labels "Philautia, or Selfe-love, Vaine-glory, Praise, Honour, Immoderate Applause, Pride" (I.2.3.14, pp. 293-301). For Marinell the latter form seems to be transformed into the former as he learns to love Florimell but suffers a relapse into deathly illness. For Amphialus these forms of melancholy seem indistinguishable, just as his vainglory becomes indistinguishable from his love of Philoclea. Like their behaviour, the melancholic conditions of these knights convey their youthful intemperance.

Finally, both narcissism and melancholy contribute to a third expression of the state of youth: a withdrawal from normal relations which leads to death. Such

²¹ For types of melancholy and their symptoms and for a history of the literature on the subject from antiquity to the seventeenth century, see Wack 1-176; and Beecher and Ciavolella's Introduction to Ferrand, 3-202.

²² As Burton puts it, "heroical love" is "most evident among such as are young and lusty, in the flowre of their yeares" (3.2.1.2, p. 56). Love sickness occurs most often "In youths, especially at the end of adolescence [in the 'stages of life,' just before 'adulthood' (Wack 99)] when they desire intercourse the most" (Wack's translation of Peter of Spain, 86; cf. 87, 98, 224-25). Cf. Burton 3.2.1.1, pp. 40, 45-47, 3.2.2.1, pp. 58-65; Ferrand 218, 229, 281, and Beecher and Ciavolella's Introduction, 92-93. On the relationship of melancholy to youthful behaviour such as immoderation and concupiscence and irascibility, see Wack 12-13.

²³ On the etymology and evolution of the connotations of amor hereos or 'heroic love,' see Wack 38, 46-47, 60-61, 88-89, 182-85.

withdrawals and consequent participation in uncivil, or wild, behaviour are the fates of the melancholy Timias and Scudamour and of Marinell. As Harry Berger argues, Marinell fits into an overall pattern of such withdrawals:

The emphasis throughout Book III on riches, hoarding, sumptuous interiors and artifacts [is] connected to this failure.... Having material possessions is a one-way relation in which the self may fulfill itself with minimal resistance from the objects of desire.... in the instance of Marinell, hoarding has something in common with fighting ...: both are safer than loving insofar as they free the self from the bother of personal relationships. Thus wealth is only ironically a symbol of power; it is actually a symbol of failure in the normal sphere of 'adult' and personal relations.²⁴

Marinell's defeat by Britomart--who searches for union and who in one of her roles is the fertile mother of the New Troy--emphasizes the sterility of Marinell's existence on the lonely strand. Indeed, as Golding observes in his translation of the death of Narcissus, narcissism itself is an "impotent desire" (Ovid, Metamorphoses, 3.585ff.) which leads to death in the "floure of youth" (3.592). The youth Narcissus will never become an adult and fulfil his desire in heterosexual union, nor will he assume the role of father, producer of offspring. Marinell thus eventually lies "in deadly swoond" (III.iv.34) or close to "sad death" (IV.xii.34) in a seasonal cycle that threatens to end in winter (N. Frye, 166-67). In the New Arcadia, love of Philoclea brings Amphialus to a similarly ineffectual melancholy and the selfish act of suicide, an exaggeration of self-containment which could not be farther from the union he seeks. The outcome of this suicide

²⁴ "The Faerie Queene, Book III," 423; cf. Goldberg, "Mothers," 11. Marinell's melancholic withdrawal may be related to his obtuse selfishness: in The breviary of helthe (1547), Borde claims that some forms of melancholy are caused by a stubborn heart (2A3r-v; cf. FQ IV.xii.7, 14).

attempt is his closer affinity with the narcissistic Anaxius (443.2), and his association with sterility: Amphialus finally lies "either not breathing, or in all appearance breathing nothing but death" (444).

However, these states of death or near-death are not merely symptoms of sterility and withdrawal. They are also the final stages of regression from adulthood. 'Heroic love' or melancholy is in fact "incompatible with the conventions of masculine adult social behaviour," and this incompatibility is expressed by the association of this state with infancy and with effeminacy.²⁵ Encounters with patriarchal responsibilities bring Amphialus and Marinell to the critical threshold of adulthood. But, instead of progressing to maturity, both Amphialus and Marinell regress, a pattern signified by the appearances of their mothers. Cecropia and Cymoent represent their sons' immaturity and its effects as their inability to become adults places them again under maternal control. Marinell and Amphialus do not trade knight errantry for positions as household governors. Rather, both lose the autonomy of their chivalric status as they return to the domestic care of their mothers and the households of their childhoods.²⁶

²⁵ Wack 64, cf. 65, 123-25, 151-52, 174-76, 261; Ferrand 229, and Beecher and Ciavolella's Introduction 142.

²⁶ In his sermon The affinitie of the faithfull (1599), Henry Smith warns the man who is mature enough for marriage that he must break with the household of his parents to establish his own rule: "In Mathew, 19. A man must forsake his Father and his Mother, to dwell with his wife" (Dr-v). His Preparative to mariage (1591) also uses this text: "When Christ sayth, that a man should leauve Father and Mother, to cleave to his Wife, hee signifieth, how Christ left his Father for his Spouse, and that man doth not love his wife so much as he should untill he affect her more than ever he did his father or mother" (65-66).

IV

Cymoent calls Marinell "Deare image of my selfe" (III.iv.36), while Cecropia remarks how rewarding it is "'to see your children grow up, ... and like little models of yourself still carry you about them'" (332). When Sidney and Spenser depict these mother-son relationships, they assume audience familiarity with standard methods of child-rearing and male maturation patterns, and with the customs and rituals which mark transitions between male stages of life. As my Introduction and Chapter One have demonstrated, The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene establish masculinity by differentiating males from females. But the careers of Marinell and Amphialus violate conventional paths to manhood. These men maintain or reestablish maternal connections normal in infancy and early childhood--arrangements deplored in early modern culture.

In their uses of the images of merged identity, for example, Spenser and Sidney express beliefs about the relationship of a mother to her child which were so pervasive that their implications did not require elaboration. The child's identity was thought to be determined by that of its female caretaker or caretakers. The mother shared her identity with her child not only while they shared a single body,²⁷ but also during the

²⁷ The mother's experiences during conception and early stages of fetal development were thought to be imprinted on her child. See, for example, Erasmus, Education for Children: "If something ... marks her face, she immediately plucks it away and transfers it to a hidden part of her body; long experience has shown that this is an effective means to conceal a deformity in the child" (300). For a standard account of maternal impression theory (attributing birth defects to maternal imagination), see Paré, Des monstres et prodiges (1573), 35-37. For an English version of maternal impression theory, see Sadler, The sicke womans private looking-glasse (1636), 135, 137-40. Maternal impression theory appears in Sidney's source Heliodorus (433), and Sidney himself employs it as a metaphor when he writes in his preface to the Old Arcadia that his "young head ... having many fancies begotten in it, if it had not been in some way

nursing and early childrearing stages: if the child was put out to nurse, a common practice in the late sixteenth century among those who could afford it (Fildes, Breasts, 98-133; Wetnursing, 68-100), the child was thought to share the identity of his nurse or caretaker. In either case, because the mother's or nurse's health, personality, and morals were thought to be imitated by the child or to be imparted to the infant through her breast milk,²⁸ "Effectively, she was seen to be reproducing herself: the child was the nurse" (Fildes, Breasts, 189). The nursing and care of infants were not merely medical concerns: by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, their increasing

delivered, would have grown a monster" (3).

²⁸ While evidence about whether such beliefs determined actual practice is inconclusive, as beliefs they clearly were conventional. Positing a shared physiology, Guillemeau (Child-birth (1612), 8-10), Roesslin (Byrth of mankynde (1540), fol. 62r), and Phaer (Booke of children (1546), 2B4r) attribute the health of infants to the lifestyles of their nurses or recommend curing infants' illnesses by medicating their nurses. Concerns about shared personality or morality lead advice manuals to recommend that the nurse should be chosen according to the temperament of the child. "For if the childe shall be of a perfite constitution, it must be kept by the like, or be amended by the contrarye" (John Jones, The arte and science of preserving bodie and soule (1579), 4); the nurse should "be good and honest of conversation / neyther over hastye or yrefull ne to sad or solemne / ... for these affections and qualitees be parnicious and hurtfull to the mylke / corruptynge it / and passe forth through the mylke in to the chylde / makynge the chylde of lyke condition and manners" (Roesslin fol. 56v; cf. Phaer S2v-3r; and Guillemeau 1-5). Such beliefs are also represented, sometimes as metaphoric or proverbial commonplaces, in non-medical texts. Becon cautions, "For it is diligently to be considered whom a man shall take to wife, by whom he looketh to have children. Every tree bringeth forth fruit like unto itself, according to the common proverb: 'Of an evil crow cometh an evil egg.' ... what children are to be looked for of such a monster of wickedness, but monstrous and wicked children, like to their mother?" (347). Vives observes that "so hit is that we sowke out of our mothers teate to gether with the milke nat only loue but also conditions and dispositions" (Vives, Instruction of a christen woman [1529?], I.i, Cv). Except for Jones' Arte and science, each of these texts went through several English editions throughout the sixteenth century. For surveys of these ideas and the extent to which they were believed, see Fildes, Breasts, xxiv, 112, 168-73, 188-210, and Wetnursing, 73-74; Ozment 119-20; Houlbrooke 132.

prominence in sermons and advice books demonstrates that they were social concerns as well. Gouge, for example, objects that putting children out to nurse is unnatural and ungodly (511-19) and leads to subversion of religious and political order (fol. 2v).²⁹ Whatever the causes of this concern,³⁰ its literary prominence and its religious, social, and political implications make it relevant to definitions of masculinity: the amalgamated identities of Cymoent and Marinell and Cecropia and Amphialus are more than mere physical resemblance.

In Tudor England the care of children during their nursing stage and early childhood was considered part of women's responsibilities.³¹ In this way, identity was also determined by feminine influence. Both male and female children were part of the feminine domestic sphere, and in their appearance boys were undifferentiated from girls and in fact from women.³² Because it marked the delineation between males and

²⁹ Gouge's argument is part of a family values campaign which rejects wetnursing (Fildes, Breasts, 98-133, and Wetnursing, 77-78). For other contemporary condemnations of maternal neglect and its anarchical consequences, see Leigh, The mothers blessing (1616), 10; Clinton, The countesse of Lincolnes nurserie (1622), A2r-v; Becon 347-48; and H. Smith, A preparative to mariage, 99-100.

³⁰ Attributed to "Puritanism" or Protestantism by Ozment 135-36; and Fildes, Breasts, 98-99, and Wetnursing, 68. It was feared that a breakdown of order and discipline in parenting would lead to loss of religious beliefs and finally to chaos.

³¹ While Gouge and Becon note the responsibility of both parents to their children, Gouge remarks that, during the early stages, "the care especially lieth upon the mother" (507; cf. 546-47); and Becon declares that the care of young children "is chiefly the office of the mother ...; forasmuch as the father is occupied abroad, about the provision for his family" (348). On women's roles in domestic governance, see n. 41; see also Houlbrooke 182-85.

³² Ariès 50-61; Tucker 239; Houlbrooke 150. This lack of differentiation may explain contemporary references to young children as 'its' in, for example, Greene's Pandosto (165); and Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet (I.iii.30, 32), Coriolanus (I.iii.70), and

females, the breeching ceremony was thus the first stepping stone to adulthood--the first of the rites by which the child was gradually transformed into a man suitable for marriage, a process which could take between ten and twenty years.³³ As Janet Adelman suggests in her study of mother-son relationships in Shakespeare, "Cultural practice in fact formalized both the 'femaleness' of the boy-child and the need to leave that femaleness behind in order to become a man, enforcing the equation of masculine identity with differentiation from the mother through its own differentiating ceremony" (Adelman 7). Adelman's observation about the breeching ceremony may equally apply to a subsequent step to masculine maturity--physical separation from the female community and feminine dominion of childhood, characterized by Richard Mulcaster as "a cage, a cloister" (The training up of children (1581), 186). In Holy Dying (1651), Jeremy Taylor explains that mothers

soften [their children] with kisses ... and snatch them from discipline, they desire to keep them fat and warm, and their feet dry, and their bellies full: and then the children govern, and cry, and prove fools, and troublesome, so long as the feminine republike does endure. But fathers, because they designe to have their children wise and valiant, apt for counsel, or for arms, send them to severe governments, and tye them to study, to hard labour, and afflictive contingencies. They rejoyce when the bold boy strikes a lyon with his hunting spear. (2.92)³⁴

Winter's Tale (II.iii.141).

³³ On the breeching ceremony, see Ariès 52-53; Stone 258. However, subsequent scholarship cautions that the transition from childhood to adulthood is not the abrupt break posited by Ariès but a series of rites and stages: for a summary, see Ben-Amos, esp. 4-9.

³⁴ While Taylor's words are a relatively late expression of these sentiments, they neatly summarize a century of earlier arguments for why the father should oversee later childhood. Vives, for example, warns that maternal indulgence mars sons and destroys daughters. He also praises his own mother for her apparent lack of concern over his

For those who could afford it, this 'sending to severe governments' happened literally and gradually: it began at age seven to ten with public school (during which time the boy might live at home or might be boarded) or occasionally with wardship in another household; it continued during the middle teen years with university; and it might conclude with an actual sending out of the country on the Grand Tour.³⁵ At this stage of formation of masculine identity, the young male came under the jurisdiction of

absences from home, and he speculates on what his life would have been like if his childhood had instead resembled that of a friend who had been educated only because his mother had died: he would have "sytt styll at home all [his] lyfe / amonge dicyng / drabbes / delycates / and pleasures / as [he] begounne" (Instruction of a christen woman, Book II, M3v). Similarly, Erasmus emphasizes separation from maternal indulgence as necessary to education (Education for Children, 299, 309), and Peacham observes that "a great blame and imputation ... is commonly laid upon the Mother; not onely for her over tenderness, but in winking at [her children's] lewd courses; yea, more in seconding, and giving them encouragement to doe wrong ... against their owne Fathers" (Compleat gentleman, 32). On the culpability of overprotective mothers for "stunting the individual's development" and denying him opportunities, see Houlbrooke 184-85.

³⁵ Recent historical scholarship demonstrates that separation from parents was not the severe and loveless break that Stone identifies (84-86): see Houlbrooke 178-88. But it was nonetheless a separation, the nature of which depended on social station. Although it still existed by the end of the sixteenth century, the practice of wardship had begun to be displaced by more formal education. Among the less wealthy, boys might receive some lower level schooling and/or be sent out to apprenticeship or household service at about the age of 15 (Ben-Amos 39-40). The education or training of young males from all levels of society, though, took about ten years to complete. On formal and informal education and vocational training, and on the peripatetic nature of this state of a male's life, see Kelso, Doctrine of the English Gentleman, esp. 121-24; Tucker 245-51; Pinchbeck and Hewitt 58-74, 223-59, 276-97; Crawford, "Construction and Experience of Maternity," 12; Stone 120; Charlton 215-22; Simon 333-68; Yarbrough 68; Barker xxix-xxx; Houlbrooke 150-53; and Ben-Amos 39-132, esp. 69-70, 95-100. Sidney wrote to his brother Robert about the importance of foreign travel for gaining 'life' experience ("To Robert Sidney") (see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 78-79), and Philip's own education comprised home tutoring, public school, university, and the Grand Tour (Duncan-Jones, Sir Philip Sidney, 24-85). Spenser was educated at public school and university (Mohl 668-69).

his father or some other father- or older brother-figure such as the head of another household, the master of a trade or business, the schoolmaster, or an older friend or relative. As Elyot puts it, "After a chylde is come to sevene yeres of age. I holde it expedient that he be taken from the company of women" (33: l.6). Paternal influences thus displace or compete with maternal ones as the boy begins to perceive this father-figure as a point of reference or as a role model. As Thomas Becon writes in a contemporary sermon, "For, as the common proverb is, 'The young cock croweth as he heareth the old.' Again, 'The child followeth the father'" (357).³⁶ In the New Arcadia, Plangus receives both "a fatherly and a motherly care" (312) as a child, but in his adult sexual activities he "requite[s only] his father's fatherly education." Separation from maternal influence not only allowed the young male to model himself on older men; he was also separated from potentially indulgent feminine governance so that he might

³⁶ Contemporary writings suggest that mother and father are equally responsible for schooling, discipline, vocation, marriage, and other matters of childhood and early adulthood (e. g., Gouge 519; Whately, A bride-bush (1617), 17). However, it must be remembered that the father/husband is at all times the head of household government and that the mother/wife is the second-in-command, a point which is stressed in these same writings (Gouge, 351-56; Whately 18-19). In this context, then, sexual division of parental control is implicit: Becon and Gouge mention the mother's primary responsibility for early childcare simply because it violates the standard hierarchy. In later childcare, although the mother may have strong influence (as in Sidney's own life (Duncan-Jones, Sir Philip Sidney, 2-16)), the father should be in control. While advice literature uses the term 'parents,' it makes clear by rhetorical choices such as pronouns and illustrative examples that the responsibility for older children is ultimately paternal (as is the responsibility for all household matters). Mulcaster notes that the son is the charge of the father (18-21), and Vives claims that, while the mother directs young children, she does not influence their vocational training, or "craftes to get good by" (Instruction of a christen woman, M4r) (cf. Becon 352-53; Gouge 519-88; Peacham 34-35). On these parental dynamics and paternal control over the period of later childhood, see Charlton 205; Houlbrooke 31, 178-85; Ozment 132.

participate in the aggression, competition, and violence characterizing entirely male environments.³⁷ Separation thus marks another stage of entry into adulthood: Erasmus identifies the boy's trials at school as "initiation" "ceremonies" (Education for Children, 331), and Peacham observes that sending boys away from home will "make them men" (33).³⁸ These culturally specific markers and rituals may consequently be located in cross-cultural patterns of rites of passage. Such rites commonly involve separations, and the son often achieves maturity when he proves that he can do the father's job (as

³⁷ Erasmus, for example, deplores the standard beanum exuens, or "hazing," in public schools of junior boys by their seniors:

First, their chins are doused as though to be shaved--and urine, or something even more disgusting, is the liquid used.... They are also painfully beaten, so that they may lose, as the pretence would have it, their novice's horns. Sometimes large quantities of salt or vinegar--or anything else that will satisfy the savage instincts of youth--are thrust into their mouths.... It goes without saying that these senseless pranks are concluded with a drunken feast (Education for Children, 331).

On how competition and roughness aid the maturation process and create fellowship, see Houlbrooke 34, 151-52; and Ben-Amos 76, 101, 104-07, 177-82. Violence characterized the bonds not only between the boy and his contemporaries but also between the apprentice or young scholar and his master (Mulcaster 66-67, 277-78; Ben-Amos 104-07; Barker 445-46, n.269.39). These violent practices took place in what was almost always an entirely male environment (Mulcaster 184-85; Barker xxix-xxx)--and often the boy's first entirely male environment. See also Ong's argument that humanist study of Latin and the heroes of Latin histories and epics represented a rite of passage for youths because of its accompanying chastisement, difficult hurdles, and separation from women; and cf. C. Williams' discussion of effects of late seventeenth-century school curricula and classroom practices (38-40).

³⁸ Cf. Ong's characterization of the dialogue of Masters Haddon and Mason on beating schoolboys in The Schoolmaster (Ascham 6-8): they "speak not as scholars but simply as men who had 'gone through' the rites de passage and who look back on such experiences, with their aura of lawlessness, as trials which others should perhaps go through not so much for learning's sake as simply to prove their prowess as members of the 'gang' and to achieve a sense of belonging" (Ong 120). The lengthy apprenticeship or service periods have likewise been described by historians as passage rites between puberty and marriage (Yarbrough 68-70; Ben-Amos 208-35).

hunter, for example): he can then live and work with the men instead of with the women.³⁹

These social patterns and expectations are implicit in Spenser's and Sidney's descriptions of paths to male adulthood in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia. Although Cymoent may seem to exercise control only after her Marinell's injuries, she has in fact always been inextricably connected to her son's supposedly exclusively masculine fame and accomplishments:

Long time she fostred up, till he became
A mightie man at armes, and mickle fame
Did get through great adventures by him donne:
For never man he suffred by that same
Rich strond to travell, whereas he did wonne.
But that he must do battell with the Sea-nymphes sonne.

An hundred knights of honorable name
He had subdew'd, and them his vassals made.
That through all Farie lond his noble fame
Now blazed was, ...
And to advance his name and glorie more,
Her Sea-god syre she dearely did perswade,
T'endow her sonne with treasure and rich store.
Bove all the sonnes, that were of earthly wombes ybore.
(III.iv.20-21)

Spenser concludes his description, "Thereto he was a doughtie dreaded knight"

(III.iv.24). The causality implied by the word "Thereto" suggests that Marinell achieves this status not only because of his martial skills but also because of his material

³⁹ Whiting et al. argue, "Isolation from women and tests of manliness suggest that [one] function of the rites is to break an excessively strong dependence upon the mother and to ensure identification with adult males and acceptance of the male role" (361). Standard features of such rites include hazing, separation, endurance tests, and residence changes (368). Cf. van Gennep; Webster; Mead; Eliade, Rites and Symbols; and V. Turner.

possessions--possessions which his mother has acquired for him. Although Marinell "a great Lord did appeare" (III.iv.23), it is his mother who has provided the power he exercises over other men. As the source of both his martial skill and his wealth, Cymoent is therefore the source of what they inspire, his fame and honour, and Spenser makes ambiguous which one of them accrues "mickle fame" (III.iv.20). In actuality, the public role of the knight 'Marinell' does not exist. Each of these two stanzas moves ironically from the fame of Marinell to his subordinate role as son to Cymoent. Spenser thus separates what has seemed to be interdependent: although he has fame, Marinell paradoxically lacks a name because his identity exists only in conjunction with that of his mother. Is it Marinell or his mother who is famous? Spenser emphasizes this detrimental maternal intrusion on Marinell's autonomy when he parallels the story of Marinell and Cymoent with that of the witch and her son in III.vii. The witch's son, like Marinell, has no father and is attracted to Florimell (as Marinell later is); and, when contact with women and love make their sons ill, both mothers try to heal them with magic. Spenser calls the witch's son only the "son," a label which stresses his filial dependency (cf. Goldberg, "Mothers," 5, 13-14). The status of the witch's son, like Marinell's, is inseparable from that of his mother: "This wicked woman had a wicked sonne" (III.vii.12) recalls the description of Marinell as "The wretched sonne of wretched mother borne" (III.iv.36).

Prince Arthur, Spenser's model of masculine accomplishment, experiences an upbringing which parallels Marinell's--but with significant differences. Although Arthur too learns arms in a cave,

From mothers pap [he] taken was unfit:
And streight delivered to a Faery knight,
To be upbrought in gentle thewes and martiall might.
(I.ix.3)

Arthur undergoes an unusually early separation from his mother, and from her breast milk, and is guided by a male role model. Conversely, the knightly father of Marinell is conspicuously absent. Like Arthur in The Faerie Queene, Pyrocles and Musidorus break maternal ties in the New Arcadia, and this separation is emphasized by their mothers' anonymity. Pyrocles' mother dies "shortly after her childbirth" (163); his aunt, the mother of Musidorus, then oversees the education of both princes. However, she ensures that her charges learn all manly skills; and, unlike Cymoent who tries to protect her son from his fate, "the mother of Musidorus nobly yielding over her own affects to her children's good" (164), releases them from her custody and sends them away to contribute their training to the wars. In this selfless act she resembles Spenser's Agape--mother to Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond--whose parenting methods reveal another inadequacy in Marinell's upbringing. Both Agape and Cymoent are raped by stranger knights (cf. III.iv.19-20, IV.ii.45), and raise the products of these couplings without fatherly authority. Agape's response to her sons' growth into manhood also resembles that of Cymoent (III.iv.24): fearfully protective of their sons, both consult the future. But, while Cymoent consequently influences her son's choices (III.iv.26), Agape does not try to protect her sons in any way (IV.ii.53) because she recognizes that errantry and valorous deeds, dangerous though they may be, are necessary to maturity. The three brothers consequently share chivalric adventures and eventually manifest their 'homosocial' bonds by being amalgamated into one body. Conversely, Marinell is given

no opportunity to form fellowship with other knights; his life is a solitary defense of his lonely strand. His training in arms does not provide the competition and identification with male friends that a writer such as Mulcaster, for example, recommends as a primary aim of male education: "cloistering from the common [i.e., educating the male in an environment devoid of classmates and boyish competition] ... becomes the puffer up to pride in the recluse, and the direction to disdaine ...: the overwayning of ones selfe, not compared with others" (187; cf. 188-89). Though Marinell seems to be a successful participant in chivalric order, he has not achieved the complete separation from his mother which allows full identification with fellow knights. As a consequence of their proper upbringing, the sons of Agape have no difficulty advancing beyond their warlike separation from their mother to a union with Canacee. Conversely, Marinell reacts against sexuality by regressing from it, a regression which begins with a return to the mother.

While Marinell thus never quite achieves chivalric status dependent on autonomy and same-sex bonds and identification, Amphialus does. Although Cecropia would not have given her son the princes' education that benefits Pyrocles and Musidorus with its training in arms, courtesy, and governance (123), Amphialus nonetheless receives proper manly guidance when he is sent from home to become the ward of Timotheus and friend and foster-brother of Philoxenus. The education of Amphialus exemplifies the cultural expectation that paternal influences should displace maternal ones in the upbringing of young males. Moral and martial training in the household of Timotheus provides Amphialus with the sort of separation, healthy bonds of competition and friendship, and

paternal influences that Tudor culture encouraged, causing him to grow "'like a rose out of a briar, an excellent son of an evil mother'" (317). But, as I have argued above, Amphialus later rejects the chivalric status for which Timotheus has trained him, and he is likewise unprepared to advance to patriarchal status. He consequently lacks paternal influence or secure chivalric standing when he returns to his mother's domestic jurisdiction in Book III.⁴⁰

In this state, Amphialus is vulnerable to the ambitious Cecropia as she imposes her own mother-dominated version of masculinity upon her son and mingles his once autonomous masculine identity with her own. Although Cecropia is not responsible for Amphialus's training, she, like Cymoent, does instruct her son to achieve fame and power (e. g., 318.31-34); "particularly, she did her best to bring up her son Amphialus ... to aspire to the crown" (117)--the power that she feels she wrongfully lost when Gynecia produced an heir (cf. Lindheim, Structures, 114). Although she believes or pretends to believe that what she does is for Amphialus' benefit--"what is done for your sake, how evil soever to others, to you is virtue" (317)--her real motives become clear when she immediately follows this disclaimer with reminiscences of what she herself lost when Basilius married:

My port and pomp did well become a king of Argos' daughter. In my presence, their tongues were turned into ears, and their ears were captives unto my tongue. Their eyes admired my majesty.... Did I go to church? It seemed the very gods waited for me.... Did I walk abroad to see any delight? Nay, my walking was the delight itself.... My sleeps were inquired

⁴⁰ On the masculine influences on the men of Arcadia and on the conflicting maternal and paternal influences on Amphialus in particular, cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 249, 254.

after, and my wakings never unsaluted; the very gate of my house, full of principal persons.... (318)

To Cecropia, Amphialus' "sake" is equivalent to her own. When Sidney juxtaposes the crown that Amphialus loses with the attention and deference that Cecropia loses, he suggests that Cecropia regards her son's power as her own and him merely as the medium through which that power is channelled. She tells Amphialus, "with these daughters, ... she [Gynecia] cut off all hope of thy succession. It was a tedious thing to me that my eyes should look lower than anybody's; that ... another's voice than mine should be more respected--but it was insupportable unto me to think that not only I, but thou" (319), should lose power. When she oscillates between their different losses, it is as if she must remind herself that this loss is Amphialus', not her own. Although Cecropia could not share the crown with Amphialus as a consort or as Basilius' heir, she nonetheless sees it as the potential prize of them both: "Yet did not thy orphanage or my widowhood deprive us of the delightful prospect which the hill of honour doth yield, while expectation of thy succession did bind dependencies unto us" (318; my emphasis). Perhaps she even uses the royal "we" here; to Cecropia this crown is not so much shared as hers. In both cases the undifferentiated identity provides the mother with the power of the son and is her motivation for maintaining the connection: by enabling him to acquire martial, economic, or political power, she acquires this power for herself, power that as a woman she would not otherwise hold.⁴¹

⁴¹ There are textual exceptions to the confinement of women to the private sphere: for example, Pamela, Helen, Britomart, and the Faerie Queene herself. It is, however, always clear that they are exceptions: each has a public position because of her lineage. Non-royal female figures acquire public power only through their connections to

Finally, by the end of the 1590 Arcadia, paternally directed influence has been overwhelmed by maternally determined identity, as Amphialus accuses his mother, "'Thou damnable creature! only fit to bring forth such a monster of unhappiness as I am'" (440). The wounded Marinell similarly returns to his mother's household and care. "The wretched sonne of wretched mother borne" (III.iv.36). Both of these images emphasize likeness between mother and son in pregnancy and early infancy: Marinell and Amphialus are not autonomous knights in a state of youth; rather, despite their ostensible chivalric status, they have regressed to a state in which maternity again determines identity and to a domestic sphere which lacks patriarchal guidance. The presence of Cecropia and Cymoent in their sons' deeds, ambitions, and fame suggests that each mother uses her son for her own selfish gain, and that each mother inhibits the formation of autonomous masculinity by mingling his identity inextricably with her own.

In this sense, the relationships of Amphialus and Marinell with their mothers parallel some of those found in their classical sources. Just as Sidney and Spenser allude

powerful men, and female figures not connected to such men have traditionally feminine, and therefore private, occupations and concerns. In this bifurcation of masculine and feminine into public and private spheres respectively, the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene participate in a standard early modern dichotomy. Private roles are prescribed for women by conduct books, sermons, and other directional literature of the period. For surveys of this literature and bibliographies, see Kelso, Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance, esp. 78-135, and 326ff.; and Hull 31-70. Although there were historical exceptions (Hogrefe), and although in reality women were not so strictly confined to the private sphere as these directives would like them to be (Prior, "Women and the Urban Economy"; Wiesner, "Women's Defense of Their Public Role"; Amussen 81-85, 91-93, 119-23), they certainly did not have martial power, and they did not on the whole exercise economic or political power over men. For a recent examination of gender division with a survey of primary and secondary sources, see Warnicke (although her title defines her subject as "Stuart England," almost all of her sources also describe the Elizabethan period).

to standard beliefs on child care, they rely on audience familiarity with a maternal type: the mother or stepmother who might be strong-willed, vindictive, intelligent, and uncontrollable. Examples of such mothers include Heliodorus' Demainete, stepmother of Knemon; Plutarch's Volumnia, mother of Coriolanus, and his Olympias, mother of Alexander (Lives); and Ovid's Clymene, mother of Phaeton, and even his Mother Earth (Metamorphoses).⁴² The story of Marinell and Cymoent, of course, particularly depends on the myth of Achilles and Thetis. Like Achilles, Marinell is begotten by a mortal father on a Nereid mother, and, like Thetis, Cymoent is over-protective of her son because of a prophetic warning concerning a woman.⁴³ Such mothers are intensely ambitious for their sons, yet they often foster this ambition in a way that inhibits filial independence.⁴⁴ In The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family Philip

⁴² I am grateful to R. B. Parker for his suggestion that Shakespeare's Volumnia, and her literary counterparts such as Cecropia, represent such a type (personal communication). Parker also addresses this issue in his introduction to Shakespeare's Coriolanus: Renaissance exemplars of the strong, controlling mother included Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; Aurelia, mother of Julius Caesar; Julia, mother of Mark Antony; and Apia, mother of Octavius (21-22). See also Plutarch's catalogue of domineering women who take over male positions of power in his "Dialogue on Love" (753c-e; section 9).

⁴³ For Spenser's sources see Var. 3.239-240; Lotspeich 51; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 186, 188; and R. Ringler.

⁴⁴ For example, in Plutarch's Lives Olympias maintains her own political power against her husband and encourages Alexander against his father (e.g., IX-X); in turn, Alexander is obsessively ambitious for fame (XLII). To Ovid's story of the spawning of the Giants (Ovid, Metamorphoses, I.156-62), G. Sandys adds the vengeful motivations of the Mother Earth: "the Earth, enraged with Jupiter for the slaughter of the Titans, in revenge produced Gyants of a vast proportion" who rose up against Jupiter (27). Ovid also makes Clymene responsible for Phaeton's fate by assigning her ambiguous and questionable motives: "ambiguum Clymene precibus Phaethontis an ira / mota magis dicti sibi criminis utraque" ("Clymene, moved (it is uncertain whether by the prayers of Phaëthon, or more by anger at the insult to herself)") (Metamorphoses, I.765-66; cf.

E. Slater provides a profile of the mother-son relationship in Greek culture, myth, and drama which can be used to illuminate such relationships in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene. The Greek male child's world was almost entirely feminine, and he was vulnerable to the control of his mother (Slater 7-10).⁴⁵ Despite her lack of political power, the Greek woman became powerful in the home and used this control to fashion her sons into public instruments who could serve her outside her domestic sphere. The male child thus became "her principal source of prestige and validation" (Slater 29): she trained him to grow up into a powerful hero who, as an extension of her self, could acquire power for her (31-32). Consequently, these family dynamics reveal "a deeply narcissistic ambivalence" (Slater 33): to the mother the son is both an "extension of her self" (31) and a cure for wounds received from other men (33). Thus while the mother fosters the son's achievements and power, she stifles the independence which accompanies them, and her simultaneous desire for both "self-expansion and vindication requires her both to exalt and to belittle her son, to feed on and to destroy him" (32-33). This paradoxical combination of messages creates an acute "double-bind" for the son who receives them,⁴⁶ and it is an analogous tension which characterizes the stories of Amphialus and Marinell.

Although Cecropia encourages Amphialus' ambition for the crown, she

Golding I.970-72).

⁴⁵ For a more recent definition of Greek mother-son dynamics--"the mother's central symbolic role in the household and ... the ambiguities of a grown son's control over her"--see Winkler 38, 42-43, 205.

⁴⁶ I retain Slater's term, double-bind, because his definition of that term applies to the relationships I describe. I am not using the term in its strict psychological sense.

simultaneously takes advantage of his vulnerability in attempts to coerce him to do her will. She ensures that he acts "according to [her] counsel" (324-25) because she mistrusts his "childish passion" (319) and his "over-feeble humbleness" (363), as she calls them. In political and military matters, she acts as Amphialus' surrogate when he is bedridden and continues to make his decisions even after his recovery. In romantic matters (which in the New Arcadia are usually political matters as well), she usurps her son's dominant role. Her argument that the female 'no' means 'yes' is the traditionally masculine rhetoric of the seducer,⁴⁷ and she eventually assaults Philoclea in a metaphoric version of the rape she tries to persuade her reluctant son to commit: "she having a rod in her hand ... fell to scourge that most beautiful body" (420). Cecropia's arguments stress Amphialus' power over all women and insist that they should naturally obey his stronger male authority--"in our very creation we [women] are servants" (403)--but at the same time she refutes her claims by emphasizing that he does not have power over at least one woman--her. In a text which has as one of its themes the disastrous consequences of the patriarch's absence, the only 'patriarch' in Amphialus' castle is his mother.

The Faerie Queene presents a similar tension in maternal motives. There is no question as to what Cymoent's primary concerns for her son are: she reacts to his wounding by Britomart with, "Is this thine high advancement, O is this / Th'immortall name?" (III.iv.36). Although Cymoent ensures Marinell's position with martial and

⁴⁷ Her counterparts include the speaker of Ovid's Ars amatoriae who argues that, despite their protests, women enjoy force and persistence (I.664-706); Sidney's Astrophil who justifies his advances by arguing that "two Negatives affirme" (Astrophil and Stella, 63); and Marlowe's Leander (Hero and Leander, II.237-334). Cf. the gender role reversal in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis.

material wealth, she simultaneously inhibits his autonomy. As soon as the son fulfils the object of her training by achieving fame, "his mother seeing, gan to feare / Least his too haughtie hardines might reare / Some hard mishap" (III.iv.24), and her inquiries into the future inspire an even greater protectiveness. When she attempts to prevent her son from proving his virility not only in battle but also in a heterosexual relationship, Cymoent treats Marinell more as a child than as a man. That is, while she allows him a form of maturity in her promotion of his knightly status, she will not sanction the autonomy on which such a status relies, and she likewise inhibits her son from reaching a further stage of masculine maturity as husband. Ultimately, by forbidding him the masculine activity as knight that she once encouraged, she sends him conflicting messages about his competence: "So weening to have arm'd him, she did quite disarm" (III.iv.27).⁴⁸ The relationship between the witch and her son more explicitly demonstrates the problems that maternal intrusion on masculine autonomy creates. The witch's son engages in no masculine pursuits and consequently lacks the fame or honour that is necessary to mature masculine identity. He is

A laesie loord, for nothing good to donne,
But stretched forth in idlenesse alwayes,
Ne ever cast his mind to covet prayse.
(III.vii.12)

In a sense, the son has no name because he has not earned one. His lack of employment and lack of desire for fame confine him wholly to the household governed

⁴⁸ In Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis, Venus, another protective mother figure (e.g., 875-76, 1183-88), similarly double-binds the pubescent, narcissistic Adonis: she compels him to prove his manhood in the act of sex, yet she forbids him to prove his manhood in the dangerous act of hunting with his male friends (587-88).

by his mother.

Even as she inhibits it, the double-binding mother is obsessed with masculinity itself, and she imparts this obsession to her son. In part it is manifested in the selfish preoccupation of both the mother and the son with honour and glory; the son will risk anything to gain fame, and he becomes vain, ambitious, cruel, aggressive, and competitive. The male is confused by conflicting maternal demands: the son will feel that, if he cannot meet his mother's definition of masculine success, his life is worthless: at the same time pride and reputation become more important to him than love (Slater 32-49, 417, 438-39). Ultimately, "As a consequence ... he is a poor husband and father" (Slater 439). Such obsessions help to explain why Kathleen Williams characterizes Marinell as "exaggeratedly masculine" ("Venus and Diana," 217), and why Amphialus identifies with Anaxius, an identification which increases proportionally with Cecropia's control. They also help to explain why the status of knighthood, a status defined by its autonomy, can nonetheless be for Amphialus and Marinell in some ways compatible with maternal control and ambition and why these knights are unable or unwilling to exchange chivalry for patriarchy. Cymoent's upbringing of Marinell has exaggerated his chivalric traits. Cecropia's attack on Amphialus during his vulnerable, convalescent state causes Amphialus to respond to her urgings with increased knightly aggression and pride and with little of the courtesy he had learned from Timotheus.

In a related manifestation of maternal concern with masculinity, Cecropia and Cymoent are interested in their sons' sexuality. An emphasis on sexuality underpins Cecropia's encouragement of the rape of Philoclea, an act which Cecropia describes as

an exercise in both political and private masculine authority. She capitalizes on Amphialus' insecure status to create a masculinity to suit her purposes--"imperious masterfulness" (403)--and tries to goad Amphialus into the deed by urging, "know thyself a man; and show thyself a man" (533), and by questioning his virility: "(pardon me, O womankind, for revealing to mine own son the truth of this mystery [that no means yes]) we think there wants fire where we find no sparkles (at least) of fury" (402). She manipulates Amphialus by holding him accountable to conventional images of exemplary masculinity such as Theseus. Similarly, when she alludes to the myth of Hercules and Iole, she relies on Hercules' reputation as a warrior to authorize the sexual assault she tries to persuade her son to commit (402). Cecropia thus represents male-female union as male tyranny and female subordination, but she characterizes this coercion as normal behaviour for the admirable warrior.

Though to a lesser extent than Cecropia, Cymoent also exhibits concern for the physicality and sexuality of her son: the interest she takes in Marinell's martial training suggests that she desires to model him after his father, Dumarin, who was not only a skilled, famous knight but also a rapist. This time, however, she will maintain control. Like Cecropia, Cymoent stimulates such male power but undermines it by ensuring that Marinell will never exercise that power over her. Just as Cecropia holds power in Amphialus' castle, Cymoent controls Marinell both during his upbringing in her cave and later during his adult convalescence there. Thus for both men standard patterns of male maturation are reversed as the roles they assume in the household are not those of patriarch but those of the mother's children.

V

The final death-like states of Marinell and Amphialus are indeed paradoxically close to the beginning of life--or the final stage of regression from adulthood. Cymoent's cave represents both tomb and womb, and Marinell's wounding by Britomart recalls his birth in the phrase "The wretched sonne of wretched mother borne" (III.iv.36). Similarly, in his last words Amphialus focuses not only on death but also on birth: "'Thou hast lived to be the death of her that gave thee life'" (441; cf. 440.27-28). These connections of death to life allude to a culturally acknowledged realm of preexistence such as that depicted by Spenser in the Gardens of Adonis:

For in the wide wombe of the world there lyes.
 In hatefull darknesse and in deepe horrore,
 An huge eternall Chaos, which supplyes
 The substances of natures fruitfull progenyes

 Ne when the life decayes, and forme does fade.
 Doth it [i.e., the pre-existing matter of chaos] consume, and into nothing
 go....
 (III.vi.36-37)

This "hatefull" "nothing" is where Amphialus and Marinell head: the mysterious non-existent space before even infancy, the maternal womb which holds the power of both life and death.

Like Pyrocles and Artegall, Marinell and Amphialus do not possess secure identities. The problems of all four men share three characteristics. All four suffer a loss of the chivalric fame which had established their status. All four respond to what I have identified as a feminine intrusion on masculine autonomy, whether it be the control of a dominant mother, sexual attraction to a woman, or confrontation with the

androgynous embodiment of male-female union. And, finally, all four men experience what Spenser and Sidney describe as 'death': a period without masculine status. What precisely is masculine autonomy sacrificed to? And why do Spenser and Sidney identify this sacrifice with death? Chapter Three discusses how men whose chivalric status is threatened tend to 'demonize' women. Though each text celebrates heterosexual union and productivity in patriarchal order, to men who do not participate in that order, heterosexuality is perceived as perilous and as inevitably fatal.

Chapter Three

"The wretched sonne of wretched mother borne": The Paradox of Fertility and Fatality

Thus far I have related how Amphialus, Marinell, Pyrocles, and Artegall all lose their hard-won chivalric status in literal or metaphoric 'deaths.' In each case, the knight avoids or ignores women until he experiences heterosexual attraction and a confrontation with androgyny. Amphialus falls in love with Philoclea, receives for his attentions a thigh wound from Zelmane, and must therefore place himself under his mother's care; there he attempts suicide. Marinell suffers a similar wounding by Britomart, returns to his mother for succour but nearly dies; then he becomes attracted to Florimell and almost expires again. Artegall is twice attacked by Britomart, becomes betrothed to her, and falls victim to Radigund in a battle which replays those with Britomart; he must then crossdress in a "long death" (V.v.36). After falling in love with Philoclea, Pyrocles is inspired to crossdress as an Amazon in a similar metaphoric 'death' of his masculinity. In these histories heterosexuality and androgyny are related: as I argued in Chapters One and Two, the knights' anticipated marital unions are represented by their encounters with the crossdressers Britomart and Zelmane, who embody masculine and feminine in one entity.

We might expect the union of male and female or masculine and feminine to

signify what it conventionally does--the production of life. Paradoxically, however, as the histories of these four knights show, such union leads to death. In fact, as I suggested in the conclusion to Chapter Two, mothers themselves, usually thought of as the source of all life, are instead identified with mortality. But how exactly does contact with females or femininity signify death? And why is what is normally generative--the maternal body or the heterosexual union--portrayed as mortally threatening?

In Spenser scholarship in particular, this inconsistency has rightly been attributed to perspective. That is, whether a sign is perceived as positive or negative depends not upon the nature of a sign itself but upon its viewer. As A. C. Hamilton explains, in The Faerie Queene "There is only one Venus.... Venus appears according to man's inner condition: to the intemperate she appears as the lustful Acrasia; to married lovers she appears as that hermaphroditic union of male and female; to the royal Britomart she appears as Isis" (Structure of Allegory, 155). In The Faerie Queene, women in particular are often represented ambiguously: clearly virtuous figures may sometimes appear threatening. Several critics have explained this incongruity by arguing that it reflects male attitudes and perception toward 'otherness.'¹ But the portrayal of love and

¹ Berger shows that the portrayal of women and love depends on the "male imagination" ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 397), and he (423) and Aptekar (174) ascribe negative perceptions to immature or flawed male attitudes. More recently, Krier and Cavanagh (in part relying on subject/object relations and Mulvey's cinematic theory) show how many of Spenser's women appear as objects of the male gaze and masculine thought (see p. 55, n.20). And Suzuki shows how doubles of women in the poem (Radigund, False Florimell, False Una) reflect male anxieties about challenges to their power: masculine fears are projected onto the bad woman, who is scapegoated and rejected, so that the good twin may be retained for marriage and enjoyed without anxiety (150-95). Though she does not develop the idea to the extent that Suzuki does, Shaver sees a similar scapegoating of women inherited from romance tradition in the NA:

women depends on more than mere 'maleness.' More specifically, women and male-female union appear alternatively as positive or as negative forces in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia because of the status of the male perceiver and the 'context' or system of order in which perception takes place.² As Mary Douglas observes in her study of pollution, "Shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining-table" (35); cleanness and uncleanness, order and disorder, are "relative categories" (9). In The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia, we find that, while women help to stabilize a society comprised of households, they undermine chivalric institutions. And, although procreation is necessary to patriarchal order, it threatens those men who do not yet occupy full adult status in that order. For these men, heterosexual union and the paternity to which it can lead often appear to infringe upon masculine autonomy so that, even when a woman is pure and virtuous, she is nonetheless a threat because she is a potential sexual partner and, in turn, a potential mother. Ultimately, men regard women with trepidation because the necessity of procreation implicitly acknowledges mortality, that human bodies will some day decay and must be replaced.

Throughout The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia, Spenser and Sidney explore these issues of intrusion and mortality by focusing on the physical body. Perilous contact with feminine forces and invasions of the boundaries of masculine autonomy are

women are viewed by men as hindrances to martial courage and achievement (5-6).

² As Maclean shows, in English Renaissance thought generally, women were represented either as negative or positive: there was little evidence of middle ground (esp. 16, 46); cf. Robinson 314. Though I make an argument about male perception, I do not deny the competing subjectivity of female figures in the texts. For summaries of the debate over whether Britomart is subject or object, see Suzuki 152-53; Wofford.

figured not only through the bodies of women themselves but also through physical contamination of and injury to the male body, and through physical containment of the man who tries to maintain his independent existence.³ In these texts feminine threats to masculinity are expressed largely through women's associations with other women: each female resonates with her links to other, often more dangerous, figures. A threatening woman is thus not merely a mother or a beloved, a Cymoent or a Philoclea, but part of a feminine 'matrix' in which women are linked to one another and to natural or elemental feminine forces through their sexuality and their bodies' reproductive power. The first section of this chapter establishes the close link between sexuality and

³ There is a large amount of methodological and text-based scholarship on the body, originating in Foucault, Bakhtin, and Douglas. Foucault provides a model of power relations which is physical and spatial: he relies on boundaries (noting, e. g., that resistance "is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power") and observes that opposition may be located within "certain points of the body" (1.95-96). Bakhtin relates the carnivalesque to the "grotesque realism" (18) of the physical body; during the early modern period, he observes, tension is generated because the body is not yet private or individual but is still a product of a legacy in which it is presented "as something universal, representing all the people" (19ff.). Perhaps most relevant to my own study is Douglas' explanation of how the body serves as a metaphor for boundaries. Like van Gennep's thresholds, she contends, "The structure of living organisms is ... able to reflect complex social forms" (114). Specifically, the human body "is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious.... powers and dangers credited to social structure [may be seen to be] reproduced in small on the human body" (115). Consequently, attacks on or actions of the body (including male-female relations) may signify larger questions of social order (Douglas 114-28); therefore, one aspect of the body as site of meaning is a "sex pollution which expresses a desire to keep the body (physical and social) intact" (140). Burt and Archer summarize revisions and qualifications of Foucault, Bakhtin, and Douglas, and map the path of literary scholarship on the body in the early modern period (1-7). For an application of this methodology to Spenser, see D. Miller, who focuses on the "quest for the body's [androgynous] wholeness" as the basis of all social and cultural experience in the 1590 *Faerie Queene* (4-28, esp. 5-7). There has been no large-scale application of such methodology to Sidney.

maternity; it identifies the many sexual-maternal figures in each text, and their paradoxical associations with both fertility and fatality for men who are on the verge of full adult status.⁴ The second half of this chapter then demonstrates that Spenser and Sidney figure the female body through physical space which surrounds, invades, or absorbs masculinity. Knights' encounters with maternal figures and feminine spaces introduce them to what lies beyond their conception of 'normal' order--and therefore to danger, mystery, and ambiguity. It is this meeting of "form" and "formlessness" which produces pollution.

⁴ Discussion of the maternal in the NA tends to focus on individual women rather than on connections among them. Two exceptions are Bono and Cantar. Bono examines the dangerous associations of maternity created by Cecropia and how these associations are implicit in other women; Cantar considers mothers as a group in her examination of oedipal issues in the text. In using the term 'matrix,' I follow Spenser critics, who have more comprehensively studied links among the maternal figures and forces in the poem. Berger notes that a "primal matrix" ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 418) is represented in the poem both by human figures and by personified structures and natural forces--"Ocean, Night, caves, the Chaos under the Garden of Adonis, Chrysogone, Venus as Great Mother, Cymoent and Glauce"--and discusses how male figures are subject to the forces of this matrix and to their own (limited) perceptions of them (418-24). (Berger also provides a list of mothers in the poem in "Two Spenserian Retrospects" (11-12).) Nohrnberg similarly refers to a "nurturing matrix from which life springs" (558) and discusses maternity in its various forms in Books III-IV in "The Conjugation of the World" (427-651); in addition, Nohrnberg examines the connections among the dangerous females of Book I (228-46), describing it as "an overcharged realm of shrouded females, terrible mothers, treacherous succubae, and bleeding trees" (102). Finally, in his study of the many mothers and absent fathers of Book III, Goldberg relates the 'personal' maternity of individual figures and the 'suprapersonal' maternity of universal process (in a garden, for example). He focuses on mother-son pairs, particularly on how they exemplify an overwhelming, devouring maternal love, and on how some female figures parody maternity; he also sees Spenser's negative and positive depictions of maternity as related to the division of pieta and madonna, death and creativity ("Mothers").

II

For knights contemplating heterosexual union, distinctions between maternal and sexual, mother and potential marriage partner, are blurred. There are erotic implications in the relationships of Cecropia and Amphialus and Cymoent and Marinell. Cecropia's explanations of her political motives (see pp. 122-23) not only express her usurpation of her son's dominant role in the heterosexual relationship, but they also portray her almost as Amphialus' consort on a potentially shared throne. In addition, her efforts "to move forward her son's desire" (354) by providing one or other princess as his sexual partner suggest that she herself will vicariously experience the union (Cantar 13). Cymoent likewise includes herself in Marinell's sexual activities when she attempts to procure him a bride in Book IV. When she thinks he loves a nymph, ambiguous pronouns imply Cymoent's part in the relationship--"she ... promist him, what ever wight she weare, / That she her love to him would shortly gaine" (IV.xii.27)--and, when she discovers her son loves Florimell, Cymoent's pleas to Neptune for the lives of Marinell and Florimell forecast her participation in a triangular union--"So shall you by one gift save all us three alive" (IV.xii.31). Spenser also emphasizes the implicit sexuality in the relationship of Cymoent and Marinell through the parallel relationship of the Witch and her nameless son. The Witch fulfills her son's sexual desires when the hyena she has summoned disembowels Florimell's palfrey in a figurative rape which indicates son's and mother's own intentions toward Florimell herself (III.vii.29-30). The witch then continues

fulfilling her son's desire by creating False Florimell for him.⁵ Eroticism is thus implicit in Sidney's and Spenser's associations of Amphialus and Marinell with their mothers.

Conversely, maternity is implicit in the potential heterosexual unions of Artegall and Pyrocles with Britomart and Philoclea. Spenser depicts Artegall not only as Britomart's future consort but also as her offspring (III.ii.11: cf. ii.17, iii.22); their romantic union will fulfill Britomart's maternal destiny.⁶ Sidney conveys a similarly underlying maternal presence in Philoclea by linking her to her mother in their shared attraction to Pyrocles. Gynecia's admission of these passions in the Arcadian forest (119-20; quoted below, pp. 156-57) is restaged by her daughter a short while later in the same setting. There the novice Philoclea admits her love for Zelmane when she recognizes that adult sexual desire equates her with her mother: "Sin must be the mother, and shame the daughter of my affection. And yet are these but childish objections, simple Philoclea.... Do I not see my mother as well, at least as furiously as myself, love Zelmane?" (149). In The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia, then, the mother may intimate sexual union while the beloved (Florimell, Britomart, and Philoclea), despite her virtue and virginity, is connected to latent maternity.

For Marinell, Amphialus, Artegall, and Pyrocles, maternity and sexuality are

⁵ These aspects of Cymoent's relationship with her son perhaps explain why, although he provides no textual support, Berger discerns that "Cymoent's excessive concern for her son ... is more than pure parental affection: it is blurred ... by a vague sense that Cymoent sees in Marinell a surrogate for his father," also a famous knight ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 403).

⁶ Goldberg argues that Britomart's parturition shows the erotic in the maternal and that Artegall appears as both the "reflection of her creative mind and as the destined partner in her procreative bed" ("Mothers," 7-8).

linked, and these links are strengthened by the connections of the mothers and potential lovers to Venus--and through Venus to one another. In each work Venus is the archetype of the maternal and sexual woman, and in each work she appears in both positive and negative forms. Venus is a multivalent image in the late sixteenth century,⁷ and, perhaps because of this very ambiguity, Spenser and Sidney rely on this figure to express the sometimes opposing perspectives of chivalric and patriarchal orders (see n. 1). In The Faerie Queene, the same goddess is both Venus Genetrix and Venus Vulgaris, and she sometimes appears as the hermaphroditic Venus.⁸ In III.vi, Venus

⁷ For example, Cicero identifies four Venuses by their various parentage in De natura deorum (III.xxiii.59), while in the Symposium Plato describes two Venuses, Urania or Coelestus and Vulgaris or Pandemos (180d-e, p. 109). In the Renaissance, Pico and Ficino identify correspondences between these two Venuses and the three faculties of the soul, and Conti notes that there are three main Venuses: Urania, Vulgaris, and Apostrophia or Harmonia (Mythologies, 218-19). For summaries of the many faces and attributes of Venus in the period, see Conti 218-38; Panofsky 142-69; Wind 118-20 and passim; Nohrberg 453-61, 502-20; and Manning. The two latter sources also discuss The FQ. In other studies, K. Williams identifies Venus as one of the mythological structuring principles of The FQ ("Venus and Diana"), and both she and Goldberg ("Mothers," 11-13, 25-26) observe that Venus is a feminine model for virgins and overprotective mothers in Book III. Several critics notice her centrality and various manifestations in the poem (Lotspeich 114-17; N. Frye 164-66; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 96-149; Mark Rose 87-88, 101, 122, 133; D. Miller 114; Evans 42-43; Berger, "Two Spenserian Retrospects," 11). On the role of Venus in the NA, see Lawry 173; see also n. 12, on Urania. My intention is not to sort out the distinctions between the different Venuses; rather, I wish merely to suggest that the Venuses who appear in Spenser and Sidney are ambiguous figures, "containing a multiplicity of often mutually antagonistic qualities" (Manning 708).

⁸ Alone, Venus is "the primal mother of all that exists, the original source of the elements, the bountiful mother of the whole world" (Apuleius, Metamorphoses [The Golden Ass], IV.30). For sources which depict Venus as Great Mother or androgynous creator of all things, see Nohrberg 600-03, 607, 647-51; on the hermaphroditic Venus in the poem, see Roche, The Kindly Flame, 101-03; Berger, "Two Spenserian Retrospects," 11-12; and N. Frye 167.

searches for Cupid as his mother, but she also evokes his lover and wife Psyche; she is both the mother of the Gardens of Adonis and the feminine principle which engenders those Gardens in a sexual relationship with Adonis.⁹ In her appearance in III.i, Adonis is her lover, yet her maternal over-protectiveness keeps him from participating in the boar hunt, and, before he is wounded, she assumes nurse-like care of him: "And whilst he slept, she over him would spred / Her mantle, ... And her soft arme lay underneath his hed" (III.i.36). Spenser's Venus appears as a positive, creative force, but she also conveys mortality and contamination. The tapestry in which she appears in III.i hangs in Malecasta's castle, a locus of wicked passion; this tapestry does not focus on Adonis' transformation into a flower but on how he is "Deadly engored of a great wild Bore" (III.i.38).¹⁰ In the Gardens of Adonis, similarly, Venus not only produces life but also conceals that devastating Boar within her mount, or within her very body.¹¹

Through the many aspects of the archetypal Venus, Sidney also blurs the distinctions among maternity and sexuality and life and death. The New Arcadia begins

⁹ Berger notices the parallels in the relationships of Venus and Adonis and Venus and Cupid and their blurring of "maternal and erotic affection" ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 404). For a Jungian perspective on the recurrence of the mother-lover figure in Book III, see Goldberg, "Mothers," esp. 6-7.

¹⁰ This Venus "mothers the boy to death" (Goldberg, "Mothers," 9) while the keeper of the tapestry, Malecasta, is a "parody of a perverse maternity" (9) or a type of Venus (Dunseath 160). For a contemporary version of the myth, see Fraunce fols. 43v-46r.

¹¹ On the boar as winter, see Fraunce fol. 45r; Conti, Mythologies, 314. Silberman observes that Spenser's "image of the tusked boar within the mons Veneris suggests the vagina dentata, an icon of fearsome venereal power" (Transforming Desire, 48; cf. "Singing Unsung Heroines," 271). Cf. Shakespeare's version of the myth: he equates Venus with the Boar by using similar imagery to describe them (Venus and Adonis, 55-59, 636, 1114-18). Fraunce reports that Adonis "is wounded in those parts, which are the instruments of propagation" (fol. 45v).

with the departure of Urania, who evokes the celestial, non-sexual Venus Urania,¹² but Sidney then replaces this Venus with an earthly Venus--the maternal, imperial Venus of the Aeneid, the statue at the centre of Kalander's garden. Yet this Venus combines "erotic desire with maternal fostering" (Cantar 3; cf. McCoy. Rebellion, 61-62): "At her breast ... her babe Aeneas ..., having begun to suck, ... leave[s] that to look upon her fair eyes" (14). Then, in Book II Sidney contaminates that erotic, maternal Venus when Miso relates a myth of the origin of mortal love and a "'foul fiend'" (211) Cupid:

This monster sat like a hangman upon a pair of gallows. In his right hand he was painted holding a crown of laurel, in his left hand a purse of money; and out of his mouth hung a lace, of two fair pictures of a man and a woman; and such a countenance he showed, as if he would persuade folks by those allurements to come thither and be hanged. I ... shrieked out, for fear of the devil.... 'Why mother,' said I, 'could such a thing come from the belly of the fair Venus?'--for a few days before, our priest, between him and me, had told me the whole story of Venus. (211)

Miso's story thus makes Venus into a tool of seduction for a priest while the Beldame's version of Cupid's origins transforms his mother Venus into a beast (212.19), and her offspring into a monster. Cupid replaces Aeneas and represents mortality rather than the founding of empire: there is no long-lasting commonwealth--only the mortality which accompanies chivalric desire for earthly honour. Similarly, in Book III (the Book concerning Amphialus' rebellion), there is no maternal, imperial Venus; although the Trojan War is evoked by the restaging of the choice of Paris in Amphialus' dream poem, the only Venus who appears here is an old scold.

To the male endeavouring to protect his chivalric status, Venus largely appears in

¹² On Sidney's Urania, see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 223-26; Myrick 115-16; Duncan-Jones, "Sidney's Urania," 123-32; W. Davis 85-88, 102-03; and Lawry 168-70.

her negative forms. Related to Venus in each text are groups of dangerous, and often sexually aggressive, mothers who threaten masculinity. In the New Arcadia ambivalence toward maternity is accompanied by the advent of masculine maturity, or the taking up of arms. In a text confusingly burdened with characters' names, the 'good' mothers of the work are nameless and are relegated to the pre-adult history of the princes, a history set outside the immediate narrative action of the New Arcadia. Once the princes take up arms, however, the mothers who enter the narrative action are all potentially perilous, and their parallels with one another compound the dangerous potential of any one individual. Besides Cecropia, who not only adversely influences her son Amphialus but who also imprisons Pyrocles/Zelmane, these mothers include the witchlike scold Miso--like Cecropia, compared to a half-bestial Fury (228.15-16, 420.10) (and in the Old Arcadia to the murderous mother Medea (OA 192))--and the dictatorial mother of Parthenia whose connivance results in her daughter's disfigurement and whose treatment of the knight Argalus evokes "the evil stepmother Juno" and "the famous Hercules" (29). Another mother encountered by the princes is Andromana, who is "so absolute a master of her husband's mind that a while he would not (and after, he could not) tell how to govern without being governed by her" (248); like Cecropia, she is a female ruler who disrupts normal order (because she lacks the hereditary sovereignty of Helen, or Elizabeth I). She is also both mother and lover to her foster-son Plangus.¹³ She threatens Plangus with her sexual advances and with death; later, she imprisons the princes and similarly threatens them. Notably, it is during his first assumption of

¹³ For the roots of the Andromana-Plangus story, see Heliodorus' history of Cnemon.

chivalric status--to participate in a tournament--that Andromana's previously devoted son initially perceives his mother as dangerous. Turning on her, Palladius sides instead with the princes, the masculine companions necessary to his new knightly status and his tutors in chivalric skills. Finally, yet one more sexual and maternal threat to Pyrocles is Gynecia.¹⁴ The etymology of her name, 'womanly,' assigns her a part as a generic feminine principle, and, as such, she demonstrates the ambiguity of women. In the patriarchal order of Basilius' dukedom, her exemplary and virtuous fulfilment of her position as consort, wife, and mother (16.31-36) make her sympathetic, yet to the knight Pyrocles she becomes a dangerous victim of her own passions. All mothers become dangerous to the princes once they are beyond childhood and ready to consider their potential part in reproduction.

Just as the potential peril conveyed by Sidney's women resides in their sexuality and maternity, the dangers of Spenser's Cymoent in part derive from her emasculating predecessors in the poem. Half-woman and half-monster, the prolific Error anticipates the frightening maternity of Milton's Sin (II.650-66) or the sexuality of Lear's daughters: "Down from the waist they are Centaurs, / Though women all above" (Shakespeare, King Lear, IV.vi.124-25). Not only is Duessa the whore of Babylon, but she is also a bad mother: the foul matter which wells from her breasts (I.viii.47) contrasts with the spiritual nourishment provided by Charissa. In Book I the 'death' these women convey

¹⁴ Many critics have noticed the parallels among these mothers: Myrick 269-70; Rees 56-57, 64-65; Cantar 8-11, 13-14; Lindheim, Structures, 151; and J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 248. On Gynecia in particular see also Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 54; and McCoy, Rebellion, 66-67, 191.

is largely a spiritual one whereby the sinfulness of the earthly body thwarts the promise of eternal life.¹⁵ Cymoent's counterpart in Book II is Acrasia, who is both castrating lover and devouring mother (cf. P. Parker). She recalls the dominant females in the stories of Venus over Mars, Delilah over Samson, and Omphale over Hercules; and she simultaneously evokes "the iconography of both Virgin Mother with her sleeping infant and the more sinister Pietà, a dead Adonis in the lap of a powerful maternal Venus" (P. Parker 25).¹⁶ Like the mothers of Book I, Acrasia conveys mortality: by changing men into beasts, she reveals their inescapable earthliness: "Let Grill be Grill, and have his hoggish mind" (II.xii.87) (Hamilton, "A Theological Reading," 161-62). Acrasia (like Duessa) emasculates knights through a sexual invitation which leads to exhaustion and in turn to a loss of masculine action and responsibility--and status as knight.¹⁷ Yet Sir Guyon, the titular hero of Book II, is little tempted by the attractions of women, even in more positive forms as knightly status symbols or as partners in patriarchy, and this quality seems to enable him to destroy the Bower of Bliss without the regret or difficulty

¹⁵ Spiritual nourishment is needed "As new borne babes desire ... the ... syncere milke of the worde" (I Peter 2: 2). On Error and Duessa as bad mothers and emasculators, and on the theological roots of the demonic motherhood and nurturance of these and other female figures in Book I, see Nohnberg 102, 116, 134-35, 228-41.

¹⁶ Cf. N. Frye on Acrasia as a "sinister Venus" (165); and Hamilton on Acrasia and Verdant as Venus and Adonis (Structure of Allegory, 137).

¹⁷ Plutarch observes that only sleep and sexual intercourse made Alexander conscious of his mortality (Lives, XXII). Locating Acrasia in the Delilah tradition, P. Parker refers to a sixteenth-century drawing of a nursing woman standing on broken chivalric arms (25). In its background this Flemish work, titled Allegory of the Power of Women, also depicts Woman teaching men to worship false gods, and Delilah cutting Samson's hair while a crowd of armed soldiers looks on; the drawing is reproduced by Kahr (137, fig. 20), who argues that it expresses the ambivalence of men who desire woman's love and nurturance but fear her power (137-38).

which some critics feel he should experience (e. g., Hough 164; Alpers 306). Remaining in an exclusively masculine state such as Guyon's offers protection,¹⁸ but erotic maternal perils cannot be avoided by knights who face potential patriarchy and its responsibilities of procreation.

In Books III and IV, Cymoent is surrounded by 'sister' descendants of the mothers of Books I and II as well as by the various manifestations of the maternal-sexual Venus herself. Spenser's paralleling of these women's histories with Cymoent's draws attention to and reinforces the more dangerous elements in the nymph's relationship with her son. Cymoent's ministrations to the wounded Marinell evoke the relationship of the "erotic Pieta" (N. Frye 166) Venus to her wounded lover Adonis (cf. III.i.38, iv.40).¹⁹ The tale of Venus searching for a lost Cupid in III.vi also parallels Cymoent's search for her son. But many of these women with whom Cymoent is connected in the central books embody a maternity and sexuality more deathly and perverse than that

¹⁸ P. Parker remarks that, in Guyon's Odyssean journey, the conquering of Circe displaces the homecoming to Penelope (26). Less kindly, Guyon has been described as having a "repressed personality" (Evans 112, cf. 145), and as being a "self-righteous prig" (H. Hawkins 1186). Most suggestive in the context of my own argument are Nohrberg's observations that Guyon's titular "virtue is almost too 'private'" to allow the knight to have a love relationship; and that, although he does have an "interior paramour" in Shamefastness, she is not so much a lady as an "analogy" representing the anima for Guyon's quest and his personal autonomy (or self-mastery, responsibility, and self-reliance) (299). 'Autonomy' is the operative word: in Book V where some knights (Artegall and Marinell) seek to unite with their brides and assume new roles as bridegrooms, Guyon instead steadfastly retains his chivalric status when he reunites with his horse (V.iii.34-35).

¹⁹ On parallels between Venus and Adonis and Cymoent and Marinell, see Goldberg, "Mothers," 10-11; Blissett 102; and Hamilton Structure of Allegory, 141. Cymoent also rises from the sea in the tradition of Venus (Conti, Mythologies, 219); for references to other contemporary accounts of Venus rising from the sea, see Nohrberg 560-61.

inherent in the Venus of Malecasta's tapestry or the Gardens of Adonis. Both knight's consort and "mother of debate" (IV.i.19) to knights under her influence, Ate is a devouring mother to her offspring: like Venus, she plants a garden, but "those same cursed seedes doe also serve / To her for bread ... That she may sucke their life, and drinke their blood" (IV.i.26).²⁰ Not only does she offer death, but she also offends chivalric fame by spreading rumours and causes knights to violate the same-sex ties which unite them (IV.i.19, 47ff.).²¹ Following Venus' appearances as creator and mother in III.vi is the story of another maternal creator. The witch of III.vii-viii, a counterpart of Cymoent, paradoxically conveys both fertility and fatality. The hyena she engenders in her womblike cave brings destruction and death; the False Florimell is created but from materials which are dead and wintry--"purest snow," "golden wyre," and "a Spright to rule the carkasse dead" (III.viii.6-7). Finally, connections among uncontrolled sexuality, maternity, monstrosity, and mortality are intensified in these central cantos by the appearance of Argante, another false *pieta*, on Marinell's strand. Balancing a knight before her on her horse, the giantesse resembles a mother holding a child on her lap. Spenser stresses maternity's contaminating power when he describes the birth of the deviants Argante and Ollyphant, the product of a mother-son union (III.vii.47).

²⁰ Evans sees Ate as the archetype of feminine evil for the second half of the poem (while Duessa holds this distinction in the first three books) (182).

²¹ Like Radigund, Ate most troubles those "noble knights, / Which hunt for honor" (IV.i.19). Neuse explains that "precisely the life of strenuous aspiration ... is exposed to the dangers of a perversion of its energies" ("Book VI as Conclusion," 373).

These twinnes ...
 Whiles in their mothers wombe enclosed they were.

 In fleshly lust were mingled both yfere,
 And in that monstrous wise did to the world appere.

 So liv'd they ever after in like sin,
 Gainst natures law, and good behavioure....
 (III.vii.48-49)

However, Cymoent is implicated as a similarly mortal threat to men not merely because she is a mother but also because she, like many of the women mentioned above, is a magic-user. Spenser relies on contemporary beliefs about witches to suggest that these women--by virtue of their status as magic-users--embody threats of emasculation and mortality.²² Witches could be wise women, or cunning women, who had knowledge

²² That understanding was in part based on (or may be discerned in) both English and European accounts of witches and the acts which constituted witchcraft. Standard English treatments include Reginald Scot, Discoverie of witchcraft (1584); George Gifford, A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes (1593); and James VI and I, Daemonologie (Edinburgh, 1597; London, 1603), esp. 43-48. A selection of contemporary reports of witchcraft, trials, and executions may be found in B. Rosen's Witchcraft in England, 1558-1618. Scot and Gifford refute and qualify as well as summarize and sometimes concur with standard continental works on witchcraft which went through many European editions in the sixteenth century, including Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger's Malleus Maleficarum [1486?], and Jean Bodin's Demon-Mania of Witches (1580) (for the publication history of these texts, see Summers' (vii-viii) and Pearl's (9, 28) introductions). For the literary heritage and literary treatments of witchcraft in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, see K. Briggs. Studies of witchcraft in England (and of the differences between English and continental beliefs) include Kittredge; Macfarlane; Thomas 435-569; Larner, esp. 35-78; B. Rosen, 3-58; and Levack, Witch-Hunt, esp. 27-59. For useful historiographical reviews of the copious scholarship on the subject, see Thomas' "Bibliographical Note" (435-36) and the more recent survey by Levack ("The Great Witch-Hunt"). Much of this work focuses in part on distinguishing between contemporary perceptions and reality though for my own examination of witches in a literary text, perception may be as important as actual practice.

of healing and medicines,²³ or, often simultaneously, they could be more dangerous figures who engaged in maleficium, cursing and casting spells over their enemies and their possessions; often they were thought to consort with Satan. Whether they used white or black magic, however, witches were especially dangerous to men because they challenged normal, male-governed order: they held ambiguous roles in Elizabethan society and were associated with marginality or inversion.²⁴ Witches were also threatening to men in particular because on the continent they were associated with sexual malpractice and were thought to be able to cause impotence. Among other crimes, continental witches were thought to attack the male genitals specifically; to have perverse sexual relations with demons; and to murder and sometimes devour infants and children.²⁵ Although witches were not accused of these crimes in England, such ideas

²³ For contemporary references to such magic-users, see Scot's account of the healer Mother Bungie, whose deathbed confession reveals her as a more dangerous witch (473); or Gifford's reference to a cunning woman with "a great name" and the "great resort there is dayly unto her" (Br). For the more explicitly negative view of the continental magical healer as demonic and unnatural, cf. Bodin 152-54. On cunning women (and men) and their relationships to witches, see Thomas 177-92, 207-52; B. Rosen viii-ix; Macfarlane 115-34; Larner 72-73, 143; Levack, Witch-Hunt, 11, 138-39, and "Witch-Hunt," 622; and Horsley.

²⁴ Because of their links to that quintessential rebel against order, Satan, witches were associated with misrule and the world-upside-down (Stuart Clark, "Inversion," 98-127; and "King James's Daemonologie," 174-76). In addition, the spiritual and social/political transgressions and the marginal qualities of witches and their communities opposed the order of a centralized state (Levack, Witch-Hunt, 57-60, and "Witch-Hunt," 610-13, 625-26, 630). See also n. 27.

²⁵ In his summary of Malleus Maleficarum, for example, Scot cites beliefs that witches "can make a woman miscarrie in childbirth, and destroe the child in the mothers wombe" (10), and that "the vertue of generation is impeached by witches ... for ... they repress the courage, and they stop the passage of the mans seed" (77; cf. 78, 82). For references to these and other acts, see Kramer and Sprenger 21, 47, 55-61, 66, 99-101, 109-14, 117-19; and Bodin 35, 41, 50, 99-100, 130-34, 182, 205. See also Scot's

nonetheless made their way into the popular imagination, and they resonate in the background of The Faerie Queene when, for instance, Redcrosse loses his martial force after fornicating with the "wicked witch" (I.ii.38, v.27) Duessa (I.vii.6-7).²⁶ Witches were usually females (often older) and sometimes worked in groups, characteristics which further contributed to their marginal status.²⁷ They also had specifically maternal

enumeration of these crimes and his summaries and qualifications of Kramer and Sprenger and Bodin (e. g., A3v, B2v-3r, 9-11, 32-35ff.). On magic as a cause of barrenness in England, see McLaren 39-41.

²⁶ Such continental beliefs, says Scot, are often put forth by "poets" (9). Shakespeare's portrayal of witches in Macbeth bears this out: see Adelman, "Fantasies of Maternal Power," 93-96, 108, 110, and Suffocating Mothers, 131-38; Biggins; and Stallybrass, "Macbeth and Witchcraft" (who applies Douglas' ideas regarding pollution to the play (190) to argue that witchcraft is used to challenge and then legitimate patriarchy).

²⁷ Scot characterizes witches as old women (7) and discusses "why women are rather witches than men" (277ff.) while Kramer and Sprenger devote a section of Malleus Maleficarum to "Why it is that Women are chiefly addicted to Evil Superstitions" (41-48, cf. 164-67). Though the precise relationship of persecution to sex and gender (as well as age and economic status) remains debatable, in England 92 percent of witches were women, and "aggregate percentage is approximately 75 percent"; in fact, "the female sex linkage may be even closer than the figure of 75 percent would suggest, since some of the male witches were accused mainly because they were related by either blood or marriage to female witches" (Levack, "Witch-Hunt," 620); of these women, many were also older (with an average age in England of 60) and either unmarried or widowed (621, 623). For similar profiles and the various theories regarding gender, see Levack, "Witch-Hunt," 620-23, 628-30, and Witch-Hunt, 133-49; Thomas 436, 520, 568-69; B. Rosen 8, 29; Macfarlane 160-64; and Larner 60-62, 72-73, 84-88. Their female sex contributed to their marginal status, Levack explains, because "witches exhibited behavior that did not conform to contemporary male standards of proper feminine conduct" (Levack, "Witch-Hunt," 622); they were religiously, socially and sexually independent (623; cf. Larner 62-63, 87; Thomas 244; and n. 24). On communal witchcraft, see Larner 39, 76-77; and the community of witches in Shakespeare's Macbeth. For contemporary accounts of communities of female witches, see many of the texts in Rosen's collection such as A Detection of damnable driftes, practized by three Witches arraigned at Chelmsforde in Essex, at the laste Assises there holden, which were executed in Aprill 1579; W. W., A true and just Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses (1582); or A Rehearsall both straung and true, of

connections. There were theological beliefs that female night demons and spirits such as lamia were witches.²⁸ In addition, most witches were thought to nurse their familiars (animals such as cats, rats, and toads); a standard examination of a witch included a search of her body for the teat upon which the familiar sucked.²⁹ Finally, witches were associated with childbirth: black witches were said to kill infants for sacrifice; healing or cunning women were often called in as midwives.³⁰

Spenser's maternal magic users--Cymoent, the hag of Book III, Glauce, Acrasia, Ate, Duessa--evoke many of these connotations. In Book III itself, there are three witches: Glauce, the wise, healing variety; the hag, the cursing, castrating variety; and Cymoent, who resembles both types. The consequent ambiguity of her ministrations

hainous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stile, Alias Rockingham, Mother Dutten, Mother Devell, Mother Margaret.... (1579).

²⁸ See Luther, Lectures on Isaiah: "They are witches and night hags who at night give suck to children and inflict injury on babies, as the prophet says, 'Even the night hags give the breast'" (16.297). For this and other contemporary references, see Nohrnberg's comparison of Duessa, the False Una, and other women of Book I to succubic witches, lamia, or demons (232-39).

²⁹ For example, a son gave evidence that "in the night-time the said spirits [would] come to his mother and suck blood of her upon her arms and other places of her body" (Rosen's edition of W. W., A true and just Recorde, 110; cf. 135, 138-39, 152). The teat or teats might be found anywhere and were often little wens of skin. See B. Rosen 23, 29-30; and Thomas 445-46.

³⁰ Though he does acknowledge "Continental fears that midwives killed ... delivered babies with long pins" (Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, 180), Macfarlane finds no connections of the witches of Essex to midwifery, and whether witches also acted as midwives remains a debatable question (Harley). However, while recognizing the debate, Levack points out that, "Nevertheless, midwifery remains one of the few occupations of witches recorded in judicial proceedings" and that, "More generally, it is clear that the process of childbirth and the care of infants was the focus of many witchcraft accusations" ("Witch-Hunt," 622; see also 621-22, and Witch-Hunt, 139-40).

draws attention to her paradoxical maternal role as provider of both life and death. Just as Glauce relies on herbs, spells, and charms to heal Britomart, Cymoent and her nymph companions nurse Marinell and provide potions to heal him. When she curses Britomart, though, Cymoent more resembles the Hag who curses Florimell or Ate in Book IV.³¹ Consequently, after he is saved from Britomart's wound, Marinell dies a second death (IV.xii.34) which evokes the witch's evil intentions toward children and her power to cause sterility. Even implicit in the well-intended white magic of Glauce is danger of death.³² The potion she administers to Britomart is particularly maternal, containing "many drops of milke and bloud" (III.ii.49), the secretions of the nursing mother.³³ However, milk and blood were also thought to be the primary nourishment that witches provided for their demonic familiars,³⁴ and the herbs Glauce prescribes to

³¹ Witches were often tried and convicted for cursing in Elizabethan England (e. g., Scot 8; Thomas 502-12; see also n. 25).

³² As Scot observes, "at this daie it is indifferent to saie ... She is a witch; or, She is a wise woman" (110). Black and white magic were often thought to derive from the same sources and were therefore difficult to distinguish (Levack, "Witch-Hunt," 622, and Witch-Hunt, 11, 110, 138-39; Macfarlane 4; Thomas 244, 255-79, esp. 267-68, 567, 638; B. Rosen 8; Lerner 151).

³³ Milk was the early modern answer to the question 'what happened to menstrual blood during pregnancy?' Menstrual blood was thought by some authorities to be redirected from the womb to the breasts by a 'lacteal duct.' See Crooke, Description of the body of man (1615), 158-59; Crawford, "Attitudes to Menstruation," 51-52; Fildes, Breasts, 180-81.

³⁴ On the foods of familiars, see Thomas 445-46; and B. Rosen 29-30. Witches were also thought to also cause nursing mothers or cows to give bloody milk (Kittredge 166). On witch's milk and colostrum, see Radbill 249. Cf. Shakespeare's comparison of the signs of murder, the blood and froth on the Boar's murderous mouth, to the maternal signs of life, blood and milk (Venus and Adonis, 902).

lessen Britomart's pain were in fact used to prevent pregnancy.³⁵

In its brief references to mystery, death, monstrosity, or the Fall, this review of the sexual-maternal matrices of the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene begins to suggest why contact with women can be perilous. In a classical analogue which informs both works, contact of the youth Adonis with Venus in the Metamorphoses emphasizes masculine mortality. Ovid's tale ends with Adonis' transmutation into a flower--part of the mutable, natural world (Metamorphoses, X.519ff); though the flower implies a continuous natural cycle of life, the individual male himself is dead--a fact emphasized by Shakespeare's interpretation of the tale. In the Metamorphoses a number of flowers appear at Venus' command, but in Shakespeare's poem Venus ends the life of the single flower which appears when she plucks it to "rock ... day and night" in the "hollow cradle" (Venus and Adonis, 1185-86) of her breast. Shakespeare's Adonis appears to have a choice. He may stubbornly retain his youthful autonomy by hunting the boar with his friends, or he may assume adult status by accepting Venus' offer of sexuality. However, these options are not alternatives. The Boar kills Adonis before he can procreate; on the other hand, while sexuality creates life, it cannot combat the body's inherent mortality (Venus and Adonis, 757): "if there [in a tomb Adonis] came to lie, / ... there Love liv'd, and there he could not die" (245-46)--yet he is still entombed.³⁶ Another

³⁵ See John Maplet, A greene forest (1567) fol. 40v, fol. 52r; The FQ, III.ii.49.5-9n. Glauce's potion also resembles that concocted by Ovid's murderous mother, Medea (Metamorphoses, VII.245-56).

³⁶ On the inevitability of death in the poem, cf. Lindheim, "The Shakespearean Venus and Adonis," 197-98.

major source of the anxieties associated with maternity derives of course from the biblical account of woman's role in the Fall. In The Faerie Queene this maternal culpability is perhaps most explicitly expressed through the babe Ruddymane's permanently bloody hands (II.i-ii); the episode links maternity, mortality, birth, and original sin in the oxymoronic line "his mothers innocence may tell ... In her sonnes flesh" (II.ii.10).³⁷ In one of the contemporary theories of original sin that Spenser possibly employs, original sin is a hereditary disease which alters the blood and therefore ensures that "the taint is not merely on, but in, Ruddymane's flesh" (Fowler, "Image of Mortality," 144; see also 141-44); this theory's pathologizing of original sin compounds female culpability by making contamination maternally transmitted (see p. 110, n. 27). The female's role in mortality is also established by the Aristotelian idea that matter desires forms just as the female desires the male (Aristotle, Physics, I.ix): this tradition associates the female with imperfection and earthliness--with what changes and decays.³⁸

³⁷ Though there has been disagreement about the episode's theological nuances, critics generally agree that the innocent babe with bloody hands displays the original sin and mortality inherited from his parents (A. C. Hamilton, "A Theological Reading," 155-59; Fowler, "Image of Mortality"; Nohrnberg 288-89, 292, n.12, 355; L. Miller 311; MacLachlan, "Revenge and Atonement in The Faerie Queene," 148). Evans argues that the entire poem is concerned with escape from the inevitable consequences of the fall (esp. 27, 29, 113-115).

³⁸ Maclean shows how such Aristotelian ideas influence various early modern ideas about female anatomy and physiology (30ff.) and about feminine ethics and virtues (48ff.) (see esp. 7-8, 32, 35, 104, n.33). For a summary of Aristotle and an analysis of Spenser's treatment of form and matter in the Gardens of Adonis, see Milne. On the relation of form and matter to the archetypal Great Mother in the poem, see Goldberg, "Mothers," 6. See also Nohrnberg 439, 533-38, 581-86; Var. 3.340-52.

Contact with women thus makes the male aware of his derivation from the maternal body and his inherent mortality (cf. Adelman, Suffocating Mothers, 6). After Marinell and Amphialus regress to their mothers, both knights reject their male bodies because they recognize the presence of their mothers in themselves. Amphialus' accusation--"Thou damnable creature! only fit to bring forth ... a monster" (440)--and Spenser's description of Marinell--"The wretched sonne of wretched mother borne" (III.iv.36)--emphasize how the failings of each knight are located specifically in his birth, an occurrence which evokes both the sexual union of male and female necessary to conception and the symbiosis of mother and male infant. Cecropia's contamination is perhaps conveyed by one of the possible etymologies of her name: like Spenser's Error or Milton's sin, Cecrops, king of Athens, was a serpent below the waist.³⁹ Marinell is the product of an especially contaminated sexual act, a rape which results in pregnancy. Spenser contrasts the birth of the monsters Argante and Ollyphant from the incestuous relations of the Mother Earth with the somnolent labour of Chrysogone, which produces the twins Belpheobe and Amoret: inseminated by the sun, Chrysogone avoids the painful curse incurred in the Fall, perhaps because there has been no male-female sexual contact. Such contact, Spenser suggests, is unavoidably mortal and contaminating.

³⁹ See Apollodorus, The Library, III.xiv.1. For a visual image, see Alciato, Emblem 5. This emblem (or its sources) may have influenced the cosmological debate of Cecropia and Pamela: the motto reads, "Sapientia humana, stultitia est apud Deum" ("human wisdom is foolishness before God"), and the translation of the epigram concludes, "This figure signifies a cunning ... man, but one lacking in religion ..., / and one who cares only for earthly things." On Sidney's use of the emblem, see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 247-48; and Martin 386-87, n. 30. For contemporary attribution of monstrous births to to an excess or deficiency in the womb or to maternal fantasy or imagination, see Paré 35-37.

However, cultural expectation of paternity is as strong as men's desire to avoid it. Paternity proves virility and validates the patrilineal lines which are the foundation of early modern society. Heirs are necessary to a stable commonwealth, a duty emphasized by Sidney in the civil insurrection resulting from Basilius' late production of heirs, and by Spenser in the patrilineage described in The Faerie Queene's histories (culminating in the reign of Elizabeth). The exemplary patriarch accepts his duty toward civil order; the less than exemplary does not. Sidney's Basilius, for example, egotistically views the natural cycle of procreation as a personal problem rather than as a civil responsibility. According to the prophecy which drives him to seclude his family, his daughters' marriages are tantamount to his death (295.34-296.6). The oracle's description of him as "a living man ... made dead" (296) fuels the masculine anxiety that guides his interpretation of the prophecy: his daughters' assumption of their adult statuses as wives draws attention to their father's inevitable death (cf. Gynecia's complaint, 120.26-27; quoted below). For bachelor knights, potential patriarchy and the feminine contact it demands foresee the end of the values and codes on which chivalric status is founded--lasting earthly fame derived from martial acts.⁴⁰

Consequently, awareness of maternal-sexual threats to masculine existence is implicit in knightly responses even to the most virtuous of virgins; once the knight is attracted to a woman, he becomes aware of her reproductive capacity, a potential

⁴⁰ For an argument which connects mortality to (what I have argued are defining, knightly qualities of) desire for revenge and personal honour, see MacLachlan, "Revenge and Atonement in The Faerie Queene." Although he focuses on spiritual allegory, his work suggests that, on a social level as well, the inability to quell vengefulness and anger leads to an inability to escape from mortality.

conveyed by her connections to the sexual-maternal matrix. These threats are implicit in Sidney's mirroring of the ambiguous Gynecia by Philoclea and in Spenser's doubling of women: Florimell and False Florimell, Britomart and Radigund.⁴¹ Barbara Bono reads Philoclea as a dangerous site of male desire and maternal power: she argues that Sidney establishes a "maternal subtext" among the princess, her mother, and Cecropia, which "threatens to collapse precisely those distinctions between virtuous and vicious women" (114). Gynecia wails,

O sun, ... art thou not ashamed to impart the clearness of thy presence to such a dust-creeping worm as I am?... O deserts, deserts, how fit a guest am I for you, since my heart can people you with wild ravenous beasts, which in you are wanting!... But alas, ... it is Philoclea his heart is set upon; it is my daughter I have borne to supplant me. But if it be so, the life I have given thee, ungrateful Philoclea, I will sooner with these hands bereave thee of than my birth [i. e., offspring] shall glory she hath bereaved me of my desires. (119-20)

With these words Gynecia recognizes her own mortal composition and transforms her maternal power from the life she has given Philoclea to a capacity to provide death.

When she recognizes their relationship, however, Gynecia also implies that these mortal qualities are present in her daughter, and, in this same setting a short while later,

Philoclea herself reinforces her resemblance to her mother (243, see p. 138). And Gynecia's speech links both Gynecia and Philoclea to Cecropia, who actually does

⁴¹ Cf. Suzuki 150-95; and n. 1. Similarly, in male-female relationships in Shakespeare, the mortal threat of maternity that the female body represents locates most male-female relations within "the mother's power to contaminate" (Adelman, Suffocating Mothers, 11). Consequently, desiring a pure object pollutes it as in Othello or Troilus and Cressida, plays which depict a "morning-after fantasy in which the madonna is transformed into the whore"; the source of this corruption is the "diseased male imagination" (64; see also 62-63).

"people" the forest with ravenous beasts--a lion and a she-bear.

Sidney also stresses Pyrocles' awareness of Philoclea's potential maternity when he links her to Venus. When the prince calls her "some goddess [who] inhabiteth this region" (51), Philoclea appears to replace the mysterious Urania⁴² just as the earthly Venus does, and in his poetry about Philoclea, he evokes the erotically maternal Venus of Kalander's garden when he focuses on the princess' breasts (192.15-21), which he compares to the "nests" of "Venus' babe" Cupid (192.18). However, in Kalander's garden, the statue of the imperial mother Venus and the portrait of the virginal Philoclea, the incipient Venus, are separated. Intervening between them both narratively and geographically are depictions of mythological women which signify the dangers of male desire. These pictures either represent aspects of Philoclea herself, or they evoke the potentially emasculating androgynous disguise that Pyrocles assumes to pursue his attraction: "Diana when Actaeon saw her bathing" (a scene enacted later by Philoclea, Pyrocles, and Amphialus on the banks of the Ladon); Atalanta, who defeats men in their own contests (as does Zelmane); Helena, the cause of the Trojan war (as Philoclea is responsible for prolonging Amphialus' rebellion); Omphale for whom Hercules becomes a distaff spinner (suggested by Pyrocles' disguise and emblem); and Iole, who causes the death of Hercules (recalled in Pyrocles' figurative 'death' by transvestism) (15). These mythological scenes thus compromise Philoclea's attractions as future wife and mother, portraying the distance between Philoclea and the imperial Venus as a path beset by the

⁴² Mark Rose, *Heroic Love*, 46. Lawry describes Philoclea, and Pamela, as types of Urania (168-70), and Duncan-Jones also notes Sidney's parallelism of Philoclea and Urania ("Sidney's Urania," 126).

dangers of sexual union to the autonomous knight. Pyrocles must negotiate this passage to transform his initial attraction to the princess into the foundation of a stable and productive commonwealth, their own New Troy: he must cease regarding sexuality with knightly trepidation and must view it as necessary to patriarchal stability.

Once Venus Urania departs, Sidney suggests, the maternal-sexual Venus not only implies the stable commonwealth of Aeneas' New Troy--an anticipated patriarchal order--but also inevitably connotes impurity, death, and threats to autonomous masculinity, all of which must be controlled if that commonwealth is ever to be achieved. Sidney makes a similar point when he places Miso's tale of the bestial and mortal Venus and Cupid after Pyrocles' poetry about Philoclea and Amphialus' attraction to her. Pyrocles is disturbed by the tale (J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 173-74), but he nonetheless confronts his patriarchal responsibilities when he subsequently reveals his identity to the princess and pledges love to her. Just as Spenser anticipates the New Troy when he characterizes Artegall as Britomart's consort and child, Sidney intimates future civil order when he assigns Pyrocles the dual roles of Philoclea's/Venus' admirer and Venus' son Aeneas (462.13-36, 464.15-16): the marital union of Pyrocles and Philoclea will produce a legacy of heirs and ensure the prosperity of the commonwealth. The immature Amphialus, on the other hand, does not perceive Philoclea as an imperial Venus. Instead, she appears to him only as the Venus of deathly associations who "bewailed the murder of Adonis" (321). Amphialus, headed for a similarly bloody

demise, is thus associated with the unfortunate youth who will never reach adulthood.⁴³

Likewise, accompanying Spenser's many Venuses and Venus figures are bachelor knights (such as Marinell or Timias) who resemble the young huntsman.⁴⁴ Just as the New Arcadia employs Venus as a link between mother and beloved, The Faerie Queene counterpoises its Adonises with potential brides who have affinities with Venus. The tale of Venus searching for a lost Cupid in III.vi presents a mother-son pair which not only parallels Cymoent and her son, but which simultaneously establishes maternal-sexual connections among Venus and Britomart and Florimell: in their searches for their future husbands, Florimell and Britomart join Venus in her role as Psyche.⁴⁵ Further, as the bane of the martial Marinell and Artegall or Salvage Knight, Britomart is a Venus armata who enchains or opposes the God of War, and, in her prophesied function as mother to the New Troy, she evokes Cybele or the Magna Mater, a role shared by

⁴³ For Adonis as a 'youth' or 'boy,' see Fraunce fol. 43v-44r; and Conti, Mythologies, 312-14. Erasmus explains the proverb "more fruitless than gardens of Adonis" by relating it to the lack of productivity inherent in "youthful" pleasures ("Adonidis horti (Gardens of Adonis)," Adages, 31.51-53); on this tradition, see Nohrberg 494.

⁴⁴ Just as it has been argued that many of Spenser's women are types of Venus, so has it been argued that some of his young knights are Adonis figures (Nohrberg 491-92, 587; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 140-41; N. Frye 165; Berger, "The Faerie Queene, Book III," 420; Goldberg, "Mothers," 12; K. Williams, "Venus and Diana," 218) (as some of these critics note, the role also of course implies revival, a movement which I shall discuss in Chapter Four).

⁴⁵ On some of these parallels and on Spenser's use of the Cupid-Psyche myth, see Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 138-52; Goldberg, "Mothers," 25; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 123-28.

Venus as well.⁴⁶ These peace-promoting roles imperil chivalric order. In addition, as in the New Arcadia, Spenser's association of the virgin with maternity and sexuality qualifies her virtues and represents her as potential threat to the knight who is her intended husband. When Florimell comes in her disordered state (III.vii.11) to the witch's cottage, she is implicated in the "deadly" (III.vii.7) Hag's contamination as mother and witch when she sits "downe upon the dusty ground" (III.vii.10) to join the equally dishevelled older woman in the dirt. In a sense their affiliation is realized by the episode's conclusion in the production of the False Florimell--a repository for chivalric perceptions of women both as deadly and as tokens of knightly exchange. By the end of Book IV, Marinell's attraction to Florimell coincides with his recognition of his mortality: he encounters Florimell because his "halfe mortall" (IV.xii.4) status prohibits him from accompanying his mother to the wedding feast of the Thames and Medway,⁴⁷ and his meeting with his future bride is framed by his two 'deaths' (III.iv.34, IV.xii.34). Just before Marinell forms his union with Florimell, Spenser, whether consciously or unconsciously, changes Cymoent's name to 'Cymodoce' (IV.xi.50, 53),⁴⁸ which means

⁴⁶ On Britomart as Venus armata, see K. Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, 91-92; The FQ, III.i.8.6n.; Nohrnberg 454. On the Venus armata tradition, see Nohrnberg 454-61; Wind 81-88. On the Cybele or Magna Mater figure and her iconography, see Roche, The Kindly Flame, 23-28, 181-82; P. Hawkins, "Spenser and The Magna Mater Cybele," and "Cybele." On Venus as Nature and Magna Mater, see Nohrnberg 648-50. On Britomart's parturition as her "participation in the Great Mother," see Goldberg, "Mothers," 8.

⁴⁷ Cf. the effect Shakespeare creates with the immortal Venus' departure to the heavens after Adonis' death (Venus and Adonis, 1189-94).

⁴⁸ It has been argued that this change signifies their changing relationship because Cymoent relents and allows Marinell his heterosexual relationship in the next canto (The FQ, IV.xi.53.7n.; Silberman, Transforming Desire, 140-41).

"wave-tamer" and thus signifies Cymodoce's control over Marinell, whose name suggests mare, the sea. This alteration represents Spenser's desire to emphasize the parallels between a return to the mother and a heterosexual union for the knight: each inhibits masculine autonomy, and each implicitly emphasizes masculine mortality.

Like Marinell in his encounter with Florimell, the Artegall who is betrothed to Britomart--an Artegall who yet asserts his chivalric role as Salvage Knight--also comes into contact with potentially contaminating maternity and sexuality. To the man who is not part of patriarchal order as depicted in the histories of The Faerie Queene, Britomart, the progenitor of the New Troy, is defined as destructive rather than creative. This negative maternal potential is reflected in the supreme female enemy of knighthood, Radigund. Spenser derives the Amazon's name from St. Radigund, who refused to consummate her marriage, inhibiting fertility, or from Rhodugune, "the daughter of kynge Darius, which kyled hir nurse for persuadyng hir to marie after hir fyrst husbandes death,"⁴⁹ and he describes the Amazon ruler as a non-nurturing mother who withholds food from her male captives (V.v.50), reproducing the witch's sterile gift to her son or the inability of Duessa's running breasts to provide real nurturance. In Book V, Britomart, the good mother who will partner the patriarch and found the New Troy, and Radigund, a bad mother who imprisons knights, fight to determine the imprisoned Artegall's fate. Here the two women mirror each other, and blood flows

⁴⁹ See Henry Bradshaw, The lyfe of saynt Radegunde (1525), A6v-r. For identification of these and other sources, see Walter 51; Allen; Hankins, Source and Meaning, 153; Nohrnberg 379, n.182. For a survey of these and additional etymological possibilities, see The FQ, V.iv.33.3n.

from them both "Like fruitles seede, of which untimely death should grow" (V.vii.31).

To the emasculated Artegall caught between errant knighthood and his patriarchal destiny as father to the New Troy, the sexual and maternal power of each woman is paradoxically life-giving yet mortally threatening.⁵⁰

III

Spenser and Sidney indicate assaults on masculine status not only by linking men's attraction to women to inevitable death, but also by physically enclosing men in feminine space. In The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia, a knight often finds himself a sole male presence overwhelmed by feminine surroundings which threaten to absorb him or do him physical harm. These surroundings may be classified into three categories: feminine landscapes, feminine edifices, and communities of actual women. In these spaces, knights become most acutely aware of intrusions on their autonomous existence: for example, the experiences of Marinell in Cymoent's cave, the experiences of Artegall in the Amazonian city of Radegone, or the experiences of Amphialus and Pyrocles in the fortress controlled by Cecropia. These enclosures may figure the entrapment of the

⁵⁰ As Suzuki observes in a discussion of masculine poetic language, "Spenser's poem depends on the female and monstrous Other in order to define itself as masculine and unified; hence as soon as one monster is destroyed, the poem must generate another, to take its place" (196). Likewise, as long as masculine unification in chivalric bonds is desired, this positing of feminine threats will remain true.

fetus in the pregnant body⁵¹ or the governance of the child in feminine domestic space, or they may portray the curtailment of chivalric independence by marital union. In either case, Spenser and Sidney forge connections between physical space and physical contact with the female body itself.⁵²

Spenser largely figures femininity through the natural landscape, most obviously in his various depictions of the feminine enclosed garden.⁵³ The Gardens of Adonis, for example, are both a physical space and the seedbed of Venus' body⁵⁴; in this

⁵¹ It was believed that during labour, the fetus was "seeking for the outward air, or finding itself cramped and seeking release, or being driven by the insufficiency of the food supply to seek an alternative" (Eccles 55).

⁵² The connection of physical setting and body has been observed in both the NA and The FQ. In Spenser's poem, Book II features "a beset physical body [in the castle of Alma or the exhaustion of Guyon, for example]; in the civic context of Book V, the defended body becomes various territorial and political integrities" (Nohrnberg 362). On the use of gendered spatial metaphors in the poem, see D. Miller, esp. 165-83. For a more general overview of the allegorical landscape of the poem, including its castles, caves, and waters, see Hankins, Source and Meaning, 55-98. Concerning Sidney's use of geography, Cantar briefly comments on the maternal landscapes of Arcadia: "its threatening caves and secluded bowers, its fortified castles and cups of love or poison" (7).

⁵³ The association of woman with garden derives from various sources: some of the more obvious include the Mother Earth myth (see n. 58), the walled and fertile beloved of the Song of Songs; and the concealed lady at the centre of the enclosed gardens in Guillaume de Lorris' Roman de la rose (The Romance of the Rose), a trope that influences Scudamour's incremental penetration of walled physical structures and gardens to reach the hermaphroditic Venus and his bride-to-be Amoret at their centre (IV.x). On contemporary traditions linking the garden to womb, mother, sexual union, and the female body, see Comito; for his discussion of the Roman de la Rose in its tradition, see 89-147. On biblical and classical influences on the garden, see Nohrnberg 527-28 and nn. 256-61. For a general examination of the gardens in The FQ and the NA in their traditions, see Leslie, "Spenser, Sidney, and the Renaissance Garden."

⁵⁴ These Gardens have been observed to be "an image for the suprapersonally maternal" (Goldberg, "Mothers," 5) and to figure the female genitalia or the womb (Nohrnberg 436, 526-27), while the "stately Mount" (III.vi.43) at their centre has been

landscape she encloses and conceals her consort Adonis, the source of the Gardens' generation, or the "Father of all formes" (III.vi.47) to Venus' physical matter. But the mortality inherent in the maternal body is also present in the Gardens as, inevitably, these "formes are variable and decay" (III.vi.38).⁵⁵ This side of the Gardens is magnified in the garden of the mortal mother Ate (IV.i.25-26) or in the Bower of Bliss where knights find themselves trapped in a "predominantly female space" of perilous sexuality (P. Parker 26).⁵⁶ By the late sixteenth century, the medieval garden--a remote hortus conclusus which imitated the unfallen world and which often featured the Virgin Mary at its centre--had been replaced. The Renaissance garden still had boundaries, but they were more expansive and flexible; it acknowledged the Fall but combatted its chaotic effects through careful husbandry; it tended to rely more upon the sexuality of the locus amoenus tradition; and at its centre were often classical, bare-breasted females such as Ceres, Proserpina, and Venus, who signified the cycle of life and death in the natural world (Comito 12-13, 23, 25-50, 149-87, esp. 164-66).

The feminine landscape appears not only in The Faerie Queene's enclosed

compared to the mons veneris (Ellrodt 88, n. 165; Fowler, Numbers of Time, 137). On the androgynous nature of the Gardens, see D. Miller 272-81.

⁵⁵ On Spenser's use (and revision) of various traditions (e. g., form and matter, locus amoenus, earthly paradise) in his depiction of the Gardens, and on how their reproductive cycle of life and death is enacted, see Nohrnberg 490-519, esp. 502-19; Bennett; Berger, "Spenser's Gardens of Adonis"; Evans 153-55; Neuse, "Adonis, gardens of"; Fowler, Numbers of Time, 136-47; Hankins, Source and Meaning, 74-76, 78, 234-86; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 117-28; and Silberman, "Singing Unsung Heroines," 268-71.

⁵⁶ On parallels between the Bower of Bliss and the Gardens of Adonis and between Adicia and Venus, see N. Frye 166; Nohrnberg 440-41, 491-95, 511-19; and Hankins, Source and Meaning, 134-35. On the sterility of the Bower, see Lewis 332; Nevo; Nohrnberg 494; Evans 76-77, 146.

gardens but also in its other secluded physical settings, as Spenser underscores the imprisonment of the male body throughout the poem. By placing the Gardens of Adonis between two other enveloping landscapes in Book III--Belpheobe's wood (III.v.39) and the witch's valley (III.vii.4)⁵⁷--Spenser reveals that the same forces which make husbands partners in patriarchal fertility are for the independent, errant knight portents of mortality and confinement. The Witch and her son live in an environment which resembles female genitalia--near "an hilles side" in "A little valley ... All covered with thick woods" (III.vii.4) (cf. Evans 153); the son thus seems to be entrapped in utero. Belpheobe's women bring the severely wounded Timias to similar "dwelling, in a pleasant glade, / With mountaines round about environed, / And mighty woods, which did the valley shade" (III.v.39). That even the staunchly virginal Belpheobe is linked to such an enclosure is telling. To the squire Timias, she appears as a potential partner (at least initially), and, in the cases of both Timias and the witch's son, masculine status is eradicated when men are physically cut off from their identification with other men. The witch's son is prevented from reaching autonomous existence as a knight while Timias' attraction to Belpheobe keeps him in her forest home, separating him from his masculine bond with Arthur and from the honourable feats which earn him fame: he ultimately becomes an anonymous and unrecognizable wild man. An additional version of the feminine landscape is provided by simultaneously womblike and tomblike caves (Nohnberg 529; Goldberg, "Mothers," 10-11). The cave of the witch brings forth the

⁵⁷ On the parallels among these landscapes and the pairs of Cymoent and Marinell, the Witch and her son, and Belpheobe and Timias, see Goldberg, "Mothers," 11-14.

hyena, and the cave of Cymoent is the site of Marinell's two deaths and recovery (cf. Goldberg, "Mothers," 11; Alpers 122, 380-87). Ate also lives in a cave, and Spenser relates how Merlin was imprisoned in an underwater cave by the stronger magic of the Lady of the Lake (III.iii.10-11). In all of these landscapes men come perilously close to or experience real or metaphoric deaths.

Such feminine landscapes draw on the myth of Mother Earth which resonates throughout The Faerie Queene, influencing, for example, Spenser's depictions of the Venus Genetrix of the Gardens of Adonis and the figure of Nature in the Mutabilitie Cantos. In this tradition the earth is a powerful natural force, but, like her counterpart the Great Mother Venus, she is represented as alternatively positive or negative.⁵⁸ In its positive sense, the earth is the archetypal womb, the fertile repository for masculine seed, and the source of all things. Spenser provides this version of the myth in the story of Chrysogone who is inseminated by the sun.⁵⁹ Yet, at the same time, dust goes to

⁵⁸ As Goldberg notices in his study of Book III, "All flows from, to, and through the mother" ("Mothers," 5) in her various manifestations. The variety of contexts in which references to the Earth as Great Mother appear demonstrate the centrality of the idea in the period. For the classical heritage which recognizes the earth as the first "Mother of all things," and for her various manifestations as Proserpina, Ceres, Cybele, and other goddesses, see Cartari M2v-N2v. The earth is also said to receive masculine seed in scientific tracts; Maclean's discussion of anatomical treatises shows that they generally created a "metaphorical association of woman with mother earth, nutrition, fruitfulness and the fluctuations of the moon" (44). For references to contemporary sources, see Lotspeich 55; and Nohrberg 519-68. On the relationship of the Mother Earth myth to the conventions governing Renaissance gardens, see Comito 40-41.

⁵⁹ Chrysogene appears in "Inscriptions XIII," Theocritus (164), and in Ovid, Fasti (IV.i), where she is related to Venus (Nohrberg 565, n. 358; Hankins, Source and Meaning, 278, n. 2). On Chrysogone as a Great Mother or fertility figure, see Nohrberg 564-65; Goldberg, "Mothers," 16-17; Alpers 391.

dust--as the poem constantly reminds us in its retellings of the Fall: most often, Spenser alludes to the Mother Earth myth to remind us of our mortality.⁶⁰

How the myth is perceived often depends on the system of order in which it is regarded and on the status of the male regarding it. Do these allusions emphasize the fertility and cyclical patrilineage necessary to a strong commonwealth, or do they portend death to the bachelor knight? Book V, in particular, is thematically unified by the myth of Mother Earth and the rebellion of her giant offspring, and the resonances of the myth are particularly strong in Britomart's epiphany in Isis Church.⁶¹ On the one hand, Britomart is positively linked to the Mother Earth figure Isis in a dream which portends her future pregnancy and motherhood of the New Troy.⁶² On the other hand, because Artegall is contemporaneously emasculated and enclosed in the feminine space of Radegone by Britomart's demonized double, the positive outcome of Britomart's pregnancy is subverted by the presence of a negative Mother Earth. Maternity produces mortality and disorder as the Mother Earth employs the blood of her dead children and produces from "her pregnant bosome ... The fell contagion" (V.vii.11) of rebellion (cf.

⁶⁰ E. g., he assigns Redcrosse the etymologically earthly name 'Georgos' before his battle with the Dragon (I.x.66): "George is sayd of geos / whiche is as moche to saye as erth & orge / that is tilyeng / soo george is to saye. as tylienge the erthe / that is his flesh" (Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea (1493), 112). Craig argues that Spenser uses the word 'gea' or earth to evoke pride and mortality (323). On the Mother Earth archetype as both creative and mortal, see Goldberg: "Her mystery announces their meeting, the identity of non-Being and All-Mother" ("Mothers," 6).

⁶¹ On the legend of Mother Earth and the rebellion of her giant offspring as a theme of Book V, see Aptekar 27-38. As well, the earth mother of the rebellious giants (Ovid, Metamorphoses, I.156-62), is the mother of the poem's villains Orgoglio, Maleger, Disdain, and Argante and Ollyphant (Evans 37, 172).

⁶² On Isis as a Great Mother figure, see Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 43.

the incestuous chaos produced by the Earth at III.vii.47-48). Moreover, by conflating the rebellion of the Giants with the gods' uprising against the Titans (Aptekar 27), Spenser stresses how the birth and growth to maturity of the heir is concomitant with the death of the father. Thus, despite Isis' positive creative role, Artegall's fulfilment of patriarchal duties intimates his eventual death.

Though to a lesser extent than Spenser, Sidney also connects the threat of maternal sexuality to the landscape. Cecropia's etymological ancestor Cecrops is known to be "a son of the soil,"⁶³ and, although Philoclea resembles a goddess, she is a more earthly "soul of this soil" (51) than the remote Urania. Philoclea and Gynecia are also introduced via the geographical arrangement of Kalander's property (with its statue of Venus in the garden). In addition, there is a maternal presence in the forest surrounding Basilius' lodge. Here Cecropia releases the savage lion and she-bear at the conclusion of Book I, and here, immediately thereafter in the opening of Book II, Gynecia and later Philoclea confess their passions, exposing their mortal affinities.

But it is largely through another form of feminine enclosure, the constructed edifice, that Sidney expresses the fatal fertility conveyed by the body of the princess. Philoclea is what patriarchy demands to ensure the legitimacy of its lines--the virtuous virgin--and this virtue is expressed by her characterization as a fortress "so environed

⁶³ Apollodorus III.xiv.1. Alciato also emphasizes this in his epigram, translated: "Cecrops ruled ... over learned Athens; / and thus did mother ... earth ... bring forth the giants" (Emblem 5).

with sweet rivers of clear virtue as could neither be battered nor undermined" (419).⁶⁴

However, the fortress is simultaneously the besieged domestic domain of Cecropia wherein she sequesters Philoclea's would-be husbands, Pyrocles and Amphialus. Here Pyrocles/Zelmae is emasculated and rendered ineffectual by being relieved of his sword: he is prevented from participating in the masculine activities of war and tournament which take place outside his prison, and he ultimately breaks down, "yielding in reason and manhood" (432). The prince's imprisonment recapitulates his earlier maternal and sexual containment by Cecropia's counterpart Andromana in a "prison indeed injurious, because a prison, but else well testifying affection" (250).⁶⁵ And Amphialus' return to his walled castle is, as I have suggested in Chapter Two, a regression to childhood and even to the womb. While the 'Cecrops' figure provides one possible origin for Cecropia's name, 'Cecropia' may intimate more than a feminine 'Cecrops.' Cecropia may mean 'in or within' the walled citadel of Cecrops, or Athens: this connotation not only connects the woman to the fortress, but also, as a Latin ablative, the very word Cecropia expresses containment.⁶⁶ Through these images of physical confinement,

⁶⁴ This image of the fortress so greatly impresses John Hoskins that he selects it from many other metaphors to describe the princess and discusses this extended "allegory" as one of the first rhetorical figures in his Directions for Speech and Style (9-10).

"Philoclea is expressed by the similitude of a castle, her nature (defense) by the natural fortification of a river about a castle, and the metaphor continues in the tempting her by force or craft, expressed by battering and undermining" (Hoskins 9).

⁶⁵ Cf. Venus' imprisonment of Adonis: "since I have hemm'd thee here / Within the circuit of this ivory pale, / I'll be a park, and thou shalt be my deer" (Shakespeare, Venus and Adonis, 229-31).

⁶⁶ Cecrops, or Athens, was known to be a fortress with an interior castle, all enclosed by a high and strong wall (Homer, Odyssey, VII.80-85; Thompson). In one of Alciato's emblems, the epigram begins, "Cecropia effictam quam cernis in arce Leana" ("Leana,

Sidney intimates that, once achieved, heterosexual contact results in a loss of masculine autonomy for the knights Pyrocles and Amphialus. In the background of the fortress metaphor is Sidney's probable authorship of (or at least participation in) the tournament entertainment The Four Foster Children of Desire (1581).⁶⁷ The narrative and physical action of the tournament transform Queen Elizabeth into a fortress: she is defended by her champions as the foster children attempt to penetrate her in a sexual assault.⁶⁸ Spenser's *Radegone*, the city of the Amazons, relies on similar connotations of the fortress. This walled city encloses a government of women: the fortress' name is confusingly similar to the name of the leading Amazon jailer herself. *Artegall* is thus robbed of knightly identity and autonomy both by his feminine dress and by physical

whom, as a lioness ..., you see portrayed on the Athenian ... citadel") (Emblem 13), and the motto reads, "Nec quaestioni quidem cedendum" ("One should not yield even when put to the torture"). The word *in* in the motto, which Daly *et al.* translate as "on," may also mean 'in, without, or into' (Lewis and Short); this is in fact how three of the four contemporary translations of Alciato represent the word (in French, Spanish, and Italian) (Daly *et al.*, Emblems in Translation, Emblem 13). The Latin emblem and its translations depict a lion enclosed within the citadel and/or a tongueless lion, and they praise the woman Leana for courageously withstanding the bodily pain of torture. The emblem thus may have influenced Sidney's description of Cecropia's torture of the princesses and, more generally, her confinement of them and Pyrocles within her walled castle. Cf. Apollodorus' reference to Cecropia to mean 'Attica,' or the principality of Athens (III.xiv.1).

⁶⁷ On Sidney's possible authorship and certain participation, see J. Wilson's commentary, 62-63; Sidney, Poems, 518-19; Fogel; and McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 58-64.

⁶⁸ Behind the fictions of this tournament lie Burgundian antecedents in which knights attempt to storm a Castle of Ladies, symbolizing the triumph of chastity over lust (Kipling 105). In sixteenth-century England, the woman as fortress or enclosure is a common trope. Cf. Shakespeare's description of Lucrece as a besieged fortress (The Rape of Lucrece, e. g., 27-28, 435-83); or Daniel's connection of Rosamond to the walled, labyrinthine palace which protects her--and to its enclosed garden (The Complaint of Rosamond, e. g., 470-83).

enclosure in the city, whose etymology suggests that Artegall is trapped within the female body.

These depictions of woman as fortress are informed by numerous classical sources and rites which demonstrate that urban form is related to the body, and that urban space is often allocated so that external space is more masculine and internal space is more feminine (Rykwert 105-37, 189). This division was then reinforced by urban rites and ceremonies. In the centre of the towns of antiquity were often shrines to Hestia and a mundus, which represented the femininity of the earth: consequently, the town's centre was considered feminine (Rykwert 105, 117, 121, 124-26), and "the whole town [was] often represented as a female being" (161). Conversely, the external parts of the city--roads, thresholds or gates, and boundary stones--were the provinces of Hermes, Zeus, Terminus, and Deus Fidus and therefore established masculine space (Rykwert 105-07, 126).⁶⁹ This gendering of space characterizes many of the cities of antiquity (Rykwert 163-87), and the reasoning behind the space division still operates in late Medieval and Renaissance ceremonies, buildings, and cities (Rykwert 88, 118, fig. 89, 195-202).⁷⁰ In a convergent Christian tradition, theological commentary provides a basis for the gendering of edifice or city as female, identifying women with the two cities of

⁶⁹ In Ovid's description of the plotting of Rome, the centre of the city was marked by a trench, or mundus, into which the "fruits of the earth" were thrown and buried; blessings were given to Jupiter and Vesta, the masculine and feminine guardians of outer and inner space; and the walls of the city were marked by a furrow ploughed by a white steer and a white cow (presumably with the male animal on the outside and the female on the inside of the boundary) (Fasti, IV.807-829).

⁷⁰ On the layout of towns and urban centres in the period, see P. Clark and Slack 26-27, 46-49, 60-61; Rörig, esp. 169-71; and Sjöberg 91-103.

Revelations or describing the hortus conclusus-like female beloved of the Song of Songs as the bride of Christ, the Church.⁷¹ It is on these conventions of space that Spenser and Sidney rely when they depict the boundaries of chivalric autonomy and how such boundaries are violated once men are enclosed against their will or once they penetrate the fortresses they desire to enter. Philoclea is transmuted into the fortress that represents Cecropia's power: the peril implicit in Artegall's love for Britomart is reflected in Radigund and then in Radegone.

Sometimes related to the feminine cities and landscapes in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia are communities of actual women (e. g., the Amazons of Radegone). Spenser and Sidney express assaults on chivalric masculinity by placing men in groups of women, and often by employing the image of women 'encircling' men. Amphialus receives the injury which brings him to his mother when he, like Actaeon, violates the feminine space in which women bathe; even the River Ladon becomes like "a wanton nymph" (188) while the cypress on her bank resembles a woman gazing at

⁷¹ In one of her roles, Una is of course the Protestant Church, and the Geneva glosses assign a feminine gender to the Church in the Song. Hankins shows that Spenser's portrayal of Una relies on three (related) traditions--Revelations' woman clothed with the sun and its bride of the Lamb and the Song of Songs' bride ("Spenser and the Revelation of St. John," 46-47). Hankins' study also provides numerous sources on the theological gendering of cities. For example, Richard of St. Victor, Commentary on Revelations, states: "These are two cities, one of the devil, the other of God.... These are two women.... For the total mass of the evildoers and the universal sum of the good are two cities and two women. They are cities because they are enriched by the numerous multitude of their citizens. They are women because, being coupled to their husbands, Babylon to the devil and Jerusalem to Christ, they are made fruitful of a multiple progeny," (Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (CXCVI 887 B); cited in and trans. by Hankins, 46). For a tradition which depicts Eve as the physical foundation or "building" of the Church, see Nohnberg 198.

herself in the water (188.35-37). Similarly, when the helpless Marinell regresses to his mother's cave, he ends up, like his bachelor counterparts Timias and Artegall, surrounded by and absorbed into a community of women.⁷² Just as Timias is "round about environed" (III.v.39) and "enclosed" (III.v.40) by Belpheobe's feminine landscape and community of nursing nymphs, Marinell is surrounded by a ring of femininity: "the Nymphes sit all about him round" (III.iv.44). These women are sometimes perilous because their very otherness manifests itself as potentially dangerous 'magical' powers (see nn. 24, 27). In Mopsa's tale, for example, the chivalric hero was brought up in a female community, and these water-nymphs had "so bewitched him that if he were ever asked his name he must presently vanish away" (214)--as indeed he does. Both black and white magic have the same source; they are imported from a realm of formlessness outside the normal system of order.

Such groups of women are also dangerous because they evoke the Maenads or Bacchae (Bacchantes), bands of independent women who signify unrestrained sexuality and disorder. The quintessential community of perilous women, the Maenads threaten

⁷² Spenser's description of Radigund in fact echoes his description of Belpheobe (cf. V.v.2-3 and II.iii.26-27), and Artegall and Timias have corresponding encounters with allegorical figures (Detraction, and the Blatant Beast (V.xii); and Defetto, Decetto, and Despetto (VI.v), respectively) who expose the fragility of earthly fame and the dangers which accompany chivalric pursuit of it. Nohrnberg's suggestion that Radegone evokes St. Radigunde's nunnery (379, n.182) provocatively equates the Amazon community with cloistered feminine enclosure and links the enforced, virtuous virginity of Belpheobe and her nymphs to the dangers created by the aggressive exclusivity of Radigund and her Amazons. Radegone may also have some connection to the monastic, enclosed garden of Saint Radigunde (Comito 173-76; Bradshaw C7v-C8r).

masculinity by tearing apart and scattering, or eating, masculine wholeness.⁷³ They and their laughter are present in the Amazons' torment of Spenser's Terpine, who suffers "in the midst of them" (V.iv.21, 22), and in the cannibalistic attack of the women on Sidney's Pamphilus "like so many eagles upon an ox" (236).⁷⁴ In Book III of Arcadia, a similar group of Maenadic women serving Cecropia persuade the princesses and Zelmane from their lodge and ask "the ladies to sit down and taste of the swelling grapes, which seemed great with child of Bacchus" (316). Their compliance results in their capture and imprisonment within the fortress of Cecropia.⁷⁵ In The Faerie Queene traditional associations of Amazons and Maenads with chaos link them to the Mother Earth figure who thematically dominates Book V, but, in the figure of Adicia, Spenser even more specifically relates the threat of masculine dismemberment embodied in the Maenads to that embodied in maternity.⁷⁶ In his description of the "mad bytch" (V.viii.49; cf. 46) Adicia, another "bold woman" (V.viii.47) faced by Artegall, she is

Like raging Ino, when with knife in hand
She threw her husbands mured infant out,
Or fell Medea, when on Colchicke strand

⁷³ On the Maenads or Bacchantes, see Cartari Y3r-v, Zv-Z2r; and Conti, Mythologies, 275, 277, 281, 287, 348.

⁷⁴ On the Maenads and feminine laughter in Spenser, see the summary of Quilligan's 1991 Spenser Society lecture in Spenser Newsletter 31.

⁷⁵ These women resemble those who attack Orpheus in a tale which relates female sexuality to a fearsomely savage power: after Venus incites lust in the women, Orpheus "was forcefully abducted by them and torn apart as they struggled over him" (Conti, Mythologies, 351). Conti explains that this story is sometimes conflated with the Maenads' attack on Orpheus (Ovid, Metamorphoses, XI.1-50) (Conti 348-51).

⁷⁶ On Adicia as a "political variant of the 'Terrible Mother,'" see Hardin, "Adicia, Souldan," 7.

Her brothers bones she scattered all about:
 Or as that madding mother, mongst the rout
 Of Bacchus Priests her owne deare flesh did teare.
 Yet neither Ino, nor Medea stout,
 Nor all the Maenades so furious were [as is Adicia].
 (V.viii.47)

In Ovid's story, the Maenads join the mother of Pentheus to tear him to pieces when he spies upon their rites to Bacchus (Metamorphoses, III.701-33; The FQ, V.viii.47.5-6n.).

The prominence of dismemberment in Book V of The Faerie Queene--which has been remarked on as an exceptionally violent part of the poem (K. Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, 158-59; Hough 195-98)--maintains a thematic focus on the physical body as the wholeness of individuals is torn apart. In their early adventures, Artegall and Talus encounter, advocate, or participate in the mutilation of three ladies (V.i.14; V.i.26-27; V.ii.26); later Talus pushes a giant from a cliff, and Artegall and Arthur leave Malengin to be the fodder of beasts and birds. In one sense, all of these episodes contrast the violence of Talus with the equity of Mercilla and Isis: both are necessary to Justice. At the same time, though, Nancy Vickers' work on Ovidian dismemberment of the female in the blazon is enlightening here: what is other intrudes on and threatens the wholeness or autonomy of the Actaeon-like male observer; consequently this intrusion creates in him a desire to scatter that otherness in order to dissipate its power. Recurring dismemberment of women in Book V may be regarded as an implicit response to the threat of similar scattering of masculine identity. In the background of the Book of Justice is the myth of the god Osiris, whose body is mutilated and its parts dispersed and lost (Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 8, 18, 39, 54). Many of the women of Book V are either Maenadic devourers and dismemberers of men (Radigund and her Amazons or

Adicia), or they are the objects of apparently reactive male responses to Maenadic threats: the dismembered females early in the book appear after Artegall has been made aware of his patriarchal destiny but before he forfeits his intensely chivalric independence and communion with Talus. Chivalric status is not easily sacrificed.

IV

Each type of feminine force--the sexual and mortal mother figure and the physical enclosure--thus violates boundaries of male independence and intimates an end to masculine existence. But why is it that feminine contact also has its benefits? The "double life" (372) of Sidney's Argalus and Parthenia is clearly praiseworthy as is the perfected synthesis of Spenser's hermaphrodite in the cancelled ending of The Faerie Queene, Book III, an image which, despite its disappearance, remains central to the entire poem. Why does Pyrocles' feminine disguise signify not only a "strange death" (121) but also his "greatest honour" (73)? The disguise is a means to union with Philoclea and finally to imitation of his father, the model ruler Euarchus. And how does Artegall recover from the "lives end" (IV.vi.17) resulting from his initial encounters with Britomart and from a "long death" (V.v.36) in women's clothing? Spenser compares Artegall's emergence from entrapment in Radegone to a springtime fertility ritual (V.vii.40), and afterwards Artegall goes on to accomplish many virtuous deeds of justice and to join with Britomart in producing the New Troy. Likewise, while Marinell faces "Sad death" (IV.xii.34) beneath the sea, he is ultimately reborn in a kind of cyclical fertility myth (N. Frye 166-67); he then wins glory in the tournament of V.iii and marries

Florimell.⁷⁷ Indeed, competing with Adonis' transformation into a flower was another version of the myth in which the youth was annually resurrected from the dead.⁷⁸ Thus, despite the threats to autonomous masculinity embodied by heterosexual union, Artegall, Marinell, and Pyrocles embrace such relationships and ultimately manage to be, in a sense, reborn: they emerge from their periods of death to earn new chivalric honours and also to assume new statuses. Conversely, Amphialus, who shares so many of these knights' attributes and opportunities, does not earn new honours or fulfil a new role by the end of the 1590 Arcadia; rather, he disgraces himself as lover and governor, and he shows little sign of being able to emerge from his death-like state.⁷⁹

It seems, then, that the same feminine powers which lead knights to 'death' in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia can equally restore them. That is, feminine spaces and the often magical powers of transformation associated with them are not intrinsically dangerous. Men who are not yet participants in patriarchal order see maternal-sexual women as threats: they violate knightly autonomy and thwart the

⁷⁷ Book V has been long been recognized as marking renewal (Anderson 448; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 152; K. Williams, Spenser's World of Glass, 187-88; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 193).

⁷⁸ Jove ordains that Adonis is to spend one part of the year with Venus, two parts with Persephone in the underworld, and one part as he chooses (he is said in some versions to donate his part to Venus) (Apollodorus III.xiv.4; Conti, Mythologies, 238, 312-14). In The FQ Florimell is in fact a Proserpina, a keeper of the young man in the underworld (Nohnberg 576; cf. Blissett 100-01). For a survey of versions of the myth known in the Renaissance, see Nohnberg 520-25.

⁷⁹ Greville does declare Sidney's intention to finish the work and to marry off Helen and Amphialus (10), and Helen's miracle-working physician will attend Amphialus (cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 265). However, there is little in what stands as the conclusion of the 1590 Arcadia to indicate how or why these events will occur; given the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia, we should not expect a happy ending.

acquisition of martial fame. However, to men who hold patriarchal status, such women contribute to patriarchal order within the household and, in turn, in the entire commonwealth. Likewise, while the bachelor knight regards feminine space as perilous and attempts to maintain separation between male and female social groups, the patriarch presides over households and societies that are necessarily made up of both sexes; the wife is an active participant, a helpmate, a vice-governor beneath her husband. How then does the transformation of male perception take place? Because marriage underpins many of the New Arcadia's and The Faerie Queene's epic and romance concerns--war and peace, civil order and stability, nationhood and empire--one of the key movements in these texts is the bachelor knight's transition to husband. But how exactly is that transition effected?

The movement from knighthood to husbandhood is largely signified by the metaphor of birth. Marinell's experience in his mother's cave exemplifies the ambivalence associated with all the feminine forces that I have described in this chapter: magic, maternity and sexuality and their paradoxical power to engender and destroy, and feminine space manifested both through enclosure and through female community. Marinell's deaths and rebirths take place outside of normal order beneath the sea: the cave is both tomblike and womblake; the cursing and "earthly med'cine" (III.iv.40)--specifically witchlike magic (see pp.147-48)--the nymphs employ both renews and kills him.⁸⁰ As this experience suggests, there are alternative ways of regarding the same

⁸⁰ Nohrnberg argues that the wounds of Marinell (and Timias) "are actually not so much cured as indulged, or fostered; this pious maternal care, reflecting ideas about the feeding and starving of sickness, preserves the Adonis-victims as pietà-like emblems of

mysterious event.⁸¹ Here the knight becomes betrothed to Florimell. And here the clash of martial and marital perceptions is as strong as anywhere in the two texts.

Birth--and its attendant periods of conception, pregnancy, and lying-in--were regarded as highly ambiguous. For one thing, high mortality rates of mother and child made the moment of birth an unpredictable locus of life and death.⁸² In addition,

love-stricken youth" (492). On the other hand, Goldberg sees Marinell's trip to the bower as "a return to the womb, to the maternal as creative source" ("Mothers," 10), and Berger contends that Marinell's "defeat by Britomart in effect sends him back to the womb for a second chance" by relating his return to the Gardens of Adonis, "where the emphasis is not on departure, but on the return to the ideal mythic place of origins" ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 416; cf. Roche, The Kindly Flame, 193). D. Miller perhaps most accurately perceives the positive and negative aspects deriving from a single maternal power: "procreativity is an orderly reproduction of divine ideas or it is a monstrous force" (221). In its simultaneous ability to convey life and death, the cave recalls the Gardens of Adonis. On the relationship of life and death in the maternal matrix and in the Gardens in particular, see Nohrnberg 515-25, 530-32, 558-61; and Goldberg: the mother "is womb and tomb" ("Mothers," 6).

⁸¹ As Silberman observes of even the good mother Agape, "Eros and fertility ... elude schematic representations of order" (Transforming Desire, 94). Agape provides a good test case. Like Cymoent, she is a magic-user, and her sons, like Cymoent's, are the products of sexual violence. However, her magical networking with the Fates ensures that her sons' inevitable deaths are played out in a manner that strengthens first their same-sex ties and then their union with Canacee (an approved pattern of masculine maturity).

⁸² Associations of childbirth with death derived from both infant and maternal mortality rates. It has been demonstrated that infant mortality in England was about 20 to 35% (Schofield and Wrigley; Schofield, "Infant Mortality," 52; Thomas 5-6). Schofield argues that there was only a six to seven percent chance that a woman would die in childbirth; this figure, he says, suggests that an individual would know of someone to whom it had happened but would not expect it for herself ("Did the Mothers Really Die?," 259-60). Nonetheless, however, even this level of awareness or perhaps fear of the illnesses accompanying pregnancy seems to have contributed to an environment of tension and fear. (For a description of complications associated with childbirth and pregnancy and a survey of other literature on this subject, see L. Pollock, "Experience of Pregnancy," 45-47.) For example, in the "Approbation" to The mothers legacie (1624), Elizabeth Joceline explains that the "course of her life was a perpetuall meditation of death" even though she was oppressed by no diseases "other than the common lot of

childbirth was associated with magic: the infant's caul was thought to have magical powers, and various charms and talismans were associated with conception and birth.⁸³

But these mysteries are even more mysterious, and consequently even more threatening, to men in particular because they were excluded from many of the processes involved.

Childbirth itself was the province of mothers, female relatives, and mid-wives.⁸⁴

Moreover, the spaces in which births occurred were structured to enclose and contain these women, by stopping up keyholes and shutting out light, for example. Men did not enter these areas during the birth. Afterward, they were admitted, but only in incremental stages: the amount of time the husband spent with his wife increased daily; male relatives and friends were gradually admitted according to the closeness of the

child-birth.... Accordingly when she first felt her selfe quicke with childe (as then travelling with death it selfe) she secretly tooke order for the buying of a new winding-sheet" (A4v-A5r). And Joceline was not alone in her anxieties. The work of L. Pollock ("Experience of Pregnancy," 47-49) and Crawford ("Construction and Experience of Maternity," 22-23) on women's journals and letters reveals many similar sentiments, and Mendelson has demonstrated that childbed was a place where groups of women exchanged harrowing tales and shared their fears (196-97).

⁸³ For example, Scot disparages "A charme to release a woman in travell" (244) commonly prescribed by a cunning person or healer. See Thomas 188-89; B. Rosen 8-9; Crawford, "Construction and Experience of Maternity," 22; and McLaren 55-56. See also n. 30. Cavallo and Cerutti examine the 'magical' power of the female womb and provocatively suggest that "its capacity to give life" meant it could also "confront and destroy that which was opposed to life and fertility. Women, then, had a direct relationship with the afterlife"; their reproductive power opposed any powers which derived from and supported patriarchal order (e. g., religion or science) (116-17).

⁸⁴ McLaren describes pregnancy and childbirth as "a woman's culture" with its own rituals and rules (54), and Crawford defines birth as a feminine space because female kinfolk, midwives, and neighbours congregated in the birthing room, and male physicians appeared there only in very difficult cases ("Construction and Experience of Maternity," 21). See also L. Pollock, "Experience of Pregnancy," 52; and Wiesner, "Early Modern Midwifery."

relation or acquaintance; and the new mother herself slowly emerged from her seclusion, day by day venturing into new areas of the house and grounds.⁸⁵ Perhaps because of these mysteries, pregnancy, childbirth, and the lying-in became an interval of aberrant feminine power in which the desires and needs of the wife governed the actions of her husband.⁸⁶ All of these deviations from normal order help to make these periods what Angus McLaren calls a "liminal" space of transition (50); more specifically, for the new mother birth in the early modern period might be regarded as a ritualized rite of passage (A. Wilson, esp. 84-85).

The liminal status of maternity helps to explain its potential to imperil or pollute.⁸⁷ But, as Mary Douglas observes, dirt or disorder may be dealt with through several possible strategies (38-40). These include defining the disorder as taboo and shunning it or separating from it, or, conversely, institutionalizing the anomaly through ritual and creating "a new pattern of reality" (Douglas 38) in which the disorder has a

⁸⁵ For details on rituals and customs accompanying preparation for birth, birth itself, and its consequent month-long lying-in, see A. Wilson, esp. 73, 75-77; and McLaren, 31-56, esp. 50-52 on the delivery and its rituals.

⁸⁶ N. Davis demonstrates that the lying-in constituted a period of role reversal ("Women on Top," 145) wherein the usual subjection of wife to husband was temporarily reversed so that the "new mother could boss her husband around with impunity." She also refers to "Italian birth-salvers (that is, trays used to bring women drinks during labour and the lying-in) dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ... decorated with classical and Biblical scenes showing women dominating men" (313, n. 37).

⁸⁷ Even if no identifiable wrong has been committed, ambiguous forces and spaces become associated with peril and pollution precisely because "their status is undefinable" (Douglas 95). That is, "the articulate, conscious points in the social structure are armed with articulate, conscious powers to protect the system; the inarticulate, unstructured areas emanate unconscious powers which provoke others to demand that ambiguity be reduced" (102).

function (4, 38-40). That is, using ritual incorporates disorder into order, and ritual can "harness" the dangerous power that dirt once held and can redirect it (Douglas 161). Douglas' explanation of how societies deal with anomaly suggests that assigning it a ritual purpose either redefines an aberration so that it supports (rather than disturbs) the standard system of order, or that provision of ritual purpose posits a larger order into which the aberration fits.

In early modern England, individuals and entire societies dealt with the frightening mysteries of pregnancy and birth by ritualizing the entire experience (McLaren 32). This ritualization comprised the customs followed before and during the birth (described above) as well as additional post-birth rituals designed to reincorporate the mother into normal social relations, or normal male-governed order.

Reincorporation began with restrictions about the birthing room being removed and ended in an official 'churching' of the woman in the eyes of all her society (A. Wilson 75-80, 86-88). In this ritual, the woman came to church accompanied by other women; at this point she was veiled and was still considered contaminated (it was thought that she might kill the grass if she stepped on it before the completion of the ritual). Inside the church, the new mother knelt before the priest, who read Psalms 121 and blessed her; in return, she made an offering. Only then might she remove her veil and "looke her husband and neighbours in the face againe."⁸⁸ Although it has been argued that these

⁸⁸ For a contemporary description of the ritual, see Barrow 462-63. On churching and its role in purifying the mother, see Barrow 463 ("If she be not defiled by childbirth, why doe they separte her?"); Thomas 38-39, 59-61; Crawford, "Construction and Experience of Maternity," 25; Emmison 159-61; and A. Wilson 78-79, 88-93. The customs relating to bed-linens that Wilson describes suggest a similar connotation of

and other rituals surrounding birth were female-controlled (N. Davis, "Women on Top," 145, 313; A. Wilson 84-93), this power is permitted by a male-governed household, church, or community, and it is confined by a male-controlled re-entry into normal society.⁹⁹ That is, for males and male-governed social order, these rituals also serve a purpose: they regulate the mysteries and dangers of pregnancy and childbirth, and they facilitate re-establishment of a safe normality. The ritual of churching concludes the ambiguous period not only for the mother but also for the child, who enters the community when it is baptized and when its name enters the church records (A. Wilson 79-80). In a sense both are purified from the mysterious contaminations accompanying birth. Hence, "danger is controlled by ritual" (Douglas 96). Through these means, mother, child, father, and community could return to their normal system of order--or to a new system of order which encompassed and rationalized the birth experience.

Both Douglas' paradigm and the practices surrounding early modern birth illuminate the ways that the males and male-governed orders of Spenser and Sidney deal with the mysteries and dangers of heterosexual contact and maternity. If knightly shunning or separation from these forces represents one way to deal with disorder, so too does ritual incorporation of it. While it signifies the end of youth and even

pollution surrounding the birth: a linen change occurred only after the mother's "up-sitting," three days to a fortnight after the birth (75).

⁹⁹ A. Wilson rejects Thomas' reading of the ritual because it does not explain the 'form' of the rites of childbed, particularly its collective female make-up and the fact that other women did not treat the new mother as impure (85). However, ritual may also have had a mediating function for men: customs surrounding birth may have contained its dangers within male-controlled boundaries.

mortality, procreation is necessary from a patriarchal standpoint, and the threats associated with it must be brought under control. Spenser's Epithalamion demonstrates how the trauma of transition from bachelorhood to husbandhood is mitigated through ritual. Here marital consummation coincides with a mysterious moment of "stil Silence" (353; cf. 320, 314). This ambiguous stillness suddenly opens the door to potential dangers such as "false treason" (323) or "dread disquiet" (324) and witches and "evill sprights" (341)--as well as to an even more indefinably ambiguous dread, "whispers breeding hidden feares" (336; cf. Britomart's and Artegall's "secret feare" (IV.vi.21, 29)). However, the "breeding" of fear is transformed as the bride's "chast wombe informe[d] with timely seed ... may [their] comfort breed" (386-87). The bridegroom displaces the recognition of mortality implicit in the consummation--awareness of their status as "earthly clods" (411)--and instead focuses on his contribution to an endless posterity of "blessed Saints" (423).⁹⁰ That is, he considers the larger spiritual and communal benefits beyond his individual fears. And to cleanse the "blemish or staine" (400) surrounding the bride and the moment of sexual union, the bridegroom relies on ritual: because he also occupies the position of 'master of ceremonies' (a role common to epithalamic convention but unusually assigned to the bridegroom by Spenser), the bridegroom may govern his experience with the familiar ceremonial refrain to each

⁹⁰ Cf. Evans' argument that reproduction provides an escape from the Fall in The FQ (30). Or cf. D. Miller's contention that feminine generative power is appropriated, assimilated, and controlled by patriarchy (28, passim). Miller states, for example, that the rejection of feminine fertility and monstrosity of the body natural depicted in Book II are 'recuperated' in Book III because they are necessary to empire and dynastic continuity (191, 213-14, 221).

stanza, and he may place the event within the "lawes of wedlock" (391) and "sacred rights" (393).⁹¹

By similarly ritual means, The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia recast feminine threats to knightly identity as feminine support of patriarchal identity and service to a greater system of social order. The final two chapters examine the processes by which these transformations are effected. First, Chapter Four illuminates the liminal period between chivalry and patriarchy by regarding it as a rite of passage wherein exclusively masculine, egotistic youth is transformed to the androgynous, socially responsible masculinity which I shall argue defines male maturity in both texts. Chapter Five then returns to examination of another ritual, the tournament, and explains how this ceremony expresses social recognition of masculine adulthood, and how it validates once threatening feminine forces and incorporates them into male-governed civil order.

⁹¹ Cf. Sidney's assertion that "marriage will destroy ... passions" (OA, 263.19-20; Third Eclogues, Poems, 67, 107.115-16).

Chapter Four

"And you sir Artegall, the salvage knight": Initiation into Patriarchy

Chapters One and Two have argued that it is anticipation of a status change, from knight to bridegroom, that unsettles chivalric masculinity. When the male confronts heterosexual union--whether in the form of the androgyne who embodies it, or in the form of his attraction to a potential bride--he finds himself between statuses and, in turn, between the male-controlled, ordering systems of chivalry and patriarchy. It is here that the values and norms of the two orders clash, making this state analogous to a Janus-head: the male's perceptions and responses alternate between being governed by the ethics and codes of his previous state and being governed by those of his anticipated state. This ambiguous condition is signified by ambivalence toward various signs. As Chapters One and Two suggest, the prospect of heterosexual union challenges the utility of attributes celebrated as appropriate qualities for the autonomous participant in chivalric order--qualities such as desire for glory and martial aggression. Patriarchal order--with its responsibilities and connections to individuals other than the self and to the stability of the commonwealth--defines these same characteristics as essentially narcissistic: proud selfishness, vainglory, and immoderate violence and vengeance. Chapter Three suggests that another source of such ambivalence is women themselves.

Venus offers life and death; witches use black and white magic. The same woman appears both as virtuous marriage partner and as dangerous aggressor. What is mortal to the knight is simultaneously part of the stable cycle of generation that creates and underpins patriarchal society.

The slipperiness of this threshold state between youth and adulthood is also expressed by self-division. Amphialus asks, "am I indeed Amphialus?" (409)¹; and the newly betrothed Artegall is labelled "Sir Artegall, the salvage knight" (IV.vi.31; see pp. 66-67): is he simultaneously both knights, or is he not quite either one?² Similarly, once he falls in love, Pyrocles is simultaneously adolescent and adult: he heeds Musidorus' cautions "no more attentively ... than the child that hath leave to play marks the last part of his lesson, or the diligent pilot in a dangerous tempest doth attend the unskilful words of a passenger" (49).³ Finally, the threshold state is indicated by literal or metaphoric death. But this period of death is itself a major locus of ambiguity because it may also generate life. If death represents the area between youth and adulthood, then what precisely does it take to achieve full masculine maturity, and why are some knights unsuccessful?

The 'betweenness' of Spenser's and Sidney's men may be illuminated by a paradigm provided by the anthropologist Victor Turner. In almost all societies rites of

¹ Cf. J. Robert's discussion of Sidney's understanding of self-division in the princes in the *OA* (*Architectonic Knowledge*, 26).

² Cf. D. Miller's observation that Adonis seems half-dead in the threshold state of the Gardens of Adonis (276).

³ Notably, the pilot was a metaphor for temperance. See, e. g., Tilley S.174; or Seneca, *Epistles*, LXXXV.33.

passage accompany changes of place, state, social position, and age. There are three phases in such rites--separation, transition or limen, and incorporation (van Gennep 11)-which Turner defines as a separation from 'structure,' a transitional period of 'anti-structure,' and a return to a 'counter-structure':

The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual ... from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a 'state'), or from both. During the intervening 'liminal' period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the 'passenger') are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. In the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation). the passage is consummated. The ritual subject ... is in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and 'structural' type; he is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of such positions. (94-95)⁴

A "passage from lower to higher status is through a limbo of statuslessness" (V. Turner 97; see also pp. 33-34), and this liminal state is often represented as a mysterious and dangerous phase that the passenger must survive before he can move on to his new position in the counter-structure. This state is also necessary to the passenger's ability to assume that new position: in it he is often purged of undesirable traits and is usually endowed with the powers and wisdom he will need to succeed in the counter-structure (V. Turner 103-05).

Most often this purgation is effected when the passenger receives "some recognition ... of a generalized social bond" which Turner calls "communitas" (96).

⁴ Rites of passage often contain other rites of passage within them (van Gennep 11), so we might therefore regard individual episodes of initiation--the separation from childhood order discussed in Chapter Two or the humiliations and tests I shall discuss in this chapter--as more intensely liminal stages in a larger process of transformation.

Communitas represents the sentiment for humanity and is an unstructured or less structured equality than that of the normal system of hierarchies, rules, laws, and codes of behaviour.⁵ Liminal passengers must accept warnings against violations of communitas, and they are often subjected to physical punishments. The point of this chastisement is to cause passengers to forsake their pride in rank or position and to warn them to act unselfishly and not to abuse their new privileges (V. Turner 103-05).⁶ When liminality occurs outside a system which is male-governed, liminal space is often feminine space, and in many cases women represent communitas itself or magical forces of transformation because they lack the rule-governed, social and political power of men

⁵ "It is as though there are here two major 'models' for human interrelatedness, juxtaposed and alternating. The first is of society as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of 'more' or 'less'. The second, which emerges recognizably in the liminal period, is of society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals" (V. Turner 96).

⁶ A passenger's "subsequent power is thought partially to spring from this profound immersion in humility" (V. Turner 105), and this humility should be carried over to temper the passenger's pride when he achieves his new position (97). "This is not simply ... giving a general stamp of legitimacy to a society's structural positions. It is rather a matter of giving recognition to an essential and generic human bond, without which there could be no society" (V. Turner 97). The most relevant of Turner's examples of communitas to my discussion of the early modern period is perhaps that of the medieval knight, who, on the night before receiving the accolade, must hold a vigil during which he has to fast and "has to pledge himself to serve the weak and the distressed and to meditate on his own unworthiness" (105). On the institutionalization of liminality and communitas in organized religions including Christianity, see V. Turner 107; and for transformation through chastisement and humility as it is more specifically interpreted from a Christian perspective relevant to the early modern period, see, for example, Augustine: "Because man fell through pride, [God] applied humility as a cure.... Christ used His mortality well to restore us" (Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, I.xiv.13). On forms of ritual debasement in the period, see Bahktin 21, 197-208.

and are instead credited with possessing moral and spiritual powers such as peace and selflessness (V. Turner 116-17, 124-25).⁷ Moreover, by wielding what Turner calls 'powers of the weak'--"permanently or transiently sacred attributes of low status or position" (109-11)--women might ensure that the passenger recognizes those lower than himself.

The periods of death and loss of status employed by Sidney and Spenser constitute universal metaphors for the liminal states that Turner describes (V. Turner 95-96). Using Turner's model, I shall argue that these periods of ambiguity, though unsettling and dangerous, are necessary to the achievement of full masculine maturity. The death of one version of masculinity is necessary to the birth of another, and Marinell, Artegall, and Pyrocles are undergoing the changes of place, state, social position, and age that accompany heterosexual union. Specifically, I will first examine how awareness of the other and chastisement for selfishness immerse previously proud knights in humility, tempering chivalric impulses to suit patriarchal status. I will then show how a similar initiation into humility and moderation is constituted by transvestism.

During liminal experiences between chivalry and patriarchy, feminine peril is dissipated as once mysterious feminine forces and the feminine spaces they inhabit become the very means by which knights and youthful, chivalric masculinity are re-created as husbands and mature, patriarchal masculinity. Although Urania or Belphebe remain forever remote, the potential sexual partners and wives Philoclea and Britomart,

⁷ Liminality is associated with magic, religion, or the sacred; its ambiguous powers are "invoked and channelled by the representatives of the community" (V. Turner 106).

once regarded as enigmatic goddesses, do not. Through this contact with and participation in the anomalous, the unknown becomes known and its dangers are mitigated, and once dangerous feminine powers are now employed to rejuvenate and reform. In fact, as the knight confronts and then accepts the femininity necessary to his role as husband, the new powers he gains are specifically feminine. Ultimately, the exclusive masculinity prescribed for male youth is counterbalanced by the androgynous masculinity of male adulthood--a condition necessary to fulfilment of civil responsibilities and to establishment of public order.

II

In Chapter Two I proposed that Marinell's and Amphialus' ineffectual withdrawals from chivalric activity and regressions to their mothers might be thought of as an inverted rite of passage (p. 123). Turner's model reinforces this reading because it allows us to view the limbo of statusless and powerlessness that each knight undergoes as a liminal state. Each knight is caught "betwixt and between" (V. Turner 95) systems of standard order--between ordered chivalry and ordered patriarchy. Normal order is inverted when Amphialus and Marinell enter what Barbara Babcock would call the "reversible world"--the world-upside-down. Amphialus enters into a chaotic rebellion against the rightful ruler Basilius; similarly, Marinell's trip to his mother's undersea bower brings him through a mirror to a mythological otherworld--even in The Faerie Queene, an atypical setting. Moreover, both knights enter a domain which is not male- but female-governed.

During this liminal period, Marinell's meeting with Florimell initiates him into

mature adulthood. In the erasure of identity characteristic of passage rites, Marinell "los[es] him selfe" (IV.xii.17)--the formerly narcissistic self--and consequently has a new identity inscribed upon him. The compassion Florimell inspires causes the formerly selfish Marinell (IV.xii.9) to recognize the needs of others before his own; this instruction then becomes a more severe chastisement at the hands of "Dame Venus sonne" (IV.xii.13).⁸

All which complaint when Marinell had heard.
 And understood the cause of all her care
 To come of him, for using her so hard,
 His stubborne heart, that never felt misfare
 Was toucht with soft remorse and pittie rare.

.....

Thus whilst his stony heart with tender ruth
 Was toucht, and mighty courage mollifide,
 Dame Venus sonne that tameth stubborne youth
 With iron bit, and maketh him abide,
 Till like a victor on his backe he ride,
 Into his mouth his maystring bridle threw,
 That made him stoupe, till he did him bestride:
 Then gan he make him tread his steps anew,
 And learne to love, by learning lovers paines to rew.
 (IV.xii.12-13)

The compassion Marinell "learne[s]" is a necessary attribute of his future role as husband, a role forecast by the undersea wedding of the Thames and the Medway which is being celebrated even as Marinell as being chastised. In their wedding ceremony, the "proud Nymph" Medway must likewise relinquish her pride before she can wed

⁸ The importance to heterosexual union of Marinell's chastisement by Britomart (III.iv), Florimell, and Cupid has been observed (e. g., Alpers 381) though not because of their ritual implications or their relevance to masculinity.

(IV.xi.8).⁹

When he affiliates Marinell with the bride Medway as well as with the groom, Spenser implies not only that Marinell must experience the humility which is a prerequisite to marriage, but also that he must relax the boundaries that ensure chivalric autonomy. Feminine affiliation becomes an inseparable part of patriarchal identity. Spenser further emphasizes Marinell's acceptance of a previously threatening femininity when, after his chastisement, Marinell maternally searches for Florimell "Like as an Hynde whose calfe is falne unawares / Into some pit" (IV.xii.17). Marinell has thus exchanged his independently masculine, martial status for a masculinity which incorporates awareness of a female other and feminine qualities themselves--an androgynous state which, like that of Britomart, signifies the very union of marriage. On the other hand, while Philoclea criticizes Amphialus for his self-centredness in the New Arcadia--"you entitle yourself my slave--but I am sure I am yours" (322)--he is unable to feel the empathy that Marinell does as a result of his scolding. Unable to satisfy her wishes before his own (323.5-14), Amphialus will not grant Philoclea's pleas for release; instead of acting as a bridegroom, he turns to chivalric strategies to fulfil his desires. Liminality's precarious vulnerability not only encourages progression but also allows for

⁹ Cf. 'Elizabeth's' chastisement of her proud potential bridegroom in Amoretti LVIII, and his subsequent reinterpretation of her 'proud' behaviour as constancy (LVIX), as well as the humility of the bride in Epithalamion (159-64, 210-14, 234-35). For a discussion of the significances of pride and humility in these poems, see Warkentin, "Amoretti, Epithalamion." The shared humility of both partners is necessary to their union (Amoretti LXV), and submissiveness is not gender-specific. However, achieving it may be more alien or difficult for the bachelor knight than for the virgin-soon-to-be-wife: his status has consistently depended on a 'good' pride, or 'Prayse-desire,' but she should display the feminine qualities of 'chastity, silence, and obedience' in either of her roles.

regression, and Amphialus ends the New Arcadia in a deathly state.

Conversely, although Marinell sickens and 'dies,' his union with the freed Florimell ensures that "Sad death, revive[s] with her sweet inspection" (IV.xii.34) in a cyclical fertility myth. As a cup might be thought of as half empty or half full, Marinell is not only "halfe mortall" (IV.xii.4) but also, by implication, half immortal. Opposing the imagery of sterility and death which describes the chivalric Marinell's strand and his relations with women is the imagery of fertility and generation which describes the betrothed Marinell's union with Florimell. Images such as "fruitfull seede," the "Seas posterity," and "So fertile be the flouds in generation" (IV.xii.1) recast their relationship from the patriarchal point of view. These images recall both the Gardens of Adonis and the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, emblematic episodes which likewise allow the male to view the inevitable mortality of sexual union as part of a larger cycle.¹⁰ Although death exists in the Gardens, they are self-perpetuating as well: the Boar is controlled and contained by Venus' productivity (III.vi.48; cf. Silberman, "Singing Unsung Heroines," 271). The Gardens are therefore both an acceptance of and an antidote to maternal contamination and masculine mortality.¹¹ Despite the conclusion of Ovid's myth (Metamorphoses, X.728-39), Spenser's Adonis is not among the men who have been transformed to flowers in death (III.vi.45); rather, he is the "Father of all

¹⁰ In the union of Florimell and Marinell and in "these two vast pageants we see that power behind nature on land and sea, that creative power of love which sustains and restores all life" (Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 168).

¹¹ On the relationship of Britomart's role in generating an everlasting New Troy to the Gardens of Adonis and the union of Venus and Adonis, see Baybak, Delaney, and Hieatt, 390-91.

formes" (III.vi.47) in an endless cycle which balances death with regeneration (p. 164, n. 55), and notably, the Gardens do not bear Venus' name but Adonis'. In Book III, Marinell's story frames a group of episodes, which share similarities with it (pp. 165-66): Belpheobe's care of Timias in her wood; the search for Cupid and the Gardens of Adonis; and the Witch and her son. The Gardens thus lie between two entirely feminine landscapes--one inhabited by the virtuous virginity of Belpheobe and one inhabited by the evil sexuality of the witch, both sterile in their own ways. Only the Gardens permit and, indeed, require masculine power: only the Gardens are perpetual. Eternal regeneration is similarly emphasized in the episode which precedes the Marinell-Florimell union in Book IV, the marriage of the Thames and the Medway. Only immortals may attend the wedding feast, and the pageant itself creates an endless cycle in which the rivers flow into one another continuously (IV.xi). Thus the inevitably inherent mortality of the male body can be combatted in only one way--through assumption of the bridegroom's status and consequent production of progeny. When Marinell next appears in Book V, it is in his new role as bridegroom, a role which for the Elizabethans signified full masculine maturity. Equipped with what he has gained--humility, acceptance of both internal and external femininity, and a defense against mortality--Marinell returns to 'normal' hierarchies and rules, in The Faerie Queene the masculine forum and male-governed microcosm of tournament.

Also appearing as victorious bridegroom-knight at this marriage celebration tournament is Sir Artegall. But before he arrives there, he, too, undergoes a "lives end" (IV.vi.17) and loss of power and identity. Just as Marinell's wounding by Britomart and

recovery with the help of Florimell separate him from martial status and fashion him into a husband. Artegall's first two encounters with Britomart are not merely the feminine threats to chivalric status and order described in Chapter One. They also represent a ritual prelude to a more mature stage of manhood, transforming the Salvage Knight to the father of the New Troy. These encounters ensure Artegall's worthiness to assume that new role as Britomart's criticism of youthful or knightly institutions, codes, and qualities questions their utility to patriarchy.

Specifically, in Satyrane's Tournament, Britomart robs Artegall of his identifying role as best knight, and the combatants and "pryde" (IV.iv.44) that she attacks connote chivalric vainglory, prowess, and self-focus (OED) as well as youthfully unruly and bestial passions (IV.iv.47). But in the tiltyard, Artegall initially responds by intensifying chivalric traits in defense of his status (IV.v.9). A full purgation of the Salvage Knight's 'salvage-ness' can occur only outside the male-governed system of chivalric order which is affirmed by tournament. In Artegall's second meeting with Britomart (outside the tiltyard), his chivalric traits are displaced by new values inspired by the heterosexual bond that Britomart and Artegall will eventually form. The teams of Maidenhead and Friendship are merely better dressed and more adept at following the rules than the Salvage Knight: the ambivalent bestial imagery which describes knights within the tournament of IV.iv, for instance, becomes a more evidently negative savagery when Britomart battles Artegall outside the tiltyard in IV.vi.¹² When Britomart defeats

¹² "His guise as the Salvage Knight stresses the failure of all participants to make the tournament a civilized event" (Hamilton *et al.*, "Tournaments," 696). On bestial imagery and etymologies, see IV.iv.29, 32, 35, 41; Dunseath 33-36; and The FQ, IV.iv.18.3-5n.

the Salvage Knight in IV.vi, she is in effect unseating extreme versions of the central values of bachelor tournament culture--proud aggression and vengeful competitiveness. For this to be accomplished, Artegall must be stripped of the accoutrements of his current status, his horse (IV.vi.11) and his armour (IV.vi.15). He must lose the power he normally holds so that he may experience empathy and humility (IV.vi.21), falling "humbly downe upon his knee" and asking for pardon for having "done outrage in so high degree" (IV.vi.22).¹³ The anomalousness Artegall encounters when Britomart is unvizarded thus heralds his entrance into liminal space. Accompanying Britomart in her feminine control of Artegall's liminal experience is her nurse. In a metaphor that recalls Britomart's physical unhorsing of Scudamour and Artegall, Glauce

... his ranging fancie did refraine.
And looser thoughts to lawfull bounds withdraw:
Whereby the passion grew more fierce and faine.
Like to a stubborne steede whom strong hand would restraine.
(IV.vi.33)

Her words not only evoke the traditional association of the horse with the passions, but they also imply that Britomart and Glauce subdue chivalry (with its links to cheval) itself.¹⁴ Glauce then more directly instructs Artegall on the behaviour befitting his

¹³ That mutual submission and sacrifice of pride is necessary to the union of Artegall and Britomart has long been observed (e. g., Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 185).

¹⁴ The horse's role as a chivalric status symbol is perhaps best observed in Braggadocchio's theft of Guyon's horse: in Books II-V, the horse contributes to the braggart's pose as a true knight; it is rightly returned to Guyon in the chivalric forum of tournament (V.iii). Cf. Leslie, who sees Guyon's horse more as a symbol of knighthood than of the passions (Fierce Warres, 164-67); and Hamilton, who comments on the links of horses to knighthood in Malory (Structure of Allegory, 129). On the tempering of concupiscent and irascible passions in the battle, see Nohnberg 458-59.

future position as she advises him not to "be rebellious unto love" (IV.vi.31). Ultimately, Artegall is "conquered ... anew" (IV.vi.31). That is, like Marinell, he must experience "Shame and dishonour" (IV.vi.5) to be renewed and to advance to marriage.

Thus the man hitherto known only as the Salvage Knight may assume his true identity as Artegall, husband to Britomart and father of the New Troy. Although Artegall had earlier refused to reveal his name to other tournament contestants, Scudamour and Glauce suddenly know it at IV.vi.28 and IV.vi.31, respectively.¹⁵ However, while Scudamour reads Artegall's new status as 'thralldom' (IV.vi.28), Glauce immediately redefines his chivalric interpretation from a patriarchal perspective, cautioning that Artegall "Henceforth may not disdaine, that womans hand / Hath conquered" him because the office of bridegroom "is the crowne of knighthood" (IV.vi.31), representing a superior and more mature status beyond it. Holding this new status, Artegall joins Marinell at the marriage tournament (V.iii) where each has his new brand of knighthood ceremonially validated.

III

Even after this tournament, however, Artegall remains subject to losses of status. Most notable is perhaps his emasculation in Radegone, an unsettling experience of crossdressing which Pyrocles likewise undergoes in the New Arcadia. In fact, though varied, the losses of chivalric status experienced by Amphialus, Marinell, Pyrocles, and

¹⁵ In another example of this Spenserian phenomenon, the dwarf of Book I disappears and reappears at allegorically appropriate moments at the House of Pride (I.iv).

Artegall share a similar catalyst: the androgynous figure. In each case, the knight avoids or ignores women until he experiences an initial sexual attraction which is connected to his encounter with a dual-sexed or dual-gendered figure--Britomart and Radigund, Zelmane crossdressed as Daiphantus, or Pyrocles crossdressed as Zelmane. Then, during their 'deaths,' three of these knights discover their own androgynous natures. The androgyne in each of these patterns is crucial because she/he is ambiguous or marginal. In part this is so because she/he represents disorder or inversion--a challenge to normal, male-governed order--but it is also so because she/he simply does not fit normal categories of organization. As Marjorie Garber argues, "transvestism is a space of possibility structuring and confounding culture: the disruptive element that intervenes, not just a category crisis of male and female, but the crisis of category itself" (17). Consequently, "The transvestite is both a signifier and that which signifies the undecidability of signification. It points toward itself--or, rather, toward the place where it is not" (Garber 37).¹⁶ In the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, the androgyne and the androgynous moment belong to neither chivalry nor patriarchy. Like wielders of

¹⁶ For transvestism's existence outside boundaries and how it represents the absence of stability, see Garber, esp. 9-40. In the romance tradition, the binarism of categories was often obliterated in a "convergence of genders" created by crossdressed disguise (Schleiner, "Transvestism in Renaissance Romances," 615ff.). In the early modern period in particular, the transvestite was associated with inversion, misrule, or carnival (N. Davis, "Women on Top"; and Lucas 65). "[G]arments are set downe for signes distinctive betwene sexe & sexe, to take unto us those garments that are manifest signes of another sexe, is to falsifie, ... contrarie to the expresse rule of the worde of God," writes Stephen Gosson in Playes Confuted (175), and Elizabethan sumptuary legislation testifies to the importance of sartorial signs as markers in a strict hierarchical order and to the consequent seriousness of aberrations in dress (Garber 25-32, 36; Howard, esp. 420-25).

anomalous feminine magic, the androgyne thus signifies the male's entrance into liminal space--his transitional state between statuses and systems of order in a realm of formlessness and mystery.

Because of the contemporary ambivalence surrounding such figures, the androgyne appropriately represents the intersection of chivalric and patriarchal values. The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene were composed during an era of conflicting views of dual-sex and dual-gendered figures such as Amazons, warrior women, hermaphrodites, transvestites, and androgynes.¹⁷ Amazons held predominantly admirable significances throughout the Middle Ages until the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; these figures promoted peace and were creatures of service. However, by 1600, Amazons were also associated with disorder and lust.¹⁸ In part this shift in perception is related to contemporary fears that cross-dressing was emasculating

¹⁷ Technically, transvestites assume the costume of the opposite sex; hermaphrodites exhibit physical or biological features of both sexes; and androgynes represent a metaphoric rather than physical union of male-female or masculine-feminine. For an elaboration of these distinctions, see Kimbrough, Art of Humankindness, 15-27. As Kimbrough reminds us, though, the terms 'androgyne' and 'androgyny' were not common in the period (6); instead, 'hermaphrodite' tended to be used not only to refer to physical traits but also to indicate what we mean by androgyny today: fusion of non-physical characteristics. Silberman suggests, though, that two kinds of hermaphrodites might be distinguished in the literature of the period, one deriving from Platonic tradition and the other deriving from Ovidian tradition ("Mythographic Transformations of Ovid's Hermaphrodite," 643-44, 651-52). For another overview of these traditions in the period, see Nohrnberg 600-03.

¹⁸ For a history of Amazons in Elizabethan literature and pageantry, see Wright, and Shepherd 13-17.

and threatening to social order¹⁹: the crossdressed male was disparaged for his effeminacy and for rejecting his prescribed social role as governor while the crossdressed woman was feared as a threat to patriarchal authority.²⁰ In addition, the Elizabethan reader knew that bathing in a forbidden fountain had emasculated Hermaphroditus (Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV.285-388), and hermaphrodites were often viewed as

¹⁹ Haec-vir (1620) argues that cross-dressed men violated God's law (2C4), and in the Anatomic of abuses (1583), Philip Stubbes asserts that hermaphrodites were monsters and rails against crossdressing's violations of natural order (F5r-v). Cf. John Rainolds, Overthrow of stage-playes (1599) 10-11, 34-35. It should be noted that connotations of the 'effeminization' deplored by these writers differ from our own. See Rainolds' definition: "a womans garment beeing put on a man doeth vehemently touch and move him with the remembrance & imagination of a woman; and the imagination of a thing desirable doth stirr up the desire" (97; cf. Garber's explication (29)). This is the danger that Musidorus perceives in Pyrocles' disguise: that the mental focus on Philoclea accompanying the disguise will render his friend ineffective and inactive and will cause passion to overcome reason (see pp. 74-76).

²⁰ The bulk of scholarship which demonstrates why and how the transvestite unsettles male-governed order focuses on the theatre. For studies which examine transvestism in drama with extensive reference to cultural context and attitudes toward violations of sex roles, see Levine, "Men," and Men, esp. 1-25; Rackin, "Androgyny"; Garber 25-40; Woodbridge 139-51; and Howard. These studies focus on the crossdressing of males, noticing the emasculating qualities of women's clothing and/or exploring the dynamics created by audience or textual awareness that female characters are played by crossdressed boy actors (other relevant studies include Dusi 231-71; Parry; and Greenblatt, "Fiction," 92-93). Scholarship on drama also investigates the crossdressing of female characters, especially those of Shakespeare: female transvestism may be liberating and educative and often resolves social discord; at the same time, it often emasculates or challenges men and patriarchal order (though these threats are usually contained or dispelled by the end of the play) (Park, esp. 108-10; Hales; Kimbrough, "Androgyny Seen Through Shakespeare's Disguise," and Art of Humankindness, 101-20; Mary Beth Rose, "Women in Men's Clothing"; Dreher; Marcus; Greenblatt, "Fiction," 90-92; and Woodbridge 152-83). The crossdressing of women in actual practice and in nondramatic literature has also received attention; these disguises have been observed to function much like those assumed by women in drama. For female crossdressing outside of (though not necessarily excluding) drama, see Lucas; Silberman, "Metamorphosis of Spenserian Allegory," 216-18, 220-21; Robinson; Shepherd; and Sandra Clark.

monstrous perversions of nature. However, Silberman points out that Ovid's hermaphrodite was also used to illustrate civic harmony.²¹ Platonic and biblical traditions also presented dual-sex and dual-gender figures more positively as creatures of transcendent unity. In Plato's Symposium Aristophanes relates how in the beginning there were three sexes--man, woman, and a third sex which had the features of the other two; because this third sex was split, we seek to reunite with our other selves in 'love.' But Renaissance neoplatonists ignore the fable's satiric tone and interpret the androgyne as a positive synthesis of eros and agape (Cirillo; Freccero 148; Schwartz 122-23). The Bible likewise positively describes androgyny as an image of "all in one."²²

The New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene rely on all of these associations to create tension between chivalry and patriarchy. On one hand, the androgyne signifies patriarchy's desired marriage, the positive union of the New Arcadia's Argalus and Parthenia, or the 1590 Faerie Queene's hermaphroditic embrace (III.xii.46). On the other hand, the mingling of masculine and feminine in one body represents a feminine intrusion on knightly masculinity. Adoption of masculine dress signifies that Sidney's Parthenia and Zelmane (the daughter of Plexirtus) and Spenser's Britomart are figures of virtue and service; conversely, similarly masculine behaviour exhibited by Sidney's

²¹ In Vitruvius' De architectura and Boccaccio's Decameron (Silberman, "Mythographic Transformations of Ovid's Hermaphrodite," 643, 650).

²² E. g., Gen. 1:27; Rom. 12:4-5; I Cor. 12:27; or Gal. 3:28. For other positive resonances of the androgyne in the period, see Wind 164-65; Whittier 185-88; Kimbrough, Art of Humankindness, 6, *passim*. On the androgyne as an archetype of pre-chaotic absoluteness and completeness that existed before the beginning of time with its consequent disorder, see Eliade, Mephistopheles and the Androgyne, 104-08, 116; Heilbrun ix-xix, 4-45.

Andromana and Spenser's Radigund associates them with lustful and chaotic Amazons. Britomart and Zelmane (Pyrocles' crossdressed identity) are admirable figures, yet they seriously wound Artégall, Marinell, and Amphialus. And the Zelmane disguise itself is described by Pyrocles as honourable but by Musidorus as emasculating.

For the knight, transvestism threatens; for the husband, it transforms.²³ Because it exists outside normal systems of order and because it may represent a transcendent androgyny, transvestism may signify the liminal stage of a rite of passage. The transvestism of Artégall and Pyrocles is equivalent to 'death,' but, during this death, each knight is chastised for his faults and ritually humiliated so that he may be reborn a worthy bridegroom. In each case the knight enters a space which subverts normal order, whether it be chivalric or patriarchal. Artégall ends up a prisoner in a society which inverts gender hierarchies; Pyrocles visits Arcadian royalty in a pastoral retreat outside their court where they live as shepherds and where the highest authority, the Duke

²³ As the critical summary in n. 20 suggests, there is relatively little work on the crossdressing of adult males, on non-dramatic literature, and on pre-Shakespearean times and texts--perhaps because there seems to be none of the added complexity provided by theatre's layers of disguise or by the eventual assimilations of the crossdressed heroine into patriarchal order. Though useful, the work mentioned in n. 20 is also limited: women's elevation of status through crossdressing is not equivalent to men's lowering of status, and, as Garber points out, the stage is a space in which everyone is known to be an impersonator (40), a qualification which does not always apply to nondramatic literature or to actual practice of male crossdressing. Most useful to my examination of transvestism in the NA and The FQ are N. Davis, "Women on Top"; and Schleiner, "Transvestism in Renaissance Romances." Davis concentrates on transvestism in both dramatic and nondramatic literature and in ordinary or ritual practice; she also uses V. Turner's model to interpret these inversions. Schleiner surveys episodes from several romances of the period, including the Arcadia (and also speculates on why crossdressing in Renaissance romance has been neglected (606)). See also nn. 31, 33, 54.

Basilius, is influenced by the counsel of the lowly shepherd Dametas. In each case the knight loses power and status when he temporarily assumes lower rank as a woman. As Zelmane, Pyrocles forsakes all that provides him with his identity: he no longer has his name, his princely rank, or his sexuality; and he places all his property with a friend. Artegall is likewise stripped of his identity, or "disarmed quight, / Of all the ornaments of knightly name"; he is then "dight / In womans weedes, that is to manhood shame" (V.v.20).²⁴ As a lowering of status and a loss of identity, Musidorus' shepherdish disguise similarly functions to prepare the prince for his anticipated position as Pamela's husband and as ruler himself.²⁵ But, although the liminal experiences of the elder prince include the requisite lessons in selfless love and service (delivered by Pamela), his disguised state lacks one aspect of preparation for patriarchy that is present in the liminal transvestism of Pyrocles and Artegall.

For a process of maturation, transvestism is an appropriate metaphor. It not only suggests the marginality of the transitional state, but it also allows each sex to obtain something of the other's power, as it did, for example, in crossdressed marriage customs in ancient Greece (N. Davis, "Women on Top." 130; Delcourt 2-14, 16) and in classical legends. These legends--among them those of Achilles and Hercules, both central masculine role models in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene--establish an

²⁴ To these characteristics of Pyrocles' and Artegall's experiences, cf. V. Turner's list of common oppositions between attributes of liminality and attributes of the status system (106-07).

²⁵ J. Roberts argues that Musidorus particularly suffers from pride and must learn shepherdish humility before he may unite with Pamela or assume his role as ruler (Architectonic Knowledge, 150-52).

interdependence among sexual disguise, marriage, and heroism (Delcourt 7-8, 21-22).

The legends were also connected to passage rites through cultic practice, and these legends and cults are mentioned in Greek and Roman literature,²⁶ where Sidney and Spenser may have encountered them.²⁷ In such classical ceremonies, one function of crossdressing is to initiate the passenger into sexuality (Eliade, Mephistopheles and the Androgyne, 112). In addition, the experience of transvestism provides attributes of the opposite sex which are necessary to success in the passenger's future roles.²⁸

²⁶ Delcourt 2, 4-5, 21-22; Eliade, Mephistopheles and the Androgyne, 112-13. In his Life of Lycurgus, for example, Plutarch describes how in Sparta a bride has her head shaved and is dressed in men's clothing before her husband can approach her to consummate their marriage (15). Plutarch also explains why, among the Coans, the priest of Heracles wears woman's clothing and head-dress to make a sacrifice. Heracles disguised himself from his adversaries in female clothing; later, when he married Chalcioppe after the defeat of his enemies, he "assumed a gay-coloured raiment. Wherefore the priest sacrifices on the spot where it came about that the battle was fought, and bride-grooms wear feminine raiment when they welcome their brides" (The Greek Questions, 58). (It should be noted, though, that Eliade and Delcourt misread Plutarch's The Bravery of Women: there is not a custom that brides wear beards to bed on their wedding nights; rather, Plutarch says that, because the women of Argos were so aggressive and disrespectful to their husbands, a law had to be enacted that married women with beards must occupy the same beds as their husbands.)

²⁷ Osborn uses Sidney's correspondence to determine his acquaintance with Latin and Greek authors, among them Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch, and Xenophon (126, 135, 142, 199-200, 222, 538-39). The contents of the Sidney family library are described by Warkentin ("Sidney's Authors," 78-81). The extent of Spenser's reading is rather more difficult to ascertain. His education at Merchant Taylors' and Pembroke would have provided him with knowledge of standard classical texts on the humanist reading list, but his textual allusions to some authors may not necessarily be to the original source. On Spenser's reading, see Lotspeich; Starnes and Talbert, 44-110; Braden; Horton; Rollinson; and Steadman. On the humanist school curriculum, see Baldwin (vol. 2). Sidney and Spenser may also have been aware of a marriage custom in early modern Wales wherein the bride crossdressed as part of a fertility rite (Lucas 65-66).

²⁸ Levine characterizes crossdressing in the period as one manifestation of "a much more profoundly 'magical' idea that representations in general can alter the things they are only supposed to represent" (Levine, Men, 5); while Levine focuses on the negative

Crossdressing provides an analogous induction into sexuality and husbandhood in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene. But Pyrocles and Artegall are not merely initiated into their future role of bridegroom. Pyrocles will also someday assume the throne of King Euarchus while Artegall will someday help to found the New Troy. While this chapter has so far shown how knights confront threatening feminine forces and acknowledge that the heterosexual relationship makes femininity a part of what was once masculine autonomy, the remainder examines how men gain specific feminine powers during their liminal experiences, and the usefulness of these powers to both private and public governance.²⁹

IV

Does Zelmane's emblem--Hercules in feminine disguise spinning for Omphale with the word "'Never more valiant'" (69)--mean 'never again valiant' or 'at no time more valiant'? Like the Amazon disguise itself, the image of Hercules is an ambiguous sign which appropriately represents the clash of chivalric and patriarchal systems. Just as Achilles provides a curiously double-edged model of masculine behaviour, Hercules is represented in the period in conflicting ways. He may be a cruel, excessively passionate, and proud warrior; an emasculated crossdresser; an exemplary martial hero; or a

power of crossdressing "to alter and unman," her argument about transvestism and magic might be equally applied to a more positive, sacred transformation.

²⁹ Cf. D. Miller on Books I-III: the "psychic 'ritual' of rebirth-as-socialization is symbolized as a change in sex through which the libidinally 'neutered' male attains androgyny" (112).

temperate governor of himself and others and a promoter of civility.³⁰ As I suggested in Chapter One (p. 76), when the princes argue about the value of Pyrocles' transvestite disguise, Musidorus adopts a chivalric position³¹ while Pyrocles anticipates the importance of the disguise to his position in patriarchal order. But we never get a glimpse of his entry into that order (what Turner would call "counter-structure") because Sidney never finished the New Arcadia. Nonetheless, two strategies suggest that Pyrocles's interpretation of his transvestism as his "greatest honour" (73) is valid.³² I will compare Pyrocles' unfinished adventures to those of other androgynous figures in the New Arcadia whose stories Sidney did complete, and I will examine the role of

³⁰ Sidney represents conflicting views of Hercules in the Defence (92, 115-16; cf. Fraunce fol. 46v-47r). The competing views of Hercules in the literary traditions of the period and in both the NA and The FQ have been noticed by many critics. See K. Williams, "Venus and Diana," 204, and Spenser's World of Glass, 130-35, 157-59; Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 51, 55, 135-38; Aptekar 6-7, 63, 153-200. and *passim*; Skretkowicz, "Hercules in Sidney and Spenser"; NA, 511, n. 9-10; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 7-9, 152-58, and "Herculean Love," 43-54; Rathborne 89-104; Angus Fletcher 147-55; Waith, esp. 16-59; Dunseath 46-78; Nohrnberg, esp. 40-41; Lindheim, Structures, 43-51; and Woodbridge 158-59.

³¹ In interpreting Pyrocles' disguise, several critics accept Musidorus' position. Some do not distinguish between Sidney's Amazons, arguing that both Zelmane and the OA's Cleophila are negative emblems of Arcadia's disorder and of Pyrocles' surrender of reason to passion; others define Zelmane or both Amazons as mainly comic. See Mark Rose, "Sidney's Womanish Man," and Heroic Love, 51; Shepherd 8; Amos 52; N. Davis, "Women on Top," 132. On crossdressing in the OA, see Weiner 70-71; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 64, 74.

³² Though they do not comment on its ritual implications, some critics do observe the transforming merits of Pyrocles' transvestism in the NA (often by contrasting it with his more negative experience in the OA): see Greenfield 58-63; Schleiner, "Transvestism in Renaissance Romances," 610-11, 616-17; Dipple 331-32, 338; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 21-22; Lawry 45-46, 49; Kimbrough, Art of Humankindness, 40-41; and Danby 56. None of these critics, however, examines what specific qualities make Zelmane a more positive figure than Cleophila or explains precisely how Pyrocles acquires those qualities.

crossdressing as a metaphor for the liminal inscription of new powers. The results of these strategies suggest that the transvestism of Pyrocles ushers him into both private and public maturity.³³

In the stories of androgynous figures that Sidney did finish, he presents ideal lovers who seem already to have been successfully initiated into the reciprocal service and amalgamated identity that accompany heterosexual union.³⁴ Argalus and Parthenia, the perfect marriage partners, form an image of interdependency which figures the androgynous significances of love: "a happy couple, he joying in her, she joying in herself (but in herself because she enjoyed him); both increasing their riches by giving to each other; each making one life double because they made a double life one" (371-72). These lovers spend their time together "reading in a book the stories of Hercules" (371). When Sidney introduces Argalus into the New Arcadia, he explicitly compares Argalus to this hero (29)--with his implicit connections to cross-dressing--because both are inspired to heroism by love. These allusions to Hercules thus offer one interpretation of Zelmane's emblem (69): in this reading Hercules, the sometimes crossdressed but still heroic warrior, is related to the perfect husband. Notably, it is partly Pyrocles' observance of Argalus and Parthenia at the home of Kalandar that

³³ N. Davis notes that, in early modern inversions of sex and gender, male-female love relations are often related to political order ("Women on Top," 127-28), and that such inversions challenge, criticize, or transform individuals or societies particularly effectively when sexual symbolism is connected to larger questions of order and subordination (130-31, 133). Through the figure of Zelmane, Sidney is not challenging monarchy itself but does comment on inept governance.

³⁴ Cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 76; Dipple 342-43.

inspires his love for Philoclea and consequent disguise. Like Pyrocles, Parthenia herself actually crossdresses, providing another example of an ideal androgynous lover. After a knight kills Argalus, Parthenia feels that she is "no more Parthenia" (378), no longer whole. To become "justly one" (400)³⁵ with Argalus again, she dresses as a male knight and challenges Argalus' killer to what she knows will be a fatal contest. Finally, before the princes arrive in Arcadia, the Zelmane who inspires the name of Pyrocles' Amazon disguises herself as the male page Daiphantus so that she can be near her beloved Pyrocles. What Pyrocles remembers about her is the empathy she felt for him, her male half, and especially the loving and selfless service she performed for him (cf. Dipple 339). Like the feminized identity of Marinell in The Faerie Queene, the real Zelmane's androgyny signifies this service: the dual-sexed identity exhibits the care for the other who has become part of the self and who has, in fact, become even more important than the self.³⁶

Another relatively complete story in the New Arcadia is that of Euarchus, a history which indicates that the disguised Pyrocles is undergoing an initiation into governance as well as into heterosexual union. The model ruler Euarchus, like the model lovers, is androgynous. He effectively balances both masculine powers to win wars and feminine powers to promote peace; that is, he knows how to beget "of a just

³⁵ The epitaph from which I quote appears only in the 1593 Arcadia.

³⁶ However, the young Pyrocles is unable to return her affections, and Sidney suggests that it is this lack of reciprocity which drains the life from Zelmane (cf. Greenfield 109). For the Elizabethan tradition, inherited from classical antiquity, of Amazons themselves as peace-promoting creatures of useful service, see Shepherd 2.

war, the best child--peace" (162). Sidney similarly praises this androgynous aspect of Queen Helen's rule. She avoids war by "using so strange and yet so well-succeeding a temper that she made her people (by peace) warlike" (253). When he links androgyny to sovereignty, Sidney relies on a Renaissance understanding that the androgyne was a metaphor for successful kingship. Renaissance sovereigns publicly adopted androgynous identities to express their transcendence over the ordinary man or woman.³⁷ Francis I of France had his portrait painted as an androgyne: the caption of this painting reads, "Oh happy France, honor the face of your great king who surpasses Nature."³⁸

Elizabeth I also exploited the significances of androgyny by suggesting that, despite the frailty of her female body natural, her body politic was that of a strong male king.

Elizabeth was often publicly represented in masculine roles--as St. George, David, Solomon, and Alexander, for example--and she was said to have appeared carrying a truncheon and mounted like a man before the defeat of the Armada.³⁹ Further,

³⁷ On this transcendence, see Eliade, *Mephistopheles and the Androgyne*, 100; Rackin, "Androgyny," 29; and Schwartz 125. Robinson discusses the androgynous attributes of public governance in Renaissance romance (105, 113ff.).

³⁸ Trans. Schwartz 124-25. For discussions of this painting and how androgyny in portraiture expresses transcendence over ordinary human and/or masculine powers, see Schwartz 124-25; Waddington; and Meyer, esp. 291-307. Meyer in particular observes how the depiction of androgyny in the portrait does not obscure but celebrates within it the attributes of martial masculine heroes, including Hercules (299-300) and Mars (305).

³⁹ Neale quotes a contemporary report that, on 8 August 1588, Elizabeth, "full of princely resolution and more than feminine courage ...[,] passed like some Amazonian empress through all her army" (297; emphasis mine). On the following day, she is said to have appeared carrying a truncheon and mounted like a male soldier and to have given the famous speech which represents her body politic as male: "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king.... I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder" (cited in Neale 298). S. Frye has recently demonstrated that no evidence exists to prove that the

because the androgyne figured the original communion humans held with God, connection of the sovereign to this figure may also have promoted the idea that the ruler was God's representative.

The ruler's use of masculine war and feminine peace reflects a larger distinction that the New Arcadia sometimes establishes between masculine martial power and feminine moral power.⁴⁰ Artaxia's beauty falls short because she lacks this feminine power: her "mannish countenance ... overthrew that lovely sweetness, the noblest power of womankind, far fitter to prevail by parley than by battle" (95). Sidney demonstrates that Pyrocles gains and uses the feminine powers acquired through transvestism as he

queen actually appeared with the truncheon or made the speech but that contemporary accounts of her having done so appeared soon after. The speech is first mentioned in 1623 while the martial props and descriptions of Elizabeth as a Mars-like general reviewing the troops appear almost immediately in poems by James Aske (Elizabetha triumphans (1588)) and Thomas Deloney (The queenes visiting of the campe at Tilsburie (1588)). Accurate or not, these versions of Elizabeth's visit express the queen's power (and its role in the great English victory over the Spanish) through her androgyny. On this and other representations of Elizabeth as Amazon, see also Schleiner, "Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon." In other examples of the queen's androgyny, a sermon by Edwin Sandys compares her both to Deborah, Judith, and Hester; and to Moses, Samuel, Solomon, and David (80-81; cf. 58). Another sermon by John Prime likens the queen to Solomon (A sermon briefly comparing the estate of king Salomon and his subjectes with queene Elizabeth and her people (1585)). She appears in a portrait by Thomas Cecill (n. d.) as St. George, and in the 'Siena Sieve' portraits (c. 1580, artist unknown) she is an Aeneas figure. See Strong, Portraits of Queen Elizabeth, 68, 155-57; and Cult of Elizabeth, 122-24; and Marcus, esp. 143-44. For other discussions of Elizabeth as androgyne or Amazon, see Paglia 47-48; and Shepherd 22, 29.

⁴⁰ Maclean describes a conventional division of virtues into masculine and feminine so that the female is seen as a potential exemplum of certain traits such as modesty and chastity while the male exhibits qualities such as courage (47-67, esp. 55-57, 62). See Kelso for a discussion of how women represent special powers of "humanity" such as "love, desire to please, kindness, pity, or helpfulness" (Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance, 26).

progresses through his initiation. Before he arrives in Arcadia, Pyrocles lives the independently masculine existence of chivalry. With Musidorus as companion, the prince studies law and war and then undertakes martial duties in wars and in chivalric quests. When the prince encounters Philoclea, Sidney evokes the traditional dichotomies of masculine reason and feminine passion and masculine activity and feminine passivity to suggest the threats to the prince's chivalric status: Pyrocles' love for Philoclea confuses his reason and distracts him from important 'masculine' activities.⁴¹ This love also provokes an emasculating disguise which mirrors Pyrocles' inner turbulence as his feminine side threatens to obliterate his knightly existence.

However, Zelmane is outwardly attractive and harmonious because Pyrocles brings those internal gender wars into an outer harmony in a single androgynous body, expressing temperance as unity.⁴² In the eclogues of the Old Arcadia, marriage, the union of male and female, plays a similar role: it is the "sweet and surest mean / Our foolish lusts in honest rules to stay" (OA, 260.8-9; Poems, 67.2-3). In the New Arcadia, this synthesis and its positive outcome are largely due to the efforts of Philoclea. When Pyrocles enjoys a private conversation with Philoclea and wants to enter into what Sidney calls "another discourse," Philoclea "with so sweet a rigour forbad him that he durst not

⁴¹ For the history of 'reason' and the tradition in early modern England, see Hoopes. For the struggle between reason and passion in the NA, esp. as it relates to the princes, see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 22-25, 63-72; Mark Rose, Heroic Love, 37-73.

⁴² In its most fundamental sense the androgyne functions as a paradigm for the union of opposite and contraries (Freccero 348, n. 3; Schwartz 125, 128-29). Cf. J. Roberts: "In the revised Arcadia Pyrocles' Amazon disguise is ... a corrective to the prince's lack of rational control" (Architectonic Knowledge, 74).

rebel (though he found it a great war to keep that peace)" (258-59). This feminine tempering of masculine immoderation in the New Arcadia is equivalent to that orchestrated by Britomart in The Faerie Queene when she bests Artegall, Scudamour, and other knights in Book IV. Soon after Zelmane (under Philoclea's direction) successfully tempers these contraries within herself, she helps to achieve social and political peace. When rebels attack Basilius' lodge, Zelmane uses her powers as her father Euarchus does. She employs the masculine, martial powers honed by her previous chivalric existence to subdue the rebels with violence, but the androgynous identity then endows her with the powers to engineer concord (at least temporarily): the rebels become calm because they are "stricken in admiration of her, as of more than a human creature" (287). Although she continues to wear Pyrocles' omnipresent sword, an emblem of his chivalric past, "it seemed but a needless weapon, since her other forces were without withstanding" (69).⁴³ Pyrocles himself associates this temperance specifically with his androgyny when he relates his first meeting with Dametas to Musidorus. After Dametas assaults the newly disguised prince, Pyrocles "'forg[ets] all Zelmaneship; and drawing out [his] sword'" (81), considers vengeful retaliation. His awareness of the instructive nature of that Zelmaneship--"indeed, that put me quite out of my lesson" (81)--suggests that he perceives himself to be in an educational phase. In a later episode relevant to Pyrocles' initiation, he again forgoes chivalric martial vengeance to exercise instead the feminine qualities of mercy (462.18), compassion, and

⁴³ Sidney adds these "other forces" to his portrait of Cleophila before transferring the description to Zelmane (cf. OA 26.20-27.17).

healing. When Zelmane discovers that Amphialus is her rival for Philoclea's attentions, the Amazon turns to vengeance and to her masculine martial skills. She "burned away with [the youthful and chivalric passion of] choler any motions which might grow out of her own sweet disposition" (197)--the feminine disposition. After Zelmane wounds Amphialus, though, "victorious anger was conquered by the before-conquered pity" (197); she then apologizes and cares for Amphialus' wounds. Conversely, despite the similar influence of Philoclea and the love she inspires, Amphialus later finds himself unable to show similar mercy to his opponents during the rebellion; the courtesy provided by his chivalric training is insufficient, and temperance is an attribute of a maturity Amphialus has not achieved.

When Pyrocles uses both masculine and feminine strengths, he becomes more like the perfect lover Argalus, who has achieved an androgynous union with Parthenia, and more like the perfect king, Euarchus.⁴⁴ Euarchus exhibits mercy rather than vengefulness to offenders (160.24-161.26), and, in the cases of both Argalus and Pyrocles, their feminine halves prevent them from taking revenge for the mere sake of revenge. When a rejected suitor disfigures Parthenia's beauty, she will not allow Argalus to avenge her in battle, and Argalus yields to her wishes to show the important virtue of "serviceableness" (31) to her. This selfless service constitutes part of the harmonious, single being which their union creates, and it forestalls chivalry's narcissistic vengeance.

Like Argalus and Parthenia, Sidney suggests, Pyrocles ought to become an

⁴⁴ On Euarchus as an exemplary model of behaviour, see W. Davis 147-49; J. Roberts, *Architectonic Knowledge*, 16-17, 277-79; and Lindheim, *Structures*, 89-90.

unselfish creature of service because of his love for another. During Cecropia's imprisonment of Zelmane and Philoclea, Zelmane's ability to moderate her chivalric aggressions is severely tested when she witnesses Cecropia's "execution" of Philoclea. She responds by sacrificing the temperance of her androgynous powers so that she experiences only the extremes of masculinity and femininity. "[Y]ielding in reason and manhood" (432), she hears a "voice which cried, 'Revenge! Revenge!'" (432) and decides "first to destroy man, woman, and child that were any way of kin to them that were accessory to this cruelty [the murder of Philoclea], then to raze the castle and to build a sumptuous monument for her sister, and a most sumptuous for herself, and then himself to die upon her tomb."⁴⁵ Even as Sidney expresses these common epic sentiments, his tone here is somewhat melodramatic and comical, mocking Pyrocles and his masculine reactions, his desires for violence, revenge, and immortal fame. This disapproval is further reinforced by a stranger who, unknown to Pyrocles, has been listening to his babbling. Pyrocles remains dressed as Zelmane, but the stranger, who is actually a still living Philoclea, says, "I ... have heard nothing of Zelmane in Zelmane; nothing but weak wailings, fitter for some nurse of a village than so famous a creature as you are" (434). Thus it is the absence of Zelmane, the absence of Pyrocles' tempered androgynous identity, which depletes his strength by tempting him either to vengeful

⁴⁵ MacLachlan's observations on Spenser's Pyrocles (Book II) are relevant here: "Revenge for him has nothing to do with morality--only mortality": it is an implicit acknowledgement of mortality incurred by the fall, "fallen man's desire for personal revenge and satisfaction in order to regain lost honor" ("Revenge and Atonement in The Faerie Queene," 151). Put a more secular way, the bachelor knight resists mortality because it inhibits the earthly fame on which his status depends.

aggression or to ineffective nurse-like wailing. Significantly, since the moment that Pyrocles has assumed his disguise, Sidney has consistently labelled Pyrocles/Zelmae a "she"--until the moment of Philoclea's "death" when Sidney begins to call her "Pyrocles" and "he" again despite the female disguise.⁴⁶ The death of Pyrocles' feminine half and of the relationship of service which he ought to have shared with her robs Pyrocles of his androgynous efficacy. He therefore becomes capable only of emasculated feminine weakness or of masculine vengeance and martial, vainglorious fulfilment of this desire. Like Amphialus, he can express love only through chivalric gratification.

The suicide Pyrocles wishes to commit is not Parthenia's selfless suicide but a selfish gratification which anticipates that of the immature Amphialus, who is too narcissistic to place Philoclea's desires before his own and free her (cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 270-73). Recalling Plutarch's Antony--the great general who ultimately becomes ineffectual (Lives, LXXVI-LXXVII)--Amphialus botches his first attempt at suicide, falling on his own sword. He does, however, succeed in opening his battle wounds and then inflicts new wounds on his body with Philoclea's knives. Even this second attempt fails, however, and his servants discover him in a pathetically impotent state, "swimming in his own blood--there giving a pitiful spectacle" (442). The

⁴⁶ There are only a few exceptions to this masculine and feminine labelling. When Zelmae reveals her true identity to Philoclea, Sidney calls the Amazon "he" (258-59); however, this switch seems more Sidney's way of avoiding having two 'shes' kissing one another than a comment on the source of Pyrocles' powers. As well, slightly earlier in this bereavement episode, Sidney uses the labels "Pyrocles" and "he," but by this point Pyrocles has already succumbed to a selfish sorrow because Philoclea has just told him that she freely accepts death (429-30). Finally, before Sidney reveals the identity of Pyrocles-disguised-as-Zelmae-disguised-as-the-III-apparelled-Knight in the Tournament of Beauty, he labels the contestant a 'he' for reasons I shall discuss in Chapter Five.

stranger's admonishments to Pyrocles suggest that the prince is contemplating a similarly ineffectual and egotistic gesture. Philoclea, who herself exemplifies the virtue of humility throughout the *New Arcadia*, asks him, "What then do you cry out for? Not for her, who must have died one time or other.... You would think yourself a greatly privileged person! if, since the strongest buildings and lastingest monarchies are subject to end, only your Philoclea, because she is yours, should be exempted! But indeed, you bemoan yourself, who have lost a friend--you cannot [bemoan] her" (434). Like the actions and words of Florimell, Britomart, and Glauce cited earlier, Philoclea's chastisement of the powerless and imprisoned Zelmane is, in effect, a liminal warning against violations of *communitas*: the liminal passenger must forsake his pride in rank and must act unselfishly.⁴⁷ Her cautions emphasize the humility and temperance Pyrocles will need to succeed in his future positions.

This episode demonstrates how Sidney connects Pyrocles' education in love to his education in kingship. Both a relationship with one other, the lover, and a relationship with many others, the subjects of a king, should be symbiotic and reciprocal. By

⁴⁷ A contemporary parallel of the ritual education of the future ruler is provided by Elizabeth I's entry into London for her coronation, her own initiation (Nichols, *The Passage of our most drad Sovereigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the Citie of London to Westminster, the daye before her Coronation, Anno 1558-9*). The queen's subjects were permitted on this one day to provide didactic explication after didactic explication of the pageants to advise the queen on how to rule and how to treat her subjects. For example, they tell her that she "was established in the seate of Governement; so she should sette fast in the same so long as she embraced Vertue" (1.46; my emphasis). They also stress that "all men hope that [she will] ... mend that is amisse, to all good mennes comfort" (1.57). Children--even lower in the hierarchical system than the guilds and aldermen who staged the pageants--temporarily assume the position of highest power as they advise the Queen on behalf of her subjects. Cf. V. Turner 97-102.

combatting narcissism in love,⁴⁸ Pyrocles avoids becoming like the would-be ruler Amphialus, who is a fine warrior but a poor general, or like the duke Basilius, whose selfish disregard for his subjects and passion for Zelmane jeopardizes his dukedom. Acting "according to the nature of great persons in love with that he had done himself" (19), Basilius is not inspired to selfless service by his attraction to Zelmane but instead only "mak[es] more of himself" (125). On the other hand, the model ruler Euarchus fulfils his duty in the symbiotic relationship: he is not one of those rulers who "make themselves ... another thing from the people, ... thinking themselves most kings when the subject is most basely subjected" (161). Rather, Euarchus acknowledges that "he with his people made all but one politic body whereof himself was [only] the head" (161). Pyrocles' two initiations, the sexual and the social/political, are thus connected in standard Elizabethan analogies between the microcosm--the individual human body--and the body politic, and between the body politic and the little government--the household of a single family (cf. Defence of Poetry, 83.21-29).⁴⁹ The New Arcadia's use of androgyny as a metaphor for sound government and sound governors assigns feminine powers a place in a patriarchal hierarchy that they do not hold in a chivalric one.

In the background of such analogies are many classical sources which explain the

⁴⁸ The decorations in the Fountain Room in the Château d'Anet depict Narcissus against Hermaphroditus (Wind 75, n. 1).

⁴⁹ In The commendation of matrimony (1540), Agrippa equates marriages and governments and considers effective performance in the former necessary to effective performance in the latter. He asks, "Howe shall he rule a citie, that hath not lerned to rule a house? howe shall he governe a common welthe, that never knewe his private and familiar [i. e. familial] busines?" (C7v). Cf. Elyot 15, I.i; and Starkey, A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset, 55. See also p. 26, n. 35.

evolution of the interrelatedness of the relationship within the self, the relationship with one other, and the relationship with many.⁵⁰ With respect to the self, the individual should improve himself and should free himself from bondage to the passions.

Tempering and moderation are the keys to this self-control, which then fosters political and social achievement.⁵¹ Once the individual is internally secure, he can participate in a beneficial relationship with another, his wife, to form a household.⁵² Like a political government, marriage should ideally be a symbiotic partnership--a "complex interplay of affective reciprocity and reciprocal dependence": the partner "must be treated as a being identical to oneself and as an element with whom one forms a substantial unity" (Foucault 3: 164).⁵³

⁵⁰ Foucault provides summaries of these ideas in authors Sidney would have known: Plutarch, Seneca, Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and Xenophon (The Use of Pleasure and The Care of the Self, esp. 2.28, 81, 156-57, 170-72; 3.164).

⁵¹ E. g., in The Republic Plato says that the "best man ... has within himself the divine governing principle" (590c), and that "the best man ... is the one who is the most kingly and a king over himself; ... the most evil and most unjust is ... the man who, having the most of the tyrannical temper in himself, becomes most of a tyrant over himself and over the state" (580d). Similarly, in Nicocles Isocrates notes that the "duty" of the king is to be superior in continence to his subjects to establish a strong state and governance (38; this text was published with Plutarch in the sixteenth century). He says that, "if kings are to rule well, they must try to preserve harmony, not only in the states over which they hold dominion, but also in their own households ... for all these things are the works of temperance and justice" (Nicocles, 41-42).

⁵² Xenophon describes how the two partners must each contribute their strengths to form a partnership and single household unit. Though different, they join as one in a single household (Oeconomicus, VII). For the influence of these and related ideas on the "mental husbandry" of sixteenth-century texts, see Hutson 19-51.

⁵³ Plutarch observes: "Philosophers say of bodies that some are composed of separate elements, as a fleet or an army, others of elements joined together, as a house or a ship, and still others form together an intimate union.... the marriage of a couple in love with each other is an intimate union.... As the mixing of liquids, ... there ought to be a

In the events Pyrocles observes in his early journey (detailed in Book II), figures such as Erona, Dido, and Pamphilus demonstrate that an inability to temper masculine reason (or feminine passion) in a single entity leads to faulty love relationships which in turn foster faulty governments. Dido compares the philandering Pamphilus to a tyrant who abuses his subjects, "and a man may see, even in this, how soon rulers grow proud, and in their pride, foolish" (239). Amphialus likewise treats love as an "instrument of subjection" (320) rather than as a symbiotic union. Amphialus imprisons Philoclea, and his immature love for her eradicates his reason and ability to moderate his immoderate desires. Amphialus does not forsake his knightly status to have a new status inscribed upon him as do Marinell, Artegall, and Pyrocles. He resembles his counterpart Pyrocles immediately before Philoclea's scolding. Both men anticipate playing similar roles in patriarchal order, yet Amphialus' inability to temper his chivalric impulses is reflected in his inability to achieve political peace. The New Arcadia (1590) ends in mid-sentence, the futures of Amphialus and Pyrocles unrevealed. What we last remember about Amphialus, however, is how his suicide attempt affects the well being of the body politic, all the citizens "thinking their safety bled in his wounds, and their honour died in his destruction" (442). On the other hand, Sidney implies that, with Philoclea's help, Pyrocles will fulfil his androgynous promise both as husband and political leader.

V

mutual amalgamation of their bodies, property, friends, and relations" (Advice to Bride and Groom, 34).

Many critics read Artegall's experience in Radegone from what I have identified as a chivalric perspective, characterizing it much as Musidorus does Pyrocles' disguise--as emasculation.⁵⁴ But Artegall's period of transvestism also exhibits many liminal features: this experience of powerlessness and anonymity conveys humility and eradicates martial inclinations. It may not be immediately clear, though, how (if at all), Artegall benefits from this experience. His battle with Radigund is a negative version of that with Britomart (in IV.iv, vi; p. 70). And, if he is endowed with any new powers by crossdressing, it is not clear what they are: Artegall is freed from Radigund and Radegone not through his own efforts but through Britomart's.

Just as it is necessary to look beyond Pyrocles' story to interpret his disguise, it is also necessary to look beyond the Radegone episodes to understand them fully. Intervening between Artegall's battle with Radigund and his release from Radegone is Britomart's visit to Isis Church, an episode which celebrates humility and provides a positive image of androgynous union in Isis and Osiris. This image evokes the private relationship of Britomart and Artegall and intimates Artegall's public role as father of the New Troy, and his public exercise of androgynous Justice. Ultimately, it is not merely Britomart but this androgyny, the tempering of masculine and feminine, which effects Artegall's release from Radegone. Like the three other liminal experiences examined in this chapter, Artegall's transvestism signifies an acceptance of the femininity necessary to his patriarchal roles.

⁵⁴ See p. 68, n. 32. See also Nohrnberg 359; Leggatt, 117-19; and Schleiner, "Transvestism in Renaissance Romances," 610. For an exception, see Angus Fletcher 199-200.

In Chapter One I set forth the contradictions inherent in Artegall's various losses of status, among them how Artegall's emasculating ordeal in Radehone reflects Terpine's blameworthy subjection and the ritual of disgrace that Braggadocchio undergoes in the tournament of V.iii. On the one hand, Artegall defends his knighthood from the real threats Radigund poses as usurper of fame and representative of heterosexual union. On the other hand, in his likeness to Braggadocchio, Artegall resembles Sidney's Amphialus: Artegall's pride in arms is not unlike the narcissism of Amphialus, a trait which links him to Anaxius. Consequently, like his encounters with Britomart in Book IV, Artegall's experiences in Radehone not only imperil chivalric status, but they simultaneously suggest that masculinity based only upon the conventional attributes of knighthood must be qualified before a man may participate in patriarchal order. After the interlude in which Britomart moderates chivalric masculinity in the potential husbands Artegall and Scudamour (IV.iv, vi), she objects to Artegall's return to his quest for honour (IV.vi.42-45). While the quest remains a laudable occupation for knights throughout the poem, Artegall's subsequent encounter with Radigund nonetheless confirms Britomart's perception that martial occupation compromises marital success. Britomart's fears implicitly acknowledge that, from the perspective of chivalric order, women are to be avoided; as a representative of the New Troy, she endeavours to persuade Artegall to exchange knighthood for the patriarchy which will ensure communal stability and success. Artegall's refusal to listen to Britomart's pleas results in his encounter with her demonic parody in Radigund. Just as Redcrosse insists on returning with Terwin to Despair's cave in Book I, Artegall is led by equal pride in his

martial self-sufficiency to return with Terpine to Radegone.⁵⁵

In his battles with Radigund in V.iv and V.v, Spenser suggests that, despite his experiences in Book IV, Artegall is not quite able to strike the proper balance between masculine aggression and feminine mercy. Like the imprisoned Pyrocles who oscillates from one extreme to the other in the absence of "Zelmaneship," Artegall is unable to temper his desire to maintain knightly status with the awareness of femininity that he acquires in Book IV. At first, his refusal to forfeit chivalric inclinations is unattractively reflected in the exaggerated bloodlust and pride of Radigund (e. g., V.iv.33, 42-43). However, in their second battle on the following day, when Artegall glimpses Radigund's face (recalling Britomart's), he feels too much "pittifull regard" (V.v.13). When Artegall submits to a feminine intrusion on his identity by Britomart in IV.vi, he experiences what is feminine in Justice--mercy. Pity, though, is an extreme version of mercy⁵⁶; its untempered use effeminizes Artegall, turning symbiotic heterosexual service into thralldom (V.v.17). He is sentenced to a distaff and imprisonment in Radegone. Like Terpine who "lead[s his] selfe unto [his] owne decay" (V.iv.26). Artegall is conquered by his self not only because he is subject to residual chivalric egotism but also because he has incorporated femininity (in his encounter with Britomart. IV.vi), but without control

⁵⁵ On Redcrosse's motivations of pride and fear of disgrace, see Nohnberg's argument that they are related to loss of self: Orgoglio is like a swollen phallus, "the tumescence of the proud man to the exclusion of any other characterization" (265); pride emasculates, and in itself cannot provide identity (263-65).

⁵⁶ On why pity (vs. mercy) is a problem, see Nohnberg 382-83; and H. Jones, who observes that the "defect" of mercy is pity while the defect of justice is severity, cruelty or savagery (257).

over it.

Like Sidney, Spenser suggests that what is crucial is temperance. Spenser links the chivalric Amazon to the iron man Talus when Artegall becomes

Like as a Smith that to his cunning feat
The stubborne mettall seeketh to subdew,
Soone as he feeles it mollifide with heat,
With his great yron sledge doth strongly on it beat.
(V.v.7)

In the following stanza Radigund is "an yron andvile" (V.v.8) on which the smith works the iron: Artegall must not merely "subdew" (V.v.7) the iron: rather, he is required to use his "great yron sledge" (V.v.7)--or Talus, the executive branch of justice--effectively and constructively.⁵⁷ In other words, Radigund and Artegall's experiences with her are the backdrop against which, or the medium through which, he will learn how to strike the balance necessary both to achieving mature masculinity and to fulfilling his civil duties as Justice. He must temper the aggressive cruelty manifested by the masculine Talus (who completely lacks "sorrowes feeling" (V.vi.9)) and the merciful equity inspired by the feminine Britomart--or he must determine when to use and when to contain each one.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Here Spenser expresses temperance by relying on contemporary metallurgy: a metal's degree of rigidity or elasticity might be determined by heating and/or working it (OED) (cf. III.vi.9, III.vii.40, VI.vi.30). This image of moderation is related to Justice, a virtue comprising unyielding law and flexible equity. Cf. Nohrnberg on the metaphor's relation to Artegall's management of Talus and on the gendering of sledge and flail as mates in medieval romance (418).

⁵⁸ On a psychological level, Dunseath argues that Artegall acquires a wisdom through his humiliation which teaches him to control his passions (86-140). Angus Fletcher suggests that, in his dealing with Radigund, Artegall must use active sword and passive shield; that is, he must learn to restrain violence, a skill which contributes to a larger

If the Radigund episodes illustrate the importance of temperance to Artegall's roles in patriarchal order, why is it not Artegall himself who effects his freedom from Radegone? The most obvious answer is the one that Spenser provides--that Artegall and Talus are bound to submissive acceptance by vows (V.v.19, 23) while Britomart is not. Beyond this literal response, though, are other reasons for Britomart's intervention.⁵⁹ In circumstances which figure their now amalgamated identities, Artegall and Britomart share and vicariously participate in one another's experiences in the central cantos of Book V. Spenser frames Britomart's experiences in cantos vi-vii with Artegall's defeat by and release from Radigund, and all of these episodes blur gender boundaries and hierarchies. They include the supremacy of Amazons and the crossdressing of knights in Radegone, and the confusion which inspires Dolon's hostile hospitality to Britomart, "For sure he weend, that this his present guest / Was Artegall, by many tokens plaine; / But chiefly by that yron page" (V.vi.34). As I have suggested, Artegall's encounter with Radigund reflects chivalric attitudes toward the betrothal which inspires it. However, the effects of androgyny negatively reflected in Radegone

ability to rely on equity (166). Cf. Dunseath on Artegall's intemperate expression of various passions (28-85). Temperance in The FQ is most fully explored in criticism on Book II, wherein Guyon learns when to rely on and when to suppress qualities such as mercy or vengeance and anger. As Nohrberg puts it, in one sense 'temperance' is equivalent to good timing, to 'knowing when' (307), and excessive choler and vengefulness can lead to emasculation (357). On temperance in Book II, see also Sirluck; Carscallen; Nohrberg, "The Analogy of Good Order" (between Books II and V), 351-71; and Z. Pollock. The Mercilla episode of Book V is also recognized as exemplifying the tempering of law and equity in practice: see Nelson, Edmund Spenser, 267-71; and Knight.

⁵⁹ One of which is its relevance to Britomart's own experience. See n. 60.

are redefined from a patriarchal perspective in Isis Church.

There Britomart herself enters a liminal state of humility (e. g., V.vii.3, 9) in which she is initiated into the heterosexual union she will share with Artegall,⁶⁰ a state positively depicted for both partners in her vision of Isis and Osiris. As it relates to Artegall, the vision exemplifies an androgynous tempering that is necessary not merely to private husbandhood but also to public paternity of the New Troy and public exercise of Justice. Osiris represents the retributive, unbending, and sometimes cruel law while Isis is "That part of Justice, which is Equity" (V.vii.3). She stands with one foot upon a sleeping crocodile, which in part signifies Osiris (V.vii.7), "To shew that clemence ... Restraines those sterne behests, and cruell doomes of his" (V.vii.22). In other words, the source of equity is just law, but equity governs and tempers that law.⁶¹

Just as the relationship of Pyrocles and Philoclea affects Pyrocles' success as governor, Britomart's dream links private heterosexual union to the public virtue of Justice by encapsulating her relationship with Artegall in her vision of Isis and Osiris.

... the Crocodile, which sleeping lay
Under the Idols feete in fearelesse bowre,
Seem'd to awake in horrible dismay,

⁶⁰ Angus Fletcher argues that in Isis Church Britomart experiences an initiation into womanhood (259-76), and, like Artegall, she is stripped down and immersed in humility. Cf. Nohrnberg 483-84; Goldberg, "Mothers," 18-19, 22-23; Dunseath 179-81; and J. Roberts, "Radigund Revisited," 195.

⁶¹ For explications of the concepts of justice, law, and equity in the period, and on Isis Church as the thematic and structural centre of the Book of Justice, see H. Jones 257-61; Angus Fletcher 259-87, esp. 280-87; Nohrnberg, 372-94, esp. 382-83; Kermode 281-88; Phillips, "Renaissance Concepts of Justice"; Dunseath 63-66, 209-10, 214. For how Artegall's humiliation relates to Renaissance conceptions of justice and equity, see Dunseath 183-235.

As being troubled with that stormy stowre:
 And gaping greedy wide, did streight devoure
 Both flames and tempest: with which growen great,
 And swolne with pride of his owne peerelesse powre.
 He gan to threaten her likewise to eat:
 But that the Goddesse with her rod him backe did beat.

Tho turning all his pride to humblesse meeke.
 Him selfe before her feete he lowly threw,
 And gan for grace and love of her to seeke:
 Which she accepting, he so neare her drew,
 That of his game she soone enwombed grew,
 And forth did bring a Lion of great might:
 That shortly did all other beasts subdew.
 (V.vii.15-16)

The crocodile's traditional associations with lust and the flames of the storm evoke the unmoderated concupiscence and irascibility which must be tempered by the encounters of Britomart and Artegall in Book IV. When the crocodile becomes "swolne with pride of his owne peerelesse powre" (V.vii.15), it recalls how Artegall's chivalric vainglory and his apprehension of Britomart lead to his emasculation by Radigund, who is herself evoked by this same proud, initially female, crocodile (V.vii.6) and its "guile" (cf. V.vii.7, iv.31). However, the crocodile's initial submission to Isis also recalls Artegall's submission to Britomart in IV.vi, and the religion he makes of his love to her.

But Britomart's dream is also a "vision" (V.vii.12, 20)--or a visio, a prophetic dream.⁶² That is, it not only reviews the threat of androgyny to chivalric order by recapitulating the relationship of Britomart and Artegall thus far, but it also redefines their relationship from the perspective of anticipated patriarchal order, as part of an

⁶² One of Macrobius' five categories of dream (Commentary on Scipio, 88): "We call a dream a prophetic vision if it actually comes true" (90).

ordered patrilineal line which ensures civil stability.⁶³ Because they promote exclusivity, selfishness and pride such as that exhibited by Artegall and Radigund obstruct the androgynous union's productivity, an effect reflected in Radigund's role as sterile, mortal mother. Only after the crocodile/Artegall transforms pride to humility can he join with Isis/Britomart and impregnate her: she then conceives the Lion, or the progeny which ensures England's power.⁶⁴ The "Most famous fruits of matrimonial bowre" (III.iii.7) which Britomart brings forth displace chivalric fame as a means to immortality. The dream further emphasizes fertility in its use of the cyclical Isis-Osiris myth (Plutarch, Isis and Osiris; The FQ, V.vii.2-4n.). When it portends Britomart's more immediate triumph over the crocodile-like Radigund, the dream links this event to Britomart's earlier moderation of Artegall (IV.iv and IV.vi): both are necessary to fashioning the Salvage Knight into the father of the New Troy.

Only after the 'good' sexuality and maternity in Britomart overcome the demonic sexuality and maternity reflected in her double Radigund can Artegall relinquish his bachelor status. Or, only after Artegall relinquishes that status can Britomart defeat

⁶³ On the parallels between the Isis-Osiris union and the past or future Britomart-Artegall relationship, see Woodhouse 592-93, n. 42; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 179-80; Aptekar 98.

⁶⁴ On the lion's other significances as natural law or the balance of law and equity, see Aptekar 58-69. On the maternal role of equity, see Kermode: "Equity is the mother of law, the mediator between natural and human law; and this point was given cosmological significance by the equation between mater and materia in the dicta of late medieval jurisprudence" (282).

Radigund.⁶⁵ In Isis Church the promised fulfilment of the cyclical Osiris-Isis relationship and Isis' relation to the Great Mother Venus combat her counterpart, the dangerous and chaos-producing Mother Earth who appears throughout Book V.⁶⁶ These aspects of the archetypal Mother are specifically excluded from Isis Church: its priests "on their mother Earths deare lap did lie" (V.vii.9) as part of their immersion in humility, but they abstain from wine because it contains the rebellious blood of her Giant offspring (V.vii.10-11).

It is the positive depiction of heterosexual union in Britomart's dream which is necessary to Artegall's release from women's dress and Radegone⁶⁷: the vision's marriage of masculine and feminine anticipates the New Troy as well as the tempered brand of Justice necessary to governing that commonwealth. Thus what Radigund specifically fears is not Britomart alone but the combination of Britomart and Talus. When any knight approaches Radegone, Radigund institutes a ritualized procedure: she opens the gates and fights the challenger in the centre of the community of women until

⁶⁵ While Artegall is threatened by the 'bad' mother in Radegone, Britomart is simultaneously threatened by the 'bad' patriarch in the home of Dolon, a father-household governor who violates his duty of hospitality.

⁶⁶ Apuleius says that the "Paphnian Venus" (i. e., the Cyprian Venus or Cytherea) is one of the many names by which Isis is known (*Metamorphoses* [*The Golden Ass*], XI.5). Manning notes that Cytherea is from Greek *kuēō*, 'to be with child,' or *kuō*, 'to conceive'; he also catalogues the appearance of this type of Venus in Spenser's work (708).

⁶⁷ Cf. Angus Fletcher: "When Britomart saves Artegall from his apparent effeminacy, he has already participated in the transvestite female mystery," so that he is not emasculated or effeminized but instead possesses the powers of both sexes (200; cf. 259-60). Suzuki argues that, "Just as Britomart's heroism is predicated upon her combination of both traditionally feminine and masculine characteristics, so Artegall must accept the feminine in order to be her equal" (184).

he is defeated and absorbed into it. Radigund allows Artegall and Talus into Radegone without misgivings and initially is eager to fight Britomart. "[S]he bad to open bold But when they of that yron man had told, / Which late her folke had slaine, she bad them forth to hold" (V.vii.25). Instead, Radigund stages the contest "without the gate (as seemed best)" (V.vii.26) because she becomes apprehensive about Talus when he is no longer the instrument of Artegall but that of Britomart. Together Britomart and Talus reflect the balanced androgyny of Artegall and portend his responsibilities in the commonwealth.

This androgynous temperance is manifested in the process which leads to Artegall's release. In V.iv, Artegall accepts Radigund's conditions for battle without question simply because they are the "law" (V.iv.49-51) of Radegone, and Talus conforms because he "thought it just t'obay" (V.v.19) Artegall's vow. Spenser's characterization of this unyielding masculine adherence to rules and vows as "just" connects it to the masculine justice of Osiris, a justice based on law and retribution. But Britomart takes a more equitable approach. In her battle with Radigund, she rejects her opponent's conditions. She then releases Talus from his vow as well as retracts her own "vengefull vow" (V.vii.36) toward Radigund. Putting into practice the justice she observes at Isis Church, Britomart nullifies rigid adherence to law and subordinates chivalric aggression and vengeance to the equity demanded by the individual situation: "a piteous slaughter did begin" (V.vii.35), but Britomart eventually halts it "For very ruth" (V.vii.36).

The victory of Britomart and Talus thus resembles those of Sidney's Zelmane,

wherein the future king Pyrocles practices tempering of aggression and mercy, war and parley. In the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, the individual situation determines the extent to which the male relies on alternatively masculine or feminine powers, but in both works the point is that the most efficacious behaviour resides in their balance. This symbiosis is emphasized in The Faerie Queene by the vicarious way that Talus and Britomart later achieve for Artegall the victory of tempered aggression and mercy that he himself was unable to achieve when he first confronted Radigund. Moreover, just as Pyrocles/Zelmane embodies good governance in personal and public relationships, anticipating his role as sovereign, the combination of Britomart and Talus represents Artegall's governance of masculine and feminine both in his private marital relationship as human knight (e. g., V.vi.34) and in his public dealings as the Knight of Justice.⁶⁸ The Isis-Osiris myth's feminization of Equity and masculinization of Law provide a gendered foundation to the titular virtue of Justice, and this foundation corresponds to the androgynous identity which the knight himself must assume to become a husband.⁶⁹ Spenser begins the Book of Justice by linking Artegall to the multivalent figures of Hercules and Bacchus (V.i.2). Like Pyrocles, Artegall imitates Hercules when he

⁶⁸ The incongruity between the two disparate identities that Anderson has identified is thus eliminated; Anderson remarks that Artegall's identity is unified only in his meetings with Britomart (448). On Artegall's training into kingship and fulfilment of the duties of the good ruler, see Aptekar 119-22; on Artegall's fulfilment of the magisterial role, see Dunseath 216.

⁶⁹ On the hermaphroditic or androgynous Isis, see Nohrnberg 603. Aptekar describes a balanced Justice comprising the rigidity of masculine law and the flexibility and clemency of feminine equity; this virtue is depicted in the relationships of Britomart and Artegall and Isis and Osiris (54-57; cf. Dunseath 172-73, 215).

exchanges his manly weapons for the distaff (V.v.24) (Talus and his flail may evoke Hercules' club (Dunseath 67)). However, Hercules is not merely an emasculated warrior; Spenser also presents Artegall's transvestism in the context of Hercules' role in the establishment of civility. Similarly, as a figure of youth and a god of wine, Bacchus is related to intemperance, but, as a mature adult or an old man, he is also known as a victorious general and a wise governor.⁷⁰ Related to Bacchus is another of Artegall's models. Osiris (see n. 70) brings civility to the whole earth by "civilizing it without the slightest need of arms" (Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 13; see also 35-36). Like Pyrocles' endorsement of 'warlike peace,' Artegall's chivalric endeavours are in fact ultimately directed to the aid of Irena, or Peace--that is, to the stability of the commonwealth.

As an amalgamation of masculine and feminine, Talus and Britomart intimate more than the androgynous virtues necessary to a strong commonwealth. They also signify the fertility that accompanies them.⁷¹ In a general sense, this fertility is the

⁷⁰ For comparisons of Hercules/Alcides to Aeneas and Augustus, the two mainstays of Roman civilization, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.777-809; Horace, *Odes*, III.14. Evans discusses the transformation of the Bacchus of Book II with his connections to intemperance into the law-giving Bacchus of Book V (120). For various significances of Bacchus in the period and for how the single figure is depicted as being in three of the ages of man, see Cartari X2r-Z2r. For these and additional references which express the relationship between these figures and civility, and for connections among Hercules, Bacchus, and Osiris, see Nohrnberg 374-75, n. 169. Angus Fletcher comments on the crossdressing which occurs in both Bacchus and Hercules myths and relates Artegall's transvestism to macrocosmic social order (148-55, 193-204, 248).

⁷¹ Generation occurs not only in the union of Isis and Osiris but sometimes in the union of Isis and Osiris and Typhon, a triangle which anticipates the forces of Britomart, Artegall, and Talus in Radegone. Plutarch explains that it is through the death caused by Typhon and the continual cycle of regeneration established by Osiris and Isis that the world remains forever young (*Isis and Osiris*, 36, 49, 56-57). On the parallels of Typhon and Talus, see Heninger 136-38.

responsibility of patriarchy, but it is likewise necessary to the rebirth of Artegall. While Britomart undergoes an initiation of her own at Isis Church, Artegall's 'death' in Radegone represents a like experience which is figured in Britomart's dream. The lion which Isis/Britomart bears signifies not only the royal line of Troynovaunt but also Artegall himself (IV.iv.41; III.ii.11, 17; III.iii.22).⁷² As in Marinell's experiences beneath the sea, Spenser creates a liminal area in the central cantos of Book V wherein sexuality, death, and birth become simultaneous. Like Cymoent's bower, Isis Church is a primarily feminine locus and, for the male at least, is somewhat mysterious and inaccessible: Talus must wait for Britomart outside, and Artegall may experience Isis Church only through her mediation.

The significance of Artegall's "long death" (V.v.36) in Radegone is subsequently explained by Britomart:

Ah my deare Lord, what sight is this (quoth she)
 What May-game hath misfortune made of you?
 Where is that dreadfull manly looke? where be
 Those might palmes, the which ye won t'embrew
 In bloud of Kings, and great hoastes to subdew?
 Could ought on earth so wondrous change have wrought,
 As to have robde you of that manly hew?
 Could so great courage stouped have to ought?
 Then farewell fleshly force; I see thy pride is nought.
 (V.vii.40)⁷³

⁷² As Aptekar comments, "the temple of Isis, though it is apparently a temple of chastity, is in fact a temple which houses a great deal of sensuality and procreative energy" (105).

⁷³ Cf. Una's interpretation of Redcrosse's release/rebirth from the dungeons of proud Orgoglio: "Ah dearest Lord, what evill starre / On you hath found ... That of your selfe ye thus berobbed arre, / And this misseeming hew your manly looks doth marre?" (I.viii.42).

When she alludes to the May Game custom in which a male cross-dresses as Maid Marian and takes the place of the May Queen, Britomart defines Artegall's experiences by likening them to a ritual contemporaries would recognize: May Day was a period of misrule and inversion which led to renewal.⁷⁴ In addition, like Florimell or Philoclea, Britomart chastises her beloved and reveals the truth about his condition when she indicates that humiliation and femininity have exorcised Artegall's "pride" and his dependence on exclusively "manly" powers, or "fleshly force" (V.vii.40). Britomart's role in Artegall's renewal concludes when she reclothes him as an adult male in new armour: "as she him anew had clad, / She was reviv'd" (V.vii.41).⁷⁵ In the background of her reference to the May Game and her release and reclothing of Artegall is the Isis-Osiris myth. Just as Isis travels through the countryside searching for the coffin which contains

⁷⁴ For sixteenth-century descriptions of May Day, see Stow, Survey of London, I.98-99; Stubbes, Anatomie of abuses, M3r-v; and Spenser's Shepheardes Calender, which describes the convention of youth gathering flowers and other ritual preparations for the festival (Maye, 9-15, 20-34). For the various customs associated with May Day and their significances through the sixteenth century, see Hutton 27-34, 87-89, 114-36. Although May Day celebrations had atrophied and had come to be labelled undesirably catholic in the reign of Elizabeth, to some extent May Day continued to be celebrated in traditional ways. National and community festivals could be held anytime between May and July, but "All were a celebration of summer and of communal life" (Hutton 28). May Day not only celebrated fertility but was also a period of misrule. Early in the century, this disorder was expressed in enactments of the legend of Robin Hood with its male Maid Marion and its outlaw hero who was "an ideal Lord of Misrule" (Hutton 33). Later in the century, May Day left a legacy of riots, unruliness, and drunkenness and was associated with youth (Hutton 116). Some ceremonies featured actual Lords of Misrule (more usually present at Christmas time) (116-17) as well as morris dancing, or what Stubbes calls "the devils daunce" (M2v). Underdown (46, 56, 59) and N. Davis ("Women on Top," 141) also discuss May Day as a period of misrule, and Davis relates the Maid Marion-type disguise itself to rebirths for both individuals and societies.

⁷⁵ On the renewals and restorations of Artegall by Britomart here and in IV.iv and vi, see Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 182-88.

Osiris' body or for its scattered pieces to reassemble them in the seasonal fertility myth,⁷⁶ Britomart thwarts the dismemberment and the related maenadic power of women so prominent in Book V when she helps Artegall to assume his adult office as knight-patriarch.

With the recovery of normal order (Turner's 'counter-structure'), Artegall resumes his knightly responsibilities, but he does not leave his femininity behind with his distaff. The episode which follows reinforces his renewal as martial aggression and vainglory continue to be tempered in an encounter which replays, for the third and final time, the battle of Penthesilia and Achilles. Artegall meets Arthur when they combine forces to rescue a damsel, but immediately afterward Artegall vengefully attacks Arthur "without discretion" (V.viii.9). In actual practice the chivalric code had strict protocols governing causes for challenge, and not all injuries were occasion for combat.⁷⁷ Here, however, Arthur and Artegall begin a combat for no apparent reason, and generally in The Faerie Queene knights challenge other knights merely for the sake of the contest itself, likening these unprovoked challenges to play-combat in the tiltyard. For Artegall this battle is equivalent to "Tilt and Turnament" (V.viii.7)--the essence of chivalric order as well as the territory of the Salvage Knight. Simply put, Spenser suggests that knights see any confrontation as potential tournament or challenge: such encounters settle no scores and have no function other than the establishment of chivalric status through

⁷⁶ Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 8, 13-14, 18, 39-40, 54, 58.

⁷⁷ For what did and did not constitute occasion for knightly combat, see Ferne, Glorie of generositie, esp. 308-41; and Segar, Booke of honor, esp. Br-D4v.

competition. As Spenser notes in stanza one of this canto, after his release from Radegone Artegall must return to his original quest and consequently to the chivalric codes the quest traditionally demands--"Great warriours ... rigour ... And ... manlinesse," and "hardned hearts, enur'd to bloud and cruelty" (V.viii.1).

However, the damsel, whose namelessness makes her only a representative of femininity, disrupts these standards of masculine behaviour and moderates chivalric inclinations by reminding Artegall and Arthur that physical competition merely for the sake of that competition is unproductive. Like the similarly anonymous Philoclea of Pyrocles's imprisonment, she queries, "What doe ye then devise / Of more revenge" (V.viii.11)? Artegall and Arthur do not answer this question because they cannot, and Spenser describes the knights' response in a gently comic tone: "Whom when they heard so say, they lookt about ... Where when they saw their foes dead out of doubt, / Eftsoones they gan their wrothfull hands to hold" (V.viii.12). Like Sidney's mockery of the imprisoned Pyrocles, Spenser's humour here helps to make the 'powers of the weak' embodied by the rescued lady more palatable to a male audience (both within and without the poem): humour allows criticism without excessive threat to male-governed order.⁷⁸ When the lady rejects not revenge but "more revenge" (V.viii.11), her words reverberate with the tempering of Talus by Britomart in canto seven.⁷⁹ The knightly

⁷⁸ A useful analogy is provided by V. Turner's identification of court jesters as wielders of 'powers of the weak' (109-11). Lear's fool, a role often doubled with that of the straight-talking Cordelia, provides a contemporary example.

⁷⁹ This role of temperance is taken up by several women in the texts under consideration, and in the period 'temperance' itself was gendered feminine. In *Basilikon doron*, for example, James I depicts temperance as both healing physician and as female

aggressions described in stanza one of canto eleven are necessary to the damsel's rescue but must be moderated.

Consequently, each knight lifts his helmet, and, in a replay of Artegall's battles with Britomart and Radigund, Artegall once again encounters a mirror image of himself (V.viii.12). When Artegall glimpses himself in the unvizarded Britomart, Spenser relies on traditional neoplatonic ideas but revises them to make recognition of the self in the other a mutual experience for both sexes and to include physical attraction. Later Spenser parodies these neoplatonic influences in Artegall's encounter with Radigund to demonstrate that Artegall fears the presence of the other in the identity of the self. Finally, Artegall admires Arthur, who, like Radigund and Britomart, is "so wondrous bold" (V.viii.12), "So can they both them selves full eath perswade / To faire accordaunce, and both faults to shade, / Either embracing other lovingly" (V.viii.14). Now Artegall does not see himself within a woman, or the woman within himself; rather, just as Pyrocles' androgyny makes him more like the exemplary Euarchus or Argalus, Artegall is mirrored by a male who is no less than the paragon of masculine virtue in The Faerie Queene.⁸⁰ No longer effeminate or emasculated, Artegall perceives that

when he advises his son to make Temperance the "Queene of all the" four cardinal virtues: by the virtue of temperance, he says, "I meane of that wise moderation, that first commanding your selfe, shall (as a Queene) commande all the affectiones and passions of your minde, and (as a Physition) wiselie mixe al your actiones according thereto: Therefore ... make ever moderation to bee the chiefe ruler" (101). Cf. Spenser's Medina (II.ii) and Alma (II.ix-x); and Alciato's depiction of the female Nemesis with a rule and bridle to ensure "that there be a measure in all things" (Emblem 27).

⁸⁰ Cf. Dunseath 187-88. Spenser explains, "in the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth magnificence in particular, which vertue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all, therefore in the

femininity may be a component of masculinity. As part of his fulfilment of his foreordained status as father to the New Troy, he discovers that he is not a Faery but the half-brother of Arthur: he is art egall, an equivalence reinforced by the damsel's subsequent revelation of her name as Samient, bringing together or sameness (The FQ, V.viii.23.7n.). Yet the similarity of Artegall's bond with Arthur and his bond with Britomart indicates that the former connection is not one of those same-sex identifications which underpin chivalric culture. Instead, the link between Artegall and Arthur depends on the familial bonds which ensure the stable commonwealth through generation: their meeting connects the historical line of II.x. which ends with Arthur, to that of III.iii, which begins with Artegall and ends with Troynovaunt.

During their liminal states of transvestism, Pyrocles and Artegall do not undergo a change or an education in our present-day sense of 'new learning' so much as realize potential they have always had. Although Artegall and Pyrocles both appear first as anonymous exempla of aggressive knighthood, each author provides a glimpse of the more admirable state which both knights will later realize: Artegall as Britomart's reflection in the arms of Achilles and in his predicted roles as child and consort in

whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke" ("A Letter of the Authors"). Moreover, Arthur is Spenser's version of the heroes of "all the antique Poets historicall": like Sidney's Pyrocles and Euarchus, he is a version of the "good governour and ... vertuous man" ("A Letter of the Authors"). While there has been critical debate over whether Spenser's "magnificence" is equivalent to Aristotle's 'magnanimity,' it is generally agreed that Arthur is perfected in all virtues celebrated by the poem. See, e. g., Var. 1.353-57; Woodhouse 202, 209; DeMoss; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 71, 78-79; Waters 53-62; MacLachlan, "Spenserian Magnificence and the Ciceronian Tradition," 125-46. On the similarity of Arthur and Artegall, see Anderson 466; Roche, The Kindly Flame, 48-49; Nelson, Edmund Spenser, 257.

Merlin's prophecies, and Pyrocles as an androgynous, kingly figure in the opening scenes of the New Arcadia. Sidney keeps us, like the audience of Musidorus, Strephon, and Klaius, at a distance from Pyrocles, who first appears in an emblematic tableau on the pirate ship:

upon the mast they saw a young man (at least, if he were a man) ... having nothing upon him but his shirt which, being wrought with blue silk and gold, had a kind of resemblance to the sea.... His hair, which the young men of Greece used to wear very long, was stirred up and down with the wind.... holding his head up full of unmoved majesty, he held a sword aloft with his fair arm which often he waved about his crown.... (7-8)

The prince's clothing anticipates his costume as Zelmane (cf. 68.20-69.12; cf. Dipple 337-38) while the references to his "majesty" and "crown" enforce his yet unrevealed role as heir to Euarchus. Sidney recognizes Pyrocles' potential both as androgyne and as governor, roles which themselves are equivalent to one another. A similar potential is discovered when the aggressive, anonymous Helot leader reveals himself as Daiphantus, "being now well viewed to have no hair of his face to witness him a man, who had done acts beyond the degree of a man" (42). 'Daiphantus' is in fact the androgynous role played by the actual Zelmane, though Sidney does not connect the powers provided by Pyrocles' Daiphantus identity to those provided by his Zelmane identity until Book II. In Book I, though, after he quells the uncontrolled passions of the rebellion and parleys a peaceful truce (just as Euarchus uses war to effect peace), all that look on Pyrocles/Daiphantus see the "uttermost that in mankind might be seen" (42). Similarly, Artegall has had the potential to fulfil his name; he has always been art egall, and each instance of his naming recognizes his equality with the exemplary Arthur. Transvestism thus realizes the potential of each man to be more than merely chivalric hero. Because

of its associations with disorder, marginality, and formlessness, transvestism is a perilous state, but "The man who comes back from ... inaccessible regions brings with him a power not available to those who have stayed in the control of themselves and of society" (Douglas 95). Moreover, the processes of transformation that Artegall and Pyrocles have undergone recover the discarded hermaphroditic ending of the 1590 Faerie Queene and the comedic pairings of princes and princesses which close the Old Arcadia. They also, however, reveal the male's participation in marriage and androgyny to extend beyond the individual and personal relations depicted in these earlier works to public responsibilities.

VI

While exploring the implications of the passage rites of Marinell, Artegall, and Pyrocles (and the lack of such rites for Amphialus), I have briefly intimated how The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia confirm early modern expectations regarding the civil role of patriarchal masculinity. While chivalric masculinity can often be egotistic, based on the fame and deeds of individuals, patriarchal masculinity is responsible for the well-being of the family--and, in turn, for the corresponding well-being of society. These public duties are implied by the contemporaneity of Marinell's private experiences with Florimell and the pageant of English civilization created by the marriage of the Thames and the Medway; by the responsibility of the betrothed Artegall to ensure the success of the New Troy; by the androgynous sovereignty forecast for Pyrocles; and by the unification of Artegall's roles as human knight and as Justice. Further, Spenser in

particular implies the social consequences of the renewals of individual men when he links those renewals with what Victor Turner calls 'calendar rituals': collective and cyclical rituals, often seasonal rebirths (sometimes accompanying the rebirths of individuals), which restore order and, in turn, power and fertility to a society through regeneration (167-78).

Although The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia may depict an opposition between chivalric order and patriarchal order which is mediated by liminal experience, it is important to recognize that, once a man becomes a husband or potential husband, he continues to fulfil his chivalric duties. In the New Arcadia the husband Argalus remains a knight in Basilius' service, and even older patriarchs such as Kalander and Euarchus act as knights in times of war. In The Faerie Queene Marinell participates in chivalric sports on his wedding day, and, despite betrothal, Artegall (and the Redcrosse Knight) will not deviate from the chivalric occupation of the quests they have been assigned by the Faerie Queen. What allows the two systems of order to coexist? The final chapter of this thesis will examine the relationship of chivalry to patriarchy by returning to the forum where the representatives of martial and marital masculinity confront one another--the tournament.

Chapter Five

Vanquished by Marriage: Restaged Tournaments in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia

In both the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, chivalric order is consolidated and celebrated in tournaments. In Phalantus' Tournament of Beauty and in Satyrane's tournament of the girdle, however, that order is upset by the victories of Britomart and Zelmane, the androgynous representatives of heterosexual union. The final tournament of each work restages these early contests. Satyrane's tournament in Book IV is replayed with almost the same contestants and almost the same outcome in Book V, while boredom and desire for glory compel Phalantus to orchestrate first the Tournament of Beauty and then the ritual challenges of Amphialus' rebellion. The later tournaments also share the anomaly of their predecessors: heterosexual union again enters the traditionally masculine domain of chivalric sport. That is, the only marriages fully and legally celebrated in their respective works are a presence in the tiltyard¹: the final tournament of The Faerie Queene is occasioned by the marriage of Florimell and

¹ In The FQ, the only other wedding celebrated is the intensely allegorical one of the two rivers, the Thames and the Medway. The only other human couple that perhaps approach celebration of such a union are Amoret and Scudamour, but we do not see the festivities, and Amoret is stolen before the union can be consummated. In the NA, the only nuptials we witness are those of Argalus and Parthenia in the temple; the weddings of other figures such as Erona and Antiphilus and Andromana and the King of Iberia take place outside the narrative.

Marinell while the final tournament of the New Arcadia destroys the marriage of Argalus and Parthenia.² The institution of marriage represents civil stability, and its presence reinforces the civil responsibilities of androgynous patriarchy.³ As I have suggested in the previous chapter, in the intervals between the early tournaments and their restagings, Zelmane and Britomart displace an exclusive masculinity with a more androgynous masculinity as they help to usher men from bachelor knighthood to patriarchal status. Interestingly, though, the marital consequences of private liminal experiences are officially recognized only in the intensely public and martial ceremonies of tournament. What impels Spenser and Sidney to restage tournaments, and do these restagings reflect the shifts in status of their male contestants? And why do Spenser and Sidney choose to emphasize the importance of androgyny and marriage in what remains an essentially masculine and chivalric forum?

To answer these questions, I return to the context on which I relied in Chapter One: the capacities of contemporary tournaments to create and enforce masculine identity, to act as microcosms of social order, and to validate that order through the rituals of ceremony and play. This final function of validation, however, contains within it an important function of play not explored in Chapter One. Play is a means by which humans try on social roles and test social rules; consequently, even as play supports a

² Young provides references to contemporary tournaments held to celebrate marriages (Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments, 196-208); this combined ritual allowed each ceremony to enforce the order created by the other. What is unusual in the tournaments of Spenser and Sidney is how marriage can affect or can be affected by the action in the tiltyard.

³ As Gouge observes, a "husbands honor" is equivalent to "civil honor" (100).

given system of order, it has the ability to challenge and restructure that system (p. 52, n. 16). Thus, while the rituals of tournament may affirm chivalric status and order, they may also legitimate patriarchal status and order. Indeed, it is in the tiltyard that the relationship of chivalry to patriarchy is defined.

Here the two systems of order which oppose one another throughout the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene meet head-on. In both works, the presence of heterosexual union in these contests undermines the exclusive masculinity of traditional chivalric codes and demands their accountability to the public good; at the same time, however, the still essentially masculine tournament questions the feasibility of the androgynously patriarchal commonwealth. Like their contemporary counterparts, the tournaments of Sidney and Spenser constitute a dynamic space. Within the microcosm of the tiltyard, masculine roles may be forged and discarded, and order may be established and ritually reinforced. For Spenser, the public ceremonies which unite marital union and martial combat allow both chivalric youth and the intensified feminine powers of the liminal experience to be assimilated into patriarchal order. Such assimilation ultimately leads to harmony, productivity, and peace. For Sidney, absorbing these chivalric inclinations and feminine powers into male-governed order is equally important. However, in the New Arcadia's tiltyards, the unavoidable pressures of civil responsibility and war clash--creating a tension between androgynous governance and chivalric desires which prevents their coexistence.

The ordered ceremonies of Satyrane's tournament of the girdle and Phalantus' Tournament of Beauty celebrate masculine autonomy as they consolidate knightly values and codes. Several critics have demonstrated that each tournament also reveals the superficiality of such codes,⁴ but they do not consider why the breakdown of chivalric order culminates in the entrances of ill-apparelled and feminine contestants. In the New Arcadia the unknown Ill-appointed Knight--Pyrocles/Zelmane--initiates a brawl which transforms ordered single combat into "a fight that did imitate the matachin [dance], for they being but three that fought, every one had [two] adversaries striking him who struck the third" (102). Similarly, in The Faerie Queene the weed-clad Salvage Knight and Britomart disrupt an orderly two-team combat by indiscriminately challenging the first knights they see and by not fighting for a team. In Chapter One, I argued that these disruptions violate independent masculinity by intruding on its institutions, its physical space, and its rules (pp. 50-52). Simultaneously, however, the victories of Zelmane and Britomart provide an alternative set of values for the ritual of tournament to enforce--the patriarchal order intimated by the future husbands, Artegall and Pyrocles, and by the androgynous representatives of heterosexual union, Britomart and Zelmane. While these disruptions are threats from a bachelor perspective, from a patriarchal perspective they are harbingers of masculine maturity and the civil order which that maturity enforces.

⁴ Dunseath 32-38; Leslie, Fierce Warres, 146-59; The FQ, IV.iv.16.2n.; Hamilton et al., "Tournaments"; Duncan-Jones, "Nashe and Sidney," 3-6; Lawry 192-93; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 196-98, 202; A. Ferguson, 146-47; McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 139-40.

In metaphors which introduce this new order, Britomart's intrusion on Satyrane's tournament is depicted not merely as a storm but as a reviving storm (IV.iv.47-48), and the brawl Zelmane instigates is compared to a dance (102). What Zelmane and Britomart implicitly bring into the tiltyard is the power they exhibit outside it: the ability to temper destructive chivalric impulses and pride. As the Ill-appointed Knight--anonymous and clad in rags--Zelmane rejects the tournament's usual proud display of chivalric status through motto and costume. Likewise, Britomart shuns glory (IV.iv.43) and attacks Artegall's pride (IV.iv.44); she also refuses the victor's prize (as Cambell and Triamond had on the previous day, each in selfless deference to the other, IV.iv.36).⁵ By defeating the Salvage Knight, the knight who most deserves the reward and respect of other men in the arena of men (III.ii.9), Britomart defeats many seemingly acceptable definitions of masculinity, combatting male friendship with heterosexual union. Zelmane similarly privileges this union over same-sex ties created by male-male friendship and competition when she (albeit unknowingly) battles her closest friend Musidorus for the sake of Philoclea. The victories of Britomart and Zelmane also displace masculine autonomy and the objectifying gender dynamics of chivalric order. Their femininity relocates the passive feminine objects of Phalantus' portraits and Satyrane's beauty contest in the masculine activity of the tournament (see pp. 54-57) while their androgyny

⁵ Significantly, the only tournament in the 1590 Faerie Queene takes place at the House of Pride (I.iv; Alexander Leggatt, personal communication). McCoy characterizes the contemporary tournament as an "outlet for aristocratic pride and magnanimity" (Rites of Knighthood, 14); he also argues that "the later Elizabethan tournaments seemed designed to spare their participants from humiliation as well as harm": scores were no longer publicized; instead, everyone was said to have done well (23).

denies the norm of the dominating single male victor and replaces it with a double-gendered unit of mutual supplication and submission. Consequently, the tournament's standard placement of women in the audience and its standard treatment of the male-female relationship as male desire, female prize, and 'courtly' deferment are supplanted by the marital union embodied by the androgynes Britomart and Zelmane. Through the medium of chivalric sport, or play, then, traditional chivalric order is criticized, challenged, and redefined. In turn, the social order that the tournament encapsulates and sustains as ceremony and microcosm is no longer merely masculine.

The victories of Britomart and Zelmane in the early tournaments anticipate their later restagings, restagings in which both Spenser and Sidney use formal, legal marriages to focus on public as well as private concerns. Significantly, the victors of the early contests are victors only through masculine combat, and each is thought by the audience to be male during the competition: new order may be validated only through the rules of the tournament. Thus, although they do criticize masculine excess, on a public level the victories of Britomart and Zelmane introduce feminine influence without rejecting masculine control. The restaged tournaments are even more explicitly concerned with civil responsibilities and order. But in these tournaments marriage functions as a metaphor for stability as Spenser and Sidney question the utility of chivalry to the state. Both restagings demonstrate that chivalric values, far from supporting the foundation of a commonwealth through their ritual order, can actually undermine its stability. The powers of Britomart and Zelmane are established not only by their feminine tempering of masculine impulses, a temperance conveyed by androgyny itself, but also by

contemporary perceptions of Amazons. They were thought to be creatures of peace and civil service who employed their martial skills only with discretion and to virtuous ends. Agrippa, for example, describes them as "moste worthy in warre and polytyke in peace."⁶ Spenser and Sidney rely on the Amazon to convey a similar temperance, and their restaged tournaments indicate to what extent an androgynous brand of martial skill and civil diplomacy is a viable means for men to establish and serve the commonwealth in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia.

III

Spenser's restaged tournament is occasioned by the marriage of Florimell and Marinell. In this tournament the limits of the masculine codes which the tournament applauds and imparts are again exposed--but this time by Artegall rather than by Britomart. In what constitutes yet another bout of anonymity for Artegall, fame is again qualified when Artegall voluntarily exchanges shields with Braggadocchio. He also follows the example set by Britomart in Satyrane's tournament when he rejects the prize of chivalry. As the winner of the marriage tournament (and the winner of the tournament in IV.iv), Braggadocchio represents the potential excesses of a chivalric system; he possesses all

⁶ Agrippa, A treatise of the nobilitie of woman kynde (1542), E8v. Christine de Pisan similarly describes the Amazon Themarus as "wise in armes [and] governaunce" (70; ch. 57). On directing youthful and chivalric qualities into service, cf. Seneca: "'Anger,' says Aristotle, 'is necessary, and no battle can be won without it ...; it must serve, however, not as a leader, but as the common soldier.' But this is not true. For if it listens to reason and follows where reason leads, it is no longer anger, of which the chief characteristic is wilfulness'" (Seneca, De ira (On Anger), I.ix.2; Seneca's reference to Aristotle has not been identified).

the outer trappings of exemplary masculine status--a costume and impresa, Guyon's horse, and fame (much of it self-proclaimed). However, the microcosmic community is purged of its reliance on such values when the marriage tournament ends not with the usual commendation of a knight but with the defamation of Braggadocchio and with Artegall's restoration of fame to those knights who have truly earned it (V.iii.29ff.). The ritual implications of Braggadocchio's pose as a true knight and his similarity to Artegall may be explained by René Girard's theory of scapegoating: often a scapegoat is chosen because he resembles a threat which cannot itself be banished (Violence and the Sacred, 11).⁷ That is, in Spenser's restaged tournament, it is the youthful, chivalric status of Artegall himself which must be banished; conventional chivalry cannot be destroyed, but it is metaphorically castigated so that the civil order enforced by marriage may be affirmed.⁸

Within the marriage tournament Artegall himself also re-enacts what Britomart could do only outside the boundaries of Satyrane's tournament. He again exercises humility and again assumes his true identity as 'Artegall' (cf. IV.vi.28, 31). He also ensures that a victory based on subordination and dominance is again supplanted by one

⁷ On ritual defamation of a knight, see Leslie, Fierce Warres, 161. Leslie labels V.iii's Braggadocchio an antimasquer who ushers in chaos (180). Bieman perceives the ritual's function in V.iii, when she argues that this tournament ends with "cleansing laughter" (161). On the general characteristics of ceremonial expulsion (sacrifice or scapegoating) of the source of a threat or an affront to a community, see Hubert and Mauss; Burkert 59-77; Girard. For public shaming, expulsion, and castigation as the community's response to offenses against society in early modern England, see Emmison 280-91; Underdown 100-03; Ingram, esp. 93.

⁸ Cf. Lindheim on a similar scapegoating motif in the NA (Structures, 81-86).

that emphasizes flexibility and conciliation: he settles the final contest over ownership of Guyon's horse by rejecting the violent, martial competition, or the "law of armes" that "was the wont of warlike knights of yore" (V.iii.32). When Artegall himself considers violence to Braggadocchio, his choler is likewise checked by the Knight of Temperance (V.iii.36).⁹

This transfer of power from Britomart to Artegall (and to Guyon) suggests that Spenser is exploiting the tournament's ability to create and enforce masculine roles. The aggressive and bestial combatants of Satyrane's tournament, who recall the "youthly rout" (IV.ii.40) of Cambell's tournament in the previous canto, are attractive yet immature. In the marriage tournament, though, the most praiseworthy man is not only the most martially skilled knight but also a bridegroom, actual or potential. The shared victory of Marinell and Artegall (V.iii.12) echoes the final book of *Orlando Furioso*, in which the marriage of Bradamante and Ruggiero is celebrated by a tournament. In two earlier tournaments Bradamante defeats many challengers until she reaches a stalemate with her future bridegroom (Ruggiero disguised as Leon) (cs. 35-36, 44-46). The final tournament, though, shifts its focus from the female knight to the male knight and emphasizes not their marriage but the battles of the bridegroom. In Harington's 1591 explication of the "Allegorie" of this tournament's last battle, the challenger Rodomont--

⁹ Nohrnberg describes Guyon's internal or 'private' (vs. public) temperance (299) in his discussion of the "analogy of private and public order" (285) between Books II and V. Temperance creates order and control out of chaos, and in Book V "a quest like Guyon's is undertaken on behalf of the social body" (352). Nohrnberg also notices that both Guyon and Artegall advise "rash young men" who are subject to wrath, jealousy, melancholy, and other intemperate qualities (357).

a forerunner of the Salvage Knight's Book IV companion Scudamour--represents "the unbridled heat and courage of youth (for in all Rodomonts actions you shall finde him described ever most furious, hastie, and impacient)." Rogero's victory over him demonstrates that youth is "quite vanquished by marriage, and how soever the unrulinesse of youth is excusable in divers kinds, yet after that holy state of matrimonie is entred into, all youthfull wildnes of all kinds must be cast away" (557). The conquest of youth occurs because the moderation implicit in marriage was thought to be more beneficial than the immoderation of youth, and because immature men were not considered ready for the domestic and civil responsibilities that marriage conveyed (cf. Aptekar 99-101).¹⁰ For example, in his praise of Rinaldo--who, like Ariosto's Rodomonte, represents martial and impassioned youth (Tasso, Jerusalem Delivered, e. g., V.51, 56, 58; XIV.58)--Spenser considers Tasso's knight to be an exemplar of private virtues, but remarks that he is not the model of public virtues that the ruler Godfredo is ("A Letter of the Authors").

The evocation of Rodomonte's defeat in the victories of the marital knights Marinell and Artegall also recalls Britomart's defeat of Scudamour in the aftermath of Satyrane's tournament. Despite his betrothed status, Scudamour remains an egotistic bachelor-knight. Like the smitten Amphialus who maintains the masculine-feminine

¹⁰ A contemporary tournament which may have alluded to Ariosto and/or provided a source for Harington or Spenser occurred on 6 December 1584. In this contest, recalls von Wedel, "twelve ... young bachelors" squared off against twelve married men (the queen awarded the prize to the bachelors) (262). Sidney participated in this tournament (J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 195, n.65; Duncan-Jones, Sir Philip Sidney, 271), and its themes perhaps resonate in the confrontation of Argalus and Amphialus in the tiltyard (see below, pp. 277-79).

division of space in his treatment of Philoclea, Scudamour is not inducted into patriarchal order, and instead continues to view male-female relations only from a chivalric perspective. In IV.x, he tells the tale of his betrothal to Amoret from a chivalric perspective which continues to equate love with jousting and the "glorious spoyle" (IV.x.55, 58) of Amoret with the prize of the martial shield (see IV.x.8-10).¹¹ As long as he regards his husbandly role as chivalric, Spenser implies, Scudamour will never locate his bride because he is ill-equipped for his patriarchal role and its selfless, civil duties. He has no place in the marriage tournament of Book V.

When Artegall places the twin Florimells side by side in the tiltyard, he juxtaposes youthful and mature masculine perceptions of the bride (just as Scudamour and Glauce represent these perspectives after Artegall's betrothal to Britomart in IV.vi (see pp. 66-67). The demonized Florimell--the prize and desire of so many merely chivalric knights--melts away, allowing the ceremonies of tournament to enforce only the positive image of the bride and her participation in patriarchal order. Moreover, when Artegall settles the dispute between the knightly contestants Guyon and Braggadocchio, he fulfils the office of the 'Padrine,' a role with a significantly domestic title: in The booke of honor and armes, Segar explains that this word derives from pater, and that these Padrines do not themselves participate in formal chivalric challenges but ensure their fairness and

¹¹ Cf. Evans 193; Hieatt, "Scudamour's Practice of Maistrye," 199; Silberman, Transforming Desire, 78-80, 84-85. Scudamour's chivalric perspective is conveyed by the narrative of his romantic adventures, an authorial strategy which allows him to maintain his knightly status even after betrothal to Amoret. While his flashback tale superficially mimics the maturations of Marinell and Artegall by making our final glimpse of Scudamour that of Amoret's intended (IV.xi.58), Spenser emphasizes Scudamour's still autonomous state.

govern the tiltyard (23; II.5).¹²

Similarly, the martial Marinell who guarded his strand in Book III has disappeared: immersion in humility and compassion has transformed him from a self-centred recluse into a bridegroom with public duties by V.iii. In Book III, Spenser's connection of Marinell to Malbecco implies that Marinell offends patriarchal duties and the institution of marriage and that, through these offenses, he inhibits the establishment of civil order. The two men are linked by their hoarding of wealth, their selfishness, and their sterility (cf. Roche, The Kindly Flame, 204). Just as these characteristics are related to one another in Marinell's immature unworthiness of husbandhood, so they are related in Malbecco's incompetent fulfilment of patriarchal duties. The Elizabethan man became a householder and husband when he could afford it, and the man with resources was bound to provide paternally for his household and those who lived on his lands. As likewise illustrated by Sidney's positive and negative exempla of patriarchy--the hospitable Kalandar (loving father of Clitophon) and the miserly Chremes and wicked Plexirtes (callous sires of Dido and Zelmane)--the patriarch was obligated to keep and govern a household of servants; he was to share his wealth and provide hospitality to travellers; he was a model to those around and beneath him, men and women alike. But Malbecco abdicates these responsibilities; he is husband, father, or governor to no one. Malbecco exhibits mean hospitality towards his guests; he keeps no servants and plays

¹² Artegall's role as judge likewise corresponds to the state of adulthood as it appears in Shakespeare's descriptions of the ages of man (As You Like It, II.vii.153-57; see p. 28, n. 37).

the role of his own porter (III.ix.10ff.).¹³ Related to his abdication of the householder's responsibility is neglect of other husbandly duties. His wife Hellenore may be a bit too "free from hard restraint ... / But he is old, and withered like hay, / Unfit faire Ladies service to supply" (III.ix.4-5). With this explanation Spenser attributes blame for adultery not merely to the wife but also to the husband who should service her sexual needs. In the period the punishments meted out for cuckoldry suggest that it was thought not to be entirely the responsibility of the cheating wife; rather, blame also rested on the husband who could not control or service her. Cuckoldry was consequently a public problem because, when the wife undermined her husband's authority, all male authority was threatened. Moreover, the uncertain paternity implicit in cuckoldry undermined the stability of patrilineal society.¹⁴ By alluding to the

¹³ Cf. the father Dolon's inhospitable behaviour to Britomart (V.vi). Related to Malbecco are also Spenser's other older men, the magic-users Busyrane and Proteus. These figures combat the mysteries of feminine magic with their own powers, but, while they may change things, they are unable to create them. Spenser suggests that those who escape the Adonis role (with its death and recreation) are doomed to a permanent sterility. Berger argues that these males represent one-sided views of love which become obsolete in the face of heterosexual union ("The Faerie Queene, Book III," 422-23).

¹⁴ As Erasmus observes, "Often it's [the husbands'] fault that [their] wives are bad, either because [they] choose bad ones or make them such, or don't train and control them as [they] should" ("The Godly Feast," Colloquies, 60). That wifely transgression was perceived as a threat to society is indicated by the public punishments incurred not only by wives but also by husbands, who were considered responsible for control of those beneath them. In English villages, for example, when men had been dominated or cuckolded by their wives, they became the object of some form of charivari: horns might be hung for all to see above their doors, or they might receive a Skimmington ride in which the transgressors were bound and paraded through the community so that they might be ridiculed, chastised, reviled, or defiled. In other words, the violations of communal order were purged from the community as it "exhorted the hen-pecked husband to take command" (N. Davis, "Women on Top," 140). See also Flandrin, Families in Former Times, 124-25, 127-28; Underdown, esp. 99-101; Ingram 86-90, 93,

destruction of Trojan civilization and lineage (III.ix.33ff.), Spenser suggests that Malbecco's inability to perform as a patriarch in the private household ultimately threatens the commonwealth itself.¹⁵

This context increases the ambiguity of the allusions to Achilles in descriptions of Marinell and Artegall. Though an admirable and famous warrior, Achilles is also the enemy of Troy, that is to say, the enemy of civilization; in The Faerie Queene, implicit in the aggressive desires for glory of the merely martial knight is the inhibition of peaceful civility and the New Troy. When Britomart, the mother of the New Troy, achieves betrothal to Artegall and defeats Marinell on his sterile strand, she ensures productivity and an eternal patrilineage of famous descendants. Through its historical, political, and

97-98; and Gillis 77-81. For a literary example of a Skimmington ride of a married couple, see Thomas Heywood, Late Lancashire Witches (1634), ll. 1880-1956. A possible rationale for the implication of men in wives' behaviour is provided by Cavallo and Cerutti. Marriage, and particularly intercourse, transferred the female's honour to her male partner who at that point took all responsibility for her. Attacks on or subversions of the female's honour were thus equivalent to violations of the male's honour and, ultimately to violations of communal honour; moreover, men used this transfer of honour to control reproduction and to ensure paternity and, in turn, to validate their full ownership of and control over, their families (74-81; see pp. 56-57 for how these violations of honour affect masculine identity).

¹⁵ This threat to social order is intimated in Theocritus' "Epithalamy of Helen" (Poems XVIII). The poem begins by chiding Helen's bridegroom because he lies abed instead of hurrying eagerly to consummate the marriage: the implicit result of Menelaus' neglect of his wife's sexual needs is his cuckolding--and the Trojan War. Malbecco's role, or lack thereof, in civil order has largely been ignored, but on the destruction of civilization and its relationship to Paridell and Hellenore, see Roche, The Kindly Flame, 62-66. More recently, as she argues that Britomart reenacts Aeneas' career to play a civilizing role and to anticipate the founding of Troynovant in III.ix-xi (159-73), Suzuki briefly observes that Malbecco's selfishness is linked to Paridell's and Hellenore's abdication of public and social responsibility (164-65), an abdication which I argue the husband shares to a much greater extent.

geographical allusions (Berger, "Two Spenserian Retrospects." 16-23), the marriage of the Thames and the Medway which marks the union of Florimell and Marinell also demonstrates this civil role of marriage, and, when Florimell and Marinell return to the 'real world' from the otherworld under the sea, public recognition of their marriage in the microcosm of tournament reinforces the establishment of a stable commonwealth.¹⁶

Like Marinell, Artegall is also integrated into civility at the marriage tournament. As the Salvage Knight in Satyrane's tournament, Artegall represents the extreme savagery of chivalric pursuits; he does not enforce order because he is not part of order. There he does not join a team, and he violates the rules which govern the tournament when he leaves before the distribution of honours. His motto, Salvagesse sans Finesse--savageness without refinement or art--indicates a deficiency of civility similar to that displayed by Marinell, Malbecco, and the "uncivile" (III.vii.19) Witch's Son. Accompanying this ungoverned martial 'salvagesse' is chivalry's partner in selfishness, excessive reliance on vainglorious decorum. In his position outside the cooperative bonds of a knightly team, the Salvage Knight joins Braggadocchio (cf. IV.iv.14, iv.20): their voluntary alienation suggests that extreme concern with chivalry's superficialities is equally dangerous to civility. But later, after Britomart tempers his chivalric aggressions and pride (IV.vi), Artegall arrives at the marriage tournament of V.iii in his more responsible role as Britomart's betrothed and father to the civilization of the New Troy.

¹⁶ Roche provides a further Achillean/Trojan connection in their marriage by invoking the tradition in which, after his death, Achilles marries Helen, who is a model for Florimell (The Kindly Flame, 186; cf. Nohrnberg 114). Unlike Achilles and Helen, though, Marinell and Florimell must return to worldly concerns.

As in Satyrane's tournament, Artegall is identified with Braggadocchio, but that identification is broken when he follows the example set by Britomart in Satyrane's tournament and rejects the prize of chivalry. Then he can use law to create order because he participates in that order, and he can ensure, as Britomart could not in Book IV, that this tournament does not dissolve into chaos (cf. IV.v.22.ff.).¹⁷

The private encounter of Britomart and Artegall is replayed in a public forum because its consequences must be validated through ceremony: they must be effected by men within masculine space. Although held in honour of marriage, the tournament subordinates the marriage itself and the bride--unlike, for example, the public rituals of Epithalamion and the tradition on which that poem relies.¹⁸ In other words, the power of Britomart during and after Satyrane's tournament is officially subsumed by Artegall and incorporated into male-governed order.¹⁹ At the same time, however, it is important to recognize that, without the occasion of marriage, chivalric contests would

¹⁷ Huizinga relates law and play as forms of contest (76-88). It might be said, then, that Artegall transforms the rules of the game of tournament from those which benefit the individual knight to those which benefit the community when he replaces one method of play (the joust) with another (the exercise of justice). On Artegall's actions here, cf. Hamilton, who contends that Artegall "establishes the perfected society at the spousals of Florimell" (Structure of Allegory, 189).

¹⁸ Interestingly, though, the partnership of marriage and tournament in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is perhaps related to a "tradition of sexual violence that had surfaced in the wedding-poems of [Spenser's] time. The conceits include a bedroom combat in which it is anticipated that the bride will be roughly used, the engagement to culminate in a traumatic thrust" (Nohnberg 475; see also Forster 110-18).

¹⁹ Cf. D. Miller's argument that, despite its celebration of the androgynous, the 1590 Faerie Queene constantly returns to or reveals its grounding in patriarchy and the preeminence of the masculine (28, 215-81). However, while Miller sees the feminine as completely absorbed after its union with the masculine, I shall instead suggest that it is an incorporated, yet still recognizably distinct, component of a single hierarchy.

not take place. That is, marriage provides a rationale for the service of youth and chivalry to patriarchal empire.²⁰

In a broader sense, Spenser employs the rituals of tournament to suggest that masculine control must accept and guide feminine influences in a tempered hierarchy before they can have a public effect. Although Britomart and Florimell control the private, 'liminal' stages of Marinell's experience, Spenser situates their outcome, Marinell's status as bridegroom, in patriarchal order. While Cymoent and her nymphs attempt to heal Marinell, and while it is Florimell's presence which revives him, the credit for his recovery goes to Apollo--a male god, depicted as the quintessential youth (Bateman A2r-A3v).²¹ Furthermore, Cymoent cannot sanction the marriage of Marinell to Florimell; rather, she must appeal to the highest patriarchal authority,

²⁰ Cf. Orlando Furioso where Ruggiero's day-and-night jousting at his marriage tournament leaves little time for consummation of the union although the marriage bed itself lies in a pavilion in the fields where the martial contest takes place. When the poem ends with Ruggiero's defeat of Rodomonte on these same fields--rather than with nuptial fulfilment of the prophecies of empire--Ruggiero's chivalric victory is equated with the consummation which will lead to years of civil order, power, and strength. In a related discussion, Kipling shows how the application of Burgundian pageantry in Tudor marriage festivities not only united lovers and celebrated romantic fulfilment but also united kingdoms and celebrated the harmony of international peace (104-05). He also provides a useful analogue in his account of the function of the Tree of Chivalry at the marriage celebration of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501 (Kipling 119-21). Initially, the shields of the contestants were to have hung beneath the arms of the bride and groom (at the very top of the tree). In subsequent modification, a knight entered the contests by affixing his shield to one of three fruit-bearing Trees of Chivalry, that is, by "offer[ing] his shield as a chivalric tribute to the honour of the wedding" (Kipling 121). In both cases, though, the pageantry expresses both the subordinate service of chivalry to civil order, and the symbiotic relationship among chivalry, marriage, and national productivity.

²¹ Cf. Redcrosse Knight's return to the womb to be reborn not only from Charissa but also from Arthur (The FQ, I.viii.38.6-7n).

Neptune, who in turn validates Marinell's new role. Finally, the betrothed Marinell resumes his arms as a victorious bridegroom/knight in the tournament of V.iii, a now somewhat androgynous, but still predominately masculine, venue. The necessity of return to this patriarchal 'counter-structure' (as Turner would call it) is also emphasized in the marriage tournament's revision of Cambell's tournament (IV.iii) as well as Satyrane's. Beneath its ceremonies, Cambell's tournament resembles Satyrane's in the way it conceals a savage chivalric discord which can be resolved only by external forces. But then Cambina, like Britomart in IV.iv, violates the boundaries of masculine space and "softly" eclipses martial violence by importing a new 'feminine' magic into microcosmic, male-governed order: "arriving by the listes side, / Shee with her rod did softly smite the raile, / Which straight flew ope" (IV.iii.46).²² To create order in Satyrane's tournament Britomart uses similar magic; however, she employs not a rod but a spear, working within the rules and expectations of the tournament itself as an apparently male contestant. In the marriage tournament Artegall--as a male--even more evidently works (without the use of magic) within these rules and expectations to assert civility. Gradually, female otherness is brought into patriarchal space by male-governed rituals. These rituals reenact the mysteries of liminality (an essentially feminine space in The Faerie Queene) in a less inaccessible manner, and they allow feminine forces to emerge from their passive roles in chivalric order, assigning them a subordinate but

²² "[H]ow carefully Spenser chooses that term soft to contrast the knights' violent wrath" in his description of Britomart's intrusion on chivalric order at IV.vi.8 (Hamilton, Structure, 160).

nonetheless active place in patriarchal order.²³

Artegall's actions in the tournament of V.iii thus sanction the intervention of Britomart in IV.iv and IV.vi, because they take place in microcosmic order and are validated through ritual. But the marriage tournament of V.iii not only restages Satyrane's tournament of IV.iv; it also restages Cambell's tournament of IV.iii, similarly situating the concordia discors established there by the female Cambina in patriarchal order. In the role of Cybele, the mother of civilization (cf. Nohrnberg 649), Cambina ends savagery in the tiltyard and subdues an "unruly preace" (IV.iii.41) of bystanders; her resolution of this strife anticipates her marriage to Cambell, and Canacee's to Triamond

²³ The nature of the hierarchical arrangement of male and female in Book V has given rise to much critical debate, primarily because Book V appears to refute (esp. V.v.25, vii.42) Book III's profeminism and anticipation of Britomart's rule of the New Troy. A particularly incongruous and/or alarming incident for many critics is Britomart's defeat of Radigund and subsequent subjection of women to men (e. g., Alpers 304). Many critics have reconciled these paradoxes as they pertain to the woman ruler as a reflection of Calvinist divine exception (Phillips, "Woman Ruler," esp. 233-34; Benson; Woods; Stump, "Spenser on Women's Rule"). The tensions are not so easily resolved, however, when Britomart is considered not so much as a ruler but as a wife, an everywoman. Whereas Britomart's subjection was read in 1968 as necessary to her wifehood--Dunseath's "Britomart now has all the attributes of a perfect wife" (181)--in 1989 Suzuki reads it as the sacrifice of Britomart's most admirable qualities to patriarchy (177-95, esp. 186-88). More moderate positions are taken by Davies, J. Roberts, "Radigund Revisited"; Thickstun 57; and Woods. There is a "larger plan of hierarchical design, wherein the magistrates are forced to swear loyalty to Artegall, who in turn will serve as a joint ruler with Britomart" (Roberts 196; cf. Woods 155), and the actions of Britomart and Artegall are characterized by a "poetics of choice" and a "mutuality of submission" (Woods 153). Davies relies on Erasmus' discussions of marriage and their antecedents in Elizabethan treatises to demonstrate that mutual caritas and hierarchy were coexistent, and that, when a woman chose submission, she acquired authority (26). As Davies notices, inherent in Spenser's expression of male-female mutuality is the protestant companionate marriage; on this tradition, see Haller, "Hail Wedded Love"; Haller and Haller, "Puritan Art of Love"; Mary Beth Rose, Expense of Spirit 2-16, 29-42, 93-177; Thickstun 4-34.

(IV.iii.52), a resolution reflected in their selfless behaviour at the subsequent tournament (IV.iv.36). Later, during the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, it is the bridegroom Thames who plays the civilizing role of Cybele (IV.xi.28).²⁴ Finally, in the marriage tournament, Artegall officially assumes this feminine role as Spenser conveys concordia discors and the generation of civilization by evoking another myth: the marriage of Mars and Venus.

Though Venus was sometimes depicted as the consort of Vulcan and the illicit lover of Mars, Renaissance readers were also familiar with an alternate legend which portrayed the goddess as the bride of Mars.²⁵ Their union of contraries--love and war, creativity and destruction--produces their daughter Harmony (Harmonia est concordia discors). The stabilizing effects of this marriage parallel those of the subdued Mars myth in which Mars sleeps or is enchained, or those of the Venus armata myth in which Venus takes up the armour of Mars but for peaceful purposes (Wind 84-87).

Spenser relies on all these traditions to demonstrate how Artegall's association

²⁴ Silberman argues that Spenser here revises Catullus' poem on Cybele (63.1-11), which begins with a castration (Transforming Desire, 134-36). Her reading supports my argument that chivalric perceptions of male-female union as an emasculating threat are transformed to patriarchal regard for marriage's role in civilization.

²⁵ On the marriage of Venus and Mars in classical and neoplatonic writing and in Renaissance art, see Wind 81-83, 87-88. Most notable of these sources is perhaps Plutarch's Isis and Osiris, an influence on Book V of The FQ: "Concord is sprung from Aphroditè and Ares, the one of whom is harsh and contentious, and the other mild and tutelary" (47); the creation and constitution of this world is complex, resulting, as it does, from opposing influences, which, however, are not of equal strength, but the predominance rests with the better" (49). Panofsky further demonstrates that the Venus-Mars marriage was a traditional motif for continental wedding portraits (162-64). I am grateful to Benjamin Lockerd for his suggestion that I consider the relevance of this myth.

with Britomart allows him to make use of her powers without threatening male-governed order. In Satyrane's tournament, the victor Britomart is a Venus armata figure, while the prize, the cestus of Florimell, signifies the superficiality of the tournament's codes. The cestus is the very one made by Vulcan "to bind lascivious desire" (IV.v.4) in the adulterous Venus, but, "when she ... visite[s] her beloved Paramoure, / The God of warre" (IV.v.5), she merely removes it. In the marriage tournament, however, the tempering of martial aggression through the nuptials of Florimell and Marinell suggests the tradition of the legitimate marriage of Mars and Venus; here Artegall returns the cestus to a "continent and chast" (V.iii.28) Florimell. At the same time, Britomart's function as Venus armata in IV.iv is displaced by the lawful joining of Venus and Mars, an allusion which suggests similar accord but does so without subduing or eradicating masculine power. Like most of the unions of male and female in The Faerie Queene, this myth suggests that there can be no creation without destruction (Wind 83; Panofsky 164): the generation of civilization makes inevitable the deaths of men such as Artegall and Ruggiero.²⁶ However, the union of Venus and Mars also produces peace and perpetual civilization--and does so through balance and moderation of masculine and feminine principles.²⁷ This symbiotic relationship is envisioned throughout The Faerie

²⁶ On the mingling of generation and destruction (with its roots in the Isis-Osiris myth) as a theme of Book V, see Angus Fletcher 192-204.

²⁷ As Wind concludes, "the roles of Mars and Venus, which would normally be divided between man and woman, both recur within man and woman as such. The principle of the 'whole in the part' entails this rather baffling conclusion: that Venus is not only joined to Mars, but that his nature is an essential part of her own, and vice versa." One cannot over-dominate the other; they must be tempered: this is how peace is achieved (87; cf. 162-64).

Queene, but its depiction in the tiltyard has a special function. Unlike many of Spenser's jurisdictions of idealized generation and order (such as the Gardens of Adonis, the Temple of Venus, the Graces' Dance, or the Two Cantoes of Mutabilitie), the tiltyard is not contained, nor is it mythologically remote. As microcosm and ritual, tournament imports the ideals of civility into real social order so that humans may participate in them.

The resolution of the marriage tournament parallels other movements in Book V toward a civility that is male-governed but that derives from a tempered balance of masculine and feminine power in patriarchal order. In each case achieving such civility demands the modification of chivalric perceptions of women--or the exorcism of the demonized females (such as the False Florimell) who reflect those perceptions. In V.vii, for example, Britomart destroys Radigund and establishes a new order in the Amazonian city.²⁸ Although that new order involves Britomart's deference to male power (V.vii.43), her sacrifice of the power she has wielded throughout the poem does not, as Mihoko Suzuki has suggested (177-95), diminish her. Rather, Britomart assumes her place in a balanced hierarchy: Artegall's governance conceals moderation of masculine and feminine (Talus and Britomart) power beneath its androgynously male head. Moreover, just as it is important that Artegall bow to Britomart in the liminal moments of Book IV, it is likewise important that she "yeeld[s] her consent / To ... take him for her Lord" (V.vii.41) in a reestablishment of normal order in Book V. Britomart's

²⁸ Anticipation of the New Troy is evident here. As Suzuki notes, "Artegall displaces Britomart as 'Aeneas' in this episode [i. e., the role Britomart played in Book III], thus making Radigund a Dido figure and Britomart ... a Lavinia" (177).

acceptance of the status quo does not negate Artegall's earlier submission to her, but only extends their private relationship of symbiotic service into the public sphere, where they will "joyne in equall portion of [their] realme" (V.vii.23) just as Isis and Osiris "both like race in equall justice runne" (V.vii.4).

While hierarchical structures are fundamental to Elizabethan conceptions of order, they do not prohibit mutual balances of power. The male's duty lies in the appropriate use of his privileged position. Sidney's Euarchus, for example, serves his subjects; even those at the top of the hierarchy should maintain a duty to those beneath them as many Elizabethan treatises on governance note. Spenser posits such masculine responsibility when he accounts for the aberrant power of Radigund. The rule of females is produced by their rejection of "the shamefast band. / With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd, / T'obay the heasts of mans well ruling hand" (V.v.25). In other words, as the Malbecco episode suggests, women must obey not just any male governance but only that which is "well ruling," a term which indicates both self-governance and governance over others.²⁹ In addition, although Elizabethan women publicly and legally were subordinate to their husbands, within their own domestic

²⁹ In Erasmus' colloquy on "Marriage," one of the female speakers argues that a wife should serve her husband only if the husband "remember[s] his duty" and only "Provided he deserves to be called husband" (*Colloquies*, 117); he must not be tyrannous or abuse his powers, and he should not treat his wife like a servant. Cleaver similarly explains that a husband must not abuse his power over his wife, and that, if the wife is other than helpful, "it is for the most part, through the fault, and want of discretion, and lacke of good government in the husband" (156). On a public level, one of the cases in which Calvin excuses the unnaturalness of women's rule is in God's condemnation of the dereliction of men ("To William Cecil," 1559). On the responsibilities of the husband, see pp. 24-29; James I and VI, *Basilikon doron*, 96-100; Woodbridge 75-76; Ezell 101-05.

spheres women held power almost equal to that of their husbands.³⁰ This private and public division of power is reflected in the different venues in which the encounters of Britomart and Artegall take place. In the masculine public sphere signified by the microcosm of tournament, Artegall does not submit to Britomart as he did in their private encounter outside the tiltyard, and Britomart's public acceptance of conventional order in Radegone asserts that a hierarchy of gender is necessary to the health and productivity of the state.³¹ To reinforce the importance of male governance, in her defeat of Radigund Britomart both works with Talus and refuses to follow the traditional rules of Radegone, "For her no other termes should ever tie / Then what prescribed were by lawes of chevalrie" (V.vii.28). These are the masculine codes which Britomart necessarily undermines in Book IV, and which Artegall ignores in the marriage tournament. However, once her efforts have tempered these codes and fashioned a "well ruling" governor, Britomart may reassert them, laying the foundation of patriarchal

³⁰ Erasmus notes that household affairs are "the special province of wives" ("Marriage," *Colloquies*, 119), and Smith concurs:

The man & wife are partners like two owers in a boate, therefore hee must divide offices, and affaires, & goods with her, causing her to bee feared and revered, and obeied of her children & servants like himselfe; for she is as an under officer in his Common weale, and therefore she must be assisted & borne out, like his deputie, as the Prince standeth with his Magistrates for his owne quiet, because they are the legges which beare him up. To shew this communitie betweene husband and wife, he is to maintaine her as he dooth himselfe, because Christ saith, They are no more two but one. (*A preparative to mariage*, 66-67)

Cf. Gouge 128-32. See p. 2, n. 2.

³¹ Cf. Silberman's contention that the ideal of the hermaphrodite and the harmony of the sexes which it signifies "cannot be sustained in a culture of sexual hierarchy" (*Transforming Desire*, 5).

order in Radegone and accepting her 'natural' place in that order. In a sense, Britomart imports the mysterious and alien forces of Isis Church, inaccessible to Talus and Artegall, into the 'real world'--a male-governed city--in an acceptable manner. Just as the once exclusively masculine space of tournament admits androgynous union and marriage and creates social order, the once exclusively feminine community of Radegone is absorbed into heterosexual civilization. For this to happen, men must no longer regard women as threats but must view them as partners in a hierarchical community whose power lies in its productivity. For Spenser patriarchy is necessarily masculine and feminine; however, its equality lies not in the shared power that the word 'partner' connotes today, but in the division of masculine and feminine faculties, duties, and spheres of influence.³²

Other episodes in Book V similarly reject the separation of the sexes and indicate the importance of their hierarchical union in civil order. In V.viii, Artegall and his post-Radegonian companion Arthur expel Adicia from another walled city to the wild wood, where she is transformed into a tiger. Twice Spenser emphasizes that Adicia must be removed from men in particular (V.ix.1-2), in part because, as I suggested in Chapter Three, Adicia is the murderous mother and dismembering Maenad (v.viii.46-47, 49) who

³² Spenser's (and Sidney's) employment of the androgynous figure to illustrate this point perhaps relies on a contemporary interpretation of the Ovidian hermaphrodite described by Silberman ("Mythographic Transformations of Ovid's Hermaphrodite"). In this tradition, Salmacis' fountain is related to the building of a city; the hermaphrodite or the temperance of masculine and feminine signify "civic harmony" (643, cf. 650). Cf. Hamilton: "this figure of the perfected human state, the hermaphroditic state of marriage, is the unifying metaphor of Book V," and it is a "social relationship, one achieved within society" (*Structure of Allegory*, 220).

has plagued the bachelor knights of the poem since her manifestation in Error.³³ But, like Radigund and even Britomart, Adicia also embodies the very traits of the chivalric order she threatens: the "furious and fell" (V.ix.1) passions that oppose reason-- "boldnesse" (V.ix.1), "revenge and furious despight" (V.viii.46: cf. 45)--and "salvage" bestiality (V.ix.1). The feminine peril she represents can no more be assimilated into the new civic government that Artegall and Arthur establish than can the proud aggression of the Salvage Knight or any representative of male youth in the poem: these two threats to civility are inextricably connected through their exclusivity. Just as Artegall cannot regain or claim his identity as 'Artegall,' consort of Britomart, until Radigund is destroyed or until the marriage tournament is purged of Braggadocchio, only when Adicia departs can Artegall enter the city, "himselpe discovering plaine" (V.viii.50). And, just as Artegall re-enacts Britomart's role in IV.iv and IV.vi in the marriage tournament, he re-enacts the victory of Britomart and Talus (manifestations of Artegall) in Radegone when he expels Adicia with similar implications for civil order.³⁴

The episodes of the androgynous ruler Mercilla in her castle and the fortress of Belge continue this redefinition of feminine forces in patriarchal context. When Mercilla finally destroys the 'bad' women Duessa and Ate in canto nine, she not only represents Elizabeth destroying Mary Queen of Scots. The company Duessa keeps with Ate also evokes the disorderly witches and mortal mothers who threaten chivalric masculinity, and

³³ Thus in one sense Artegall realizes Book V's early description of him as Bacchus (V.i.2)--not only a figure of justice but also a man who is not violated by the Maenads who surround him (Cartari Y3r-v) and a figure of civility (see p. 233, n. 70).

³⁴ On civilization and city in *The FQ*, see Roche, *The Kindly Flame*, 34-50.

the episode shows the importance of banishing such forces to a successful commonwealth.³⁵ As Mercilla decides their fates, her superior position over the lion (V.ix.33) parallels the position of Isis over the crocodile, and she is surrounded by both males and females (V.ix.31-32): each image suggests the tempering of masculine law and feminine mercy necessary to justice and civil order. By cantos ten and eleven, maternity may reenter the poem not as a force which disrupts civil stability but as one which promotes it. Belge is "mother of a frutefull heritage, / Even seventeene goodly sonnes" (V.x.7); at the same time she is Belgium, a positive version of the feminine enclosed city (V.x.23, pp. 171-72). When Arthur defeats the giant who has eaten the children of Belge, causing his arms to fall away "Like fruitlesse braunches" (V.xi.11) from a tree, the city again prospers with the mother Belge's return. This redefinition of maternity is contingent on the redefinition of the chivalric quest, the vocation of every virtuous male figure (and male reader) of *The Faerie Queene*. As Arthur explains to Belge, knightly deeds should not serve the selfish desires of bachelor chivalry but should benefit society: "deedes ought not be scand / By th'authors manhood, nor the doers might, / But by their trueth and by the causes right" (V.xi.17). Thus, although the episodes which conclude Book V--the Souldan, Mercilla, and Belge--often tend to be read primarily as historical

³⁵ As Suzuki notes, "Spenser presents the fall of cities--such as Babylon, Thebes, Rome, and Troy--as *Ate*'s work (4.1.22). The reference to the Judgment of Paris, 'the golden Apple, cause of all their wrong' (4.1.22), is particularly appropriate, since Paridell accompanies *Ate* [in Book IV]; in fact, *Ate* functions here as a monstrous type of Helen. In addition, Spenser alludes to the *Iliad*'s *Ate* who Agamemnon claimed caused the strife between himself and Achilles (19.86-94), thus creating the material for the *Iliad*. Seen in this light, Spenser's Duessa and *Ate* recapitulate the *Iliad*'s Helen and *Ate*" (201).

and political allegories,³⁶ their simultaneous implications as allegories of gender in a public context should not be ignored.³⁷ Chivalry must be transformed to patriarchy: gender relations based on exclusivity and 'otherness,' both feminine and masculine, must be displaced to make way for peace, productivity, and civility.

IV

Sidney joins Spenser in exploring masculine roles through the medium of tournament, but, while private order contributes to public order in The Faerie Queene, in the New

³⁶ The historical allusions in these episodes have provided a focal point for Spenser criticism practically since its inception. See Var. 5.225-28, 244-46, 250-54, and "Appendix II: Historical Allegory," 299-335. Later criticism continues to identify historical allusions: see, e. g., Neill, "The Faerie Queene and the Mary Stuart Controversy"; Hulbert, "The Belge Episode"; Graziani; Nelson, "Queen Elizabeth, Spenser's Mercilla"; Phillips, "Renaissance Concepts of Justice," 482-87; Northrop, "Spenser's Defense of Elizabeth," and "Mercilla's Court as Parliament." In addition, recent work focuses on the more general role of history in the book and its relationship to mythology and the abstract virtue of Justice: see Angus Fletcher, esp. 135-304; and O'Connell, Mirror and Veil, 125-60. For useful summaries of criticism on V.viii-xii, and for a measure of the continued prevalence of historical/political readings, whether specific or general, of Book V, see entries in The Spenser Encyclopedia: O'Connell, "The Faerie Queene, Book V"; Hardin, "Adicia, Souldan"; Prescott, "Belge."

³⁷ Berger rightly argues that in Book V love is set "in a historical, national, and political context alive with contemporary European problems" ("Two Spenserian Retrospects," 14). Similarly, Angus Fletcher remarks on the "focusing [of] political myth" in "heroic eros," and on relations among the microcosm of family and male-female union, the political and legal relationship of subjects to sovereign, and the mythos of Justice (248-49). And Hamilton sees the perfected hermaphroditic state in political and social arrangements: "Once the true marriage is achieved by Britomart and Artegall, Arthur overthrows the evil marriage of Adicia and the Souldan, Duessa's efforts to destroy social bonds are revealed in Mercilla's court, Arthur overthrows Gerioneo's destroying alliance with the widow Belge, Artegall unites Burbon and Flourdelis in marriage, and finally he 'marries' Irena to her people" (Structure of Allegory, 220).

Arcadia they become increasingly distinct.³⁸ Like The Faerie Queene, the New Arcadia suggests that heterosexual union engenders peaceful stability. Unlike The Faerie Queene, though, the New Arcadia does not celebrate marriage in its revised tournament, nor does it rely on this tournament to validate civil order. Rather, these challenges destroy the perfect marriage of Argalus and Parthenia, and they mirror the disorder of the war which inspires them.

For Sidney, the foundation of civil stability is the masculine ties fostered by friendship and competition, often in war. In one of the Book II histories, the fathers of Musidorus and Pyrocles, Dorilaus and his "friend and brother, Euarchus, ... begat, of a just war, the best child--peace; in which time Euarchus made a cross-marriage also with Dorilaus' sister, and shortly left her with child of the famous Pyrocles" (162). Pyrocles is not only the infant product of this model--male friendship leading to male-female union and this union in turn leading to civil order--but later he also becomes its youthful perpetuator in a system of order which resembles that depicted in Spenser's historical catalogues: both patterns represent the strong commonwealth as the result of a continual cycle of male descendants and their martial accomplishments and marriages. In Book I war prevents the marriage of Clitophon (26.7-12), but Pyrocles ensures that the war's end creates a climate conducive to marriage. Specifically, "that ... bad humour of revenge" which pervades the battlefield becomes "perfect peace" (39) when the

³⁸ My subsequent argument is compatible with those of J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 264, 277-79; A. Ferguson 115-18; and C. Kinney. Where my argument diverges is in its consideration of marriage, in its identification of chivalric codes with a necessary stage of masculine youth, and in its extension of the public/private conflict beyond the experiences of Amphialus.

friendship of Pyrocles and Musidorus leads to parley; the Helot-Lacadaemonian treaty engineered by the androgynous Daiphantus stresses male citizenship and the production of children:

all indifferently to enjoy both names and privileges of Laconians; your children to be brought up with theirs ...; and so you, framing yourselves to be good members of that estate, ... are to take minds of peace since the cause of war is finished, and as you hated them before ..., so now to love them as brothers, ... and to labour by virtuous doing that the posterity may not repent your joining. (41)

Thus male-male bonds lead to male-female bonds; in turn, male-female bonds create children and, consequently, civil order.³⁹ Sidney emphasizes this graduated pattern in the aftermath of Book I's rebellion: description of the war and treaty is followed by description of the Argalus-Parthenia union. Moreover, just as Spenser situates the betrothal of Marinell within the public ceremonies of tournament ("The time and place was blazed farre and wide" (V.iii. 2)), Sidney emphasizes the civil role of marriage by setting the contractual and spiritual apparatus of marriage within the public domain. After Parthenia insists that she and Argalus settle the terms of their engagement "publicly" (43), the marriage itself is validated in Kalander's hospitable house and in a temple where all can observe it (45, 48).

The contrasting history of Clitophon reinforces the association of marriage with

³⁹ Cf. the "new-begun friendship" (77) of Pyrocles and Musidorus after Pyrocles has declared himself in love. Spenser likewise follows this pattern in the legend of Cambell and Triamond. Bonds of brotherhood and chivalric fellowship are transformed into bonds of marriage as the souls of the three brothers unite in one body to marry Canacee; in addition, Cambina establishes peace by ending cruel combat between Triamond and Cambell first in male friendship and then in marriages which are enforced by the microcosmic ceremonies of tournament (IV.iii.47-52). More often, though, Spenser displaces male-male bonds with heterosexual union.

civility and peace and its incompatibility with chivalric aggression. Argalus and the betrothed Clitophon are imprisoned together, but, when the war ends, it is only Argalus who marries. He consequently exempts himself from vainglorious pursuits, staying at home with Parthenia. On the other hand, after Clitophon forgets his first engagement and is not welcomed into a second one by Queen Helen (NA, 527, 101.24n.), he turns to chivalric affairs and appears in the Tournament of Beauty in Book I in an uncivil and immature role which parallels that of Spenser's Salvage Knight. In response to his loss of glory, Clitophon violates the order and decorum of tournament--and by implication, social order--when he "omit[s] his duty to his prince and uncle. and suddenly [goes] his way" (101). Notably, no husbands defend their wives' portraits in the Tournament of Beauty; in particular, "the famous Argalus" does not appear in the tiltyard to recover Parthenia's portrait because she tempers his "chafe" or anger, rejecting the cause as one which should "make Argalus put on armour" (97).⁴⁰

But, as the history of Euarchus suggests, a stable commonwealth can be achieved sometimes only through "just" wars, and soldiers must be kept in readiness: Musidorus finds himself inferior to the Helot enemy because his Arcadian force is "disused with a long peace" (34). Queen Helen relies on "continual martial exercises without blood" to ensure that her knights are "perfect in that bloody art" (253). The potential training ground for martial service to the state is the 'play war' of tournament, and it is this

⁴⁰ On the relationship between masculine war and (an often emasculating) feminine peace in the period, see Woodbridge 75, 102-03, 159-63, 315-16.

relationship of chivalry to war that Sidney explores in Book III.⁴¹

That Sidney posits the secure and productive state as a potential result of the military struggles of the New Arcadia is evident in that state's idealized depiction near the beginning of the work: in Kalander's garden is "a naked Venus [who] ... At her breast ... had her babe Aeneas who seemed, having begun to suck, to leave that to look upon her fair eyes which smiled at the babe's folly, the mean while the breast running" (14). This image of positive maternity, birth, and empire combats the negative conceptions of emasculating femininity which join it in the garden (see pp. 157-58) and provides a patriarchal lens through which to view the portrait of Philoclea and Pyrocles' subsequent relationship with her. Thus the chivalric endeavours of war may serve patriarchal civility as they do in the history of Euarchus or the episode of Pyrocles among the Helots, redefining feminine power in this service from emasculating threat to stabilizing maternity. Throughout the New Arcadia, chivalry and patriarchy remain largely disparate systems, each with its own norms and values. In some wars described in the text (the Helot rebellion, Euarchus' wars), chivalry serves patriarchy, but this service is not maintained, and, by Book III, chivalry threatens to overwhelm patriarchy.

In the midst of the rebellion of Book III, Phalantus, bored by the long siege, "desired to keep his valure in knowledge by some private act, since the public policy

⁴¹ Whitney attaches the motto "In pace de bello" to a picture of a boar who continues to sharpen his tusks even in the absence of foes, "Which teacheth us, in peace, our force for warres to frame: / Whereby, we either shall subdue, or loose the field with fame" (153). On the training function of tournament, even in the Elizabethan era where tournaments largely served as dramatic entertainment, see Strong, Art and Power, 12. For a classical version of the argument that athletic games train men for war, see Plato, Republic III.13.

restrained him" (364). His subsequent chivalric challenges expose the fundamental disjunction between private, youthful desire and public, patriarchal need that is at the heart of the rebellion itself. As I argued in Chapter Two, in Book III love does not help Amphialus to participate in patriarchal order but more firmly entrenches him in chivalric order, and chivalry motivates his behaviour during his rebellion. In the first battle of the rebellion, Amphialus' fulfilment of his chivalric role comes only at the expense of those roles which contribute to civil stability. In the Helot rebellion the battles of Kalander and Clitophon, and Pyrocles and Musidorus, are resolved when the combatants recognize one another as father, son, cousins, friends. On the other hand, Amphialus and his forces effect the brotherly unions of Book I only by slaughtering fathers, sons, and friends: the loving friends Agenor and Leontius are "happy that one place and one time did finish both their loves and lives together" (340); the father Aeschylus and his loyal son "become twins in their never-again-dying birth" (341). Consequently, civil stability is never established because male-female bonds are not given a chance to be erected upon these loving male-male bonds. Moreover, while in Book II going to war represents a coming of age for the princes (135.9-15), in Book III the deaths of Agenor and Ismenus before full maturity violate the pattern established in the aftermath of the Helot rebellion: war no longer ends in male friendship, marriage, production of children, and civil order. Agenor is "a young man, youngest brother to Philanax, whose face as yet did not bewray his sex with so much as show of hair ... and lately grown a lover" (339); Ismenus, squire to Amphialus, "ma[kes] his tender age aspire to acts of the strongest manhood" (343). Notably, in the aftermath of this battle, Amphialus expresses his love

for Philoclea by composing a song in which he recapitulates the choice of Paris (346-52)--a choice which results in war and the annihilation of Trojan civilization. Finally, in the wartime tournament, Amphialus' slaying of a husband destroys the private union which had accompanied the resolution of the Helot rebellion. This time the androgynous contestant--Parthenia in male disguise--is not victorious but mortally wounded. Moreover, in the description of Parthenia's chivalric persona as the Knight of the Tomb, Sidney emphasizes that Amphialus' slaying of Argalus and Parthenia ensures that they will leave no issue to contribute to future stability (cf. Martin 385):

himself in an armour all painted over with such a cunning of shadow that it represented a gaping sepulchre.... His bases ... were embrodered only with black worms, which seemed to crawl up and down, as ready already to devour him. In his shield for impresa he had a beautiful child, but having two heads--whereon, the one showed that it was already dead; the other alive, but in that case necessarily looking for death. (395-96)

Marriage is a metonymy for civilization, and the deaths of Argalus and Parthenia represent the destruction not only of exemplary individuals but also of the civil order that marriage underpins and corresponds to. Like Marinell in Book III or the Salvage Knight in Satyrane's tournament, Amphialus is so concerned with his martial performance in Book III that he shatters the bonds on which civilization is built, both the ties of amity and family among men and the institution and productivity of marriage.

The conflict between private and public is not, however, confined to Amphialus. Even the exemplary Argalus experiences the tension. In his private role as husband, Argalus twice renounces the responses of the bachelor knight. He rejects his anger and does not redeem Parthenia's portrait from the superficial Tournament of Beauty, and, on an earlier occasion, when Demagoras ravages Parthenia's beauty, Argalus "defer[s]

his intended revenge ... because he might continually be in her presence, showing more humble serviceableness and joy to content her than ever before" (31). On a public level, however, Argalus can ignore neither the demands of his own reputation, nor the expectation of martial duties to his sovereign. Sovereign and wife represent conflicting expectations. Basilius at first spares Argalus from war "in respect of his late marriage" (371), "But now his [Basilius'] honour, and (as he esteemed it) felicity standing upon it, he could no longer forbear to challenge of him his faithful service" (371). However, Parthenia complains, "Your valour is already sufficiently known. Sufficiently have you already done for your country.... What shall become of me if thus you abandon me? Then was it time for you to follow these adventures when you adventured nobody but yourself and were nobody's but your own--but now ... mine you are.... will you endanger Parthenia?" (372-73). Consequently, in the tiltyard Argalus is "not so much striving with Amphialus ... as labouring against his own power" (377); he is "carried away by the tyranny of honour" (373). Parthenia, "never till now [i. e., until Argalus' chivalric combat] unwelcome" (377), follows her husband to the last, trying to impose marriage's civilizing power on war and chivalry but failing miserably. Ideally, private conduct should be compatible with and reinforce public conduct, but the Elizabethans' model of correspondences between household and commonwealth breaks down as Argalus' honour and his duty to his country compete with his marriage. The dying words of Argalus allude to his conflicting roles as knight and as husband and his failure in both: "let not ... this [chivalric] disgrace of mine make thee one day think thou hadst an unworthy husband" (378).

Phalantus, motivated solely by private and selfish aspirations to glory, does not fit into a system which privileges civil order: he feels no duty of citizenship toward his sovereign and departs from the war, and the text, because his chivalric vow prevents him from remaining among the political enemies of the exemplary Amphialus (370.11-15). But the gulf Phalantus has exposed between private desires and public demands continues to widen, and most men, from the most lowly to the most high, cannot ignore public responsibility. The combat of Dametas and Clinias not only parodies chivalric combat (J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 260-62), but also, in its placement just after the death of Argalus, offers sober commentary on that tragedy. Like Argalus, both have been compelled to compete as knights because of the expectations of their fellows and because of unavoidable duty to their sovereigns. Conversely, in egregious violations of that duty, the opposing rulers themselves subjugate private interests to public responsibility. Amphialus acts "like a private soldier, setting [his] credit upon particular fighting" (346), and Basilius ignores Philanax's advice to behave as a "prince--and a father of people" with the public interest in mind, and instead makes military decisions based on his adulterous interest in Zelmane (418).

The New Arcadia thus demands to know whether chivalry, so much a source of private glory, actually serves civility. Amphialus' rebellion begins with the chivalric glorification which characterizes male combat throughout the New Arcadia, but this gallant "mask" (345) is soon peeled back to reveal the horrifying reality:

The clashing of armour and crushing of staves, the justling of bodies, the resounding of blows, was the first part of that ill-agreeing music which was beautified with the grisliness of wounds, the rising of dust, the hideous falls--and groans of the dying.... In one place lay disinherited heads,

dispossessed of their natural seignories: in another, whole bodies to see to, but that their hearts, wont to be bound all over so close, were now with deadly violence opened; in others, fouler deaths had uglily displayed their trailing guts. There lay arms, whose fingers yet moved, as if they would feel for him that made them feel, and legs which, contrary to common nature, by being discharged of their burden were grown heavier.... at the first, though it were terrible, ... terror was decked so bravely with rich furniture, gilt swords, shining armours, pleasant pencils, that the eye with delight had scarce leisure to be afraid; but now all universally defiled with dust, blood, broken armours, mangled bodies, took away the mask and set forth horror.... (340-41, 344-45)⁴²

Similarly, the Helot rebellion's idealized and generalized descriptions of victors are replaced by a catalogue of individual victims of graphically described violence (339-44). Is it any wonder, then, that Amphialus is so eager (a few pages later) to participate in Phalantus' sport? Phalantus' lofty challenge--and Amphialus' equally lofty reply--conform to chivalric protocol, and through their repeated appeals to "honour" (365-66), they reintroduce that promise of glory through combat. Restoration of order in the tiltyard--located on an island away from the battlefield--is expected.

But chivalry alone cannot create order out of disorder. In the initial challenge between Amphialus and Phalantus, men guided by chivalric motives and holding only chivalric status, chivalry indeed satisfies order: Amphialus and Phalantus treat one another with courtesy; the victorious Amphialus offers the defeated Phalantus his life in token of his valour; and their combat ends with a chivalric vow of friendship. Here Amphialus does not act in his role as governor. But when adult duty to an unstable commonwealth draws the married Argalus into the tiltyard, that order breaks down.

⁴² Evident in these mangled corpses is the "dismembered body politic" of Arcadia (Kinney 36).

Amphialus tries to rely on the same system of chivalric values, but Argalus and Parthenia, concerned with matters beyond private achievement of glory, will not participate in that system and are destroyed.⁴³ Chivalry's inability to provide order to an unstable society is anticipated in Book II. In the Iberian tournament, despite the efforts of Helen's worthy knights and the princes Pyrocles and Musidorus, martial contest ends in disorder and the bloody death of Palladius, for whom the tournament was to have marked a coming of age (254.26-27). This tournament is held annually to celebrate the marriage of Andromana to the King of Iberia, but their marriage is unsound and adulterous and corresponds to the political instability of Iberia. As a celebration of private union and public order, the Iberian tournament is a failure and a sham⁴⁴; it both reflects and, with the death of the throne's heir before adulthood, ensures the instability of the commonwealth by guaranteeing that he will never marry and procreate. Another episode which provides a transition between Pyrocles' martial and chivalric successes in Book I and Amphialus' martial and chivalric failures in Book III is the peasant rebellion in Basilius' realm. Although Zelmane parleys a peace with the rebels, it is only temporary; violence erupts again and can be alleviated only through more bloodshed (and through the lies of Clinias). This contest in Book II shares with

⁴³ Cf. Kinney who points out that in the series of challenges which follow this first one, "Sidney exposes the ultimate inadequacy of chivalric protocols to the task of either glossing over or recontaining the destructive forces unleashed in Arcadia.... After Phalantus's departure, several Basilians challenge Amphialus ..., each grounding his quarrel ... as if he were an individual knight errant rather than a member of Basilius's army.... The civil conflict has been temporarily converted into a ritual ... evacuated of significance" (40; cf. J. Roberts, *Architectonic Knowledge*, 246).

⁴⁴ Cf. J. Roberts, *Architectonic Knowledge*, 196, 198-99.

those of Books I and III the theme of marriage. The peasant rebellion is almost resolved partly because one rebel wanted "Zelmane for his wife" (284), but in its drunken violence it more evokes the wedding massacre of the Centaurs and Lapiths (282.12-20).⁴⁵ By Book III, Argalus and Parthenia succumb to a chivalry which mirrors the disorder of war, their marriage destroyed though violence.

In Book I Sidney had separated war and tournament (the Helot rebellion and the Tourney of Beauty). By Book III, however, tournament is part of war, and these distinctions disappear. Soldiers such as Agenor, and Amphialus and Musidorus comport themselves as if they were in the tiltyard, and indeed, part of the war takes place in the tiltyard itself. Agenor carries his staff in battle "as if the mark had been but a ring, and the lookers-on ladies" (339) while Musidorus (the Black Knight) and Amphialus begin a "a combat between them worthy to have had more large lists, and more quiet beholders" (345). In particular, the motivations of the immature Phalantus, "his young spirits, weary of wanting cause to be weary" (364), suggest that war and tournament are interchangeable when vainglory is their only spoil. In the war against the Helots, Phalantus is in effect a mercenary--but not one who profits from the mercenary's conventional material reward. Rather, Phalantus collects his payment in 'honour.' "[I]t was rather choice than nature that led him to matters of arms [against the Helots], so, as soon as the spur of honour ceased, he willingly rested in peaceable delights" (91): his

⁴⁵ Ovid, Metamorphosis, XII.210ff.; G. Sandys 418-19. In contemporary interpretations of this classical legend, the massacre is often conflated with Hercules' battle with the Centaurs (Ovid, Metamorphosis XII.536-41). See The FQ, IV.i.23.1-5n.; Lotspeich 68; Starnes and Talbert 114. In the NA, as a crossdressed Hercules figure, Pyrocles has difficulty defeating the despoilers.

organized tournaments substitute for the opportunities to gain chivalric fame which war provides, and, where there is honour to be gained, peace and civil stability are not, as they are in Euarchus' wars, a desired communal goal. Instead, they are but a negligible side effect, secondary to the chivalric desires of the individual man. Thus, just as Spenser exposes what lies beneath the tournament's rules and rituals, Sidney demonstrates that such chivalric challenge can be merely a more organized war,⁴⁶ indistinguishable in all but its fancy trappings: both glorify selfish pride and violent codes, and both inhibit civil order.

V

In the final challenge in the tiltyard, Musidorus and Amphialus continue a private combat that they began on the battlefield. Boatloads of soldiers, however, are sent out to the island by both sides. Among them are the "Thraso-like" (390) Anaxius and his brothers--"not recking law of arms nor use of chivalry" (411).⁴⁷ These men do not differ much from those who have established a tiltyard on the island--the chivalric mercenary Phalantus and Amphialus, who is accused of behaving like a private soldier. All of them are similarly motivated by personal glory.

At the same time, though, Anaxius and his brothers and the other "unknightly"

⁴⁶ On the relationship of war to play before technology makes war less personal, and especially on the relationship of war to tournament in this context, see Huizinga, who points out that both are games of honour and virtue governed by rules and at least partly carried out by formal rituals (89-104, esp. 95-96, 98).

⁴⁷ Thraso is known to be a soldier, not a knight--in Terence's *The Eunuch* (NA 570, 390.14n.) and in Estienne.

(340) warriors of Book III are the mercenary representatives of a political reality. The intrusion of soldiers into the tiltyard suggests that chivalry is no longer an island separate from the truth of war but an institution which should respond to public demands. But can it? Arcadia's best (marital) knights are ineffectual. Argalus is dead; Musidorus is consumed with an intemperate vengeful wrath and youthful choler which mirror those of his opponent Amphialus (406.20-38), whom he fights to a stalemate; and Pyrocles, who resolved both war and tournament in Book I, is imprisoned. Euarchus and his heir may embody the noblest of androgynous virtues, but they are thwarted in their exercise by a strong chivalric culture of men such as Anaxius who refuse to subordinate chivalry to the service of the patriarchal commonwealth. In fact, Euarchus is prohibited from entering the 'reality' of that culture: he appears in the 1590 Arcadia as a fictionalized hero of Book II's inset tales, but not as a participant in the main narrative. Sidney presents a world where androgyny cannot exist: Parthenia can rejoin Argalus in hermaphroditic union only in death and only by participating herself in the wars and tournaments she abhors. Even as they applaud exemplary androgynous union, her final actions represent the futility of the feminine, civilizing values she advocates in Book I--what Spenser calls "artes and pollicy" (III.ii.2) or what Sidney refers to as the "noblest power of womankind" (95): she has no alternative but to take up arms. On the one hand, narcissistic chivalric codes prevent the continued happiness and procreation of Argalus and Parthenia, but, on the other hand, the pacifist values Parthenia promotes are politically unrealistic: Argalus has a civil duty to his sovereign Basilius. The only men who have successfully managed to serve their commonwealths in both peace and war as patriarchs and knights

have dead (or, in the case of a knight such as Aeschylus, disregarded) wives. Euarchus and Kalander, who dons armour against the Helots, are widowers. While Spenser describes seasonal renewals for Marinell and Artegall which culminate in the ritual of tournament, Sidney begins the New Arcadia in spring and ends it in autumn, a fact emphasized by the pageantry of the final set of formal chivalric challenges (J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 236).

While Spenser brings martial and marital roles together, for Sidney they are frustratingly incompatible. This incompatibility is exemplified by the 'end' of Arcadia where the androgyne Zelmane--with her affinities with marriage, governance, and peace--meets Anaxius, the exclusively masculine and selfish martial champion. Pyrocles is no longer the Achilles figure he was in the war of Book I (38); in their confrontation Zelmane and Anaxius represent Aeneas and Achilles respectively (464).⁴⁸ Zelmane has just overcome Lycurgus with a final blow which echoes the one Aeneas delivers to the martial Turnus in the final moment of the Aeneid (Virgil, Aeneid, XII.919ff.; NA, 579, 462.13-36n.)--a blow which in Virgil's epic has as its implied consequence the civility which will arise from masculine contest, the empire of Rome. With this allusion Sidney recalls the stable commonwealth forecast in Book I by the statue of Venus and Aeneas in Kalander's garden and Pyrocles' potential role in that commonwealth. But the New Arcadia does not make the civilizing blow the ultimate action of resolution that it is in the Aeneid. Rather, it remains for Pyrocles to face Anaxius in a contest which evokes

⁴⁸ NA, Skretkowicz's Introduction, xxxvii-xxxviii. On the association of Turnus with Achilles, see Virgil, Aeneid, VI.89-90; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 133-34.

that of Aeneas and Achilles in the Iliad (Homer, Iliad, XX.267-72; NA, 580, n.464.15-16). In Homer's battle, Aeneas cannot penetrate the shield of Achilles (as Pyrocles cannot penetrate the shield of Anaxius). Aeneas must be rescued from the battle by Poseidon (XX.318ff) while Achilles goes on to additional vainglorious deeds on the field of battle. When the New Arcadia inverts the narrative order of the Aeneid and the Iliad and displaces the victories of Aeneas with those of Achilles, it celebrates individual Homeric glory above Virgilian common good, and it further postpones the realization of a New Troy envisioned in Kalander's garden, anticipating instead civil destruction in the ruin of Troy. At the very least, whether or not Sidney intended the New Arcadia to end in mid-sentence, the unresolved battle of Pyrocles and Anaxius recapitulates a tension that has characterized the entire work (cf. McCoy, Rebellion, 163-64, 214).

On the other hand, while the reality of contemporary politics and war also intrudes on Book V of The Faerie Queene (Anderson), the marriage tournament remains a kind of island--an accessible ideal--in the midst of these events: it is not removed from the narrative's main action as is Sidney's depiction of ideal, androgynous governance in Euarchus; rather, Spenser's marriage tournament is a source of stability which demonstrates the place of chivalric masculinity in contemporary events such as those which conclude Book V. Artegall returns to his chivalric quest but in a manner which keeps in mind Arthur's cautionary privileging of civil benefit over martial fame (V.xi.17). The final episodes of Book V again question the importance of chivalric fame to masculinity and to political service. In an analogue to the relationship of Henri IV of

France to Elizabeth and England,⁴⁹ Burbon is forced to give up his shield, or the badge of his chivalric status--yet another knightly disgrace in a book full of knightly disgraces.

He evokes a shocked response from Artegall:

Hard is the case, the which ye doe complaine:
Yet not so hard ...

.....
As to abandon, that which doth containe
Your honours stile, that is your warlike shield.
All perill ought be lesse, and lesse all paine
Then losse of fame in disaventrous field;
Dye rather, then doe ought, that mote dishonour yield.
(V.xi.55; cf. xi.52)

The shield is "honours stile" or 'title' (OED) in a chivalric and a religious sense: it is a symbol of Henri's Protestantism (V.xi.52-54), which in shame he sacrifices to the greater good of internal political stability. While this episode most obviously concerns the conversion of Henri IV, it also comments on masculine duty through its depiction of Burbon as the consort of Flourdelis. In a study which shows how Book V reflects Elizabeth's foreign policy on Henri's position, Anne Lake Prescott demonstrates that English perception of Henri in the 1590's largely depended on his virility: he was regarded both as the flower of chivalry and as the husband of France (and a potent progenitor who would compensate for the childless Valois); he was also portrayed as the descendent of Hercules, the poem's recurrent, ambiguous image of masculinity (see also Angus Fletcher 148). In V.xi, Burbon must give up his shield, a sign of his former image as chivalric champion, to "dwindle into [the] husband" of Flourdelis, as Prescott puts it:

⁴⁹ On the historical allegory, see Var. 5.259-61; Nohnberg 407-08; Prescott, "Burbon."

he cannot maintain his role as chivalric hero in a world of temporal, political pressures. In this same world, Artegall himself experiences failure and slander which parallels that experienced by the converted Henri IV (Prescott, "Foreign Policy in Faery Land"). After aiding Burbon, Artegall--once the supreme chivalric exemplar, destined now for husbandhood and its civil responsibilities--learns that he can triumph over Grantorto only when he loses his own shield (V.xii.22-23).⁵⁰ As Book V's final canto suggests, civil stability cannot derive from dependence on martial fame. Concern with chivalric fame and the "infamous deed" (V.xi.57)--as Spenser defines the loss of identity--conferring armour--only serves to resurrect emasculating feminine threats. Envy resembles devouring mother figures such as Ate, and Detraction mocks Artegall with her distaff in a recollection of the martial desires and fears which led him to Radegone. They are accompanied by the Blatant Beast, a creature which recapitulates the ambiguity of fame.⁵¹

These references to pride and fame in the concluding cantos of Book V forecast Spenser's continued concerns with reputation, chivalric courtesy, and civility in Book VI.

⁵⁰ There are of course distinctions. Artegall, unlike Burbon, gains a victory rather than peace when he gives up his shield (*The FQ*, V.xii.22.7-8n.), and his gesture is not the passive gesture of Burbon, but an active one.

⁵¹ On the relationship of the beast to language and to *Fama*, see *Var.* 5.267; Angus Fletcher 288-94; Nohrnberg 666, 681-83, 688-97; Suzuki 203-04. Suzuki connects the monsters of language such as the Blatant Beast and the Sphinx which surface at the end of Book V to the female monsters of threatening sexuality such as Error or Duessa "who seduce by concealing their hideous deformity under an attractive appearance" (196) earlier in the poem (195-206). She argues that Spenser is uncomfortable with the duplicity of his own poetic language, but that the "destruction of female monsters enables Spenser to affirm clarity and unity as masculine traits" (196).

As Richard Neuse ("Book VI as Conclusion") and Humphrey Tonkin (51) argue, traditional chivalry is again called into question, but I would argue that Spenser does so only to introduce a christian chivalry in Book VI, a qualified form of chivalry not unlike the marital chivalry of Book V. When Calidore displaces Artegall as titular knight, Artegall "gan to expresse / His whole exploite, and valorous emprize" (VI.i.5), and Calidore responds that the quest "shall [Artegall] most renowned make for evermore" (VI.i.5). Concerning his own quest, however, Calidore continues, "But where ye ended have, now I begin, ... Yet shall it not by none be testifyde" (VI.i.6). Calidore must experience what it is like to have no fame--or, at least, no fame in a secular sense. Calidore's ostensible quest is the chivalric search for the Blatant Beast, a creature which in one of its many evocations recalls Malory's Questing Beast (The FQ, V.xii.37.7n.): just as desire for fame leads knights to Radebone and emasculation (V.iv.29), "pursuit" of this Beast only "incite[s it] more" (VI.iii.25), and it bites Timias only because he chases it (VI.iv.16). But he receives recognition for this feat. The untestified-to quest that Calidore anticipates in the Proem seems instead to be his anonymous pastoral sojourn. This experience is the means by which the knight may glimpse the perfection of "civility" (Cheney, Spenser's Image of Nature, 190; cf. 177) in Colin Clout's vision of the Graces' Dance on Mount Acidale--another mysterious, intensely feminine moment which takes place outside normal order; it is also the means to a christian renewal of society in the Brigands' caves where Pastorella plays the roles of Proserpina and Christ in her revival,

and Calidore plays the role of Christ in the harrowing of Hell.⁵² As a reflection of the dance's mysterious central figure (cf. VI.ix.7-8 and x.11-12), Pastorella provides the link between these epiphanies. Just as Artegall can experience Isis Church only through his relationship to Britomart, Calidore can figuratively enter the circle of the dance only through his real connection to Pastorella.

Calidore experiences these events because he breaks from traditional chivalric status: while Marinell and Artegall enact a civil chivalry as husband-knights, Calidore enacts a civil and christian chivalry as shepherd-knight. Indeed, the text of John 10--with its shepherds, wolves, and sheep--provides the basis for the Brigand episode. The Brigands are the "poore heardgroomes" (VI.xi.39) of worldly felicity while Calidore conversely imitates Christ as the good shepherd: Calidore wears his armour beneath his shepherd's weeds.⁵³ Thus, just as Spenser distinguishes between martial and marital chivalry in Book V, he distinguishes between chivalric fame and christian fame in Book VI. This latter fame is not 'testified to' in traditional ways, but appears to be like that described by Augustine in Petrarch's Secretum: the more one cultivates virtue and

⁵² Blitch; Evans 224. Calidore and Pastorella are thus united as one being in Christ, the aim of the companionate marriage, and the united identity achieved by other couples in the poem.

⁵³ In one strain of the pastoral tradition, the city or court represents the world, and a contrast is drawn between heavenly pleasures and earthly or worldly pleasures. Medieval pastoral's microcosmic world is inhabited by the Christian emblems of shepherds and sheep; consequently, this world comments on ecclesiastical abuses and moral offenses of courts and cities (Cullen 1-26). The pastor bonus is the good "shepherd unwaveringly committed to the flock and to the requirements for eternal salvation"; he opposes "the shepherd of worldly felicity": one function of pastoral is "enlightening man on the virtues of the pastor bonus and the vices of the pastor malus," the bad shepherd who "mislead[s] and destroy[s] the Christian flock" (Cullen 3).

ignores glory, the more glory one shall find. The titular hero of Book VI thus recalls Redcrosse, another knight in the tradition of Ephesians 6 and Erasmus' christian soldier. A connection between Spenser's christian and marital knights is suggested by the work of Mary Wack. She explains how, in the late middle ages, the paradox of two conflicting adult male roles--as powerful, ultra-masculine knight and as suffering, weakened lover--are resolved in part by redefinition of masculinity through its connection to christianity. Sacrifice and service similar to that offered in male-female love

was exalted by Christianity, perhaps nowhere more so than in the later medieval cult of the wounded, broken Christ. An early fourteenth-century *pietà* [Wack's Fig. 8.9, p.172] ... shows the male body stripped, wounded, and helpless, held by a powerful female figure. The disturbing image, which deliberately echoes the iconography of Virgin and Child, contrasts with the dominant values of physical strength, autonomy, and bodily wholeness so valued by knights.... The pierced and broken body of Christ was both a culturally sanctioned image of masculine suffering for love and a psychological model for the individual. Moreover, the homiletic theme of Christ the Lover-Knight who languished for his bride, the human soul, further encouraged imitation" (171-72).⁵⁴

While a full examination of Spenser's christian chivalry and its connections to Books IV and V is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that the qualification of conventional chivalry seems to be one of the aims of the 1596 Faerie Queene.⁵⁵ In the 1596 addition to the poem, Spenser offers a constructive critique of chivalry as a metaphor for virtuous action with the evolution of the traditional chivalry of Book IV

⁵⁴ On this tradition in medieval literature, see Woolf.

⁵⁵ What happens to chivalry by Book VII, Two Cantoes of Mutabilitie, is also a question worth exploring: this book lacks a titular knight, and, unlike the other books, does not rely on martial action to move its plot along. And, of course, like the end of Book VI, the final stanzas of Mutabilitie anticipate christian salvation.

into the more realistic and beneficial alternatives of Books V and VI: the bridegroom-knight and the shepherd-knight.

Conclusion

Is 'youth' an unruly threat to normal, patriarchal order, or does it constitute a legitimate state in the ages of man? Is disorder to be regarded as a real challenge to order, or does it function as a 'steam-valve,' sanctioned and contained by the status quo?¹ Sidney and Spenser advocate tolerance toward youthful knighthood, and they appreciate its qualities--within a chivalric system. Criticism of knighthood, implicit or explicit, arises when males receive the opportunity to advance beyond the merely martial state. But, as the stories of Pyrocles, Artégall, Amphialus, and Marinell suggest, an early period of autonomous wildness is necessary. Otherwise, males cannot achieve the first stage of masculine adulthood, nor can they progress to the second stage of husbandhood. For Sidney and Spenser, then, chivalry is not so much forsaken or rejected (see p. 31) as it is held accountable to a more comprehensive, civil order. Bachelor knighthood may thus be both deplorable and admirable, useless and useful: its unruliness, when controlled and contained, ultimately reinforces patriarchal order.

¹ Babcock, esp. 22-26; N. Davis, "Women on Top," esp. 130-31. As Mary Douglas observes of studies of young males undergoing passage rites, "To behave anti-socially is the proper expression of their marginal condition," so "They are not to be blamed for misconduct" (97). In the early modern period in particular, "there were two different ways of depicting the relations between the ages: one which highlighted the contrast between the ages, and one which placed emphasis on the continuity between them" so that "young people were described as gradually developing from a state of irrationality ... towards maturity and ever-expanding knowledge and wisdom, judgement and greater responsibility" (Ben-Amos 36-37; cf. 18, 24-35, 205-06, 238-40).

However, the definitive assimilation of chivalry into patriarchy does not inspire a similarly final coherence in The Faerie Queene and the New Arcadia. Why do Spenser and Sidney continually enact and re-enact the opposition of martial and marital? And why do these confrontations tend to result in temporary moments of resolution in The Faerie Queene but only in further dissolution in the New Arcadia? On a more general level, we might ask why The Faerie Queene, with its festive purgations and renewals, is a relatively optimistic work which supports the creation of order and allows its possibility, while the New Arcadia increasingly dissolves order and ironically undercuts the potential for its reinstatement.

The sustained tension between martial and marital in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene may reflect their authors' sympathies toward youth. In Spenser studies especially, critics have argued that feminine autonomy and power are continually recalled or appropriated by patriarchy (D. Miller 28, 215-81); in particular, Britomart's future position as wife and mother means that at the very least she must surrender the qualities that make her an admirable knight to a greater hierarchy of patriarchal order and at the most that she is savagely diminished or even annihilated by the sacrifices patriarchy demands (see p. 262, n. 23). Britomart is altered, but the concurrent masculine experience that Artegall undergoes tends to be downplayed or ignored. Just as Radigund and the False Florimell are exorcised in The Faerie Queene, so is Braggadocchio, the double of Artegall; likewise, the 'conclusion' of the New Arcadia suggests that husbandhood may not be achieved without the destruction or diminishment of Anaxius, who in some ways mirrors both Pyrocles and Amphialus. Though men do

not lose as much or the same type of autonomy as women, some aspects of manliness (enjoyment of personal glory or martial aggression and freedom) are forfeited to patriarchy and its aims of civil order and continued lineage. In the epic-romance environments of the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, such losses are especially brutal.² Patriarchal order may demand of women their service and subordination, but it also demands of men a sacrifice of their youth.

Sidney's refusal to allow even temporary resolution suggests that he is more sympathetic than Spenser to young men caught in this predicament. In general, Sidney sets more store by autonomy and male-male relations than does Spenser. For Spenser, civility derives primarily from fertility, a force which demands male and female; for Sidney it derives primarily from governance, an act which begins with the individual. While Spenser's men tend to exchange male-male relations for male-female ones (cf. Silberman, Transforming Desire, 163-64, n. 13), Sidney's men superimpose male-female relations on male-male ones: like their fathers before them, the princes maintain their friendship after falling in love; the brotherhood of the Helots and Lacadaemonians must accompany fertility.³ This discrepancy perhaps reflects Sidney's own intense and

² In such a milieu, Aptekar's sense that "marriage subjects a man to the caprices and also to the responsible lawfulness of a relationship with a single woman" (100) is perhaps more accurate than assuming that the men of the NA and The FQ enter the arrangement of the companionate marriage as easily as Amoretti's sonnet lover does.

³ A possible exception in The FQ is the story of Cambell and Triamond. Even after betrothal, male friendship appears to be equal to or to take precedence over marital union (IV.ii.31, iii.52); however, these relations are subordinated by the end of Book IV to the stories of Marinell and Artegall, and the tournament of IV.iii is restaged in the tournament of V.iii.

empathetic engagement in the chivalric system of Elizabeth's court.

Elizabeth exploited ceremonial chivalry (for example, with the Order of the Garter or annual Accession Day tournaments), and foreign and court politics were often negotiated in a real-life chivalric system in which Elizabeth demanded the participation of her courtiers.⁴ However, Richard McCoy characterizes this programme as a "chivalric compromise": "chivalry affirmed Tudor sovereignty. At the same time, it glorified aristocratic militarism and traditional notions of honor and autonomy," so that, consequently, the "ceremonial balance of power was often strained by emergent notions of the privileged subject's rights" (Rites of Knighthood, 3, *passim*). Moreover, knights performed for the queen but often did not achieve desired political results (Rites of Knighthood, e. g., 61-62). Scholars have argued that this sometimes ineffective or circuitous means of serving the commonwealth frustrated Sidney; they have also linked the political disappointments of Sidney and the Leicester circle to the progress of Sidney's literary career--particularly to the composition and the revision of the Arcadia.⁵ Spenser likewise served the state in his positions with Leicester, Lord Grey, and Raleigh; in these roles he (and his patrons) were critical of England's foreign and domestic policy and Elizabeth's expectations of her servants. The Spenser of the mid-1590's is the

⁴ On this system and Elizabeth's motivations for maintaining it, see Yates, esp. 108-10; Leslie, Fierce Warres, 7-9, 188, 190-92; A. Ferguson 66ff.

⁵ On the implications of contemporary politics and chivalry for Sidney's writing, and on Sidney's disillusionment at court, see Myrick 237-38; Levy; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 264; Osborn, esp. 507-11; Bergbush; Sinfield 398; McCoy, Rebellion, esp. 214-17, and Rites of Knighthood, 55-78; Kinney 42-43, 50; Duncan-Jones, Sir Philip Sidney, esp. 251-74; Popham 3-4, 7-8; and Norbrook 91-108, esp. 106-07.

author not only of The Faerie Queene but also of the politically aware and disillusioned Complaints and Colin Clouts Come Home Againe.⁶ In part, then, the tension in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene may reflect their authors' contemporary political concerns, evident in the intrusion of political reality on the texts.⁷

Male anxieties regarding the anomaly of the female ruler may also create ambivalence toward women in the texts. Elizabeth acted as the passive female love object in the fictions supporting her chivalric system, yet she also usurped the male's role as androgynous head of the household, paradoxically emasculating the males who proffered their knightly services.⁸ Unlike Sidney, though, Spenser was not a participant in Elizabeth's chivalric system but a more subservient observer/civil servant. Generally, while Sidney hoped to influence major policy decisions which could fundamentally alter the country (writing to the queen about the French marriage, for example), Spenser criticized specific incidents and individuals but did so in the context of an idealized England with an idealized queen at its head. Compared to Sidney, Spenser privileges Elizabeth and her ordered commonwealth as exemplary models; even in a relatively bleak text such as Colin Clout, the queen escapes the censure applied to others. Thus,

⁶ On Spenser's disillusionment, see Helgerson 90-91; Cain 131-32; O'Connell 13; Leslie, Fierce Warres, 145ff., 195; Goldberg, Endlesse Worke, 166-74; Norbrook 109-56.

⁷ On such intrusion, see Anderson; Hamilton, Structure of Allegory, 170-71, 173; Neuse, "Book VI as Conclusion," 370-71; A. Patterson 372; McCoy, Rites of Knighthood, 69-72.

⁸ For general anxieties about the female ruler in the period, see Jordan; Scalingi; Montrose. On how Elizabeth's rule might have affected Spenser and Sidney and their work, see Hager 18-21; Bono 108; Woods; D. Miller 164; Suzuki 150-209, esp. 190, 208; Marotti; Jones and Stallybrass; Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning, 165-69; Norbrook 114-19.

in so far as depiction of masculinity in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene depends upon contemporary politics and courtiership, Spenser's more positive outlook may reflect his distance from actual policy decisions and from the queen herself.

Besides depending on their authors' personal sympathies and political concerns, martial-marital tensions in the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene may also derive from conflicting literary and cultural legacies. The epic and romance traditions in which Sidney and Spenser write promote martial activity, especially if it results in fame or in a stronger political state, but Sidney and Spenser also inherit an alternative tradition of masculine behaviour from humanist writers such as Elyot, More, or Erasmus. In the humanist ethic chivalry tends to be a minimal or unnecessary component of masculine training. Exemplary masculinity is described as responsible citizenship, and honour derives not from chivalric glory based on martial deeds but from public service to the state. In the Complaint of Peace, Erasmus contends that "Peace of all thinges that nature gave unto man is best" (B6r). Ascham more directly criticizes the romance tradition when he complains of the Morte d'Arthur that "the whole pleasure of [the] book standeth in two special points--in open manslaughter and bold bawdrey; in which book those be counted the noblest knights that do kill most men without any quarrel and commit foulest adulteries by subtlest shifts" (68-69).⁹ Differences in Spenser's and

⁹ For summaries of the humanist programme--its attacks on chivalry and its advocacy of service to the state--see Kelso, Gentleman, 70-71; Adams: A. Ferguson 55-65; 107-25; Baker-Smith; Woodbridge 168. It is important to recognize, though, that 'humanist' covers a variety of responses. Skinner and Kipling characterize the martial-civil conflict as a discrepancy between southern and northern continental thought. On the one hand, Kipling notes that "Petrarch reflects the more orthodox Italian humanist attitude," asking, for example, if Cicero or Scipio jousted (13) while England is influenced by the

Sidney's treatment of martial-civil conflict may in part derive from the extent to which romance or humanist traditions influence them. In advancing a political agenda, does Sidney write more in the 'advice to princes' mode of his humanist forebears--a mode which refuses to be reconciled with romance?¹⁰ Does Spenser's greater reliance on romance and epic forms subsume humanist objections into a more cohesive whole?

A response to these questions requires recognizing that rejection of chivalric values is not a solely humanist proposition. Rather, when they call martial and chivalric codes into question, Spenser and Sidney rely on a tension which is itself inherent in the romance and epic traditions. Chrétien de Troye's Knight with the Lion, for example, suggests that the newly married hero can maintain his martial reputation only by putting his marital relationship in jeopardy. His Erec and Enide portrays the wife's distress when domesticity and sexual desire subdue her husband's lust for martial glory; this romance concludes with Erec releasing an emasculated knight who has been physically confined with his beloved because of his promise that he would relinquish martial activity. Chaucer's Knight's Tale opens with a recognition of martial-marital tension: Theseus concludes a military campaign by marrying Ypolita but is immediately confronted by the marital victims of war, women who mourn their dead husbands. In

Burgundian tradition of the learned, virtuous knight (see p. 16, n. 23). On the other hand, Skinner posits the pacifist northern humanism of Erasmus and his disciples against southern praise of Ciceronian fame through glory-earning activity (443-52; p. 61, n. 24).

¹⁰ For this strain of humanist pacifism in the NA and Sidney's thought, and on the advice-to-princes or -to-citizens tradition in the Arcadia, see J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 279-82; Marotti; Kipling 170-72; W. Briggs; Ribner, "Machiavelli and Sidney," and "Sir Philip Sidney on Civil Insurrection"; Bergbush; McCoy, Rebellion, 175; Popham 3-4, 7.

turn, their pleas arrest the nuptial celebration as they urge Theseus to a new battle.

Throughout The Knight's Tale, this martial-marital conflict is sustained by the opposition of Mars and Venus. Though the outcome of the tournament for Emelye's hand satisfies both gods, the conclusion of the tale demonstrates what this mutual satisfaction means in human terms. Arcite wins both knightly glory and a bride, but injury in the lists and subsequent death prevent him from consummating the relationship.

Even as it promotes a masculine heroism which demands aggressive feats of arms, romance deplores the obstruction of peace and civility by private desire for glory. The marriage of Palamon and Emelye results not from the unfortunate outcome of the tournament but from the treaty which concludes the war of Greece and Thebes and from the directive of the sovereign Theseus. And, if both Arcite and Palamon achieve the marriage they desire, they do so because they reject the knightly codes which bind them as brothers in combat earlier in the tale, and because these bonds are permanently dissolved by the chivalric accident which kills Arcite. In The Knight with the Lion, Yvain is both challenger to civil order and defender of that order. In his eagerness for glory, Yvain pours water on the stone, disrupts the kingdom, and defeats its champion, the husband of the queen; yet Yvain himself, precisely because of his unequalled martial prowess, becomes the husband of the queen and the realm's new champion. In a related opposition between private desires for glory and service to public good, Yvain undertakes the adventures which precede his illness and insanity to augment his own honour, but he undertakes those which follow to benefit others. Such conflicts also characterize epic tradition: the Aeneid censures war while it acknowledges war's

necessity to the founding of Rome, and condemns the aggressive barbarism of Aeneas and Turnus while it admires their courage.¹¹ The Turnuses and the Rodomontes (the Scudamours and Amphialuses, and even the Anaxiuses) are admirable yet destructive; the Aeneases and the Ruggieros who defeat them must guard against the same impulses to vengeful violence and immoderation. That is, epic and romance themselves are 'open' forms; they do not progress toward inviolable conclusions which leave no questions unanswered. Romance tends to be episodic and unfinished: because the tale has the potential to go on and on, so do its martial-marital confrontations. Similarly, martial-marital opposition characterizes epic's dynastic cycles. In Jerusalem Delivered, Tasso both praises and criticizes the fiery youth Rinaldo. Ultimately the verse transforms Rinaldo's immature martial feats and aggressions to sons, or paternity, and repression of pride (X.74-76). In turn, it is prophesied that his son Alfonso will also exchange youthful acts of valour in war for mature rule of cities and peace (XVII.91-92) when the time comes. While 'patriarchy' may be static and unchangeable, the individuals operating within it (both current and potential patriarchs) are not. No more than their predecessors, then, do Spenser and Sidney reject chivalry. Rather, like those before them, they represent culturally specific concerns through the strategies, structures, and themes offered by the traditions in which they work.

In his discussion of the mixed modes of Arcadia, Greenblatt remarks that "the genres [Sidney uses] were not merely ways of classifying various tropes and topoi, but

¹¹ For readings that recognize this private-public paradox in epic and romance, see, e. g., Di Cesare 140-97; Moorman 162-67, 170-71; Göller; or L. Patterson.

ethical insights into experience, modes of moral vision and judgment" (350). We might therefore further observe how the representation of masculinity depends on form by comparing the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene to non-heroical modes and by considering whether these modes are 'masculine' (such as epic or tragedy) or 'feminine' (such as lyric, romance, or comedy).¹² As my discussion of Spenser's Epithalamion suggests (pp. 184-85), this poem joins The Faerie Queene in its opposition of youthful and patriarchal perceptions. However, the epithalamion is not an inconclusive form. The bridegroom begins the day in fellowship with other young men but ends the day united to his wife and his anticipated saintly heirs in a decisive reconciliation of tensions and a promise of reward for both individuals and society. With its comedic structure, Sidney's Old Arcadia similarly concludes in marriage.¹³ On the other hand, Sidney's sonnets do not reach such resolution, nor indeed do they generate tension between the perspectives of bachelor and husband. In Astrophil and Stella, Astrophil is a prototype for Amphialus, unable to separate personal fame from his desire for his beloved (e. g., 15). Similarly, Certain Sonnets 3 (136)--"The fire to see"--becomes Amphialus' complaint: the poem places the male speaker at the centre of the universe (J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 253; cf. p. 94, n.3). Unlike the comedic Old Arcadia, sonnets

¹² For gendered definitions of mode, see Lockerd 50-58. For a summary of contemporary references to the gender of form (in Quintilian, Tasso, Scaliger, and others), see P. Smith 84-86. For a survey of feminist approaches to gender and genre as they relate to women's writing and experience, see Eagleton.

¹³ Dipple observes that "what is "comically feminine and sexual in the Old Arcadia is ... made martial and masculine" in the New Arcadia (338; cf. J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 41-59, 149-202). On the Terentian structure of the Old Arcadia, see Sidney, Poems, xxxvii-xxxviii; and R. W. Parker.

and sonnet sequences are more concerned with variations on themes such as love or fame rather than with progression toward a conclusion. Moreover, the sonnet beloved is conventionally unattainable while the speaker maintains a conventionally narcissistic, autonomous, and immature self-focus. In its fear of feminine intrusion (Vickers), this form does not feature husbands as speakers: it has no Euarchus to provide a counter position, and Stella's voice is not so strong as Philoclea's.

In works which are not concerned with male-female relations, masculinity is not defined by its relations to femininity. As we have seen, the Adonis myth is used by Spenser and Sidney (and Shakespeare) to convey ambivalence toward adult manhood, male-female unions, and the inevitability of masculine mortality. In another appropriation of this myth in his Astrophel, Spenser is again concerned with masculine initiation, maturity, and death. At his untimely death, the Adonis-like hero of the poem is caught between youth and manhood: "wretched boy ... And sad ensample of mans suddein end" (133-34). Desire for glory has taken Astrophel to battle; however, he need not be married to be a civilizer of brutish nations. Instead of the chivalric fame or patriarchal responsibilities and patrilineage which establish masculine status in romance or epic, Astrophel represents masculinity as poetic fame, progeny, and lineage. Stella follows Astrophel to the grave where they unite to produce "one flowre" (184); the Sidneian poetic voice survives in Philip's sister Mary and in Ludovic Bryskyt and other followers: in the final stanza of Astrophel, the narrator and Clorinda anticipate her Doleful Lay; in the final stanza of the Lay, Clorinda anticipates other "fittest flowres" (108) inspired by Astrophel and composed by Thestylis and his other disciples (101ff.).

The hierarchy of male and female in household and commonwealth is not important. Here the feminine voice need not be absorbed into a male-governed social order: what is important is that Clorinda is a Sidney and that more literary work will be produced.¹⁴ Astrophel also suggests that the Virgilian models of poetic maturity which Spenser, Sidney, and other poets followed and described might be regarded in the context of masculine maturity. The ages of man, each with their own rules and codes, are analogous to the forms the poet was expected to follow. Pastoral, the form of poetic youth, differs from epic, the form of poetic maturity: each operates within its own system of rules or conventions.

In the New Arcadia and The Faerie Queene, then, perennial conflicts between sets of values and avoidance of decisive resolution may be regarded as inseparable from the epic and romance modes in which Spenser and Sidney work. Likewise, chivalric endeavours and marriage both underpin many epic-romance concerns such as war and peace, empire and nationhood, and civil order. Consequently, these competing concerns affect the texts' representations of masculinity. But, while Spenser continually reconciles the tension between martial and civil demands before enacting new opposition, Sidney does not allow even the uneasy vacillation between these poles usually permitted by romance or epic. Though both writers work within these traditions, their ultimate conceptions of human nature and cosmic order differ. For Sidney, while "erected wit

¹⁴ Mary Sidney "might well have written a poem like the Lay. But the phrasing and versification recall Spenser's. Perhaps the Lay was a joint endeavour, for, whoever composed it, it is linked to Astrophel in many ways" (Oram, Introduction to Astrophel, 564-65).

maketh us know what perfection is, ... our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it" (Defence of Poetry, 79). Even the resolution of the Old Arcadia occurs only because providential intervention allows Basilius to awake at an auspicious moment and not because its heroes and heroines have escaped their infected will. The New Arcadia is not only 'heroical' poetry but is also tragedy¹⁵: in his efforts to reform and instruct those who would undertake public and private governance, Sidney presents a compilation of domestic disasters and falls of princes. Conversely, while Spenser always reminds us of the effects of the Fall, he nonetheless predicts eventual spiritual 'perfection' (e. g., Epithalamion, 409ff.; Hymne of Heavenly Beautie, Fowre Hymnes, 288ff.), and he perennially anticipates such perfection even in earthly moments such as Redcrosse's view of the New Jerusalem or the consummation of marriage in Epithalamion. Unlike Sidney, Spenser sees himself in the role of Virgil, Ariosto, or Chaucer--as national poet. The Faerie Queene consequently does more than fashion a gentleman. It celebrates England, and this celebration depends on Spenser's resolution of martial-marital tension into cohesive male/female unions which provide the foundation of a productive and stable commonwealth.

¹⁵ See Sidney's definition in the Defence: "high and excellent Tragedy, that openeth the greatest wounds, and showeth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue; that maketh kings fear to be tyrants, and tyrants manifest their tyrannical humours" (96). Cf. his definition of the heroical poem, which "teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth; who maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness" (98). On the NA as tragedy or tragicomedy, see Lindheim, Structures, 77-78, 85-86; J. Roberts, Architectonic Knowledge, 159-202; Stump, "Sidney's Concept of Tragedy."

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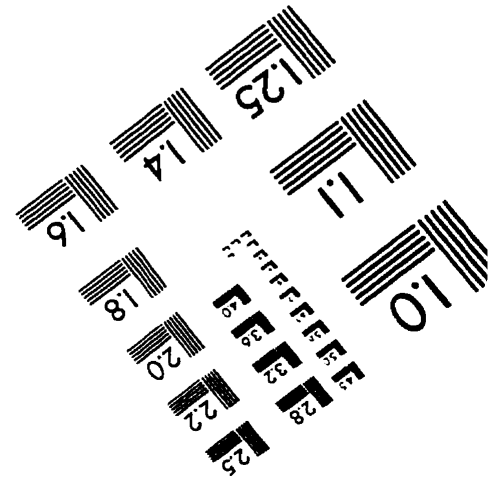
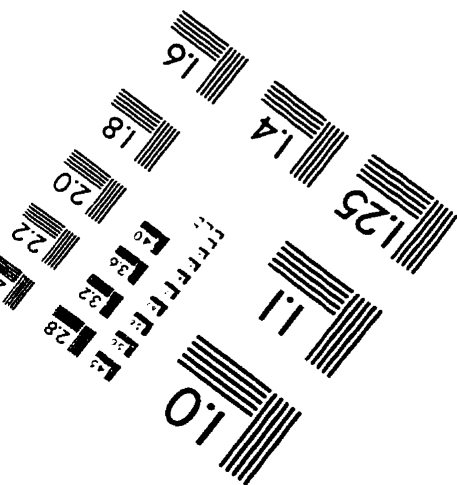
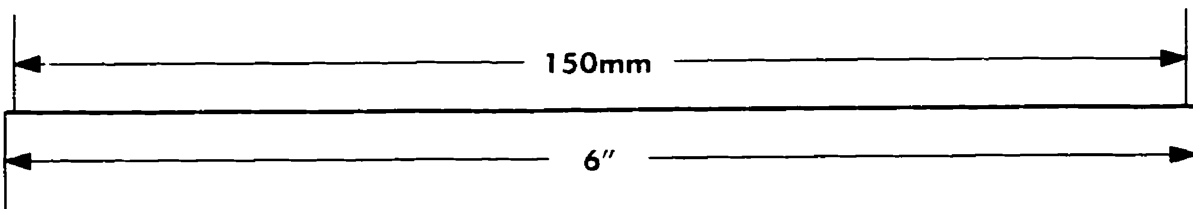
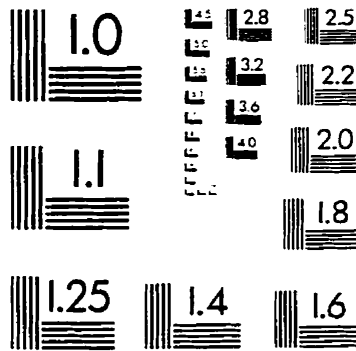
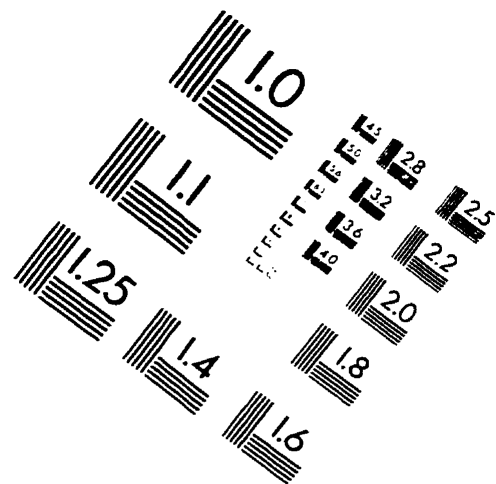
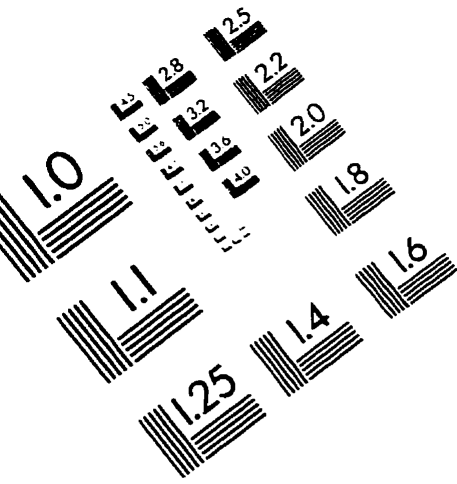
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