

Cosmopolitanism and the Horizon of Romance:
The Poetics of the Nation in Spenser, Raleigh, and Milton

By

Minta Zlomke

B.A., San Francisco State University, 2001

M.A., San Francisco State University, 2010

M.A., Brown University, 2013

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of English at Brown University

May 2019

Providence, RI

© Copyright 2019 by Minta Zlomke

This dissertation by Minta Zlomke is accepted in its present form
by the Department of English as satisfying the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date _____

Richard Rambuss, Advisor

Recommended to the Graduate Council

Date _____

Stephen Foley, Reader

Date _____

Jim Egan, Reader

Date _____

Jean Feerick, Reader

Approved by the Graduate Council

Date _____

Andrew G. Campbell, Dean of the
Graduate School

VITA

Minta Zlomke received her B.A. in English with a concentration in Language Study from San Francisco State University in 2001. She then received her M.A. in English Literature from San Francisco State University in 2010. Her thesis, "'Circumspection to be used in strange places': *Othello* and *Oroonoko*'s Unraveling Identities," was advised by Dr. Gitanjali Shahani. While a student in the M.A. program there she was awarded the R. Joel Dorius Memorial Scholarship and the Edward B. Kaufmann College of Humanities Scholarship. She began her doctoral studies at Brown in 2010, receiving the M.A. in English in 2013. Over the course of her time there, she was awarded the Charlotte Beebe Wilbour Fellowship in Classical English and the Brown University Interdisciplinary Opportunities Fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library. She served a one-year term as co-coordinator of The Program in Renaissance and Early Modern Studies Graduate Colloquium. She has designed and taught literature and composition courses at Brown, both to undergraduate students and to those attending the pre-college program.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to the English Department and Brown University for affording me this opportunity to pursue my scholarship. Without question, these nine years in the PhD program have been the most challenging and rewarding of my life. I entered this program feeling sure that Renaissance drama had my heart. Along the way, a seminar with Rick Rambuss on "Alternative Miltons" brought to life texts that I had always thought dry and tedious. Then Stephen Foley graciously spent the better part of an academic year reading Spenser's *Faerie Queene* with me, and I was hooked. I will remember with great fondness how, in both cases, we would spend hours working through a few dozen lines of poetry, marveling over their depth and dazzling imagery. I approached both of these opportunities thinking that, as a responsible scholar of English Renaissance literature, I ought to know Spenser and Milton better. In the end, the two poets I had had the least interest in became the two I could not do without. I am also particularly grateful to Jean Feerick and Jim Egan for believing in me from the very beginning and for fostering my interest in travel narratives and the portability of ideas across texts, distances, and cultures. Throughout, I was given the time and encouragement to read broadly and think carefully and I am so thankful to Rick and my readers for their patience and faith in my work. I also want to thank the John Carter Brown library and its staff for an incomparable opportunity; my year in residence there taught me the true meaning of fellowship. Finally, I am grateful for the community of Early Modern and Renaissance scholars across the university. For their friendship and support, I am especially indebted to Jessica Tabak, Alie Wright, and Charlotte Buecheler.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Of Form and Matter	1
------------------------------	---

CHAPTER ONE

A Pastoral <i>Errand</i> : Fluid Negotiations in Spenser's Cosmopolitan Courtesy	27
--	----

CHAPTER TWO

Sir Walter Raleigh's <i>Discoverie of Guiana</i> : Courtesy and Piracy in the Poetics of <i>Translatio Imperii Studii</i>	73
--	----

CHAPTER THREE

"Translated to the skies": Milton, Chastity, and the Cosmopolitan Vision	154
--	-----

CODA

Brexit and the Turn Towards the Nation	253
--	-----

WORKS CITED	259
-----------------------	-----

INTRODUCTION

Of Form and Matter

Consider Edmund Spenser's invocation to the Muse in the proem to Book VI of *The Faerie Queene* (1596): "Guide ye my footing, and conduct me well / In these strange ways, where never foot did use, / Ne none can find, but who was taught them by the Muse" (VI proem 2.7-9), alongside the moment in John Milton's *Maske* (1634) when the entrance of the Lady interrupts "the Measure," the dance, or the pace of the masque as she wonders where "Shall I inform my unacquainted feet / In the blind mazes of this tangled wood?" (181-2). In the first instance, Spenser is describing a poetic wasteland where no feet had yet made their mark. Conversely, though Milton's landscape signals danger and inherent difficulty, the suggestion is that these particular feet are new to the scene. Still, both of these verbal images express the degree to which the period's emerging English literature is as concerned about the work of constructing metrical feet as it is about conceiving of the ground upon which these feet will make their mark. And while Milton's masque takes place in the marches of Wales, a locale at once familiar and unknown, that the Lady is a stranger in these woods suggests that Milton, like Spenser before him, figures the moment of literary invention as one interested in identifying boundaries not as limits but as challenges to be worked through.

The renewed attention to the classical arts of rhetoric and poesy during the English Renaissance occurred alongside the development of a vernacular poetics in which writers explored what the English language was capable of expressing and where its comparative lack of eloquence showed a potentially unbridgeable gap.¹ These two metapoetic interludes signal an awareness of the *poietic* possibilities of poetry making, offering a potential corrective to this lack and sense of belatedness. After all, Spenser's invocation introduces the final book of his great epic (in actuality if not by design), and his reader has already encountered thousands of Spenserian feet.² And when Milton's *Maske* was finally published under his name when it was included in the 1645 edition of his poetry, its placement as the last of the English poems in the volume, acting as a hinge of sorts between his vernacular and Latin poetry, made it possible for his reader to interpret "this tangled wood" as an extrapolation of this commixture of linguistic forms. In each case, the feet are called forth so that the reader has an opportunity to stop and see them at work, to appreciate the imagined potential available in this time of poetic invention.

The personified concepts of poetic *feet* and *figures* of speech hint at the imbrication of rhetoric and lived experience, poetic production and poietic possibility. Rayna Kalas has argued persuasively that literary figuration can be linked to historical change, explaining that a historicized understanding of the rhetoric of framing exposes this process. She writes that, in "the sixteenth century, framing referred to the

¹ On the development of English eloquence and the ways in which this involved embracing a position of vulgarity in relation to classical rhetorical models, see Sean Keilen, *Vulgar Eloquence*; Jenny Mann, *Outlaw Rhetoric*; and Catherine Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues*.

² In the explanatory Letter to Raleigh published with the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* in 1590, Spenser announces his intention to produce twelve books, each representative of "the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised" (715). The 1596 addition included six books in total.

immanence of a being or a thing: its internal orchestration rather than its external demarcation. Framing described a thing *in potentia* coming into presence as matter. To frame something was to index a thing in its becoming, instead of its discreteness or completion” (8). I suggest that the invocations of feet described above function as framing devices, turning our attention to the internal workings of the poems, prompting us to consider the relationship between the individual pieces of the frame and the picture that begins to emerge. Milton signals an awareness of this process when he wonders in *Of Reformation* (1641): “if we could but see the shape of our deare Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appeare” (*CPW*: 1.585). Certainly, through his depictions of his faerie queen and the land of faerie over which she ruled, Spenser offers one possible answer. Or, more accurately, he offers multiple answers, allowing the Queen herself to be represented by various characters throughout the poem while faerie land is notoriously difficult to pin to a map.³ That neither Milton nor Spenser saw fit to offer a concrete frame when imaging the nation helps reveal the ways in which the process, as Kalas’s argument suggests, was fluid and open to reinterpretation.

Implicit in this discussion of national framing and poesy is the idea that both Spenser and Milton were poets of the nation.⁴ It is not a new idea to declare Spenser a national poet, nor is it novel to suggest that Spenser modeled his possible laureateship on that of the career of the great Roman imperial poet Virgil—commonly described as the

³ On faerie land’s variously vague *and* overdetermined spatial coordinates, see, for example, Bernhard Klein’s and Joanne Woolway Grenfell’s essays on *The Faerie Queene* in *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*.

⁴ This is well-trod territory in Spenser criticism; less so in Milton’s case. Indeed, in their introduction to the volume *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton’s England*, Paul Stevens and David Loewenstein explain that the subject of Milton’s relationship to England represents a critical lacuna because it is an idea that is taken as a given in studies devoted to understanding Milton’s politics.

rota Virgili.⁵ Similarly, Milton's poetic career can be loosely mapped onto that of Spenser and Virgil. Virgil was a crucial figure in the Renaissance project of *translatio imperii studiique* since he helped enable the westward transfer of imperial power from Greece to Rome. The trajectory of his career, beginning with his eclogues (patterned after Theocritus's *Idylls*), developing through his georgics, and finally culminating in his epic, *The Aeneid* (a demonstration of Homeric achievement), showed that a Roman poet writing in Latin could not only meet, but in fact surpass, his Greek models. Where those before him had excelled in one particular poetic mode, his virtuosity was illustrated by the breadth of genres he was able to command. It is important to note that the generic distinctions highlighted here are somewhat anachronistic, having been imposed on Virgil by later readers and commentators. Syrithe Pugh reminds us that in Virgil's day, these three modes were considered different expressions of the same genre, *epos*.⁶ Nevertheless, my focus is on what his career came to mean for English writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, the Renaissance understanding of Virgil's distinct genres reveals the ways in which his intervention imbued these genres with even more explanatory power. The journey from pastoral (a figure for *ars*) to epic (*belli*) encapsulated the full spectrum of meaning inherent in the concept of a poetic *translatio imperii studiique*.

In addition to providing a literary model for the imperial or national poet, Virgil bequeathed another enduring legacy that was difficult for an aspiring English poet to

⁵ For a recent, detailed account of Spenser's conception of and relationship to the *rota Virgili*, see Syrithe Pugh, *Spenser and Virgil, the Pastoral Poems*. For a sustained response to critics who discount the Virgilian trajectory as a model for Spenser, see M.L. Donnelly, "The Life of Vergil and the Aspirations of the 'New Poet.'" On Milton's career as it relates to Spenser and Virgil, see Richard Neuse, "Milton and Spenser: the Virgilian Triad Revisited."

⁶ For a thorough discussion of the Virgilian career as it relates to genre, see the introduction to Pugh's *Spenser and Virgil*.

ignore. In the very first book of his *Eclogues*, the shepherd Meliboeus, set to be exiled, offers a short list of the far-flung places to which he might be sent. After naming Africa and Scythia as possible places of exile, he figures the island of Britain as the absolute limit of imagined displacement. “[E]t *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*,” Virgil writes, marking the island’s ancient inhabitants as completely divided from the world (1.66). Taken together, *penitus* (completely), here modifying the division, and *toto* (entire), modifying the world, accrete to emphasize a clear sense of totality, finality. For this pastoral shepherd, relegation to Britain would mean complete estrangement from his shepherd community, a necessary breaking of his oaten reeds of poetry making.

When Milton began to style himself Joannes Miltonius Anglus upon his return from the continent, his clever neologism for Englishman played on the classical Latin expression for *angle* or *corner*, suggesting an embrace of sorts for this image of England cut off from the world. In so doing, he was drawing on a well-established tradition that sought to highlight rather than dismiss Virgil’s description. Indeed, as Jeffrey Knapp reminds us, in his “Letter to Dorp” written in 1515, Thomas More declared himself “*Morus apud toto divisos orbe Britannos*, ‘More among the Britons divided from all the world’” (34). The ambiguous syntax makes possible the suggestion that he counts himself among this community divided while also holding out the possibility that he is *more* divided than all the rest. These punning monikers—More’s and Milton’s—underscore the ways in which this legacy of division might be reworked to English advantage, turning a sign of strangeness into one of exceptionalism.

Spenser, too, can be counted among those who accepted the concept of national distinction and separation. When the legends of Britain's "moniments" are relayed in Book II, canto x, the relationship between the island and the continent is highlighted:

The land, which warlike Britons now possesse,
And therein have their mighty empire raysd,
In antique times was salvage wilderness,
Unpeopled, unmannured, unprov'd, unpraysd
Ne was it island then, ne was it paysd
Amid the *Ocean* waves, ne was it sought
Of merchaunts farre, for profits therein praysd,
But was all desolate, and of some thought
By sea to have bene from the *Celticke* mayn-land brought. (II.x.5)

Spenser spends much of the stanza embracing and embellishing the vision that Virgil offered in that one derisive, "unprays[ing]" line in his first eclogue. The land is barren, "desolate," "unpeopled." Yet, these lines also open up space for contesting the very foundation of Virgil's description. In the temporal framework of "antique times," that the land was not "paysd / Amid the *Ocean* waves" suggests that it was either not weighed and valued as other sea-bound islands might have been or that it was not poised, or positioned, as an island at all. Since this enjambed clause follows directly on the heels of the claim that the "land" was *not* then an "island," the latter interpretation holds more weight. Moreover, the sea that separates the British Isles from the continent, the liquid matter upon which the geological definition of an island rests, becomes an active participant in the islands' creation. The sea can not only wash over but also wash away. Spenser offers a *geological* origin story that links the British Isles with Europe, therefore eliminating that same liquid boundary that separates the islands, in so doing connecting them to each other and to their ancestral, continental home.⁷ At the same time, in naming

⁷ Spenser revisits this idea of Britain's ancient connection to the continent prior to its separation by the sea in Book IV, canto xi when he describes Albion having gone "on dry-foot pas / Into old *Gall*" (16.3-4).

the continent “the *Celticke* mayn-land,” Spenser invokes one of the Isles’ *cultural* origin stories, reminding his reader that the French were Celtic first. This has the effect of pointing in two directions at once, the etymology registering the cultural sediment of a primordial geological relationship. The sea, then, is as much a remnant of connection as an ever-present reminder of detachment. Distance, particularly as it functions as a structure of feeling, can be just as easily erased as it is instantiated.

In a related fashion, Milton preoccupies himself with the question of England’s relationship to the wider world, particularly as it is filtered through a geographical lens.

In his treatise, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), he writes:

Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brother-hood between man and man over all the World, neither is it the English Sea that can sever us from that duty and relation. . . . Nor is it distance of place that makes enmitie, but enmity that makes distance. He therfore that keeps peace with me, neer or remote, of whatsoever Nation, is to mee as farr as all civil and human offices an Englishman and a neighbour. (*CPW* 3:214-5)

Here, he is questioning not only the definition of distance itself, but also that of what it is to be an Englishman. National boundaries do not a citizen make in Milton’s formulation. The sea’s ability to sever is overwritten by the more powerful unifying bonds of humanity through which a stranger is made a neighbor. Still, that both Spenser and Milton saw fit to examine the shape of their nation and its formal connections to the continent and broader world while also signaling an awareness of their limits speaks to the ways in which the Virgilian legacy was difficult to avoid. As these quick sketches have begun to show, this legacy of separation had a continuous presence, even in those moments in which the dividing sea is called forth so that it may be bridged.

To return to Milton's *Anglus*, this brief excursus illustrates that though the angle, or corner, was peripheral, it was nonetheless a part of the whole. It was not completely cut off as Virgil would have it. Furthermore, by the time Spenser, and then Milton, were fashioning their English responses to the Virgilian legacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the European discovery of the New World had turned the idea of center and periphery on its head. The space that this opened up for reimagining England's place in the world, both geographically and ideologically, is the landscape upon which these metaphorical and poetic feet—unacquainted, never used—would make their mark. The question of what form these feet would take and what matter would direct and inform them is my subject.

* * *

What is the Matter?

* * *

As John Donne famously opined in his seventeenth Meditation, “No Man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the *Continent*, a part of the *maine*; if a *Clod* bee washed away by the *Sea*, *Europe* is the lesse, as well as if a *Promontorie* were” (299). My dissertation aims to demonstrate how some of the period's thinkers—namely Spenser, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Milton—resisted the image of an isolated England, instead imagining a new world system in which a more cosmopolitan England was an integral part. In particular, I am interested in the ways in which literature itself was seen as a medium capable of giving shape to the nation, in essence providing the frame within which the picture could emerge. As I have suggested, the frame that emerges from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is over-generous in its ability to signify multiply. Its

collocations of places real and imagined, its proliferation of characters whose allegorical substance becomes clearest when viewed in relation to one another makes the work of interpreting the poem seem endless. Spenser himself notoriously claimed to be made weary by the “endlesse worke” of filling out this frame. Jonathan Goldberg makes much of this phrase, illuminating the ways in which it encodes the impossibilities of narrative closure.⁸

Gordon Teskey’s position that Spenser’s concern as a poet was not to narrate but, first and foremost, *to think* helps illuminate what was so wearisome about this project.⁹ Teskey explains that Spenser “begins with commonplace formulations and ideas, commits them to the impulsive course of his narrative, introduces new iconographical material where it seems artistically appropriate to do so, and in effect allows those ideas to complicate and develop on their own before intervening again. By this process, . . . the poet is led into strange and unexplored areas” (“Courtesy and Thinking” 350). As a locus of plenitude and interpretive possibility, *The Faerie Queene* extends an invitation to its readers to think with him; to imagine for themselves what England looks like; to begin to see a national horizon that gives form to these ideas at the same time that it relies on a perspectival distance that can never be bridged. This invitation forms the foundation for my own critical frame. I begin by offering a way of reading Spenser as a figure for cosmopolitanism and proponent of fluid borders. In turning my attention in subsequent chapters to Raleigh and Milton, I examine the ways in which each man conceived his own ideal nation using this accommodating Spenserian exoskeleton. Where do they follow

⁸ See *Endlesse Worke: Spenser and the Structures of Discourse*.

⁹ Teskey advances this argument at least twice. First, in “Spenser’s *Mutabilitie* and the Authority of Forms,” chapter 8 of his *Allegory and Violence*. Second, he develops the idea considerably in an essay in *Spenser Studies*, “‘And therefore as a stranger give it welcome’: Courtesy and Thinking.”

him and where do they push through this form, constructing their own particular frames? Throughout, I pay particular attention to genre-work in order to think about the interpenetration of theoretically distinct literary forms. How, in turn, does this create sites of poetic production that incorporate boundaries so that they may be troubled and trespassed? For me, due to its generic multiplicity, adaptability, and thematic concern with cross-cultural contact, romance is the ideal vehicle for such an examination.¹⁰

The romance mode was a capacious one, filled with recognizable figures and motifs that were often lacking in cultural and temporal specificity, lending it a fungible quality. At once strange and familiar, it opened up a space for conceptualizing, testing, and crossing boundaries—physical, geographical, cultural, political. At its core was an ethical value system—a virtue-ethics or code of conduct—that presumed a universal worldview about individual morality and communal responsibility. Aristotelian and Pauline virtue-ethics often served as the foundational basis for these value systems, but Renaissance writers regularly gave themselves free license to rework and fine-tune them. The universality and systematic coherence of these virtue-ethics could be tested through romance; at stake was the ability of a particular version of virtue-ethics to withstand a long, arduous, seemingly endless journey away from a civilized center and through the wilds of the world. Ultimately, the romance mode highlights the role of virtue-ethics in the constitution of ideal subjects. Virtue, then, allows the shape of the nation to become visible in and through the formation of its individual members. Physical bodies become

¹⁰ I am indebted to a long and rich tradition of scholarship on the English romance and I go on to engage with different theoretical approaches as I develop my argument throughout the dissertation; this includes engagements with the work of Northrop Frye, Patricia Parker, Barbara Fuchs, Joan Pong Linton, and Benedict Robinson. Some of the work that has informed my thinking but did not necessarily find its way into the project include Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance*; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic*; and Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time*.

analogues for territorial bodies, the individual's virtuousness (or viciousness) analogous to the spiritual health of the nation. This explains, in part, why the common-weal or commonwealth, reflecting an ideal of communal health and well-being, was one of the more operant expressions of the nation. As we think in and through romance, we can begin to see how form (literary, physical, geographical, elemental) and matter (virtues, culture, language, goods) are mutually constitutive. Particularly in the ecosystem of romance, each is able to imprint, reflect, and refract the other.

In prefacing this study with a focus on Spenser and Milton, I have neglected to carve out space for Raleigh. While Spenser and Milton bookend the dissertation, Raleigh stands (at least structurally) at its center. Raleigh's vision of an ideal commonwealth of England was an imperial one that relied on a campaign of aggression and plunder to enrich English stores. He wrote openly and often about the subject. Milton, in contrast, at times held sentiments that could be virulently opposed to such a vision. In his *Commonplace Book*, under the heading "Love of Country," he writes: "[t]his virtue should be sought by philosophers cautiously. For a blind and carnal love of country should not carry us off to plundering and bloodshed and hatred of neighboring countries, so that we may enrich our country in power, wealth, or glory; for so did the pagans act" (*CPW* 1:422). He does not go on to say what the virtue does entail for him, coincidentally; this is a gap that my third chapter attempts to fill.

As I discuss in chapter two, though executed for treason in 1618, Raleigh's legacy over the course of the seventeenth century would concretize around the image of him as a national hero, his death transformed into a symbol of martyrdom to the tyranny of Stuart rule. And, with Milton's publication in 1658 of *The Cabinet-Council: Containing the*

Chief Arts of Empire; and Mysteries of State, Discabinated, a work he attributed to the “Ever-renowned Knight” Raleigh himself, he demonstrated that his own views regarding the subject of empire and international aggression had similarly evolved. Should this come as a surprise, Paul Stevens has carefully argued in an essay about the publication of this work that Milton was an admirer of both Raleigh’s eloquence and his principled theories regarding national government and international relations, particularly as they embraced ideas of necessity and providential design.¹¹ I am concerned less with these various ideological sympathies and differences than with the ways in which the philosophical priorities of both Raleigh and Milton build on the Spenserian model, reworking it for their own specific ends. In each case, romance assumes different forms and these differences reveal distinct conceptualizations of the virtues that inform the quests. So, too, does the ideal English commonwealth and its relationship to cosmopolitanism transform with each new iteration.

To evoke the idea of an emerging English literature without pausing to contextualize such a claim—to treat it as a critical *donnée*—speaks to the ubiquity of the argument Richard Helgerson advanced in *Forms of Nationhood* (1992) that the 1580s spurred a period ripe with literary invention, the main purpose of which was to help imagine an English nation. As Helgerson suggests in that book, those Elizabethans who helped “write the nation” did so using varied and often opposing discursive forms, employing a number of textual modes and conventions, both native and foreign, contemporary and classical. Other critics have performed similarly literary studies aimed at uncovering just what exactly, to follow Stephen Greenblatt’s construction,

¹¹ See Paul Stevens, “Milton’s ‘Renunciation’ of Cromwell: The Problem of Raleigh’s ‘Cabinet-Council.’”

“Renaissance Self-Fashioning” meant for writers when translated to a national scale.¹²

The latter part of the sixteenth-century was indeed a moment of intense literary energy and output, and one of its primary drivers was the new interest in literature in the vernacular; but, it was also a time of broad-ranging changes throughout Europe and the world at large. The Reformation and the eventual papal bull of exclusion that formally separated Elizabethan England from the continent in 1570 created an opportunity for accepting the notion of independence and even, to a certain extent, insularity. Helgerson ultimately sees this moment of literary activity and invention as one that allows the concept of Englishness to crystallize in a way that sets it apart; in so doing, he begins his formulation with gestures of openness and borrowing, but ultimately returns to one marked by closure and boundedness.

I am interested in pushing beyond these boundaries and exploring the ways in which this initial outward turn is sustained in the period’s romance literature by its engagement with foreign material produced from travel and exploration as well as its incorporation of globally influenced and inflected models. As Spenser lays out in his Letter to Raleigh appended to the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, the plan for his ambitious work was based on the particularly British model of King Arthur, “being made famous by many mens former workes”; but, in framing this material, he claims to “have followed all the antique Poets historicall, first Homere, . . . then Virgil, . . . after him Ariosto, . . . and lately Tasso” (715). It is as though he is able to draw from the models of his many English and continental forebears, reconfiguring the best of each of them into

¹² See, for example, Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere*; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics, and National Identity*; Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612*; Amy Boesky, *Founding Fictions*; David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*; Willy Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature*; and David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens, eds. *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton’s England*.

his own harmonious frame. His great romance epic's imaginative power to call forth the nation relies in part on its ability to encode within an English poem literary and cultural tropes that are as timeless as they are universal.¹³ This particular version of polytemporal boundary crossing is especially at home in romance.¹⁴

I see this and other English romances that signal indebtedness to multiple modes and traditions—pastoral, chivalric, epic—as offering a kind of model for cosmopolitanism and mixture that could be salubrious rather than harmful or dangerous. A crucial piece of this puzzle—particularly as we begin to map out and identify the boundaries that are being crossed—is England's relationship to Europe and its own archipelagic neighbors. What does it mean to be wholly divided—following Virgil's punning play on *penitus*, signifying division that is both complete and inward—particularly in light of Britain's internal divisions: national, linguistic, religious, and cultural? For an Englishman to speak of England in this period was often to speak of the broader British archipelago in a way that elided these differences and the factionalism that was inseparable from England's own internal colonialism and history of conquest.¹⁵ Following the framework of *translatio imperii studiique* outlined above, I suggest that to imagine what is English is to confront its many invasions, contaminations, and perceived insufficiencies (of language, custom, culture, military might) while simultaneously envisioning an ideal that can achieve wholeness, not in spite of, but *because* of this history, which was in various ways a story of productive incorporation.

¹³ Invoking the universal in a Eurocentric sphere is problematic from our own cultural vantage point. I do not mean to suggest that these models are in fact universal; rather, that they were interpreted that way by those engaged in this particular project of cultural production. Post-colonial criticism offers a cogent response to this universalizing tendency. See, for example, Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

¹⁴ For a more thorough discussion of romance polytemporality, see the introduction to Benedict Robinson's *Islam and Early Modern Literature*.

¹⁵ For more on the anglicization of British literature and identity, see, for example, Paul Stevens, "Archipelagic Criticism" and the introduction to Hadfield's *Literature, Politics, and National Identity*.

In *Exquisite Mixture*, Wolfram Schmidgen advances a similar argument about the embrace of this history of contamination and mixture, particularly as it emerges as a counter-narrative to that founded on the Anglo-Saxon origin tradition. The historical scope of his study is 1670-1730; and, in Schmidgen's account, neither the Anglo-Saxon narrative of purity—of blood, religion, culture, language, law—nor the counter-narrative emphasizing the salutary effects of the heterogenous commixture of these same identificatory categories represented a coherent, systematized ideology prior to the late-seventeenth century. For him, the two competing accounts gained purchase simultaneously. Moreover, though he identifies roots of the homogenized Anglo-Saxon origin story in the sixteenth century—citing the work of John Bale, John Foxe, Matthew Parker and William Camden among others—he does not acknowledge any germinations of the counter-narrative, however tentative, prior to his own period of interest.¹⁶ As I will go on to show, the idea that mixture and contamination was an unavoidable fact of history and could thus be reimagined as a source of England's particular strength was already being advanced in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, well before figures like Daniel Defoe celebrated the view.

While I depart from Schmidgen with regards to temporal frameworks, his articulation of the contours of the counter-narrative has much in common with my own. He writes: “[t]he expansive and integrative effects of mixture, the value found in porous borders and in the combination of different kinds, thus harmonized with the way in which political economists theorized the power and prosperity of the English body politic, which seemed to depend more and more on exchanges with other bodies” (13). Here, he is talking specifically about commodities and the rise of global economic systems; still,

¹⁶ For a thorough examination of the contours of these two narratives, see Schmidgen's introduction.

replacing “political economists” in the above sentence with “Spenser, Raleigh, and even Milton” produces a cogent expression of my overarching claims. And, even if we were to retain the emphasis on commodity exchange, that, too, can be located in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Margreta de Grazia, for example, has written about the degree to which “the fluidity of identities and commodities” was an important theme on the Shakespearean stage (19). On the level of this earlier period’s individual subject, particularly as it is figured in relationship to community collectivities, James Kuzner has argued that we rethink the concept of vulnerability, suggesting that it was a virtue rather than a sign of weakness. In so doing, he is careful to make distinctions between positions of vulnerability he terms pernicious and those that are salutary, and this care offers a useful qualification.¹⁷ I, too, am not invested in discounting that there is any value in boundedness. Rather, I argue that while boundaries have ideological use-value in certain circumstances, we should consider that their greatest contribution lies in how they stage sites of negotiation and productive exchange. After all, the old chestnut, “in with the good, out with the bad,” relies on this porosity.

Boundaries themselves, particularly as they functioned as geographical in-between spaces, not quite here nor there, proliferate in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. The Liberties outside of London, the Marches between England and Wales, the English Pale in Ireland all referred to places that constituted limits. In the first case, the name did double-duty, referring both to its existence outside the jurisdiction of the city’s Lord Mayor and to the illicit freedoms its residents enjoyed. The marches and the pale were synonyms for limits or borders and both of these places were regarded with suspicion,

¹⁷ See Kuzner, *Open Subjects*, introduction and chapter 1.

imagined as a breeding ground for licentiousness and incivility.¹⁸ This freedom, generated by distance from centers of power and proximity to the stranger or the neighbor, could just as easily figure forth a space within which the durability of a particular virtue-ethics could be tested. In her examination of Anglo-Dutch relations, Marjorie Rubright is similarly interested in what she terms the “paradoxes of proximity,” particularly as it included a space for working through questions of similitude and difference in the process of ethnic identity.¹⁹ Within this doubled-edge of the boundary, the hoped-for and the feared oscillated frenetically, the virtuous and the vicious taking form through the process of recognition.

As I noted in passing above, literary criticism has produced some of the most robust studies locating the origins of English national sentiment in the sixteenth century. In fact, apart from Liah Greenfeld’s argument in *Nationalism*, the general consensus among those in the socio-political and historical fields is that nationalism as a coherent theoretical concept did not exist prior to the nineteenth century.²⁰ Greenfeld’s claim, resting on the notion that “the only foundation of nationalism as such, . . . is an idea,” has more in common with literary approaches than with those in her own field (3). As an *idea*, the nation could assume many forms; in fact, central to Helgerson’s argument is this very multiplicity. As his title, *Forms of Nationhood*, suggests, plural and competing

¹⁸ See, for example, Steven Mullaney, “Civic Rites, City Sites: The Place of the Stage” and Philip Schwyzer, “Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn.”

¹⁹ See Rubright, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas*, introduction.

²⁰ See, for example, Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*; E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. For arguments specific to English nationalism, see Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism*; and Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* and *The Idea of Englishness*. For a detailed summary of the various debates about the origins of English nationalism, see Victoria Kahn, “Disappointed Nationalism.”

conceptions of the nation were negotiated through these different discursive forms.²¹

Milton's question in *Of Reformation*, discussed above, in which he suggests that each literary iteration of "deare Mother *England*" produces yet another "personal form," demonstrates an awareness of the work he and his fellow citizens were doing to help write the nation into being.

In this dissertation, I am drawing on this rich critical tradition in literary criticism that has flourished over the past three decades. What distinguishes my approach is an argument that ultimately rests on yoking together the seemingly contradictory impulses of national identity and cosmopolitanism. Brian Lockey's recent book, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans*, demonstrates this supposed contradiction. He argues that the focus on national identity in the period's English literature has occluded other forms of communitarian identity such as cosmopolitanism and that a focus on these latter forms can help unsettle the critical hegemony of the former. His claims rely on the notion that these competing forms of identity, national and cosmopolitan, particular and universal, do not rest comfortably together. Similarly, the main thrust of cosmopolitan criticism today locates its ideological center in international law and the universal rights of man, particularly as it has developed out of Kantian theories of a moral cosmopolitanism. As such, it has generally been figured as being in conflict with national sentiment. In this schema, one's commitment to cosmopolitan values necessarily trumps more localized identities. The cosmopolitan ideal is one in which national boundaries have been made obsolete and we are all global citizens.

²¹ Opinions do vary in the literary studies of English nationalism about where and when to locate points of origin; the main point of contention has to do with whether the 1580s mark the starting point or whether these Elizabethan writers were merely continuing work that had begun generations before. See Hadfield; see also Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580*.

There is a strain in cosmopolitan criticism that argues against this binary opposition, offering instead a series of complementary concepts such as “rooted,” “patriotic,” and “ironic” cosmopolitanisms.²² Mitchell Cohen, the first to propose the concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, argues: “what is needed is the fashioning of a dialectical concept of *rooted* cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground” (483). Some have taken this clarion call seriously. Quite significant is that Bruce Robbins devotes much of his introduction in *Cosmopolitics* to the idea that nationalism and cosmopolitanism need not be inimical. What most of these proponents of pluralistic cosmopolitanism have in common is a devotion to the concept as an idea, a philosophy, a way of thinking and feeling within the world. In as much as the nation was an idea in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, so, too, was cosmopolitanism. Rather than substitute cosmopolitan identity for a national one, I propose to consider the ways in which the nation was imagined through a cosmopolitan lens.

To be sure, there are theorists of contemporary cosmopolitanism who argue for a more historicized approach, suggesting that an understanding of cosmopolitanism’s classical roots or its reemergence in the Renaissance humanist movement helps elaborate the dialectical nature that lies at the root of the theoretical concept. Bryan Turner, a proponent for the “ironic” cosmopolitanism referenced above, frames cosmopolitanism first and foremost as a classical virtue, borne out of an attempt by the Stoics “to come to terms with the cultural diversity” of their own historical moment (58). Stoic irony is his

²² See Mitchell Cohen, “Rooted Cosmopolitanism.” Kwame Anthony Appiah invokes the term in constructing his own theory of “Cosmopolitan Patriots.” On ironic cosmopolitanism, see Bryan Turner, “Cosmopolitan Virtue, Globalization and Patriotism.”

starting point, but he argues throughout that its legacy, founded upon the notion “that tolerance of others must start from a position of some uncertainty as to the ultimate authority of one’s own culture,” bears striking resemblances to our own contemporary cosmopolitan ideal (57). Required is a kind of self-estrangement that allows, paradoxically, for a recognition of the self in the other.

For Turner, the journey from the Stoic tradition to our own requires a Renaissance middleman, and he routes his argument through Michel de Montaigne’s political and cultural philosophies. Others treating the historical development of cosmopolitanism connect it specifically to early Christian philosophy. Jacques Derrida, for example, identifies cosmopolitanism as a “profession of faith” and links it to a particularly Pauline worldview, rooted in notions of universal fraternity that continue to inform contemporary notions of the rights of man. Walter Dignolo identifies colonization of the new world and the concomitant system of global trade that arose from it as the point at which the Christian outgrowths of classical cosmopolitanism take a turn toward the modern. For Dignolo, the figure who most influences the cosmopolitan theories of Kant and Marx is the sixteenth-century Spanish colonial apologist, Francisco de Vitoria. Matthew Binney locates cosmopolitan origins in Augustine’s notion of the City of God; but, he too, requires mediating figures from the Early Modern period to travel from Augustine to the tradition of international legal rights that rose out of the Enlightenment. For Binney, these figures are two seventeenth-century English political philosophers, Milton and John Locke. Sheldon Pollock offers a related methodology, tracing connections across discrete historical cosmopolitanisms; but, his aim is distinct. He examines the ways in which eastern versions of cosmopolitanism, coeval with those emerging in the classical

west, help unsettle the hegemony of western cosmopolitan and global theories, both historically and today.²³

While each of these theorists help destabilize the Enlightenment's stranglehold on cosmopolitanism, they also share an impulse to relate the historical trajectories of cosmopolitanism to contemporary theory. Mediating figures from the Renaissance and Early Modern periods are most useful in how they lend theory today a deeper philosophical grounding, made stronger by its long claim of historical contingency. This ideological investment has much in common with those working on theories of the origins of nationalism in that their recourse to its historical iterations is in the service of illuminating contemporary socio-political theory. Such teleological approaches have their proper place; but, my own interest in the period's idea of nation and world is grounded more by a sense of estrangement than affiliation.

For me, what is particularly interesting about emerging notions of the nation and cosmopolitanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the degree to which these concepts are still very fluid and mutable. In my view, the ways in which Erasmus works through the sometimes conflicting theoretical contours of cosmopolitanism in his *Adages* offers the best entry point for understanding how Renaissance thinkers grappled with the ramifications of classical and early Christian traditions of cultural accommodation. For her careful, encyclopedic analysis of how Erasmus figures forth the cosmopolitan ideal in the *Adages*, I am indebted to Jessica Wolfe. In a recent essay published as part of a

²³ See Turner; Derrida, "Globalization, Peace, and Cosmopolitanism"; Mignolo, "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis"; Binney, "Milton, Locke, and the Early Modern Framework of Cosmopolitan Right"; Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History." For other work that examines the longer history of cosmopolitanism, see Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown's essay "Cosmopolitanism" in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*; and Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*.

volume on *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages*, she argues that in a particularly well-known adage, *Omnium horarum homo*, Erasmus presents:

a choice between two competing attitudes toward accommodation inherent in ancient cosmopolitanism: one recognizes the value of social obligation and adherence to custom, conceiving of the ‘citizen of the world’ as a ‘man for all seasons’ able to play any part and to adapt his behavior to a variety of audiences and contextual cues, while the other, the brand of cosmopolitanism associated with Diogenes of Sinope, is bold and shameless in its total repudiation of convention and decorum. (211)

Within the first “attitude,” the concept of rooted cosmopolitanism takes shape. This is an accommodative posture, allowing space for cultural adaptability alongside the recognition of “social obligation and adherence to custom.” As I go on to show in the next two chapters, the model of courtesy is framed on this very attitude. At its core is a concept of artful dissembling or artifice motivated by generosity rather than deception. The most successful courtier is able “to play any part” in adapting “his behavior to a variety of audiences and contextual clues.” While distance is reduced through acts of cultural proximity, this allows the stranger to feel at home with the neighbor. That the opposing attitude, that tied most clearly to the Stoic tradition, demonstrates an unwillingness to accommodate different cultural values suggests it has more in common with a narrowly circumscribed nationalist perspective than a cosmopolitan one (though I recognize that in making such a claim I am invoking the kind of *telos* I wish to avoid).

Erasmus’s frequent recourse to Odysseus and Saint Paul in his explorations of cosmopolitanism focus on the prior of these two attitudes, suggesting that what Wolfe terms the “Homeric-Pauline alternative” to the model of Diogenes, foregrounds the willingness to adapt as the ideal model; indeed, elsewhere she argues that Erasmus “links Odysseus to Paul by holding both up as honest dissimulators” (214, 218). Her argument

is more nuanced, though, and she does not see Erasmus setting Diogenes aside completely. In a way that invokes Kuzner's concept of the virtues of vulnerability as variously pernicious and salutary, she argues that across the *Adages*, Erasmus reveals the doubled-edge of "rhetorical and cultural versatility." She explains that through their regular invocations of Odysseus and Paul, "figures capable of exhibiting the uncompromising bluntness of Diogenes but equally capable of abandoning that quality when it ceases to be prudent or effective—the *Adages* establish a counter-genealogy of cosmopolitanism that privileges rhetorical and cultural accommodation over the frankness and rigidity of men who 'require everyone to live solely in his own way'" (219). What emerges from this reading is a sense that sites of contact with the stranger are always bound up in the process of negotiation, and that this negotiation can be as much intrasubjective as it is intersubjective.

The accommodating ethics that underly Erasmian cosmopolitanism are the key to understanding how it functions as a multiply rooted identity. To privilege rhetorical and cultural versatility does not mean that there remains no space for the honoring and valuation of one's own culturally circumscribed virtue-ethics. Certainly, this is not about disavowal but inclusion; it is about adhering to one's own values while also exhibiting cultural fluency and adaptability. To be able to play the cultural chameleon is not a gesture of renunciation or disingenuous artifice; rather, through its commitment to gestures of generosity, we might even argue that it figures forth the triad of Pauline virtues: faith, hope, and love (or charity). Of course, as Wolfe cautions, the degree to which these gestures of accommodating openness also leave one vulnerable to the viciousness of another's system of ethics is always a risk. The borders that offer these

sites of negotiation are dangerous, to be sure; but (at the further risk of sounding trite) with great risk comes great reward.

As I will go on to show, national identity was not only compatible with cosmopolitanism; the two were mutually constitutive. One recognizes the contours of the self through the eyes of the stranger. A telling example comes from John Dee, one of the most prolific and ardent promoters of British imperial expansion during the Elizabethan period. In his *General and rare memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of navigation* (1577), he invokes “*Cosmopolites*,” the cosmopolitan man, “A Citizen, and Member, of the whole and only one Mystickall City Universall: And so, consequently, to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall Governement therof, under the King Almighty” (G3^v). His ideal “British Impire” is able to incorporate a cosmopolitical perspective within an intensely patriotic one. Indeed, this identity becomes just one of many that he employs almost interchangeably in his exposition of the imperial ideal. The only conflict he foresees is that between the godly and those “of Repugnant Conditions.” Once again, the salient question has not to do with forms of communal identity but with the matter of virtue and viciousness that inform these identities.

Relying on a flexible definition of the romance mode, in which the boundary crossings that it notoriously include were found in its plot coordinates as well as its malleable literary forms, a project such as mine could reasonably include Dee’s *Arte of Navigation*, Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*, William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* or *Cymbeline*, or Michael Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion*. I have confined my focus to Spenser, Raleigh, and Milton in order to explore these engagements in a more narrowly defined way. Spenser is the dissertation’s main interlocutor and his work is the subject of the first

chapter; and, while the succeeding chapters move on to discuss Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596) and Milton's early poetry and prose tracts, the emphasis is on the ways in which they each thought through and developed Spenser's ideas. Hence, these chapters are interwoven with further discussions of Spenser's texts, namely his long-form poems *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. The first two chapters propose that courtesy, the virtue that informs Book VI, the final book of *The Faerie Queene* (1596), emerges as the ideal virtue for a cosmopolitan Englishman. I include Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1633) as part of his elaboration of the contours of courtesy. What this virtue actually entails for Raleigh is, perhaps unsurprisingly, quite different from the model proposed by Spenser. In Raleigh's flexible ethical system, the courtier and the privateer are two sides of the same coin. In the case of Milton, I argue that chastity, that which forms the allegorical core of Book III, the final book of first installment of *The Faerie Queene* (1590), is the virtue that emerges as the sought-after and hard-won ideal. Consequently, his *Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634), commonly referred to as *Comus*, is the main text under consideration there, though I also discuss his poems "Il Penseroso" and "The Passion" as well as his prose treatises *An Apology for Smectymnuus* (1642) and *Areopagitica* (1645).

Throughout, I address more thoroughly why I view romance and virtue-ethics as the ideal form and guide to the matter of a cosmopolitan poetics of the nation. In the closing pages, I conclude with a brief coda that offers a final meditation on the role of openness and cosmopolitanism in the ideal nation, both with regards to what it can make possible and what dangers might obtain from a dedication to this openness. Since part of my project involves examining the role of the historical past in shaping these questions

for my trio of Renaissance authors, I include a final turn toward its projection into the present, considering the durability and resonances of these questions today as Britain continues to grapple with its relationship to Europe and the larger world.

CHAPTER ONE

A Pastoral *Errand*:

Fluid Negotiations in Spenser's Cosmopolitan Courtesy

In notes for a lecture touching on Spenser and *The Faerie Queene*, S.T. Coleridge remarked upon “the marvellous independence and true imaginative absence of all particular space or time in the Faery Queene. It is in the domains neither of history or geography; it is ignorant of all artificial boundary, all material obstacles; it is truly in land of Faery, that is, of mental space” (36). For Coleridge, all roads within the poem lead not to an actual place, a Faeryland that has cultural, political, or historical resonance; rather, these roads all lead inward, to the inscape or “mental space” that is the world of the poet. Yet, as Thomas Roche notes in *The Kindly Flame*, Coleridge goes on to proclaim that the poem includes “a great magic in national names” (Coleridge 37; Roche 33). How are we to understand the “true imaginative absence of all particular space” in a poem that simultaneously evokes “great magic in national names”? Roche reconciles this seeming contradiction thusly: “In reading Spenser one feels no sudden jarring shift from the land of ‘mental space’ back to the real world of history and geography, from the green world of Faeryland to the red and white world of Tudor history; on the contrary one senses what C.S. Lewis has called the ‘seamless continuity of the whole’” (33). In contrast, I propose that “the whole” of Faerie and the epic itself is rarely seamless; in fact, I argue that

seams, joints, and boundaries are ubiquitous in the poem. In my view, these sites of contact are meant to be noticed and the work of interpreting them involves an understanding of the many ways in which they are presented as sites of necessary exchange and learning. These seams represent the value of borders not for their ability to isolate but for their ability to facilitate the kinds of interdealing and intermingling that are foundational to Spenser's conceptualization of the ideal subject, nation, and world.

In this chapter, I begin where Spenser ends, motivated by the central question of how courtesy, the culminating virtue of *The Faerie Queene's* six books, offers a final glimpse of the shape of the ideal. In short, I will show how Spenser's courtesy emerges as a particularly cosmopolitan virtue, one that is invested in inclusivity—however carefully curated—and exemplifies the value of fluid borders as sites of negotiation. To this end, I devote the first part of the chapter to examining the ways in which Spenser instrumentalizes what I term the constant inconstancy of water itself to rhetorically construct these borders. This naturally pushes back on the more conventional reading of Book VI as one that marks an inward turn following the outward, international gestures of Book V, the Book of Justice.¹ Rather than discount the book's return to the more circumscribed national sphere of Faerie, I suggest that using a necessarily extra-national virtue such as courtesy highlights the degree to which the return does not, and should not, foreclose openness and connection. Thus, I ask why it is that he offers his most elaborate

¹ For an explanation of *The Faerie Queene's* six books forming three consecutive pairs in which the first book of each pair gestures outwards and the second inwards, see Michael O'Connell. For analyses that follow Coleridge's emphasis on Spenser's inwardness, particularly as it foregrounds the intimacy of poetry-making, see C.S. Lewis, Roche, Cheney, and Berger, "The Secret Discipline." Work on Spenser and Ireland has provided a rich vein to mine for critics reading Spenser as a poet of empire rather than a poet of the nation. See, for example, Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser; Spenser and Ireland*, edited by Patricia Coughlan; Andrew Hadfield, *Spenser's Irish Experience*. The global turn in literary criticism in the past few decades has produced work that specifically examines the poem in a global context. See, for example, *Worldmaking Spenser*, a collection of essays that came out of a conference on this subject held at Yale in 1996. See also David Read, Kevin Chovanec, Brian Lockey, Ayesha Ramachandran.

expressions of the virtue in pastoral interludes, both in the later cantos of Book VI and, to an extent, in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, a poem Spenser dedicated to Raleigh from his home in Kilcoman, Ireland in 1590 but did not publish until 1595, just a year before the six-book edition of *The Faerie Queene* appeared. If epic marks the end of Virgil's poetic journey, why have we come full-circle and returned to the source? Can we consider pastoral as a specifically cosmopolitan mode? Finally, how does this cosmopolitan poetics of courtesy play out in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*? To my mind, answering these questions requires engaging with the ways in which Spenser uses the intersections of forms and their varied materials to dramatize the ideological work of the seam.

It may seem counter-intuitive to identify water—as form *and* matter—as a function of the seam. Indeed, despite human interventions aimed at controlling bodies of water and their flows, nature often has the final say. And while rivers and oceans have long been used to mark territorial boundaries, flooding and erosion reminds us of water's ability to overwrite human design. Part of its explanatory power lies in its ability to both demarcate limits and breach them. It is this doubled function that makes water an ideal figure for thinking through Spenser's ideation of the porous seam as a site of negotiation.

Rhetorically fluid, water has a rich metaphorical history. The metaphor of poetry-making as a sea voyage was a trope in its own right. Spenser employs it in the first stanzas of the final cantos of both Books I and VI of *The Faerie Queene* when he links the weighty work itself to that inherent in piloting his “feeble barke” through its “wearie course” across the sea—a course though “often stayd, yet never is astray” (I.xii.1.2 and 8;

VI.xii.i.9).² The conventional font of inspiration exemplifies how water's more pacific forms could also enable poetic production. This was true of pastoral springs and streams as well. Virgil, for example, invokes the Sicilian nymph-turned-spring Arethusa as his Muse in the opening lines to his tenth eclogue. For me, this rhetorical fluidity owes much to water's slippery quality, able to contain simultaneously contrary motions and significations.

The Mutabilitie Cantos, first published in the 1609 folio edition of *The Faerie Queene*, offer a case in point. In framing the work, the printer introduced the two cantos by explaining that they, "both for Forme and Matter, appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the *Faerie Queene*, under the legend of Constancie. Never before imprinted."³ In some respects, the matter is quite distinct. We have left the land of faeries and elves and traveled upwards, into the cosmos, realm of the gods. The argument to the first canto explains that Mutabilitie, also known as "Proud *Change* (not pleas'd, in mortall things, beneath the Moone, to raigne) Pretends, as well of Gods, as Men, to be the Soveraine" (691). To this end, she has left the mortal coil over which she rules and ascended to the heavens to challenge Jove's sovereignty. The first canto sets the scene; which, incidentally, includes an inset minor narrative that brings the mortal world over which Mutability reigns into that of the gods (I return to this later in the chapter). In the second canto, she presents her case for the sovereignty of inconstancy over all else and Dame Nature, sitting as judge and jury, offers her ruling. Working

² For a detailed discussion of Spenser's deployment of the sea voyage metaphor, see chapter 1 of Philip Edwards, *Sea-Mark* (1997).

³ For a facsimile of this introductory page, see the Hamilton edition (691). All citations of *The Faerie Queene* and *The Mutabilitie Cantos* refer to this edition.

methodically through the four elements, Mutabilitie's description of changing waters is instructive:

Ne is the water in more constant case;
Whether those same on high, or these belowe.
For, th'Ocean moveth stil, from place to place;
And every River still doth ebbe and flowe:
Ne any Lake, that seems most still and slowe,
Ne Poole so small, that can his smoothnesse holde,
When any winde doth under heaven blowe;
With which, the clouds are also tost and roll'd;
Now like great Hills; and, streight, like sluces, them unfold.

So likewise are all watry living wights
Still tost, and turned, with continuall change,
Never abyding in their stedfast plights.
The fish, still floting, doe at randon range,
And never rest; but evermore exchange
Their dwelling places, as the streames them carrie:
Ne have the watry foules a certaine grange,
Wherein to rest, ne in one stead do tarry;
But flitting still doe flie, and still their places vary. (VII.vii.20-1)⁴

Noteworthy in the figural language used to describe change is the repetition of language implying stillness. To be sure, the narrative has prepared us to notice the paradoxical use of this term throughout the canto. Nature herself is characterized as “young yet full of eld, / Still mooving, yet unmoved from her sted; / Unseene of any, yet of all beheld” and Hamilton's gloss suggests that *still* “is used almost obsessively in the canto to indicate that Mutabilitie understands movement but not its relation to stillness” (VII.vii.13.2-4). This is the poet's description of Nature, though, and despite Hamilton's observation that the term is employed “almost obsessively,” apart from the seven instances in the two stanzas excerpted above, Mutabilitie herself only says it three other times over the course

⁴ It is convention to group *The Mutabilitie Cantos* under Book VII, and, following their assignment in the 1609 edition, they are identified as the sixth and seventh canto, respectively. There is an eighth “canto,” consisting of two stanzas; hence, its titular description—“unperfite”—and its exclusion from the publisher's headnote introducing “Two Cantos of Mutabilitie.”

of her thirteen-stanza plea. Therefore, I suggest that its repleteness in the context of water requires that we pay special attention to the work that it is doing here.

Rather than read the paradoxical opposition of stillness and constancy as a sign of Mutabilitie's ignorance, I propose that we understand it as a sign of her deep knowledge of a complex system.⁵ The word *still* is in itself able to contain the contrary impulses of stasis and continuity. The syntactical variation in the twentieth stanza alone brings this to the fore. When she uses the term to describe a lake's seeming stillness, this is the only time it is used in its adjectival sense. All of the remaining instances are adverbial—each modifying a verb synonymous with change—and are thus punningly pointing out the irony inherent in any argument about constant inconstancy. This constancy, only visible across time, is an integral part of Mutabilitie's power. That Dame Nature in turn marshals the seasons, months, days, nights, and hours as evidence of her own sovereignty in effect reiterates the degree to which the cycle of time involves change, showing that it is as diffuse temporally as it is materially.

To return to the water and its "watry" denizens, the repeated descriptions of still movement over the course of these two stanzas highlights the degree to which water is able to figure forth the fluid boundary between different states of being. Consider the final four lines of the first stanza excerpted above. Within them is a compressed version of the hydrologic cycle beginning with bodies of water that wind acts upon, those same winds that toss and roll the clouds. This is a version of evaporation, the tossing and rolling preparing the way for the precipitative stage of the cycle. Her image of precipitation is remarkable. In describing the rain, the clouds unfold and run straight

⁵ I am not the first to suggest a more sympathetic view of Mutabilitie. See, for example, Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers* 141-5.

back to earth, “like sluices.” A water control structure like the Romans would have built, a sluice evokes continuity and constraint within the context of change and alteration. It thus extends into the second half of the stanza the work that *still* does repeatedly in the first half. The tissue-like boundary between states of being that is dramatized here allows the boundary itself to signify multiply, seemingly without limit.

This figuration of water as a particularly productive site of ontological negotiation is a regular theme of Spenser’s, particularly when he personifies rivers.⁶ It is evidenced in the inset minor narrative briefly referenced above when the river nymph Molanna is both figured as Diana’s handmaiden and the river whose “sweet streames, *Diana* used oft / . . . / To bathe her selfe” (VII.vi.43.2; 42.1-3).⁷ Yet this not the extent of Molanna’s doubled figuration. As the narrative unfolds, it is revealed that Faunus has promised Molanna the affections of “the *Fanchin*” river, whom she had “[l]ong lov’d” though he “by nought did her set,” in exchange for access to his own beloved, Diana (VII.vi.44.4). When Molanna’s betrayal is found out, Diana “[h]er whelm’d with stones”; but, Faunus is true to his word: “So now her waves passe through a pleasant Plaine, / Till with the *Fanchin* she her selfe doe wed, / And (both combin’d) themselves in one faire river spred” (VII.vi.53.4-9). In effect, by stopping up the river “with stones,” Diana enables the river nymph’s hoped-for union with the Fanchin. The stones’ only effect is to overwhelm Molanna’s traditional course, leaving her free to assume another. This is part of water’s slipperiness, after all; it cannot be stopped, only redirected or recycled.

⁶ For another instance, see Book IV.xi.15-16 for examples of rivers whose names and described actions conflate them with nations and the nations’ mythical founders. Especially noteworthy is the treatment of Albion, a founding figure for England, who, though a river, “did on dry-foot pas” from Britain to France (16.3).

⁷ Teskey also notes this doubled figuration but he reads it as a sign of the “radical, unsettling terms” of the change Mutabilitie represents. See chapter 8 of *Allegory and Violence*.

* * *

I. "So flowing all from one"

* * *

There are moments in *The Faerie Queene* in which Spenser interrupts the flow of the poem to explain that the resolution of a particular story must be deferred so that another, sometimes seemingly unrelated, may take its place. The tale of Florimell's fate is one such example. Though it irks him to leave her suspended in her "wofull state," he is purportedly driven by narrative exigency "[t]o tell of *Satyrane*, where I him left of late" (III.viii.43.8-9). But he leaves her in this state, nonetheless, her story ultimately left untold in the 1590 edition. In fact, we are well into the first book of the 1596 edition by the time he wends his way back to her: "But ah for pittie that I have thus long / Left a fayre Ladie languishing in payne" (IV.xi.1.1-2). It is in this spirit that I excuse myself for a moment from the immediacy of Spenser's world in order to take a detour to the turn of the nineteenth century (though, as with many of Spenser's deferrals, this detour's relevance should quickly reveal itself).

I begin with a fountain in Proust. This is, not coincidentally, where Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick begins in her essay, "The Weather in Proust."⁸ She frames the essay with a long excerpt from his early-twentieth century novel, *A la recherche du temps perdu*, in which he describes a fountain designed and built in the eighteenth century:

It could be seen from a distance, slender, motionless, rigid, set apart in a clearing surrounded by fine trees, several of which were as old as itself, only the lighter fall of its pale and quivering plume stirring in the breeze. The eighteenth century had refined the elegance of its lines, but, by fixing the style of the jet, seemed to have arrested its life; at this distance one had the impression of art rather than the sensation of water. Even the moist

⁸ This is the first essay in a collection of Sedgwick's essays—to which it lends its name—that Jonathan Goldberg edited and published after her death. See *The Weather in Proust*.

cloud that was perpetually gathering at its summit preserved the character of the period like those that assemble in the sky around the palaces of Versailles. But from a closer view one realised that, while it respected, like the stones of an ancient place, the design traced for it beforehand, it was a constantly changing stream of water. (1)

This is only the start of the excerpt; it goes on to depict in elaborate detail the functional mechanism, figurative and real, of this “constantly changing stream of water.” In Sedgwick’s reading, this representation “combines flexibility with an extraordinary economy, in an endlessly mutable but ultimately closed system where what goes around comes around, where linear narrative is propelled through a perpetual recycling of elements, lives, positions, structures, and desires that honors the conservation of matter and energy” (3). Some of the water that is recycled through the fountain’s internal mechanisms changes form through the process—now a water droplet, now a vapor, now a cloud—yet, still the system is ultimately closed. The recycling has as much to do with the perpetual cycle of the fountain as it does with the hydrologic cycle discussed above. The built and natural environment, the people and animals that live in and are sustained by this environment, the atmosphere, all are enclosed within this preservative material system. Though translated into and out of mutable forms, the matter remains the same.

I find myself drawn by her argument, as though I have inadvertently entered this system and am propelled by its force. Yet, as I follow its stream, I keep looking back to the beginning, to the question of time. For me, the way in which the “life” of the fountain itself contributes to this system is equally evocative. Though *fixed* and seemingly *arrested* in time, it is also the primary engine of the cycle’s movement—not unlike the constant inconstancy of Mutabilitie. It’s age is preserved through its endless trace, a fixture of its design; yet, the clouds that form above it—which, in Sedgwick’s

view, are a crucial part of the process of elemental recycling—*preserve* but also, significantly, *reflect* its historical character. The clouds are not merely a stage of the cycle, they are in some respects a memory. And, in as much as the water coursing through the fountain is part of a closed system, we can imagine that liquid residues from its earliest cycle remain, the water of its most recent cycle intermingling with remnants of each preceding cycle. The fountain, then, is as much a sign of material endurance through formal change as it is a sign of polytemporality.

The process is not unlike the solera system of making sherry, a system designed in the mid-nineteenth century to reproduce a particular sherry's characteristic profile, keeping it consistent from year to year. In order to preserve continuity across time, "a fraction of wine is removed from the oldest scale of the solera, the so-called solera barrels themselves, and replaced . . . with wine from the next scale of barrels containing wine of the same type but one year younger. . . . They in turn are replenished from the scale two years younger . . . and so on, the youngest scale being replenished with new wine."⁹ The result of sherry made through this system is that the age assigned to each successive bottling is the same age as the oldest barrel of the solera. The year that each system was established is both preserved *and* renewed with every new year. It is not uncommon to find a newly available solera sherry dated to the nineteenth century. Temporality, then, is made fractionally diffuse. If, as Sedgwick avers, the "important question in Proust [is] how open systems relate to closed ones, or perhaps better put, of how systems themselves move between functioning as open and closed," then I contend that the solera scales illustrate this particular negotiation between open and closed systems, particularly as they enfold time as a crucial element of the equation (3).

⁹ See *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, edited by Jancis Robinson and Julia Harding, 681-2.

Echoing Mutabilitie's plea, the cyclical, purposive mechanics of the fountain and the solera system here described have much in common with the river systems of Spenser's imaginative ecosystem. For me, specifically *informing*, is the way in which time itself becomes part of the rivers' sedimented materiality. I defer my return to Spenser's world, though, if but for a moment more. In Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, a novel published just a few years before Proust's *Recherche*, the narrator begins by contemplating what he terms "the bond of the sea" (3). As the ship readies to sail from the River Thames to Africa, home to this supposedly dark heart, he explains how this bond can easily "evoke the great spirit of the past upon the lower reaches of the Thames." The narrator continues: "The tidal current runs to and fro in its unceasing service crowded with memories of men and ships it has borne to the rest of home or to the battles of the sea. It has known and served all the men of whom the nation is proud, from Sir Francis Drake to Sir John Franklin, knights all, titled and untitled—the great knights-errant of the sea" (4). Though the "great knights-errant of the sea" have left behind this enduring legacy of national pride, the sea itself is the primary actor in this schema. These "crowded memories" of the nation's heroic past are found not in its historical chronicles but in the tidal currents that carry "the spirit of the past" within their flow. Water's ability to connect time and space is its primary symbolic engine. It is not that which divides; rather, it is the source of all connection. This is all to say that Spenser's world is actually part of our own. We live along many of the same rivers, and where they have shifted course, their liquid material is conserved within the closed system of our world.

I say all of this recognizing the degree to which my argument relies on a figural concept of materiality. With regards to object studies, water is about as illusive as it gets. It can imprint but it cannot be imprinted upon. Each push or plunge results simply in its redistribution, its displacement. Neither can it be held. In order to contain it, there is always some other mediating object required—a glass, an aquarium, a sluice. Nonetheless, I see the insights of Renaissance scholars like Margreta de Grazia and Jonathan Gil Harris offering a theoretical blueprint that, when overlaid with Sedgwick’s concept of an expansive but closed climatological system, allows for a fuller appreciation of how Spenser uses water to comprehend and image the world in which he lives. As I explain in the Introduction, de Grazia has explicated the fluid relationship between identities and commodities during the period. Harris’s concept of “untimely matter” is particularly generous as a theoretical construct. Part of his argument requires the understanding that, beyond its relationship to temporal linearity, *time* is “also counterintuitively a plane in which the future is behind and the past ahead, and a preposterous folded cloth in which before and after are coeval” (4). This “preposterous,” disorienting image, allowing material to defy historical contingency, provides a succinct summarization of the ways in which I view the role of time supplementing Sedgwick’s cyclical system.

To return to Spenser’s river system, part of its explanatory reach lies in its ability to reach across texts—his and his forebears—and time. Though Molanna’s marriage to the Fanchin discussed above was done in direct contravention of her sovereign’s desires (an issue that relates directly to Raleigh; but, this will have to wait until the next chapter), it is the third river marriage Spenser details. Only one, the marriage of the rivers Thames

and Medway in Book IV, canto xi, can be firmly placed within the tradition of *epithalamia fluviorum*. In it he catalogues all the world's rivers as they come to witness this bridal feast. He begins by invoking Clio, the muse of history, demonstrating the degree to which this geographical project is also historical (10.1-2). Throughout, he draws on British chorographies, enfolding his native rivers within a train of rivers from the world over.¹⁰

The guest list is exhaustive: “they all repayr’d, both most and least, / Aswell which in the mightie Ocean trade, / As that in rivers swim, or brookes do wade” (9.3-5). As they each course their way, they are named, described, and individuated. An authorial intrusion suggests the pressures this project puts on his formal designs:

But what doe I their names seeke to reherse,
Which all the world have with their issue fild?
How can they all in this so narrow verse
Contayned be, and in small compasse hild? (IV.xi.17.1-4)

In this metapoetic moment, Spenser questions the limits of poetic representation—vast ideas cannot be “contayned” in “so narrow verse.” Indeed, due to the numerological constraints that Alastair Fowler has carefully catalogued in this canto, “the poet is unable to make his verse wider or his compass larger”; given the “high degree of formal organization. . . There would literally be no room for a single additional stanza or an extra river” (182, 191). Certainly, he ends his catalogue gesturing to those rivers, “yet besides, three thousand more there were” (xi.52.6). Still, as he explains in the canto’s final line, “[u]nto an other Canto I will overpas” (53.9). In the next canto, he picks up immediately where he has left off, describing the work of “count[ing] the seas abundant progeny” as “endlesse worke” (IV.xii.1-2). The story literally overflows the formal

¹⁰ See Gordon Braden on the relationship between Spenser’s catalogue and those of the epic tradition. On Spenser’s specifically Irish contribution to the tradition of British chorographies, see Bart Van Es.

division between cantos, spilling into the next. These authorial intrusions speak to the limitations of natural and formal boundaries; here water is that which cannot be contained and in fact fills all corners of the world through fluvial filiation. So carefully individuated in the prior canto, here they begin to blur to the point of indistinction: “So fertile be the flouds in generation, / So huge their numbers, and so numberlesse their nation” (xii.8-9).

Though, on balance, the river marriage in canto xi trades in particularity, there are moments within it that prepare us for the flattening involution of a system “so fertile,” “so huge,” and “so numberlesse.” A brief origin story of three Irish rivers offers an example. Conceived when “that great Gyant *Blomius*” mountain “by force deflowr’d” “the faire Nymph *Rheusa*” river, “[t]hese three faire sons, which being thence forth powrd / In three great rivers ran, and many countreis scowrd” (xi.42). Due to the lack of orthographic consistency in the sixteenth century, “powr’d” does double duty here, suggesting that these three sons were both *poured* into their respective rivers and consequently *powered* by their running course. In allowing both meanings to signify at once, the act of physis described—wherein these sons are translated into rivers—takes on passive and active resonances. Their hasty, energized scouring across “many countreis” reaffirms their active power and sets the stage for further elaboration in the following stanza:

The first, the gentle Shure that making way
By sweet Clonmell, adornes rich Waterford;
The next, the stubborne Newre, whose waters gray
By faire Kilkenny and Rosseponte boord,
The third, the goodly Barrow, which doth hoord
Great heapes of Salmons in his deepe bosome:
All which long sundred, doe at last accord
To joyne in one, ere to the sea they come,

So flowing all from one, all one at last become. (xi.43)

In their spread, they branch apart, adorning and boarding other rivers along the way.

These other rivers become part of a larger ecosystem of rivers, each able to trace their genealogical and geographical source to the fair nymph Rheusa. The interplay of time and space that the combination of genealogy and geography evinces is emphasized in the three final lines of the stanza: they are “long sundred,” and their according union is twice described “at last.” Both *long* and *last* make gestures that are simultaneously temporal and spatial. “So flowing all from one, all one at last become” highlights the systematic cycle from whole to parts to whole again.

Here and more broadly throughout the river marriage, the alteration between distinct and indistinct forms illustrate the relationship between open and closed systems that Sedgwick describes. Her characterization of the fountain as an “endlessly mutable but ultimately closed system” that “combines flexibility with an extraordinary economy,” applies both to the canto’s formal patterns that Fowler identified and to the forms of the rivers themselves. Flowing all from one, each river taking its own peculiar course, they are endlessly mutable; becoming all one at last, finally, they are part of an ultimately closed system. In Harry Berger’s view, the image encapsulated in the stanza’s final lines shows how “the actual river bears with it more than it knows—all the marks of cultural, military, economic, and political history, as well as all their detritus—and this interchange between geography and history, between the eternally recurrent flow-through of water and the continually changing organization of society, is Spenser’s theme” in the canto at large (“Two Spenserian Retrospects” 15). Berger’s analysis echoes Conrad’s depiction of the Thames, “crowded with memories,” its “tidal current run[ning] to and fro

in its unceasing service.” The rhetorical virtuosity of water, then, lies in its ability to bridge the unbridgeable. Disparate times and places are collapsed into one body. Ever on the move, the continual flows of this body are untimely, enfolding future possibilities into its weave of past and present.

Spenser’s rivers are thick with meaning; but, his Irish rivers are especially fertile sites of signification. The story of Molanna’s betrayal relayed in *The Mutabilitie Cantos* is framed as the origin story of Ireland’s supposed barrenness—its primordial fecundity and beauty stripped as a sign of Diana’s curse and the gods’ abandonment. Ireland’s former fecundity had “florished in fame / Of wealths and goodnesse, far above the rest”; of particular note are its “woods and forrests, which therein abound, / Sprinkled with wholsom waters, more than most on ground” (VII.vi.38). But, as Molanna’s punishment dramatizes the concurrent dissolution and reconstitution of her form through wedded union combined “in one fare river spred,” the narrative pushes back on the degree to which the curse can be considered effective (vi.53.9).¹¹

Spenser offers variations on this theme in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and his prose tract, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, which, though entered into the Stationers’ Register in 1598, was not published until 1633, long after his death. *A View* is structured as a prose dialogue in the Socratic style; its interlocutors are Irenius and Eudoxus, respective stand-ins for Irish and English points of view. Throughout, Eudoxus shows a somewhat facile understanding of Ireland’s land, history, culture, and people, especially as they relate to England. It is Irenius’s task to illuminate and inform. Fairly early in the dialogue, he relays the history of how “all that goodly country” was “utterly wasted.” In his view, the situation resulted entirely from the battles between the English

¹¹ For the full minor narrative, see VII.vi.36-55.

king, Edward II, and his Scottish rivals, the Bruce family, when these aggressions spilled into Irish territory. Nonetheless, despite the utter waste, Irenius immediately qualifies this description, explaining: “And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweet countrey as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet ilands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even shippes upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods. . . ” (27). Though wasted, it *is yet* a most beautiful country. The ambiguity of *yet*, signifying continuity or distinction, works to unsettle any clear sense of historical or temporal contingency. The linguistic and figural parallels—the *View*’s “goodly lakes” and the *Cantos*’ “wholsom waters” are both “sprinkled” throughout the country—between the description of primordial fecundity in *The Mutabilitie Cantos* and the current state of Ireland offered in *A View*, especially since each is supposed to offer a contrast to either a subsequent or preceding state, enfold the beauty within the barrenness. Once again water is able to stand the test of time; its durability a sign of continuity despite change.

The lay of Bregog and Mulla, presented as a minor narrative in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, offers another parallel. Here, Molanna’s sister river Mulla conspires with her beloved, the river Bregog, to thwart her father’s wishes for an arranged marriage with a rival river. Under her father’s watchful eye, Bregog, “the wily lover did devise this slight”:

First into many parts his streame he shar’d,
That whilst the one was watcht, the other might
Passe unespide to meete her by the way;
And then besides, those little streames so broken
He under ground so closely did convay,
That of their passage doth appeare no token,

Till they into the *Mullaes* water slide. (137-44)

His method of escaping her father's view relies on the ability of water to change course and use displacement as an advantage. So, too, does it recall Spenser's three Irish river guests from the marriage of the Thames and the Medway who "flowing all from one, all one at last become." The whole produced from the parts in this instance, though, is greater than the sum of its parts, since, having slid into Mulla's waters, they have made one river out of two.

Like Molanna, Bregog and Mulla's wily contravention of Mole's designs are found out. Also like Molanna, Bregog is punished when the great mountain Mole:

In great avenge did roll downe from his hill
Huge mightie stones, the which encomber might
His passage, and his water-courses spill.
So of a River, which he was of old,
He none was made, but scattred all to nought,
And lost emong those rocks into him rold,
Did lose his name: so deare his love he bought. (149-55)

Still, we are predisposed to question the ultimate efficacy of this punishment since Bregog had already scattered himself once, and, despite Colin's claim that he "did lose his name," he had introduced the lay by naming him "my river *Bregog*" (92). When the reader returns to the source, it is revealed that Bregog has made a similar return. Again, time and place are enfolded as sites wherein form and matter are negotiated. Throughout, what is framed as a final end is shown to be a new beginning of sorts. The cycle of dissolution and reconstitution continues.

* * *

II. Negotiating the pastoral return

* * *

In her recent study of Spenser's relationship to Virgil as it can be traced through the former's pastoral poems, Syrithe Pugh argues that the lay of Bregog and Mulla, "[f]ar from being a mere entertainment, detachable from the rest of the poem" is, in fact, "our key to the way in which Spenser positions himself in relation to Virgilian pastoral" (242). At the core of this "key" is the degree to which the lay incorporates the myth of Alpheus and Arethusa, which, as Pugh shows, is itself a key into Virgil's own relation to the pastoral tradition he inherited. As discussed above, Virgil invokes Arethusa as his muse in the opening lines of his final eclogue. In so doing, he follows Theocritus and others who had figured the stream as a font of pastoral inspiration. But Virgil makes a subtle intervention, imbuing in Arethusa, a Sicilian nymph-turned-spring, a quality normally attributed to Alpheus, the river that ultimately takes her as his own. "Alpheus, still immaculate" as Spenser describes him in the river marriage in Book IV, is most noteworthy for his ability to maintain the purity of his fresh waters as he glides through the salty sea on his journey from his native Greece to Sicily in search of his love (21.4). Virgil's intervention is to make Arethusa a stranger to, rather than a native of, Sicily who has fled there to escape Alpheus and in so doing must also risk mingling her waters with the sea. Through Virgil's invocation, he shares the hope that she may assume Alpheus's immaculate quality as she courses her way to him. As Pugh explains, the affect of this alteration is two-fold: "Firstly, the notion of Arethusa herself being transported connotes

the idea of the pastoral genre . . . being brought to a new land, as Virgil imports Greek (and Sicilian) bucolic into his own native culture and language. . . . At the same time, and even more boldly, he asserts the priority of his reworking of pastoral over its source” (240).¹² Placed within this tradition, Pugh thus reads Bregog’s ability to maintain his form despite Mole’s efforts to overwhelm him with stones as a sign that it is not his wily secrecy that defines him “but his independence, his successful disobedience in the face of oppression” (246).

For me, what is particularly valuable about Pugh’s argument is the degree to which it enfolds the thick, symbolic work of Spenser’s riverine eco-system within the larger project of poetic production, specifically as it relates to the process of *translatio imperii studiique*. Of perhaps greater value, though, is her bold claim that “Spenser produces in the lay [of Bregog and Mulla] a new myth in which pastoral trumps epic, as it does in the poem as a whole, in the volume as a whole and in what we might call the ‘Book of Spenser’” (36). In so stating, she undoes the more conventional generic hierarchies encoded within the *rota virgili* and suggests that pastoral, the formal home to many of these rivers, is able to participate in a more sophisticated poetic discourse than its rude shepherds and simple lays theoretically allow.¹³ The latter idea is not necessarily new; it is the reversal of the *rota virgili* that seems particularly radical, especially in the Spenserian context. Her study is isolated to those poems of Spenser’s that are explicitly pastoral (to the degree to which any poem can boast a purity of form). So, though *The Faerie Queene* includes a number of pastoral interludes, some quite long, she only grants

¹² For Pugh’s full account of the myth of Arethusa and Alpheus, especially as it relates to Spenser’s lay of Bregog and Mulla, see *Spenser and Virgil* 238-48.

¹³ Though not making a claim for rethinking generic hierarchies, Julia Reinhard Lupton similarly argues that Virgil’s *Eclogues* have informed Spenser’s entire corpus. Specifically, she reads his political career through the lens of Virgilian pastoral. See “Home-Making in Ireland.”

it passing references. My main interest in Spenser's use of the pastoral form is in how it functions as an elaboration of courtesy in Book VI, since the pastoral interlude therein takes up a quarter of the entire book. What is more, it is embedded in the later cantos, where Spenser notoriously does his most important thinking about each book's particular virtue.¹⁴ To that end, through its formal connections to pastoral scenes, I consider how the fluid boundaries that I have been tracing become mobilized in these final cantos, allowing for a full appreciation of their signifiatory range and depth more broadly and of the ways in which this encodes a similar kind of boundary-work within the mechanisms of courtesy itself.

Courtesy is a fluid and illusive virtue. Etymologically, it is linked to the court, and many of the period's well-known courtesy books, like Baldesar Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528; Thomas Hoby's English translation, *The Courtier*, was published in 1561) affirmed this connection. Perhaps Castiglione's most enduring legacy, at least among its English readership—is the degree to which his work linked the concept of *sprezzatura*--a studied, seemingly effortless artifice—to courtesy. But others, such as Stefano Guazzo's *La civil conversatione* (1574; George Pettie translated the first three books in 1581), were equally well regarded.¹⁵ Even the third book of George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) has been described as a courtesy book of sorts.¹⁶ I take up Puttenham's descriptions of allegory as a figure for the courtier in the following chapter. For now, I start with the description of the virtue with which Spenser opens Book VI:

¹⁴ For a full discussion of how this functions formally and offers a template for understanding how Spenser thinks, see Teskey, "Courtesy and Thinking."

¹⁵ On the reception and influence of courtesy books in sixteenth-century England, see Daniel Javitch.

¹⁶ See Whigham and Rebhorn's Introduction.

Of Court it seemes, men Courtesie doe call,
For that it there most useth to abound;
And well beseemeth that in Princes hall
That vertue should plentifully be found,
Which of all goodly manners is the ground,
And roote of civill conversation.
Right so in Faery court it did redound,
Where courteous Knights and Ladies most did won
Of all on earth, and made a matchlesse paragon. (VI.i.1)

The appearance of the ubiquitous Spenserian “seemes” cues the reader to question from the start the premise that the court begets courtesy. The poet is also careful to make it clear that any such association is best described using the past tense. Additionally, the association of courtesy with the *ground* and *roots*, emphasizes a lowly position rather than a lofty, courtly one. Indeed, the proem to Book VI has prepared us for this positioning. A “fayrer flowre,” “the bloosme of comely courtesie,” “on a lowly stalke doe bowre, / Yet brancheth forth in brave nobilitie, / And spreds it selfe through all civilitie” (VI Proem 4.1-5). Furthermore, when in the book’s second stanza, Calidore, who, of all the courtiers in Faery Court, is introduced as the most “courteous Knight,” the expressions of his virtue are described as being “planted naturall” (i.2). In these opening moves, Spenser takes great care to separate courtesy from its etymological roots, offering a “natural” alternative that acts as a harbinger of the pastoral courtesy that lies ahead.

The claim that courtesy, “of all goodly manners is the ground, / And roote of civill conversation,” suggests that Guazzo’s *Civil Conversation* was an influential model for Spenser. The work is framed as a dialogue between Guazzo himself and his *neighbor*, Anniball Magnocavalli, a “Philosopher and Phisition” possessing such “great . . . courtesie” (1:14-5). In describing what he means by “civil,” Annibal clarifies: “that to live civilly, is not sayde in respect of the citie, but of the qualities of the minde: so I

understand civile conversation not having relation to the citie, but consideration to the maners and conditions which make it civile.” In conclusion, he adds: “Too bee shorte, my meaning is, that civile conversation is an honest commendable and vertuous kinde of living in the world” (1:56). Courtesy-cum-civility can exist anywhere; its only requirement is its expression through conversation. What is more, the most common contemporary connotation of “conversation” described: “The action of living or having one’s being *in* a place or *among* persons” (*OED* n.1). It models, then, a “kinde of living in the world” that is predicated on an awareness of place and community. Nowhere in this formulation is a court or a courtier; we are not even in the confines of a city. In fact, pastoral, often structured around a dialogue between piping shepherd-poets, might even be said to offer one formal avenue for these civil conversations.

In Puttenham’s *The Art of English Poesy*, the chapter “Of the shepherd’s or pastoral poesy, called eclogue, and to what purpose it was invented and used” provides a historical basis for elevating pastoral and in so doing lends further credence to this budding connection between the mode and courtesy. He puts forth the opinion—though not claiming it as his own or ascribing it to anyone in particular—that pastoral poetry:

should be the first of any other, and before the satire, comedy, or tragedy, because, say they, the shepherds’ and haywards’ assemblies and meetings, when they kept their cattle and herds in the common fields and forests, was the first familiar conversation, and their babble and talk under bushes and shady trees, the first disputation and contentious reasoning. (127)

The locale of “bushes and shady trees,” the “common fields and forests”—note the work *common* is doing here, standing in direct opposition to the court—echoes the tones of lowly stocks, ground, and root that Spenser’s courtesy grows out of. Indeed, the entire description of the emergence of pastoral reads as a quick summary of Calidore’s time

spent amongst the shepherds. From there, Puttenham outlines the various stages of pastoral's development, ultimately concluding that its main function among "modern poets" was "to contain and inform moral discipline" (128). Certainly, this is Spenser's task. He says as much in his Letter to Raleigh when he declares that his purpose over the course of *The Faerie Queene* is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," explaining further that his model is Aristotle's "morall vertues" (714-5). And, as I have been suggesting, mechanisms of formal containment are crucial to this project. From its first stage to the last, we can identify a basis for Spenser's pastoral explorations of courtesy.

In outlining Puttenham's explication of pastoral poetry, I passed over a crucial middle stage wherein he offers an alternative genealogy for the form. He suggests that it was devised, "not of purpose to counterfeit or represent the rustical manner of loves and communication, but under the veil of homely persons and in rude speeches to insinuate and glance at greater matters, and such as perchance had not been safe to have been disclosed in any other sort" (128). This is how he characterizes Virgil's aims in his *Eclogues*. Such a description is of a piece with Louis Montrose's work identifying pastoral as an ideal mode for courtly poetry. As an early advocate of New Historicist criticism, one can imagine Montrose was particularly drawn to this notion that pastoral offered a safe haven for those who wished to oppose structures of power. Addressing Puttenham's formulation, he notes that "Puttenham's courtier dissembles most cunningly when he is masked as a gentle shepherd" (438). Montrose is not treating Spenser's courtiers or pastoral poetry *per se*; nonetheless, I want to explore how Calidore's time

among the shepherds pushes back on this notion that the pastoral locus enables cunning dissemblance.

Calidore's time among the shepherds is noteworthy for the degree to which it makes little space for dissembling and disguise. This is not to say that guises are absent. In fact, when he doffs his knightly armor and assumes the shepherd's guise, it is done openly and only after he has already spent time with them in his usual dress. The problem arises when Calidore finds his natural, courteous eloquence insufficient to win the attention of Pastorella, the fairest maiden of the whole shepherd community.

Calidore "did her entertaine / With all kind courtesies, he could invent" (VI.ix.34.5-6):

But she that never had acquainted beene
With such quaint usage, fit for Queenes and Kings,
Ne ever had such knightly service seene,
But being bred under base shepherds wings,
Had ever learn'd to love the lowly things,
Did litle whit regard his courteous guize,
But cared more for *Colins* carolings
Then all that he could doe, or ever devise:
His layes, his loves, his looks she did them all despize.

Which *Calidore* perceiving, thought it best
To chaunge the manner of his loftie looke;
And doffing his bright armes, himselfe addrest
In shepherdes weed, and in his hand he tooke,
In stead of steelehead speare, a shepherds hooke, (ix.35-6.1-5)

We already know from the proem that courtesy, of which Calidore is its standard bearer, is itself a lowly thing. That Pastorella had only "learn'd to love the lowly things" foretells the romance that will bloom between them. What stands in the way now is his "courteous guize," "his loftie looke." These are the signs of that with which she is "unacquainted." Having "himselfe addrest" as a shepherd, the transition figures the simple change of dress as affecting a change in his own self-identity. He now addresses

himself a shepherd. Assuming a new form, the matter remains the same. In fact, once he repackages his courtesy in a form familiar to Pastorella, thereby acquainting himself to her, their love is essentially a *fait accompli*, suggesting that his natural virtue will out no matter the form he takes. Even so, Coridon, his main rival for Pastorella's affection, "much was troubled at that straungers guize," and "oft complaine[d]" to the other shepherds that Pastorella "did love a stranger swayne then him more dere" (38.3-9). Thus, despite the degree to which Calidore's new shepherd's guize allows him to fit more seamlessly into Pastorella's world, he remains a stranger.

Though still a stranger, Coridon now views him as a swain. His new guise, then, creates proximity rather than similitude. By adopting this guise, he allows the shepherds to experience him as an extension of the pastoral self, rather than the estranging other. Able to keep one foot rooted in his natural courtesy while the other takes root in his new community, he is able to figure forth the benefits of cross-cultural fluency. The ease with which he passes from a lofty locus to a lowly one is a sign of his courteous facility. It thus makes the art of dissembling into an art of enacting semblance. This is all available to us *because* he takes a new guise rather than a disguise. His time among the shepherds, then, offers a meditation on the nature of the boundary itself; his artifice illuminating what is artificial, and therefore negotiable, about boundaries. What is more, his particularly adept cultural versatility highlights the cosmopolitan framework for courtesy.

If, as Montrose argues, Elizabethan pastoral provided "a symbolic means of entry into that courtly world whose boundaries it was helping to define and secure," then I propose that Calidore's dalliances with the shepherds puts pressure on these boundaries, making them less definite and secure, not more (448). In fact, Spenser makes a particular

show of working outside of those boundaries, revealing the emptiness of these symbols of courtly appurtenances. This show can be seen in those moments in which he interrupts the narrative to admit the degree to which allowing Calidore to stay with the shepherds and stray from his task of hunting down the Blatant Beast functions as a serious transgression. The tension between Calidore's oath to his queen and Spenser's own poetic responsibility frames the pastoral interlude. He begins canto ix, in which Calidore first encounters the shepherds, explaining:

Now turne againe my teme thou jolly swayne,
Backe to the furrow which I lately left;
I lately left a furrow, one or twayne
Unplough'd, the which my coulter hath not cleft:
Yet seem'd the soyle both fayre and frutefull eft,
As I it past, that were too great a shame,
That so rich frute should be from us bereft;
Besides the great dishonour and defame,
Which should befall to *Calidores* immortall name. (VI.ix.1)

Adopting the conventional metaphor of poetry-making as georgic work, Spenser frames the pastoral landscape to which he now turns as particularly fecund. Acknowledging that this shift of course *should* bring Calidore "great dishonour and defame," the great shame that *would* fall on the poet if he neglected to cultivate this unplowed, fertile soil takes precedence. Moreover, by declaring what should happen to Calidore, he leaves it as a possibility, not a surety, while also making it unclear whether or not he shares this conclusion.

The stanza that introduces the subsequent canto is clearer in its condemnation.

The poet wonders:

Who now does follow the foule *Blatant Beast*,
Whilest *Calidore* does follow that faire Mayd,
Unmyndfull of his vow and high beheast,
Which by the Faery Queene was on him layd,

That he should never leave, nor be delayd
From chacing him, till he had it attchieved? (x.1.1-6)

Worse still, it is revealed that Calidore “meanes no more to sew / His former quest, so full of toile and paine” (x.2.1-2). What before was the poet’s choice, Calidore a victim of sorts to the poem’s narrative exigency, is now refigured as an intentional oath-breaking. And it is in this canto that Calidore wends his way to Mount Acidale, falling under the spell of the ecstatic dance of poetry-making. While there, Pastorella and all of the shepherd community are set upon by a ruthless band of brigands. A truant from his own truancy, Calidore’s unmindfulness leaves him doubly shamed. The description of his queen’s instructions, though, suggests that he was doomed to failure since the romance mode’s quests are necessarily dilatory and labyrinthine. Delay and deferral are an indispensable part of the challenges that constitute the quest.¹⁷ From the outset, *The Faerie Queene* has been organized around quests to perfect a particular virtue; their purported purposes in service to their sovereign seemingly ancillary.

If the quest deferred is an important generic convention in romance, then what happens within that deferral is often crucial. Consider the seemingly unrelated minor narrative in *The Mutabilitie Cantos* discussed above. Spenser introduces the deferral while simultaneously drawing attention to his own willful truancy:

And, were it not ill fitting for this file,
To sing of hilles and woods, mongst warres and Knights,
I would abate the sternenesse of my stile,
Mongst these sterne stounds to mingle soft delights[.] (VII.vi.37.1-4)

¹⁷ For a detailed exposition of the formal relationship between romance and spatial and temporal dilation, see Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance*. For examples of arguments that Calidore’s time among the shepherd’s is critical to the development of his virtue, see C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* and Helen Cooper, “Pastoral.”

But, he goes on to do the very thing that he denounces as ill-fitting. What is more, the shift to the “soft delights” of pastoral “hilles and woods” requires a doubled invocation to Clio and Calliope, the muses of history and epic. In so doing, he forces the reader’s attention to his own supposed contravention of formal decorum and coherence. Why does he require the aid of these muses in his turn away from the forms that they enable? A clue lies in his choice to frame this intra-formal play as a kind of mingling. It is not a shift so much as an intentional blending. And as we have seen, this interlude tells the story of Molanna’s union with the Fanchin. Through Spenser’s own truancy, we can begin to grasp the ways in which Mutabilitie is associated with the virtue of constancy, as the title page suggests. In those moments where it seems like the narrative has shifted course, we are instead presented with a change of scenery that offers a further meditation on the function of change itself. This, in turn, sets the stage for our deeper appreciation of Mutabilitie’s understanding of the relationship between change and continuity, of constant inconstancy. And through the mingled framework that Spenser begins with, our attention turns to the profound connection between the limits of literary forms and material forms, particularly as these limits are simultaneously activated and disavowed.

Further, the proem to Book VI concludes by preparing us for this delay and the abandonment that it involves. Therein Spenser pleads:

Then pardon me, most dreaded Soveraine,
That from your selfe I doe this vertue bring,
And to your selfe doe it return againe:
So from the Ocean all rivers spring,
And tribute backe repay as to their King.
Right so from you all goodly vertues well
Into the rest, which round about you ring[.] (7.1-7)

By comparing the virtue's course to tidal flows, the poet frames the quest in terms of continuity. However far the virtue may stray from its source, the course itself, however winding, maintains the connection to the point of origin. What is more, the cyclical nature of the tides makes clear that it will not only return but pay tribute. That which appears as an abandonment can be reimagined as a function of fealty fulfilled. Though the sovereign's knights must necessarily journey out, upon their return they are able to well together; "[s]o flowing all from one, all one at last become" (IV.xi.43.9). Certainly, over the course of *The Faerie Queene's* six books, the returning knight generally bears small resemblance to the untried, untested knight that began the journey. Might the knights' returning tributes reflect their development and growth?

Calidore is unique among the knights of Faery, though, in that he begins his journey as an exemplary standard bearer for his virtue—"mongst them all was none more courteous Knight" (VI.i.2.1). The reader is thus prepared for his truancy by the proem and, in that it frames the tribute as the returning virtue itself, left to wonder with what this most courteous knight will return. Since, as I have been arguing, Spenser has instrumentalized truancy itself, using it to call our attention to boundaries and limits at the moment they are trespassed and shown to be arbitrary, I propose that the stress placed on the severity of Calidore's supposed crime prompts us to question the nature of the crime itself. Perhaps it is when he is at the greatest remove from his sovereign that the contours of his courtesy will take their fullest form. Indeed, it is here in the tenth canto that we discover the source of all courtesy. After Calidore reveals himself at Mount Acidale, thus disrupting the scene of ecstatic poetry-making, Colin explains what the knight has seen. The three Graces, now departed, bestow

. . . all the complements of curtesie:
They teach us, how to each degree and kynde
We should our selves demeane, to low, to hie;
To friends, to foes, which skill men call Civility.

Therefore they alwaies smoothly seeme to smile,
That we likewise should mylde and gentle be,
And also naked are, that without guile
Or false dissemblance all them plaine may see,
Simple and true from covert malice free:
And eeke them selves so in their daunce they bore,
That two of them still forward seem'd to bee,
But one still towards shew'd her selfe afore;
That good should from us goe, then come in greater store. (x.23.6-24.9)

These stanzas are instructive on multiple levels. First, their dance provides the form for understanding what the queen will gain in tribute by allowing her virtues to stray. When “good” leaves, it will return “in greater store.” Second, the graces reveal courtesy as an egalitarian ideal. By tying it to an explication of civility that involves the recognition of degrees and kind, courtesy emerges as that which acknowledges difference but “alwaies” remains “myld and gentle.” Naked, they figure forth courtesy in its purest form.

What is more, through their dance, they offer a model for what Teskey has described as the function of courtesy in Spenser. In his essay, “‘And therefore as a stranger give it welcome’: Courtesy and Thinking,” he explains: “Courtesy invites a partial disclosure and opens itself in turn to attention from the other, showing a welcoming openness to the strange. Courtesy does not seize the object or dive into its center: it moves into nearness with the otherness of the stranger” (344). This welcome openness to the strange implies a willingness to be vulnerable and to trust the unknown other. Similarly, it evinces Erasmian cosmopolitanism. Implicit in the vision of the Graces’ naked courtesy is this very notion of trusting vulnerability. Thus, the dance is a choreographed figuration of the kind of courtesy that Teskey identifies.

The ease with which Calidore replaces his “bright armes” with a shepherd’s weed and hook, embracing this vulnerability without pause, becomes an elaboration of the degree to which the virtue is indeed “planted naturall” in him (VI.i.2.4). So, too, does Calidore’s time among the shepherds offer an example of Kuzner’s notion of the virtue of vulnerability in that it shows “how community—the experience of being-with—undoes, unsettles or makes unthinkable well-defined self-conceptions at least as much as it encourages such conceptions” (30). Just as Kuzner suggests that an openness to vulnerability involves encounters with the pernicious as well as the salutary, we can see this double-duty at work here as well. As it turns out, the enfolding of vulnerability within the expression of courtesy produces Calidore’s greatest test.

At the moment that the shepherd-knight is receiving his lessons in courtesy at Mount Acidale, his fellow shepherds are attacked by a band of ruthless brigands. The canto’s argument insists on the simultaneity of these two events, explaining: “*Calidore sees the Graces daunce, / To Colins melody: / The whiles his Pastorell is led, / Into captivity*” (667). In an essay on the role of thievery in these later cantos, Heather Dubrow has observed that the brigands are not the first robbers in this pastoral world: “When Meliboeus describes the pleasures of his pastoral retreat, virtually all of his activities involve some sort of predation” (208). In a way, Calidore has himself been twice robbed while among the shepherds. Described as a “double ravishment,” he remains there “entrapt of love” for Pastorella by Cupid’s dart while the old shepherd Meliboeus’s “sensefull words empierst his hart” (ix.26.3-4, x.1.7). Doubly ravished, he is seized of his agency. Where Teskey asserts that courtesy does not seize, he says nothing of the

reverse. Perhaps it is the very fact that this action is foreign to him that he finds himself susceptible to their charms.

The ability of proximity to the strange and wonderful to strip Calidore of his own agency recurs throughout his time with the shepherds. Coming across the scene at Mount Acidale, “[m]uch wondred *Calidore* at this straunge sight, / . . . / And standing long astonished in spright, / And rapt with pleasaunce,” the opposing forces of ecstatic rapture and physical stasis are brought to the fore (x.17.1-4). So, too, is the idea that pastoral poetry has a particular power to leave its audience to stand astonished an image that Spenser employs with some frequency. In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, Colin’s lays twice have the same affect on his shepherd auditors (8, 650). Orthographic inconsistency allowed for the regular interplay of *astonished* and *astonied*, showcasing the degree to which the former encoded within it the notion of being turned to stone. “[S]tanding long astonished,” his static position is rendered both through his stance and its long duration. Being so moved, he is made immobile. Neither is Calidore wholly innocent, though, since his intrusion in this intimate scene results in Colin suffering a loss. At the moment that Calidore makes his presence known, the vision immediately “vanisht all away out of his sight” and Colin, out of despairing “displeasure, broke his bag-pipe quight” (x.18.5). Hence, though the brigands’ act of robbery and that of Calidore’s are distinguished by degree and kind, their simultaneity allows their symbolic proximation.

Puttenham’s description of pastoral has similarly prepared a link between the world of the shepherds and the concept of seizure. Explaining: “the shepherd’s life was the first example of honest fellowship, their trade the first art of lawful acquisition or purchase, for at those days robbery was a manner of purchase” (127). In Puttenham’s

view, the concepts of possession and robbery are coeval, having grown out of the practice of shepherding. In Calidore's willingness to, as Teskey puts it, "move into nearness with the otherness of the stranger," he has overlooked the warning signs that he arguably could have observed from the more detached position of the knight-errant.

The attack of the brigands, "a lawlesse people," who "never used to live by plough or spade, / But fed on spoile and booty, which they made / Upon their neighbors, which did nigh them border" highlights the doubled-edge of vulnerability (vi.x.39.3-6). Dubrow sees in the brigands' attack evidence that "the feared agent is a neighbor reconstructed as an outsider" (205).¹⁸ The height of their danger lies in their proximity. But, proximity is complex. As we have seen, Calidore was the outsider, reconstructed as a neighbor. From the brigands' position just beyond the border they are able to take advantage of their neighbors' labor; their only work, in fact, derives from the work of predation. But, as Dubrow reminds us, predation forms the basis of the shepherds' own labor. Whether hunting for food or protecting their flocks from other predators, they live in a world where their "borders" are an abstraction, presenting no real impeachment to neighbors who wish to do them harm.

When Calidore returns to his shepherd's cottage, finding it "spoyled quight, / And his love reft away," "[h]e chauft, he griev'd, he fretted, and he sight, / And fared like a furious wyld Beare" (xi.25.2-8). Bereft of his community, his sense of self begins to erode. In desperation he ranges about, yet:

Ne wight he found, to whom he might complaine,
Ne wight he found, of whom he might inquire;
That more increast the anguish of his paine.
He sought the woods; but no man could see there:
He sought the plaines; but could no tydings heare.

¹⁸ For an examination of the brigands' various geographical and ethnic origins, see Dubrow 205.

The woods did nought but ecchoes vaine rebound;
The playnes all waste and emptie did appeare:
Where wont the shepherds oft their pypes resound,
And feed an hundred flocks, there now not one he found. (xi.26)

The anaphoric repetitions of what he does in vain allows the increased “anguish of his paine” to accrete exponentially. Utterly distraught, the emptiness he finds, the absolute solitude, is unbearable. And once he discovers Coridon, who “escaping craftily” from the brigands’ lair during a *mêlée* in which almost all of the shepherds are killed, has returned home, the lad at first “no word could speake” (xi.18.6, 28.5). The two are suspended for a moment, the sheer horror of what has happened turning the world on its head.

Ultimately, though, nature will out, Calidore’s knightly courage and resolve spurring him to action. Though Coridon “[w]ould not for ought be drawne to former drede,” Calidore, “so well him wrought with meed, / And faire bespoke with words, that he at last agreed” (xi.35.6-9). In the end, the courteous eloquence that failed him in his initial attempts to capture Pastorella’s affections has had its intended effect:

So forth they goe together (God before)
Both clad in shepherds weeds agreeably,
And both with shepherds hookes: But *Calidore*
Had underneath, him armed privily. (xi.36.1-4)

It is ultimately Calidore’s ability to inhabit two worlds at once—both neighbor *and* outsider—that allows him to appeal to Coridon and undertake the rescue of his fair Pastorella. His ability to surprise and successfully slay all of his enemies, Talus-like, swatting “flyes in whottest sommers day,” owes as much to his knightly training as it does to his ability to pass as a shepherd (xi.48.1). Having slaughtered all of the brigands, he searches through their “theevish dens,” and “did all the spoyles and treasures take”; but, affecting the full return from shepherd to knight, “[h]e did them all to *Coridon*

restore,” taking only Pastorella with him as he leaves the pastures and resumes his knightly quest (xi.51). It appears that, within the confines of this book at least, the economics of predation must remain in the world of the shepherds and their neighbors.

In the book’s final canto, Spenser offers another defense of Calidore’s truancy, though it seems less necessary at this point:

For all that hetherto hath long delayd
This gentle knight, from sewing his first quest,
Though out of course, yet hath not bene mis-sayd,
To shew the courtesie by him profest,
Even unto the lowest and the least.
But now I come into my course againe,
To his atchievement of the *Blatant beast*[.] (xii.2.1-7)

In so doing, he yokes his course with that of Calidore, reminding his reader that his forms and their matter, his world and theirs, are enfolded. To be sure, the Blatant Beast will prove an easy foe for Calidore to defeat, suggesting that the value of his quest lies in its itinerancy, in its ability to reveal the universal qualities of courtesy and in its efforts to demonstrate the insufficiency and artificiality of borders. The value of doubled vulnerability remains, however, since by the end of the book, the Blatant Beast has broken free, “[a]nd got into the world at liberty againe” (VI.xii.38.9).

* * *

III. The Arte of the Interdeale

* * *

Where Book VI provides various models of courtesy or civility through lesser knights and minor narratives, Calidore remains the ideal courtier, echoing a much earlier model for a “brave Courtier” (717) outlined in *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale*, a

poem that Spenser announces in the epistle dedicatory, was “composed in the raw concept of my youth” (334). This courtier has travelled widely:

And thereto doth his Courting most applie:
To learne the enterdeale of Princes strange,
To marke th'intent of Counsell, and the change
Of states, and eke of private men sometime,
Supplanted by fine falshood and faire guile,
Of all the which he gathereth, what is fit
T'enrich the storehouse of his powerfull wit,
Which through wise speaches, and grave conference
He daylie eekes, and brings to excellence. (784-92)

Emphasizing the ability of “enterdeale of princes strange” to “enrich the storehouse of [the courtier's] powerfull wit” speaks to the insufficiencies of a provincially circumscribed mindset. The vision of courtesy as necessarily engaging in civil conversation with one’s “strange” neighbor is again stressed. Adopting the language of accumulation marks a crucial distinction, though, since its implied relationship to the economics of commodity exchange is seemingly at odds with the ideal that emerges from Book VI. Certainly, as I have just suggested, Calidore’s gift of the spoils of war to the shepherd Coridon allows courtesy itself to exist outside the bounds of such crude considerations. The ideal in *Mother Hubberds Tale* not only introduces the language of commodity exchange, but also reframes the fruits of civil conversation itself as a commodity in the service of the crown. Through the courtier’s “storehouse of his powerfull wit,” the “tribute” Spenser promised in the proem to Book VI, that which the virtuous knights would “back repaye” their sovereign, is allowed to assume its full potential as an economic good. The signficatory scope of concepts of value and profit has now moved well beyond the confines of what is morally beneficial. It is the

courtier's dealings with and knowledge of foreign customs and politics that makes him so invaluable to his sovereign.

What is curious about this courtier, and makes him a particularly interesting figure to consider alongside Calidore, is the fact that his experience and knowledge comes as much from his engagement in courtly *negotium*, or *vita activa*, as it does from a studied *otium*, or *vita contemplativa*. *Mother Hubberds Tale* makes clear that a necessary part of his courteous persona is owed to this very contemplative retreat:

Thus when this Courtly Gentleman with toyle
Himselfe hath wearied, he doth recoyle
Unto his rest, and there with sweete delight
Of Musicks skill revives his toyled spright,
Or els with Loves, and Ladies gentle sports,
The joy of youth, himselfe he recomforts:
Or lastly, when the bodie list to pause,
His minde unto the Muses he withdrawes;
Sweet Ladie Muses, Ladies of delight[.] (753-61)

The restorative quality of the contemplative life provides the necessary corrective to the demands of the active life of the courtier. So, too, does it offer a further defense of Calidore's pastoral truancy since the withdrawal to the intimate spaces of the "Sweet Ladie Muses, Ladies of delight" maps particularly well onto the scene on Mount Acidale—itself a *locus amoenus* of contemplative retreat—where Calidore encounters "the Graces, daughters of delight" (VI.x.15.1). The withdrawal in *Mother Hubberds Tale* is distinguished, however, by the specific kind of intellectual work that it produces.

These muses:

With whom he close confers with wise discourse,
Of Natures workes, of heavens continuall course,
Of forreine lands, of people different,
Of kingdomes change, of divers government,
Of dreadfull battailes of renowned Knights; (763-67)

become political consiglieres to this ideal, “brave Courtier.” Gone is any sense of poetry’s value; its moral good is replaced completely with what can be gleaned from “wise discourse,” adding to the tribute of “storehouse of his powerfull wit.”

The more coldly economical version of courtesy that emerges from *Mother Hubberds Tale*, particularly through the invocation of the muses, allows the underlying currents of ownership, possession, and predation that mark the pastoral world to come to the fore. This is much like many of Spenser’s Irish rivers, coursing undetected underground until they freely break forth.¹⁹ The interplay between moral and political goods that I have begun to trace here in fact pervades much of Spenser’s *View of the Present State of Ireland*. I would be remiss to overlook the degree to which renewed scholarly attention to this prose tract has complicated some critics’ appreciation for Spenser’s poetry. C.S. Lewis’s famous dismissal of “those unpleasing passages where he becomes a bad poet”—not coincidentally he identifies them in Book V, the most straightforwardly “Irish” of all the books of *The Faerie Queene*—as evidence that Spenser is “in certain respects, a bad man,” demonstrates the ways in which it has been difficult for critics to separate the humanist from the colonialist (357). It is outside the scope of this dissertation to render a verdict.²⁰ Rather than attempt to acquit him of his participation in the often violent colonial campaigns in Ireland, I propose that his conception of courtesy offers a window into an idealized future wherein the English and Irish could live together, “sprinkled” about like the many goodly lakes there. I am adopting Rayna Kalas’s concept of the frame as that which “index[es] a thing in its becoming” (8). Noting that the period’s writers not only “treat the world as a thing, they

¹⁹ See, for example, the description of the river Mole at IV.xi.32.9 and that of Molanna at VII.vi.41.1.

²⁰ Many scholars have weighed in on the subject. See, for example, Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser*; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*; Andrew Hadfield, *Spenser’s Irish Experience*.

also granted that temporal and worldly effects are wrought in and through language,” Kalas asks why “it has been so difficult to imagine that figurative language might play a direct and active role in historical change?” (xii-iii).

In his *Defence of Poesy*, Sir Philip Sidney offers Kalas a ready defense when he declares that: “Only the poet, . . . lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, . . . so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit” (216). I am prepared to declare Spenser a poet first, colonialist second. Though he may have written *A View* as a colonialist, I maintain that his poetic mind framed his thinking throughout. And if, as Teskey insists, Spenser thinks as he writes, not knowing his final destination until he gets there, I propose that we read *A View* in the same way that Teskey explains that we read *The Faerie Queene*, wherein “[w]e are compelled, therefore, to relinquish the traditional thought-models of grasping and penetrating and to read instead with courtesy, with a relaxed openness to the strange that allows the poem to disclose itself to us of its own accord and in its own time” (“Courtesy and Thinking” 345). It is in this spirit that in the final pages of this chapter, I highlight those moments in *A View* in which the ideal of courtesy shades the Irish scenes. In so doing, I show that it is expressions of courtesy that best allow Spenser to range freely within the zodiac of his own wit, offering a way into his ultimately cosmopolitan vision.

* * *

Treating Spenser in a recent book, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe*, Ayesha Ramachandran declares: “If the 1590 installment of his epic makes conventional, nationalistic claims, by 1596 the still-incomplete *Faerie Queene* decisively transforms the scope of imperial Roman epic to write the world—instead of merely ‘writing the nation’” (128). For Ramachandran, this expanded scope is cosmographic and the world of the gods depicted in *The Mutabilitie Cantos* helps establish these more far-reaching coordinates. I am interested in how we can trace this expansion through homologies of the boundary. We have seen how this functions at a metaphorical and material level through Spenser’s exploration of the boundary-work of water and how it turn encodes continuity across forms, time, language, space. Turning to the human, we can place Calidore and the shepherds at the intersubjective level; this can be expanded to the boundary between the shepherds and the brigands, then England and Ireland, then Britain and the world. Certainly, connections have been made between the brigands and the Irish; the fact that Dubrow spends a page explaining why we should instead read them as specifically British attests to the persuasiveness of such a reading.²¹ My focus is on how the brigands lend the boundary itself such explanatory reach.

I begin with a direct acknowledgment of the threat of danger and contamination that the border entails. Explaining why the “Counties Palatines in Ireland,” those lands more commonly referred to as the English Pale that “lay then as a very border to the wild Irish” were “subject to continuall invasion,” Irenius gives Eudoxus a lesson on etymology. He points him to the Latin words *palare* which, as he defines it, is “to forrage or out-run, because those marchers and borderers use commonly so to doe. So as

²¹ See Dubrow 205. For an example of a reading that conflates the brigands with the Irish, see Julia Reinhard Lupton, “Home-Making in Ireland.”

to have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a priviledge to spoyle the enemies borders adjoyning. And surely so it is used at this day” (37). In this formulation, the name for the border itself comes from a description of the behavior the border initiates. This is not unlike Puttenham’s explanation for the simultaneous emergence of sheep-herding and sheep-stealing. The invention of possession invites its violation; so, too, with the border.

At the same time, proximity can enable mutual, salutary exchange; though, Eudoxus, Irenius’s English interlocutor, requires some convincing. After Irenius delivers a long excursus on the complex history of Ireland’s habitation, Eudoxus, provides the following summary: “the Scythians planted in the North part of Ireland; the Spaniards (for so we call them, what ever they were that came from Spaine) in the West; the Gaules in the South: so that there now remaineth the East parts towards England, which I would be glad to understand from whence you doe think them to be peopled.” Irenius quickly provides the last piece to the puzzle, declaring: “Mary I thinke of the Brittaines themselves” (52). Yet, despite Irenius’s and Eudoxus’s attempts to neatly separate people and place, the dialogue does not always make this position sustainable. In fact, a few pages before this neat summation, Irenius has just described a more nuanced theory of demographics, asserting that the various “Northern Nations” (the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Scythians) came like a great flood and, in “an infinite confusion,” “did over-flow all Spaine, and quite drowned and washt away whatsoever reliques there was left of the land-bred people, yea, and of all the Romans too . . . from thence passed over, and did spread themselves into all countreyes of Christendome, of all which there is none but hath some mixture or sprinckling” (50). The Spaniard, or “what ever they were that came from Spaine,” emerges as the contemporary remnant of a long history of

intermingling. And though Eudoxus interprets this description as a protracted aspersion, Irenius is quick to correct him, carefully declaring: “for in that I said he is a mingled people, it is no dispraise, for I thinke there is no nation now in Christendome, nor much further, but is mingled, and compounded with others” (51).

We have encountered Spenser’s imagery of sprinkling and mingling before; and, I suggest its poetic deployment helps shore up the continuities between Irenius’s views and Spenser’s own. Recall that his descriptions of Ireland’s primordial beauty in the Molanna episode in *The Mutabilitie Cantos* images a land “[s]prinkled with wholsom waters, more than most on ground” (VII.vi.38.9). What is more, at various moments throughout *The Faerie Queene*, Irish rivers, like the “spacious Shenan spreading like a sea,” assume a force all their own, their sprawling branches as often overrunning the land as they do its people (IV.xi.41.3). Further, in the proem to Book VI, the civilizing power of courtesy is framed in similar terms; it “brancheth forth in brave nobilitie, / And spreads it selfe through all civilitie” (4.4-5). The interpenetration of moments of “infinite confusion” and the more salubrious, expansive gestures in both *A View* and *The Faerie Queene* rest uncomfortably together. This is rather the point, the unpredictability of fluid borders figuring forth the doubled-edge of vulnerability.

Though Irenius has described a complex ancestry for the various parts of Ireland (or Christendom for that matter), stressing their intermingled state, he is still careful to try to sort out a line of descent for current communities—markedly through analyses of custom and culture, not necessarily ethnicity or nationality. When Eudoxus asks about the any remaining Spanish or Gaulish customs, Irenius replies:

there are fewer remayning of the Gaules or Spaniards, then of the
Scythians, by reason that the partes, which they then possessed, lying upon

the coast of the Westerne and Southerne Sea were sithence visited with strangers and forraine people, repaying thither for trafficke, and for fishing, which is very plentifull upon those coasts: for the trade and interdeale of sea-coast nations one with another, worketh more civilitie and good fashions, (all sea men being naturally desirous of new fashions,) then amongst the inland folke, which are seldome seene of forrainers. (64-5)

Proximity and openness to the stranger are key. Regular contact with strangers and foreigners, for the purposes of “trade and interdeale,” has not only lessened the influence of the Gaules and Spaniards on the Irish there, but also brought them “civilitie and good fashions.” Contact with a steady stream of foreigners has the all-important power to civilize. By contrast, it would appear that the land-locked Irish are, or have become, Scythian because they have had too little contact with other cultures and customs. By being “inland folke,” they are too far from the border and are therefore unable to bear the fruits of the labors of mutual exchange.

As with the ideal, “brave Courtier” of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, interdealing with the stranger is where “Courting most applie[s].” To mollify a still-skeptical Eudoxus, Irenius dilates on the benefits of this openness with yet another lesson in linguistic history:

The Gaulish speech is very British, the which was very generally used here in all Brittain, before the coming of the Saxons: and yet is retained of the Welchmen, Cornishmen, and the Brittaines of France, though time working alteration of all things, and the trading and interdeale with other nations round about, have changed and greatly altered the dialect thereof; but yet the originall words appeare to be the same[.] (51)

In this schema, language itself is both matter and form. Returning to the metaphor of the hydrologic system with which I began this chapter, we can see dialect functioning as the river-water’s course, able to mutate and spread, flowing into and out of contact with other river systems, while the original material—whether a geographical name or in this case a

word—remains the same. Language, then, offers yet another exercise in the negotiation between opened and closed systems. Like Mutabilitie, Spenser understands the cycle of constant inconstancy, “time working alteration of all things.”

What is more, in the closing pages of *A View*, where Spenser is generally considered to put forth his most forceful argument for violent suppression, he proposes something altogether different:

now, since Ireland is full of her owne nation, that ought not to be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I thinke it best by an union of manners, and conformity of mindes, to bring them to be one people, and to put away the dislikefull conceipt both of the one, and the other, which will be by no meanes better then by this intermingling of them: For neither all the Irish may dwell together, nor all the English, but by translating of them and scattering them amongst the English, not onely to bring them by dayly conversation unto better liking of each other, but also to make both of them lesse able to hurt. (144-5)

In this capacious vision, all of the spreading branches of courtesy are brought together. The description of being “stored with” the English evokes the commodifying economics of *Mother Hubberds’* courtier. With the language of *translation*—from the Latin *translatio*, meaning to carry across—borders are not eliminated but made diffuse. By delimiting the individual subjects themselves, reiterating the ubiquity of their boundedness, the work of intermingling and scattering them amongst one another brings the image of a checkerboard to mind. With limits everywhere comes the possibility of maximal vulnerability. Putting to use the arms of civil conversation, though, their ability to make a neighbor of a stranger by “better liking of each other” provides a framework for making *both* the Irish and the English “lesse able to hurt.” To come “unto better liking” suggests fondness but also similitude. Moreover, the interplay of the transitive and intransitive senses of the infinitive, “to hurt,” is left open. We are not meant to parse

whether this is the work of reducing the ability to hurt another or to experience hurt oneself. In fact, the work of the boundary accretes in this very multivalence, the stranger and the self blending to the point of indistinction.

Spenser may have been ranging the limitless zodiac of his own wit here; but, seen through the rose-colored lenses of *A View*'s eventual publisher, James Ware, this vision of unity was a prophetic one. For Ware, the 1630s were England's "halcyon dayes," standing in stark contrast to "the former turbulent and tempestuous times" that Spenser details in *A View* (3). Though Ware acknowledges that there are moments in the tract that he suspects his readers "may wish . . . had bin tempered with more moderation," he nonetheless finds within its pages evidence of Spenser's "learning and deepe judgement" (6). More to the point, he notes: "the last 30 yeares peace have produced in this land, both for obedience to the lawes, as also in traffique, husbandry, civility, & learning For now we may truly say, *jam cuncti gens una sumus* (now we are all one nation)" (6). Traffic, husbandry, civility, learning—each in its own way was an extension of the contours of Spenser's courtesy. This union was in large part made possible by King James's repealing of the Statute of Kilkenny, an act of Parliament dating to 1366 that had made it illegal for the English to intermarry or engage in many Irish customs.²² Though this was not vigorously enforced in Spenser's day, it was the law, nonetheless, rendering the possibility that parts of his prescription for peace were themselves beyond the pale.

²² See *A View* 6n7.

CHAPTER TWO

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*:

Courtesy and Piracy in the Poetics of *translatio imperii studii*que

In a copy of the 1617 folio edition of Spenser's collected works, aside the line in *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale*, "Such is the rightfull courtier in his kind," a reader has scrawled: "Wiser than hee was W.R." Thanks to the work of Walter Oakeshott, that edition is generally accepted as having belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh's son, Carew Raleigh, and the marginalia under consideration here is attributed to none other than the elder Raleigh's wife, Lady Elizabeth Raleigh (8).¹ Next to the scene at Mount Acidale in Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*, another reader using a different hand—whom Oakeshott provocatively identifies as Sir Walter himself—links Colin Clout with "Spencer" and Calidore with "Sr. W.R." (10).² I shall return to the significance of the annotator's choice of this specifically metapoetic scene as the appropriate moment to identify Calidore with Raleigh. For now, it is sufficient to

¹ For a detailed discussion of the provenance of and marginal notes in the edition, see Walter Oakeshott, "Carew Raleigh's Copy of Spenser." For a full treatment of Lady Raleigh's biography, see Anna Beer, *My Just Desire*.

² Though Oakeshott's identification of Raleigh as the author of this marginalia is persuasive, it should be noted that it has not been universally accepted. See Jeffrey B. Morris, "To (Re)fashion a Gentleman: Raleigh's Disgrace in Spenser's Legend of Courtesy" for a reading that questions Oakeshott's specific identification. Still, it should be noted that Morris makes much of the connection and it is central to his own argument. At issue for Morris is simply the question of whom in the Raleigh household penned the marginalia in *The Faerie Queene*.

consider the combined effect of identifying Raleigh with Spenser's two most heralded figures of the ideal or virtuous courtier.

How is it that a man from Devon, the youngest of four surviving gentle-born sons, known for his broad accent and brash actions, could be seen (or see himself, as the case may be) as the picture of these two ideal courtiers? However unlikely, there is no denying that this West Country man rose from these humble beginnings to the position of chief favorite in Elizabeth's court and was granted favors, positions, land grants, patents, and annuities at which others could only marvel.³ Since, as Mark Hanna asserts, "the three-hundred mile distance from London to Penzance fostered a resistance to 'foreign' imposition in the West Country, as England was far from integrated" during this period, Raleigh's journey from the wild peripheries of the nation to the center of power is all the more remarkable (25). While there were some in Elizabeth's court who bristled at Raleigh's status, particularly because he was not part of the aristocracy, Spenser would not have shared their objections. Of course, since Raleigh was one of Spenser's most voluble supporters, both in terms of his own patronage and his advocacy for that of the Queen, it is to be expected that Spenser would attempt to return that support in kind. While the personal connection between the two men is important, I suggest Spenser's political philosophies are the stronger indicator of that support. As I suggest in my first chapter, Spenser creates a model of the courtier that is not tied to the court and uses this distance to meditate on the virtue's more naturalized, universalized contours. For Spenser, the courtier was formed in and through a dedication to an ethics of courtesy. If courtesy

³ For more on Raleigh's rise and preferments, see Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, "Sir Walter Raleigh" in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend*, chapter 2; Steven W. May, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, chapter 1; Joan Thirsk, "Raleigh's England"; Leonard Tennenhouse, "Sir Walter Raleigh and Clientage."

begets the courtier, then character trumps pedigree. Seen through this lens, Raleigh's humble beginnings and meteoric rise could represent the model rather than the exception in the Spenserian framework of courtesy.

The distinction between the corrupted courtier, marred by deceitful feigning and dissembling that masked a more naked self-interest, and the ideal courtier is given one of its greatest Spenserian elaborations in *Mother Hubberds Tale*. Though published with the *Complaints* in 1591, the long poem was likely composed at least a decade earlier—as the epistle dedicatory attests, the poem was "long sithens composed in the raw conceipt of my youth" (334). Still, modern editors and scholars alike agree that topical allusions within the poem show that it likely underwent heavy revision in bringing it up to date. It is not a stretch to imagine, as Lady Raleigh does years later, that Sir Walter lies behind the veil of the allegory of the ideal courtier. Like *Colin Clouts*, then, *Mother Hubberds Tale* sets up Lady Raleigh's "wise" husband as a foil for the common courtiers the poem rails against:

Yet the brave Courtier, in whose beauteous thought
Regard of honour harbours more than ought,
.....
He stands on tearmes of honourable minds,
Ne will be carried with the common winde
Of Courts inconstant mutabilitie,
Ne after everie tattling fable flie;
But heares, and sees the follies of the rest,
And thereof gathers for himselfe the best:
He will not creepe, nor crouche with fained face,
But walkes upright with comely stedfast pace,
And unto all doth yeeld due curtesie (717-729)

The contrast in *Colin Clouts* between high looks and high minds is developed here through a connection between right virtue and "upright" actions. In fact, the honorable mind is what creates the very foundation upon which the brave Courtier stands. The

opposing descriptions of creeping and crouching elaborate the degree to which what before *looked* high was merely an illusion. Crucially, when read with Raleigh in mind, these lines locate the court as the locus for things "common" in a way that overlooks Raleigh's own humble beginnings and instead installs him above the common fray. Moreover, he "heares" and "sees" and "gathers for himselfe the best" in a way that recalls the emphasis on the conversational and transactional aspects of courtesy elaborated in the first chapter. This in effect prefigures Raleigh's own *modus operandi* as the standard bearer for an English courtesy—with its equal emphases on civility and accumulation—as it is illustrated throughout the *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596).

This distinction between common courtiers and the one true avatar for the virtue is further elaborated in the opening lines of Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*, the Book of Courtesy, which begin:

Of Court it seemes, men Courtesie doe call,
For that it there most useth to abound;
And well beseemeth that in Princes hall
That vertue should be plentifully found, (VI. i. 1. 1-4)

The use of the conditional *should* combined with the repeated use of *(be)seem* has an accumulated effect of irony, rather than mere statement of fact, and prompts skepticism on the part of the reader. In so doing Spenser suggests an outmoded vision of courtesy that is tied to the court more out of tradition than anything else. The following stanza provides an alternate model:

But mongst them all was none more courteous Knight,
Then *Calidore*, beloved over all,
In whom it seemes, that gentlenesse of spright
And manners mylde were planted naturall; (VI.i.2.1-4)

Where the first stanza employs *seems* to highlight the distance between what *should be* and what actually *is*, the second stanza uses the same word to describe similitude. It is *as though* the virtue is "planted naturall" which itself echoes the proem to the book's own emphasis on discovering "true curtesie," undefiled by "forgerie" and "fashion," and hidden in the "sacred nourserie / Of vertue" (VI Proem 3-5). With its emphasis on a vision of a natural courtesy that circumvents the more conventionally closed circle of court, aristocracy, and courtier, the opening stanzas' introduction to Calidore excerpted above creates a more open framework into which the upwardly mobile Raleigh readily fits.⁴ Raleigh's own ascent lends a richer and more immediate resonance to the opening stanzas' decoupling of court and courtesy.

To be sure, this vision that emerges from these two poems' expression of the ideal courtier, immune from the "common winde" of the court's "inconstant mutabilitie," is difficult to reconcile with the man himself. Raleigh may have been an upstart and an outsider, but he played the game of "forgeries" and artifice as well if not better than any of the other courtiers in Elizabeth's court. In an early book that anticipates the argumentative contours of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt argues forcefully for reading Raleigh's acts and writings as constitutive of various "roles" he intentionally devised for himself and played.⁵ Indeed, one of the roles that he assumed was that of the natural courtier. It is in this vein that Raleigh beseechingly asks Lord Charles Howard and Sir Robert Cecil—two powerful Elizabethan courtiers—in the

⁴ As is typical in Spenserian allegory, to suggest that Calidore or the brave Courtier may be identified with Raleigh, and indeed, that Spenser might have meant for such an identification to be possible, does not discount other possible historical figures that Spenser may have had in mind as models. As *plenum*, allegory is capacious in its range of signification. In his authoritative edition of *The Faerie Queene*, A.C. Hamilton identifies both Spenser's contemporary, Sidney, and the biblical figure Absalom as sources for Calidore (see note to VI.i.2.5-6).

⁵ See Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*, especially chapters 1, 2, and 4.

epistle dedicatory to the *Discoverie* to "excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, overrunne in every part, the following discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, forme, nor fashion" (10). In proclaiming its lack of artifice, the text of the *Discoverie* itself—in which mingle moments of lyric pastoralism, chivalric romance, and epic vision, as though they were "planted naturall"—is framed as a version of Spenser's uncorrupted courtesy. What is more, though feigned humility was conventional fare in the various works of the period's dedications and letters to the reader, it does double duty in a letter composed by one courtier and addressed to two others, invoking Castiglione's *sprezzatura*, or "studied carelessness" of the courtier in a most literal, literary sense.⁶ As we have seen with Calidore and the shepherds, dissembling is not always coded negatively and in fact can offer an expression of decorum rather than deceit. This is where the virtuous courtier comes into play for it is he who dissembles out of politeness or necessity; the common courtier practices forgeries for his own gain.

What is resonant is the *idea* of Raleigh as the natural, uncorrupted, and ideal courtier. Raleigh's incredible rise during the 1580s very much relied upon his close relationship to the queen and his deep imbrication within her court; but, by the time the second half of *The Faerie Queene*, which included Book VI, was published in 1596, Queen Elizabeth had discovered Raleigh's secret and unsanctioned marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton. With Raleigh as the Captain of the Guard and Bess, as she was more commonly known, one of the queen's ladies in waiting, the two were among the select few who were allowed access into the queen's privy chambers. As Anna Beer describes: "Her gentlewomen shielded her from the demands of the nation. Her captain of the guard

⁶ See *OED*, *sprezzatura*, *n.* The connection between the courtier and dissembling is given its fullest treatment in *The Book of the Courtier*; but, it is also outlined by George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesy* (1589) and theorized in various contemporaneous courtesy books.

protected the royal body from the very real threat of assassination" (*My Just Desire*, xv). Thus, this unauthorized marriage pierced the sanctity of the queen's "virginity" as it was embodied by the circle of her female attendants and male protectors and shattered the Petrarchan fiction that cast her courtiers as her unrequited lovers. The discovery of the marriage in 1592 landed the couple briefly in the Tower of London, but had a more lasting effect on their fortunes at court where Sir Walter was officially banished until 1597. Jeffrey Morris sees Spenser's "patron's life as a source of invention and even inspiration for Book VI, and suggest[s] that Raleigh's various appearances in this book constitute an attempt to restructure Raleigh's life as a courtier after it was undermined by his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton" (40).⁷ It is, therefore, the timing of the publication of this book, coming about when Raleigh was out of favor and had been banished from court, which makes Spenser's insistence on an ideal that can exist outside of the court's sphere so important.

The triangulation of intertextuality and identificatory interplay that I have begun to chart here allows us to explore the ways in which Raleigh's identification with Spenser's ideal courtier had as much to do with how courtesy operated outside the sphere of the court's influence as it was a reflection of his role as a courtier during his mesmerizing social zenith in the 1580s. In this chapter I explore in depth the ways in which Raleigh's (self-)association with Spenser's ideal courtier functions with regards to his historical personage but also its elaboration in the *Discoverie*—part travel narrative, part romance epic, part colonial apology—considering the ways in which his actions there, and more importantly their framing within the text itself, allows for a real world

⁷ See Morris, 41-44, for a survey of critics' attempts to place Raleigh within the allegory of *The Faerie Queene* more broadly and in Book VI in particular.

elaboration of the model and benefits of the courtier. What is more, when we consider the interrelations between Raleigh's historical personage (both as privateer and as a cunning courtier) and his literary avatar, textual strategies that may seem merely conventional at first blush reveal rich and multiple expressions of the benefits of courtesy and its crucial role in forming a nation or its image *in potentia*.

Before I move on to outline the contours of my larger argument, I wish to pause here to touch briefly upon the implications of Raleigh's dual status as courtier and privateer. I suggest that the two occupations, far from being ideologically opposed, could in fact be mutually constitutive or reinforcing. After all, as we have seen with Spenser's declaration in *Mother Hubberds Tale* that it is the task of the courtier "[t]o learne the enterdeale of Princes strange," so that he "gathereth, what is fit, / T'enrich the storehouse of his powerfull wit," diplomatic knowledge is linked with actual goods (785-90). Consider this emphasis alongside Raleigh's proclamation in his address "To the Reader" in the *Discoverie*: "I have therefore labored all my life, both according to my small power, & perswasion, to advance al those attempts, that might eyther promise return of profit to ourselves, or at last be a lett & impeachment to the quiet course, & plentiful trades of the Spanish nation" (15). To what exactly do these labors and attempts refer? The larger context that this quote is extracted from does not provide the answers. The details are wanting here, allowing a kind of politic imprecision that makes it difficult to parse out which labors were performed under the auspices of the courtier and which were the results of privateering. I contend, in fact, that this confusion is rather the point. Indeed, one of the key defining features of both the courtier and the privateer is the fact that their power and protection stemmed from their connection to the court and royal power.

Where the courtier used courtesy, or the art of civil conversation, to "learn the enterdeale of Princes strange," the privateer, a term derived from "private man of warre," captured enemy goods and vessels through what were essentially acts of piracy.⁸ The only real difference between the pirate and the privateer is that the former was a rogue opportunist whereas the latter sailed with official letters of reprisal or marquee and aimed his efforts at attacking vessels belonging to hostile nations or their merchants. Both the courtier and the privateer sought to increase the English storehouse—the distinction lies in *how* they worked to affect this increase.

This chapter, then, considers the imbrication of allegory and chivalric romance in travel narratives and historical chronicles, exploring how the conventions of allegory and romance map onto Raleigh's project in the *Discoverie*. This involves an examination of the ways in which revelation and secrecy, dilation and deferral were incorporated in allegorical romance. I show how these conventions affirm Raleigh's identification with Spenser's ideal courtier, but also give it new life in a way that expresses both Raleigh's lived experience in and out of favor in Elizabeth's court and his visions for what his particular brand of virtuous English courtesy and civility could reap in terms of value to the crown. Crucial to this is a sense of how the use of allegory in the *Discoverie* highlights Raleigh's role as perspicacious reader, fit but few, while the Spanish are cast as poor readers of the same signs. Similarly, Raleigh's role as an active promoter of and sometimes participant in privateering ventures attacking the Spanish inform and inflect this particular brand of courtesy.

⁸ For a discussion of piracy and privateering during the period see Mark G. Hanna, *Pirate Nests*; Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy*; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*.

The links between the accumulation of goods or knowledge and the accumulation of culture or civility are often blurred in the *Discoverie* and the role that this dual sense of accumulation plays both attests to the efficacy of Raleigh's courtesy (or, more accurately, his framing of it as such) and elaborates his vision of an English empire based on cultural and material acquisition and appropriation. Raleigh's is a vision of an empire built on a model of *translatio imperii studiique*, in which the spoils make the victor (rather than the other way around); whether gained through courtesy and civility, or sea marauding and military force, the spoils make up a full complement by the combined efforts of the privateer and the courtier. Ultimately, this chapter is structured around the argument that if the *Discoverie* is an extension of the project of *The Faerie Queene*, and Raleigh sees himself as the ideal courtier-cum-romance hero-cum-epic knight, then the fact that the *Discoverie* often functions as a piratical guide or manual shows the imbrication of piracy and courtesy. In this way the *Discoverie* uses the rhetorical strategies of romance and allegory as a way of refiguring and elevating what might otherwise be considered a base venture. The moral good that I suggest Spenser makes the case for is one, in Raleigh's more flexible ethical system, that supplements through accumulation and whether by force, cunning, or courtesy, the aim is the same, to add to the English storehouse and chart a path to the as-yet-elusive Imperial Scepter.

* * *

I. "He pip'd, I sung: and when he sung, I piped"

* * *

Running through the center of Raleigh's meandering *Discoverie* is "the great river of *Orenoque*," a river that promises the surest route into and through an unknown land,

though it is marked at every turn by a proliferation of branches offering endle missionss opportunities to err, to take the wrong turn. In describing his attempts to locate the river, Raleigh declares: "we might have wandred a whole yeere in that laborinth of rivers, ere we had found any way, either out or in . . . for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take" (95). This scene illustrates the difficulties that these explorers face in their attempts to *discover* Guiana and locate its fabled City of Gold, but it also helps establish the work's romance coordinates.⁹ The labyrinth of rivers and their banks, so often described as "shadowed under the thicke wood," suggests a land that is nearly impenetrable (95-7). The "confluence of streames and branches" elaborates the picture of confusion evoked by "that laborinth of rivers," while simultaneously reminding the reader of the way in which the branches of the heavily wooded land are often depicted as spilling over and into the waterways, further troubling attempts at navigation. Here and throughout the *Discoverie*, the rivers' many branches blend to the point of indistinction with the branches of the wooded wilderness that the rivers' "borders were so pestred with" (13).

The picture of Guiana that this scene illustrates is one in which the land's secrets and rewards are hidden by a metaphorical veil that can but with great difficulty be drawn back to reveal the fruits of discovery. Both the image and the specific language Raleigh employs clearly echo "the wandring wood" of Book I of *The Faerie Queene* (I.i.13.6) in which the Redcrosse Knight and Una "wander too and fro in waies unknowne" (I.i.10.5). In this wood, also fashioned like a "labyrinth" (I.i.11.4), there are "So many pathes, so

⁹ Raleigh uses various constructions throughout the text to refer to this fabled city. Most common is Manoa, identified by Raleigh as "the imperiall Citie of *Guiana*, which the *Spanyardes* cal *el Dorado*" (37). The Spanish appellation also makes frequent appearances.

many turnings seene, / That which of them to take, in diverse doubt they been" (I.i.10.8). The many paths and turnings in the wood parallel Raleigh's confluence of streams and branches producing another instance of seemingly endless labyrinthine wandering. Like the river, the wood that houses Error's den provides no readable signs, leaving its occupants to struggle through a hopeless errancy. Moreover, the woodedness of Raleigh's rivers establishes a functional equivalence between the two scenes, even if their geographical coordinates, both real and imagined, are essentially antipodean.

Lest a skeptical reader find the echoes between the two texts to be merely coincidental, the *Discoverie* offers further clues that the Orinoco and its branches serve as a figurative double for the "wandring wood." As luck would have it, Raleigh's men soon happen upon a river that bears them out of the Orinoco's labyrinthine morass, "which because it had no name," the adventurer announces, "we called the river of the *Red crosse*, our selves being the first *Christians* that ever came therein" (95). This act of naming stands out because it concerns the only unnamed river in all of the *Discoverie*—a text that is as overcrowded with the names of rivers as *The Faerie Queene* is overpopulated with characters, the names of which Spenser himself is not always able to keep straight.¹⁰ What is more, the naming is redolent with a significance that does more than simply evoke the red cross of the English flag and that symbol's ability to lay territorial claim. It establishes a durable textual link to the Redcrosse of *The Faerie Queene*.¹¹ Where some read this link as an opportunity to overlay a religious narrative on

¹⁰ For example, see III.ii.4.1 in which Spenser misidentifies Redcrosse as Guyon.

¹¹ Though it is outside the scope of this project, in *The romance of the New World*, Joan Pong Linton sees the naming of the Red Cross river as setting up both Raleigh's quest and that of Redcrosse as a spiritual one. She is not alone in reading religious overtones into the *Discoverie*. For another approach that reads the work as engaging specifically with a pro-Protestant discourse, see Dennis Austin Britton, "Allegory and Difference in Raleigh and De Bry: Reading and Seeing the *Discoverie*."

that of the *Discoverie*, in my view, neither the purported (but also questionable) fervency of Raleigh's Protestantism nor his ardent loathing of Spanish Catholicism play much more than a supporting role throughout. Where religion emerges at all, it is generally ancillary to his main aims. If the *Discoverie* is a narrative with an explicitly economic and proto-imperial motive—to say nothing of Raleigh's own specific desire to regain the queen's favor—then the Red Cross river offers the way out of the labyrinth and back onto the path of adventure (in its dual sense of daring and economic ventures).

Invoking *The Faerie Queene* with a South American river serves the further purpose of pointing to the *Discoverie*'s own moment of inclusion in that text when the “Rich Oranochy” was an honored guest at the marriage of the rivers Thames and Medway (IV.xi.21.7). The Orinoco River, “though but knowen late,” is nonetheless included among a group of particularly renowned rivers. The catalogue's shift to the rivers of the world begins in the arena of the Mediterranean. The second stanza of this group expands rapidly outward, listing first the “Great Ganges,” and circling back again to the locale of the previous stanza's final river (the “Tygris fierce”) by calling out the Tigris's sister river, the “immortall Euphrates” (21.1, 20.9). This first loop is followed by another tracing the same path: jutting back out the “Deep Indus” only to immediately wend its way back to the “Meander intricate” (21.2). Ever since Ovid used the Meander river to figure the “sundry winding ways” of Daedalus's labyrinth in *Metamorphoses*, the river had been associated with labyrinthine recursiveness (VIII.214).¹² In his “Annotations of the Chronicle Historie,” Michael Drayton glosses the connection between the river and the maze, explaining “this River did so strangely path it selfe, that the Foot seemed to touch the Head” (110). How fitting to invoke this river within a

¹² See Thomas Greene, “Labyrinth Dances.”

stanza that is plotting its geographic coordinates in the same winding, recursive ways.

As we have seen, Spenser's rivers are figurally rich. Though water can facilitate connection rather than isolation, opening England up to the wider world comes with its own limitations. Connection does not equate to proximity and travel by sea was never without its hazards. In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, Spenser reflects on these dangers, describing the sea as a force to be feared. In it:

Thousand wyld beasts with deep mouthes gaping direfull
Therein stil wait poore passengers to teare.
.....
And yet as ghastly dreadfull, as it seemes,
Bold men presuming life for gaine to sell,
Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wandering stremes
Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell. (202-11)

Like much of Spenser's poetry, this description provided by the poet's avatar, Colin Clout, is operating on multiple levels. "Poore passengers," presumably driven by exigency, "dare" to sell their lives for the possibility of economic gain. This provides a window, more generally, into the circumstances of Englishmen in the late sixteenth century, many of whom found that they must turn to seafaring to support themselves at a time when there were not sufficient economic opportunities on land. In Spenser's particular case, this largely autobiographical, albeit allegorical, poem also describes his own poor estate and the therefore necessary journey from Ireland to the English court in search of preferment in the form of an annuity. It is the poem's dedicatee, Raleigh, here figured as the Shepherd of the Ocean, who shepherds Colin through the "wandering stremes" of "waies unknowne." Recalling as they do the "waies unknowne" of *The Faerie Queene's* "wandring wood" outlined above, this moment in the poem invokes the

very work Spenser presumed *his* life for gain to sell, since the annuity he sought and was granted was in recognition of the 1590 edition of his epic national romance.

Spenser's use of the phrase here and its lone reappearance later in the poem suggests an interplay between the literal journey to Whitehall and the figurative one that was required when navigating the labyrinthine ways of Queen Elizabeth's court. When a fellow shepherd asks "Why didst thou ever leave that happie place, / In which such wealth might unto thee accrew? / And back returnedst to this barreine soyle," Colin replies that he "Darest not adventure such unknowen wayes, / Nor trust the guile of fortunes blandishment" (670-71). Here the "unknowen wayes" pose a challenge that Colin dares not meet, even though it would mean trading lack for prosperity, a barren place for one of happiness and wealth. Moreover, the invocation of fortune's wheel in this context recalls the uncertain terrain of the court that emerges in Spenser's depiction of the "Courts inconstant mutabilitie" in *Mother Hubberds Tale* excerpted above and published the same year that *Colin Clouts* was composed, 1591.

Lending further resonance to this construction of ways unknown are the entangled temporal frames within which *Colin Clouts* operates. The poem allegorically narrates an event that took place in 1589 and under very different circumstances than those that existed just a few years later. While Raleigh brought Spenser to court at a time when his influence with Queen Elizabeth was near its zenith, it was not yet six months after Spenser composed *Colin Clouts* in late December of 1591 when Raleigh's marriage was discovered, leaving him fully subject to "the guile of fortunes blandishment," banished from court, and briefly imprisoned. As Robert Naunton, secretary of state under King James I, and a near contemporary of Raleigh's, recorded in his *Fragmenta Regalia*:

Memoirs of Elizabeth, Her Court and Favourites (1641): "finding his favor declining, and falling into recesse, [Raleigh] undertooke a new peregrination to leave the *terra infirma* of the court, for that of the waves" (109-110). Setting aside for the moment the larger story that Naunton describes, his language is worth pausing to appreciate. His depiction of the court as a *terra infirma* is richly evocative (and betrays an obvious antipathy). *Infirmitas* not only referred generally to weakness, but also suggested inconstancy.¹³ This is hardly surprising coming from Naunton who was no great lover of his king's predecessor and had earlier characterized Raleigh as the queen's "tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do: for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro to greatnesse, and from thence downe to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman" (103). The emphasis on the court's inconstancy within the context of a "new peregrination" particularly as it related to Raleigh, however, is of a piece with Spenser's own depiction in the poem and affirms the courtly resonances of these unknown ways.

The accretion of meaning attached to Spenser's phrase becomes richer still in yet another context. In an unpublished manuscript poem of Raleigh's written circa 1593 and later titled "Farewell to Court," Raleigh bemoans: "My lost delights, now cleane from sight of land, / Have left me all alone in unknowne waies: / . . . / As in a countrey strange without companion" (5-9). The full complement of meaning that Spenser has made possible in *Colin Clouts* is expressed in these few short lines. Raleigh's exile from court has set him adrift: "Cleane from sight of land," he is unmoored. These unknown ways have activated the same sense of estrangement at work in Spenser's poem in which he

¹³ See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 946.

laments Raleigh's disgrace and removal from court, offering a double of sorts for Spenser's own "exile" in Ireland and removal from the royal metropole center. What is more, just as Spenser's journey to the court in 1589 shows how the ways unknown can simultaneously invoke literal sea travel and the more figurative navigation of an uncharted court, so, too, does it signify multiply for Raleigh.

In 1593, Raleigh was already making plans to bring a long-held interest in Guiana to fruition, trading the unknown ways of life outside of the court for those of the Atlantic world. Though Raleigh had been particularly intrigued by Guiana and her promised wealth since the 1580s, it was not until 1593 that he obtained official letters of reprisal from the Lord High Admiral Charles Howard—who was, not incidentally, one of the dedicatees of the *Discoverie*—consequently authorizing Raleigh's first definitively known backing of a Guiana surveying and privateering expedition captained by John Burgh.¹⁴ It is telling that Raleigh's exile from Elizabeth's court led him to commit more fully to his privateering ventures. What is more, the emphasis on the journey that the echoed phrase activates reconfirms that the operant model of courtesy is one not explicitly linked to the court, establishing the import of setting forth on those unknown ways while simultaneously appreciating their danger. This formula is ultimately analogous to the necessarily careful, but strategic, cosmopolitanism or openness for which I see Raleigh and Spenser advocating. Ultimately, the cumulative significations of the phrase under consideration here point to the interplay of metaphor and lived experience that forms the web within which both the aims of the *Discoverie* and this chapter are entangled.

¹⁴ See Joyce Lorimer, "Raleigh's First Reconnaissance of Guiana?" on Raleigh's knowledge of and connections to Guiana throughout the decade before his own first personal expedition there in 1595. On Burgh's voyage and Raleigh's involvement, see "The Voyage of Sir John Burgh, 1593" in Kenneth Andrews's, *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies: 1588-1595*.

The repetition of the line in Raleigh's poem, therefore, cannot be merely coincidental. Instead, the poetic recycling amplifies the phrase's expressiveness and exemplifies the relationship between the two men as it is realized poetically. After all, in one of the two commendatory companion sonnets written by Raleigh and published in the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*—two of only four original poems to be published under his name during his lifetime—Raleigh ends with this final couplet: "Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price, / Of all which speak our English tongue, but those of thy device" (13-4). Worth attending to is the placement of these poems. They follow immediately after Spenser's letter "expounding his *whole intention in the course of this worke*," addressed to Raleigh, which the author admits has been written in part "(being so by you commanded,) to discover unto you the general intention and meaning" (714). This letter, in turn, is the first of those addenda "annexed" to this edition of *The Faerie Queene*. The formal framing alone gives the picture of a rich correspondence between the two—the first three books of Spenser's epic are followed by Raleigh's invisible (because unpublished) commandment, Spenser's own response to that commandment, and then Raleigh's two companion poems in which the latter at times addresses his encomium directly to the poet. The alternating placement allows the final pages of the edition to speak forth the kind of poetic call and response I have been drawing attention to. Spenser similarly outlines this relationship in pastoral terms in *Colin Clouts*, relaying how when "He pip'd, I sung, and when he sung, I piped, / By chaunge of turnes, each making other mery" (76-7). The chiasmic structure of piping and singing presents yet another image of an enfolded correspondence that deepens the intertextuality I trace here. This is, however, more than simply a case of poetic interlocution. Piping and singing are

not only interchangeable, as the chiasmic structure suggests, but they can also be mutually dependent. Just as we are able to extract a deeper meaning from Raleigh's singing about "unknowne waies" when we are able simultaneously to hear Spenser piping the melody in the background, so too can our understanding of the conventions and aims of *The Faerie Queene* amplify their resonances in the *Discoverie*.

* * *

II. The romance of discovery

* * *

When Richard Hakluyt dedicated his Paris edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades de Orbe Novo* to Raleigh in 1587, he urged him "to explore most thoroughly those new countries . . . not investigated in sufficient detail"; it was a task, Hakluyt assured Raleigh, "most honoured Knight, divine Providence has reserved for you" (366). Like the knights of Faery who are often chosen and set on their quests because of their unique virtues, Raleigh emerges as the ideal courtier-*cum*-explorer. Hakluyt goes on to call on Raleigh to "[r]eveal to us the courts of China and the unknown straits which still lie hid: throw back the portals which have been closed since the world's beginning at the dawn of time. There yet remain for you new lands, ample realms, unknown peoples; they wait yet, I say, to be discovered" (367). Hakluyt's language parallels rhetoricians' descriptions of allegory, setting up the explorer as the reader who seeks to pierce the obscuring veil created by the maker to "reveal" that which is hidden, to "throw back the portals" long closed. Mary Fuller cites this dedication as establishing "a visionary model of discovery as apocalypse, literally the drawing aside of a concealing medium to reveal" (63). In

Hakluyt's formulation, the Supreme maker replaces the poetic maker, and the reader of poetry is replaced by one who will read the unknown and hidden spaces of the world.

Hakluyt was not alone in imagining the revelatory possibilities of exploration and discovery. When Francis Bacon published *Novum Organon* in 1620, he was able to remark upon the advances made "by the distant voyages and travels which have become frequent in our times," and from which "many things in nature have been laid open and discovered which may let in new light upon philosophy" (82). Citing Bacon in particular, Patricia Parker argues that "a language of 'opening' to the eye's inspection what had been secret, closed, or hid characterizes European discovery narratives from the beginning" ("Fantasies" 87). This casts the discovery mode as one in which the world's mysteries are stripped of occluding adornment and laid bare, as though it is operating in a discursive field free from the problems that had long bedeviled poetry—namely, that language itself is an imperfect medium. Moreover, this characterization of the discovery mode overlooks the notion, very much alive in Raleigh's *Discoverie*, that not all ideas or discoveries should be revealed for all to see without regard for political and strategic considerations. Allegory functioned as that necessary occlusion, pointing to the impossibilities of any true apocalypse and tempering the revelations that discovery promised.

Taking their cue from both Medieval and Classical traditions, Renaissance rhetoricians described allegory as that which veiled or covered over some inaccessible truth.¹⁵ In *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593), Henry Peacham announced: "The use of an

¹⁵ For a cogent survey of the development of the uses of allegory from the Classical through the Medieval periods and its theorization throughout the twentieth century, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil*. See Margaret Ferguson, "Saint Augustine's Region of Unlikeness," on the classical and early

Allegorie serveth most aptly to ingrave the lively images of things, and to present them under deepe shadowes to the contemplation of the mind" (27). In emphasizing the "deepe shadowes" of this poetic device Peacham followed Puttenham, who had declared "*allegoria*" in *The Arte of English Poesie* "the Figure of False Semblant or Dissimulation," continuing: "And ye shall know that we may dissemble, I mean speak otherwise than we think . . . under covert and dark terms . . . and by long ambage and circumstance of words" (271). Like deep shadows, "covert and dark terms" emphasize the occluding modality of allegory. The linguistic interplay between *covered* and *covert*—made possible by the terms' etymological links to the French verb *couvrir* (to cover) and its past participle *couvert*—comes to the fore here in a way that emphasizes Puttenham's coupling of allegory and semblance.

It is important to note that occlusion is not a thing to be avoided and Puttenham does not invoke dissembling and dissimulation to cast a negative pall over allegorical figuration; rather, he does it to elaborate the ways in which "the courtly figure *allegoria*" functions (270). Elsewhere, again treating "the figure *allegoria*," Puttenham terms it "the Courtier or Figure of Fair Semblant" (379). Instead of reading this shift from "False Semblant" to "Fair Semblant" as an accident, revision, or editorial oversight, I suggest that we understand this to mean that false and fair are not mutually exclusive in the courtly realm. As Spenser outlines in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, "fine falsehood and faire guile" were not paradoxical marks, but the artful characteristics of an ideal courtier (788). Recalling *sprezzatura*, to be false was to be fair. Indeed, Puttenham goes on to proclaim: "not only every common courtier, but also the gravest counselor, yea, and the most noble

Christian traditions' emphasis on the necessity of using figurative language to discuss linguistically-inaccessible and abstract concepts.

and wisest prince of them all are many times enforced to use [allegory], by example (say they) of the great emperor who had it usually in his mouth to say, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare* [He who does not know how to dissimulate, does not know how to rule]" (270-1). For both Peacham and Puttenham, when truth could not be plainly shown, due either to the insufficiencies of language or political expedience, allegory provided a necessary corrective.

Puttenham's use of *ambage* in the passage cited above is particularly noteworthy because while the term rather unsurprisingly points to a mode of speech that works to deceive, conceal or delay, it was also used to describe paths that were dark, or circuitous and winding.¹⁶ As such, it is a particularly apt descriptor for a rhetorical process that, as I argue, Raleigh deployed to great effect in the *Discoverie*, a work that was equally concerned with the errant wandering and dilatory dilation of romance as with the measured and politic revelations and discoveries of the conventional travel narrative.¹⁷ It is instructive at this point to return to the parallel moments of errant wandering through dark and labyrinthine scenes in the *Discoverie* and *The Faerie Queene* I traced in the beginning of the previous section. The imagery invokes Puttenham's *ambage* in its doubled sense, highlighting how language and landscape (or waterscape) can work together to construct a world that is seemingly impenetrable, requiring exemplary knights to pierce the veil. I contend that part of what both scenes are allegorizing is the function of allegory itself and that this rhetorical play is emblematic of the larger works of which they are part. In attempting to "read" the landscape, both Raleigh and the Redcrosse

¹⁶ See *OED*, *ambage*, *n.* I. 1-3 and *n.* II. 5-7.

¹⁷ I draw the formulation of dilatory dilation from Patricia Parker's *Inescapable Romance* in which she identifies in romance "the dilated, or dilatory, space of a form which simultaneously moves towards and delays a definitive resolution or presence" (14). See 54-64 for a full discussion of the etymological and connotative connection between spatial dilation and the temporally dilatory.

Knight stand in as the readers of allegory within a romance-inflected world who must attempt to discover truth, to work toward a revelation, however impossible or incomplete that quest will turn out to be.

The appearance of allegory's modalities in the *Discoverie* highlights how the expedient concealment that poetry relied on was not unique to the poetic genre nor its various modes. Citing Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*, Raleigh notes in his later work, *The History of the World*, "that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but some what of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions which doe set them first on foot" (457). In arguing that historians borrow both ornament and substance from poets, he signals formal and thematic affinities, which suggests ways in which strategies for reading or theorizing one genre can readily be applied to the other. What is more, Raleigh goes on to conclude: "the heart of man is unsearchable" (457). It would seem, then, that Raleigh is revealing a fundamental problem for writers who attempted to simply "throw back the portals" (in Hakluyt's formulation) and lay open the fruits of their discoveries. For Raleigh, things discovered are themselves veiled by the "unsearchable" motives and "passions" of the explorers who search them out. Discovery narratives can never truly reveal or uncover an unmediated truth because they are written by authors who have something to conceal and, what is more, their "Informations are often false, records not alwaies true." Hence, we can think of Raleigh's *Discoverie* as working in a mode that is akin to rather than in contrast with the concealing medium of poetry.

Taken together, discovery and allegory make fitting bedfellows, which explains in part why Raleigh would frame his journey as a version of the Spenserian quest. As the above discussion of *ambage* suggests, to these two terms a third must be added: romance. In *Chivalry and Exploration*, Jennifer Goodman outlines the continued popularity of chivalric romance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with specific attention to their influence on and elaboration in exploration and discovery narratives. As Joan Pong Linton argues in *The Romance of the New World*, "[t]he period did not, for the most part, have a clear-cut division between romance and history. Romances were stories about historical figures and events, and English voyagers and colonists were only the most recent makers of history" (1). Linton sees in Raleigh's work in particular an illustration of "the ease with which a colonist casts his voyage within the allegorical horizon of romance" (41). In her seminal study on the genre, *Inescapable Romance*, Parker writes: "'romance' is that mode or tendency which remains on the threshold before the promised end, still in the wilderness of wandering, 'error,' or 'trial'" (4). The mode's heavy reliance on erring and errancy in a wilderness or unknown landscape or waterway certainly recalls the doubled scenes of errant wandering at work in the *Discoverie* and *The Faerie Queene* already examined; but, this emphasis also makes romance particularly applicable to the travel narrative more broadly, especially during a period in which the English were not yet experiencing great success.¹⁸ If, as Parker argues, "'romance' is the liminal space before that object is fully named or revealed," then we can see how romance offered a particularly attractive model for those English explorers who wished to reframe their various failures to effect a true discovery as a fulfillment of generic

¹⁸ For a full discussion of the ways in which failure was rhetorically recast and given a positive spin in English travel narratives produced in the latter sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, see Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print*.

requirements (4-5). It is the *promise* of revelation or discovery that links travel narratives to romance. The rhetorical and conventional affinities that emerge here between the two modes demonstrate the degree to which the *Discoverie's* accommodation of romance strategies and motifs had as much to do with the work's inclusion of error and errancy as it did with its questing knight.

The promise of revelation steadily pervades Raleigh's narrative. Early on he cites an excerpt of "120. chapter of *Lopez* in his general historie of the *Indies*, wherein he describeth the court and magnificence of *Guaynacapa*, auncestor to the Emperour of *Guiana*." Raleigh's translation that follows details how "[a]ll the vessels of his house, table, and kitchin were of Gold and Silver He had in his wardroppe hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beastes, birdes, trees, and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth" (39). In fact, "there was nothing in his countrey, whereof hee had not the counterfeat in gold" (41). The opulence of this court, wherein every object and commodity either is made out of precious metals or has its copy rendered to scale in gold, far exceeds that of any of the courts in Europe. Fantastic as this seems, there is more to marvel over: "Yea and they say, The *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an Iland neere *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselves, when they would take the ayre of the sea, which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers and trees of Gold and Silver, as invention, & magnificence til then never seene" (41). We have moved from already fabulous descriptions of things fashioned out of gold to a veritable golden world in which the flowers and trees themselves are precious and magnificent. Again drawing attention to the wonder of this description is the text's insistence that the

like was "til then never seene." These belabored descriptions of richness and grandeur confirm the existence of the long sought-after prize, gold, and thusly justify the extreme effort and great expense of this errand into the wilderness.¹⁹ Of course, Raleigh has not observed these riches himself—they remain for him "never seene"; instead, this report must stand in as a revelation *in potentia*.

Similarly, in keeping with romance conventions the actual goal of the discovery relayed in the *Discoverie*—to locate the famed yet ultimately fabled city of Manoa—is always deferred; the quest is never complete. Raleigh provides countless explanations in an effort to rewrite this failure as a result of various expedient and deliberate choices; in many ways, the whole of the *Discoverie* is organized around explaining this dilatory strategy. In his Letter to the Reader, Raleigh announces that he "had neither tyme, nor men, nor instruments:" sufficient to work the gold out of the hills of "white Sparre" that he locates (12). Elsewhere he cites advice from Topiawari, an influential and trusted native *cassique*, or chieftain, in explaining why he did not attempt to travel further into Guiana to locate Manoa: "hee therefore prayed us to deferre it till the next yeare, when he would undertake to drawe in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would be more seasonable to travel" (171). This advice echoes a common refrain throughout the *Discoverie* in which Raleigh repeatedly remarks upon the challenges he faces which run the gamut from the unforgiving weather, to the impenetrable landscape and serpentine waterways, to the people, both native and Spanish.

¹⁹ The "errand into the wilderness" is a trope in its own right that emerged early on in the New England colonies and referred to the Puritan project there. Given Raleigh's specifically economic rather than spiritual motives in Guiana, I use the phrase without intending to invoke the Puritan connotations of spiritual growth through hardship and hard work. For more see Perry Miller's foundational essay, "Errand into the Wilderness," and Theodore Bozeman's "The Puritans' 'Errand into the Wilderness' Reconsidered."

Nevertheless, throughout the text Raleigh demonstrates his tireless efforts to create strong diplomatic ties and lay the foundation for a future discovery that will yield England maximum reward. Moreover, Raleigh argues that the search for gold, while necessary to the overall health of the burgeoning empire, would require engaging with potentially hostile natives and traversing a distinctly hostile terrain, and as such, is best deferred:

I thought it verie evill counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of golde will aunswere many objections: But it woulde have been in mine opinion an utter overthrowe to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majestie attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Majestie to relieve them) they would as good cheape have joyned with the Spanyards at our returne, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errant . . . therefore til I had known her majesties pleasure, I woulde rather have lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might have been profitable) then to have defaced and endaugered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good, and rich trade which England maie bee possessed off thereby. (175)

Here he affirms the necessity of keeping his true motives secret—a feature that will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections—because he recognizes that his tireless efforts to create alliances with native cassiques will all be for nought should they discover that the English and the Spanish "came both for one errant." Indeed, if the "desire of golde" is to be realized, its discovery must be deferred until careful preparations would yield sufficient time, men, and instruments. Again and again Raleigh figures the *Discoverie of Guiana* as something best realized by an exploratory expedition that has mapped the area, made necessary alliances, and gained knowledge of the seasonal weather patterns and their effect on the navigability of the labyrinthine rivers. In short, he has discovered everything *but* that which he set out to do, even if this "failure" is refigured as a politic choice aimed to secure the success of England's future

endeavors. Though no one has yet to get in, or so he claims, Raleigh repeatedly insists that he has struck upon the winning formula: with his secret knowledge of the surest route and the right supplies, men, and backing, Guiana *will* be discovered.

Adopting Parker's definitions of romance-as-mode, I suggest that Raleigh's narrative so readily evokes not only the allegorical horizon of romance that Linton notes, but also its formal strategies. Raleigh's *Discoverie* illustrates the ways in which discovery-as-mode cannot exist without either romance's emphasis on errant wandering and deferral or allegory's foundational concern with that which resides in darkness, the veiled image. Indeed, any attempts in the *Discoverie* to rely on traditional navigational methods such as a compass or the Sun merely result in Raleigh's company being "carried in a circle amongst multitudes of Ilands, and every Iland so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any further than the bredth of the river, or length of the breach" (95). The more the men attempt to insert known strategies into an unknown wilderness, the more it results in the seemingly endless cycle of errancy that being "carried in a circle" evokes. Additionally, Raleigh's framing of the difficulties of penetrating Guiana and finding her secret ores of gold as a function of the problem of not being able to "see" emphasizes the notion that for something to be discovered, to be revealed, it must already be hidden from view.

* * *

III. From "darke conceit" to revelation

* * *

In Spenser's letter to Raleigh appended to the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, he acknowledges "how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed," continuing, "and this

booke of mine, which I have entituled the Faery Queene, being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit, I have thought good aswell for avoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading therof, (being by you so commanded,) to discover unto you the general intention and meaning” (714). Following convention, he casts allegory as that which relies on darkness, requiring guidance to help shed light on the subject at hand and “discover” his meaning. He goes on to announce: “[t]he general end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline” (715). Indeed, each book is organized around a knight’s quest to acquire and perfect a specific virtue, a feat that is never easy and in each case requires twelve cantos to come remotely close to a successful resolution.²⁰ Book I of *The Faerie Queene* is announced as “The Legend of the Knight *of the Red Crosse*, or *Of Holinesse*,” and over the course of its twelve cantos, its titular knight struggles with faith, a struggle that is figured through a multiplicity of false signs and misreadings. Where the content of the book is generally read as being concerned with the allegorical marriage of England and the One True Church through the union of the Redcrosse Knight and his benighted lady, Una, the quest is organized around the knight’s education in the ways of reading through the signs of allegory in order to discover truth. Through its use of doubling, veiling, and revelation, Book I provides a model for working through allegory—a model for which Spenser’s letter to Raleigh acts as a reconfirming supplement.

Where the book’s first canto leaves the Redcrosse Knight and Una wandering through the wood, it presents Archimago, the villain of the book, who, as his name

²⁰ It is important to note that the quests’ resolutions have less to do with the knights’ completing their assigned tasks or defeating the enemies they have been sent to conquer; rather, the twelve cantos of each book work toward the acquisition of a virtue.

suggests, introduces havoc through the magical creation of false images.²¹ It is he who first drives a wedge between the heroic pair by creating doubles for each of them in Duessa and the false Squire. To advance his plot, he places the two “in a secrete bed, / Covered with darkenes and misdeeming night” (I.ii.3.7-8). This inaugural moment of allegorical doubling, cast in the familiar language of secrecy, and covered or covert darkness, is followed shortly by Redcrosse’s discovery of the false pair, in which his surface reading of the scene makes him think he spies his lady with another man (I.ii.5). That this early scene of allegorical confusion and this first moment of discovery (however misinterpreted) occur within the space of a few stanzas is suggestive of the ways in which the one mode relies upon the other. Moreover, the false discovery results in the two pairs being “divided into double parts, / And *Una* wandering in woods and forrests” (I.ii.9.2-3). Hence, the scene sets up allegorical veiling, the problem of misreading, and the resulting error and wandering that mark romance.

At the close of the book, when Una and Redcrosse at last uncover Archimago’s deceptions, Una remarks: “Of this false footman, clokt with simplenesse, / Whome if ye please for to discover plaine, / Ye shall him *Archimago* find, I ghesse, / The falsest man alive; who tries shall find no lesse” (I.xii.34.6-9). A simple cloaking gives way to plain revelation, and falsehood is found out: *discovery* is finally able to function in its truest sense. Still, discovery here does not signal the end of allegory, merely a temporary revelation. In describing the marriage celebration between Redcrosse and Una that follows, the narrator declares: “That their exceeding merth may not be told: / Suffice it heare by signes to understand / The usuall joyes at knitting of loves band” (I.xii.40.3-6).

²¹ Archimago is first named in I.i.43.6. On the significance of his name, see the note in the Hamilton edition.

We see the narrator signaling the limits of language—what “may not be told”—through his invocation of the necessity of signs—essentially a defense of the “continued Allegory” that the letter to Raleigh describes. And though the book ends with the allegorical marriage of England and her Church, the *faith*-ful union of believer and Protestantism, Redcrosse must resume his quest assigned him by the Faerie Queene. This results in the deferral of the apocalyptic promise of revelation, a promise signaled not only by the content but also by the form—the final canto ends conspicuously with the forty-second stanza, which, as A.C. Hamilton notes in his edition of *The Faerie Queene*, “has apocalyptic significance for Antichrist’s tyranny ends after forty-two months” (I.xii.42.n). Parker remarks: “Una, though unveiled in the last scene of Book I, is, as it were, reveiled when Red Cross takes leave of her and returns to ‘Faerie,’ when Archimago the arch-imager is released and Duessa is once again ‘covered.’ Both enable the poem to go on” and demonstrate a “regression from Apocalypse” (*Inescapable Romance* 76). This suggests that so long as Archimago continues to haunt these books, allegorical doubling and deferred discovery or revelation will continue to both trouble and fuel the narrative. Indeed, the Argument for Book II, canto I announces that it is here that “Guyon by Archimago abusd,” illustrating that ways in which this slippery image-maker is not so easily stopped. So, too, does Duessa, Archimago’s crowning achievement, continue to wreak havoc as she adopts various personas throughout the books. In fact, it is not until Book V, tellingly the Legend of Justice, that she is finally done away with after having assumed what, for much of Spenser’s audience, could safely be considered the most dangerous of her allegorical doubles, the figure of Mary Queen of Scots.

With Duessa gone, and with her the shadowy presence of Archimago, *The Faerie Queene* finds itself without a clear avatar for the dangerous potential that allegory and duplicitous doubling can pose to the narrative. The threat that emerges in the end of Book V and provides the impetus for the quest in Book VI is the slanderous Blatant Beast, a terrifying creature in whose wide and gaping mouth are “a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry kindes, and sundry quality / . . . / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor when” (VI.xii.27). Where Archimago worked to conceal and cover over the truth, the Blatant Beast uses a thousand tongues to work overtime, revealing and making known the private affairs of men and women. The substitution highlights the ways in which the operant threat is no longer about doubling, troubling coverings, and misreading, but rather one concerned with the ways in which discoveries are handled or managed.

This is not to say that the dark conceits of allegory disappear in the final book of *The Faerie Queene*. The shift in emphasis in Book VI towards an anatomy of discovery relies on a proliferation of secrets. For what would remain to be discovered if all was known and nothing remained hidden behind the veil of allegory? Richard Rambuss notes the important role that secrecy played in Spenser’s life, arguing that it was “among the chief points of contact between [his] two careers” as poet and secretary, concluding that the “*management* of secrets—protecting them, discovering them, even creating them” was a prime concern (2). Elsewhere Rambuss argues: “Spenser’s texts never keep the secret of knowing or of having secrets. This one secret is not secreted, is everywhere displayed, whether the ‘content’ of any particular secret is revealed or not” (114). Rambuss’s elaboration of the Spenserian open secret echoes Michael Murrin’s assertion

in *The Veil of Allegory* that the poet had “simultaneously to reveal and not to reveal his truth” (168).²² We are in a world, then, where allegorical veiling functions alongside more careful considerations of what to reveal and what to conceal. The bureaucratic secretary, the diplomatic courtier, and the allegorical poet each gain power from having access to knowledge fit only for an elite or initiated audience; discovery—however tightly managed—remains a crucial part of the puzzle.

This tension between secrecy, discovery, and revelation informs much of the Legend of Courtesy as it unfolds in Book VI, coming to a head of sorts with the scene on Mount Acidale in canto x. Widely considered to be the epic’s most metapoetic scene, it marks the only appearance of Spenser’s avatar Colin Clout in the entire work and dramatizes the poet’s act of creation or making as an elaborate and ecstatic dance. In it Colin pipes amidst a circle of singing and dancing Graces while the courteous knight Calidore, who has stumbled upon the scene accidentally, looks on in secrecy (VI.x.10-12). The opening stanzas set the scene: “It was an hill plaste in an open plaine, / That round about was bordered with a wood” (VI.x.6.1-2), “And at the foote thereof, a gentle flud / His silver waves did softly tumble downe, / Unmard with ragged mosse or filthy mud” (VI.x.7.1-3). The woods and water emerge again as handmaidens in the project of allegorizing allegory; here the two combine to form the protective boundary around that which should not be pierced. As with the doubled scenes of labyrinthine wandering discussed above, the water and woods present a let to any intrepid knight who might wish

²² While various critics working on early modern literature have theorized the function of the open secret during the period, Spenser’s deployment of it is given the fullest treatment in Rambuss’s *Spenser’s Secret Career*. For examples of critics discussing alternate applications of the “open secret” during the period, see also Patricia Parker, “Fancies of ‘Race’ and ‘Gender’”; Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries*, chapter 3.

to enter. For the moment, Calidore, too, recognizes this let and does not dare cross the threshold that the woods and water constitute.

The circular images of a hill, bordered “round” by “the woods shade, which did the waters *crowne*” emphasize this sense of a space encircled by a layering of enclosures (VI.x.7.7, emphasis added). These rings of enclosure reiterate the impenetrability of the secreted scene and appear throughout, though receiving their fullest treatment in the twelfth stanza:

All they without were raunged in a ring,
And daunced round; but in the midst of them
Three other Ladies did both daunce and sing,
The whilest the rest them round about did hemme,
And like a girlond did in compasse stemme:
And in the midst of those same three, was placed
Another Damzell, as a precious gemme,
Amidst a ring most richly well enchaced,
That with her goodly presence all the rest much graced. (VI.x.12)

This stanza repeats the circular imagery discussed above and extends it in meaningful ways. Like the first instance, which describes the geographical rings that surround the scene, these lines set up similarly concentric circles. The outermost “ring” has in its “midst” the classical Three Graces who, in their dancing, form yet another ring in the shape of a garland; “in the midst of those same three” is a damsel placed “[a]midst a ring most richly well enchaced.” Like the “hemme” of a garment, these rings serve both to protect and to display the precious gem in its midst, at the very center. The use of *enchased* which connotes both to “drive away” and “to ‘set’ as a jewel” lends further weight to the idea that the ring at once defends *and* calls attention to the gem inside its circle.²³ It is a version of the open secret that appears again and again in *The Faerie Queene*, demonstrating a kind of dilation—a term that seems very much at home in a

²³ See *OED*, *enchased*, v.1 and v.2.

discussion of encircled rings—that is as much about revealing as it is about a kind of secretive concealing.

What is specifically interesting about Raleigh's text and makes it relevant for my discussion here is its strategic engagement with these Spenserian open secrets. Indeed, this moment and its depiction of borders that are not only geographical but also anthropomorphic can be read analogously to Raleigh's depiction of the open secret of gold in Guiana. He "knows" the gold is there because the Spanish maintain that it is and because it is everywhere displayed: he has seen "plates of gold of *Guiana*" from the "Indians of *Trenedado*," to "those *Canibals of Dominica*," and "also the Indians of *Paria*, those Indians called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*"; the list goes on (61). Furthermore, for Raleigh, it is not only the impassable terrain but also the "borderers"—the term he uses to describe the various people who border Manoa—who constitute "the strong partes of *Guiana*" (167) and quite literally stand in his way, preventing his desired "passage into the golden partes of *Guiana*" (165). That these borderers have access to the above mentioned plates of gold and are in fact responsible for having "carried [the gold] to other nations farre and neare" (167), sets them up as the keepers of the secret of the as-yet "undiscovered" gold. These borderers, then, function in much the same way that the dancing ladies do. Like the ladies, whose dancing simultaneously protects and brings attention to the secreted treasure, the borderers' very existence "proves" that gold exists there while also making that gold unreachable.

The open secret functions by making clear that a secret exists only to foreclose the possibility of discovery and in so doing frames those on the outside as hopeful voyeurs. It is in this vein that Calidore—who the reader will recall was identified as Sir Walter in

an annotation next to this scene in the Raleigh family edition—intuitively recognizes the intensely private nature of what he has happened upon. Initially, he satisfies himself with looking:

He durst not enter into th'open greene,
For dread of them unwares to be descryde,
For breaking of their daunce, if he were seene;
But in the covert of the wood did byde,
Beholding all, yet of them unespyde.
There he did see, that pleased much his sight,
That even he him selfe his eyes envyde,
An hundred naked maidens lilly white,
All raunged in a ring, and dauncing in delight. (VI.x.11)

Calidore recognizes that this bordered green is one that he must not enter lest he be seen. It is informative that a stanza that is everywhere preoccupied with seeing—describing, spying, eyeing, beholding—is as concerned with what Calidore sees as it is with what the “hundred naked maidens” do not and must not see. The protective covering of allegory here protects not the poetic piping but Calidore, the spying knight; it is he who is covered by the “covert of the wood.” The stanza’s almost over-wrought focus on sight and its elaborations, highlighting the importance that the discoverer not be discovered himself, serves as a model for thinking about Raleigh in the *Discoverie* and the way in which his own courteous interdealing with Spaniards and natives alike reveals the strategic necessities of secreting his true motives.

Throughout the *Discoverie*, Raleigh sees and absorbs any and every detail—a fact that is demonstrated by the narrative’s often monotonous cataloguing of information he has gathered either from conversations or his own observations. He records relationships (between different native groups and between them and the Spanish as well as those between competing Spanish factions), place names, customs, flora, fauna, general

topography, weather patterns, and geography, to name a few, all the while the dissembling of the courtier leaves him and the “truth” that sets him on “unespyde.” A method of courteous interdealing in which he gives just enough to establish a relationship of civility and trust while not revealing his true motives repeats throughout the work and functions equally well with his interactions with the Spanish as with those with native cassiques. A scene early in the *Discoverie* elaborates the pattern:

While we remained at *puerto de los Hispanioles* some Spaniardes came aboard us to buy lynnen of the company, and such other thinges as they wanted, and also to view our shippes and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers having beene many yeares without wine, a few draughtes made them merry, in which mode they vaunted of *Guiana* and of the riches therof, and all what they know of the waies and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discoverie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those english, which I had planted in *Virginia*. (25-27)

This passage presents the archetypal framework of courteous interdealing. The Spaniards come to Raleigh with a stated desire and purpose and he graciously welcomes them and treats them to a kind of hospitality that they have “beene many yeares without”; they seemingly receive all that they came for and more. As a result, they are made so “merry” that they are happy to share what they know of Guiana, her riches, and tellingly, are able to illuminate what, to Raleigh, were the previously *unknown* “waies and passages” of this foreign land. All the while, he has ably “bred in them an opinion” that is clearly obfuscating his real goals of discovering gold for the English and disrupting Spain’s monopoly on the commodity. Here, as he states elsewhere, “I did not in any sort make my desire of golde known” (177). While Raleigh frames this encounter as rooted in customary civility, he uses the characteristic dissembling of the courtier to gain the

information he desires. What is more, by describing the Spaniards' own desires to both engage in the trade of merchandise and to see his ships and company, Raleigh makes clear that a civil or courteous exchange is exactly that, an *exchange*. Each side comes to the proverbial table armed with information, goods, and entertainments and nothing is given freely. The mantle of success is laid on he who is able to extract the most value from the exchange while allowing his interlocutor to feel as though the experience has been mutually beneficial.

To return to the Mount Acidale stanza excerpted above, the lines “[t]here he did see, that pleased much his sight, / That even he him selfe his eyes envyde” suggest that sight and eyes have their own agency. The view pleases his sight and makes Calidore envy his eyes in a way that illustrates a disjunction between his sense of self and his ability to perceive. The lines demonstrate the ways in which the overwhelming brilliance and allure of the thing seen is necessarily diminished through the simple act of comprehension. Their place within a larger scene that dramatizes the creation of poetry is fitting in that it reminds the reader of the insufficiencies of language and the inaccessible truths that poetry can at best only approximate, and can never truly reveal. While allegory might operate with the notion that the veil cannot be pierced, this does not mean that nothing is made visible, an idea that these lines reinforce.

Calidore's eyes act as the *techne* of the period's more conventional glass or mirror that enabled and sustained the *poietic* vision of poetry making. In her work on the importance of glass and similar metaphors or tropes in the period, particularly as it exemplifies a *poietic* (creative) rather than *mimetic* (imitative) orientation for poetry, Rayna Kalas maintains: “poesy was a visual instrument, an optic like the eye, rather than

a series of pictures conjured up by words. . . . glass demonstrated how poesy could be visual, without being pictorial” (2). This allows us to understand how Calidore could see the visual work of poetry before him, while his language and the pictorial apparatus enabled by that language could not effect an undiluted translation from his eyes to his mind’s eye. He could see but he could not know.

The disconnect between seeing and understanding and knowing that the above stanza illustrates is elaborated in further detail a few stanzas later:

Much wondred *Calidore* at this straunge sight,
Whose like before his eyes had never seene,
And standing long astonished in spright,
And rapt with pleasaunce, wist not what to weene;
Whether it were the traine of beauties Queene,
Or Nymphes, or Faeries, or enchaunted show,
With which his eyes mote have deluded beene.
Therefore resolving, what it was, to know,
Out of the wood he rose, and toward them did go.

But soone as he appeared to their vew,
They vanisht all away out of his sight,
And cleane were gone, which way he never knew;
All save the shepheard, who for fell despight
Of that displeasure, broke his bag-pipe quight, (VI.x.17.1-18.5)

Calidore has come face-to-face with the impassable border that stands between the pleasurable raptures and strange wonders of this astonishing sight and his ability to understand their import—he “wist not what to weene” of this fantastical vision. This state of confusion is so over-powering that it causes him to mistrust his sight and conclude that his eyes have been deluded. No longer satisfied with seeing, he throws off the protective covering of the wood “resolving, what it was, to know.” We can read these moments as clearly setting up limits to the discoverable. The intrusion shatters the third wall, breaking the allegorical spell, and making the sight, or the true poetry, disappear,

“which way *he never knew*.” Furthermore, it is not enough that the graces have vanished and with them the “enchanted show” has ended; the interruption causes Colin to break his pipe. As I argued in the previous chapter, the broken pipe and vanished graces are evidence of the degree to which thievery and robbery shade the pastoral exchange. Reading this scene with Raleigh hidden behind the veil of Calidore, it would seem the image in *Colin Clouts* of the merry poetic interlocution of Colin and the Shepherd of the Ocean’s shared piping and singing has disappeared too.

It is instructive at this point to return to a different instance of correspondence between the two men: the explanatory letter Spenser addressed to Raleigh. Just as Raleigh commands Spenser to discover the meaning of the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, so too does Calidore require Colin to reveal “the truth of all,” the meaning behind the veil of the vision on the mountain, in the 1596 edition (VI.x.18.9). In so doing it may be said to provide a textual echo of that correspondence in the first edition since the second did not include the “annexed” letter. In acceding to Calidore’s request, Colin begins “to dilate” (VI. x. 21. 1). Thanks to the work of Parker in *Inescapable Romance*, one cannot read *dilate* without thinking about its doubled connotation of spatial dilation, a kind of opening and discovery, and the temporal deferral inherent in the invocation of the *dilatory*.²⁴ The equivocal connotations of Colin’s dilation gain strength as it unfolds: “In such discourses they together spent / Long time” (VI.x.30.1-2), so that Calidore “with delight his greedy fancy fed, / Both of his words, which he with reason red; / And also of the place” (VI.x.30.4-6). Colin’s revelation eventually discovers the truth of what Calidore saw and heard; but, it also requires a long, dilatory “discourse” to unravel.

²⁴ See note 17 above.

We have come full circle. Just as the first book of *The Faerie Queene* itself and Spenser's letter to Raleigh provide an instructive model for learning to read through the allegory's veiling to discover truth, the final book of the epic includes another lesson in reading, particularly as it pertains to allegory and discovery. It is important to remember, though, that the task of reading *through* the allegory is for, what Milton would later term, that "fit audience. . . though few" (*Paradise Lost* Vii.31). For Spenser, only exemplary knights, both real (Sir Walter) and imagined (Redcrosse and Calidore), have the necessary virtues and perspicacity to read aright. As Naunton observed, Raleigh "was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers both of men and of the times" (109). As such, Raleigh emerges as the figure most capable of applying the lessons learned from reading both the written word and the signs "of men and of the times."

Hence, in the *Discoverie*, his exemplary reading works in two main ways. Firstly, he was an "indefatigable reader" of works on travel and exploration published on the continent in general, and those composed by Spanish sources in particular. Among those sources he specifically cites in the *Discoverie* are multiple works by André Thevet including *Cosmographie universelle*, Pliny's *Natural History*, and the "large discourses" written by "*Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others*" (37).²⁵ This intensive study allows him to more readily anticipate the dangers and obstacles that had bedeviled those largely Spanish explorers who had come before him. Secondly, his detailed observations enable Raleigh's figuration of himself as the knight most capable of reading the landscape, the native people, and the signs therein, therefore discovering the key to unlocking the heretofore impenetrable land—an idea that is made explicit in his now infamous

²⁵ On Pliny and Thevet, see 21 and 43.

description of the country as one "that hath yet her Maydenhead" (211). Like Calidore and *Mother Hubberds Tale*'s brave Courtier, Raleigh "heares" and "sees" and "gathers for himselfe the best."²⁶

* * *

IV. Things impenetrable,

"except he know one onely place, which is not learned in hast"

* * *

Raleigh continually demonstrates his position as one uniquely capable of reading Guiana-as-text. As with *The Faerie Queene*, in which the knights' extraordinary virtues are demonstrated through opposition to the characters who exhibit negative examples of the same virtue, Raleigh's special perspicacity and facility with penetrative reading through the allegory is illustrated by contrast to the men among his company who turn out to be poor readers of signs. One of the difficulties that prevents Raleigh from finding gold are the many false versions, "stones that appeared very faire . . . and were for the most part but cullored, and had not any gold fixed in them" (153). Raleigh claims to be readily able to distinguish between actual gold and what merely *appears* to contain gold; but, he is in rare company here: "such as had no judgement or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre" (153). For the meaner sort in his company who lack the crucial combination of judgment and experience, the lustrous show is evidence of rich substance. Signs are taken for true wonder, rather than as the multivalent signifiers that allegory trades in.²⁷

²⁶ See *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 725-6.

²⁷ Kathryn Schwarz also sees in this scene an example of how Guiana is presented as a text to be read or misread; her aim, however, is to show how within the larger text's tautological logic the existence of false

Throughout the *Discoverie*, Raleigh repeatedly emphasizes the ways in which Guiana presents interpretive challenges: endless branches and forks in the river, Spanish and native informants whose trustworthiness seems slippery, Mandevillian tales of Amazons and a “nation of people, whose heads appeare not above their shoulders” (155). To best discover the truth, to read through the signs, Raleigh adopts a strategy that involves thinking through the rich repository of information provided by centuries of travel literature, adapting that information to new information learned along the way, and always filtering these sources through his own observations, judgment, and experiences.²⁸ The emphasis is on an empirical knowledge that relies on a rhetoric of *seeing* and *seeing through*.

Still, in a place so inscrutable, this reading is no easy task. Towards the end of the *Discoverie*, Raleigh cautions that any future efforts to pierce Guiana will be nearly impossible to bring to fruition since “nearer then 300. miles to *Guiana*, no ma[n] can harbor a ship, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in hast, and which I will undertake there is not anyone of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it” (215). Characteristically, he stresses the difficulty of the task and the great time and effort it requires; but, in drawing attention to the existence of “one onely” way in, he also focuses on the singularity of the discovery he has made in a way that affirms his own similarly distinct status. He recognizes the importance of concealing this information from his entire company of men, which is consistent with his oft described

gold is a necessary part of confirming the existence of the real thing. See *Tough Love*, chapter 2, especially pages 69-71.

²⁸ For a thorough exploration of the ways in which Raleigh does not accept the existence of wonders based on hearsay alone, instead employing a proto-Baconian emphasis on experimental observation, see Line Cottegnies, “A ‘science of dreams’: ‘the fantastic ethnography’ of Sir Walter Raleigh and Baconian experimentalism.”

efforts to keep incalculably valuable information out of the hands of his untrustworthy crew, and further emphasizes the necessary role of secrecy in maintaining his singularity.

While Raleigh highlights the necessity of concealing his discoveries and motives from his crew—as he does at other points in the narrative with the Spanish and his native allies alike—he also indicates the importance of ensuring a select audience for the *Discoverie*. Since three editions were published in 1596 alone, signaling a potentially wide readership for the work, the project of addressing the *Discoverie* to a select coterie could only be realized through rhetorical strategies. At the close of the “Letter to the Reader,” Raleigh declares: “I will nowe referre the reader to the following discourse with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labors and indevours of such as thereby seeke the profit and honor of her Majesty, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receive such construction, and good acceptance, as them selves would looke to be rewarded withal in the like” (16). “[M]en of qualitie and vertue” are not only introduced as his ideal readers, but also as the only readers who “shall” receive the gift of knowledge, the reward, the work imparts. Though all may read it, many will by nature be unfit readers. Raleigh’s recognition and utilization of a naturally stratified readership is of a piece with the allegorical poet who, as Murrin asserts, had to “deal with two different audiences: the many who could never accept his revelation and the few who could” (168). Raleigh’s ideal readers are those select few who are able to heed his precepts and examples. Indeed, given the labyrinthine form that the narrative takes and the many hurdles that the journey promises, not just any virtuous man of quality would be able to follow his “construction.”

Like Raleigh, who has taken great care to learn to read the signs he encounters along his quest, the reader can be let in on the secret only if he or she is a particularly astute and conscientious reader. In his *Defence*, Sidney sounds a familiar refrain, writing: “it pleased the heavenly Deity, by Hesiod and Homer, under the veil of fables, to give us all knowledge, logic, rhetoric, philosophy natural and moral, and *quid non?*; to believe, with me, that there are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused” (249). That Manoa remained a fabled city did not mean it did not exist; rather, its fabled status served to confirm that its mysteries and treasures were not meant to be “abused” by “profane wits.” And just as the “meaner sort” among Raleigh’s men were impeded in their search for gold by their inability to distinguish the real thing from its false copies, so too do the repeated Spanish failures to discover Manoa or El Dorado, despite nearly a century of effort and expense, suggest that they too are bad readers.

Raleigh spills much ink—nearly a quarter of the entire narrative—relaying the various accounts of these failed Spanish expeditions that he has gleaned through his careful reading of Spanish *historias* and another source of valuable information: his conversations with Antonio de Berrío, governor of Trinidad and holder of the crown's license to explore the region surrounding the Orinoco River, which included Guiana, whom Raleigh had taken prisoner after his sack of the island.²⁹ Merely the latest in a long line of failed Spanish explorers, Berrío’s experience is a collective one, consisting of all those of the “forenamed” explorers, and distilled through *historias* into something he is able to *have*. Still, in his hands, this inheritance combined with his own efforts lead to

²⁹ See pages 39-59 for Raleigh’s recounting from Spanish *historias* the explorations of these early conquistadors; see 59-87 for his complete report of Berrío’s story.

"ought," airy nothings. Raleigh explains: "neither could any of the forepassed undertakers, nor *Berreio* himself discover the country, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called *Carapana* he got the true light thereof" (59). These are telling passages. Neither the collective experiences of his many forebears nor over 1,500 miles of travel have proved sufficient to pierce the veil of El Dorado; given a copia of lessons in reading the land, Berrío still requires a guide. Nonetheless, Spanish in-fighting, which at this point in the *Discoverie* appears as a defining characteristic rather than a series of unfortunate coincidences, continues to haunt his success. By emphasizing that the Spaniards remained in a figurative darkness until a "conference" with a native cassique provides "the true light thereof," Raleigh reiterates the necessity of courteous interdealing to supplement what can be gathered from other sources. Add the cruelties and lack of virtue displayed throughout Berrío's story to the already demonstrated inability of the Spanish to learn from the mistakes outlined in the *historias*, and a picture crystallizes in which the Spanish are cast as the "bad knights" against which the virtuous Raleigh shines all the more brightly.

Berrío's failures serve to illustrate the importance of a policy of encounter informed by courtesy that is not confined to Europeans. Though the land proves impenetrable, this has as much to do with its geographical features as with its native inhabitants—much like Mount Acidale. Throughout the *Discoverie*, Raleigh points to the various kinds of indigenous knowledge he has accumulated that will prove crucial to any future success. While a necessary part of this assurance is that this lack of information has proved deadly for his Spanish counterparts, the presence of indigenous knowledge functions multiply.

In some cases, the knowledge figures the native inhabitants as translators of the land's inscrutable language; other moments in the narrative illustrate ways in which the native inhabitants themselves present the danger. Partway through his own relation Raleigh introduces the subject of the Yaruro people who, having "the most strong poison on their arrowes," are the "most dangerous of all nations" (135). He immediately goes on to report: "There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to finde out the true remedies of these poisoned arrowes, for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shot indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most uglie and lamentable death." Adding to the allure of "the true remedies" is the difficulty of discovering them. Raleigh explains: "But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their southsaiers and priests, who do conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne" (135). This is indigenous knowledge of the most elite variety. To be sure, it is the careful concealing and the highly selective group of keepers of the secret that helps arouse Raleigh's intense curiosity. It would appear that utility is not the strongest motivator here; rather, it is of a piece with Raleigh's greater efforts throughout the work to continually figure himself as a uniquely skilled interpreter of Guiana's secrets.

To further highlight Raleigh's singularity through opposition, the Spanish make a convenient appearance in this scene. He writes: "And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them" (135). The repeated emphasis on the *truth* of the matter stresses the occlusion and mystery surrounding the matter. Neither a remedy nor

knowledge is sufficient; they must both be *true*. Additionally, though his invocation of "gift or torment" suggests equivalence, the gifts fall away while his elaboration of torments as invented tortures too numerous to count amplifies the picture of Spanish "cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters."³⁰ He continues: "But I was more beholding to the *Guianians* than any other, for *Anthonio de Berreo* told me that he could never attaine to the knowledge therof, & yet they taught me the best way of healing as wel therof, as of al other poisons" (135-137). As with the dangerous waters where a simple demand reveals information about surviving "divers other rivers," Raleigh learns how to remedy not only this "most strong poison" but also "al other poisons." Where neither Spanish gifts nor torment can reveal the knowledge that priests and soothsayers have been safeguarding for generations, Raleigh learns all this and more for merely being beholden to the Guianans (though the nature of this beholding is never explained or elaborated). This drastic contradistinction between Raleigh's general kindness and diplomatic success and Spanish cruelties is of a piece with the larger narrative; so too does it beggar belief.

The invocation of "gift or torment," invites a consideration of the ways in which Raleigh himself uses the two methods and how they are rhetorically framed or occluded in the text. Though he assures his readers that he has a policy wherein he "suffred not anie man to take from anie of the nations so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potato* roote, without giving

³⁰ This is part of a broader pattern in contemporaneous English works of embracing the Black Legend of the Spanish popularized earlier in the century by Bartolomé de las Casas and portraying themselves as the kinder, gentler explorers. It must be acknowledged that recent critics working on Anglo-Iberian relations during the period have begun to complicate the more traditional view that the English view of the Spanish was almost exclusively routed through the Black Legend. For examples of work that examines a much more complex and nuanced relationship between the two countries particularly as it relates to English emulation of Spain's literary and imperial production, see the special issue of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, "Intricate Alliances: Early Modern Spain and England" edited by Marina Brownlee; Fuchs, "Imperium Studies"; Anne Cruz, ed. *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604*. For a more general reconsideration, see *Rereading the Black Legend*, edited by Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan.

them contentment," it is not universally obeyed (121). Raleigh himself admits to the trouble of administering this policy when in the following sentence he must "confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoile and stealing, when we came to their houses." He continues: "bicause in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to know of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restore, and the party punished in their sight, or els it was paid for to their uttermost demand" (121). He does not allow *any* of his company to take *anything*, but he still must ask what might have been taken "at every place," giving the lie to the notion that the English are innately honorable or that he can truly control his men. While it is not clear what "uttermost demand" would give the native inhabitants "contentment," what does emerge from this scene is a recognition of the ways in which Raleigh's unruly men reveal cracks in the surface of the *Discoverie*'s carefully crafted picture of Raleigh's English honor and courtesy opposed to Spanish cruelty and avarice.

This scene offers yet another example of Spanish "torments" contrasted with English restraint; though, placed within the context of his men's own unruly behavior that he is unable to control, so, too, does it beggar belief. Invoking the trope of Spanish rapaciousness, Raleigh explains how his rivals "tooke from [the natives] both their wives, and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength." Spanish cruelties have returned with a vengeance in Raleigh's attempt to complete the slow and careful effacement of English piracy with which we began. Echoing the construction above, Raleigh assures his readers: "I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our companie one or other, by violence or

otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yoong, and excellently favored which came among us without deceit, starke naked" (119-21). Where the Spanish must take these women "by strength," the English have them in their power yet--so far as Raleigh claims to "know [or] beleeeve"--refrain from using it. Furthermore, the vision of naked and "excellently favored" women numbering in the hundreds suggests a kind of remarkable degree of forbearance in the face of a temptation most extreme. This has the added effect of recalling Calidore at Mount Acidale whose own exercise of restraint when faced with a "hundred naked maidens" goes unremarked, as though his virtuousness is so complete that he feels no temptation. Perhaps this is why he is described as envying his eyes in this scene, recognizing the degree to which they could greedily take in what his honor-bound body could not. In each case, to honor and courtesy we must add temperance and chastity, thus arriving at a fuller picture of English virtue as Spenser elaborates it throughout the books of *The Faerie Queene*.³¹ This renewed and reinvigorated constellation of virtues is meant to paper over the cracks that had begun to emerge in Raleigh's portrayal of English superiority and Spanish depravity.

The deeper Raleigh travels into the wilderness of Guiana, the more the Spanish fall away, making way for numerous elaborations of his fruitful courteous interdealings with noble native cassiques. His diplomatic and courteous treatment of one local cassique leads to an encounter with another who, Raleigh reports, "gave me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and travell, and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a Pilot, for it is fower, five, and six miles over in many places, and twentie

³¹ For an argument that identifies the New World, rather than Ireland, as the locus for the "colonial problem" in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, the book of temperance, particularly as it serves to distinguish English virtue from Spanish practice, see David Read, *Temperate Conquests*.

miles in other places, with woonderfull eddies, and strong currants, many great Ilands and divers sholds, and many dangerous rocks" (129). In this moment he articulates a reality that is everywhere apparent—a native pilot is a prerequisite for successfully entering Guiana's impenetrable interior. This is, however, repetition with a difference. While Raleigh has continually displayed his reliance on a "Pilot," any pilot—indeed, this is a role that is filled by an ever-revolving cast—this pilot stands out as exceptional. He is one of those select few whose uncommon skill of reading the land and its waterways may supplement Raleigh's own unparalleled judgment and experience. Moreover, Raleigh's earlier process of capturing guides is now substituted by one that relies on the fruits of his courteous behavior. Here his courtesy has replaced his more piratical impulses; he has no need to take what is freely given. His virtue has a kind of magnetic pull that draws people and their goods to him—at least as he portrays it—allowing us to see the multiple ways in which this courtier adds to the English storehouse.

Courtesy has its highest expression in the *Discoverie* in those moments where Raleigh interacts with cassiques deep in the riverine regions. Topiawari, the honored Cassique of Aromaia who had succeeded a cassique Berrío slaughtered, has an altogether different relationship with Raleigh than his predecessor had had with the Spaniard. His interactions with Raleigh span two visits as the explorer both passes and returns through the region in his search for Manoa. Following their first encounter, Raleigh reports that Topiawari "would againe come to us, and in the meane time provide for us the best he could, of all that his countrie yeilded" (145). The cassique's generosity is matched only by his quality, for he "is held for the proudest, and wisest of al the *Orenoqueponi*, and so he behaved himselfe towards me in all his answers at my returne, as I marvelled to finde

a man of that gravity and judgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning or breed" (145). The scene presents a vision of a universalized and civility and courtesy that is innate, "planted naturall" like Calidore. It as though they are speaking the tongue of an honor code that all courtiers share, regardless of their proximity to a European metropole. It is courtesy is its purest and most organic form.

To complete this true expression of courteous interdealing, Raleigh's final encounter with Topiawari ends with the exchanging of gifts: "I gave among them manye more peeces of Golde then I receaved of the new money of 20. shillings with her Majesties picture to weare, with promise that they would come her servaunts thenceforth" (179). That the exchange is not equal in value suggests that Raleigh views his own generous gift as an investment, a surety of future reward. Given the necessity of framing his deferred discovery as a strategic choice, the emphasis on an alliance that will withstand his absence is similarly important. He concludes his discussion of their encounter thusly:

Having learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and received a faithful promise of the principallest of those provinces to become servantes to her Majestie, and to resist the Spanyards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they woulde drawe in the nations about the lake of *Cassipa*, and those *Iwarawaqueri*, I then parted from olde *Topiawari*, and received his sonne for a pledge betweene us, and left with him two of ours as aforesaid. (179)

Raleigh is able to tie together a number of loose threads as their final exchange draws to a close. As is his wont, he has extracted what he can from this exchange—having learned all that he could there and received assurances of not only their lasting alliance in opposition to the Spanish but also the promise of loyalty to Queen Elizabeth. What is more, he has procured Topiawari's help in smoothing relations with the hostile borderers

who present the final let to his discovery. Courtesy, it seems, begets courtesy. This encounter is finalized by the ultimate sign of allegiance and trust: the exchange of Topiawari's son for two of Raleigh's men. As he describes it: "I left with him one *Frauncis Sparrow*, a servaunt of Captaine *Gifford*, (who was desirous to tarry, and coulde describe a cuntry with his pen) and a boy of mine called *Hugh Goodwin*, to learne the language" (177). Again, the exchange appears uneven at first blush. Just as he has given more pieces of gold, so too has he provided two men to Topiawari's one. These two men, however, make up a company of a skilled linguist and an adventuring and observant scribe—an indispensable twosome in the process of gathering information. Ever the opportunist, Raleigh gives something that he hopes will promise an even greater reward upon his return.

With patience and persistence, he has used the arts of the courtier and the endurance of a knightly explorer to gain the information that no one else has. Significantly, his extraordinary brand of courtesy and clear-sightedness combine to help him "succeed" where Spaniards before him have failed. The slow and careful process has been one that exemplifies dilatory dilation, even if this final dilation, or revelation, is only promised. It seems rather poignant, too, that navigation of Guiana's labyrinthine rivers has lead the unique and intrepid courtier to *its* centers of power, echoing the analogously labyrinthine court culture in England that Raleigh once proved himself so singularly capable of navigating and to which he is eager to find his way back.

* * *

V. *Translatio Imperii Studii*que

* * *

While the accumulated effect of Raleigh's characterizations of the Spanish throughout the *Discoverie* is to paint them as the foil to English virtue, he nevertheless relies on Spanish experience as it is relayed through *historias* and oral narratives to guide his own. And though he portrays these conquistadors as needlessly cruel and tyrannical, there is a latent sense of admiration that creeps in time and again. Despite occasional setbacks from the sea marauding of Drake and other English adventurers, the Spanish enjoyed a near total hegemony in the Atlantic world. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that the Spanish had failed to find El Dorado, they had already experienced great success in extracting gold from Peru and Mexico. As much as Raleigh and others supported efforts to intercept the treasure fleet closer to home, it continued to sail largely unmolested. All of the rhetorical posturing in the world could not completely overwrite the more accurate portrayal of Spanish successes and English failures on the New World stage. While Raleigh's narrative continually downplays these realities, emphasizing instead an image of Spanish failure and English success, they nonetheless emerge at crucial moments to reveal an intricate imbrication.

A material examination of a surviving copy of the *Discoverie* housed in the John Carter Brown Library helps to add detail to this more complex picture. The copy in the library's collection was an early acquisition, purchased in the 1850s. Sometime prior to its acquisition, the edition was bound along with Lawrence Keymis's *Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* (1596). It is not a surprising choice since Keymis had

captained a ship in various *Guiana* expeditions and was one of Raleigh's most trusted men; his *Relation* was a companion piece of sorts, written after a hastily completed second expedition to the area in 1596 and framed as corroboration of the often fabulous claims Raleigh makes in the *Discoverie*. Indeed, despite Raleigh's attempts throughout the work to reframe his failures to discover the fabled city of Manoa as the result of expedient and politic choices, this did not sit well with much of his reading public who found many of his claims too fabulous to be believed.

Particularly illuminating in Keymis's *Relation* was his inclusion, by way of an addendum, of a list of "the names, of those worthie Spaniardes that have fought to discover and conquere *Guiana*: Extracted out of the writings of *Juan de Castellanos clerigo*, who compiled the booke, intituled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias*." Keymis's redaction takes the form of a numbered list, providing in simple prose language a veritable *Who's Who* chronology of the major players and events in and around the Guiana stage. It is hardly surprising to find reference to Spanish source material here; not only is it replete throughout the *Discoverie*, many English explorers making their way in the New World also generally relied on Spanish navigational, geographical, and historiographical accounts of the area. What is surprising, however, was the source itself—we can see buried in the reference Keymis provides the word *elegias*, or elegies.

In a recent essay on Castellanos's *Elegias*, Thomas Hallock explains that upon completion, the poem "would swell to over 113,000 lines, that would come to include the conquests of Colombia, Venezuela, and the Caribbean—and that would have continued on to Panama and Mexico had its author not died, at eighty-five" (757). The combined

work provided an epic poetic vision that claimed territories through a recitation of heroic acts and battles.³² In addition to the poems' content, the poetic form is itself integral to constructing this imperial vision. Hallock notes further: "The *elegías* were written almost entirely in ottave rima (*octava real*) Adopted from the Italian by Garcilaso de la Vega, first set to American themes by Alonso de Ercilla in *La Araucana*, and turned to imperial ends" (757). Implicit in Hallock's formulation is an example of the process of *translatio imperii studii* whereby a verse form originating in Italy has travelled through Spanish hands to the Americas for "imperial ends." It demonstrates the westward movement of power as it is sustained by the twinned processes of culture and imperialism. What is more, Luis Fernando Restrepo has described Castellanos's work as "a highly heterogeneous text that draws from several literary genres (i.e., epic, elegy, romance, and pastoral)" in a way that invites a comparison to Raleigh's *Discoverie*, a similarly heterogeneous text in which these same literary forms and conventions add texture and depth to its available interpretations (85).

Keymis's extract from Castellanos's *Elegías* offers an example in miniature of how the appropriation of literary works could contribute to larger cultural or political projects. It focuses our attention on the ways in which English writers constructed a model for their own imagined colonial or imperial pursuits out of the clay of Spanish activity, in so doing recasting it, or as one from the period might say, "Englishing" it. We can see this at work through Keymis's reframing of the *Elegías*, in which the poem is stripped of its imperial overtones and reimagined more simply as a repository for historiographical information. This reframing exemplifies more general English efforts

³² See Restrepo, "Sacred and Imperial Topographies in Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*," especially page 85.

to take the ore of Spanish source material, refine it through translations, edits, and redactions, and produce something of value that enabled English efforts to disrupt Spain's burgeoning *imperium*.

In the case of Raleigh, to consider the ways in which he constructed his own "storehouse of his powerfull wit" is to explore the ways in which his many sources—ranging from literary to personal—could be used as plunder to enrich the larger English storehouse. This appropriation, akin to what Barbara Fuchs terms "forcible translation," is best understood within the context of the *translatio imperii studiique* tradition mentioned above.³³ As I began to outline in the Introduction, it referred to the idea, first taking shape in the works of the Roman imperial poet Virgil, that empire—as a combination of culture (*studium*) and power (*imperium*)—spread originally from Troy to Athens to Rome and had continued to move, particularly through its reinvigoration by Renaissance writers, in a westward direction across Europe and into the Atlantic world. Crucial for my purposes is the way in which the very process of *translatio imperii studiique* relies on the notion that the political and cultural principles that make up the ideal nation are external to the nation itself; by necessity they have been *translated* or carried over or across (as *translatio* implies) some linguistic or national border. As Elise Bartosik-Vélez argues: "The history of the transfer of power (and knowledge), which is always told in the *translatio imperii* legend from the point of view of the victor, is best understood as a history of appropriation. Part of what made Roman imperialism so effective, both in practice and later as a model, was its productive incorporation of other cultures (including that of Greece)" (563). Thus, we can see how the task of the courtier

³³ See in particular the first chapter of Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy*, for a broader discussion of this phenomenon.

and that of the privateer with their attendant emphases on appropriation, whether through subtle diplomacy or explicit piratical acts, were effective tools in the larger project of the translation of empire.

During this period of nation-building throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, various nations laid claim to the project of *translatio imperii*. It was a prevalent idea in Spain, especially during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel but continuing throughout the sixteenth century as Spain imagined itself as the most recent inheritors of the transfer of *imperium* from Rome.³⁴ While England's assertions were much less persuasive, particularly during this period of Spanish ascendancy, they had their own tradition of staking a similar claim for themselves. In *Historia Regum Britanniae* composed early in the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth emphasized the English inheritance of *translatio imperii* by expanding and elaborating the story of the founding of Albion by Brutus, great-grandson of Aeneas, which itself stemmed from Virgil.³⁵ This claim certainly waxed and waned in popularity over the centuries in England, but a revived interest in the sixteenth century in Virgil's works in general and in the *Aeneid* in particular gave these claims a renewed currency. Of course, any English claims to *imperium* belied a sense of belatedness, which both troubles and fuels the *translatio* project: troubles it in the sense that it reveals any image of English imperial power as at best an imagined one that relies in its imaginings on the Spanish model; and, fuels it by perceiving value in being last, the most recent holder of the imperial scepter.

The process of *translatio imperii studii*que as it is modeled in the *Aeneid* demonstrates that heroic figures are crucial to this project; thus, any English attempts to

³⁴ See Bartosik-Vélez, "Translatio Imperii: Virgil and Peter Martyr's Columbus."

³⁵ For a full treatment of *Historia Regum Britanniae* particularly as it is related to this Virgilian legacy, see Richard Waswo, "The History that Literature Makes," pages 543-6.

lay claim to *imperium* would require such a hero. The epistle dedicatory of Hakluyt's edition of Martyr's *Decades* (1587) has been excerpted in part earlier in this chapter, but it repays continued attention here. In it he includes the following entreaty to Raleigh:

Go on, I say, follow the path on which you have already set foot, seize Fortune's lucky jowl, spurn not the immortal which is here offered you, but let the doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortes, the Castilian, the stout conqueror of New Spain, here beautifully described, resound ever in your ears and let them make your nights not less sleepless than did those of Themistocles the glorious triumphs of Miltiades. Do this, and you will find at length, if not a Homer, yet some Martyr—by whom I mean some happy genius—to rescue your heroic enterprises from the vasty maw of oblivion. (368-9)

Of particular note here is the way in which Hakluyt both establishes Raleigh as just such a hero and names a Spanish model for that heroism. Moreover, Cortes's deeds are fleshed out by being routed through a reference to Miltiades and Themistocles, two truculent ancient Greeks; fittingly, the latter, like Raleigh, was a hawkish proponent of aggressive sea campaigns.³⁶ National, geographical, even epochal lines are crossed and blurred in the process of modeling the imperial hero. Its promise of an author who will create a written record of Raleigh's heroism in the epic mold, thereby solidifying his place as one of the great history-makers, seems too good for a man like Raleigh to pass up. As Greenblatt asserted, Raleigh was always already concerned with a "dramatic sense of life" in which every action was an act and every written word part of a "role" in his grand theatrical designs.³⁷ It is easy to see how Hakluyt's entreaty would indeed cause Raleigh to follow the path he had begun, embracing the mantle of conqueror of new worlds, and aiming to avoid the dreaded "vasty maw of oblivion."

³⁶ See William Rose Benét, *The Reader's Encyclopedia* 686 and 1017.

³⁷ See note 5 above.

Having presented his suit in this way, emphasizing the importance of written records, Hakluyt immediately continues:

We shall endeavor moreover, with heaven's help, to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now lying scattered and neglected, and brushing aside the dust bring them to the light of day in a worthy guise, to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked so long, may know that the benefits they enjoy they owe to their fathers, and may at last be inspired to seize the opportunity offered to them of playing a worthy part. (369)

Here, within the space of a few short lines, Hakluyt announces—for the first time—plans for his *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* and in so doing, describes a view of English heroism that is based on a robust and enduring patrilineage that has endowed the English with this heroic inheritance. This inheritance comes in the form of knowledge or “records.” We cannot overlook, however, the significance of framing these records as something *lacking* and this moment of incipient heroism as an opportunity that must be *seized*—language which itself echoes the previous call to “seize Fortune’s lucky jowl.” The language of appropriation is fitting when we note that he makes these claims after having just offered up Cortes as an ideal heroic figure. That the Spanish role in the construction of a corpus of knowledge about the new world is invoked only to be almost immediately effaced demonstrates the ways in which Hakluyt is already imagining the *translatio*, or transference, of Spanish knowledge to English control—where control is figured here through an act of editorial command or possession.

This sleight of hand obscures the reality that the pickings were slim for Hakluyt when it came to English materials detailing navigations and discoveries. Indeed, as Donald Beecher reminds us, Hakluyt “initially had only foreign models upon which he

might ground his knowledge of geography and foreign trade” (321). Despite the lack that the English records represent and the heavy presence of foreign *materia* in the *Principal Navigations*, Richard Helgerson still sees something unique to this specifically English project:

Insistence on the nation as ultimate actor is what distinguishes Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations of the English Nation* from its chief continental counterparts. Neither Fracanzano da Montalboddo’s *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati* (1507), the first important collection of voyages, nor Giovanni Battista Ramusio’s *Navigazioni e Viaggi* (1550-59), which gave Hakluyt his model, nor even Theodore de Bry’s two series of illustrated *Voyages* (1590-1634), which Hakluyt himself helped to get started, confine their attention to the exploits of any one particular kingdom or nation, certainly not that of the compiler. Though they regularly identify the nationality of the voyagers whose narrations they print, their interest is rather in the extra-European world and its description than in the political and cultural divisions of Europe itself. (152)

In the same way that he has encouraged Raleigh, Hakluyt himself sees potential in foreign models and even partnerships. What distinguishes his efforts from those of his predecessors and contemporaries was the way in which he used his role as editor to reframe his foreign sources and repurpose them in explicitly national terms. As with Martyr and Cortes who are variously named and erased in the letter, the origin of the model becomes less important than that into which it is transformed.

Nevertheless, the work Hakluyt’s letter presented, Martyr’s *Decades*, was a major literary accomplishment and the first of its kind to celebrate the deeds of the conquistadors in the New World. Martyr composed the volumes that would make up the *Decades* between 1493 and 1526 and they played an influential role in shaping Spain’s vision of their imperial project. To that end, Bartosik-Vélez has argued eloquently that the shape and thrust of the *Decades* worked to cast Columbus in the mold of a new

Aeneas, helping to forge an empire.³⁸ The value of the *Decades*, however, was not consigned to Spain. Various volumes of the *Decades* were translated into vernacular languages across Europe and it had a rich career in print that continued well into the seventeenth century. Michael Brennan, who has worked on the print history of Martyr's work, asserts that Hakluyt's Paris edition "might be regarded as the culmination, in terms of geographical worth and editorial care, of the publishing history of Martyr's works" (238).³⁹ Representative of that care is a *nota bene* Hakluyt includes in his epistle dedicatory:

I have inserted a geographical map, containing the chief places mentioned in the work. . . . I took this burden upon myself . . . that other maritime races, and in particular our own island race, perceiving how the Spaniards began and how they progressed, might be inspired to a like emulation of courage. For he who proclaims the praise of foreigners, rouses his own countrymen, if they be not dolts. (365)

The Spanish model emerges as one of courage and progress that any perceptive Englishman would be wise to emulate. What is more, Hakluyt has taken it upon himself to provide a map so that his intrepid readers and adventurers can literally plot a route to effect this emulation. Here Hakluyt demonstrates the ways in which an edition could be Englished, even when it was published in Latin and in another country. After all, in Hakluyt's view, to praise and emulate a successful foreign model is to awaken a hunger for the like actions and success in *his* own countrymen. This offers, as well, an illustration of how rooted cosmopolitanism functions: one's sense of patriotic duty is strengthened through pride in the inspiring example of fellow citizens of the world.

³⁸ See Bartosik-Vélez, pages 560-72.

³⁹ For a full and careful accounting of the publishing history of Martyr's *Decades*, see Michael Brennan, "The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades* (1504-1628)."

Throughout the letter it becomes clear that Hakluyt admires not only the inspirational Spanish model, but also Martyr's work itself. It is in this vein that he remarks that the author "examines the hidden causes of things, inquires into the hidden effects of nature, and from the innermost shrines of his erudite philosophy he draws comments which he frequently introduces like brilliant ornaments of his style and the fairest of gems" (363). Of note is his recourse to the language of things hidden from view and therefore unknowable, a refrain he picks up again and repeats when in just a few short pages he makes the entreaty to Raleigh discussed in an earlier section of the chapter: "[r]eveal to us . . . the unknown straits which still lie hid." What is more, equally important in these lines is the way in which he figures the fruits of knowledge as "brilliant ornaments" and "the fairest of gems." This is on one level working to compliment Martyr's prose style; so too does it invite our recollection of the "precious gemme" hidden in the center of Mount Acidale's figuration of *poiesis*. What is particularly useful here is the way the value of the work is expressed through the invocation of riches to be mined from "innermost shrines" and then stylistically wrought as brilliant gems. This helps flesh out Spenser's metaphor of a storehouse of powerful wit, showing how "erudite philosophy" can be polished into something even finer and how knowledge can become a most valuable commodity.

The economic value made implicit in Hakluyt's comparison of the work to brilliant ornaments and fair gems is made explicit by the time he introduces his map. This was consonant with the motives driving many other English translators and editors during the period, particularly those who largely confined their work to Englishing foreign geographical descriptions and exploration narratives. When John Frampton

translated Martin Fernandez de Enciso's *Suma de geographia* in 1578, the Epistle dedicatory was addressed to Sir Humphrey Gilbert—the man credited with lighting the fire of desire for overseas adventure in his younger half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh.⁴⁰ In the letter, Frampton writes:

There came to my hands of late (right woorshipfull) a notable peece of woorke, of the Portes, and of divers rare things bothe of the Easte and Weast *Indians*, written by *Martin Fernandes Denciso*, aboute *Anno*. 1518. then Dedicated to *Don Charles* King of *Castile*, and after called in aboute twentie yeares past, for that it revealed secretes that the Spanish nation was loth to have knowen to the worlde. And finding in the same worke the Longitudes and Altitudes of many Ilandes, and of the Portes of the tracte of the firme lande of *America*, I thought good to translate out of Spanish into English. (A2)

An unmistakable truculence is substituted for the delicate balance that Hakluyt has attempted to strike in his letter, wherein the explicit emphasis throughout is on the admirable Spanish models of both the nation's acts and records while the implicit effacing of these models requires careful reading. Frampton recognizes the value of the work in question specifically because it had been "called in" for revealing secrets Spain was "loth to have knowen to the worlde." However this work "came into [his] hands," Frampton is happy to wrest this gem from Spanish hands and make it known to the English speaking world, as his translation attests.

Meditating on this very translation in *The Poetics of Piracy*, Fuchs links the processes of translation "not just with a nascent imperial project but specifically with pirating both Spanish knowledge and Spanish ports in an effort to replicate Spain's successes" (*Poetics* 26). Fuchs is right to invoke piracy in this instance. The Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 divided the dominion of the seas between only two empires: that of

⁴⁰ For more on Frampton's career as a trader and translator whose work sought to enable English trade and exploration, see Donald Beecher, "The Legacy of John Frampton."

Spain, which was granted exclusive rights of trade and exploration in the Western hemisphere; and of Portugal, which was granted the same in the Eastern hemisphere. Only the North sea was claimed by Elizabeth and that ocean and its available lands were proving to be unkind.⁴¹ In 1580, just two years after the publication of Frampton's translation, King Phillip II of Spain assumed the Portuguese throne and empire, thereby claiming a near total dominion over the seas. If one ascribed to the legal theory of *mare clausum*, the English had no legal right to travel and trade in these waters. Queen Elizabeth did not hold this view, however, adhering instead to the *mare liberum* doctrine. Claire Jowitt contends that Elizabeth invoked the *mare liberum* argument "of common right of navigation. . . to dispute the Spanish claims to *imperium* and hence exclusive rights of commerce in the Indies and New World. . . . Viewed in this way, 'piracy' in the late sixteenth century can be seen as the English response to the exclusion from profitable trade in Iberian-owned regions 'beyond the line'" (4).⁴² Indeed, English acts of reprisal constituted the only legally sanctioned access to the riches of the New World; yet, even this narrowly defined legality was soft and open to vigorous debate.

The needs of sensitive international diplomacy contrasted with those of an economically strapped kingdom like England evince the fine line that had to be struck between giving official recognition to privateers and other sea marauders and maintaining overall profitability while simultaneously avoiding angering the Spanish king. Mark Hanna argues: "[b]efore the outbreak of the quasi-reprisal war with Spain in 1585, most of the prominent captains who would lead Elizabeth's private maritime naval force had

⁴¹ See Helen Wallis, "Raleigh's World"; Hanna, *Pirate Nests*, chapter 1, especially pages 36-8.

⁴² For a full discussion of these competing laws governing a nation's dominion over the sea, particularly as it relates to England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Jowitt's introduction to *The Culture of Piracy*, pages 3-6.

committed acts that were technically piracy” (47-8). As hostilities broke out into open war, privateering was part and parcel to the broader war efforts—as Hanna's characterization of it as a quasi-reprisal war suggests—both in the sense that many of Elizabeth's naval officers were also active privateers and because privateering itself was one of ways in which the war was fought and won.

Like their more infamous West Country kinsman, Sir Francis Drake, Gilbert and Raleigh were active privateers, heavily engaged in advocating for and then supporting Elizabeth's project of interrupting the Spanish stranglehold on the lucrative trade in the New World, both in and out of war.⁴³ Indeed, Gilbert had penned *A Discourse on how Her Majesty Might Annoy the King of Spain* (1577) outlining the contours of this advocacy and the Virginia colony, the colonial venture for which Raleigh is most well known, was originally intended as a winter port for the maintenance and protection of privateering expeditions in the Americas. For Raleigh, privateering was a family business of sorts; his father, a gentleman from the West Country, had been engaged in privateering expeditions throughout the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Since he was a younger son one could argue that engaging in privateering was the simplest way to capitalize on an inheritance that was denied him by the laws of primogeniture. As early as the 1580s, Raleigh was a major supporter of privateering ventures, owning a number of vessels of various sizes.⁴⁵

The profits of privateering could be reaped in multiple ways. Outlining Raleigh's familiarity with the storied riches of Guiana and El Dorado, Joyce Lorimer writes that in

⁴³ On Drake's familial ties to Raleigh, see Wallis, page 20.

⁴⁴ On Walter Raleigh the elder's privateering, see Nicholls and Williams, *SWR*, page 5; Hanna, page 49.

⁴⁵ On Raleigh's privateering career, see Nicholls and Williams, *SWR*, pages 5-13; May, chapter 1; and K. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*.

1586 Raleigh's interest in the area was likely renewed when his privateers captured a well-known Spanish navigator, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. Calling attention to Raleigh's claim in the *Discoverie* that, despite his facility with the many Spanish *historias*, he relied on "verbal 'relation'" as his primary source of information, she explains that Gamboa, "an expert on the Incas of Peru and on the constantly evolving myth of El Dorado" is considered to be this source: "Aware of the consequence of his prisoner, Raleigh showed himself an attentive and lavish host, gaining information in return for courtesy. Due largely to Raleigh's influence, Sarmiento de Gamboa was restored to liberty without a demand for ransom" ("Raleigh's First Reconnaissance," 15-16). We can read this early moment of extracting information in return for courtesy as establishing the pattern that unfolds throughout the *Discoverie*. Moreover, this episode reveals the ways in which Raleigh's two roles as courtier and privateer were mutually reinforcing. He gained his captive from the fruits of privateering and used his courtesy in turn to bring these fruits to bear. Further, Raleigh did not require a ransom in return for Gamboa's release, suggesting that the information he extracted from his captive was more valuable, reinforcing the notion that the accumulation of sources that could provide knowledge about Spanish activities, particularly in the New World, was as much a part of the efforts to increase the English storehouse as was the accumulation of actual riches. Whether we are discussing gold and silver, or a nation's proprietary information, accumulation through appropriation, then, is the formula that allows for the blurring distinctions between the activities of the courtier and that of the privateer. Though their means and methods may be entirely different, their aims were often essentially the same.

Perhaps no episode gets at the nexus of the courtier and the privateer better than Raleigh's dramatic fall from grace in 1592 after the queen discovered his marriage to Bess, one of her ladies in waiting. It is telling that the transgression that resulted in his disgrace was one of unauthorized plunder of something that belonged to the queen. It is a moment in which we can see a clear divide between the actions of a mere pirate and an officially sanctioned privateer, but it also shows how the lines that demarcated the privateer and courtier were soft and permeable. What is more, even as the queen took Raleigh's freedom through her own act of royal reprisal, she still recognized his worth to her, letting him out at one point to help manage the dispersal of booty after the arrival in Dartmouth of what one historian has described as "the greatest maritime prize ever taken by the Elizabethan seadogs, the *Madre de Dios* or 'Great Carrack,'" with an estimated value of £500,000 in cargo (May 13). To put this in perspective, in 1588, the year of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the total crown revenue was just under £400,000.⁴⁶ This occasion of Raleigh's momentary reprieve shows how crucial the fruits of privateering were to maintaining royal coffers but also illustrates the broader difficulties Elizabeth had in asserting her power in the far-flung West Country, a notorious hotbed for piracy and privateering. As Elizabeth's vice-admiral of Devon and Cornwall since 1585, Raleigh was in the habit of acting as her agent there and thus was uniquely poised to manage the return of his own privateering adventure and the distribution of its profits. Still, this did little to help restore Raleigh to the queen's good graces.

It is hardly surprising then that in the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the *Discoverie*, Raleigh acknowledges his transgressions and stresses the degree to which his loss of favor and efforts to regain it were motivating the expedition. Throughout he frames the

⁴⁶ See Hanna, chapter 1. See also Tennenhouse.

expedition through a disavowal of “picory,” or piracy, and a concomitant emphasis on honor (6). Still, within the space of just a few short pages, he goes on to lay out Spanish vulnerabilities in the area, declaring: “The port townes are few and poore in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are onely rich when the fleets are to receive the treasure for Spaine” (7-8). This might appear innocuous enough on its own since it appears within a larger general description of the area, but when considered in light of Raleigh’s numerous attempts throughout the late 80s and 90s to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet, the position he attempts to assume as innocent observer is harder to maintain. Likewise, assessing the strengths and weaknesses of ports was the purview of the privateer as well a vice-admiral. In fact, it was in the latter capacity that “he energetically assessed the defences of Devon and Cornwall, and pondered how best to pay for necessary precautions against the threat from Spain. . . . Raleigh did not confine his efforts to the south-west. He also surveyed the coastal defences of East Anglia, focusing everywhere on the need to protect deep-water harbours” (Nicholls and Williams, *ODNB*). The West Country’s proximity to Spain and deep-water ports made it both a haven for the sea marauders there and an appealing target for England’s enemies to the south. Raleigh’s preoccupation with defending these and other ports demonstrated the potential permeability of England’s borders while also offering a model for examining the like vulnerabilities of his enemy. So too does it demonstrate the continued entanglement of his sensibilities as an officer of the Queen and a privateer.

Throughout the *Discoverie*, Raleigh’s thin veneer of innocent reportage gives way time and again to descriptions of the area that read more like a corsair’s manual. Towards

the end of the narrative, Raleigh attempts to rouse his countrymen to the great cause of adventure, promising:

Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many armes & branches leading to severall countries, & provinces, above 2000. miles east and west, and 800. miles south and north: and of these, the most eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes. The common soldier shal here fight for gold, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote brode, wheras he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury. Those commanders and Chieftaines, that shoote at honour, and abundance, shal find there more rich and bewtifull cities, more temples adorned with golden Images, more sepulchers filled with treasure, then either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pazzaro* in *Peru*: and the shining glorie of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nations. (203-7)

The river's many arms and branches that have elsewhere bedeviled his expedition here stand in as a sign of plenty. As with Spenser's river marriage in *The Faerie Queene* in which water is figured as that which connects rather than separates, the Orinoco spans thousands of miles and brings the intrepid traveler to "many nations" and "severall countries." Those "that are desirous to discover and see" will find a vastly extensive network of rivers. Lest we think that the journey for these adventurers is the reward, Raleigh makes clear that most anywhere these rivers might lead ends in places "eyther rich in Gold, or in other marchandizes." There is something for everyone in this vision of the country; though, from the base to the honorable, the rewards are all cast as commodities. The "common soldier" will be happier to "here fight for gold" than in other cruel places where his only rewards are his meager rations and general penury. For the most honorable among them is a seemingly endless supply of beautifully wrought gold. The honorable man will find so much gold, in fact, that it will result in "the shining glorie of this conquest" which "will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the

Spanish nations.” The imagery is once again instructive. Reflective gold casts a shine that extends in beams across the Spanish nation, bathing it in a kind of permanent and glorious light, illuminating the crucial role gold plays in creating an empire and prefiguring by a few centuries the notion that it is possible to imagine an empire upon which the sun never sets.

Throughout, he connects the worlds of courtiers and pirates, showing that they are two arms of the same body politic, controlled by the same royal head. Just as Castellanos’s elegies can be seized and stripped of their colonial appurtenances, and Gamboa can be wooed through acts of courtesy into revealing what are tantamount to state secrets, courtesy and piracy are inextricably linked, blended to the point of indistinction, in the project of imagining the path to a successful *translatio imperii studiique* from Spain to England. As with Spenser’s ideal courtier in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, Raleigh has made it his work “To learne the enterdeale of Princes strange,” to “gathereth, what is fit, / T’enrich the storehouse of his powerfull wit.” And like the ideal courtier, he has undertaken these efforts at great personal risk, all in the service of his beloved queen and country. For Raleigh, the work of “reading” the land, its people, and its signs is necessary, and those who have travelled and been trained through experience in this type of discovery are best situated to guide the nation through the winding, unknown ways of burgeoning imperialism. Yet as the *Discoverie* continually shows, only those select few, those men of quality and virtue like Raleigh, can offer this invaluable service.

Like Spenser, who is aware of and cautioning against the limits posed by a too-provincial England, Raleigh uses the *Discoverie* to warn of dire consequences that should

follow if England fails to engage with Spanish efforts to control trade in the New World. England must attempt the dangerous but necessary work of interrupting the Spanish stranglehold on trade because, should "al trades, & entercourse, be taken away," it will lead "to the general losse & impoverishment of the kingdom, and common weale so reduced." The way of the future is through trade and interdealing. Any country that has its trade routes choked, will suffer disaster. It is in this vein that Raleigh argues that the reduced commonwealth "may be compared to a body dangerouslie diseased" and it is only the supplementation of "these provinces, and that Empyre now by me discovered" that shall provide the disruption to Spanish power and the riches to make England a "whole kingdome" (15). Paradoxically, Raleigh maintains that the health of the nation and the ability to keep it "whole," requires expansion and open borders; and, like Spenser, these open borders are not advanced without reservation. For Raleigh, they are open to allow the fruits of exploration and acquisition to accumulate in the English storehouse. He is not promoting an open border that allows an unrestricted and free movement of people and goods; both must be tightly controlled. Certainly Raleigh himself knew the value of tightly controlled trade, having at one time or another maintained the patent of sole management of the trade in wine and cloth in England. Rather, for Raleigh, the vision is one in which the openness exists for two specific purposes, as a way to funnel the foreign commodities of goods, information and wealth and the inevitable power that comes with them into England; and, only permit the exit of those things that either enable this wholesome accumulation—English merchant ships and adventurers—or endanger its success.

* * *

VI. “thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart”

* * *

Raleigh would officially return to court resuming his duties as Captain of the Queen's Guard in 1597, following his instrumental role in a successful attack on Spain at Cadiz the preceding year. However he might have been able to act as a “lett and impeachment to the quiet course” of Spain closer to home, his hopes for the like in the New World would ultimately prove a disappointment. Raleigh was never able to locate the fabled city of gold. Despite having sent Keymis back on a fruitless errand in the following year, 1596, and setting out himself on yet another disastrous voyage in June of 1617, nearing the end of his long imprisonment for treason, the ever-elusive city continued to elude him. In his “*Apologie* for his voyage to *Guiana*” written some time after this final voyage in 1617 but before his execution in October of 1618, Raleigh writes rather incredulously: “[n]ow, where it was bruted, both before my departure out of *England* and by the most men beleived [sic], that I meant nothing lesse then to go to *Guiana*: but that being once at liberty and in mine owne power, having made my way with some Forraigne Prince I would turne Pyratt and utterly forsake my Countrey” (4). That “most men” in England are bruited such accusations speaks to the degree to which his star had fallen under King James. Though Raleigh had once denounced his own “former fortune” spent in “journeys of picorie,” there was never a question then of his patriotism. Nowhere in this description was the courtier or the patriotic privateer; everywhere was the disloyal pirate who would sell his sword to the highest bidder.

By debasing the role of the pirate even further here, perhaps Raleigh was displaying an awareness of the changed times. Indeed, when the king succeeded Elizabeth to the English throne, "James's Scottish diplomats had furiously complained about English attacks on Scottish shipping. An ambassador told the king in 1603 that not only England but his own lord admiral supported pirates" prompting James to exclaim: "By God I'll hang the pirates with my own hands, and my Lord Admiral as well" (Hanna, 54). It was an accusation that could resonate for Raleigh since his own father had been accused of pirating Scottish ships when Raleigh was a young boy. More to the point, it demonstrated an awareness of the degree to which piracy or privateering had been entangled with state affairs under Elizabeth while also signaling a distinct shift in James's philosophy of statecraft.

The charge that Raleigh would forsake his country for a foreign prince, much like the one that resulted in his treason conviction, betrayed a surprisingly simple understanding of the man and his motives. Never mind that for some in England a Scottish king *was* a foreign prince; Raleigh had always been acutely aware of the side upon which his bread was buttered. To be sure, for a man who was well-schooled in the arts of courteous dissembling and had demonstrated time and again an ability to rhetorically play the chameleon in his written works, one could argue that his real motives were as well hidden as Guiana's gold or allegory's true meaning. Still, if there was one thing about which he never wavered, it was his antipathy for the Spanish empire. For Raleigh, Spain was the main obstacle that stood in the way of England's imperial ascent. To be accused as a traitor to his new king was one thing. It was altogether

another for a man who spent his life fighting the Spanish to be accused of conspiring with them against his English sovereign.

Nevertheless, in 1604 Raleigh was charged with conspiring to thwart the ascension of King James I in favor of a Spanish sovereign.⁴⁷ Since Raleigh's earlier role as vice-admiral in Cornwall and Devon meant that he knew how to control one of the country's most accessible borders in a way that those in power hundreds of miles away in Whitehall could not, his role as a former keeper of the western ports meant that he could quite literally allow the Spanish to invade England's sovereign space. He was seen as posing a threat not only to the idea of England's national sovereignty, but also to its geographical integrity. As such, he came to signify the very threat that his careful calculations and strategic encounters had sought to keep out. Presenting the crown's case against Raleigh at his trial, James's attorney-general Sir Edward Coke declared: "thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart" (qtd. in Cobbett, 7). The accusation cut deep. At its core was the idea that cosmopolitanism and repeated engagement with the world outside England's borders had created the worst kind of monster in Raleigh: he whose virtuous English face hid a secret Spanish monster within.

With the ascension of King James came a new era. Writing towards the end of the eighteenth century, Sir William Blackstone would report that Coke "observes, how marvellous a conformity there was, not only in the religion and language of the two nations, but also in their ancient laws, the descent of the crown, their parliaments, their titles of nobility, their officers of state and of justice, their writs, their customs, and even the language of their laws" (Stewart, 87-8). Coke was optimistic in his observations.

⁴⁷ For a thorough account of Raleigh's treason trial, see William Cobbett's court transcription in "The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh" and Nicholls and Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life & Legend*, chapters 8 and 9. For a brief account that argues for Raleigh's innocence, see May, pages 18-20.

Despite his insistence on conformity, the three kingdoms of Great Britain would not be formally united until 1707—a full century after James attempted to affect the union through royal proclamation. Still, with the island under the control of one sovereign, the shape and thrust of England's territorial concerns transformed.

Raleigh recognized this change in a late essay, *Discourse of the Invention of Ships*, writing: "For this Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, it hath had by his Majesty a strong Addition, the Postern by which we were so often heretofore entered and surprised is now made up, and we shall not hereafter need the double Face of *Janus* to look North and South at once" (82). Raleigh's rather characteristic display of concern with the sovereignty and violability of the island nation—"often heretofore entered and surprised"—has been translated to that of the Isle of Britain itself. His majesty's "strong Addition" of Scotland has made Britain whole, allowing its protectors to focus their gaze solely to the South. Yet, this too was a view not wholly consonant with the political reality under the Stuart monarch. Styled as *Rex Pacificus*, James sought to oversee a period of peace with the continent; no longer was Spain an avowed enemy of England. Anna Beer, assessing Carew Raleigh's writing from the 1650s, sees him arguing for "a direct causal link between one of his father's more obscure texts, the 1603 *Discourse touching a war with Spain*, and his political downfall" (*SWR*, 1). Whether or not this pugnacious tract, arguing for further military intervention against Spain in aid of the Low Countries, set the wheels of his treason trial in motion, it nevertheless demonstrated the speed with which old policies and ideas were becoming outmoded. It is easy to imagine, as some have argued, that Raleigh—a long-hated enemy of Spain—was sacrificed on the altar of peace at the dawning of this new era.

Raleigh's treason conviction, in which one of the period's staunchest royalist supporters and unwavering critics of Spain would be found guilty of conspiring with his enemy to bring England under Spain's power, produced a significant paradox. Raleigh himself sought to highlight the injustice through a propaganda campaign that spanned his long imprisonment, framing himself as a hapless victim of duplicitous statesmen.⁴⁸ As the century wore on and the Stuarts' star waned in popularity, Raleigh came to achieve in death what he had long sought in life—recognition as a mythically heroic figure of English virtue and values. One of his biographers has mused: "A legendary Raleigh arose from the block as from a martyrdom. His political writings, including the *History*, and those that circulated only in manuscript, enjoyed enormous popularity, above all with Puritan and antiroyalist factions" (May, 24). Similarly, Beer, writing about the seventeenth-century reception of Raleigh's works, declared him a "martyr to Stuart injustice as a rallying cry to a failing republic" (*SWR*, 159). This notion is given voice in a later seventeenth-century poem written during the reign of King Charles II, "Britannia and Rawleigh." Originally published in 1689, significantly after the Stuart monarchy had come to its final end with the Glorious Revolution, the poem was attributed posthumously to Andrew Marvell.⁴⁹ In it, Britannia, now besieged by the "slimy Monsters" of "A Colony of French [who] Possess the Court" and have "defild a Crown,"

⁴⁸ Stephen Greenblatt observes in this campaign of self-promotion an extreme artificiality that is purely performative. See *SWR*, especially chapter 1, "Raleigh's Final Performance." For a contrasting view, Anna Beer identifies his writings as explicitly political acts and thus attempts to reverse the effect of Greenblatt (and critics who follow him) denying Raleigh's political relevance by reducing everything he did and wrote to role-playing. See Beer, *SWR*, pages 16-8.

⁴⁹ Though Marvell was considered the poem's author throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, this is now under debate. Edward Thompson's three volume edition, *The Works of Andrew Marvell* (1776), did not include the poem since a reader of the Popple manuscript upon which it was based attributed the poem to John Ayloffe. For a view that follows the Ayloffe attribution, see Elizabeth Story Donno's preface to her edition of Marvell's *Complete English Poems* (where this poem is not included), pages 9-12. For an account of the debate generally, see the textual notes for the poem in the Margoliouth edition, pages 400-1.

calls to Raleigh's ghost for succor (25-8). Virulently anti-royalist, the poem is shot through with images of contagion and infestation. This pernicious infiltration reveals the dangers of a permeable border when it is not tightly controlled; Raleigh's campaign of accumulation meets here its most potent challenger.

Still, Britannia makes clear that she did not readily give way to the French. She narrates her repeated efforts to tutor Charles, "a Lewis Changling," and "him to himself restor[]" (34-5). In response to the oppressive weight of King Louis XIV's figurative infiltration she counters with an English heavyweight of her own: "The other day fam'd Spencer I did bring / In Lofty Notes Tudors blest reign to sing, / How Spaines prow'd power her Virgin Armes controul'd" (42-4). In a stark contrast to the Stuarts who have allowed the nation to be besieged, Elizabeth emerges as a stalwart defender of England's sovereignty. In recalling Spenser, she speaks to the power of the poet to put the nation into words and the crucial role that this plays in preserving that vision. Though she paints a powerful picture of "Golden dayes" not long past, Charles proves unable to remain steadfast in his love of country (45). Britannia describes how "Whilst in truthes Mirror this Glad scene he spy'd / Entred a Dame bedeckt with spotted pride; / Faire flower-deluces in an Azure field" (59-61). Like Calidore on Mount Acidale, Charles is at the edge of comprehending the "Glad scene" in "truthes Mirror," when the French Dame, bedecked in her heraldic coat, pours the serpent's poison "I'th sacred ear" (29). Not only are the nation's borders not inviolable, so too is the king's body dangerously penetrable.

In 1694, the poem was published a second time under the title "*Rawleigh's Ghost in Darkness: Or Truth cover'd with a Veil.*" Given the context, the alternate title considered alongside the lines cited above invoking truth's mirror—that medium that can

best approximate the inaccessible—focuses attention on the fragility and elusiveness of the ideal nation. Adding to this focus is the way in which Britannia too is figured as "cover'd." When Raleigh asks "[w]hat mighty power has forc'd me from my rest?" Britannia replies: "Favour'd by night, conceal'd by this disguise, / Whilest the Lew'd Court in drunken slumbers lyes, / I stole away. . ." (9-13). Recalling the moment in which Spenser's Redcrosse knight, "[c]overed with darkenes and misdeeming night," is parted from Truth, Britannia narrates the point of separation between England's Truth and its wayward knight, Charles (I.ii.3.8).⁵⁰ She continues: "I stole away; and never to return / / Till Charles loves Parliaments, till James hates Rome" (13-22). Part of the force of the condition lies in its unattainability. Equally suggestive is the free interpretive play allowed the reader since the conditions could describe both Kings Charles and either King James. So long as a Stuart should remain in power, it would appear that the crown and its Truth were irreconcilable.

Having spent nearly a decade in exile in France, Charles II, "his fair soul, transform'd by that French Dame, / Had lost all sense of Honour, Justice, fame" (117-8). His dalliance across the channel had let the temptress into the sacred ear. The poet does not temper his alarming conclusion:

If this Imperiall oyl once taint the Blood,
It's by noe Potent Antidote withstood.
Tyrants like Leprous Kings for publick weal
Must be immur'd, lest their contagion steal
Over the whole. . . (147-51)

The body politic figures forth, though, in this case the monarch must be separated from that body. This vision of the English monarch who must be immured, walled in, serves as a counter to "How Spaines prow'd power [Elizabeth's] Virgin Armes controul'd." There,

⁵⁰ See the Argument to book I, canto ii of *The Faerie Queene*.

Britannia painted a picture of Spain immanacled, or entrapped, within the impenetrable circle of Elizabeth's arms. Her body *was* the nation's body; her arms were its might; and her virginity marked its inviolability. That a foreign "taint" and "contagion" have created a monarch dangerously diseased conveys a sense of England's body politic badly degenerated and wholly vulnerable to outside attack. Where Raleigh argued in the *Discoverie* that an impeached trade would *reduce* the "common weale," likening it to a "body dangerouslie diseased," Britannia tempers that sentiment. Besieged and defiled by a French contagion, the only hope for the English "publick weal" is to wall in the tainted blood. Where Raleigh sees the necessity of the external supplement, Britannia is preoccupied with the threat.

Interestingly, both Charles and Raleigh had journeyed out and returned with the fruits of their acquisitive labors. Raleigh, a product of Elizabeth's England, emerges from this parallel as the model of a purer form of Englishness—less susceptible to taint. For the Raleigh that haunts this verse, Coke's accusation rings false; nowhere is the Raleigh who could be accused of having a patriotic face but a treasonous heart. This version of Raleigh shows how his legacy could concretize instead around an image of him as the protector of England keeping harmful outside influences at bay.

Nearing the close of the poem, Britannia gestures towards the tradition of *translatio imperii studii*que I have been highlighting, declaring: "Greek arts and Roman armes in her conjoynd / Shall England raise" (183-4). This Rome is ancient Rome, crucially distinct from that which James loves. Greek *studium* and Roman *imperium* here combine into one scepter that England shall raise. Despite many lines spent bemoaning the crown's infection and the dangers of contagion, Britannia too is able to present the

ideal model of external influence: it is a model that requires strong and virtuous Englishmen who will not be susceptible to taint or contagion because they recognize the necessity of drawing from without to strengthen what lies within.

CHAPTER THREE

“Translated to the skies”:

Milton, Chastity, and the Cosmopolitan Vision

For some, the shift of focus to Milton suggests that romance should naturally fall from the weave. Certainly, the general critical consensus holds that Milton’s attraction to the romance form—where it is recognized at all—was either a product confined to his youth or, if and when it is identified in his later works, was instrumentalized as negative commentary. Some variation of a reading of Satan in *Paradise Lost* as a perverted version of the romance “hero” makes up the bulk of this latter line of criticism.¹ For many of these critics, Milton’s later treatises and poetic works demonstrated a sophisticated and exalted project of political theology that was incommensurate with the frivolous and amorous concerns of romance.² Relatedly, for those who do note elements

¹ See, for example, Barbara K. Lewalski, “Quest Epic and Romance.” In his touchstone essay “Milton the Anti-Romantic,” George Williamson allows as how romance recurs in *Paradise Lost*, though he argues that its use there is satirical. While not a critical commonplace, some older scholarship does note romance in his later poems, even if the operative definition of romance is expanded or reworked. For a representative sample see Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance*, chapter 3; and Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton*. For more recent work on Milton and romance, see Benedict Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern Literature*, chapter 5; Luke Taylor, “Milton and the Romance of History”; and Colin Lahive, “Reading and Writing Romance in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.” Notably, each of these critics treats Milton’s late poems. Robinson, representing the more general view, sees in *Samson Agonistes*, in particular, evidence that Milton finally came to reject romance. For an example of the more general opinion that Milton’s posture towards romance was antipathetic from as early as the writing of *Eikonoklastes* (1649), see Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation* 176-80. For a counter view, demonstrative of a more nuanced and positive posture towards romance as it is on display in that work, see Lewalski, “Milton: Revaluations of Romance” 57-8.

² On the critical history of political theology and its applicability to premodern discourse and literature, see Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Citizen-Saints* 4-5.

of romance in Milton's early work, these elements are often held up as evidence that his interest in radical politics was not yet fully developed, the assumption being that romance could give no quarter to serious political or theological ideas.³ This squares neatly with a view of the *rota virgili*, outlined in the Introduction, in which romance is the stuff of pastoral works, the first stage in the trajectory of an aspiring writer of epic's career. Yet Spenser, whom Milton declared "our sage and serious Poet, . . . a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*," had already demonstrated with *The Faerie Queene* the degree to which romance could be central to a national epic.⁴ In a sense, through the process of translating the *rota virgili* into the English sphere, Spenser had already altered the laureate roadmap, elevating the romance genre—and, as I argue in the first chapter, pastoral—along the way. In broad strokes, this chapter examines how Milton continues and builds on Spenser's virtue-ethics, honing in on the virtue of chastity as the ultimate good. I will argue that for Milton, chastity is not about walling oneself off from the world; rather, it marks a way of being in the world, much like courtesy does for Spenser. When carefully tended, chastity offers a model for thinking about boundary-work and the interrelation of open and closed systems, interpersonal, intercommunal, and international.

³ For a counter view, see Kat Lecky, "Naturalization in the *Mirror* and *A Mask*," in which she argues that in this early work Milton was in favor of naturalized citizenship and that it demonstrates an early political engagement. For a gloss on the critical debate over how radical the early Milton was, see also Maggie Kilgour, *Milton and the Metamorphosis of Ovid* 110-1. She notes that many critics in the 1980s and 90s read *A Maske* as reforming the courtly tradition, thus suggesting an early antipathy; she also cites Campbell and Corns's biography, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought*, as illustrating the current view that he was *not* yet radical at this stage.

⁴ See *Areopagitica*, in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, general editor Don M. Wolfe (8 volumes) (2:856). With one exception explained below, all citations of Milton's prose works refer to this collection, cited hereafter as *CPW*. Throughout the chapter, all citations from *Paradise Lost* refer to Merrit Y. Hughes's edition of the *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, cited hereafter as *PL*. Unless indicated otherwise, all other poetry citations refer to *Poems of Mr. John Milton* (1645) collected in the Oxford edition of *The Shorter Poems*, edited and translated by Barbara K. Lewalski and Estelle Haan (Volume 3). Owing to its more faithful translation and the face à face inclusion of the Latin original, citations of *De Doctrina Christiana* also refer to the Oxford edition, edited and translated by John K. Hale and J. Donald Cullington (Volume 8, parts 1 and 2). Unless indicated otherwise, all italics are in the original source.

In so doing, I suggest not only that Milton's valuation of romance has been vastly underestimated, but also that it offers a particularly cosmopolitan template for imagining the way back across the ultimate threshold, that between the individual and God.

Just as Christian virtues—rightly formed—were foundational to Spenser's image of an ideal English nation in his epic romance, so, too, were they an integral part of Milton's theopolitical and theosophical project as it can be traced across his oeuvre. In a Christian worldview, the desire to know God and be deserving of his grace can be framed as a problem central to romance. Error and wandering are indispensable for Milton because they are a necessary part of understanding the arc of human history, both figuratively and literally, after the fall. Describing the fate of Adam and Eve, the final lines of *Paradise Lost* suggest as much: "The World was all before them, . . . / . . . / They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow, / Through *Eden* took thir solitary way" (XII.646-9). In *Areopagitica* (1644), a work commonly described as his defense of free speech, Milton would write: "God, who though he command us temperance, justice, continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety" (*CPW* 2:527-8). In this view, each and every man, woman, and child is sent on an individual quest to wander—whether physically or spiritually—the world as part of the process of learning to live the virtuous and Godly life. The commands—"temperance, justice, continence"—operating in a knightly register, constitute the aims of the quest; the "profusenes" of "all desirable things" presents the endless challenges; and, the ability to "wander beyond all limit and satiety" set the wide-ranging coordinates both in mental and geographical space. Romance, complex and universal, offers an ideological framework through which Milton

could route his understanding of the human condition, including the duty of man towards himself and his fellow citizens, his fallibility and the concomitant search for divine truth, and an adumbration of the virtues that would enable man's return to God. In a following section of this chapter, I return to the subject of Milton's valuation of romance in greater detail.

As Milton avers at various moments throughout his early prose tracts, an ideal English commonwealth is made up of virtuous Christian subjects, each living a life of moral rectitude and seeking this divine reunion. At the start of the second book of *Of Reformation* (1641), the first of five anti-prelatical tracts Milton penned in the early part of the decade, he writes of Christian Commonwealths: "They teach not that to govern well is to train up a Nation in true wisdom and vertue, and that which springs from thence magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, liknes to *God*, which in one word we call *godlines*, & that this is the true flourishing of a Land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance" (*CPW* 1:571). Here likeness to God, an intensely individual relationship, becomes a model for an entire "Nation." The "true flourishing of a Land" exists in its ability to support and sustain a commonwealth of virtuous citizens. In this schema, the end of good government is solely to enable the spread of "true wisdom and vertue" throughout this citizenry. Milton continues, elaborating this vision thusly: "A Commonwelth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth, and stature of an honest man, as big, and compact in vertue as in body; for looke what the grounds, and causes are of single happines to one man, the same yee shall find them to a whole state" (*CPW* 1:572). In the first instance there is a "godlines" trickle-down effect between sovereign and citizens;

one who governs *well* is one who is able to “train up a Nation” implicitly in his or her image. The key, of course, is the magnanimity of the sovereign—we are reminded after all to “take heed of that.” We can infer that should the “Nation” be led by a person less worthy, it would have a deteriorating effect on its citizens—since all “things follow as the shadow does the substance.” This interconnectedness of the nation’s constitutive parts is made explicit in the second quotation; here it is one body. Consider, too, Milton’s lauding in *Areopagitica* of those “unconstraining laws of vertuous education, religious and civill nurture, . . . as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth” (*CPW* 2:526). The ties that bind the communal body of that “huge Christian personage,” its very ligaments, are the tenets of civic duty. Taken together, a picture emerges in which the commonwealth flourishes when each of its citizens takes on the personal responsibility of a life virtuously lived. Whether top-down or bottom-up, as goes the part, so goes the whole.

This expression of the commonwealth as “one mighty growth” seeking its “happiest end, liknes to *God*” recalls Saint Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians: “Now therefore yee are no more strangers and forreiners; but fellow citizens with the Saints, and of the houshold of God, And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himselfe being the chiefe corner stone, In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord” (2:19-21).⁵ It is an image that simultaneously recalls and rejects social hierarchies. Jesus is the keystone,

⁵ As with Corinthians, Paul’s authorship of the Epistles to the Ephesians is currently under debate. The scholarly consensus is that if they were not written by Paul, then clearly one (or more) of his disciples is responsible for them since they are firmly in the Pauline tradition. See Wayne Meeks, *The Writingd of St. Paul*, 121-3. Regardless, Paul’s authorship was not in question during Milton’s lifetime. All biblical quotations refer to William Aldis Wright’s Cambridge edition of *The Authorized Version of the English Bible, 1611*.

without whom the building would not hold; but, there is a space within this “houshold of God” for anyone who would open him or herself up to be counted among the “citizens with the Saints.” So, too, does this image—in which each part must be well-ordered so as to be “fitly framed together”—enfold an Augustinian reliance on self-governance, an idea that was itself gaining renewed currency during the Reformation. As Charles Taylor explains: “[o]ne no longer belonged to the saved, to the people of God, by one's connection to a wider order sustaining a sacramental life, but by one's wholehearted personal adhesion” (217). Describing the specifically Calvinist branch of Protestantism, Taylor continues: “[w]hat was needed was personal discipline first, individuals capable of controlling themselves and taking responsibility for their lives; and then a social order based on such people” (229).

The strength and cohesion of this social order, whether figured as a body or a building, ultimately rests on the ability of its constituent parts to stand as a bulwark against rot. What emerges, then, is an image of an ideal commonwealth in which individual rectitude is a prerequisite of citizenship, a sign of spiritual health held in common. These connections as I have begun to sketch them here demonstrate Walter Lim's thesis that “in Milton's work, classical republicanism was brought into vibrant conjunction with biblical republicanism” (15). If virtue is an important facet of the classical republican vision, then it is an indispensable part of biblical republicanism. What is more, this “houshold of God” demonstrates the ways in which the limits of a biblical republicanism are not constrained to any one republic. Neither is it constrained to the earthly sphere: this is an expansive, cosmopolitan republic in which ideal citizens may be said to live “with the Saints.”

In her landmark study of Milton, Spenser, and reading as a political act, Maureen Quilligan writes: “If all prior epics had traced the *translatio imperii* moving westward, from Troy to Rome to Troynovant, Milton traces the empire as it moves within” (13). Quilligan is referring to the family unit here; but, this inner space can just as easily figure forth the individual. And though *studii* is absent from Quilligan’s formulation, any discussion of Milton’s vision of *translatio imperii* is incomplete without it. Books are “lively,” Milton writes in *Areopagitica*; they “are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are” (*CPW* 2:492). This works in both directions, however, and just as a book acts as a living embodiment of its creator, so too can a person undergo a kind of literary investiture: “what ever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly call’d our book” (*CPW* 2:528). As is necessary in any version of *translatio imperii studiique*, person and book must evince those virtues and qualities that are indispensable for members of an ideal commonwealth. “Our book” is doing double duty here; able to figure forth what “we” must each do individually in our own books, as well as gesturing towards one greater book within which each member constitutes but a part.

Areopagitica is not the first place wherein Milton figures the written word as a living thing and living things as the written word—this is, after all, a variation of an idea central to Christianity: Incarnation. It is through the body of Christ that “the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us” (John 1.14). In an earlier tract, *An Apology Against a Pamphlet* (1642; alternatively titled *Smectymnuus*), Milton offers the following prescription for the budding author of “laudable things”: he “ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition and patterne of the best and honourablest things; not

presuming to sing high praises of heroick men, or famous Cities, unlesse he have in himselfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praise-worthy” (*CPW* 1:890). These most “laudable” and “honourablest things” reflecting “heroick men, or famous Cities” are the stuff of epic, to be sure; in Milton’s formulation, however, these “things” help constitute the poet himself. Milton’s sweeping gesture towards “all that which is praise-worthy” refers not to heroic deeds but to the virtues that these deeds underscore. The author need not be battle-tested in order to gain the *experience* and *practice* of these epic, “praise-worthy” acts—though Spenser, Raleigh, and other notable poets such as Sir Philip Sidney certainly were—rather, one must simply exhibit the “composition and patterne” of heroic virtues. To “bee a true Poem” is to live the virtuous life. It is of little surprise then that in a contemporary treatise, *The Reason of Church-Government* (1641-2), Milton would spill considerable ink expounding upon the importance of literary works being both concerned and suffused with virtue.⁶

As I suggest, one virtue in particular, chastity, emerges as a regular refrain across Milton’s oeuvre and this discussion linking authors with their works makes no exception. Immediately preceding the excerpt above from *An Apology*, Milton explains:

... if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves; or unchaste of those names which before they had extoll’d, this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplor’d; and above them all preferr’d the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura* who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. (*CPW* 1:890)

In this unusual formulation, both virtue and vice are expressed through thoughts and articulations rather than actions: “sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression” stand against words spoken in an “unchaste” manner. While Milton is careful to

⁶ See *CPW* 1:810-9. On his larger literary theory, see *The Reason of Church-Government* *CPW* 1:808-20.

inoculate a given written work from any fallout from judgments about its author's worthiness, he makes clear, nonetheless, that by contrast these honorable and virtuous depictions *do* have a salutary, ameliorating effect upon the author.⁷ The display of "sublime and pure thoughts," a good of the highest order, becomes a sign in and of itself of the author's own dedication to virtue, "without transgression." We can think of this reciprocal connection as part of the classical tradition of *actio* that Brendan Prawdzik has described as a "tradition of bodily rhetoric": while "rhetoric involved a disciplining of logical and written forms, it always involved a disciplining of the body" (3-4). What matters are not so much representations of chastity, but chaste representations.

This distinction, extending the bounds of the concept of chastity beyond the body, is an important one, and one about which much of this chapter is concerned. As I go on to explain, I focus on chastity because an adherence to the virtue not only dictates personal relationships and one's relationship to God, but also offers an ideal for how one ought to relate to the larger world, allowing us to think through the complexities of the virtue and its challenges on multiple relational levels. Angus Fletcher has asserted, "chastity is a stylistic virtue," and "may be said to lead to an awareness of the world outside oneself" (*Transcendental Masque* 215). For what is chastity if not the ability to identify and protect boundaries? It should come of little surprise, then, that the expression of that virtue would find such a natural home in romance since, as Wolfgang Iser observes, it is—particularly in its pastoral iterations—the genre that "thematizes the crossing of boundaries" (24). Indeed, in his seminal work on the genre, Northrop Frye

⁷ Milton's views of chastity as it related to his own poetic productivity or identity has itself been the subject of a rich discussion. For a useful summary, see William Kerrigan's *The Sacred Complex*, 39 and 305n20. See also Katharine Eisaman Maus, "A womb of his own" and Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton's Peculiar Grace*, 62-4.

identified chastity as one of two “organizing ideas of romance” (*Anatomy of Criticism* 153). Chastity offers a model for further theorizing the doubled-edge of vulnerability made available in these liminal spaces. In a broad sense, chastity is about ritualized wholeness—spiritual, physical, even geographical or territorial—and, through the recognition of lack and the necessity of supplementation, involves constant negotiations about what variously fulfills and endangers this wholeness. If for Milton, this lack is felt most acutely in terms of knowledge of the divine—something the human world is ultimately incapable of providing—then I maintain that he instrumentalizes the threshold crossings of romance to figure forth the in-between spaces within which he can imagine bridging the unbridgeable.

Chastity, romance, and Milton inevitably lead one to *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*—first performed in 1634—the entire plot of which revolves around the defense of that virtue. Elaborating this complex nexus of concerns I have begun to trace here are yet more reference points between chastity, broadly conceived, and a masque whose antagonist, Comus, is a vice-ridden magician roving through the wilds of Wales with his band of merry but incontinent revelers. A rover in its dual sense—he is not only a wanderer, but also a sexually rapacious one—his threat is multiply marked. To paraphrase Frye, magic is chastity’s helpmate in the constitution of romance.

Interestingly, John Kerrigan argues that during this period, “Wales is a site of magic and romance, not just because the miraculous is inextricable from the Galfridian history that still shaped perception of Wales, but because North Wales and the former Marches were associated with superstitious recusancy” (120). What is more, for nearly half a century Wales was considered a likely location in Britain for the Spanish to make landfall.

Christopher Hill explains: “[t]here had been alarm about the possibility of a Spanish landing in Wales in 1587, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1603 and 1625; in 1641 a story that Welsh papists were being armed as a preliminary to a Spanish or other foreign invasion passed into English popular mythology” (23). Far more of the Welsh border was bound by water than by land, making it especially penetrable. Part of what was so dangerous about Wales was the degree to which it was seen as being open to the advances—be they geographical, imperialistic, or sexual—of Spanish Catholics. As with Comus’s followers who their “native home forget / To roule with pleasure in a sensual stie,” so too might the Welsh, occupying the “dark corners of the land,” give themselves over to looseness and the insatiable appetites of the notoriously rapacious Spaniards (76-7).⁸ But as I have shown throughout this dissertation, fears about cultural purity need not be confined to questions of sex. Rather, like Ireland, Wales offered a centuries-long test case for examining the ease with which cultural mores and touchstones could be variously protected or translated across cultures. Here, however, the distinction between river and sea is paramount. “The sea?” asks Colin Clout, that which connects Ireland and Britain? It was “A world of waters heaped up on hie, / Rolling like mountaines in wide wilderness, / Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie” (*Colin Clouts* 196-9). Wales and England, by contrast, were part of one geographical body, their ligaments interconnected for good or for ill, rivers coursing through like veins. The protection of

⁸ The phrase “dark corners of the land” was ubiquitous throughout the seventeenth century in Puritanical treatises discussing the state of religion in the more remote areas of the kingdom. It is not generally attributed to any particular person or work. Christopher Hill employs the phrase in the title of the first chapter of his book; see *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* 3-47. For more on these “dark corners,” particularly as they relate to Wales, see also Hugh Jenkins, “‘The Revolt[ing] Welsh’?: Milton and ‘the Dark Corners of the Land.’”

chastity in its multiple forms, then, was a project of real import. As goes the part, so goes the whole.

The standard-bearer for chastity, the Lady is the masque's main protagonist. Following Froma Zeitlein, who, in her examination of the role of the female body in classical Greek drama, has argued that "[t]he boundaries of women's bodies are perceived as more fluid, more permeable, more open to affect and entry from the outside, less easily controlled by intellectual and rational means," we might read in Milton's Lady a rehearsal of gendered expectations about the virtue (65). Still, much has been said about the degree to which Milton encoded within this character a version of himself, famously identified as the Lady of Christ's College while he was a student at Cambridge.⁹ Even if we discount this autobiographical shadow, he takes pains elsewhere to establish chastity as a universal virtue—I return to discuss this in greater detail in a subsequent section. The import of the trials of Milton's Lady lies in their ability to showcase the degree of difficulty at work in maintaining a chaste body, mind, and soul. Her particularly vulnerable and fallible human body represents the vulnerability of reason and faith; her steadfastness represents the tremendous effort the maintenance of the virtue required.

In *A Maske* physicality dramatizes the possibilities of spirituality, with all of its lets and impeachments. The relationship between physical weakness and internal strength or fortitude that virginity and chastity entail is the ideal vehicle for thinking through larger geo-political questions, particularly as they figure the relationship between individual citizens and the larger commonwealth. Because the Lady's vulnerability is

⁹ This has been argued persuasively by William Kerrigan in *The Sacred Complex* and accepted by Stephen Fallon in *Milton's Peculiar Grace*, especially 62-4. See also Katherine Eisaman Maus, "A womb of his own," 278-9.

filtered through multiple threats that are as physical as they are geographical, cultural, and spiritual, we can tie her to this larger constellation of concerns about the English nation and its people. Certainly the interplay between the Lady's penetrable body, the masque's Welsh setting, and an antagonist freshly returned from "Roaving the *Celtick*, and *Iberian* fields" dramatizes both the fears about Spanish incursions there and more general fears about the degree to which the English could remain culturally whole when traveling outside their national borders (60). The threats to the Lady's inviolability stand in for the panoply of threats that bedevil any citizen. Like Wales—indeed, like England and Britain at large—the Lady has multiple vulnerable entry points. That in the masque the penetrability and fallibility of her ears and eyes figures more heavily than that of her sex organ—an idea both predictably decorous and symbolically weighted—shows that purity and insularity are concepts not only flawed but impossible.

For Milton, that most sought after and "inspired guift of God rarely bestow'd," was the power "to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility."¹⁰ This rare gift of God, though individually given, was to be used for public good. One cannot live a virtuous life in a vacuum, free from temptation and experience. Rather, "publick civility" requires a shared commitment to uphold the "seeds of vertu." This is why *weal* must be held in *common*; each person comes together to make up a more Godly whole. This chapter explores the ways in which Milton's interpretation and elaboration of Spenser's virtue-ethics informed his vision of an ideal English commonwealth in his early poetry—collected in the 1645 volume, *Poems*—and contemporary prose tracts. As with my discussions of Spenser and Raleigh and the ways in which each man imagined a future empire, so, too, have I limited my study of Milton

¹⁰ See *The Reason of Church-Government* (CPW 1:816).

to those more optimistic years before the dreams for a republican commonwealth gave way to the realities of a despotic protectorate. These early poems and tracts written prior to his disillusionment offer a rich vein to mine for understanding how Milton's vision of the ideal commonwealth incorporated and gave new life to the ideas of openness and cosmopolitanism available in Spenser's virtue-ethics.

As Melissa Sanchez explains, this disillusionment marks a notable shift; in his later works, *Paradise Lost* especially, a "central concern for Milton is the ease with which the idealization of individual virtue can lead to the destruction of the republican order such virtue is supposed to support" (207). Her interpretation relies on this disillusionment and thus treats his later works. It is worth noting that Sanchez's position is not without its detractors; certainly, many critics maintain that individual virtue remains primary for Milton.¹¹ Still, Milton's proclamation in his great epic that it is that "fit audience . . . though few" who will, as Spenser put it in his letter to Raleigh, "profite of the ensample" of the work illustrates the degree to which his faith in personal virtue had become particularly qualified by skepticism in the second half of the century (*PL* VII.31; *Faerie Queene* 715).

As I connect the contours of this argument throughout Milton's early corpus, I necessarily push back on Stanley Fish's claim in the opening pages of his touchstone monograph, *How Milton Works*, that "Milton's tracts and poems are always engaged in an act of containment" (7). Despite what Fish might say, nothing can ever truly be

¹¹ For views that counter Sanchez's claim, arguing instead for a continued emphasis on individual virtue despite the disappointment of the republican vision, see for example, Paul Stevens, "Milton's 'Renunciation' of Cromwell" and Matthew Binney, "Milton, Locke, and the Early Modern Framework of Cosmopolitan Right." For takes on Milton's disillusionment that complement Sanchez's, see Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans*, especially chapter 6; and Victoria Kahn, "Disappointed Nationalism: Milton in the Context of Seventeenth-Century Debates about the Nation-State."

contained and it is this very conundrum that, in my view, drives Milton's interest in chastity. As I will go on to show, Milton's recourse to the virtue of chastity and romance forms and tropes in his early works foreground an abiding interest in the limits of earthly containment and the promise of translation or transportation beyond these very constraints. If romance teaches us anything, it is that there are multiple ways to work one's way through a labyrinth. The journey and the possibilities inherent in it demonstrate how, in the words of Milton, divine truth is often figured as flowing, irrespective of bounds: "Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition" (*CPW* 2: 543). Truth will allow no let or impeachment.

While *A Maske* often takes center stage in this chapter, the underlying concerns I trace there will circle out and weave their way through various of Milton's other poems and prose works. An earlier poem, "Il Penseroso" (1631), demonstrates an abiding interest in chastity that predates the masque, while tracts such as *An Apology* and *Areopagitica* show the longevity and durability of this interest. Though *Areopagitica* is ostensibly concerned more with temperance and constancy than chastity, these virtues allow for an elaboration of Milton's broader conceptualization of what it meant to be chaste. Each of these texts' presentations of chastity relies, in varying degrees, on an incorporation of the romance mode or its motifs. Creating a series of feedback loops, these texts build towards a version of romance that is chastened and therefore elevated. So, too, do rapture and ecstasy, delighting in the wonder of God's creations, emerge as the ideal end-goal of this chastened romance; and, like chastity, these concepts elaborate not a preoccupation with sexual desire but that of glorification and salvation. Despite

Frye's claims that chastity is integral to romance, there has been no study of Milton's works that examines the two together in any sustained way. Throughout this chapter I will consider them not only as serious topics on their own, but also as ideas that come into fullness of being by virtue of their interconnectedness.

* * *

I. *Cultum Animi*: the travails of travel

* * *

The 1645 edition of John Milton's *Poems* gave pride of place to *A Maske*. It was placed as the last of the English poems, despite the disruption this might pose to what is otherwise a roughly chronological ordering, and was set off by the inclusion of a separate title page. The full title read: *A Mask of the same Author presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634 Before The Earl of Bridgewater Then President of Wales*. The masque had been printed once before, though without attribution, in 1637. In both editions the work was introduced by an epistle dedicatory written by Henry Lawes, who had been the music teacher for the Earl's children, set the masque's songs to music, and acted in the performance himself.

Dedicated to the Earl's son, Lord John Brackley, Lawes's letter opens with the following: "This Poem, which receiv'd its first occasion of birth from your selfe, and others of your noble familie, and much honour from your own Person in the performance, now returns againe to make a finall dedication of it selfe to you" (39). In so doing, he frames the work as at once a "performance" and a "poem." Despite Lawes's suggestion that "This Poem" was that which was performed at Ludlow on Michaelmas in 1634, the playtext presented in these editions is not thought to be the version used for the original

performance. Indeed, the Bridgewater Manuscript (BMS), which, as S. E. Sprott suggests in his comparative study of the masque's early versions "was inscribed as a presentation copy for the Earl or for Lord Brackley at about the same time or quite soon after" the performance, shows numerous cuts and reconfigurations from the version reproduced in 1637 and 1645 (17).¹² Thus, setting aside Lawes's suggestion to the contrary, the first print iteration of the masque had a degree of independence from the "poem" presented at Ludlow three years earlier. Nonetheless, its full title and the prefatory epistle stress the work's status as an event, suggesting contiguity between print and performance.

Taking their cue in part from these framing clues, critics have long debated the degree to which *A Maske* can rightly be considered a masque, conforming to the emerging genre's conventions as they concretized in the early decades of Stuart rule. In fact, many critics instead read the work as poetry, either discounting or paying little attention to its original occasion or to its music, songs, and dances. Conversely, others read it as a masque first, attending to the ways in which it does or does not conform to the genre's modes and expectations and then mining those conformations or divergences for clues regarding Milton's early republicanism, his relationship to the court, or his antipathy to Laudian Anglicanism. Wading into this debate, Stephen Orgel has argued: "Milton seems to me to have settled this matter quite conclusively by titling it *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*" (31).¹³ The elegant simplicity of Orgel's argument is

¹² It is generally accepted that the 1637 edition was itself based on the earlier Trinity Manuscript (TMS). For the general conclusions of his comparative study of the three earlier versions—TMS, BMS, and the 1637 edition—see Sprott, 3-33; on the five extant versions (which in addition to the three earlier versions include the 1645 and 1673 print editions) see Lewalski and Haan, cxlviii-cliii.

¹³ Gordon Teskey's two chapters devoted to *A Maske* in *The Poetry of John Milton* illustrate a recent version of the debate, making a pointed return to a more formal analysis of the work's poetry (see chapters 3 and 4). In addition to Orgel's "The Case for Comus," for representative work on *A Maske* as such, see

compelling. Even if we discount Lawes's passing mention of "This Poem," which we must do to accept Orgel's position, we must also overlook the fact that Milton himself muddied the waters by including it among his *Poems*. Perhaps these conflicting markers indicate instead that neither Milton nor Lawes saw any contradiction inherent in the work's dual status as masque and poem; poesy's capaciousness as a literary mode during the period suggests this is the likeliest case.

I propose that the titling of *A Maske* continued to give pride of place to its status as a performance *because* Milton sought to remind the reader of the event, to remind the reader to search the poem for cues—physical, visual and aural—in service of imaging the poem. If we consider the work as both poem *and* masque, we may then examine how the masque's theatrical features inform and inflect our understanding of the poem's operations.¹⁴ As an example, the incorporation of dance—a necessary component of the masquing genre—is a crucial part of this process of *re-presenting* the poem's more abstract ideas. Blair Hoxby, in his investigation of the symbolic weight of maze dancing in *A Maske* and contemporary works, notes that "[l]ike the other visible signs of the Stuart masque, these dances could be justified as allegories" (78). Since the Egerton children who performed in the masque were particularly accomplished dancers, having already demonstrated their mastery of the complex form of figured dancing in masques presented at the royal court, they could readily fulfill the dances' allegorical designs, the

C.L. Barber, "A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle: The Masque as a Masque"; and Martin Butler, "Private and Occasional Drama." For examples of cultural analyses that focus on the relationship between the masque's occasion or conventions and Milton's socio- or religio-political engagements, see David Norbrook, "The Reformation of the Masque"; Richard Halpern, "Puritanism and Maenadism in *A Mask*"; Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth*, chapter 6; and Barbara K. Lewalski, "Milton's *Comus* and the politics of masquing." For broader discussions of the work's incorporation of various generic conventions, see Maggie Kilgour, "*Comus*'s Wood of Allusion" and Heather Dubrow, "The Masquing of Genre in *Comus*."

¹⁴ For a more detailed investigation of Milton's sense of theatricality as it is on display in his poetry, see Brendan Prawdzik, *Theatrical Milton: Politics and Poetics of the Staged Body*.

distinct styles on offer serving to denote stark contrasts between the main masquers and the country folk who filled other dancing roles.¹⁵

A Maske's denouement, allowing the Lady and her Brothers to showcase their special talents, offers a telling example of how this functioned. Once the "Country-Dancers" as the stage directions have it, "With Jiggs, and rural dance resort," the Attendant Spirit redirects the movement, gently chiding them:

*Back Shepherds, back, anough your play,
Till next Sun-shine holiday,
Here be without duck or nod
Other trippings to be trod
Of lighter toes, and such Court guise
As Mercury did first devise (958-63)*

Thus a clear contrast is presented between the "play" of rural jigs, complete with the unrestrained movements of ducks and nods, and the "other trippings" of the Egerton children's "lighter toes" that are linked with both the royal court and the heavens—*trippings* here referring to nimble movements, not the clumsy ones more commonly associated with today's usage. The invocation of Mercury, one of the five planets—variously called errant or wandering stars; the literal translation of the ancient Greek word for *planet* is wanderer—that Ancient Greek astronomers identified, serves to reinforce the particular kind of nimble movement the children's dance incorporated. Marius Victorinus, a fourth-century Roman rhetorician and Neoplatonist, argued that the choreographed steps of maze dancing, first devised as a celebration of Theseus's successful navigation of the Daedalian labyrinth, were themselves "imitating the

¹⁵ For a thorough examination of the role of dance in *A Maske*, particularly as it bolsters Milton's "moral vision," see Blair Hoxby, "The Wisdom of Their Feet: Meaningful Dance in Milton and the Stuart Masque." For more on the Egerton children's masquing experience, see Orgel 34. See also Teskey, *Poetry of John Milton*, chapter 3; and, Roger Wilkenfeld, "The Seat at the Center: An Interpretation of *Comus*." On the importance of maze or labyrinth dancing during the period, including a discussion of its use in *Paradise Lost*'s depiction of angelic dance, see Thomas Greene, "Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance."

harmony and movement of the cosmos.” The movement of the cosmos, in turn, was thought to “produce the sweetest sounds with their shining spheres” (qtd. in Greene 1438).

In “On the Harmony of the Spheres,” one of Milton’s early academic exercises, or *Prolusions*, he expresses the dominant idea that these sweet sounds—much like divine truth—were inaudible to fallen, human ears: “What if no one on earth has ever heard this symphony of the stars? It does not therefore follow that everything beyond the sphere of the moon is mute and utterly benumbed in silence. The fault is in our own deaf ears, which are either unable or unworthy to hear these sweet strains” (*CPW* 1:238). He goes on to carve out a meaningful exception to this rule, itself instructive in the model for perfection that it sets up. “Pythagoras alone among men is said to have heard this music,” Milton writes, wondering “if indeed he was not rather some good spirit and denizen of heaven, sent down perchance by the gods’ behest to instruct mankind in holiness and lead them back to righteousness; . . . he was assuredly a man endowed with a full meed of virtue, worthy to hold converse with the gods themselves, whose like he was, and to partake of the fellowship of heaven” (*CPW* 1:238). The children’s mastery of these figured dances, set to the period’s emerging homophonic, harmonic style of music, helps to translate the beauty and harmony of the heavens to the eyes and ears of their earth-bound audience, reaffirming their rightful place as avatars for virtue.¹⁶ Their dances were not simply courtly, but redolent of the divine.

¹⁶ On music theory in Renaissance England, see Morrison Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*; on its role in the period’s poetry, see John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*. For work on Milton and music in the masque, see chapter 1, “The Pastoral Music” in Louis Martz’s *Poet of Exile*; chapter 6, “The Reforming of Reformation” in Joseph Ortiz’s *Broken Harmony*; and chapter 6, “Milton’s Prophetic Mission” in Charis Charalampous’s *Rethinking the Mind-Body Relationship in Early Modern Literature*. On Milton and music more broadly, see Sigmund Spaeth, *Milton’s Knowledge of Music*; Mortimer Frank, “Milton’s Knowledge of Music”; Warren Chernaik, “Linked Sweetness.”

The visual opposition between the two distinct types of movement on offer in this tableau would have served to reinforce for the audience one of *A Maske*'s organizing themes: the elaboration and protection of the three English children's superior virtue, functioning as allegorical stand-ins for Saint Paul's triad of essential Christian virtues: the "full meed" of faith, hope, and chastity.¹⁷ It serves as well to emphasize the possible effects of these stately children's civilizing influence as they travel through the wilds of Wales. Through dance the carefully choreographed physical body represents the dancer's ability to self-regulate and maintain autonomy over his or her constitutive limbs and limits, offering a visual presentation of the work's many geo-political, cultural, and ethical coordinates.

What is more, in those places where the published edition of *A Maske* allows the Lady and Comus considerably more leeway "to unfold the sage / And serious doctrine of Virginity"—which includes more naked expressions of the threat the Lady faces—than the supposed playtext (BMS) actually allowed, the distinctions between the masque's dances might also have served to help fill that gap (786-7). Without disappearing too far into the weeds of a discussion of *A Maske*'s alterations across the different manuscript and print editions, I pause here to suggest that we might even consider these alterations as yet another extension of the work's organizing themes. For example, the epilogue in the published editions is presented—with slight, necessary contextual edits—as the first song in BMS. William Shullenberger has observed that this "printed Epilogue fills the textual

¹⁷ Many suggest that Milton's substitution of *chastity* for St. Paul's *agapē*, more commonly translated as *charity*, was his own peculiar invention. Kimberly Coles argues, however, that the three books of the 1590 edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* are organized around this Pauline triad, linking the *temperance* of Book II to *hope* and the *chastity* of Book III with *charity*. This suggests that Milton's substitution is actually first Spenser's. In Coles's reading of Pauline teachings, the related concepts of charity and chastity are akin to love. See her essay "Gender in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*." For an argument that *agapē* is more rightly understood as *love* see Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism*.

space and time created by dances that cannot in themselves be textualized,” in effect providing an allegorical narrative that can accommodate the closing dances’ figurative signification (275). Yet this textual transposition also shows how what is past is quite literally prologue, demonstrating a *structural* analogue to the work’s figured dances, since as Thomas Greene explains, maze dances display, by design, “a confusion of end and beginning” (1419). Gordon Teskey has remarked of *A Maske*: “[t]he reader experiences a dizzying uncertainty with respect to direction of movement and determination of place” (104). His discussion does not take into account the work’s dances or the contrasting “movement” of masque and anti-masque; this is not evidence of an oversight, but of a kind of fullness of meaning and signification within *A Maske*, able to spill out in multiple directions. Whether the forms under consideration are poetic structures, dances—figured and frenzied—or the physical form of the masque’s players, the work demonstrates a capaciousness, paradoxically able to accommodate the interplay of porousness and continuity in all manner of movement in service of defining and refining limits.

The poem never lets the physical body retreat from view, repeatedly drawing our attention to feet—both metrical and physical, literary and visual—and sensate experience through its recurring invocations of eyes and ears. So, too, can we see the poem’s continued emphasis on what its characters see and hear and how they move as a way of reminding the reader to both visualize and listen to its operations. I return to the roles of hearing and seeing at different points in this chapter; for now, I confine myself to the work’s feet. The contrast presented in the final tableau discussed above reiterates Comus’s lines, which follow the earlier frenzied “measure” of his rabulous rout.

Interrupting what the stage directions describe as a “riotous and unruly noise,” Comus remarks: “Break off, break off, I feel the different pace, / Of som chast footing neer about this ground” (145-6). The lines signal a move away from both the rhyming couplets and the wild antic that make up Comus’s own particular “pace.” They also demonstrate one of multiple instances in which the characters are introduced by descriptions of their footsteps. Earlier, though, it is the Attendant Spirit who introduces Comus by exclaiming: “I hear the tread / Of hatefull steps, I must be viewles now” (91-2). Here Comus is describing the Lady’s entrance, and in preparation he remarks of his own feet: “I fairly step aside” (168). Just as Comus’s ineloquent verse and rural dancing have given shape to the Spirit’s foretold “hatefull steps,” so, too, do the Lady’s steps illustrate what Comus foresees as her “chast footing.”¹⁸ Lost and wandering, she wonders where “Shall I inform my unacquainted feet / In the blind mazes of this tangl’d Wood?” (180-1). In so doing, she anticipates Milton’s prescription that one must aspire to “bee a true Poem,” her chaste, unacquainted feet searchingly tracing the “praise-worthy” furrows of verse. The interplay of feet and steps effects a formal enfolding of the masque’s main characters, their distinctions serving to mirror the work’s seam-*ful* incorporation of various literary forms.

Another way into this nexus of genres that Milton is playing with is to consider the second letter that was included alongside Lawes’s when Milton finally published the work himself. While the letter’s heading presents it in simple terms—it is “The Copy of a Letter Writt’n By Sir Henry Wootton, To the Author, upon the following Poem”—its content suggests that it is functioning in the popular travel advice mode. To be sure,

¹⁸ For a thorough discussion of *A Maske*’s repeated focus on “steps” and the ways in which they differentiate the Attendant Spirit, Comus, and the Lady, see Wilkenfeld, 174-9.

Wotton does treat the poem in the letter. In fact, Wotton reports of the “dainty peece of entertainment” that “I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Dorique delicacy in your Songs and Odes” (61). In this line alone we see that within the category of a poem can comfortably rest an “entertainment” that is “Tragical,” “Lyrical,” and pastoral through its “Dorique delicacy,” and includes both “Songs and Odes,” offering further testament to the notion that the masque and poem are somewhat coterminous.

The letter makes clear, however, that it is written to dispense with an “Obligation” to correspond “concerning your travels” to the continent (61). After advising Milton about whom should receive him and which itinerary would be most prudent to follow, Wotton digresses: “the rather to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety” (62). To that end, he relays advice that he had himself received while traveling in Italy. Having asked: “how I might carry my self securely there, without offense of others, or of mine own conscience,” he is told: “*I pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto*” or, with “close thoughts and an open countenance” (62).¹⁹ This advice, echoing that of the courtesy books, just might be the one mark of a virtue Milton otherwise derides that he does not eschew.²⁰ It seems our poet would take this advice to heart when, as William Kerrigan notes: “Milton, toward the end of his travels abroad, placed two inscriptions beneath his name in the guest book of the Cerdogni family of Geneva: *Coelum non animum muto dum trans mare curro* (Though I travel across the sea, I do not change my mind with my skies); and the last words of *Comus*, ‘if virtue feeble were /

¹⁹ This is the editors’ translation; see 393.

²⁰ *A Maske* itself offers a glimpse of Milton’s negative views about courtesy. See, for example, 161 and 321-6.

Heaven itself would stoop to her” (37).²¹ The first inscription is hardly surprising, especially given what we know of Wotton’s relayed travel advice. What may seem more curious in this context are Milton’s inclusion of lines from his as yet unpublished (at least under his name) and little known *Maske*. Both maxims place a special emphasis on maintaining a pure and undefiled mind or conscience while traveling far from the stabilizing influences of home and country. Taken together we can see that these two inscriptions emphasize the interrelation between travel and the threat to virtue that it may pose. A picture of the ideal traveler emerges: temperate, unchangeable, and imporous. What is more, that Milton would have these words in mind at this particular moment suggests that the theme of travel is an important part of *A Maske* and that we should therefore consider his choice to introduce the work with Wotton’s letter as an intentionally framing act rather than as a merely ancillary one.

The travel advice essay was itself a niche Humanist genre with its own conventions, a brief exploration of which sheds further light on how Wotton’s letter helps frame *A Maske*. In 1633, a year before *A Maske* was presented, there appeared in print a short volume entitled *Profitable Instructions; Describing what speciall Observations are to be taken by Travellers in all Nations, States and Countries; Pleasant and Profitable*. The collection of essays included “Most Notable and Excellent Instructions for Travellers” by William Davison, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and two essays: “The Late E[arl] of E[ssex] his advice to the E[arl] of R[utland] in his travels”; and “A Letter to the same purpose” ascribed to the late Sir Philip Sidney.²² The three selections

²¹ *Comus* is an alternate title assigned to *A Maske* in the eighteenth century; it is increasingly out of use.

²² The Essex essay is now generally believed to have been penned by Francis Bacon and is included in modern collections of his essays, following James Spedding’s inclusion of the letter in his nineteenth-century collection of Bacon’s works. See pp. 1-6 for Spedding’s prefatory remarks laying out the

in this small octavo volume, compact enough to fit in the traveler's pocket, emphasize the importance of preparation and careful observation. Accordingly, the volume's compiler, Benjamin Fisher, assures his readers in his prefatory letter that "The best scholler is fittest for a Traveller, as being able to make the most useful observation: Experience added to learning, makes a perfect Man" (A3v). As is perhaps fitting in a letter that acts as an advertisement for the larger work, Fisher suggests that the most indispensable preparation for travel is knowledge. He informs his reader: "however it be; fit it is, That all young Travellers should receive an Antidot against the infectious Ayre of other Countries," explaining that the "divers learned men" who penned the works included in the volume have, through their travel experiences, devised "rules and precepts" that can act as this necessary "Antidot" (A5v-A6). Wotton's advice to Milton very much fits the bill.

The exact nature of the threat against which these young travelers must arm themselves is elaborated in the letter of advice to the Earl of Rutland, which cautions: "when you see new delights which you never knew, and have passions stirred in you which before you never felt, you shall both know what disease your mind is aptest to fall into, and what the things are that breed the disease" (71).²³ Delights and diseases intermingle, evincing the doubled-edge of openness. Further, what this advice makes clear is that the threat of infection that Fisher warns about applies equally if not more to the traveler's mind than to his physical body. How fitting, then, is Wotton's warning that Milton keep his thoughts close while his countenance remain open. Also on display is the

arguments for and against the two attributions in *The Works of Francis Bacon* Vol. IX., ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, Douglas Denon Heath, London 1862. For a more recent argument that decisively assigns the essay to Bacon, see Brian Vickers's textual note in his edition, *Francis Bacon: The Major Works* 539-40, and his article: "The Authenticity of Bacon's Earliest Writings" 248-296.

²³ Due to Vickers's inclusion of translated Latin phrases in his edition, all citations of the Essex/Bacon essay refer to his edition.

idea that it is through exposure to vice and tempting delights that the traveler may better know his own limitations and then better protect against these temptations in the future. Moreover, the Earl is advised that: “Health consisteth in an unmovable constancy and a freedom from passions, which are indeed the sicknesses of the mind” (69). With the stress placed on constancy and a repudiation of passions, temperance and chastity are the lauded virtues that implicitly emerge from these pages, joining together to express the value of the Platonic ideal of *sophrosyne*, or “soundness of mind, moderation, prudence, self-control.”²⁴ It is through exposure to vice, therefore, that the traveler can be made more perfect and virtuous; it is not physical toughness but mental fortitude with which the traveler must arm himself. Like Fisher, Rutland’s adviser sees travel as a necessary supplement for an untraveled and therefore untested Englishman.

In a similar vein, the writer of the letter to the Earl of Rutland answers what he characterizes as an “ordinary” request for travel advice—which in and of itself testifies to the ubiquity of the travel advice genre—by counseling a higher purpose for travel. To be sure, he outlines the delightful encounters that travel affords, promising strange beauty, unfamiliar manners, and new languages. But, he cautions that his reader “must look further than these,” insisting that the “greatest ornament is the inward beauty of the mind, and when you have known as great variety of delight as the world will afford, . . . the greatest delight is ‘sentire te in dies fieri meliorem’; to feel that you do every day become more worthy; therefore your . . . end and scope should be that which in moral philosophy we call ‘cultum animi’, the tilling and manuring of your own mind” (69). Nearly a decade later Milton would echo this formula in *Areopagitica* and *Of Education*, another of his well-known treatises, written in the same year. When he proclaimed in the former,

²⁴ See *OED*, *sophrosyne*, n.

“knowledge thrives by exercise,” he expanded upon the idea in the latter, suggesting that in a course of learning, “besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure it selfe abroad; In those vernal seasons of the yeer, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with heaven and earth.” (*CPW* 2:543; 412-3). In this particular instance, “abroad” refers more simply to any place that is not home, and Milton is not advocating for a specifically foreign adventure. In fact, with its continuous telescoping out from home to somewhere abroad to a more generalized nature to the broader realm of heaven and earth, we can see the ways in which the travel that Milton lauds quickly becomes more spiritual than geographical. One need not necessarily travel very far from home to have an “opportunity” that leads to gains and wins as well as “pleasure.” Still, “to go out” is presented here as an obligation; to do otherwise would be “an injury . . . against nature” and, by extension, God. The reward for this journeying outward is a lessening of the distance between heaven and earth. To “see” is to “partake” in divine rejoicement. *Pleasure* recalls the various “ornaments” and “delights” the Earl of Rutland was lead to expect. Framed as a precursor to worthiness, the connotations of rapture that *delight* allows place this concept of worth squarely within the realm of spiritual devotion, suggesting that earthly travel prepares one for the ultimate journey towards union with the divine.

Of final note in the directive to the Earl of Rutland excerpted above is the framing of the acquisition of knowledge and thus virtue as *cultum animi* or “the tilling and manuring of your own mind.” The translation provided marries the two primary

definitions of the Latin participle *cultus*: “a laboring at, labor, care, cultivation”; and, “training, education.”²⁵ Extending the metaphor, the author goes on to advise that: “where these active virtues are but budding, they must be ripened by clearness of judgment and custom of well-doing” (71). The description of virtues as “active” combined with the active verbs that *cultus* denotes highlights the purposeful action required of the traveler. Adding his voice to the chorus that Fisher and, later, Milton make up, the Earl’s advisor—generally considered to be Francis Bacon, not the Earl of Essex—insists that one does not acquire knowledge and virtue simply by observing others; one must play an active part, so that the work of tending and cultivating one’s inner self becomes customary.²⁶ In the face of the great variety of delight to be encountered, the traveler must demonstrate—in the words of Fletcher on the subject of chastity—“a ritually present, continuously rededicated ordering of the self” (212). What is more, by repeatedly linking the cultivation of one’s virtues to the cultivation of the land within the context of travel, the letter writer helps bring to the fore the linguistic connection between *travel* and *travail*, two terms that were historically interchangeable, thus emphasizing the labor inherent in travel.

The agricultural metaphor on display here, by which the labor of cultivating a person is figured as that of cultivating a plant, can be found in numerous contemporaneous works. Milton himself demonstrates a fondness for the metaphor in multiple prose tracts and will go on to make it a defining feature of pre-lapsarian life in

²⁵ See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 488.

²⁶ On the authorship of the letter, see footnote 25 above. On the role that this metaphor plays in Bacon’s essays more broadly, see Stanly Fish, “Georgics of the Mind: The Experience of Bacon’s Essays.”

Eden in *Paradise Lost*.²⁷ While ruminating on the essential qualities of Britain and her people in *The Digression*, a manuscript likely written in 1647-8, Milton remarks:

For Britain (to speake a truth not oft spok'n) as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and couragious in war, so is it naturallie not over fertil of men able to govern justlie & prudently in peace; trusting onelie on thir Mother-witt, as most doo, & consider not that civilitie, prudence, love of the public more then of money or vaine honour are to this soile in a manner outlandish; grow not here but in minds well implanted with solid & elaborate breeding; . . . For the sunn, which wee want ripens witts as well as fruits; and as wine and oyle are imported to us from abroad, so must ripe understanding and many civil vertues bee imported into our minds from forren writings & examples of best ages. (*CPW* 5:451)²⁸

To speak of the land as fertile and to use this language as a way of framing man's relationship to it in reproductive or sexualized terms was a trope in its own right during this period, particularly with regard to unconquered lands in the New World. We have seen this at work in Raleigh's descriptions of Guiana as a country "that hath yet her Maydenhead" (211). This more sexualized fecundity is notably absent in Milton's formulation here. For Milton, Britain's fertility produces what a modern reader might characterize as brawn without the brains. The kinds of virtues that reflect thoughtfulness and engagement—prudence, justice, civic duty—are "outlandish" to the British "soil"; they "grow not here" as Milton laments. The "clearness of judgment and custom of well-doing" that Rutland's adviser sees as necessary to "ripen" "budding" virtues is here suffused like the sun through "forren writings & examples of best ages." It is a version of an import economy in its most intellectual sense.

This excerpt, praising "men stout and couragious" of Britain, while simultaneously outlining their many limitations and shortcomings, echoes prevailing

²⁷ See, for example, Adam's discussion with Eve of the "daily work of body or mind" and "our pleasant labor" in Book IV, lines 610-33.

²⁸ On the dating and print history of *The Digression*, see French Fogle's introduction in *CPW* 5:405-35.

ideas about the Welsh and helps shine a light on some of the geopolitical contours of *A Maske*'s Cambrian setting. As the people occupying a part of Britain that had never been successfully conquered by either the Saxons or the Romans, the Welsh could claim their place as the living descendants of the ancient Britons.²⁹ Nevertheless, Wales was often cited as a backwards place. The radical Puritan John Penry declared Wales "the most barren corner of the land," recalling its characterization, cited above, as one of the "dark corners of the land."³⁰ Much of this metaphorical darkness was attributed to religious backwardness, magic, and Pagan ritual. Glanmor Williams, writing about the persistent belief that Wales suffered from a dearth of Protestantism, cites the anonymous tract, *Y Drych Critnogawl* (*The Christian Mirror*, 1585) which "maintained that there were whole shires in Wales 'without a single Christian living within them, people living like animals, most of them knowing nothing about morality, but only keeping Christ's name in their memories, without knowing more about him than animals do'" (6-7). It is hardly surprising then that, as John Kerrigan suggests, "English views of Wales combined an acceptance of its symbolic importance with mistrust and condescension" (120).

These contradictory views of the Welsh offer a deep well for Milton to draw from as he plans his provincial masque dramatizing the travels of three English children through this Cambrian landscape. The long title of *A Maske* places special emphasis on this setting by naming the specific place of its performance: *Ludlow Castle*. As the official seat of the Lord President of the Council of the Marches, Ludlow housed the English monarch's most senior deputy in Wales. Moreover, Michaelmas, the day on

²⁹ For more on the storied early history of the Welsh, see Nicholas Von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*, chapter 4; Jenkins, "'The Revolt[ing] Welsh'?"; John Kerrigan, "The Romans in Britain: Wales and Jacobean Drama".

³⁰ The Penry quote appears in Hill 7.

which the masque was performed, was significant because it was not only a religious holiday but also a day that marked the quarterly start of administrative offices. The performance on September 29, 1634 is thought to be in part a celebration of the Earl of Bridgewater's official installation as Lord President at Ludlow, though by that date, he had already been in residence there for a few months.³¹ Accordingly, in opening *A Maske*, the Attendant Spirit (played by Henry Lawes) sets the scene:

. . . all this tract that fronts the falling Sun
a noble Peer of mickle trust, and power
Has in his charge, with temper'd awe to guide
An old, and haughty Nation proud in Arms. (30-3)

In these few short lines we can see a localized version of Milton's more generalized characterization of the British in *The Digression*. Here the "men stout and courageous in war" in Britain at large are visible in Wales, "an old, and haughty Nation proud in Arms." *Haughty*, connoting "exalted courage or bravery," puts a doubled emphasis on the militaristic pride that these ancient Britons represent.³² What is more, the Earl's charge to "guide" this nation with "temper'd awe" suggests that the imported "understanding" and "civil vertues" necessary to "ripen witts" have arrived in Wales in the form of a well-tempered Englishman.

In addition to the presence of the Lord President himself, his place of official residence offered yet another enlightening corrective to the dark corners of Wales.

Michael Wilding explains that "[t]he Court [of the Marches] had its distinguished literary

³¹ While the Earl's installation is generally accepted as one of the primary reasons that the masque was commissioned and performed, Stephen Orgel has argued against this reasoning, suggesting that the masque was primarily an intimate family affair not tied to any specific occasion; see "The Case for Comus." For work representative of the more general view regarding the significance of the date or occasion, see Marcus, chapter 6; John Creaser, "Milton's *Comus*: The Irrelevance of the Castlehaven Scandal"; Martin Butler, "Private and Occasional Drama"; Teskey, *Poetry of John Milton* 111-2.

³² See *OED*, *haughty*, adj. 2.

associations. Sir Henry Sidney was Lord President 1560-86 and though much of that time he was absent as Lord Deputy in Ireland, his children Philip, the poet, and Mary ‘the Subject of all Verse’ grew up at Ludlow” (47). As he goes on to list other literary associations with succeeding Lords President, Wilding makes clear that it was not just the Sidneys who contributed to this idea of Ludlow as a cradle of literary activity. Ludlow, then, acted as the port through which the “forren writings” Milton would later prize could be imported into Wales. In much the same way that Bridgewater was a stranger in this “haughty Nation,” so, too, were the English residents of Ludlow and their associated literary goods and productions foreign.

Located within the marches of Wales, Ludlow occupied a kind of liminal space, not fully English and certainly not Welsh. It was situated in Shropshire, one of the four technically English shires that were included in the jurisdiction of the Council of the Marches. While it was in an English shire, the castle was located west of the River Severn, which had long been considered the boundary marker dividing Wales and England. The idea was an ancient one, not congruent with the official national boundaries as they were delimited in the seventeenth century. Still, taking Michael Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion* as a representative example, to imagine the contours of Wales as circumscribed by its three border rivers (the Severn, the Wye, and the Dee) and the sea was to repeat a dominant narrative.³³ Julie Sanders argues that the river Severn “has functioned in comparable ways throughout centuries as a cultural, linguistic, regional, and topographical boundary line” and that this idea continues to be resonant today (8). Thus, Ludlow’s location in Shropshire, on the western side of the Severn, placed it firmly within the contested and highly liminal spaces of the marches.

³³ See “The seaventh Song,” 127-38.

That Ludlow existed in a space that was neither clearly Welsh nor English was just one piece of the geo-political puzzle that the castle represented. In his autobiography, Richard Baxter, a Shropshire native who would go on to become a major Puritan figure in the seventeenth century, noted of his time spent at Ludlow in the early 1630s: “though the house was great (there being four judges, the King’s Attorney, the Secretary, the Clerk of the Fines, with all their servants, and all the Lord President’s servants and many more), . . . the town was full of temptations” (7). As Baxter makes clear, the castle housed a number of figures that acted as official extensions of the English monarch, making Ludlow a satellite court of sorts. What is more, during the period of Stuart rule it was the official residence of the Prince of Wales, a position still occupied by the first in line of royal succession. The surrounding town, as Baxter’s recollection contends, did not share in this exalted status, and for some its residents represented the very moral and cultural deficiencies the Council of the Marches was created to curb. The relationship between Ludlow and the town that hosted it, therefore, mirrored that between the Lord President and the land and people under his charge—at least in the way that it was perceived by some in the English contingent.

Liminality was an issue that concerned not simply Ludlow—including its location *and* demographics— but also the foundational principles underpinning the Council of the Marches itself. Indeed, as Francis Bacon had explained in an essay, “The Jurisdiction of the Marches,” published as part of *The Elements of the Common Lawes of England* in 1630, “this word marches signifieth no more but limits, or confines, or borders” (289). Written in his capacity as Lord Chancellor of England, the essay attests to Bacon’s definitive view, speaking on behalf of King Charles, that the Council of the Marches

oversaw all of Wales and the four English shires that bordered it. That the essay allotted considerable space for arguing over the geographic scope of the council speaks to the contested nature of the borders that the Marches' jurisdiction delimited.³⁴ While the Lord President's exact jurisdiction was sometimes in question, its mandate was not. As I alluded above, amongst other administrative duties, it was the task of the Council to oversee the punishment of social transgressions and vice.³⁵

Remarking on the creation of the council, first by Edward IV and later reaffirmed by Henry VIII, Bacon proclaims that of the king's aims: "[t]he first was the better to bridle the subject of Wales, which at that time was not reclaimed." Just as *The Digression* frames the acquisition of "ripe understanding and many civil vertues" as something to be *imported*, Bacon similarly figures the benefits of contact between the Welsh and the English—though his recourse to the language of horse-breaking is arguably harsher. He continues, writing: "[t]he second branch of the king's intention was to make a better equality of commerce and intercourse in contracts and dealings between the subjects of Wales and the subjects of England" (291). Part of Wales's proverbial "darkness" was owing to the ways in which it had been isolated from participating in the English economy and those external markets in which England traded.³⁶ Following Bacon's formulation, we can see the ways in which the Earl of Bridgewater's formal role as Lord President was "with temper'd awe to guide" the region's importation of goods and commerce as well as necessary virtues and ideals.

³⁴ For more on the liminal nature of the Court of the Marches, particularly as it related to *A Maske*, see Philip Schwyzer, "Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn," especially 32-4.

³⁵ See Marcus, 203.

³⁶ Hill has discussed in great detail how Wales's supposed backwardness was attributed to its economy and a dearth of trade during the seventeenth century; and, consequently, how the spread of religion was enabled in large part by mercantile incursions into the region and the concomitant spread of trade. See chapter 1, especially 11-12; see also Jenkins.

Bacon goes on, insisting that “the four English shires were brought under the jurisdiction of that council, . . . for congruity’s sake, and for the good of Wales, that that commixture was requisite: and *turpis est pars, quæ non congruit cum toto*” [ugly is the part that is not in harmony with the whole] (299).³⁷ Through the careful guidance of the Lord President, the English provide the “outlandish” virtues that will help improve the Welsh. His is the civilizing influence, he the bringer of truth. We can witness in Bacon’s Latin expression here, too, a version in miniature of one of the primary thematic concerns of the period’s masques: creating order out of chaos, harmony out of discordant parts. Through this lens, Ludlow emerges as a *locus amoenus* for a provincial masque: a place that signifies the intersection of the strange and the familiar, of light and dark, virtue and vice.

* * *

The notion that to get to the safe (because English) confines of Ludlow one must pass through the “dark corners” of Wales emerges as a main feature of *A Maske*’s geopolitical and cultural coordinates. Almost immediately following the part of the Attendant Spirit’s opening speech cited above, the children are presented as:

. . . coming to attend their Fathers state,
And new-entrusted Scepter but their way
Lies through the perplext paths of this drear Wood,
The nodding horror of whose shady brows
Threats the forlorn and wandring Passinger.
And here their tender age might suffer perill,
But that by quick command from Soveran *Jove*
I was dispacht for their defence, and guard[.] (35-42)

It is easy to note, as indeed many critics have, a textual echo of Spenser’s “wandering wood” in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*. The “forlorn and wandring Passinger,” the

³⁷ Translation is my own.

emphasis placed on being lost but persistent in wandering, similarly evokes the erring yet undaunted romance hero I have been tracing. Taken together, the description of the scene and its characters helps to establish in the opening scene the masque's labyrinthine romance coordinates. These lines do more than recall paratexts and generic conventions, though, and served to translate for the masque's audience the children's actual journey into the safe sphere of "their Fathers state." In so doing, the lines reinforce the masque's occasion, demonstrating the ease with which the thematic recognition of the Lord President's office could accommodate the day's liturgical significance: one of the guiding themes in the liturgy for Michaelmas was the role of guardian angels watching over children who, as the Attendant Spirit puts it, "might suffer perill."³⁸ Indeed, the path of the Earl's children to Ludlow, starting from either the family's country residence in Little Gaddesden, Hertfordshire or its residence in London, required traveling westward across the River Severn, most likely crossing at Worcester, and through the region's infamous dark woods. Thus, in "coming to attend" this great celebration in honor of the Earl's "new-entrusted Scepter," and presumably take up residence there, his children had to traverse the dangerous marches, complete with the "perplext paths of this drear Wood" and the "nodding horror" that the darkness produces.

One of the most well known of these dark woods was the Forest of Dean and its history helps illuminate the contradictory cultural symbolism of Wales. As Hill recounts, it was here in 1631 that the Puritan Reverend Peter Simon "had preached the equality of all mankind," eventually being "accused of fomenting revolt" against the crown and its repeated attempts at royal enclosure (23, 18). Cyril Hart, detailing the history of the Free

³⁸ For a thorough accounting of *A Maske's* incorporation of the liturgical themes of Michaelmas, see R. Chris Hassel, *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year*, 157-61.

Miners there explains that the “inhabitants had little dealing with outsiders; strangers visited the district at their peril. Attacks on their time-honoured customs were immediately resisted. Any attempt, for instance, to enclose portions of the Forest was sufficient to cause a serious riot and the fences and mounds would be quickly destroyed” (xiv).³⁹ It is easy to see how Milton might feel a kinship towards a people taking a principled stand against unjust royal incursions, celebrating the right to freedom of movement, while simultaneously recognizing the dangers inherent in a largely lawless space.

While the Attendant Spirit sets the opening scene by decrying these lowly figures, his censure invites its own qualification. At first blush, the picture is bleak for those in:

. . . this dim-spot,
Which men call Earth, and with low-thoughted care
Confin'd, and pester'd in this pin-fold here,
Strive to keep up a frail, and Feaverish being
Unmindfull of the crown that Vertue gives (5-9)

One could certainly interpret these lines as serving merely to establish the baseness of the common folk over and against which the Egerton children are to be measured, especially since the Spirit goes on in the very next lines to carve out an exception to this rule. Still, there is some space here for teasing out the uneasy pull between elitism and egalitarianism that Milton's political theology often displays. Whether they are officially enclosed or not, the woods' inhabitants find themselves imprisoned in their small corner of the world, a “dim-spot” that echoes descriptions of Wales's “dark corners,” so called do a purported lack of spiritual enlightenment. As Hill explains, the main complaint of English evangelists in Wales was that there were simply too many parishes without a

³⁹ For more on the significance of the Forest of Dean, particularly as it relates to *A Maske*, see Julie Sanders, “Ecocritical Readings and the Seventeenth-Century Woodland.”

preacher; in some cases, a flock would be without a faithful shepherd for years at a time.⁴⁰ Seen in a more forgiving light, we may suppose they are loyal to their “frail, and Feaverish” lives simply because they have been prevented from casting their eyes outward and upward from that “low-thoughted” space in which they are “Confin’d, and pester’d.”⁴¹

Though the Spirit shows no sympathy for these figures, their utter lack of agency suggests his criticism ought to be tempered. In his chapter “On Predestination” in *De Doctrina Christiana*, Milton stresses that only salvation—not reprobation—can be predetermined. The reprobates must work to make themselves so, their condemnation coeval with that point in their earthly lives at which “they had already become fixed and hardened in their sins.” To further clarify, Milton cites Ecclesiastes 7.29: “*God himself made man upright, but they themselves seek out very many devices*” (1:73). In this formulation it is the sins that produce the sinners’ confinement. Crucially, though, they must play an active role, *seeking out* their sinful designs. By contrast, those whom the Spirit rails against here appear to be passive victims of their sorry circumstances. Keeping in mind Milton’s proclamation in *Areopagitica*, “knowledge thrives by exercise,” their ignorance can be recast as a catch-22 of sorts. Were they to escape their “pin-fold,” they might learn to “strive to keep up” a more divinely inspired way of life.

This ambivalence regarding the Welsh landscape and its people is at work in the setup of *A Maske*, with the “drear Wood” alternatively being figured as “kind hospitable Woods.” Here the brothers feel secure in leaving their “wearied” sister, as she reports, “Under the spreading favour of these Pines, / . . . / To bring me Berries, or such cooling

⁴⁰ See Hill, chapter 1.

⁴¹ For more on the role of enclosures in *A Maske*, see Roger Wilkenfeld, “The Seat at the Center.”

fruit” that these woods might “provide” (182-6). It is the Lady’s solitude and the oncoming night that transforms the forest from a place of kindness and hospitality to something more ominous. She herself recognizes the threat of impending danger, bemoaning that “theevish Night” “for some fellonious end, / In thy dark lantern thus close up the Stars,” and deny “the misled and lonely Travailer” a chance at safe passage (195-200). The audience or reader knows that this threat is real, and not merely a romance trope, since the Spirit has already warned of Comus, lurking “in thick shelter of black shades imbowl’d, / . . . / Offring to every weary Travailer, / His orient liquor in a Crystale Glasse” (62-5). But, recalling the value Milton elsewhere places on travel and exercise as a primary means of testing virtue, and that the availability of vice is a necessary precondition to the constitution of the ideal traveler--temperate, imporous, unchangeable--it becomes clear that the threat Comus poses is to be embraced rather than feared. That the Lady might seem particularly vulnerable to his artful offerings since we know her to be a “wearied” traveler in need of reviving refreshment merely confirms that this is a test well-suited to her own virtuous development.

So that we may fully appreciate the extent of the test, it is worth pausing here to unpack the full threat posed by Comus’s “orient liquor,” proffered

To quench the drouth of *Phæbus*, which as they taste
 (For most do taste through fond intemperate thirst)
 Soon as the Potion works, their human count’nance,
 Th’express resemblance of the gods, is chang’d
 Into som brutish form of Woolf, or Bear,
 Or Ounce, or Tiger, Hog, or bearded Goat,
 All other parts remaining as they were,
 And they, so perfect is their misery,
 Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
 But boast themselves more comely than before
 And all their friends, and native home forget
 To roule with pleasure in a sensual stie. (66-77)

The weary travelers who have fallen victim to Comus's wiles through their own intemperance showcase the consequences of the subordination of virtue to vice. Their susceptibility to his potion demonstrates what might befall anyone who has not heeded the advice of Benjamin Fisher—that “all young Travellers should receive an Antidot against the infectious Ayre of other Countries”—or Sir Henry Wotton—to travel with “close thoughts and an open countenance.” Their travels have brought them pleasures indeed; yet, this version reads as a perversion of the vision of pleasure Milton promises in *Of Education* wherein one is exhorted to experience nature “and partake in her rejoycing with heaven and earth.” What is meant as an experience that can *enhance* one's own understanding of home is here refigured as that which makes these travelers their “native home forget.” This is what it looks like to be “fixed and hardened in their sins.” Moreover, if, as Milton avers in his pedagogical treatise that the “end of learning . . . [is] to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him,” then Comus's rout's “foul disfigurement,” the loss of “their human count'nance, / Th'express resemblance of the gods,” shows their abject failure. They wear their hearts on their sleeve, so to speak, their beastly heads the sign of the loss of divine grace. While travel, exercise, and experience make it possible to reduce the distance between heaven and earth, they also carry the threat of getting lost, of divine estrangement.

It may seem counterintuitive that Comus's rout could be “so perfect” in “their misery” while simultaneously being unaware of what has befallen them. Of note, this is one of only two instances where misery is touched on in all of Milton's early poetry (the other is in his Psalm 136). Otherwise, the concept appears entirely in his late, epic poems, and even there it is largely confined to *Paradise Lost* where it is introduced and

reiterated as the primary punishment for Satan's rebellion.⁴² It is hardly surprising that the most miserable figure (in a quantitative sense) in all of Milton's poetry is Satan; but, the function of misery in that poem is instructive in how it differs from the meaning on offer here. There Satan's misery is specifically predicated on an awareness of what he has lost.⁴³ Conversely, in *A Maske*, that Comus's rout "[n]ot once perceive their foul disfigurement" is the express precondition for *their* sorry state. If elsewhere knowledge is a necessary helpmate of misery, the focus on a kind of misery made "perfect" through ignorance, marks knowledge itself an ultimate good. It is as though knowing of their descent into vice would be a better fate than their present one. Where Satan is left free to roam and wander, assuming any form he pleases, they, the most wretched of men, are imprisoned in their monstrous flesh—part human, part beast. They are not merely estranged from God; worse still, they have no memory of him.

The best way into this *perfect misery* is through a Neoplatonic understanding of the human soul. In an essay that argues persuasively that Milton's Platonism was strongly influenced by Marsilio Ficino, the father of Renaissance Neoplatonism, Sears Jayne explains: "Christian 'Platonism' saw human life in three stages: 1. the descent of the soul from heaven into the prison of the flesh; 2. the struggle of the soul against the demands of the flesh; and 3. the return of the victorious soul to heaven" (537). These three stages are negotiated by the interplay of the tripartite soul, consisting of a lower soul—the place of passions—and a tiered upper soul—home to both reason and the *mens angelicus*. For Ficino, "[t]he function of the reason, as in Plato, is to control the lower parts of the soul; the function of the *mens* is to preserve the vision or memory of divinity

⁴² See William Ingram and Kathleen Swaim's *A Concordance to Milton's English Poems*, 352-3.

⁴³ See, for example, *Paradise Lost*, I.90 and 142; IV.492; and VI.268.

which the soul brings with it from its life before this incarnation and which provides the means by which the soul finds its way back to God” (538).⁴⁴ I like to think about the *mens* as a version of Ariadne’s thread, without which Theseus would lose himself to the prison of the labyrinth, and, eventually, the Minotaur’s deadly clasp. Like all who had gone before Theseus, the travelers who would make up Comus’s rout lost their way braving a Daedalian labyrinth, never to return home. This is what happens when the fleshly and animalistic pull of the lower soul is able to subordinate the effects of reason, severing that crucial connection between the wandering soul and its divine point of origin.

Like Theseus, the Lady is distinguished from this rabulous rout. Once we are told *most* fall victim to Comus’s potions, the Spirit continues, reiterating his particular, heaven-sent mission:

Therefore when any favour’d of high *Jove*,
 Chances to passe through this adventrous glade,
 Swift as the Sparkle of a glancing Star,
 I shoot from Heav’n to give him safe convoy, (78-81)

Despite his proclamations here and elsewhere, it is not merely the imperiled “forlorn and wandring Passinger,” or he or she “favour’d” by Jove, simply “pass[ing] through” who the Spirit is sent to protect. He has already provided a more specific qualification. In contrast to those many who, “with low-thoughted care” are “unmindfull” of virtue’s crown, the Spirit’s “errand” is for those “that by due steps aspire / To lay their just hands on that Golden Key / That ope’s the Palace of Eternity” (12-5). Functioning in the mold of Pythagoras—to recall Milton’s *Prolusion* “On the Harmony of the Spheres”—the

⁴⁴ Jayne’s essay focuses in particular on how the three parts of the soul constitute separate *motions* and analyzes the work by assigning its narrative action to three distinct scenes, each corresponding to a different motion; see “The Subject of Milton’s *Ludlow Mask*.” For more on Ficino’s influence on *A Maske*, see also John Arthos, “Milton, Ficino, and the *Charmides*.”

Spirit has descended from his airy sphere to protect the *just*. When considered alongside the emphasis on Jove's favor, the Reformed notions of justification and predestination are brought to bear, stressing the Lady's especially virtuous status. Thanks to Milton's exegesis in *De Doctrina Christiana*, we know what due steps must be taken when aspiring to justification and, ultimately, glorification. Expounding further on the subject of predestination, he writes: "God foreknew those who would believe, . . . them he predestined to salvation; and likewise he called them all by various means *so that they might believe*, that is, truly acknowledge God; those thus believing he justified, those persisting he finally glorified" (1:87). The starting point is belief, or faith, from which the means to salvation follow. Still, the Spirit's very presence—specifically framed as a response to the Lady's precarious position—highlights the degree to which faith alone is not enough to protect her.

To be sure, the extracts on predestination I include above omit a crucial component without which belief cannot hold. Milton ends the chapter's introductory paragraph (or argument) by declaring: God "predestined to eternal salvation those who would believe *and be constant in faith*" (1:71, emphasis added). These sole, twinned conditions are reiterated nearly verbatim throughout the chapter. The ritualized preservation that constancy entails brings chastity to the fore and helps explain why, as Georgia Christopher maintains, "chastity is a pervasive metaphor for faith among the Reformers" (39). Still, chastity alone is not enough. The stress on being "constant in faith" shows that continuous testing, or the travails of travel are necessary. Without this, faith and chastity are meaningless.

Assigned to the just, the Spirit's protection can be interpreted as a reward for constancy. As another figure for the *mens angelicus* the Spirit watches the Lady's trials from the wings, ready to guide her due, but faltering, steps back towards God. One might argue that he is an ineffective guide in so far as he allows the Lady to be taken in by Comus's designs, much like he allows her brothers to bungle their rescue mission, letting Comus escape unharmed. Except, of course, we know her trials to be the point: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd," Milton writes in *Areopagitica* (CPW 2:515). How else can her constancy be proven? Presumably leaving Comus free to roam is part of the divine plan, his an important role to play. In this way, he is an analogue for Milton's great tempter Satan; Comus is both his poetic predecessor and his mythological successor.

Part of the Lady's constancy is derived from her confidence—her *faith*—in her divine protection. Though the Lady finds herself surrounded by "nought but single darknes" she is nonetheless able to see beyond the "thousand fantasies" of peril that might stop up this vision (204-5). Pushing past "beckning shadows dire, / And airy tongues," she takes comfort in her belief that:

These thoughts may startle well, but not astound
The vertuous mind, that ever walks attended
By a strong siding champion Conscience.—
O welcom pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,
Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings,
And thou unblemisht form of Chastity,
I see ye visibly, and now beleeve
That he, the Supreme good, t'whom all things ill
Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
Would send a glistring Guardian if need were
To keep my life and honour unassail'd. (207-20)

Her ability to see “visibly” her “glistening Guardian”—who we know to be “viewles” at this point— is of a piece with the Reformist emphasis on eyes as a vehicle for perceiving what is otherwise unperceivable. Christopher explains: “the Reformers make the caveat that heavenly things like God’s throne cannot be seen except by the ‘eyes of faith’” (9). The Lady’s unswerving constancy, distilled into an inviolable “Conscience,” is illuminated by the vision of the full Pauline complement of virtuous attendants—Faith, Hope, and Chastity (as a figure for Charity or Love).⁴⁵ Further demonstrating the virtues’ imbrication are the iterative descriptors of purity made visible; the “pure-ey’d” and “white-handed” come together to elaborate this “unblemisht form.”

This hopeful, assured vision has the effect of transforming the ominous woods, opening up a crack in the darkness to let in a sliver of light. Immediately following the lines cited above, she wonders:

Was I deceiv’d, or did a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night?
 I did not err, there does a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night,
 And casts a gleam over this tufted Grove. (221-25)

At the same time, these lines serve to show that the Lady is beginning to falter. The analeptic repetition of what she sees highlights their distinctive rhetorical frames.

Coming on the heels of what she believes, and thus sees visibly, and at the moment in which her vision is refocused on her earthly surroundings, her question—“Was I deceiv’d”—similarly opens a crack in the veneer of confidence she has just displayed.

Despite her reassurance—“I did not err”—this brief moment of hesitation serves to reinforce the broader patterns of vacillation between doubt and belief that this soliloquy

⁴⁵ Recall Kimberly Coles’s argument that Spenser had preceded Milton in substituting Paul’s charity with chastity in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*. See note 17 above.

develops. While the Lady's moral vision is clear and undiluted, her vision in the physical world remains a point of vulnerability.

This is the Lady's first speech, following on the heels of Comus's discovery of her, and our understanding of her vulnerabilities and strengths is filtered through the ways in which Comus has presented her. He has described her as "Som Virgin sure / . . . / Benighted in these Woods" and announced his intentions, like Archimago of *The Faerie Queene*, "to cheat the eye with blear illusion, / And give it false presentments" (148-50, 155-6). But he intends to ensnare her with more than his "Magick dust" in her eyes, making him "appear som harmles Villager" (165-6). His is a two-pronged attack. He will employ not only false presentments but also "fair pretence of friendly ends, / And well plac't words of glozing courtesie" (161-1). The ease with which he shifts from false to fair semblances echoes George Puttenham's varied descriptions of allegory discussed in the previous chapter: *Allegoria* is at once "the Figure of False Semblant" and "the Courtier or Figure of Fair Semblant" (271, 379). While this offers a glimpse into Milton's distaste for "glozing" courtesy, it simultaneously hints at a discomfort with allegory. Recalling, too, that allegory and figured language offered the best approximation of Truth, it is hardly surprising that he would find it an unavoidable vehicle for thinking through the winding path to divine vision. Thus, in the moments in which Comus first introduces the Lady, we are presented with two correlative problems. First, she is "benighted" or "overtaken by the darkness of the night," her eyes marked as a vulnerable entry point. Second, the dangerous instability between speech and truth suggests that the ears of this untested and unexercised "Virgin sure" offer another source

of weakness. This is the framework within which the Lady's epistemological struggles are then situated.

Comus's characterization of the Lady as *benighted* is correct in its literal sense; but, the term has a figurative connotation as well, describing one "involved in intellectual or moral darkness."⁴⁶ As we have seen, her moral vision is bright. Where Comus senses vulnerability, the Lady projects strength. Still, the descriptor's pregnant meaning holds out the possibility of the loss of this moral rectitude. Certainly this is his goal. And however illuminated her inner self may be, she is nonetheless shrouded in darkness and must rely as well on her fallible ears. In another example of how *A Maske* enfold its characters, Comus stepping aside for the "unacquainted feet" of the Lady, the two are connected by way of hearing one another. She begins: "This way the noise was, if mine ear be true, / My best guide now, me thought it was the sound / of Riot, and ill manag'd Merriment" (170-2). Yet, at the same time that her compromised eye is replaced by her ear, it is already tempered, that weighty *if* prefiguring the moment of doubt that is the final bookend of this speech: "Was I deceiv'd"? Twice more in the space of these fifty-five lines will she exhibit these battles with indecision. First, in weighing which way to direct her wandering steps, she decides her only option is to follow the scant information provided by her "best guide." Though she is "loath" to find what surely lay that way—if her ear is true—she knows no other path to take. Still, in following the noise, she arrives at a problem of a different kind:

This is the place, as well as I may guess,
Whence eev'n now the tumult of loud Mirth
Was rife, and perfet in my list'ning ear,
Yet not but single darknes do I find. (201-4, emphasis added)

⁴⁶ See *OED*, *benighted*, adj. 1 and 2.a.

Her best guide, perfect in its function, has seemingly failed her. Moreover, her surprise to discover “single darknes” when following the sounds of “Riot, and ill-manag’d Merriment” shows that she associates the “rudenesse, and swill’d insolence” of the merry-makers with illumination, however measured. When considered alongside the inner illumination and protection owed her “glistring Guardian” that she immediately goes on to describe, we can better understand the source of her courage. Perhaps she has the gospel of Paul in mind: “And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weaknes. . . . Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christes sake: for when I am weake, then am I strong” (II Corinthians 12:9-10). Illustrating the doubled-edge of vulnerability, her doubts and fears, a sign of weakness, provide the vehicle for developing her strength. The tensions developing between her sense of danger and her confidence that her life and honor will be kept unassailed are revealed not to be tensions after all; rather, they are mutually sustaining components of her exercised virtue.

Another way of thinking through the Lady’s decision-making process is to note that her doubt regarding the “sable cloud” turning “forth her silver lining on the night” is not expressed about what she saw but whether she in fact saw it. Her conclusion that she “did not err” demonstrates a somewhat facile grasp of how deception works. She sees what she thinks she sees and therefore it is what she thinks it is. The Lady’s faith in her attending Virtues and the “glistring Guardian”—which we know is rightly placed—ironically makes possible her misplaced faith in Comus, the first “guide” who offers his services to her. As confidence in the clear vision of her “Conscience” overtakes doubt,

she becomes all the more susceptible to Comus's "magick dust"; the constancy of her eyes of faith fall victim to the frailty of her human eyes.

Indeed, once she sees Comus, she names what he appears to be—a "gentle Shepherd" (271). When he promises to help reunite her with her brothers, the "neer-ushering guides" from whom she has been divided, she willingly casts him in the open role of guardian (279). To be sure, he plays the part well and knows just what to say. He has seen her brothers, though he "took it for a faëry vision":

. . . I was aw-strook,
And as I past, I worshipt; if those you seek
It were a journey like the path to Heav'n,
To help you find them. (298-304)

Setting the brothers up as demigods—inspiring awe, worthy of worship—he fuels the narrative of the Egerton children's particular virtue. To the Lady's eager ears, this provides proof of concept. Framing his promised aid in Neoplatonic terms, Comus manipulates the Lady's expectation that the task of the guardian of the virtuous is to guide their faltering steps along "the path to Heav'n." When she decries the difficulties inherent in navigating "this leavy Labyrinth" (278) which "[w]ould overtask the best Land-Pilots art, / Without the sure guess of well-practiz'd feet," he readily steps in:

I know each lane, and every alley green
Dingle, or bushy dell of this wilde Wood,
And every bosky bourn from side to side
My daily walks and ancient neighbourhood,
And if your stray attendance be yet lodg'd,
Of shroud within these limits, I shall know (309-16)

Their steps, formally enfolded before, are now particularly knit. Her unacquainted feet will trace his, well-practiced by his "daily walks and ancient neighbourhood." For as

long as she trusts what she sees and hears, she is ready to follow this false guide wherever he leads.

Offering her best impression of Othello, imputing honesty where there is none, she declares:

Shepherd I take thy word,
And trust thy honest offer'd courtesie,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds
With smoaky rafters, then in tapstry Halls
And Courts of Princes, where it first was nam'd,
And yet is most pretended: In a place
Less warranted than this, or less secure
I cannot be, that I should fear to change it,
Eie me blest Providence, and square my triall
To my proportion'd strength. Shepherd lead on. (321-30)

This tells us everything we need to know. She not only takes him at his word but also at his appearance. What is merely signified is taken as sign. While in one breath naming that which he is as that which he is not, she shows that she recognizes the nature of the threat while simultaneously failing to see its elaboration before her very eyes. His “glozing courtesie” has been detected, but only in part, here reworked as that which is “honest offer'd.” Truth is intervolved with fiction, good with evil.

Her closing lines here complicate things and offer an apt observation: she “cannot be” “less secure.” What is most curious about this observation, though, is the contrast it establishes between the end of this scene and the one that precedes it, when the visible presence of her protective Virtues gives her “new enliv'nd spirits” (228). She has just found a guardian, one she has faith in on the basis of what she can see visibly; yet, she remains in fear. “Eie me blest Providence,” she asks, requesting what can be interpreted as a watchful heavenly eye, her own clear vision, or a combination thereof. Her reticence here suggests that she sees enough to know that her trials are not yet nearing their end.

When we compare the relatively benign threat of taking a drink from a stranger—presented as the sign of hated intemperance—to following a shepherd blindly through the woods, we can see the grey area from which the Lady must be extricated. She is somewhere between those prophesied by Esias whose “heart is waxed grosse, and their eares are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed”—a description that brings Comus’s rout to mind—and the blessed few who “see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and should understand with their heart” (Matthew 13:13-7). It is in this liminal space between depravity and salvation that she must sharpen her vision and hone her “list’ning ear,” in effect learning to distinguish between that which makes her whole and that which threatens her inviolability. Part damsel in distress, part romance hero, her “further quest,” will be the ultimate test of her ability to marshal her faith and constancy to protect her inner vision (321).

* * *

III. Romance: a thing sage and serious

* * *

Though many critics subscribe to the view that romance was a genre on the decline in the seventeenth century, Amelia Zurcher has shown that it was in fact gaining new ground. Romance, Zurcher writes, “was uniquely suited by its generic history to recognize the complexities of politic ideology and to approach them with true ambivalence—providing something of a cover for would-be rebels toward authority but also, certainly by the 1620s . . . , a real ground for the intellectual exploration of politic ideas” (7). England’s increasingly global connections—mercantile and otherwise—“stimulated a sharply new sense of the social world not as a hierarchy but as a vast

network of peer relationships between relative strangers. . . . a situation that almost necessarily would seem to inspire increased conversation about the risks and rewards of social virtue” (14). We have seen a version of this in *The Faerie Queene* wherein we witness the sequential development from one organizing virtue to the next proceeding from the intensely personal to the explicitly social: faith, temperance, and chastity give way to friendship, justice, and courtesy. For Spenser as for Milton, one’s relationship to God—as expressed by personal virtue—is vitally connected to one’s relationship to his or her fellow neighbors or citizens.

The general critical argument tracing Milton’s attitudes about romance tends to follow a pattern, first citing *An Apology* for evidence of Milton’s early appreciation for the value of romance, then *Eikonoklastes* (1649) as an example of his later negative revaluation of the genre. The first point is hardly in question since Milton’s praise in *An Apology* is fairly direct; I will turn to this moment shortly. Regarding the second point as it relates to *Eikonoklastes*, Barbara Lewalski’s reading is instructive in its opposition to the general line of thought.

In her study of Milton’s postures towards romance, Lewalski concludes: “romances are judged according to the cardinal Miltonic principle that the nature of the reader rather than the matter of the books determines whether they will promote vice or virtue” (“Revaluations,” 58). This is why, she argues, the oft-cited position against romance that Milton takes in *Eikonoklastes*, in which he decries “the polluted orts and refuse of *Arcadia’s* and *Romances*,” is not an issue with romance, *per se*, but rather an issue with the way King Charles in *Eikon Basilike* reworks Pamela’s prayer for her lover

into his own prayer for Christ's mercy (*CPW* 3:364).⁴⁷ As Lewalski points out, Milton writes approvingly elsewhere in *Eikonoklastes* of romance in general and *Arcadia* in particular, citing the latter as an example of "a Book in that kind full of worth and witt" (*CPW* 3:362). It must, however, be allowed as how even this praise is qualified. As alluded to above, Milton's main preoccupation is with the king's use of "a Prayer stol'n word for word from the mouth of a Heathen fiction praying to a heathen God"; and, while *Arcadia* may be "full of worth and witt," it is "among religious thoughts, and duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good caution; much less in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christians Prayer-Book" (*CPW* 3:362-3). Thus he objects not to the works themselves but to how readers might misread and mischaracterize them, turning something of general "worth and witt" into "orts," or fragments, that have been corrupted from their original context and "polluted" into false expressions of piety. Though a romance may be able to exemplify and therefore teach virtue, the reader must be able to use his or her interpretive skill to differentiate these Christian lessons from their "heathen" sources. The romance "kind" may have many uses, but acting as a source of religious truth is not among them. It is at best a vehicle.

To be sure, to value romance is not the same thing as writing one. It is true that Milton did not write a romance proper, never having produced the *Arthuriad* that he mused about approvingly in "Mansus," one of the Latin poems included in his 1645 collection. Still, as Luke Taylor has recently proposed, "[f]or Milton, history is not an epic with an overarching telos but a romance concatenation of errors" (302). I see no need to separate the two; in fact, I propose instead that for Milton, the epical telos of history necessarily enfolds labyrinthine error. Still, the implication that history and

⁴⁷ See also *CPW* 3: 362, n. 38.

culture could be understood through recognizable narrative frames supports the notion that generic forms have their own ontologies that exist outside of their more conventionally distinct textual iterations. Though Milton did not write readily recognizable romances, he often wrote and routed his knotty philosophical program through the mode and its motifs. Paul Stevens, in his provocatively titled essay, “How Milton’s Nationalism Works,” reminds readers that “Milton’s poetry is often, both in form and content, as political as his political prose is poetical” (277). Nevertheless, critical conversations about the vestiges of romance in Milton’s works have been confined to his poetry and, with rare exception, these vestiges are treated as a feature rather than as a defining characteristic.⁴⁸ As a counter, I suggest that an elevated version of romance can be found permeating much of his writing, including his more sober prose treatises. Moreover, I maintain that attention to his broader instrumentalization of the genre allows a clearer picture to emerge of the ways in which Milton worked through a host of thorny issues about what it meant to be a virtuous Christian, Protestant, Briton, or Englishman, and where—in an increasingly cosmopolitan world—these identities might overlap or even conflict.

Areopagitica provides the strongest case for reading Milton’s polemical prose through a romance-inflected lens. Various critics have noted that the tract, the title page of which announces its purpose to argue in favor of “the Liberty of Unlicenc’d Printing,” offers an intensive lesson in reading as a search for “Truth,” or the knowledge of God

⁴⁸ For an instance of this rare exception, see Lahive (also cited above; see note 1). Though he allows as how some of Milton’s early poems showcase an “engagement” with the genre, he focuses his attention on the later poems where he has identified a particularly sophisticated incorporation of romance.

(*CPW* 2:485).⁴⁹ Echoing language in the tract itself, Harry R. Smallenburg argued in an essay published in 1976 that the work's "pieces do not coalesce into a coherent whole," and that the search for truth will always be "fragmented and incomplete" (174, 169).⁵⁰ Just over a decade later, Stanley Fish would propose that the tract displays a "pattern of seeking and *not* finding," the goal of which is to make visible the act of reading's "process of endless and proliferating interpretations" ("Driving from the letter" 244, 246). Twenty years after Fish's essay was published, George F. Butler would reflect both of these arguments, writing that "Milton's rhetorical strategy makes it difficult for the reader to follow his argument, so that the experience of reading *Areopagitica* becomes a search for truth and unity," suggesting finally that "Milton reaches his conclusion in an erratic, meandering way" (115-6). Though Butler routes his study of the role of error in *Areopagitica* through a reading of Redcrosse Knight's battle with Error in Book I of *The Faerie Queene* and Milton's own infamous "error" in misremembering that the Palmer does not in fact accompany Guyon on his visit to Mammon's cave in Book II, he never broaches the subject of romance or explicitly considers its presence in Milton's tract.⁵¹ In fact, though their language—"erratic, meandering," "fragmented and incomplete," "seeking and *not* finding"—is clearly reminiscent of the romance mode, neither Butler, Smallenburg, nor Fish make this connection, giving the genre an absent presence. Despite this absence, the fact that each critic finds romance language central to their arguments about what the tract is doing and how it does this work is suggestive of the

⁴⁹ For a broader version of this argument as it applies to Milton's project across his oeuvre, see Quilligan and Fish, *How Milton Works*.

⁵⁰ See *Areopagitica*, *CPW* 2:549.

⁵¹ On Milton's "error" in recalling the plot regarding Mammon's cave, see *CPW* 2:516. For a reading of this moment that argues that the mistake was intentional, see Quilligan, 50-65.

ways in which the genre's features are both diffuse throughout its structure and integral to its meaning.

While the digressive structure of *Areopagitica* both mimics and reinforces its main thesis about the search for Truth, there are moments in the tract in which the content itself helps frame this search as a romance quest.⁵² In recognizably Spenserian terms, Milton figures the ideal reader as one who can learn to read aright through exposure to vice *and* virtue: "Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together almost inseparably." He continues: "the knowledge of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evill, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds which were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt" (*CPW* 2:514). As with the tangled branches of the Orinoco in Raleigh's *Discoverie*, the language of things "involv'd and interwoven" recalls *The Faerie Queene's* Wandering Wood and the "perplex paths" of *A Maske's* "drear Wood." So, too, does the endlessness of *Psyche's* "incessant labour" in sorting good from evil amidst "so many cunning resemblances" foreground the problem of reading and knowing that *The Faerie Queene's* Archimago represents. The effect of this focus on a task without end within a labyrinthine landscape casts Milton's reader as another version of the romance hero.

Lest the connection between reader and romance hero appear too tenuous, Milton offers another link, framing the *Psyche* interlude with an excerpt from the final chapter of Ecclesiastes. "*Salomon* informs us that much reading is a wearines to the flesh," Milton writes, citing the line in the scripture that immediately follows: "of making many

⁵² In her biography, *The Life of Milton*, Barbara Lewalski comes the closest to identifying and naming romance elements as such in *Areopagitica*. See, for example, 155 and 192.

bookes *there is no end*” (*CPW* 2:514).⁵³ This scriptural epilogue—emphasizing both the endlessness of the task of producing books of knowledge and the physical, fleshly weariness that results from navigating these works—makes a fitting end to a book that itself offers a glimpse into an individual’s journey through wisdom books in the search of the knowledge of God. In the introduction to his recent translation of Ecclesiastes from the Hebraic original, Michael V. Fox remarks of the narrator: “He bares his soul in all its twistings and turnings, ups and downs, taking his readers with him on a sometimes arduous journey to knowledge—a knowledge that turns out to be very incomplete. Thus his readers are . . . to observe him as he walks a rocky and winding path toward understanding and acceptance of life’s frustrations. The journey itself is important.”

(xiii). Milton sets up his description of the “incessant labour” involved in determining good from evil by pointing to a work that is itself conforming to romance conventions; in each case the reader is cast as the questing hero enduring an unceasing and wearisome but necessary task. This lends a sense of legitimacy to the labors of the period’s armchair travelers.

The blurring of the lines between romance protagonist and reader offers a variation on the theme I have been tracing throughout this dissertation in which the line of demarcation between author and his romance subjects becomes labile and slippery. In Raleigh’s case, he created an image of himself in the *Discoverie of Guiana* that was shaped by and reimagined as the ideal questing hero. It is as though this familiar narrative frame enables Raleigh to understand and recognize himself more fully, even if this “recognition” is purely fictional. Milton demonstrates throughout *Areopagitica* a

⁵³ See Ecclesiastes 12:12. Milton’s note in *The Reason of Church-Government* that “the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon* consisting of two persons and a double *Chorus*,” suggests other ways in which scripture associated with Solomon has romance elements (*CPW* 1:815).

subtler approach to the process of self-fashioning in which both Spenser and Raleigh indulged.⁵⁴ God “raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more then common industry not only to look back and revise what hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain furder and goe on, some new enlightn’d steps in the discovery of truth,” Milton writes, linking the project of knowledge production to a divinely inspired and directed romance quest (*CPW* 2:566). In this schema, we can identify another version of Ecclesiastes’s Solomonic teacher figure, here an extraordinary knight “of rare abilities” undaunted in his “discovery of the truth,” whose impossible but indispensable task is to both “revise” and contribute to this ever-growing and always incomplete body of knowledge. Though Milton does not explicitly count himself among these extraordinary men in this tract, he would go on to do so in *Paradise Lost*, a work the aim of which was, famously, to “justify the ways of God to men” (I.26).

* * *

As I mentioned briefly in the introduction to this chapter, it is in *Areopagitica* that Milton declares Spenser “our sage and serious Poet.” That Spenser has earned this praise on the grounds of his epic romance is made clear by Milton’s explanatory example wherein Spenser is “describing true temperance under the person of *Guion*” (*CPW* 2:516). The phrasing, “sage and serious,” had appeared only once before in Milton’s oeuvre when in *A Maske* the Lady lauds the “sage / And serious doctrine of Virginity” (786-7). With slight variation, Milton invoked the “sage and . . .” construction just twice more in his poetry and both instances occur in *Il Penseroso* (1631): first, in the opening

⁵⁴ See Stephen Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles and Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, chapter 4.

invocation to his muse, Melancholy, that “Goddess, sage and holy” (11); and then in the poem’s allusion to Chaucer’s *Squire’s Tale* and other romances:

. . . if ought els, great *Bards* beside,
In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
Of Turneys and of Trophies hung;
Of Forests, and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant then meets the ear[.] (116-21)

Romance might seem an odd choice within a poetic ode to melancholy or contemplation. Indeed, Milton elaborates this staid poetic vision when in the extended invocation to the muse he beseeches: “Com pensive Nun, devout and pure, / Sober, stedfast, and demure” (31-2). But, as the last line excerpted above makes clear, romance is able to contain a richness of imagery and meaning, requiring the reader to do the interpretive work of discovering that which lies beyond what “meets the ear.” This ascribes a kind of depth to romance, suggesting that Milton is drawn to the genre because it is able to operate as a vehicle for purposeful poetic production. What is more, the accumulation of “sage and . . .” references cited above—“serious,” “holy,” “solemn”—coheres around a single ethical matrix of related virtues that is able to accommodate ideas about temperance, virginity, purity, sobriety, and steadfastness among others. While romances may trade in tourneys and enchantments, these are not to be mistaken with frivolous tales.

This serious depiction of romance is also at work in *A Maske*. As we have seen, part of the Lady’s trials lie in her ability to discern “[w]here more is meant then meets the ear.” More explicit, though, is the Spirit’s guidance of the Lady’s young brothers:

. . . tis not vain, or fabulous,
(Though so esteem’d by shallow ignorance)
What the sage Poëts taught by th’ heav’nly Muse,
Storied of old in high immortal vers
Of dire *Chimera’s* and enchanted Iles,
And rifted Rocks whose entrance leads to hell

For such there be, but unbelief is blind. (513-9)

Though he is ostensibly describing Homer's *Odyssey*, the qualities the Spirit chooses to highlight are decidedly romantic in tone.⁵⁵ So, too, is he able to insert a reproof to those of "shallow ignorance" who would dismiss such works as "vain, or fabulous." Milton's approving language about romance in *An Apology* echoes these sentiments, allowing a picture of the romance genre's utility to come into fuller focus. When describing the maturation of his intellectual life as it developed through reading, he begins: "that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wander'd; I betook me among those lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in solemne canto's the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings; & from hence had in renowne over all Christendome" (*CPW* 1:890-1). Though the tract was written in 1642, it depicts the author as a young romance reader and does not anywhere suggest that he has continued to indulge these tastes in reading material. Still, he is not critical of the genre here; in describing these fables and romances as "lofty" and "solemne," he recalls the Spirit's earlier remonstrance that they are "not vain, or fabulous." What is more, by framing his encounter with the form with a reference to his "younger feet," he leaves open the possibility that this encounter involved his own early poetic endeavors as much as it did his reading. Milton elevates the very genre that critics argue he would later summarily dismiss as insufficiently serious. What is more, these explicitly national fables have enabled the spread of English "renowne over all Christendome," itself no small feat in an era in which England remained a small player on the global stage.

⁵⁵ *The Odyssey* is arguably a romance epic itself. This is where Colin Burrow begins his study of the form; see *Epic Romance*, chapter 1.

Many critics stop here, drawing attention to Milton's qualifying modifier in his "younger feet" as a way of cordoning off the positive valuation on offer. Milton goes further in *An Apology*, though, elaborating upon just what these solemn and lofty works had made possible for the young reader: "There I read it in the oath of every Knight, that he should defend to the expence of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befell him, the honour and chastity of Virgin or Matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a deare adventure of themselves had sworne" (*CPW* 1:891). Thus, romance enabled the exaltation of virtue, rather than the descent into vice that many of the genre's critics decried. Furthermore, by declaring that "every free and gentle spirit without that oath ought to be borne a Knight," who is inspired by what is right rather than what is required by "the laying of a sword upon his shoulder" to "secure and protect the weaknesse of any attempted chastity," Milton is careful to apply the lessons gleaned from these romances to an ideal of universal import (*CPW* 1:891). In the space of a few short lines we have traveled from the heights of "our victorious Kings" to the humble locus of an everyman "Knight," highlighting how easily romance can be stripped of its chivalric trappings, its lessons reworked for a more egalitarian ideal.

Where the romantic interludes from his youthful reading might have led others to the "Bordello's," they have instead sent Milton in search of the "shady spaces of philosophy" (*CPW* 1:891). To the initial foundation of knowledge gleaned from romance, Milton adds the teachings of Plato and Xenophon—coincidentally the same two "teachers" among whom Spenser situates his own pedagogical aims in *The Faerie*

Queene.⁵⁶ The “shady spaces” suggest that though he has moved on to philosophy, this new subject can nonetheless be incorporated into the metaphorical topography of pastoral romance. What is more, Milton reports that he has drawn from these philosophers a deeper understanding of love and chastity, knowledge and virtue, demonstrating that it is not only the spatial coordinates of romance but also its central themes that continue to inflect his thinking (*CPW* 1:891).

The third and final addition to this body of knowledge is scripture, which lends the authority of God to these burgeoning ideas. These “precepts of Christian Religion,” “[l]ast of all not in time, but as perfection is last,” have been bolstered by Milton’s own “naturall disposition, and morall discipline learnt out of the noblest Philosophy,” highlighting the degree to which his understanding of divine teachings is dependent upon this prior foundation of knowledge (*CPW* 1:892). Milton explains:

But having had the doctrine of holy Scripture unfolding those chaste and high mysteries with timeliest care infus’d, that *the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body*, thus also I argu’d to my selfe; that if unchastity in a woman whom Saint *Paul* termes the glory of man, be such a scandall and dishonour, then certainly in a man who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonourable. In that he sins both against his owne body which is the perfeter sex, and his own glory which is the woman, and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God which is in himselfe. (*CPW* 1:892)⁵⁷

When combined with the kind of careful deliberation that involves *arguing with oneself*, the main message Milton extracts from this triangulation of teachings—secular, philosophical, and scriptural—is a deepened and expanded sense of the value of chastity. Over the course of a few pages, the concept of chastity and what it conveys develops from something that all men, regardless of rank, should feel compelled to defend on

⁵⁶ See the “Letter to Raleigh” appended to the 1592 edition of *The Faerie Queene* (716).

⁵⁷ Here Milton is drawing from I Corinthians 6:13 and 11:7.

behalf of a “Virgin or Matron,” to a virtue that applies to all righteous Christians, regardless of gender. What is more, the maintenance of chastity is inexorably linked to protecting “the image and glory of God which is in himselfe.” It is difficult to imagine a virtue more intimately tied to one’s spiritual life.

Noteworthy is that the quest for knowledge of virtue and the divine has wended its way to the writings of Paul. “I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ,” his Epistle to the Ephesians announces, making Paul a fitting figure to help facilitate the “unfolding” of the mysteries of divine knowledge (3:8). Certainly scripture’s “chaste and high mysteries” are of a piece with “lofty” and “solemne” romances. Benedict Robinson, following Frye’s characterization of romance as “secular scripture,” suggests that the genre “is the form that mediates between theogony and human experience; it translates mythical narratives into what we can first truly call literature” (4).⁵⁸ Similarly, that these scriptural mysteries must be *unfolded* links divine knowledge to romance structures, labyrinthine and intervolved.⁵⁹ And as Patricia Parker has shown, the structural *dilatatio* of romance has both Christian and Neo-Platonic resonances. According to Parker, in the commentaries of Marsilio Ficino—well known to Milton—*dilatatio* was used as “the Neo-Platonic term for the ‘Emanation’ of being, its procession out from, and its return to, the Source or the One” (57).⁶⁰ *Dilatatio*, then, could provide a structural shorthand for the three-staged motions of the soul also outlined by Ficino. As for the term’s Christian history, she explains that Patristic writers used it as “a figure for the Church, ‘opening’ to gather in its fullness before the final end, or *parousia*”

⁵⁸ See Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 186-206; and, *The Secular Scripture*.

⁵⁹ *Intervolved* is a Miltonic neologism, first used to describe maze-like intricacy in *Paradise Lost*, Book VII.622-3.

⁶⁰ On Ficino’s influence on Milton’s understanding of Plato, see the introduction to Lewalski and Haan’s edition of *The Shorter Poems* cxxiii; and Jayne, 534-5.

(58). Through these combined lenses, the scriptural unfolding that Milton describes can be seen as an attempted fulfillment of the apocalyptic promise of full discovery. In a way, romance, while not a source for biblical truth, could nonetheless offer a framework for understanding the process of discovering its “unsearchable riches.” Thus, the supposed turn away from romance is revealed to not have involved a turn after all. Instead, Milton demonstrates a continued circling back with each successive return offering further insight.

Paul is an ideal representative for this layered and complex process of creating and disseminating divine knowledge, condensed here into a single, familiar virtue: chastity. As a man known for his “militant peregrinations”—in the words of Alain Badiou—bent on the impossible quest of spreading the light of Christian doctrine to the ends of the known world, Paul was himself an originary romance hero (19). Just a few chapters after he announces his purpose to “preach . . . the unsearchable riches of Christ” in Ephesians, this wayfaring proselytizer paints a fuller picture of what this work will entail:

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that yee may be able to withstand in the evill day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loynes girt about with trueth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousnesse: And your feete shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace. Above all, taking the shielde of Faith, wherewith yee shall be able to quench all the fierie dartes of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. (6:13-17)

Paul’s framing of the ideal Christian, “able to withstand in the evill day,” as a knight who has suited up and armed for battle with his faith and righteousness, forged from the word of God, is a salient image that has continued to reverberate. Well documented is the degree to which Paul’s concept of the armor of God informs the allegorical quest of *The*

Faerie Queene's Redcrosse Knight in Book I.⁶¹ Similarly, Paul's intensifying emphasis on one who can "withstand . . . stand" and "[s]tand therefore" in the face of evil figures forth the trials of Guyon, the knight of temperance in Book II.

When Milton invokes Spenser and Guyon in *Areopagitica*, it is to praise these crucial lessons of temperance: "that he might see and know, and yet abstain" (*CPW* 2:516). This idea is picked up and reworked when Milton goes on to describe Adam: "God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu?" (*CPW* 2:527). The concept of abstention was crucial to Milton's understanding of the virtuous citizen. Required was something—be it an idea, person, or desire—to resist. For what was abstinence in the absence of temptation? As Milton would famously put it in *Paradise Lost*, God says of Adam: "I made him just and right, / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall" (3:98-9). Faith, temperance, chastity, and continence each require the temptation to fall and the forbearance to stand. Furthermore, passions and pleasures not only offer the crucial foundation for self-restraint, but also are themselves "the very ingredients of vertu." Recalling the discussion in the preceding section about the role of pleasures and delights in the work of travel, we see that they are not simply that which must be overcome; they are an integral part of the ritually preserved self.

⁶¹ The connection between the Redcrosse Knight's shield and St. Paul's conception of the armor of God is gestured towards multiple times in the first canto alone. See, for example, stanzas 1, 19, and 27.

The text that immediately precedes Milton's invocation of Spenser and Guyon in *Areopagitica* further illustrates this vision of an individual's quest in the constitution of virtue and the indispensable role that pleasures play:

. . . what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd virtue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; . . . (CPW 2:514-6)

Though Milton's image of the "warfaring Christian" is consonant with the Calvinist tradition's framing of the elect as embattled against both the enemies of righteousness and the enemy within, its iteration here has a jarring effect nonetheless.⁶² This is, after all, a tract about reading; the arena being staged is one of knowledge where the battle to be won involves the "survey of vice" and "the scanning of error" (CPW 2:516). Of particular note is that this warfaring figure is rendered as a wayfaring Christian in all of the extant presentation copies of *Areopagitica*. In each case the "y" has been crossed out and replaced with an "r" by what most editors agree is Milton's hand.⁶³ As I have been suggesting, the romance hero, particularly in the Pauline mode, is at once wayfaring *and* warfaring. This fortuitous printer's error sketches a through-line from Milton's fallen individual and his wayward quest for godliness to Saint Paul's knight, protected by the

⁶² See Deborah Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 107.

⁶³ See Ernest Sirluck's gloss for a more thorough accounting of this error and later editors' conclusions about it (CPW 2:515, n.102).

“whole armour of God,” and readied for battle. Thus, the linguistic interplay provides a glimpse of both the questing knight’s starting point and end goal.

While chastity is never specifically broached throughout the whole of this tract, like romance, it has an absent presence. So, too, is it distinguished from virginity, which functions as “a blank virtue,” suggesting lack rather than purity. Where virginity refers to an inborn state, chastity must be continually maintained in the face of “vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures.” Where one is a passive virtue, the other is active. Moreover, Milton’s modification of “seeming pleasures” sets up a surprising disconnect between pleasure and vice. That which is sinful only *seems* pleasurable, the real pleasure is to be found in virtue. The anaphoric repetition of “and yet” brings the temptations back into view again and again, the emphases on *abstention*, *distinction*, and *preference* crescendoing rapidly into the ideal—“the true warfaring Christian.” What is more, “blank virtue” is aligned with a “fugitive and cloister’d virtue” not worthy of praise, stressing the simultaneous fantasy and fallacy of enclosure. Paradoxically, to be made whole, or pure, one must open oneself up to venture beyond the boundaries of the familiar, “sall[y] out and see[] her adversary,” and be purified by “triall.”

With its direct invocation of Spenser’s Knight of Temperance within a text that both describes and models the process of learning to “[r]ead” and “to judge aright,” *Areopagitica* showcases the ways in which Milton did in fact learn from the romance works his “younger feet” encountered (*CPW* 2:511). In his essay about error in *Areopagitica*, Butler has written about the ways in which the tract replays a battle central to another of Spenser’s knights, that of the Redcrosse Knight with the figure Error in the

Wandering Wood.⁶⁴ This is certainly at play here; but, I contend that the specter of the Knight of Holiness or Faith within Milton's tract does more than rehearse the problems of reading and knowing that that first battle represents. Errour is only the beginning after all.

Recalling that the thrust of the Redcrosse Knight's quest throughout Book I involves learning to harness the power of his shield of faith, it is important to note the degree to which the particular challenges that test his virtue are filtered through sexual interactions. The first test that follows the battle with Errour is one in which Redcrosse is made to forsake his lady, Una, the allegorical stand-in for the One True Church. Archimago effects this loss of faith by replacing Una with a false double, Duessa, "fram'd of liquid ayre," who acts anything but the lady Redcrosse has come to know (I.i.45.3). This reimagined bed-trick occurs under cover of darkness while the knight is sleeping and he is "made" to "dreame of loves and lustfull play" (I.i.47.4). Awakening in "this great passion of unwonted lust," instead of finding relief with the sight of Una, "the chastest flowre," he is greeted by the "bayted hooke" of Duessa, "a loose Leman" whom Cupid "[h]er chaste hart had subdewd" (I.i.47-50). This bait-and-switch demonstrates how readily sexual knowledge can displace scriptural knowledge. Having successfully defeated Errour, Redcrosse's true trials in the quest of faith begin to unfold in the realm of infidelity, supporting Milton's remonstrance, "triall is by what is contrary."

This refrain is repeated over the course of Book I. In Canto vii, Redcrosse encounters a new lady who is in fact the "false *Duessa*, clokt with *Fidessaes* name" (I.vii.1.9). Fidessa finds her knight as "he wearie sate, / To rest him selfe . . . / Disarmed all of yron-coted Plate" (I.vii.2.6-8). Like a turtle without his shell, Redcrosse is

⁶⁴ See George Butler, 117-8.

defenseless. His vulnerability to her advances when *disarmed* of “his breast-plate of righteousness,” as Paul would have it, effectively links spiritual armor or the lack thereof with being sexually disarmed.⁶⁵ To be expected, “his manly forces gan to fayle, / And mightie strong was turnd to feeble frayle”; consequently, “goodly court he made still to his Dame, / Poured out in loosnesse on the grassy grownd, / Both carelesse of his health, and of his fame” (I.vii.6.4-5, 7.1-3). Perhaps lured by the feigned promise of Fidessa’s eponymic fidelity, Redcrosse meets her liquid looseness with a looseness of his own, his loss of faith seemingly concretized through a loss of chastity. Part of what is so damning about Redcrosse’s failures in this scene is that the problem stems solely from his inability to police his own physical sovereignty. Able to accommodate multiple significations in one allegorical body, Redcrosse is an example of allegory as *plenum*, and the breakdown of the borders that delimit this body threatens real loss. The law of alluvion that Spenser treats in the Book of Justice maintains that which washes away can never be redeemed.⁶⁶ Thus, Redcrosse’s failure to remain chaste demonstrates an absolute abdication of the responsibility to be faithful and resolute for himself, Una, and all that the cross of Saint George that he carries on his shield represents.

Surely, this sexualizing of faith is in some ways a natural byproduct of the union between church and believer that is at the heart of the allegory here; but, this, too, cannot be stripped of its chastened underpinnings. To be faithful, after all, connects belief in the divine with marital fidelity. *Fornication* does not only refer to sex between two unmarried people; *spiritual fornication* refers to “the forsaking of God for idols.”⁶⁷ Chastity, then, can be recast as a fulfilling of God’s love through a commitment to faith in

⁶⁵ See I.vii.2-7.

⁶⁶ See *The Faerie Queene*, V.iv.18-9 and see note to stanza 19.

⁶⁷ See *OED*, fornication, n.1, b.

its various forms. Allegory provides a fitting framework for an exploration of these ideas in the sense that it allows the physical body to be both pregnant with signification and able to be symbolically superseded. After all, divine union is only possible when the flesh is subordinated to the spirit, when the body is merely the vehicle for the elaboration of spiritual virtue.

Part of how the allegory functions in Book I is to dramatize the seemingly impossible task of discerning truth from falsehood, good from evil. As we have seen, the difficulty inherent in this work is at the heart of *Areopagitica*. Milton bemoans the ease with which Truth, though “strong next to the Almighty” can readily be stripped of her power by “error,” “turn[ing] herself into all shapes, except her own” (*CPW* 2:562-3). This emphasis on the shape of Truth and the degree to which she is vulnerable to error evokes Spenser’s description of Fidessa, made “[t]o seeme like truth, whose shape she well can faine” (I.vii.1.5). Feigned shapes become an apt extension of Duessa’s liquid air origins, signaling the difficulty inherent in marking bodily borders. When this origin story is considered within the context of the line as a whole, an already provocative image becomes even more so: “And fram’d of liquid ayre her tender partes” includes a homophonic “error” in “ayre her,” emphasizing the slippery materiality of *liquid air*. That Redcrosse’s sexual interaction with her is described as being “Poured out in loosnesse” further centralizes Duessa/Fidessa’s fluidity and the perils it poses to others’ abilities to self-regulate their own boundedness. Fluid and permeable, unable to be either controlled or protected, these fluid bodies are the height of danger.

Recalling that tempered “passions within us, pleasures round about us” are “the very ingredients of vertu,” we must consider the positive potential of this liquid air.

Milton himself uses this unique expression just once in his poetry, when in *A Maske* the Spirit declares his intention to leave “this Sin-worn mould” and fly to

. . . those happy climes that ly
Where day never shuts his eye,
Up in the broad fields of the sky:
There I suck the liquid ayr
All amidst the Gardens fair
Of *Hesperus*, and his daughters three
That sing about the golden tree. (17, 977-83)

“Liquid ayr,” which in Spenser’s faeryland is insidious and undetectable, unable to be contained, is now able to be *sucked* and therefore controlled. While the Spirit cannot be said to inhabit a body in any traditional sense—a literary forerunner to the angels in *Paradise Lost* who can “corporeal to incorporeal turn” (V.413), he becomes “viewles” at will (92)—we can still consider his taking in of the manna-like liquid air as an act of productive *incorporation*. Appearing here in the masque’s epilogue, it effects a reward of sorts for the Spirit’s labors as he helped guide the three children through their trials: “Heav’n hath timely tri’d their youth / Their faith, their patience, and their truth,” the chorus sings as the children finally “triumph in victorious dance” (970-4). What is more, where Spenser’s image, as with much of *A Maske*’s activity, is made manifest under the cover of darkness; the Spirit’s version exists in a wholly different place, “where day never shuts his eye.” These contrasting visions offer an example of the careful work of determination that both Spenser and Milton champion. Of course, the Spirit is *returning* to this airy sphere and already has the divine gift of clear vision, a function of what Milton elsewhere calls a “guift of God rarely bestow’d.”⁶⁸ Himself an airy figure, it follows naturally that the Spirit would already be able to make a determination between a beneficial liquid air, worthy of being sucked or taken in, and that which is harmful and

⁶⁸ *CPW* 1:816.

must be avoided and expelled. Mere mortals, even fictional ones, are still laboring to tell the difference.

When Spenser relates the “Legend of Chastity” in Book III of *The Faerie Queene*, investing its titular knight, Britomart, in the penetrable body of a woman, he offsets her vulnerability with a “secrete vertue” that acts through a “speare enchanted” (III.i.10.5, 7.9). The armor that protects her identity, using the hardened shape of a man to contain a body otherwise not easily controlled, is further complemented by the penetrating power of a phallic spear. Compounding her strength in the opening stanzas of the book are her encounters with Guyon and Redcrosse. Fresh off the (formal) completion of his quest in Book II, Guyon acts *intemperately*, immediately challenging Britomart on sight. He is quickly dispatched, narrowly avoiding “mischievous mischaunce [to] his life and limbs” (III.i.6.9). The Palmer—who identified Britomart’s secret strengths—must intercede yet again, appealing to Guyon’s better nature. Returned to his more moderating, temperate self, he “like treaty handeled, / His wrathfull will with reason to aswage” (III.i.11.3-40). Cooler heads prevailing,

Thus reconcilment was betweene them knitt,
Through goodly temperance, and affection chaste,
And either vowd with all their power and witt,
To let not others honour be defaste
Of friend or foe, who ever it embaste,
Ne armes to beare against the others syde[.] (III.i.12)

Within the space of these first few stanzas the two knights have moved swiftly from mortal combat to an avowed fidelity. Their alliance, “knitt” together through a reaffirmation of their virtues and the promise of mutual aid, suggests the interdependence of chastity and temperance. One tests the other and the two emerge stronger and united.

In a similar fashion the opening canto goes on to reaffirm chastity's status as a necessary helpmate of faith when Britomart must intercede to help Redcrosse win a battle against the knights protecting Malecasta (False Chastity).⁶⁹ "These six would me enforce by oddes of might / To chaunge my lief, and love another Dame," Redcrosse explains to his rescuer, though "I love one, the truest one on grownd" (III.i.24.2-3, 26). Britomart's intercession helps Redcrosse maintain his faith and constancy. Taken together, the Book of Chastity's opening scenes shows that the three foundational virtues are more than sequential; they are interwoven. Though situated as the final virtue in the 1590 edition, chastity is in fact integral to the constitution of temperance and faith. Recalling, too, Milton's declaration in *An Apology*, "[l]ast of all not in time, but as perfection is last," we can begin to appreciate the ways in which chastity was figured as both a precondition for the elaboration of other virtues and as a sign of the full complement of these virtues. A dedication to the ritualized wholeness that chastity required was a dedication to an ideal of perfection, consistently refined through the work of *abstention*, *distinction*, and *preference*.

Britomart's chastity is not perfect, though, and like the knights who have preceded her, she must perform the necessary labors in pursuit of her quest. Nonetheless, she seems to have somewhat of a head-start. After all, she already knows how to harness the power of her secret virtue. Having ended the battle between Redcrosse and Malecasta's knights, Britomart chastises the defeated, proclaiming: "now may ye all see plaine, / That truth is strong" (III.i.29.7-8). In declaring a victory of truth (love of Una) over misplaced fidelity (love of Malecasta), Britomart is echoing Augustine who counseled "we ought to turn our love from bodily pleasures to the eternal essence of truth" (xv, 29). We are not

⁶⁹ See III.i.20-30.

yet halfway through the first canto, however, and despite what one “ought” or “may” do, this is no place for a real discovery. Britomart is a figure in disguise and the truth *she* stands for is in no way plainly seen. She has herself been sent on a quest to find her one true love based on a vision in a mirror—a notoriously suspect medium for imaging truth—and, as her nurse-squire Glaucelme laments, she knows nothing of her journey apart from its end goal: “What meanes shall she out seeke, or what waies take? / How shall she know, how shall she finde the man?” (III.iii.25.2-3).⁷⁰ Though her quest is figured through the necessarily teleological lens of fulfilling her prophetic destiny, this uncertainty about the “waies” and “meanes” suggests that we are firmly within the realm of romance’s “concatenation of errors” (Taylor 302). If, as I have been suggesting, chastity must be constantly reaffirmed, then uncertainty is a natural requirement.

The first test to Britomart’s “secrete vertue”—her ironclad chastity—exposes a chink in the armor. She makes it through the day, having endured the temptations of Castle Joyeous, where Cupid “kindled lustfull fyres” and the attending dames and squires were “swimming deepe in sensuall desyres”—pointing once again to the dangers liquidity poses to the integrity of Faeryland’s bo(a)rders (III.i.39.6-9). Like Redcrosse, who, when “wearie,” lets himself be “[d]isarmed” and “carelesse,” Britomart’s chastity is only threatened once she retires to bed in Malecasta’s castle:

. . . she gan her selfe despoile,
And safe committ to her soft fethered nest,
Wher through long watch, and late daies weary toile,
She soundly slept, and carefull thoughts did quite assoile. (III.i.58.6-9)

Removing her armor, she invests her safety in soft feathers and frees herself from care. It is in this carefree state that Malecasta is able to surprise her, having snuck into her bed

⁷⁰ For the mirror scene, see III.ii.22-27.

while she was in “her quiet slomber” (61.8). Britomart “lightly lept out of her filed bedd. / And to her weapon ran,” but she does not escape unharmed, her side pierced and bloodied by the “deadly bow and arrow keene” of one of Malecasta’s knights (62.2-3, 65.2). Her wound, though, is slight and she emerges “enrag’d” “with her flaming sword,” her “wrathfull steele,” and the “good ayd” of Redcrosse, “joyning foot to foot, and syde to syde, / That in short space their foes they have quite terrifyde” (66). Hence, a wound that demonstrates her pregnability has the twinned effect of doubling her strength. Once again, echoes of Saint Paul come to the fore. Like Milton’s Lady who will succeed her, so, too, is Spenser’s knight of Chastity able to take comfort in Paul’s promise of grace: “for when I am weake, then am I strong.”

Britomart emerges from this first real test with a new awareness of the threats to her chastity and the ways in which it must be continually reaffirmed. Lesser knights and ladies in the *Book of Chastity* serve to illustrate the virtue’s inherent weakness. In canto x, for example, the knight Paridell is able to wear down the defenses of the already-wedded Hellenore through relentless wooing, causing the narrator to remark that there is “[n]o fort so fensible, no wals so strong, / But that continuall battery will rive” (10.1-2). Yet Britomart remains, in the words of Katherine Maus, “the armed figure of chastity, militantly closed to penetration” (274). In fact, the final cantos of the book, presenting the tapestries of the House of Busyrane as a double of sorts for those depicted in the opening canto’s *Castle Joyeous*, allow Britomart a chance to redeem her earlier failings. Where Malecasta’s home told the story of Venus and Adonis, ending with the image of the latter “engored,” Busyrane’s walls depict a veritable pageant of penetrations made by

Cupid with “his hart percing dart” (III.xi.30.2).⁷¹ In each case the tapestries prefigure a *tableau vivant* of sorts in which the homes’ inhabitants participate in bringing the arras’ ethos to life. Life imitates art, here, the walls giving real shape to the life lived within them. As night grows on and Cupid’s pageant comes to a close in the final stanzas of canto xi, Britomart tires:

Yet nould she d’off her weary armes, for feare
Of secret daunger, ne let sleepe oppresse
Her heavy eyes with natures burdein deare,
But drew her selfe aside in sickernesse,
And her welpointed wepons did about her dresse. (III.xi.55.5-9)

She has grown wary of weariness. Rather than let down her guard like she did in Castle Joyeous, she has gathered up her defenses, her “welpointed wepons” set “about her” like the spikes of a morning star or mace. However weary, her journey has earned her Saint Paul’s promised protection. She is ready to “withstand in the evill day,” her “loynes girt about with trueth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness,” “able to quench all the fierie dartes of the wicked.” Her once-secret virtue has seemingly concretized in a vision of the warfaring Christian, well worthy of Milton’s praise.

Whether they are made weary from the travails of travel or are weary of the work of protecting their virtues, weariness is what leads to the vulnerability in each case explored thus far: Redcrosse, Britomart, the Lady, even the unsuspecting travelers who now make up Comus’s rout. In part, this helps to illuminate why constancy is the operant expression of both faith and chastity. Ritualized belief and ritualized wholeness require *constant* vigilance. The process of abstention, distinction, and preference must be on a

⁷¹ The tapestries in Castle Joyeous are described in III.i.34-8; Adonis’s wound is treated in the final stanza. The tapestries in the House of Busyrane are described in III.xi.28-46.

continuous loop, forever filtering through all and sundry “baits and seeming pleasures” in search of true pleasure and delight.

In *A Maske*, the wanderings of the Lady—a fitting figure for the “youngling in the contemplation of evill”—through the woods dramatize the process of purification “by triall” that Milton lauds. As she “sallies out,” she is protected by “a hidden strength”—much like Britomart’s secret virtue—that allows the Lady to range through the woods

clad in compleat steel,
And like a quiver’d Nymph with Arrows keen
May trace huge Forests, and unharbour’d Heaths,
Infamous Hills, and sandy perilous wildes[.] (421-4)

And what exactly is this “hidden strength” (415)? “‘Tis chastity,” the brother clarifies (420). Chastity is that which has made her inviolable, “clad in” an armor of “compleat steel.” Yet hers is not simply a position of strong defense and the differences between Milton’s Lady and Spenser’s Britomart reveal much about the ways in which Milton’s chastity differs from Spenser. “[Q]uiver’d . . . with Arrows keen,” she may “trace” the “perilous wildes,” able at any moment to mount an offense. In her elder brother’s reassuring vision, the Lady is Milton’s warfaring Christian, made both impenetrable and fearsome by her spiritual strength and discipline. As the masque’s proxy for faith, however, this brother’s certainty belies the underlying fear that the Lady is in fact especially vulnerable to attack. As an ideal—an heir to “the Britomartian machinery,” as Richard Halpern terms it—she is impregnable (88). As a young lady, she is in real danger. Indeed, we have already seen that when left to her own devices, she knows not which furrows to trace with her “unacquainted feet.”

Where Britomart is “clad in compleat steel,” the Lady’s armor is purely figurative, sustained solely through a faithful vision of her virtue’s strength. The Lady’s lack of a

knight's armor is necessary for Milton, since his conception of chastity requires vulnerability. Where Britomart's armor provides external protection, rendering her, as Maus puts it, militantly closed to penetration, Milton's Lady must be unarmed, violable. As Kuzner argues, these space in which "vulnerabilities accumulate . . . are ones where what is inside and what is outside individual boundaries become inseparably, dynamically and sometimes even indistinguishably tied to each other" (3). Real boundary-work requires real vulnerability. The more that seeming pleasures and actual ones are made indistinguishable, the harder the Lady must work through the processes of *abstention*, *distinction*, and *preference* to reaffirm her chastity. Though the Lady's body and its shortfalls—her eyes cannot see, her ears cannot (or should not) be trusted, and neither can be blocked from Comus's magic dust or words of glozing courtesy—are continually brought to the fore, her virtue is able to sustain her *because* she is unwavering in her commitment to do the work it requires.

"Fool do not boast," she cautions Comus, "[t]hou canst not touch the freedom of my minde / With all thy charms, although this corporal rinde / Thou hast immanacled" (662-5). If chastity requires the freedom to make discerning choices between the salubrious and the harmful, then the Lady is right to point out that a vulnerable, "immanacled" body does not pose a true threat to her virtue. Thus she implies a disconnect between the fate of her body and its bearing on her soul, staking out a position for chastity that exists at a remove from virginity and questions of purity. In so doing, her words echo the travel advice to the Earl of Rutland: "[h]ealth consisteth in an unmovable constancy and a freedom from passions"; and, of all the baits and seeming pleasures to be found abroad, "the greatest ornament is the inward beauty of the mind" (69). So long as

she is able to guard the freedom of her mind, itself a sanctuary of “unmovable constancy,” her resolve will allow the allegorical strength of Britomart to live on. Her internal fortitude, tested through proximity to temptation and vice, provides the protection given Britomart by her knight’s armor, enchanted spear, and well-pointed weapons.

Despite her freed, virtuous resolve, her “corporal rinde” remains “immanacled.” Still, the Elder Brother’s faith in the salvific power of chastity suggests that its efficacy can reach beyond the realm of morality:

So dear to Heav’n is Saintly chastity,
That when a soul is found sincerely so,
A thousand liveried Angels lacky her,
Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
And in cleer dream, and solemn vision
Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,
Till oft convers with heav’nly habitants
Begin to cast a beam on th’outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turns it by degrees to the souls essence,
Till all be made immortal. . . (453-63)

We have already witnessed the degree to which sincere virtue gives “feeble” mortals protection in the form of spiritual or angelic guardianship. This vision, however, takes a new form here; “cleer dream, and solemn vision” are *told* to the Lady’s just ears. The properties specific to her eyes and ears blend to the point of indistinction and we can begin to see how her well-exercised ears will be able to compensate for her benighted vision. What is more, these honed senses—further fulfilling the prophecy of Esias and securing her place among that blessed audience, “fit . . . though few”—allow the Lady’s “unpolluted temple of the mind” to “cast a beam on th’outward shape.” If the fate of her physical body, polluted or otherwise, cannot touch the freedom of her mind, then the

Elder Brother's faithful vision suggests that so long as she remains spiritually pure, "sincerely so," she can transform that "essence" into immortality. Her body may be penetrable, but her connection to God is safely immured. With clearing vision and "no gross ear," the work that lies ahead of her now is to learn to harness the fruits of her exercise, to be able to discern between truth and fiction, good and evil.

Still, in order to do this work, she needs a freed body; internal fortitude is not enough. Though her brothers drive off Comus and his rout, she remains "[i]n stony fetters fixt, and motionless" (819). To free her, the Spirit must call up another guardian, Sabrina. Where the Spirit descends from his airy sphere to guide the Lady, Sabrina ascends from her watery riverbed, the Severn. Relaying "Britons moniments" in Book II, canto x, Spenser explains that the river itself takes its name from Sabrina, the "sad virgin innocent of all" (19). The mythology around her is inextricable from that surrounding Brutus's founding of Albion. At his death, he divided the isle of Britain into three separate kingdoms, giving one kingdom to each of his three sons. Lochrine is the son who was awarded England, and Sabrina is his illegitimate child who was ultimately drowned in her namesake river as punishment for her father's sins. Her story was given shape early on by Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, in the Renaissance, it took on a life of its own.⁷²

In Milton's telling, as relayed by the Spirit, Sabrina, "a Virgin pure," was saved by the river's water nymphs who:

through the porch and inlet of each sense
Dropt in Ambrosial Oils till she reviv'd,
And underwent a quick immortal change
Made Goddess of the River; (839-42)

⁷² Many critics have charted the genealogy of the Miltonic Sabrina from her Galfridian origins. See, for example, Philip Schwyzer, "Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn"; Erin Murphy, "Sabrina and the Making of English History"; Kat Lecky, "Naturalization in the *Mirror* and *A Mask*"; John Kerrigan, "Romans in Britain"; Paul Stevens, "Archipelagic Criticism."

The virgin's carefully preserved body is rewarded in death with salvific oils penetrating her every "porch and inlet." As these oils combine with the river waters to immerse and fill Sabrina, we can imagine her physical body dissolving as it is reconstituted into her immortal, watery form as the river goddess. Her virtuous essence is translated into immortality, suggesting a source for the Elder Brother's faith. What is more, the Spirit explains that when "right invok't in warbled Song," she "with pretious viold liquors heals" any "Virgin, such as was her self, / In hard besetting need" (847-57). As such, she offers a contrast to Comus and Circe. Where their potions entrap, hers heal. Where they take advantage of vice and weakness, she protects virtue. That she is a specifically local figure suggests that there is not only space in Wales for virtue, but also a tradition of protecting the virtuous within its borders. It would seem that not all corners of Wales are dark after all.

* * *

IV. A Chaste Rapture: bound but free

* * *

In Ficino's commentary to his Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, published in 1576, the philosopher waxes lyrical about the effects of music on its listener:

But musical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air it excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly: by its contemperation it flows smoothly: by the conformity of its quality it floods us with a wonderful pleasure: by its nature, both spiritual and material, it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man in his entirety. (Trans. and qtd. in Walker 9)

Flowing and flooding, music is figured as a force to be reckoned with. When combined with air, music becomes a part of the fluid mechanics of Sedgwick's closed system; here the body does the work of the fountain. Penetrating strongly, music has the power to both wash over and *into* the body. Its ability to "seize" and "claim" "man in his entirety" through a kind of melodic, pleasure-driven transformation is a striking display of "spiritual and material" power. This power is evidenced in *Areopagitica* wherein Milton describes how the poet Thales worked "to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* surlinesse with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility" (*CPW* 2:496). Perhaps if Comus had sung his "words of glozing courtesie" he would have had greater success penetrating the Lady's hardened reason and resolve. No matter how perfect her listening ear, she cannot control what she hears and this vulnerability is exploited for great effect. It is the Lady who has the opportunity to sing, though, and the song's power does not disappoint.

In a song addressed to "*Sweet Echo, sweetest Nymph that liv'st unseen*," she builds upon the conceit that she is being watched over by heavenly bodies (230). She ends her song with an entreaty: "*Sweet Queen of Parly, Daughter of the Sphear, / So maist thou be translated to the skies, / And give resounding grace to all Heav'ns Harmonies*" (241-3). The Lady's request translates her song into Echo herself, that Echo may also be "translated," the voices combining in a chorus, lending further grace to the harmony of the spheres. With her "*airy shell*," Echo is a fitting vessel for such a translation (231). Still, Echo is only a vessel; and that which will fill the shell and be carried beyond its limits is first the Lady's song. And whether or not her music does

indeed resound in heaven, it is also heard on her earthly plane. Despite Comus's foul intent, it is he who is ravished by the penetrating sounds of the Lady's song:

Can any mortal mixture of Earths mould
Breath such Divine enchanting ravishment?
Sure something holy lodges in that brest,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify his hidd'n residence[.] (244-8)

A song meant to grace the heavens is received on earth as "something holy" and divine, that something holy's "hidd'n residence" prefiguring the Lady's "hidden strength." Her notes "sweetly . . . float upon the wings / Of silence," every melodic "fall smoothing the Raven doune / Of darknes till it smil'd" (249-52). Ascribing shape and movement to her song, Comus echoes Ficino in explaining his own rapturous ravishment. Before he is able to seize her, she has seized him, demonstrating the degree to which the positioning of penetrator vis-a-vis the penetrated is not in any way fixed.

Despite its holy resonance, the Lady's song prompts Comus to think of his mother, Circe, and her own siren songs that "would take the prison'd soul" of unsuspecting mariners, then "in pleasing slumber lull'd the sense, / And in such sweet madnes rob'd it of it self" (256, 260-1). To think of the threats that might ensnare the would-be virtuous traveler—not unlike the threats that his own magic potions pose—when presented with something that he sees as holy and divine illustrates the degree to which his ethical value system has been corrupted from a divine original.⁷³ The memory of his mother awakens in Comus "such a sacred, and home-felt delight" that he declares

⁷³ It is one of many moments in *A Maske* in which we are presented with seeming similarities, the aim of which, according to Fish, is to teach the reader or auditor how to distinguish and prefer the virtuous from the vicious. See chapter 3, "Problem-Solving in *Comus*," in his landmark book, *How Milton Works*. In *Milton and the Metamorphosis of Ovid*, Maggie Kilgour rethinks Fish's reading, suggesting that rather than move from the seemingly similar to the clearly antithetical: "it seems to me to work in the reverse: from a situation of clear antithesis to one of more complex mixing, in which the act of discrimination is both more difficult and more urgent" (84).

the songstress a “forren wonder” fit to be his queen (262-5). Where his potions have his victims their “native home forget,” his mother’s sirenic enchantments go further still, robbing the “prison’d soul” “of it self.” For Comus’s victims, home is a forgotten memory; for Circe’s, it has ceased to exist. The Lady’s song, by contrast, reminds him of home, bringing him back to a sacred place of origin. Moreover, in connecting his feelings of home and the Lady with foreignness, Comus effectively makes them each a stranger in the woods of Wales. But, this connection also suggests that, for Comus, to be reminded of home is in and of itself an act of estrangement. For a root/less cosmopolitan, this is a foreign wonder indeed.

Comus’s rapturous reveries offer yet more evidence of his estrangement from that which is truly holy. This can be mapped onto the disconnect presented earlier in the masque when Comus introduces his rout’s antic measure by declaring it “Our conceal’d Solemnity” while the Lady instead describes what she hears as “the sound / Of Riot, and ill manag’d Merriment” (142, 171-2). It would seem that their dances are neither concealed nor solemn.⁷⁴ In a masque in which the work of distinguishing, preferring, and abstaining forms the ethical matrix upon which everything is built, this pattern of misunderstanding founds the unbridgeable gap that stands between the magician and his would-be queen.

He is penetrated enough by her song to sense the presence of the power of her virtuous devotion; yet, his working through of its effects on him show that he is among those whose “heart is waxed grosse, and their eares are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed.” As we have observed, to be otherwise is a fate saved for the few, the just. Once he has her “immanacl’d,” his entreaties that she “be not coy,” cast in the

⁷⁴ For more on Comus’s dance and his mischaracterization of it, see Wilkenfeld, especially 177-8.

wooing language of the Cavalier poets, fails to gain purchase; her still-free mind is able to dull her own ears and she counters “his profane tongue” with her own virtue-ethics (737, 781). Dilating on “the Sun-clad power of Chastity,” she tells Comus, “Thou are not fit to hear thyself convinc’t”:

Fain would I something say, yet to what end?
Thou hast nor Eare, nor Soul to apprehend
The sublime notion, and high mystery
That must be utter’d to unfold the sage
And serious doctrine of Virginitie[.] (782-801)

In her paradoxical state of bounded freedom, she is coming still closer to knowledge of divine truth. Though he is not fit to hear the “sublime . . . sage . . . serious doctrine,” she demonstrates, nonetheless, the power to espouse it. In the midst of her greatest test, she is emerging hardened in her resolve, her knowledge of her virtue thriving, being made more sincere, through exercise and trial.

With this display of virtuous erudition, Comus again recognizes the presence of the divine. “She fables not,” he tells himself, fearing “[h]er words set off by som superior power; / And though not mortal, yet a cold shuttering dew / Dips me all o’re” (800-3). She may be glued to his enchanted chair by the “gumms of glutenous heat,” the very picture of “insnared chastity”—yet it is Comus who finds himself dew-dipped, his every immortal inch susceptible to her “superior power” to dissolve his form (917, 909).⁷⁵ Though she may not have power over her own body, she is able to affect his, first through her rapturous song, and next with her espoused doctrine. Enrapt, he is at risk of a rapturous self-estrangement.

⁷⁵ For a thorough reading of the significance of this strange, gummy substance, see Debora Shuger, “‘Gums of Glutinous Heat’ and the Stream of Consciousness: The Theology of Milton’s *Maske*.”

In a work that is concerned with bodily integrity and the ability to self-regulate, the experience of being dipped all over in a cold shuttering dew marks a most unwelcome touch. Yet, as with the Spirit's productive incorporation of liquid air, *A Maske* offers alternate versions of immersion that recall the "wonderful pleasure" of being flooded with the flow of the "subtle air" of "musical sound" that Ficino describes. Recall that the Spirit's epilogue describes a heavenly scene "Of *Hesperus*, and his daughters three / That sing about the golden tree" (982-3). Their divine harmonies usher in the "West winds"—with "musky wing" and "balmy smels"—and an "eternal Summer" wherein:

Iris there with humid bow,
 Waters the odorous banks that blow
 Flowers of more mingled hew
 Then her purfl'd scarf can shew,
 And drenches with *Elysian* dew
 (List mortals, if your ears be true)
 Beds of *Hyacinth*, and roses (988-9, 991-8)

In a vision shared with that audience, fit though few, who have "no gross ear," the Spirit elaborates on the pleasures and delights of his airy sphere. Whether in the form of air or dew, liquid is omnipresent, covering everything, seeping its way into every corner. Here this indiscriminate substance mingles, producing a suffusion of hybridity: scents are defined by secretions; colors mingle in one flower; the water and the air combine in the humid. Emerging from this scene is an awareness of sensory and visual fullness, a synaesthetic bursting of the seams, overwhelming the auditor with delight.

From here, the Spirit offers another vision of redemption when he describes Psyche's marriage to Cupid, following Apuleius's myth as it gets retold in the Neoplatonic tradition of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*. According to the Spirit, Cupid, reformed from his devilish ways in Spenser's Faeryland, "[h]olds his

dear *Psyche* sweet intranc't / After her wandring labours long" (1006-7). For Richard Halpern, this shows that "[t]he Lady in Milton's masque if thus saved from imprisonment by Comus only in order that she may learn self-imprisonment at the hands of Christ" (96). Halpern's reading of *A Maske* sets forth for the Lady a path from virginity to the joys of married life.⁷⁶ In a monograph devoted solely to *A Maske*—the first to do so in many decades—William Shullenberger extends this argument, suggesting that this promise of the Lady's earthly marriage makes possible a hoped-for divine union. For Shullenberger this idea reaches its fullest expression in the Psyche and Cupid interlude since it is here that Milton is finally able to unite "the hunger of human desire and the selflessness of divine love," "to celebrate the socialization, stabilization, and sanctification of erotic delight and fecundity in marriage" (271, 273). He is right to focus on "Milton's dramatization of desire's possible translation into virtue, and of virtue's translation into bliss," but for Shullenberger, this desire is always already erotic and physical; required as part of this union is sexual desire, wholly carnal (277-8). For me, the erotics of rapture that Milton's Psyche—held sweetly entranced—represents is better understood in terms of divine union, rather than an earthly one. Boccaccio says as much when he explains the allegory in his closing commentary to the myth.⁷⁷ In Boccaccio's eyes, Psyche's marriage figures the victory of the rational spirit over the more natural, lower parts of her soul. She is not incorporating physical desire but suppressing it as a way of sublimating the self in the desire to know God, to know as Milton expresses it in *Of Reformation*, "the beauty of inward Sanctity" (*CPW* 1:556). Her heavenly reward for her wandering labors long is a spiritual rapture.

⁷⁶ For a similar take, see Kilgour, "Comus's Wood of Allusion."

⁷⁷ See 695-9. On the larger Neoplatonic tradition of reading this allegory, see Don Cameron Allen, *Image and Meaning*, 26-31.

The divine melodies that lead the Spirit to Sabrina and Psyche are a common feature in Milton's early poems, their power inspiring awe in the poet. In "At a solemn Musick" (c. 1637), he offers yet another version of divine rapture:

Blest pair of *Sirens*, pledges of Heav'ns joy,
Sphear-born harmonious Sisters, Voice, and Vers,
Wed your divine sounds, and mixt power employ
Dead things with inbreath'd sense able to pierce,
And to our high-rai'd phantasie present,
That undisturbed Song of pure concent[.] (1-6)

These are blessed sirens, distinct from Circe and her ilk. Their heavenly harmonies are "wed" and "mixt" in Ficinian contemporation, their power to seize reworked as the piercing power to re-vitalize what has already been seized by death. This "high-rai'd phantasie" is such because Milton can be counted among those "Dead things"; his fallen ears could only hope to be penetrated by this "Song of pure concent," undisturbed because it is inaccessible, ensconced among the heavenly spheres.

There is hope, yet, for mortals like Milton who would, in the Spirit's closing words, "[l]ove vertue," for "she alone is free"; "[s]he can teach ye how to clime," he promises, "[h]igher then the Spheary chime" (1019-21). In *Il Penseroso*, the authorial "I" expresses a similar sentiment, situating Melancholy, thoughtful "Goddess, sage and holy," as the muse who might help translate the skies to his earthly contemplations (11). Stella Revard has keenly observed that Milton's Melancholy prefigures Urania, that most heavenly Muse which he invokes at the start of Book VII in *Paradise Lost*.⁷⁸ There he singles her out because "of the Muses nine," she alone "with eternal Wisdom didst converse" (6,8). It is she who has brought him up "[i]nto the Heav'n of Heav'ns" where

⁷⁸ See Revard, "L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso': Classical Tradition and Renaissance Mythography," especially 342-4. See also David M. Miller, "Delusion to Illumination: A Larger Structure for *L'Allegro-Il Penseroso*," for a discussion of Melancholy's associations with Aristotle's golden melancholy, associated with both poetry and the divine.

he, “An Earthly Guest” has “drawn Empyrean Air” and heard her “Celestial Song” (12-14). He casts himself alongside the Pythagoras of his *Prolusion*, “alone among men,” “with a full meed of virtue, worthy to hold converse with the gods themselves.” This is a vision of the Spirit’s promise realized.

In *A Maske*, at the moment in which the Lady’s brothers first come across the Spirit (disguised in shepherd’s clothes), the Younger Brother has just remarked upon how “musical” and “charming is divine Philosophy” (475-6). It is following these lines that they first *hear* the Spirit, this introduction framing the Spirit in Neoplatonic terms. When they first *see* him, the Elder Brother’s recognition comes in the form of a characterization of the Spirit-Shepherd’s own charming music; his “artful strains have oft delaid / The huddling brook to hear his madrigal, / And sweeten’d every muskrose of the dale” (494-6). Shepherd or no, the children implicitly attribute divinely inspired charms to his earthly strains. As with the heavenly notes of Hesperus’s daughters’ song described in the epilogue, so, too, are the Spirit’s songs able to affect the elements. Flowing waters delay their motion and the air is once again suffused with fragrance.

In the Spirit’s telling, he was in these woods, “[w]rapt in a pleasing fit of Melancholy / To meditate my rural minstrelsie” (546-7). His invocation of Melancholy, experienced as a rapt fit, extends the mixed metaphors we have seen at work in dead things “inbreath’d” and babbling brooks “delaid.” It is a combined vision of frenzied vitality and awed stillness. This quality of being rapt is in keeping with Melancholy, certainly as Milton portrays her, and with Urania, whom, as Revard notes, is usually described “as the Muse who fixes her eyes on the stars, she is portrayed as rapt in silence and serious thought” (343). As Milton invokes his Muse in *Il Penseroso*, he implores:

Com, but keep thy wonted state,
With eev'n step, and musing gate,
And looks with the skies,
Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes:
There held in holy passion still,
Forget thy self to Marble, . . . (37-42)

With even steps and gait, she is a picture of careful, tempered physical motion. It is in this state of motion that her “looks” are able to “commerce” with the heavens, much like the “subtle air” of the Lady's song can be translated. Yet, with movement comes simultaneous stasis, echoing Mutabilite's conception of still movement discussed in the first chapter. The same eyes that engage in commerce contain a “rapt soul.” Just as the meditations of the Spirit's “rural minstrelsie” are enwrapped with chastity, so, too, is Melancholy's “wonted state.” A vestal virgin, her chastity is the unspoken precondition that enables her many virtues: “pensive . . . , devout and pure, / Sober, stedfast, and demure.”⁷⁹ This constellation of virtues in turn enables something akin if not to knowledge of then to a connection with the divine. Her “looks commercing with the skies” suggests a correspondence that is bi-directional and both rooted in the body (through her *looks* and measured gait) and liberated from it. Her “rapt soul,” “held in holy passion still” is an extension of her chaste state, similarly bound and freed.

The paradox inherent in being held *still* in holy *passion* recalls a poem Milton wrote on the occasion of Easter in the previous year, 1630. Originally printed in Milton's first collection of his *Poems* (1645), “The Passion” breaks off with the editorial note: “*This Subject the Author finding to be above the yeers he had, when he wrote it, and nothing satisfi'd with what was begun, left it unfinished*” (19). Reinforcing the general view that the poem is one of Milton's worst, Teskey has suggested that the work is “all

⁷⁹ On her connection to Vesta, see lines 22-4.

proem, until the author gives up, never making it into the poem itself” (31).⁸⁰ In my view, it is the difficult subject matter itself that renders a full treatment impossible for Milton. Recalling that Christ is the Word made flesh—the Incarnation marking a translation from the divine to the human—we can see a young Milton struggling to affect the reverse: a return from the flesh to word or verse.⁸¹ The poem about the Passion cannot be completed because that story—and knowledge of the divine more generally—is not yet complete. The true parousia, or second coming, is yet to arrive.

The seemingly impossible task Milton has undertaken in writing “The Passion” returns us to the earlier discussion about romance forms; but, the poem evinces a deeper, more symbiotic relationship. Frye has suggested, “the hero of romance is analogous to the mythical Messiah,” and that romance works therefore belong in the category of mythopoetic literature (*Anatomy* 187). Recall, too, that Robinson, building on Frye, frames romance as a mediator: “it translates mythical narratives into what we can first truly call literature, and thereby seeks to accommodate the divine to the human” (4). The poem itself is attempting this very mediation and in fact explicitly shifts between a study of Christ in his human form and the author’s own high-flying visions. Richard Rambuss has noted that “Milton had essentially rewritten the corpus of seventeenth-century religious lyric devoted to the most trenchantly corporeal moments in Jesus’ life with his own revisionary, chastening christological canon”; in so doing, he essentially “de-corporealizes” the more visceral, embodied portrayals of Christ on display in the devotional lyrics of Donne, Herbert, and Crashaw (*Closet Devotions* 134). This poem makes no exception.

⁸⁰ For a summary of the critiques this poem has engendered, see Bryan Adams Hampton, *Fleshly Tabernacle*, 30.

⁸¹ See John 1.14.

In the third stanza of “The Passion,” where Milton does image Christ’s body, it is done only to mythologize it, to render it meaningful through figuration, rather than corporealization:

He sov’ran Priest stooping his regall head
That dropt with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
Poor fleshly Tabernacle entered,
His starry front low-roofed beneath the skies;
O what a Mask was there, what a disguise! (15-9)

A *tabernacle*, which generally describes tents or moveable dwellings, was, in the Old Testament, a “curtained tent, containing the Ark of the Covenant and other sacred appointments, which served as the portable sanctuary of the Israelites during their wandering in the wilderness and afterwards till the building of the Temple.”⁸² The moment his “regall head” and “fair eyes” come into view, they are immediately subsumed within a “fleshly Tabernacle.” Here his body is reduced (albeit with a high degree of sacrality) to a movable vessel, something that obtains value once it is filled, not unlike allegory. The “poor” quality of the fleshly tabernacle emphasizes the humanness of the body; he is the Word, God incarnate, enfleshed in human form.⁸³ The blurring of the line between Word and flesh intensifies in the image of his “starry front low-roofed beneath the skies.” The stellar quality of his forehead pushes through any supposed physical or architectural barrier to produce an unbroken connection with the celestial realm of the skies. It is not the body that matters—here it serves merely as a “mask” and a “disguise”—but what it is able to house. In short order his body is called forth only to be immediately de-corporealized and re-stellified.

⁸² See *OED*, tabernacle, n. 2a.

⁸³ For more on this theological tradition, including that of the Greek Septuagint, as it relates to “The Passion,” see Robert Holden, “Milton’s ‘fleshly’ Tabernacle’: An Overlooked Biblical Allusion.”

From the outset of the poem, the Messiah has been cast as the “[m]ost perfect *Heroe*,” who toiled amongst “[d]angers, and snares, and wrongs,” having “try’d in heaviest plight / Of labours huge and hard, too hard for human wight” (11-4). He is both more than human—able to take on Herculean labors “huge and hard”—and capable of human failure—he *tries*, but does not, in this poem at least, succeed. It is a romance quest through and through. Just as the tabernacle offered a safe haven for the wandering Israelites, so, too, has its presence in this poem provided a sanctuary for the toiling Christ. No sooner than the mask and disguise are revealed as such, Christ’s presence in the poem becomes spectral.

It is at this point in the poem that the poet or maker assumes the role of the romance hero, his verse—both “roving” and “confine[d],” or “bound” “[t]o this Horizon”—embodying the difficulty of the task set before him (22-3). These conflicting movements of the poet’s verse, roving and fixed, are further expressed through his “holy vision” which sits “In pensive trance, and anguish, and ecstasick fit” (41-2). Here, too, do we have an image of stasis—the trance—and one of frenzied movement—the fit. What is more, to be ecstatic is to be both entranced and quite literally outside oneself, suggesting the ways in which the poet’s movements can be simultaneously fixed and mobile.⁸⁴ Like the picture Milton paints in *The Reason of Church-Government* of “a Poet soaring in the high region of his fancies with his garland and singing robes about him,” his holy vision roves frenetically across wide-ranging coordinates, from “[o]nce glorious Towers, now sunk in guiltles blood” to “the Mountains wilde” and “[t]he gentle neighbourhood of grove and spring” (*CPW* 1:808; 41, 51-2). At the same time, his verse is bound by the

⁸⁴ See *OED*, *ecstatic*, adj. A.1-2; *ecstasy*, n. 1.

formal demands of the rhyme royal stanza, a requirement he elsewhere derides as the “troublesome and modern bondage of Riming.”⁸⁵

The opposing movements that emerge from “The Passion” of the entranced, ecstatic poet, freed by his poetic vision, yet confined both by his human form and that of his verse, echo the rupture that Christ’s body-as-mask initiates and do not rest comfortably within this holy vision—the poet is in “anguish” here after all. *Il Penseroso* offers him a more satisfying conclusion. In a locale that should seem quite familiar by now, he rests in quiet contemplation in a Sylvan grove, next to a “murmuring” stream, “Entice[d]” to a “dewy-fether’d Sleep,”

And as I wake, sweet musick breath
Above, about, or underneath,
Sent by som spirit to mortals good,
Or th’ unseen Genius of the Wood.
But let my due feet never fail,
To walk the studious Cloysters pale,
And love the high embowed Roof,
With antick Pillars massy proof,

There let the pealing Organ blow,
To the full voic’d Quire below,
In Service high, and Anthems cleer,
As may with sweetnes, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into extasies,
And bring all Heav’n before mine eyes. (144-66)

The reader is presented, yet again, with an image of suffusive air, able to penetrate his entire body. “Above, about” *and* “underneath,” it is as though an airy figure has allowed him to defy gravity and float above the earth; he is enwrapped. This suffusive air functions as an extension of Sedgwick’s closed system; the poet himself is situated as a centering point around which the hydrologic, airy cycle is circumscribed and into which he will eventually be dissolved. This experience affects an immediate remonstrance that

⁸⁵ See Milton’s note on “The Verse” that frames *Paradise Lost* (210).

both man and poet must heed, imbricating his poetic project with his theo-pedagogical one. The harmony of the heavenly spheres enters sweetly through his deserving ear and the heavenly vision this engenders rewards the carefully preserved body and soul with a true release. “Dissolve[d]” “into extasies,” his body is made immaterial, if but for a moment, through the pure pleasure of divine knowledge *cum* love.

The invocation of his “due feet” prefigures both the Lady’s “unacquainted feet” and those “due steps” described by the Spirit in *A Maske*. As soon as he is able to rise above the earth, he is re-rooted; still, he simultaneously directs his vision upwards. That these feet must confine themselves to the cloister, home to vestal virgins, suggests that chastity is that virtue which will guide him through this difficult process of contemplating the divine while remaining earth-bound. The version of rooted cosmopolitanism on offer here is one in which the two circles are not confined to one earthly sphere. His physical feet remain rooted to the ground while those of his poetic vision range upward, bringing heaven before his eyes. This reward for “never fail[ing],” for remaining constant in constancy, offers a glimpse of what the fruits of chaste labor—inextricable from the weave of its founding virtues: temperance, forbearance, abstinence— can look like. Melancholy’s cloister is a place one hopes to find, its boundedness representative of the ideal of ritualized wholeness realized, while simultaneously offering a way out. The ritually preserved, bounded, chaste subject can effect the ultimate border crossing, that of commercing with the divine. It is here, in this place of hard-won enclosure that boundaries cease to exist and the realm of the physical can be transcended.

Chastity’s rapturous reward highlights the degree to which the virtue does not trade in insularity. It is tested through exercise and exposure. The image of the

simultaneously seized body and freed mind offers a useful corollary to the body enclosed that is the island of Britain. Successfully incorporating Wales into the hale vision of the common weal helps elaborate the possibilities of productive incorporation. The Lady's spiritual light holds the promise of illuminating the dark corners of Wales. Like the Poet Thales with the Spartans, her divinely warbled songs spread virtue; and, though she may not have succeeded in civilizing Comus, perhaps she might have a mollifying effect on the townsfolk. The Lady, that "forren wonder," offers an illustration of how to import the "ripe understanding and many civil vertues" that are "in a manner outlandish" there.⁸⁶ It is an idea that demonstrates the power of joining faith with hope and chastity. Similarly, if chastity's power lies in its ability to be figured in and through circulation and exposure, we can begin to appreciate how a virtue that is seemingly about removing oneself from the economy of the community is in fact concerned with how one preserves and translates wholeness within and across community.

In *Of Reformation*, Milton describes his country as the land of God's elect, declaring "that *England* (having had this *grace* and *honour* from God to bee the first that should set up a Standard for the recovery of *lost Truth*, and blow the first *Evangelick Trumpet* to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill, the new Lampe of *saving light* to all Christendome)" (*CPW* 1:525). This praise is noticeably measured, however, since it is part of a more detailed exposition of the question of

how it should come to passe that *England* [. . .] should now be last, and most unsettl'd in the enjoyment of that *Peace*, whereof she taught the way to others; although indeed our *Wicklefs* preaching, at which all the succeeding *Reformers* more effectually lighted their *Tapers*, was to his Countrey men but a short blaze soone dampt and stift'd by the *Pope*, and *Prelates* for sixe or seven Kings Reignes; yet me thinkes the *Precedencie* which God gave this *Iland*, to be the first *Restorer* of *buried Truth*, should

⁸⁶ See *The Digression*, *CPW* 3:451.

have been followed with more happy successes, and sooner attain'd
Perfection; in which, as yet we are amongst the last. (*CPW* 1:525-6)

By invoking the fourteenth century English reformist theologian John Wycliffe, Milton is able to highlight his nation's historical role in setting up "the new Lampe of *saving light*" and igniting that first taper from which all other reformist nations "more effectually lighted their[s]." In this schema, the Reformation did not spark first on the continent, eventually spreading westward, even if the result for England—now being "amongst the last"—is the same. Rather, England's combined status as the first recoverer of God's true light and the last to have "attain'd Perfection" emerges as a dual sign of her promise, however precarious, and the difficulties inherent in adhering to the straight path of Truth.

This combined status offers yet another glimpse of Milton's cosmopolitan vision, at once rooted in a sense of patriotism and freed from any national bounds. So, too, does it illustrate the degree to which Milton's cosmopolitanism functions as, in the words of Derrida, a profession of faith.⁸⁷ Like the Spirit's liquid air, his country's spiritual health—dependent on individual virtue—would pour forth a "*saving light* to all Christendome." Viewed through this lens, Milton's roots begin to multiply, making space for individual fidelity, local and national fidelities, and a fidelity to humankind. Where courtesy for Spenser is the virtue that makes a neighbor of a stranger, bringing people to "better liking of each other," Milton's chastity holds a similar promise. For Milton, chastity is not about walling oneself off from the world; rather, it showcases a way of being in the world. If chastity is about subordinating desires (of countless variety) to the will of God in an effort to know him, to be more like him, and if Milton is able to rouse his countrymen and fellow citizens of the world to a like commitment, then this likeness

⁸⁷ See Derrida, "Globalization, Peace, and Cosmopolitanism. "

will enable them to become fellow citizens with the saints. The light of Truth should know no limits, its spread enabling a true flourishing of the priesthood of all believers. For, as he explains in *Areopagitica*, it is the particular “ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster, then the pace of method and discours can overtake her” (*CPW* 2:521).

CODA

Brexit and the Turn Towards the Nation

Richard Helgerson opens *Forms of Nationhood* with a question Spenser posed in his correspondence with Gabriel Harvey in 1580: “Why a God’s name, . . . may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language?” (qtd. 1). As Helgerson goes on to frame his larger project through the lens of this question, he reads in it the desire for two inter-related things: a robust, elevated vernacular language and a body of literature in that language able to rival the cultural model of Greek *studium*. In sixteenth-century England, the dominant humanist education model, incorporating a renewed appreciation for the art of classical Greek and Latin letters, meant that young English students were taught rhetoric and eloquence in a language not their own. Following Helgerson, critics like Catherine Nicholson and Sean Keilen have shown that this educational model necessarily produced a sense of linguistic and cultural estrangement and eccentricity, a facet that many of the period’s burgeoning writers embraced.¹ This sense of estrangement has waxed and waned over the ensuing centuries; but, it has intensified with the rise of nationalist movements across Europe and beyond, particularly as these movements frame nationalism as a nativist response to feelings of displacement due to increased globalism, migration, and multiculturalism.

¹ For a detailed discussion of this humanist tradition as it relates to the development of English vernacular literature, see Catherine Nicholson, *Uncommon Tongues*, especially the Introduction and chapter 1. See also Sean Keilen, *Vulgar Eloquence* and Helgerson, Introduction.

With the results of Brexit, the referendum held in June of 2016 on whether or not Britain should remain a part of the European Union, it is clear that this is as true in England as anywhere else. In “England, Englishness and Brexit,” an article published in *The Political Quarterly* in the months leading up to the referendum vote, the authors begin by citing the headline for an editorial published on the front page of the *Daily Mail*: “Who will speak for England? ” The study’s authors observe that, though the

editorial itself goes on to reassure its readers that “of course, by ‘England’ . . . we mean the whole of the United Kingdom.” Yet, strikingly, the headline was not repeated in the paper’s Scottish edition Consciously or not, the *Daily Mail*’s editorial team grasped that there is a distinctively English dimension to the debate over the UK’s membership of the European Union. (Henderson et al 187)

Making up approximately 85% of the electorate, saving a particularly close result in England, as went the will of the (voting) English, so went the whole. But in asking who speaks for England, the question also explicitly gives voice to the Brexiteers’ main grievance, namely, that membership in the European Union had eroded British sovereignty, leaving officials in Brussels to do all the talking.

What is of particular interest in this study, however, is the degree to which public opinion data shows a correlation between a given voter’s stated national identity and their desire to “remain” or “leave.” Perhaps surprisingly, these national identities have little to do with national borders. Rather, they reflect the degree to which a voter in England, Wales, or Scotland self-identified as “British only,” “More British than X,” “Equally British and X,” “More X than British,” and “X only” (197). What this study found was that those who identified on either extreme—either British only or X only—regardless of national affiliation, were most likely to espouse a euro-skeptic view. To have a plural

identity, even when those identities were confined to the geographical configurations of Britain, implied a more accommodating, cosmopolitan perspective.

The historian Simon Schama, writing in an opinion piece for *The Financial Times* in the week prior to June's referendum vote, concludes by remembering Jo Cox, the British Labour Party MP who had just been murdered by an ultra-nationalist for her work on behalf of immigrants and refugees, explaining that he does so "not to exploit her death but to honour her morally magnificent and cruelly ended life. She was as homegrown Yorkshire as you could get. But she understood with instinctive decency that to be British was also to be a citizen of the wider world including Europe; that the two identities were mutually sustaining not mutually exclusive; that no man is an island." Ultimately, the results of the 2016 referendum have demonstrated once again not only the appeal of an imagined sovereignty figured through the language of exceptionalism and isolationism, but also the impossibility of such a position.

Indeed, the results betray the fiction of this imagined wholeness, highlighting the United Kingdom's equally durable internal divisions, since England and Wales voted to leave the European Union while Northern Ireland and Scotland voted to remain. Given that Scotland, which had itself held a referendum in 2014 on whether or not to claim independence from Britain, had voted overwhelmingly in favor of remaining within the European Union, the results of the more recent Brexit referendum saw calls (as yet unheeded) for another independence vote. It would seem that many in Scotland prefer a European affiliation over an exclusively British one. Ironically, then, the call to divide Britain from Europe might result in the island's own political fracturing. In effect, this would make a prophecy of Virgil's punning play in his description of Britain ("*penitus*

toto divisos. . .”) as a land divided through and through, both internally and externally. As of this writing, Britain has yet to negotiate a final deal to separate from the European Union that has a majority of Parliament support. At issue is the nature of the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland. Many fear that reinstituting a hard border will bring a return to “the troubles”—a disturbingly mild euphemism for the violence that took thousands of lives over the last third of the twentieth century. Others maintain that an open border defeats the entire purpose of reclaiming British sovereignty.

In “Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexit,” an article published in the following issue of *The Political Quarterly*, a few weeks after the referendum was held, Richard Ashcroft and Mark Bevir suggest that though “resistance to multiculturalism contributed to Brexit,” pluralism could also offer a way of re-forging a united Britain (355). As Ashcroft and Bevir argue:

More polycentric political arrangements may help to accommodate the multiple identities that constitute modern Britain. Greater devolved governance would enable those who identify primarily with more local levels to express their identity and feel a sense of political ownership. It would also allow those who possess more fluid and cosmopolitan identities to participate at multiple levels and across different social spheres. (356)

If a more limiting and exclusive version of cosmopolitanism had created the problem, a more inclusive, de-centralized version could promise a solution. Undergirding the model proposed by Ashcroft and Bevir is the philosophy of rooted or patriotic cosmopolitanisms able to accommodate plural loyalties, outlined in this dissertation’s introduction.

The Brexit debates are merely the latest round of questioning the relationship between Britain and the continent. The debates surrounding the proposed channel tunnel connecting Calais and Dover spanned more than a century, beginning in the 1870s and

lasting through its eventual completion in the 1990s. Richard Rogers, examining the history of public perception around the project sees continuities between public objections in the 1980s and 90s and what he describes as a “historical fear of subterranean invasion by a hostile force, the fear of the end of the island race and splendid isolation” (373). For some, this was a fear rooted in the threat of military incursions; for others, it was a fear of an infestation of disease-carrying rodents and pests. The specter of subterranean threats recalls Spenser’s figuration of slippery rivers, like Bregog and Molanna, springing out of rocks. When Spenser identifies the mountain Mole as one of the honored guests at the marriage of the Thames and Medway, he refigures him as a river. Here he is “Mole, that like a nousling Mole doth make / His way still under ground, till Thamis he overtake” (IV.xi.32.8-9). This Irish mountain-*cum*-river, burrowing beneath the ground until he is ready to “overtake” the specifically English bridegroom offers a variation on the theme of subterranean invasion. It is a gentler version, to be sure, but it allows the threat to remain on the horizon nonetheless.

Rogers notes another through-line across the century of debate over the channel tunnel and it is remarkable: “As in the 1880s, many recent commentators have offered their impressions in the press of the significance of the new permanent link and the change in geographical status from an independent island to a contiguous European country” (371). We have once more an instance of the enormous figural power of boundaries and sites of contact. Here a roughly thirty-mile long tunnel is able to “change” geography, affecting a return to the primordial connection that Spenser describes in Britain’s “moniments”: “Ne was it island then,” “and of some thought / By sea to have bene from the *Celticke* mayn-land brought” (II.x.5.5-9). With these textual

echoes, it seems fitting that the channel tunnel's opponents and supporters have turned to the Renaissance for words of reassurance: the former adopting the language of "this scepter'd isle" from Shakespeare's *Richard II*; the latter turning to Donne's Meditation 17 (Rogers 371). As with Schama, who takes comfort in Donne's claim that no man is an island, entire of itself, these words have continued to reverberate across the centuries, offering a clarion call for those who would see likeness in the stranger, however close, however far away. In his essay "Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature," Francis Bacon was similarly inspired, turning to Donne's words as he concludes: "If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them" (Vickers 364). Globalism and cosmopolitanism were intertwined with the nation then as they are now. Schama's description of Cox's "morally magnificent" life shows, too, that goodness and virtue are still imbricated within the cosmopolitan ideal. Her "cruelly ended life" illustrates that the stranger posing the gravest threat is not always the stranger outside the border.

WORKS CITED

- Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 2004.
- Allen, Don Cameron. *Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins P, 1960.
- “ambage, n.” *OED Online*. Oxford UP, June 2014. Web.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Andrews, Kenneth R. *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War 1585-1603*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964.
- , ed. “The Voyage of Sir John Burgh, 1593.” *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies: 1588-1595*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959. 225-35.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. “Cosmopolitan Patriots.” *Front Lines/Border Posts*, special issue of *Critical Inquiry*. 23.3 (1997): 617-39.
- Arthos, John. “Milton, Ficino, and the *Charmides*.” *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959): 261-74.
- Ashcroft, Richard and Mark Bevir. “Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexit.” *The Political Quarterly* 87.3 (2016): 355-9.

- Augustine. *Earlier Writings*. Ed. and trans. John H. S. Burleigh. *The Library of Christian Classics*. Vol. 6. Philadelphia: Westminster P, 1953.
- Bacon, Francis. "The Jurisdiction of the Marches." *The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England*. Ed. Basil Montagu. Vol. 13. London, 1831. 289-312.
- . *The Works of Francis Bacon*. Ed. William Rawley. Vol. 4. London, 1858.
- Badiou, Alain. *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism*. Trans. Ray Brassier. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2003.
- Barber, C. L. "A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle: The Masque as a Masque." *A Masque at Ludlow: Essays on Milton's Comus*. Ed. John S. Diekhoff. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve UP, 1968. 188-206.
- Bartosik-Vélez, Elise. "Translatio Imperii: Virgil and Peter Martyr's Columbus." *Comparative Literature Studies* 46.4 (2009): 559-588.
- Baxter, Richard. *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter*. Ed. N. H. Keeble. Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974.
- Beecher, Donald. "The legacy of John Frampton: Elizabethan trader and translator." *Renaissance Studies* 20.3 (2006): 320-339.
- Beer, Anna R. *My Just Desire: The Life of Bess Raleigh, Wife to Sir Walter*. New York: Ballantine, 2003.
- . *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Readers in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's, 1997.
- Benét, William Rose. *The Reader's Encyclopedia*. 4th ed. London: Black, 1998.
- "benighted, adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 24 January 2018.

- The Bible*. The Authorized Version of the English Bible, 1611, Ed. William Aldis Wright, Vol. 5, Cambridge UP, 1909. Reprinted 2010.
- Binney, Matthew W. "Milton, Locke, and the Early Modern Framework of Cosmopolitan Right." *The Modern Language Review* 105.1 (2010): 31-52.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*. Ed. and trans. Jon Solomon. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2011.
- Boesky, Amy. *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England*. Athens: U Georgia P, 1996.
- Boyd, Morrison Comegys. *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism*. 2nd edition. Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 1962.
- Bozeman, Theodore Dwight. "The Puritans' 'Errand into the Wilderness' Reconsidered." *The New England Quarterly* 59.2 (1986): 231-51.
- Braden, Gordon. "riverrun: An Epic Catalogue in *The Faerie Queene*." *English Literary Renaissance* 5.1 (1975): 25-48.
- Brennan, Michael G. "The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades* (1504-1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield." *Connotations* 6.2 (1996/97): 227-245.
- Britton, Dennis Austin. "Allegory and Difference in Raleigh and De Bry: Reading and Seeing the *Discoverie*." *JMEMS* 41.1 (2011): 117-36.
- Brownlee, Marina, ed. "Intricate Alliances: Early Modern Spain and England." Special issue of *JMEMS* 39.1 (2009).
- Burrow, Colin. *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1993.

- Butler, George. F. "Milton's 'sage and serious Poet *Spencer*': Error and Imitation in *The Faerie Queene* and *Areopagitica*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 49.2 (2007): 101-24.
- Butler, Martin. "Private and Occasional Drama." *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*. Ed. A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003. 131-163.
- Campbell, Gordon and Thomas N. Corns. *John Milton: Life, Work, Thought*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.
- Castiglione, Baldesar. *The Book of the Courtier*. Trans. Charles Singleton. Ed. Daniel Javitch. New York: Norton, 2002.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008.
- Charalampous, Charis. *Rethinking the Mind-Body Relationship in Early Modern Literature, Philosophy and Medicine: The Renaissance of the Body*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Cheney, Patrick and Lauren Silberman, Eds. *Worldmaking Spenser: Explorations in the Early Modern Age*. Lexington: UP Kentucky, 2000.
- Chernaik, Warren. "Linked Sweetness: Milton and Music." *The Seventeenth Century* 26.1 (2011): 23-43.
- Chovanec, Kevin. "The Borders of Fairyland: Transnational Readings of Spenser in Stuart England." *Spenser Studies* 31 (2017): 71-96.
- Christopher, Georgia B. *Milton and the Science of the Saints*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982.

- Cobbett, William. "The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, knt. at Winchester, for High Treason, 1603." *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials*. Vol. 2. London, 1809. 1-60.
- Cohen, Mitchell. "Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Thoughts on the Left, Nationalism, and Multiculturalism." *Dissent*. 39.4 (1992): 478-83.
- Coleridge, Samuel T. *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*. Ed. Thomas Middleton Raysor. London: Constable & Co, 1936.
- Coles, Kimberly Anne. "Gender in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*." *Edmund Spenser in Context*. Ed. Andrew Escobedo. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017. 352-62.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness*. Ed. Paul B. Armstrong. 4th edition. New York: W.W Norton & Company, 2006.
- Cooper, Helen. *The English Romance in Time: Transmogrifying motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the death of Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004.
- . "Pastoral." *Hamilton* 529-532.
- Corns, Thomas N. and Gordon Campbell, Gen. Eds. *The Complete Works of John Milton*. 4 vols. to date. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008-.
- Cottegnies, Line. "A 'science of dreams': 'the fantastic ethnography' of Sir Walter Raleigh and Baconian experimentalism." *A knight's legacy: Mandeville and Mandevillian Lore in Early Modern England*. Ed. Ladan Niayesh. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011. 108-127.
- Coughlan, Patricia, Ed. *Spenser and Ireland: an Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Cork: Cork UP, 1989.

- Creamer, Kevin J.T., Manager. "Ways of God to Men." *Milton-L: The John Milton Discussion List*. The University of Richmond, August-September 2017. Web.
- . "Milton's deliberate ambiguities." *Milton-L: The John Milton Discussion List*. The University of Richmond, September 2017. Web.
- Creaser, John. "Milton's *Comus*: The Irrelevance of the Castlehaven Scandal." Flannagan 24-34.
- Cruz, Anne J. "Introduction—Crossing the Channel." Cruz xvii-xxvii.
- , ed. *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- De Grazia, Margreta. "The ideology of superfluous things: *King Lear* as period piece." *Subject and object in Renaissance culture*. Eds. Margreta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. 17-42.
- Dee, John. *General and rare memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of navigation*. London, 1577.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Globalization, Peace, and Cosmopolitanism." *Negotiations: Interventions and Interviews*. Ed. and Trans. Elizabeth Rottenberg. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002. 371-86.
- Donne, John. *John Donne*. Ed. Janel Mueller. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015.
- Donnelly, M.L. "The Life of Vergil and the Aspirations of the 'New Poet.'" *Spenser Studies* 17 (2003): 1-35.
- Donno, Elizabeth Story, ed. Preface. *Andrew Marvell: The Complete English Poems*. New York: St. Martin's, 1974. 9-12.
- Drayton, Michael. *Poems*. London 1605.

- . *Poly-Olbion. The Works of Michael Drayton*. Ed. J. William Hebel. Vol. 4. Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press St Aldates, 1933.
- Dubrow, Heather. "'A doubtfull sense of things': Thievery in *The Faerie Queene* 6.10 and 6.11." Cheney and Silberman 204-16.
- . "The Masquing of Genre in *Comus*." *Milton Studies* 44 (2005): 62-83.
- "ecstasy, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 24 January 2018.
- "ecstatic, adj." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, January 2018. Web. 24 January 2018.
- "enchase, v1, v2." *OED Online*. Oxford UP, November 2016. Web.
- Edwards, Philip. *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1997.
- Fallon, Stephen M. *Milton's Peculiar Grace: Self-Representation and Authority*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007.
- Ferguson, Margaret W. "Saint Augustine's Region of Unlikeness: The crossing of exile and language." *The Georgia Review* 29.4 (1975): 842-64.
- Fish, Stanley. "Driving from the letter: truth and indeterminacy in Milton's *Areopagitica*." *Re-membering Milton: essays on the texts and traditions*. Ed. Mary Nyquist and Margaret W Ferguson. London: Methuen, 1988. 134-154.
- . "Georgics of the Mind: The Experience of Bacon's Essays." *The Critical Quarterly* 13.1 (1971): 45-68.
- . *How Milton Works*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2001.
- . "Why Milton Matters: Or, Against Historicism." *Milton Studies* 44 (2005): 1-12.

- Fisher, Benjamin, ed. *Profitable Instructions; Describing what speciall Observations are to be taken by Travellers in all Nations, States and Countries; Pleasant and Profitable.* London, 1633.
- Flannagan, Roy, ed. "Comus: Contexts." Special issue of *Milton Quarterly* 21.4 (1987).
- Fletcher, Angus. *The Transcendental Masque: An Essay on Milton's Comus.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1971.
- "fornication, n. 1" *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, July 2018. Web. 19 October 2018.
- Fowler, Alastair. *Spenser and the Numbers of Time.* New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1964.
- Fox, Michael V. *Ecclesiastes: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004.
- Frampton, John. "Epistle Dedicatorie To the right worshipfull Sir Humfrey Gilbert." *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Havens, of the Weast India: Translated out of the Castlin.* London, 1578.
- Frank, Mortimer H. "Milton's Knowledge of Music: Some Speculations." *Milton and the Art of Sacred Song.* J. Max Patrick and Roger H. Sundell, eds. Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1979. 83-98.
- Froude, James Anthony. *Short Studies on Great Subjects.* Vol. 2. London, 1867.
- Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957.
- . *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976.

Fuchs, Barbara. "Imperium Studies: Theorizing Early Modern Expansion." 71-90.

Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern. Ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and

Michelle R. Warren. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

---. *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam and European Identities*. Cambridge:

Cambridge UP, 2001.

---. *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature*. Philadelphia: U Penn

P, 2013.

---. *Romance*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Fuller, Mary. *Voyages in Print: English travel to America, 1576-1624*. Cambridge:

Cambridge UP, 1995.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983.

Goldberg, Jonathan. *Endlesse Worke: Spenser and the Structures of Discourse*.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1981.

---. *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992.

Goodman, Jennifer R. *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630*. Woodbridge: Boydell,

1998.

Gordon, Andrew and Bernhard Klein, Eds. *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space*

in Early Modern Britain. New York: Cambridge UP, 2001.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. 1980. 2nd ed. Chicago: Chicago UP,

2005.

---. *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1973.

Greene, Thomas M. "Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance."

Renaissance Quarterly 54.4 (2001): 1403-66.

- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992.
- Greer, Margaret Rich, et al. eds. *Rereading the Black Legend: the discourse of religious and racial difference in the Renaissance empires*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2007.
- Grenfell, Joanne Woolway. "Do real knights need maps? Charting moral, geographical and representational uncertainty in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*." Gordon and Klein 224-238.
- Guazzo, M. Steeven. *The Civile Conversation*. Trans. George Pettie. 1581. Ed. Edward Sullivan. Vol. 1. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.
- Hadfield, Andrew. *Literature, Politics, and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- . *Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1997.
- Hakluyt, Richard. "Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh." Trans. F. C. Francis. *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*. Ed. E. G. R Taylor. Vol 2. London: Hakluyt Society, 1935. 356-369.
- Hallock, Thomas. "An Early Florida Poem: 'Elegía a la muerte de Juan Ponce de León.'" *PMLA* 128.3 (2013): 756-764.
- Halpern, Richard. "Puritanism and Maenadism in *A Mask*." *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Margaret W. Ferguson et al. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1986. 88-105.
- Hamilton, A.C. et al Eds. *The Spenser Encyclopedia*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 1990.
- Hampton, Bryan Adams. *Fleshly Tabernacles: Milton and the Incarnational Poetics of Revolutionary England*. Notre Dame: U Notre Dame P, 2012.

- Hanna, Mark G. *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740*. Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 2015.
- Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*. Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 2009.
- Hart, Cyril. *The Free Miners of the Royal Forest of Dean and Hundred of St. Briavels*. Gloucester: British Publishing Co. Ltd., 1953.
- Hassel, R. Chris, Jr. *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year*. Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1979.
- “haughty, adj.” *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 29 June 2017.
- Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992.
- Henderson, Ailsa et al. “England, Englishness and Brexit.” *The Political Quarterly* 87.2 (2016):187-99.
- Heng, Geraldine. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia UP, 2003.
- Herman, Peter C and Elizabeth Sauer, Eds. *The New Milton Criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012.
- Hill, Christopher. *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1975.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

- Holden, Robert Bradley. "Milton's 'fleshly Tabernacle': An Overlooked Biblical Allusion." *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 25.3 (2012): 182-5.
- Hollander, John. *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1961.
- Hoxby, Blair. "The Wisdom of Their Feet: Meaningful Dance in Milton and the Stuart Masque." *English Literary Renaissance* 37.1 (2007): 74-99.
- Ingram, William and Kathleen Swaim, Eds. *A Concordance to Milton's English Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1972.
- Javitch, Daniel. "Courtesy Books." Hamilton et al 197-9.
- Jayne, Sears. "The Subject of Milton's Ludlow *Mask*." *PMLA* 74.5 (1959): 533-43.
- Jenkins, Hugh. "'The Revolt[ing] Welsh'?: Milton and 'the Dark Corners of the Land.'"
Milton's Legacy. Ed. Kristin A. Pruitt and Charles W. Durham. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna UP, 2005. 103-115.
- Jones, H. G. ed. *Raleigh and Quinn: The Explorer and his Boswell*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Society, 1987.
- Jowitt, Claire. *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Iser, Wolfgang. *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993.
- Kahn, Victoria. "Disappointed Nationalism: Milton in the Context of Seventeenth-Century Debates about the Nation-State." Loewenstein and Stevens 249-272.
- Kalas, Rayna. *Frame, Glass, Verse: The Technology of Poetic Invention in the English Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007.

Keilen, Sean. *Vulgar Eloquence: On the Renaissance Invention of English Literature*.
New Haven: Yale UP, 2006.

Kerrigan, John. "The Romans in Britain: Wales and Jacobean Drama." *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.
115-40.

Kerrigan, William. *The Sacred Complex: On the Psychogenesis of Paradise Lost*.
Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1983.

Kidd, Colin. *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Kilgour, Maggie. "Comus's Wood of Allusion." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 61.3
(1992): 316-33.

---. *Milton and the Metamorphosis of Ovid*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012.

Klein, Bernhard. "Imaginary Journeys: Spenser, Drayton, and the poetics of national space." Gordon and Klein 204-223.

Kleingold, Pauline and Eric Brown. "Cosmopolitanism." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* Fall (2014). URL =
<<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/>>.

Knapp, Jeffrey. *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest*. Berkeley: U California P, 1992.

Kumar, Krishan. *The Idea of Englishness: English Culture, National Identity and Social Thought*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015.

---. *The Making of English National Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.

- Kuzner, James. *Open Subjects: English Renaissance Republicanism, Modern Selfhoods, and the Virtue of Vulnerability*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2011.
- Lahive, Colin. "Reading and Writing Romance in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*." *Literature Compass* 12.10 (2015): 527-37.
- Lecky, Kat. "Naturalization in the *Mirror* and *A Mask*." *Studies in English Literature* 54.1 (2014): 125-42.
- Lewalski, Barbara K. *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- . "Milton: Revaluations of Romance." *Four Essays on Romance*. Ed. Herschel Baker. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971. 56-70.
- . "Milton's *Comus* and the politics of masquing." *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*. Ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. 296-320.
- . "Quest Epic and Romance." *'Paradise Lost' and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985. 65-71.
- Lewalski, Barbara K. and Estelle Haan, Eds. "Introduction." *The Shorter Poems*. Corns and Campbell Vol. 3 2012 xxi-clxxvi.
- Lewis, C. S. *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1936.
- Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short. *A Latin Dictionary founded on Andrews' edition*. 1879. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1969.
- Lim, Walter S. H. *John Milton, Radical Politics, and Biblical Republicanism*. Newark: U Delaware P, 2006.

- Linton, Joan Pong. *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- Lockey, Brian C. *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2015.
- Loewenstein, David and Paul Stevens, eds. *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 2008.
- Loewenstein, David and Paul Stevens. "Introduction: Milton's Nationalism: Challenges and Questions." Loewenstein and Stevens 3-21.
- Lorimer, Joyce. Introduction. *Discoverie of Guiana*. London: Ashgate for The Hakluyt Society, 2006. xxvii-xcvi.
- . "Raleigh's First Reconnaissance of Guiana? An English Survey of the Orinoco in 1587." *Terrae Incognitae* 9 (1977): 7-21.
- Lupton, Julia Reinhard. *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology*. Chicago, Chicago UP, 2005.
- . "Home-Making in Ireland: Virgil's Eclogue I and Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*." *Spenser Studies* 8 (1990): 119-45.
- Maley, Willy. *Salvaging Spenser: Colonialism, Culture and Identity*. New York: St. Martin's P, 1997.
- . "Spenser and Europe: Britomart after Brexit." *The Spenser Review* 47.3.42 (2017): np. <https://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/item/47.3.42/>
- Mann, Jenny C. *Outlaw Rhetoric: Figuring Vernacular Eloquence in Shakespeare's England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2012.

- Marcus, Leah S. *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the defense of old holiday pastimes*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1986.
- Martz, Louis L. *Poet of Exile: A Study of Milton's Poetry*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1980.
- Marvell, Andrew. "Britannia and Rawleigh." *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*. Ed. H. M. Margoliouth. 3rd edition. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1971. 194-9.
- Maus, Katherine Eisaman. "A womb of his own: male Renaissance poets in the female body." *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, texts, images*. Ed. James Grantham Turner. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. 266-88.
- May, Steven W. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Boston: Twayne, 1989.
- McEachern, Claire. *The poetics of English nationhood, 1590-1612*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.
- Meeks, Wayne A. Ed. *The Writings of St. Paul*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972.
- Mignolo, Walter. "The Many Faces of Cosmo-polis: Border Thinking and Critical Cosmopolitanism." *Public Culture* 12.3 (2000): 721-48.
- Miller, David M. "Delusion to Illumination: A Larger Structure for *L'Allegro-II Penseroso*." *PMLA* 86.1 (1971): 32-9.
- Miller, Jacqueline T. "The Courtly Figure: Spenser's Anatomy of Allegory." *SEL, 1500-1900* 31.1 (1991): 51-68.
- Miller, Perry. "Errand Into The Wilderness." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 10.1 (1953): 3-32.
- Milton, John. *An Apology Against a Pamphlet*. Ed. Frederick Lovett Taft. Wolfe Vol. 1 865-953.

- . *Areopagitica*. Ed. Ernest Sirluck. Wolfe Vol. 2 486-570.
- . *The Digression*. Ed. French Fogle. Wolfe Vol. 5 441-451.
- . *De Doctrina Christiana*. Ed. And Trans. by John K. Hale and J. Donald Cullington. Corns and Campbell Vol. 8. Parts 1 and 2, 2012.
- . *Eikonoklastes*. Ed. Merritt Y. Hughes. Wolfe Vol. 3 337-601.
- . *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*. Corns and Campbell Vol. 3 60-103.
- . *Of Education*. Ed. Ernest Sirluck. Wolfe Vol. 2 362-415.
- . *Of Reformation in England*. Ed. Don M. Wolfe and William Alfred. Wolfe Vol. 1 517-617.
- . "On the Harmony of the Spheres." *The Prolusions, or Academic Exercises*. Exercise II. Trans. Phyllis B. Tillyard. Wolfe Vol. 1 233-9.
- . *Paradise Lost. John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*. Ed. Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: Odyssey P, 1957. 207-469.
- . *Poems of Mr. John Milton, Both English and Latin*. London: 1645. Ed. By Barbara K. Lewalski, Ed. and Trans. by Estelle Haan. Corns and Campbell Vol. 3 2-229.
- . *The Reason of Church-Government Urg'd against Prelaty*. Ed. Ralph A. Haug. Wolfe Vol. 1 745-861.
- Montrose, Louis Adrian. "Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form." *ELH* 50.3 (1983): 415-59.
- Morris, Jeffrey B. "To (Re)fashion a Gentleman: Raleigh's Disgrace in Spenser's Legend of Courtesy." *Studies in Philology* 94.1 (1997): 38-58.

- Mullaney, Steven. "Civic Rites, City Sites: The Place of the Stage." *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*. Eds. David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass. New York: Routledge, 1991. 17-26.
- Mulready, Cyrus. *Romance on the Early Modern Stage: English Expansion Before and After Shakespeare*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.
- Murphy, Erin. "Sabrina and the Making of English History in *Poly-Olbion* and *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*." *Studies in English Literature* 51.1 (2011): 87-110.
- Murrin, Michael. *The Veil of Allegory: Some Notes Toward a Theory of Allegorical Rhetoric in the English Renaissance*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1969.
- Naunton, Sir Robert. *Fragmenta Regalia*. London, 1624. Reprint London, 1824.
- Neuse, Richard. "Milton and Spenser: The Virgilian Triad Revisited." *ELH* 45.4 (1978): 606-39.
- Nicholls, Mark and Penry Williams. *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- . "Raleigh, Sir Walter (1554–1618)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. David Cannadine. Sept. 2015. www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23039
- Nicholson, Catherine. *Uncommon Tongues: Eloquence and Eccentricity in The English Renaissance*. Philadelphia: U Penn P, 2013.
- Norbrook, David. "The Reformation of the Masque." 94-110. *The Court Masque*. Ed. David Lindley. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984.
- . *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

- Oakeshott, Walter. "Carew Raleigh's Copy of Spenser." *The Library* 26.1 (1971): 1-21.
- O'Connell, Michael. "*The Faerie Queene*, Book V." Hamilton 280-283.
- Oram, William A. "Spenser's Raleigh's." *Studies in Philology* 87.3 (1990): 341-62.
- Orgel, Stephen. "The Case for Comus." *Representations* 81.1 (2003): 31-45. Print.
- Ortiz, Joseph M. *Broken Harmony: Shakespeare and the Politics of Music*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2011.
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. Trans. Arthur Golding. London 1565. Ed. Madeleine Forey. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001.
- Parker, Patricia. "Fantasies of 'Race' and 'Gender'." *Women, "Race," & Writing in the Early Modern Period*. Ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker. London: Routledge, 1994. 84-100.
- . *Inescapable Romance*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1979.
- Patterson, Annabel. *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England*. Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1984.
- Peacham, Henry. *The Garden of Eloquence*. London, 1593.
- Pollock, Sheldon I. "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History." *Public Culture* 12.3 (2000): 591-625.
- Prawdzik, Brendan. *Theatrical Milton: Politics and Poetics of the Staged Body*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2017.
- Pugh, Syrithe. *Spenser and Virgil: The Pastoral Poems*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2016.
- Puttenham, George. *The Art of English Poesy*. Ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007.

- Quilligan, Maureen. *Milton's Spenser: The Politics of Reading*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter. "Apologie for his voyage to *Guiana*." *Judicious and Select Essayes and Observations By that Renowned and Learned Knight. Sir Walter Raleigh*. London, 1650.
- . "Discourse of the Invention of Ships." *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.* Vol. 2. London, 1751. 71-90.
- . *Discoverie of Guiana*. Ed. Joyce Lorimer. London: Ashgate for The Hakluyt Society, 2006.
- . "Farewell to Court." *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh: A Historical Edition*. Ed. Michael Rudick. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999. 26-7.
- . *The History of the World*. London, 1614.
- Ramachandran, Ayesha. *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 2015.
- Rambuss, Richard. *Closet Devotions*. Durham: Duke UP, 1998.
- . *Spenser's Secret Career*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.
- Read, David. *Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2000.
- Restrepo, Luis Fernando. "Sacred and Imperial Topographies in Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*." *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience*. Ed. Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2002.

- Revard, Stella. "'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso': Classical Tradition and Renaissance Mythography." *PMLA* 101.3 (1986): 338-50.
- Robbins, Bruce. "Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism." *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*. Edited by Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 1998. 1-19.
- Robinson, Benedict S. *Islam and Early Modern Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Robinson, Jancis and Julia Harding, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Wine*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015.
- Rogers, Richard. "Do you want to go for a ride on the chunnel? The British public understandings of the Channel Tunnel meet the Eurotunnel Exhibition Centre." *Public Understanding* 4 (1995): 363-96.
- Rubright, Marjorie. *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*. Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 2014.
- Sanchez, Melissa. *Erotic Subjects: The Sexuality of Politics in Early Modern English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011.
- Sanders, Julie. "Ecocritical Readings and the Seventeenth-Century Woodland: 'Comus' and the Forest of Dean." *English* 50.196 (2001): 1-18.
- Sarkar, Debapriya. "Dilated Materiality and Formal Restraint in *The Faerie Queene*." *Spenser Studies* 31 (2017): 137-66.
- Schama, Simon. "Let us spurn Brexit and remain a beacon of tolerance." *The Financial Times*, 17 June 2016. www.ft.com/content/7c7f2dbe-3474-11e6-bda0-04585c31b153#axzz4CEk5Rd75.

- Schmidgen, Wolfram. *Exquisite Mixture: The Virtues of Impurity in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: U Penn P, 2013.
- Schwarz, Kathryn. *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance*. Durham: Duke UP, 2000.
- Schwytzer, Philip. "Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn: The Cultural Geography of *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*." *Representations* 60 (1997): 22-48.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *The Weather in Proust*. Ed. Jonathan Goldberg. Durham: Duke UP, 2011.
- Shrank, Cathy. *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004.
- Shuger, Debora. "'Gums of Glutinous Heat' and the Stream of Consciousness: The Theology of Milton's *Maske*." *Representations* 60 (1997): 1-21.
- . *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, Subjectivity*. Berkeley: U California P, 1994.
- Shullenberger, William. *Lady in the Labyrinth: Milton's Comus as Initiation*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2008.
- Sidney, Philip. *The Defence of Poesy*. *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*. Ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002. 212-50.
- Smallenburg, Harry R. "Contiguities and Moving Limbs: Style as Argument in *Areopagitica*." *Milton Studies* 9 (1976): 169-84.
- "sophrosyne, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 13 June 2017.
- Spaeth, Sigmund. *Milton's Knowledge of Music*. 1913. Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 1963.

- Spedding, James, et al, Eds. *The Works of Francis Bacon*. Vol. 9. London, 1862.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Ed. A. C. Hamilton et al. Revised 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007.
- . *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*. Ed. William A. Oram et al. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989. 519-62.
- . *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale*. *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*. Ed. William A. Oram et al. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989. 334-379.
- . *A View of the State of Ireland*. 1633. Ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.
- “sprezzatura, n.” *OED Online*. OUP, December 2016. Web
- Sprott, S. E. *John Milton A Maske: The Earlier Versions*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 1973.
- Staley, Lynn. *The Island Garden: England’s language of nation from Gildas to Marvell*. Notre Dame: U Notre Dame P, 2012.
- Stewart, James. *The Rights of Persons, According to the Text of Blackstone, incorporating the alterations down to the present time*. London, 1839.
- Stevens, Paul. “Archipelagic Criticism and Its Limits: Milton, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the Matter of England.” *The European Legacy* 17.2 (2012): 151-64.
- . “How Milton’s Nationalism Works: Globalization and the Possibilities of Positive Nationalism.” Loewenstein and Stevens 273-301.
- . “Milton’s ‘Renunciation’ of Cromwell: The Problem of Raleigh’s ‘Cabinet-Council.’” *Modern Philology* 98.3 (2001): 363-92.
- “tabernacle, n. 2a” *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. 13 June 2017.

- Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989.
- Taylor, Luke. "Milton and the Romance of History." *Milton Studies* 56 (2015): 301-29.
- Teskey, Gordon. *Allegory and Violence*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1996.
- . "'And therefore as a stranger give it welcome': Courtesy and Thinking." *Spenser Studies* 18 (2003): 343-59.
- . *The Poetry of John Milton*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2015.
- Tennenhouse, Leonard. "Sir Walter Raleigh and the Literature of Clientage." *Patronage in the Renaissance*. Stephen Orgel and Guy Fitch Lytle, eds. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981. 235-58.
- Thirsk, Joan. "Raleigh's England." Jones 35-49.
- Thompson, Edward, ed. *The Works of Andrew Marvell*. 3 vols. London, 1776.
- Turner, Bryan S. "Cosmopolitan Virtue, Globalization and Patriotism." *Theory, Culture & Society* 19 (2002): 45-63.
- Urban, David V. "Reading *The New Milton Criticism*: A Review Essay." *APPOSITIONS: Studies in Renaissance/Early Modern Literature and Culture*. 6 (2013): np. <http://appositions.blogspot.com/2013/08/david-v-urban-reading-new-milton.html>
- Vickers, Brian. "The Authenticity of Bacon's Earliest Writings." *Studies in Philology*, 94.2 (1997): 248-296.
- . Ed. *Francis Bacon: The Major Works*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.
- Von Maltzahn, Nicholas. *Milton's History of Britain: Republican Historiography in the English Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991.

- Wallis, Helen. "Raleigh's World." Jones 11-33.
- Waswo, Richard. "The History that Literature Makes." *New Literary History* 19.3 (1988): 541-564.
- Wilding, Michael. "Milton's 'A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634': Theater and Politics on the Border." Flannagan 35-51.
- Wilkenfeld, Roger B. "The Seat at the Center: An Interpretation of *Comus*." *ELH* 33.2 (1966): 170-197.
- Williams, Glanmor et al. *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920*. Cardiff: U Wales P, 2007.
- Williamson, George. "Milton the Anti-Romantic." *Modern Philology* 60.1 (1962): 13-21.
- Wolfe, Don M, gen. ed. *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. 8 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1953-1982.
- Wolfe, Jessica L. "The Cosmopolitanism of *The Adages*: The Classical and Christian Legacies of Erasmus' Hermeneutics of Accommodation." *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages*. Eds. John M. Ganim and Shayne Aaron Legassie. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. 207-30.
- Van Es, Bart. "'The Streame and Currant of Time': Land, Myth, and History in the Works of Spenser." *Spenser Studies* 18 (2003): 209-29.
- Virgil. *The Eclogues*. Ed. and Trans. Guy Lee. New York: Penguin, 1980.
- Zeitlin, Froma I. "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama." *Representations* 11 (1985): 63-94.

Zurcher, Amelia A. *Seventeenth-Century English Romance: Allegory, Ethics, and Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007.