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# The Concept of Honor in the Faerie Queen, Books I and II

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THE CONCEPT OF HONOR IN THE FAERIE QUEENE,

BOOKS I AND II

by

Mary Jane Coogan

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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## LIFE

Mary Jane Coogan was born in Bloomington, Illinois, on February 1, 1925. She was graduated from the Academy of Our Lady in Peoria, Illinois, in 1942, and from Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, in 1947. Following graduation she taught in the Chicago parochial schools for three years and in a high school in Lincoln, Nebraska, for one year. Then she attended St. Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri, receiving her degree of Master of Arts there in February, 1953. She taught high school one year in Green Valley, Illinois. In 1954 she returned to Chicago. She has been teaching at Wells High School since 1955 when she was assigned there. She began her doctoral studies in English at Loyola University the same year.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION: A REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

Each society has its standards of excellence which in more unified and less sophisticated ages were embodied in the heroes of its epics. Aiming at eliciting admiration, each epic presented particular standards on a grand scale in the person of its heroes. This dissertation is an attempt to analyze the standards of excellence as revealed by the characters and their actions in The Faerie Queene, Books I and II. The dissertation was limited to the first two books to allow a detailed analysis. The first two books were selected because of their acknowledged excellence and because of the central position of the theme of honor in them. Since the Renaissance had a twofold heritage, that of classical and of medieval culture, the writer will attempt to determine their comparative importance in Spenser's work. The dissertation is not a study of specific sources but an endeavor to read Spenser within the cultural context in which he wrote.

Several studies of the concept of honor already exist. Ruth Kelso has analyzed from contemporary writings the Renaissance standards of excellence in The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century.<sup>1</sup> In an article published earlier, she notes that "the sixteenth century was no more successful

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<sup>1</sup>University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, IX (Urbana, 1929).

than its predecessors in arriving at a complete, unambiguous, and generally accepted definition."<sup>2</sup> She attributes the failure to do so to the fact that the scholars had not attempted a fresh approach but had relied upon classical, medieval, and contemporary sources that were at times contradictory. Her monograph is a definitive study of Renaissance courtesy books. John E. Mason's Gentlefolk in the Making is suggestive but not as complete.<sup>3</sup> A related work, W. L. Wiley's The Gentleman of Renaissance France, is a study of the French courtier from 1515 to 1560.<sup>4</sup> His study can be used for both comparison and contrast with the contemporary English scene.

Suggestions for the general outline of the dissertation were found in Curtis Brown Watson's Shakespeare and the Renaissance Concept of Honor.<sup>5</sup> Watson develops the concept of honor from Plato to the Renaissance and relates his findings to Shakespeare's text. This dissertation, however, emphasizes a closer reading of primary texts, and it relies more upon Scholastic and chivalric sources.

The Reverend Maurice B. McNamee, S.J., in Honor and the Epic Hero has made a study of the shifting concept of magnanimity in philosophy and poetry.<sup>6</sup> In his analysis of "Mother Hubberds Tale" and of the first two books of The Faerie

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<sup>2</sup>"Sixteenth Century Definitions of the Gentleman in England," JEGP, XXIV (1925), 370.

<sup>3</sup>Philadelphia, 1935.

<sup>4</sup>Cambridge, Mass., 1954.

<sup>5</sup>Princeton, 1960.

<sup>6</sup>New York, 1960.



Queene, Father McNamee points out that Spenser is almost unique in justifying the pursuit of honor provided that it is based upon virtue and service. His accurate study of the philosophical development of the concept of honor has been a trustworthy guide. This investigation will work out in great detail his study of Spenser, to whom he devotes a chapter.

Two articles discuss the concept of honor. The first by George McGill Vogt, "Gleanings for the History of a Sentiment: Generositas Virtus, Non Sanguis," studies in imaginative medieval literature the idea that true nobility is not born of wealth or subject to inheritance, but that it is the fruit of virtue and noble living. Although Chaucer is credited with this idea, Vogt shows through excerpts from other contemporary writers that the idea was rather common to all in the fourteenth century, although it may have had little to do with the poet's criticism of life or with the actual practice of the time.<sup>7</sup>

The other article, Edwin B. Benjamin's "Fame, Poetry and the Order of History in the Literature of the English Renaissance," studies fame as a key word in English literature.<sup>8</sup> He finds it used in four different contexts: (1) the equivalent of rumor or report as in Ovid and Vergil; (2) personal fame, more or less equivalent to glory, honor, reputation and renown, the idea being much intellectualized in Renaissance literature; (3) national fame, a Roman idea that is revived by the nationalism of the sixteenth century; and (4) heavenly fame, an essentially Christian ideal. Benjamin studies the second and third concept.

Benjamin finds a growing consciousness of the poet's connection with fame

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<sup>7</sup>JEGP, XXIV (1925), 102.

<sup>8</sup>Studies in the Renaissance, VI (1959), 64-84.

in the Elizabethan age. He notes the Sidneian-Spenserian tradition in which the poet uses fame to mold and inspire youth and also to elaborate national greatness.<sup>9</sup> In Spenser he finds fame as a nationalistic concept. Gloriana, Cleopolis, Prince Arthur, the British kings, and the coming war between Britons and Saxons all reflect the glorification of the Tudor reign. Spenser's theme is England's greatness, a nobility that will breed heroes for the glory of Elizabeth.<sup>10</sup>

In his study, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England, Fritz Caspari devotes a chapter to Spenser. He finds that although Spenser's ideal is closely related to that of the Renaissance gentleman as formulated by writers like Castiglione, it shows strong traces of the ideals of medieval Christian chivalry and of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>11</sup> This dissertation attempts to substantiate this reliance upon chivalric tradition. It also points out the close similarity to Scholastic thought, though it does not claim a direct influence, but rather an indirect one insofar as that thought had been absorbed into Christian ethics.

A work of somewhat different character is Isabel Rathborne's The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland.<sup>12</sup> The writer studies the concept of honor in the context of the Renaissance understanding of ancient history, in relation to the classical myth of Elysium, and in respect to Elizabethan folk lore and romance. Since this study focuses upon the literary background, it does not handle honor in

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 74.

<sup>11</sup>Chicago, 1954.

<sup>12</sup>New York, 1937.

relation to ethical systems as in this dissertation.

An excellent work dealing almost exclusively with Spenser's text is J. L. Shanley's A Study of Spenser's Gentleman. This work attempts to determine Spenser's idea of a gentleman as revealed by his work, his training and experience, and his ends in life.<sup>13</sup> Shanley finds that, although the figure shows the influence of humanistic thought in its tradition of the "complete man," the elements in Spenser's gentleman are so combined as to make Spenser's concept peculiarly his own.

Shanley's textual analysis of Spenser's gentleman corroborates the present study. For example, he finds that Spenser went further than his contemporaries in the concept of a gentleman's duty. They defined it as service to the sovereign and society, but Spenser added the Christian concept that one should serve others as individuals.<sup>14</sup> He also differs from his contemporaries who advocate a career in civil occupations: he portrays a career in arms. His hero is not a courtier but a man of action interested in protecting the commonweal. Although he is not cut off from the court entirely, he finds his work in service away from court.<sup>15</sup>

Shanley points out Spenser's emphasis upon gentle birth. Good birth brings forth good deeds. This nobility of birth endows the knight not only with a desire for glory, but also gives him the opportunity for a position in which he can use his abilities to the best advantage.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Evanston, 1940.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

Although Spenser emphasizes the importance of an education to combat the defects he finds in contemporary courtiers, Shanley notes that he makes no original contribution to the ideas of education. He is different, however, in the great stress he laid upon training in arms and upon religion.<sup>17</sup>

In relation to the concept of honor, Shanley points out that Spenser's knights are motivated by the desire for honor. This honor is not only contemporary fame, but immortality gained through the works of historians and poets. Yet this desire for honor does not ignore life's hardships and life's brevity.<sup>18</sup>

Spenser's hero is to serve others by leading them, and this leadership is expressed by his magnanimity. He can face hardship, but he is not self-sufficient; he acknowledges his reliance upon God's grace.<sup>19</sup>

A dissertation treating Spenser's concept of the idea of glory in The Faerie Queene, chiefly in Books One and Six, came to the writer's attention after she had finished her own work. Although the works were done independently and therefore naturally vary considerably in the selection of illustrative material in treating the history of the idea and in the treatment of Spenser's text, it is heartening to report that the conclusions are in agreement. For example, the two works agree in finding from the analysis of Book One that Spenser illustrates St. Thomas's modification of Aristotle's magnanimous man.

Sister Mary Anne states her purpose: "It is the history of this idea--the desire for glory as the proper motivation of human conduct--with special

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-16.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 22-26.

emphasis on its meaning for Edmund Spenser in the sixteenth century that makes up the material for this study."<sup>20</sup> After surveying the history of the idea of glory and the Renaissance modifications of this ideal, she studies Spenser's synthesis between the worldly and aristocratic ideal of courtesy and the ultra-moralistic bourgeois ideal of the Puritans. She finds, as does this writer's study, that Spenser's idea avoids the extremes of Aristotelian self-centeredness and Augustinian other-worldliness. Her final chapters "concern themselves largely with an analysis of Books One and Six in order to understand the manner in which Spenser's virtuous heroes pursue fame and glory on earth, not as ends in themselves, but as means to the true glory which is eternal."<sup>21</sup>

In this chapter the writer has considered works on honor and works on Spenser's concept of honor. Spenser's use of honor as a motive force is mentioned in passing in other studies of Spenser, but no detailed analysis is presented.

In summary, the writer will present different concepts of honor as they appear in various cultures. She will then analyze Spenser's text in the first two books of The Faerie Queene. The study is centered on the concept of honor as it is revealed through the totality of the action. In considering the concept of honor, she has broadened the consideration to include not only the attitude toward the pursuit of recognition but also the cultural standards that

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<sup>20</sup> Sister Mary Anne Winkelmann, S.S.N.D., "Spenser's Modifications of the Renaissance Idea of Glory and the Motivation of the Faerie Queene." Unpublished Doctor's Thesis (St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1961), p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

determined what was considered excellent and worthy of recognition. In conclusion, she will fix Spenser's specific concept of honor and determine its sources by comparison with the concepts of honor in various cultures.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF HONOR

In order to clarify Spenser's concept of honor and to place it in its cultural milieu, the author in this chapter will review briefly in chronological order the statements of prominent philosophers on the subject. Some attempt will be made to relate each statement to the social milieu. For the sake of simplicity, the study will be limited to these areas, even though there is a wealth of material available also in imaginative literature. Written as an orientation to the study of Spenser's concept of honor, the review will be satisfied with indicating general trends and will not pretend to do any more. Justification for such a study lies in the nature of Renaissance moral philosophy, an accumulation of the past. The concepts of honor reviewed here reappear in the moral philosophy with which Spenser was familiar.

Honor will be treated first as an ethical concept in men's life as a means to happiness, and it will then be treated as a social concept as it appears in the customs of a group.

Honor is a witness to a man's excellence. In society this witness consists of external signs, such as praise or gifts or salutations. It is not a sufficient reward of virtue, yet it is the greatest external reward that can be given. It is distinguished from praise in that praise is only verbal and may be given for a minor excellence. It is distinguished from glory in that glory

is the effect of honor and praise since the latter results in having a person's goodness made clear to many.<sup>1</sup> It can be given not only in recognition of personal excellence, but also in regard to office.<sup>2</sup>

Ideally honor is the shadow of virtue, yet honor in ordinary usage is not synonymous with conscience but connotes the virtues associated with social position. In a society with a caste system, e.g., feudalism, honor implies conformity to the standard of conduct appropriate to one's station. The customs surrounding dueling are an example of this conformity.

In the Homeric community the recognition of a man's ability was necessary for his own self-esteem. Early Greek aristocratic education had as its ideal the combination of a proud and courtly morality with warlike valour; "the Homeric man estimated his own worth exclusively by the standards of the society to which he belonged. He was a creature of his class: he measured his own areté by the opinion which others held of him."<sup>3</sup> Areté was the ability to do something, a man's worth, and honor was its essential concomitant.<sup>4</sup>

Several special factors contribute to the Greek concept of honor. From Mycenaean time the Greeks had inherited legends of heroic undertakings and of splendor in external circumstances that gave them the ideal of a man living for honor and taking his place with dignity among warriors such as himself. The

<sup>1</sup>S. T., II-II, q. 103, a. 1, The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas, Literally Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1914-1926), XII, 17-19.

<sup>2</sup>S. T., II-II, q. 103, a. 2, ibid., 19-21.

<sup>3</sup>Werner Jaeger, Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture, trans. Gilbert Highet (New York, 1939), I, 7.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 3.



geography of Greece was an important influence. The mountains allowed the cities to remain independent and encouraged self-sufficiency. Because the poor land offered a spare living, men adopted the enterprising life of the sea.<sup>5</sup>

The essence of the heroic outlook is the pursuit of honor through action. The great man is he who, being endowed with superior qualities of body and mind, uses them to the utmost and wins the applause of his fellows because he spares no effort and shirks no risk in his desire to make the most of the gifts and to surpass other men in the exercise of them. His honor is the centre of his being, and any affront to it calls for immediate amends. He courts danger gladly because it gives him the best opportunity of showing of what stuff he is made. Such a conviction and its system of behaviour are built on a man's conception of himself and of what he owes to it, and if it has any further sanctions they are to be found in what other men like himself think of him. By prowess and renown he gains an enlarged sense of personality and well-being; through them he has a second existence on the lips of men, which assures him that he has not failed in what matters most. Fame is the reward of honour, and the hero seeks it before everything else.<sup>6</sup>

Besides reassuring a man of his own value by the testimony of others, honor offered the Greek a chance for immortality when his view of the afterlife was a dismal one.

The importance of honor in Greek society can be seen in philosophy's recognition of its presence, though philosophy assigns honor a subordinate role. "One of the Pythagorean doctrines was the doctrine of the Three Classes--lovers of Wisdom, lovers of Honour, and lovers of Wealth--and this doctrine possibly implied a correlative doctrine of the three parts of the Soul: Reason, Spirit and Appetite. At any rate this doctrine of the triplicity of the soul, whatever its source, is the foundation of much of The Republic."<sup>7</sup> Plato realized the

<sup>5</sup>C. M. Bowra, The Greek Experience (New York, 1959), p. 52.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>7</sup>Ernest Barker, Greek Political Theory (New York, 1960), p. 189.

the danger of an excessive pursuit of honor, and in The Republic he makes unselfishness the most important qualification for a philosopher. "Plato, in The Republic, has shown himself quite aware of the evil social and political effects of this exaggerated Greek individualism, and he makes unselfishness the most important qualification of his governing class. But we must remember that The Republic does not represent the actual Greek attitude or practice, but rather an ideal presented as a corrective to what Plato considered actual Greek aberrations."<sup>8</sup>

The man of honor, the warrior, rules in a degenerate society, the timocracy. When the philosopher falls from his ideals and begins to acquire private property, the man of physical courage revolts and seizes the government converting it into what reads like a description of a modern totalitarian state. Plato sketches the character of the soldier as follows:

He should have more of self assertion and be less cultivated, and yet a friend of culture; and he should be a good listener, but no speaker. Such a person is apt to be rough with slaves, unlike the educated man, who is too proud for that; and he will also be courteous to freemen, and remarkably obedient to authority; he is a lover of power and a lover of honour; claiming to be a ruler, not because he is eloquent, or on any ground of that, but because he is a soldier and has performed feats of arms; he is also a lover of gymnastic exercises and of the chase.

Yes, this is the type of character which answers to timocracy.<sup>9</sup>

The warriors are imperfect rulers. They will ignore the philosophers. Warriors cannot handle money well. They hoard private treasure; they seize

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<sup>8</sup> McNamee, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, The Republic, 549, trans. Benjamin Jowett, Greek Books of the Western World, ed. Robert Hutchins (Chicago, 1952), VII, 404.

money from others because they are not capable of earning it justly; they will spend the money of others foolishly.

Such an one will despise riches only when he is young; but as he gets older he will be more and more attracted to them, because he has a piece of the avaricious nature in him, and is not single-minded towards virtue, having lost his best guardian.

Who was that? said Adeimantus.

Philosophy, I said, tempered with music, who comes and takes her abode in a man, and is the only saviour of his virtue throughout life.<sup>10</sup>

Plato reveals here the essentially selfish quality of honor gained merely by feats of arms.

In later ages, love of honour was not considered as a merit by the Greeks: it came to correspond to ambition as we know it. But even in the age of democracy we can see that love of honour was often held to be justifiable in the intercourse of both individuals and states. We can best understand the moral nobility of this idea by considering Aristotle's description of the megalopsychos, the proud or high-minded man. In many details, the ethical doctrines of Plato and Aristotle were founded on the aristocratic morality of early Greece: in fact, there is much need for a historical investigation (from that point of view) of the origin, development and transmission of the ideas which we know as Platonic and Aristotelian. The class limitations of the old ideals were removed when they were sublimated and universalized by philosophy: while their permanent truth and their indestructible ideality were confirmed and strengthened by that process.<sup>11</sup>

Plato and Aristotle agree in making contemplation the ideal of life.

Aristotle's self-sufficient man is superior to the man of honor, because honor depends upon those who confer it, while happiness must be an interior quality.

Honor has a subordinate role, yet Aristotle in his description of the magnanimous man has sketched a character that has held the imagination of future generations. Although St. Thomas Aquinas transforms the qualities, he uses the

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 404-405.

<sup>11</sup> Jaeger, pp. 9-10.

sketch in his discussion of honor. The figure of the magnanimous man is constantly recurring in Renaissance courtesy books. Epic heroes are used as models of conduct, and Achilles represents the magnanimous man. In his description of him, Aristotle extolls the selfishness that Plato deplored:

Aristotle is defending his ideal of fully justified self-love as against the current beliefs of his own enlightened "altruistic" age; and in doing so has laid bare one of the foundations of Greek ethical thought. In fact, he admires self-love, just as he prizes high-mindedness and the desire for honor, because his philosophy is deeply rooted in the old aristocratic code of morality. We must understand that the Self is not the physical self, but the ideal which inspires us, the ideal which every nobleman strives to realize in his own life. If we grasp that we shall see that it is the highest kind of areté 'through which he 'takes possession of the beautiful.' The last phrase is so entirely Greek that it is hard to translate. For the Greeks, beauty meant nobility also. To lay claim to the beautiful, to take possession of it, means to overlook no opportunity of winning the prize of the highest areté.<sup>12</sup>

Since the magnanimous man aims at greatness, at the best use of the best things, he desires honors truly gained. When a man possesses these honors and lives nobly, he is magnanimous.

The description of the magnanimous man is a familiar one. He thinks himself worthy of great things, being worthy of them. Just as beauty of body implies a certain extension in size, so magnanimity implies an heroic concept of self. The magnanimous man aims at honor as the greatest of external goods, but his virtue makes him deserving of honor. Honor is the reward of a character that is noble and good. Such a character will be moderately pleased with great honors conferred by good men. Although there is no honor worthy of perfect virtue, yet honor is the greatest reward for it. The magnanimous man is thought to be disdainful because he bears himself with moderation toward all good or evil fortune.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

Power and wealth are only to be honored if accompanied by virtue. The great-souled man faces great dangers but ignores trifling ones. He would rather give help than receive it, and he does not like to remember help he has received. He is dignified toward those in high position, and courteous to those in inferior position. He is not generally competitive, being interested only in great things. He is candid in speech; flattery is beneath him. He does not hold a grudge, nor does he gossip. He is superior to petty inconvenience. He would prefer a beautiful object to a useful one. His manner is calm.<sup>13</sup>

If the object of life were solely the maintenance of self-respect, one might agree with this sketch. One can acknowledge that the great-souled man stands out above his fellows.

Honor was a powerful force among the Romans, but with them a man gained honor by service to the state and to his family, and individual honor was subordinate to the civic ideal. Roman life is characterized thus:

Its object and scope were the honor and aggrandisement of the state, the honor and enrichment of the family. Without imagination, without broad desire for knowledge, with little love of beauty, with no stinging capacity for joy, undistracted from the practical task in hand, the Roman was from earliest times the grown-up man of affairs. Through his lack of individualism, his abundant caution and conservatism, he preserved and perfected fixed types of civic life; he was the paterfamilias, he was the citizen, he was the citizen-soldier, he was the magistrate, and fulfilled all these functions excellently well, pursuing whatever lay within their scope with unexampled pertinacity and fortitude.<sup>14</sup>

Augustine attributes Roman dominance to the highly motivating desire for

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<sup>13</sup>Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1123<sup>b</sup>-1125<sup>a</sup> 35, trans. W. D. Ross, Great Books of the Western World, IX, ibid., 370-372.

<sup>14</sup>Henry Osborn Taylor, The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages (New York, 1957), p. 22.

glory. "Glory they most ardently love: for it they wished to live, for it they did not hesitate to die."<sup>15</sup> He cites Sallust's praise of Caesar:

Now, among the praises which he pronounced on Caesar, he put this, that he wished for a great empire, an army, and a new war, that he might have a sphere where his genius and virtue might shine forth. Thus it was ever the prayer of men of heroic character that Bellona would excite miserable nations to war and lash them into agitation with her bloody scourge, so that there might be occasion for the display of their valour. This, forsooth, is what that desire of praise and thirst for glory did.<sup>16</sup>

Augustine notes that the Romans were outstanding in their ability to govern and to subjugate and dominate other countries. Later when morals were corrupted, men sought the glory of their predecessors even though many of them lacked their virtue. But honor rightly belongs to virtue:

And what is meant by seeking the attainment of glory, honor, and power by good arts, is to seek them by virtue, and not by deceitful intrigue; for the good and the ignoble man alike desires these things, but the good man strives to overtake them by the true way. The way is virtue, along which he presses as to the goal of possession--namely, to glory, honour, and power. Now that this was a sentiment engrained in the Roman mind, is indicated even by the temples of their gods; for they built in very close proximity the temples of Virtue and Honor, worshipping as gods the gifts of God. Hence we can understand what they who were good thought to be the end of virtue, and to what they ultimately referred it, namely, to honour; for, as to the bad, they had no virtue though they desired honour and strove to possess it by fraud and deceit.<sup>17</sup>

The desire for glory was the center of Roman life, and this desire remained even when the virtues necessary to achieve it had been lost.

Cato is cited as a truly virtuous man who received honor not because he

<sup>15</sup>Augustine, The City of God, trans. Marcus Dods, Great Books of the Western World, V.12, 217.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 218.

sought it, but because he sought virtue instead, and therefore was truly deserving of honor.<sup>18</sup>

The first book of Cicero's On Moral Duties suggests the best qualities in the Roman ideal. Cicero, thoroughly a Roman, was not primarily a philosopher, but in his study of philosophy in connection with his preparation as an orator, he could appreciate its value. He was chiefly interested in ethics as a guide to a successful life. This work lays down practical rules for personal conduct as follows, according to McNamee:

Glory or honor is still an important reality, but it is no longer the almost exclusive interest and supreme good that it was for the Greeks. With Cicero and the Romans in general we are breathing quite a different atmosphere from that created by Aristotle. The Roman ideal is closer to that of Plato in The Republic than to that of Aristotle in the Nicomachean Ethics. Cicero takes it as much for granted as does Aristotle that the great-souled man deserves the highest honor, but he does not make personal glory the end-all and be-all of life.<sup>19</sup>

Cicero finds that man's reason is the quality that makes him honorable. Man acts reasonably in practicing the cardinal virtues. Wisdom dictates that a man should act intelligently; however, study should not be pursued to the neglect of duty. Justice demands participating in the civic life. Personal comfort or safety should not deter us from helping others. A war carried on for glory is unjust. Fortitude should be accompanied by justice. "So then, not those who do injury but those who prevent it are to be considered brave and courageous. Moreover, true and philosophic greatness of spirit regards the moral goodness to which nature most aspires as consisting in deeds, not in

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> McNamee, p. 41.

fame, and prefers to be first in reality rather than in name."<sup>20</sup>

A man with administrative ability has a duty to go into public life, although a life of retirement may be justified in some cases:

To revert to the original question--we must decide that the most important activities, those most indicative of a great spirit, are performed by the men who direct the affairs of nations; for such public activities have the widest scope and touch the lives of the most people. But even in the life of retirement there are and there have been many high-souled men who have been engaged in important inquiries or embarked on most important enterprises and yet kept themselves within the limit of their own affairs; or, taking a middle course between philosopher, on the one hand and statesman on the other, they were content with managing their own property--not increasing it by any and every means nor debarring their kindred from the enjoyment of it, but rather, if ever there were need, sharing it with their friends and with the state. Only let it, in the first place, be honestly acquired, by the use of no dishonest or fraudulent means; let it be made available for the use of as many as possible (if only they are worthy) and be at the service of generosity and beneficence rather than of sensuality and excess.

By observing these rules, one may live in magnificence, dignity and independence, and yet in honour, truth and charity toward all.<sup>21</sup>

A person should be mindful of the decorum of his actions; self-control, dignity, and manliness are principles for guiding conduct. From these excerpts one can see that Cicero, drawing from Stoic sources, laid down a standard of conduct that embodied the ideals of personal integrity, consideration, and unselfish political life. He defined the qualities of a gentleman who will, without sacrificing his own integrity, spend himself in public service:

From all this, then, we would seem to be justified in saying that, for Cicero, the chief basis of honor for his great-spirited man was the willingness to sacrifice himself for the commonweal. In war or in peace, in

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<sup>20</sup> Cicero, De Officiis, 1.19.64, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1921), p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 1.26.92, p. 95.



good fortune or in ill, he would be honored if it was apparent that he had fulfilled all his duties to the commonweal. Duty to the gods, to the state, to the family, and to friends was the guiding star of a great Roman's life. So much was duty emphasized that the rights of the individual were sometimes lost sight of. The Roman was the exact opposite of the Greek situation where the rights of the individual were so exaggerated that clear duties to the state and one's fellow men were sometimes ignored.<sup>22</sup>

Cicero practiced a modified Stoicism, and Stoicism was a purifying element in Roman society. Although the doctrine was not widespread, it was influential among the leaders of society. Its emphasis upon the value of the human person, who, through reason, has inalienable rights, reacted against the tendency to consider the state superior to the individual.<sup>23</sup>

The Stoic sage, although a contemplative, considered that he had an obligation to serve society.

The Stoic doctrine is that man is a social animal born to serve the common good; and in his definition of the highest good in his [Seneca's] treatise on the Blessed Life it is interesting to observe that the temper of mind which constitutes this includes the qualities of humanity and helpfulness. The highest good is a temper which despises the accidents of life, which rejoices in virtue, or the unconquerable temper of a man experienced in life, tranquil in action, of a great humanity and care of those with whom he is concerned. Seneca is clear in maintaining that man is born to live in society and to serve it; his necessities may not drive him to this, but the true disposition of soul will do so.<sup>24</sup>

Christianity introduced the concepts of humility and charity in the development of the concept of honor. Superficially the doctrine had many similarities to Stoicism, but the Stoic sage submitted to the laws of nature without the

<sup>22</sup>McNamee, pp. 48-49.

<sup>23</sup>F. J. Thonnard, A.A., A Short History of Philosophy, trans. Edward A. Mariarz (New York, 1955), p. 151.

<sup>24</sup>A. J. Carlyle, The Second Century to the Ninth, Vol. I of R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, A History of the Mediaeval Political Theory in the West (London, 1903-1936), p. 27.

love of a saint fulfilling His Father's will Who was in Heaven.<sup>25</sup> Humility came from the realization of two facts. All the good that man had he had from God, and man's nature was of itself frail. The Christian had the example of Christ's life on earth in which there was an absence of material splendor, an emphasis upon poverty, the example of crucifixion. The ability to live without the trappings of honor came from a realization that life was centered in God and not in man's self. The value of external honor was not denied, but other greater values were emphasized.

In the New Testament the disciples are not to seek the first places at feasts, not to desire titles of honor. On the other hand the validity of honor is recognized. "You are the light of the world; a city cannot be hidden if it is built on a mountain top. A lamp is not lighted to be put away under a bushel measure; it is put on the lamp-stand, to give light to all the people of the house; and your light must shine so brightly before men that they can see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. v.14-16).

The standards expressed in the Beatitudes correct the arrogance of Aristotle's magnanimous man. Magnanimity is to consist in service to others:

In opposition to the pagan doctrine of Aristotle and the selfish worldliness of the Pharisees, the Christian attitude toward honours may be stated in a few words. Honour being the due homage paid to worth is the chief among the external goods which man can enjoy. It may be lawfully sought for, but inasmuch as all worth is from God, and man himself has nothing but sin, it may be referred to God and sought only for his sake or for the good of one's fellow-men. Honours, like riches, are dangerous gifts, and it is praiseworthy to renounce them out of love for Him who for our sakes was poor and despised.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Thonnard, p. 151.

<sup>26</sup>T. Slater, S.J., "Honour," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1910), VII, 463.

St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians expresses vividly the twofold concept of humility and charity. The epistle points out that what man has he has from God:

No, God has chosen what the world holds foolish, so as to abash the wise, God has chosen what the world holds weak, so as to abash the strong. God has chosen what the world holds base and contemptible, nay, has chosen what is nothing so as to bring to nothing what is now in being; no human creature was to have any ground for boasting, in the presence of God. It is from him that you take your origin, through Christ Jesus, whom God gave us to be all our wisdom, our justification, our sanctification, and our atonement; so that the scripture might be fulfilled. If anyone boasts, let him make his boast in the Lord. (1 Cor. i.27-31)

The ideal here is centered in God. Cicero's advice on the size of a home or the choice of a profession is out of place, as is Aristotle's aloof determination as to what actions are worthy of the magnanimous man's attention. "We are fools for Christ's sake, you are so wise; we are so helpless, you are stout of heart; you are held in honour, while we are despised" (1 Cor. xiii.4-7).

So the primitive Christian recognized that the good that he possessed came from God, and therefore the glory should go to God and should be used to benefit his neighbor.<sup>27</sup>

St. Augustine expresses the dichotomy between the pagan and Christian concepts of life in the City of God. Man stands below the immutable nature of God and above the transitory nature of physical things. He can turn toward God or toward the material. He can commit his will to God and His service, or he can will to serve the material. He can choose the city of God or the city of man, the love of God or the love of self:

Accordingly, the two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God: the heavenly by the love

<sup>27</sup>McNamee, p. 79.

of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the one seeks glory from men; but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of conscience. The one lifts up its head in its own glory; the other says to its God, "Thou art my glory, and the lifter up of mine head."<sup>28</sup>

The inhabitant of the city of God will be motivated by love and will not be interested in gaining glory for himself. Augustine realizes the power of honor as a motive force for the pagans, but his ideal man will seek the glory of God:

He looks with discernment on the pagan past of the empire, refusing to believe in its perenniality and criticizing its unmeasured ambition. True patriotism is to be based on admiration for the virtues of the old Romans, as those of frugality, disinterestedness, courage and loyalty. These "ancient morals" were the grandeur of Rome, and St. Augustine offers them as examples to the Christians, hoping to see them reflected with a new force through the grace of Christ.<sup>29</sup>

Augustine emphasizes humility:

For it is good to have the heart lifted up, yet not to one's self, for this is proud, but to the Lord, for this is obedient, and can be the act only of the humble. There is, therefore, something in humility which, strangely enough, exalts the heart, and something in pride which debases it. This seems, indeed, to be contradictory, that loftiness should debase and lowliness exalt. But pious humility enables us to submit to what is above us; and nothing is more exalted above us than God; and therefore humility, by making us subject to God, exalts us.<sup>30</sup>

A basis for determining man's relative position is derived from the concept of order. Order allots each thing its own place. The parts of the body observe an order. The irrational soul is at peace when its appetites are in harmony; the rational soul, when there is a harmony of knowledge and action. The body and soul are at peace in the harmonious life and health of the living

<sup>28</sup> Augustine, The City of God, XIV, 28, p. 397.

<sup>29</sup> Thonnard, pp. 263-264.

<sup>30</sup> Augustine, The City of God, XIV, 13, pp. 387-388.

person. Man is at peace with God when there is a well-ordered obedience of faith to eternal law. Man is at peace with man in an ordered concord. There is domestic peace when there is concord in the family between those who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is the concord of citizens. The celestial city consists of the peace of the ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God. Peace is the tranquility of order.<sup>31</sup>

St. Augustine's suspicion of the material is reflected in his concept of honor. The desire for honor was a force for virtue in a pagan society, but the men who sought honor without the love of God were not holy but only less base than those addicted to vice. "This is admittedly a very severe and rather chilling view of the whole sphere of earthly pursuits and one that is almost infinitely removed from the exaggeration of personal honor in the Aristotelian analysis of magnanimity."<sup>32</sup> Severe as it was, however, Augustine's view was predominant during the Middle Ages.

It is inadequate to indicate even briefly the political and social changes that gave rise to feudalism. The breakdown of government forced men to seek protection locally. In exchange for a more powerful man's protection, a landowner would relinquish title to his own land. The lord, on the other hand, would repay knights for fighting for him by gifts of land. When the horse and armor became a standard part of the equipment, the lord had to reimburse the knight for his expense, and this was chiefly done through grants of land. Allied with these customs, the Franks adopted the institution of comitatus in

<sup>31</sup>Augustine, The City of God, XIX, 13, 519.

<sup>32</sup>McNamee, p. 123.

which the leader gathered about himself a band of chosen warriors who were bound to him with strong ties of faith and service. This is, of course, grossly oversimplified, but it does sketch the basis of the feudal relation which is described thus:

The feudal relation was not one of mere dependence or of mere advantage, but one of faith and loyal service, and the whole connection is admirably summed up in the famous phrases of the letter of Fulbert of Chartres written in 1020 A.D. to the Duke of Aquitaine. "He that swears fidelity to his lord must have in his mind these six words, 'Incolume, tutum, honestum, utile, facile, possibile,' he must do what he can to keep his lord's body unharmed, to keep his secrets and stronghold, to maintain his rights of jurisdiction and all other dignities, to keep his possessions safe, to see that he does not make that difficult or impossible to his lord which is now easy and possible."<sup>33</sup>

The concept of honor in the Middle Ages as it developed in respect to the knight was influenced by several factors. It was based on the loyalty of a soldier to his chief derived from the Germanic comitatus. It was enhanced by glorification in epic romances of chivalry. It was ennobled by Christianity.

The knight was fundamentally a soldier and so he admired the martial qualities. He shared the common human desire to see these qualities immortalized in literature:

Prestige has always been dear to man, and in warlike societies it is based on fame for soldierly deeds. The broader conception of glory that would be perpetuated through future generations has been equally common. The early German warrior liked to think that his prowess should long be the subject for song and story just as the Roman legate dreamed of a triumphal arch to celebrate his victories. Affection for prestige and desire for glory were part of the inheritance of the mediaeval nobleman.<sup>34</sup>

After 1100, government became more stable, and the immediate need for protecting

<sup>33</sup>A. J. Carlyle, Political Theory from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth, Vol. III in R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, ibid., 26.

<sup>34</sup>Sidney Painter, French Chivalry (Ithaca, 1940), pp. 34-35.

one's own land was gone. Wars were more frequently carried on between kings and on foreign soil. Often the knight's service was commuted to a tax, and mercenary troops who would remain longer in the field were employed. When the knight fought, he often had profit as a motive. The collecting of ransoms for captives and their equipment helped to defray the knight's expenses. Tournaments also brought him prizes. But profit was not sufficiently noble to justify warfare, as the Church also recognized, and glory was substituted in its place. Honor became the goal of a knight's actions as explained thus:

The knight of the twelfth century passed the long evenings listening to tales of the great heroes of the past. Naturally it occurred to him that it would be pleasant to have his own deeds recounted long after his death. From this idea grew the conception that glory was the true aim of a good knight. He would in theory at least, practice the chivalric virtues for reputation--to be known through the ages as a perfect knight. . . . By Froissart's time the profit motive as a reason for fighting had lost all its respectability. Knights fought to win glory, and the function of the historian was to see that no worthy deed went unrecorded and that the honor was distributed fairly.<sup>35</sup>

Knighthood was ennobled by Christianity. After the Cluniac reform the monasteries played an important part in raising the moral standards of feudal society. The monks created a higher standard for the serfs by treating them justly and kindly. By introducing Christian ideals into the minds of the feudal barons, they tempered their brutality. They condemned the abuses of bishops who lived like lords, and they sought to stop the abuses resulting from secular investiture.<sup>36</sup> "Cluny moulded the moral sense of chivalry, transformed its ideals, and introduced religion into its ceremonies. Once the

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>36</sup> Maurice De Wulf, Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages (New York, 1953), pp. 26-30.

knight came in contact with Christian morality, he was no longer an egotistic, ambitious, and brutal warrior; he learned to be loyal and generous; he became the born-defender of the Church, the champion of the weak, the opponent of violence."<sup>37</sup>

Under the influence of Cluny, this feudal sentiment became Christian in character, because Christianity placed upon each soul purchased by Christ's sacrifice an inestimable worth, and it furnished the poor and the rich and the great and the small with the same standard of value. The scrupulous observance of the feudal contract engendered loyalty. When loyalty became a Christian virtue, it increased respect for women and probity in the poor,--that probity which St. Louis IX said was like sweet honey to his lips. Honour became the password of chivalry--a sort of moral institution superimposed on feudalism. The social habits of educated laymen were made gentler by the warm contact of chivalry, and courteous manners spread far and wide.<sup>38</sup>

The knight received a training suitable to his social position as a lord of a soil and a fighter. Generally speaking, his formal education was limited, nor was there a high regard for study. Clerks, ecclesiastics or lawyers, received an intellectual training. St. Thomas Aquinas is an example of the latter class, the university man. He gives a classic analysis of honor that represents the best of medieval thinking and must have been available indirectly through sermons and instruction to the less well-educated.

Aquinas uses Aristotle as a point of departure and gives us a carefully reasoned view of honor in the Christian life. Aquinas agrees with previous philosophers in noting that man's happiness does not consist in honor, because happiness is an internal quality and honor is external to man resting in the

<sup>37</sup>Ibid , p. 27.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-35.



person who honors.<sup>39</sup> Man's peculiar powers are in the intellect and will, and therefore his happiness must be internal and cannot depend upon honor, an external good. Man's happiness can be determined thus:

St. Thomas has examined all the things which might be advanced as man's perfect happiness. All of them have been shown to be insufficient. He has concluded that if no created good outside or inside of men can be the object of perfect happiness we must say that God, the Uncreated Good, is the object which alone will afford man perfect happiness. It is certain, then, that man's ultimate end, his perfect happiness, is the possession of God by knowledge and love.<sup>40</sup>

"Magnanimity by its very name denotes stretching forth of the mind to great things."<sup>41</sup> However, St. Thomas makes the important distinction that a man strives "to do what is deserving of honour, yet not so as to think much of the honour accorded by man."<sup>42</sup> The concern is with the deeds themselves and not with the recognition they receive. It is reasonable and virtuous to desire honor because honor is the highest external good. However, when a man desires a recognition of the good which is in him, he acknowledges that the good is from God, while he also recognizes that he has a weak nature, and that this weakness rests in himself:

Accordingly magnanimity makes a man deem himself worthy of great things in consideration of the gifts he holds from God: thus if his soul is endowed with great virtue, magnanimity makes him tend to perfect works of virtue; and the same is to be said of the use of any other good, such as science or external fortune. On the other hand, humility makes a man think little of himself in consideration of his own deficiency, and magnanimity makes him despise others in so far as they fall away from God's gifts: since he

<sup>39</sup> S. T., II-I, q. 2, a. 2, IV, 19-20.

<sup>40</sup> Michael V. Murray, S.J., Problems in Ethics (New York, 1959), p. 57.

<sup>41</sup> S. T., II-II, q. 129, a. 1, XII, 250.

<sup>42</sup> S. T., II-II, q. 129, a. 1, ibid., 251.

does not think so much of others as to do anything wrong for their sake. Yet humility makes us honour others and esteem them better than ourselves, in so far as we see some of God's gifts in them.<sup>43</sup>

Man despises others only to the extent that he would not do anything wrong for their sake; he honors each man as a partaker in God's gifts.

St. Thomas gives a Christian interpretation to the character traits attributed to Aristotle's magnanimous man. A magnanimous man would naturally have slow deliberate movements and a modulated voice because this would be a true reflection of his personality. He takes no pleasure in accepting favors unless he can repay them with greater favors, the perfection of gratitude. He is slow to act because his mind is on great things. He is ironic because he does not wish to disclose his greatness. He hates flattery and hypocrisy so that he is at home only to his friends, but he associates with all as he should. He prefers the good, the virtuous, to the useful because the useful implies a defect.<sup>44</sup> The magnanimous man does not despise the goods of fortune because they are useful organs or instruments of virtuous deeds. Yet he is not excessively attached to them.<sup>45</sup>

There are several ways of offending against magnanimity. The first is presumption in that a man desires honor that is out of proportion to his ability. A man may be presumptuous about his virtue as was Peter in his denial of Christ, or presumptuous in external things in desiring costly clothes or in

<sup>43</sup>S. T., II-II, q. 129, a. 3, ibid., 256.

<sup>44</sup>S. T., II-II, q. 129, a. 3, ibid., 256-57.

<sup>45</sup>S. T., II-II, q. 129, a. 8, ibid., 266-67.

thinking himself superior to others.<sup>46</sup> The second way of offending against magnanimity is through ambition. A man is ambitious if he does not recognize that honor is due not to him but to God, and that he is given honor, not for himself, but for the profit of others. So a man's desire for honor may be inordinate in three ways. He may desire recognition for an excellence he does not have; he may desire honor without referring it to God; he may desire honor without referring it to the profit of others.<sup>47</sup>

Glory here means praise that is given to excellence displayed. This praise may be from many, from a few, from one, or from oneself. It is not wrong to know and approve one's own good, and so the desire for glory is not a sin, but the desire for empty or vain glory is a sin. Glory can be vain in three ways: (a) when it is for something unworthy; (b) when it is given by unworthy persons; and (c) when it is not referred to its due end, God's honor or the spiritual welfare of one's neighbor. In these cases glory is vain and therefore sinful.

Vain glory is opposed to magnanimity because true glory is a part of magnanimity. Vainglory is the offspring of pride. It gives rise to disobedience, boastfulness, hypocrisy, contention, obstinacy, discord, and the craze for what is new. A man may wish to display his excellence directly by boasting, or by deeds which will astonish others, and this is chiefly through novelty; or if they are false, through hypocrisy. A man will be obstinate when he is too attached to his own opinion. A man will not give up his own will and this will

<sup>46</sup> S. T., II-II, q. 130, a. 2, ibid., 270-272.

<sup>47</sup> S. T., II-II, q. 131, a. 1, ibid., 274.

lead to discord. A man will be quarrelsome and this is disobedience.<sup>48</sup>

Fusillanimity is opposed to honor because a man falls short of what he is capable through faintheartedness. The servant who buried the talent he had received was punished by his master.<sup>49</sup> We might also mention magnificence, though it is not the same as magnanimity. However, we are considering honor as it exists in society, and magnificence is often a sign of social standing. Magnificence means rich display. Magnificence meets the high demands of a truly great external work by providing adequate funds without garish display.<sup>50</sup>

St. Thomas recognizes honor as the greatest external good and one which can be legitimately sought. However, he considers honor with the added dimensions of humility and charity. Humility makes each man realize that the good he has is from God and makes him recognize the deficiencies of his own weak nature. Charity causes men to desire glory for the good of their fellow men. Good deeds are done for their fellow men, and the honor that a man gains should be prized because it aids his neighbors by example.

St. Thomas marks a high point in philosophy in the medieval period. With the coming of the Renaissance came a shift in the concept of honor.

The importance of the knight began to wane for several reasons. The long bow made him vulnerable to infantry. The rise of the cities produced a rival in the prosperous businessman. Not only was the business man wealthier than the knight, but the king often preferred his services at court because of his

<sup>48</sup> S. T., II-II, q. 132, ibid., 277-287.

<sup>49</sup> S. T., II-II, a. 133, ibid., 288-290.

<sup>50</sup> S. T., II-II, a. 134, ibid., 293-295.

ability. The knight had commuted the payment for his land from produce to a fixed sum of money, and he found the income inadequate because of the rising standard of living. In Northern Europe feudalism remained, but in Italy a new ideal of conduct had arisen.

The feudal system broke down in Italy for several reasons. The conflict between the papacy and the German emperors plus the fact that internal troubles in Germany sometimes distracted the emperors, allowed the city states to develop until they were finally able to resist effectively any attempt by Germany to assume its old control. This in itself broke down the feudal ties:

By the twelfth century, the cities dominated the Italian scene and the feudal nobles were drawn into them by the irresistible attraction of their wealth and political power. The nobles combined with the rich merchants to form a patrician ruling class, contributing their military skill to the struggle for independence. Many of the nobles intermarried with the wealthy burger families, engaged in trade, and gradually abandoned their feudal way of life. Those of the old nobility, indeed, who could not adjust themselves to urban economy did not survive.<sup>51</sup>

The different classes within the cities fought among themselves. The newly rich merchants wished their rights represented. Usually the conflict between the classes led to the establishment of despotic rule. "Before the end of the thirteenth century there was a growing conviction that the only solution to their troubled situation was the rule of one man, who could suppress strife and give consistent direction to state policy."<sup>52</sup> Although a despot usually owed his power initially to the popular will, his future in office was insecure. He was the constant target for assassination. If he remained in power, it was through his own ability. He had to rely upon his

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<sup>51</sup>Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance (New York, 1940), p. 51.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

ingenuity, not upon the loyalty of his followers. "The despots were inclined to regard any means as justifiable that led to the ultimate end of increasing the power of the state, which was embodied in themselves. The conception of the state as a law unto itself and of public morality as something entirely distinct from private morality appeared earlier and in more complete form in Italy than in the rest of Europe."<sup>53</sup>

The expansion of business in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy called for qualities that the knight lacked. In Florence in the middle of the fourteenth century, a third of the population was employed in the making of woolen cloth.<sup>54</sup> The cloth and leather industries hired many workers. The wealthy merchants sought to reinvest their money, and Italy from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century held a practical monopoly of European banking. From these activities emerged the educated layman who held his position through his own ability and not as part of a caste system.

The cities and the courts offered opportunity for a man of talent. To enhance their own prestige, patrons would sponsor artists. The life of the upper classes was characterized by refinement of manners, freedom of thought and action, and sophisticated worldliness. In this atmosphere, the individualism of the Renaissance developed. Urban life offered more opportunity for individual development:

The Middle Ages had certainly not been devoid of individualism, nor of striking personalities; but in the narrow rural life of the feudal classes and in the restricted corporate society of the medieval towns, free development of individual personality was more seriously hampered than in the

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

wealthy, flexible and variegated society of the Renaissance cities. Here the bondage of caste, corporation and tradition was partially broken. A man of the more fortunate classes was freer to choose a career or avocation in accordance with his natural inclinations and there was a much greater variety of choice available.<sup>55</sup>

An education was a passport to success in the cities and courts. While education may first have been sought for practical reasons, scholarship soon became an end in itself. A revival in interest in the classics brought to Italy a realization of its past heritage. With the revival of literature came a fresh interest in the ideals of pagan philosophy:

Antiquity revealed types of excellence unfamiliar, yet full of attraction to that energetic yet receptive age. Such were the cultured democratic statesman, the orator, the learned adviser, the provincial governor, the patriotic captain sprung from the people--men belonging to no privileged class, citizens to begin with, and ending as citizens. But although these were new types to the Italians, they were the product of political conditions analogous to those he knew, or of the very soil and race he claimed as his own.<sup>56</sup>

A new type of man emerged. The knightly ideal was combined with the civic and scholarly. This "reconciliation of the old type with the new--the knightly with the civic and scholarly--produced an ideal of personality, of the complete man of modern society which stands for the final and harmonious picture of personality as the Renaissance had fashioned it."<sup>57</sup>

The busy political, commercial, and artistic life of Italy brought the educated layman to the foreground. His interest lay in the law courts and market places, not in the cloister. Religion was not challenged, but it did

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>56</sup>William Harrison Woodward, Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600 (Cambridge, 1924), p. 245.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

not hold a dominant place. Life became predominantly secular with the moral ideal giving way to an aesthetic one. "For it is the artist even more than the scholar or the philosopher who is the true representative of the new culture. There has never been a period, not even the classical age of Greece, in which the aesthetic point of view was so dominant in every aspect of life. Even a political realist like Machiavelli appraises the career of Caesar Borgia as though he were criticizing a work of art. The word virtue has lost its moral connotation, and is applied alike to the technical mastery of the artist and the statesman."<sup>58</sup>

The philosophy of the Renaissance is notable for its lack of system. It is "an incoherent philosophy, resembling a crowd escaped from confinement, indulging in a series of sterile enterprises, only united by the struggle against Scholasticism and by a desire for independence from the Church."<sup>59</sup> All the ancient systems were revived, and we may say that the philosophy of the Renaissance was notable more for reviving the past than for any original contribution.

Since it is impossible to select one writer as typical of the Renaissance, the present author has selected extracts from Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Castiglione. Strictly speaking, Machiavelli is the only real philosopher, and he is a minor one. From these three writers can be perceived the divergence of opinion to be found.

In "Secretum Meum" Petrarch expresses the conflict between the desire for

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<sup>58</sup> Christopher Dawson, Progress and Religion (New York, 1960), p. 147.

<sup>59</sup> Maurice de Wulf, A History of Mediaeval Philosophy (London, 1926), II, 564, cited in Thonnard, p. 471.



glory and the realization that virtue should be the goal in life. In a dialogue with St. Augustine, the saint accuses him of being too eager for praise and an undying name, and Petrarch confesses he is right. Petrarch defends himself; he is mortal and seeks a mortal blessing. He does not wish to do violence to nature but simply follows after human fame, knowing that both he and it will perish. "My principle is that, as concerning the glory which we may hope for here below, it is right for us to seek while we are here below. One may expect to enjoy that other more radiant glory in heaven, when we shall have there arrived, and when one will have no more care or wish for the glory of earth. Therefore, as I think, it is in the true order that mortal men should first care for mortal things; and that to things transitory things eternal should succeed."<sup>60</sup>

Augustine speaks of the brief existence of human fame, of the short span of time:

And besides these, how many other things there are that militate against, I do not say the eternity, but even the survival of one's name. First there is the death of those with whom one has passed one's life; and that forgetfulness which is the common bane of old age; then there is the rising fame, ever growing greater, of new men; which always, by its freshness, is somewhat derogatory to that of those who went before, and seems to mount up higher just in so far as it can depress this other down. Then you must add, also, that persistent envy which ever dogs the steps of those who embark on any glorious enterprise; and the hatred of Truth itself, and the fact that the very life of men of genius is odious to the crowd. Think, too, how fickle is the judgment of the multitude.<sup>61</sup>

Petrarch asks Augustine whether he would advise him to renounce his

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<sup>60</sup> Francis Petrarch, "Secretum Meum," trans. William H. Draper, Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance in Translation, ed. H. H. Blanchard, 2nd edition (New York, 1955), p. 52.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp. 54-55.

studies or advise a middle course. Augustine answers, "I will never advise you to live without ambition; but I would always urge you to put virtue before glory. You know that glory is in a sense the shadow of virtue."<sup>62</sup> He recommends that Petrarch follow after virtue and let glory take care of itself.

Although Petrarch agrees that he is right, Petrarch admits that the desire for glory is strong, and they both pray that he will follow the path of virtue.

The thought here does not depart from the medieval, but the spirit of the work is that of the Renaissance. We do not have a moral treatise but a personal essay notable for its charm of style. The aesthetic triumphs over the moral.

In Machiavelli's "The Prince," one finds a rejection of medieval political thought and an attempt to lay down principles of government on the basis of expediency. Here it is the thought and not the style that is important, and the thought, which lays down the principle that the end justifies the means, is almost an anomaly in Renaissance literature in which the moral element is important. One can explain his attitude to some extent when one realizes that Machiavelli was a patriot who saw the ruin of his own country and who wished to save Italy and gain a place for her among the powerful nations. He was preoccupied with the problem of what the state is and how to set it up. In advising a prince how to be thought excellent, he takes King Ferdinand of Spain as a model. Although Ferdinand began his rule as a weak prince, he was able to consolidate his forces until he was the most powerful of rulers. One method

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

he used was to engage in wars that would distract his barons from rebelling against him:

Under this same cloak he attacked Africa, he carried on his Italian enterprises, he recently has attacked France, and so he has always done and laid out great things, which have always kept the minds of his subjects in suspense and admiration and busied over their outcome. And his actions have come from one another in such a way that, between one and the next, he has never given space to men to be able quietly to work against him.<sup>63</sup>

A prince should strive to enhance his own fame by rewarding or punishing anyone who has done something outstanding. He should take a determined stand in a situation because that will be most profitable to him. If he is neutral, neither side will thank him. To enhance his own reputation he should act as a patron to able men and artists. To keep his people happy, he should encourage business and give festivals.<sup>64</sup>

Machiavelli foreshadows the modern period. His attitude in politics is realistic and scientific. He analyzes the state as it exists and offers principles of conduct that he has seen succeed in actual situations. In his divorce of politics from ethics he is wrong, but he illustrates one of many attitudes.

Castiglione, also a diplomat, is more conservative. In The Courtier he describes the Renaissance man--the courtier, the soldier, the scholar.

Castiglione embodied in himself the qualities of the courtier, as Blanchard tells us:

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<sup>63</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, "The Prince," trans. Allan H. Gilbert, ibid., pp. 289-290.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 290-291.

Raphael left as one of his masterpieces the portrait of Castiglione which now hangs in the Louvre. From it one catches the true spirit of the man. He maintained the esteem and friendship of the highest princes, churchmen, scholars and artists of his time. But by blood and nurture he belonged to the chivalric and feudal aristocracy of an age that had passed. In him were united the qualities of the humanist and the courtier, and his conception of the courtier and of the prince has the high seriousness of his chivalric tradition. For a few brief years that tradition flourished at Urbino. Thereafter, Castiglione's very nature handicapped him for the part he was called upon to play in the world so shrewdly understood by Machiavelli. Consequently, in his book, as in his personality, the noble gravity and refinement of his nature remain tempered by a subtle tone of melancholy.<sup>65</sup>

The courtier adds urbanity to the character of the knight. What he does must be done with grace. If we object that such a character is vain and frivolous, Castiglione replies that the graces of the courtier are not ends in themselves but are devices for retaining the good will of the prince who will thereby be willing to follow the courtier's good advice. He argues thus:

Therefore, I think that the aim of the perfect Courtier, which we have not spoken of up to now, is so to win for himself, by means of the accomplishments ascribed to him by these gentlemen, the favor and mind of the prince whom he serves that he may be able to tell him, and always will tell him, the truth about everything he needs to know, without fear or risk of displeasing him; and that when he sees the mind of his prince inclined to a wrong action, he may dare to oppose him and in a gentle manner avail himself of the favor acquired by his good accomplishments, so as to dissuade him of every evil intent and bring him to the path of virtue.<sup>66</sup>

Because a prince is the victim of falsehood in the forms of ignorance and self-conceit, it is the duty of the courtier to correct him, but to do so in an urbane manner. A good prince is universally beneficial, and the courtier has the responsibility to see that he is a good prince.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 315.

<sup>66</sup> Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Charles S. Singleton (New York, 1959), p. 289.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 290-294.

The courtier contains the humanist ideal of the development of the individual. The qualities that might distinguish him from St. Thomas's magnanimous man are the absence of religious motivation and an over-emphasis upon urbanity.

The Renaissance concept of honor had several elements:

The concept of the Renaissance gentleman was an ideal composed of elements from both paganism and Christianity. In her study of the English gentleman Miss Ruth Kelso has postulated the influence of the Greek sage, the Roman orator and the medieval knight as formative types in the development of the ideal. The virtues recommended to the gentleman were therefore a curiously matched array of classical, feudal and Christian qualities, designed to fashion the young nobleman into a Renaissance courtier. The code of moral conduct was basically the chivalric code of the medieval knight, adapted to the political and social conditions of the new era and overlaid with the morality of classical humanism. The transformation of society wrought by the decline of baronial warfare and the rise of centralized monarchy converted the armed knight into the peaceful courtier and shifted the emphasis from valour and prowess to courtesy and diplomacy. It is important to remember, however, that the difference between the ideal of the knight and that of the courtier was one of emphasis rather than essence.<sup>68</sup>

With this orientation to the development of the concept of honor, one is better able to understand Spenser's concept of honor.

<sup>68</sup> Catherine E. Dunn, The Concept of Ingratitude in Renaissance English Moral Philosophy (Washington, 1946), p. 45.

## CHAPTER III

### HONOR IN THE CHIVALRIC CODE

The Renaissance code of moral conduct was basically the code of the knight overlaid with the morality of classical humanism. This chapter will present the chivalric code as it appeared in contemporary prose works: chronicles, manuals, and medieval courtesy books. The focus of the study will be upon the ideal of the knight and upon his function in the community. Previously lip service had been paid to the importance of the chivalric code in the evaluation of Spenser's gentleman. This chapter hopes to substantiate the crucial position of the chivalric code by showing its beliefs in detail.

An analysis of the concept of honor in the first two books of The Faerie Queene, and especially in the first book, impresses one with the fact that honor is conceived in terms of the chivalric code. The Red Cross Knight wishes to establish himself by proving his martial prowess:

Upon a great adventure he was bond,  
That greatest Gloriana to him gave,  
That greatest glorious queene of Faery Lond,  
To winne him worshippe, and her grace to have,  
Which of all earthly thinges he most did crave;  
And ever as he rode his hart did earne  
To prove his puissance in battel brave  
Upon his foe, and his new force to learne;  
Upon his foe, a dragon horrible and stearne.<sup>1</sup>  
(F.Q. 1.1.3)

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<sup>1</sup>Edmund Spenser, The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser, ed. R. E. Neil Dodge (Cambridge, Mass., 1936). All future references to Spenser's poetry will be to this edition.

In another example Belphoebe, though mistaken in taking Braggadochio for a true knight, greets him with honor because of his profession and declares that martial prowess merits the greatest praise:

'All haile, sir knight, and well may thee befall,  
As all the like, which honor have pursewd  
Through deeds of armes and prowesse martiall!  
All vertue merits praise, but such the most of all.'  
(F.Q. 2.3.37.6-9)

Guyon expresses the chivalric ideal in his rejections of Mammon's offer of treasure:

'Me ill besits, that in derdoing armes  
And honours suit my vowed daies do spend,  
Unto thy bounteous baytes and pleasing charmes,  
With which weake men thou witchest, to attend:  
Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend  
And low abase the high heroicke spright,  
That joyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend;  
Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight:  
Those be the riches fit for an advent'rous knight.'  
(F.Q. 2.7.10)

When Mammon makes a similar offer later, Guyon again refuses, reaffirming his dedication to the chivalric ideal:

'Certes,' sayd he, 'I n'ill thine offred grace,  
Ne to be made so happy doe intend:  
Another blis before mine eyes I place,  
Another happines, another end.  
To them that list, these base regards I lend:  
But I in armes, and in atchievements brave,  
Do rather choose my flitting houres to spend,  
And to the lord of those that riches have,  
Then them to have my selfe, and be their servile sclave.'  
(F.Q. 2.7.33)

Other examples of the chivalric code are abundant. Satyrane is praised as a noble warlike knight who has gained fame by his might:

Plaine, faithfull, true, and enemy of shame,  
And ever lov'd to fight for ladies right,  
But in vaine glorious frayes he little did delight.  
(F.Q. 1.6.20.7-9)

Spenser praises the code as exemplified by Arthur's rescue of the Red Cross Knight. A knight was a man eligible for special treatment, and he considered himself bound by a special tie to all other knights:

O Goodly golden chayne! wherewith yfere  
 The vertues linked are in lovely wize,  
 And noble mindes of yore allyed were,  
 In brave poursuitt of chevalrous emprize,  
 That none did others safety despize,  
 Nor aid envy to him, in need that stands,  
 But friendly each did others praise devize  
 How to advaunce with favourable hands,  
 As this good Prince redeemed the Redcrosse Knight from bands.  
 (F.Q. 1.9.1)

From these examples one can see that a study of the chivalric code in reference to The Faerie Queene is justified. Such a study will not obscure the moral allegory but place it in a setting that will make it more intelligible.

To the evidence from the text, one may add the opinions of critics who agree that the foundation for Spenser's gentleman rests upon the ideals of knighthood:

When Spenser indicated the particular kind of career which he wished the individual to follow, he also differed with most of his contemporaries who advocated a career in civil occupations. Spenser advocated a career in arms; the gentleman's action in behalf of others would be essentially martial rather than civil. Of course the chivalric material with which the poet worked would have made the careers of his exemplars inevitably martial whether or not he intended a career in arms for his ideal. But his choice of material and especially his presentation of chivalric ways in The Faerie Queene are not without significance in determining his preferences. In Mother Hubberds Tale he referred to a soldier's life as the "noblest mystery" and in his greater poem he wrote in accord with that opinion.<sup>2</sup>

In his study of Spenser's theory of courtesy in the sixth book of The

<sup>2</sup>Shanley, p. 4.



Faerie Queene in the light of Italian and English courtesy books, A. C. Judson concludes that Spenser's fundamental ideal was the knightly ideal as modified by Christianity. "The noble ideal of chivalry was doubtless in part responsible for Spenser's wistful allusions to medieval times. And it is certainly this ideal that furnishes the basis of his treatment of courtesy. However overlaid this treatment may be with Renaissance theory, the older, less worldly, more Christian conception remains the foundation of his whole structure."<sup>3</sup>

Although William Schofield believes that Spenser in his emphasis on mental force in chivalry added a new dimension to the ideal,<sup>4</sup> he concurs that while Spenser acknowledged the claims of the Renaissance, his instinct led him to the Middle Ages. "Mediaeval chivalric ideals were fundamental in his system of conduct; but he deliberately united them with metaphysical conceptions of moral principle, in association with which they sometimes seem oppressed."<sup>5</sup>

W. MacNeile Dixon contrasts Cervantes', Ariosto's and Spenser's use of chivalry. Cervantes notes how remote and impossible the ideals of chivalry are in a practical and materialistic world. Ariosto views chivalry as a play-thing, a child's game, but Spenser sees in the ideals of chivalry a transformation of life:<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>A. C. Judson, "Spenser's Theory of Courtesy," PMLA, XLVII (March, 1932), 135.

<sup>4</sup>William Henry Schofield, Chivalry in English Literature, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol. II (Cambridge, Mass., 1912), p. 152.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>6</sup>W. MacNeile Dixon, English Epic and Heroic Poetry (New York, 1912), pp. 161-162.

Chivalry, the costly and magnificent plaything of Ariosto, had lost all but a plaything's value. Decorated with poetic art and spiced with humour, it served as agreeable entertainment for the elegant society in the Renaissance courts. Ariosto perceived in it no element of truth and professed no serious purpose. In the mind of Spenser, though the outward forms of chivalry, like its weapons and armor, might be outworn, the ideas which inspired and governed it were everlasting. If no longer true, it revealed truth. Looking beyond its mundane attachments, its mere historical aspect, he desired to draw the essential pattern, the perfect form, chivalry seen, as it were, through the brain of a disciple of Plato.<sup>7</sup>

Having shown the importance of the chivalric code in The Faerie Queene and some critics' agreement on this fact, the writer will now present the prose works outlining this code. There is no attempt here to determine how thoroughly these ideals became a part of the life of the ordinary knight. The presence of the works represents a desire for noble action. Many generous deeds probably owe their origin to them, but these works certainly do not represent an accurate picture of reality. Spenser gives us an ideal world, and these works, in the main, present idealized rules of conduct. Carlyle's defense of medieval poetic literature might be applied to these manuals:

We are all familiar with the romantic representation of mediaeval life as dominated by the sentiment of chivalrous loyalty and devotion. How much of exaggeration there is contained in this we shall presently see, but there are elements of real truth in it. And, more than this, these sentiments have a real and permanent importance in political as well as in social life. Human life in its deepest and largest terms cannot be lived upon principles of utility and contract. Whether in the family or in the nation the actual working of human life is impossible without the sense of loyalty and devotion.<sup>8</sup>

In order to understand the chivalric code, one must relate it to the feudal system. Today the government has the instruments in its civil life for

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> A. J. Carlyle, Political Theory from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth, III, 21.

maintaining justice and order. The feudal system, lacking these instruments, used the knight as the sword-arm of the state. Feudalism represents a phase of social and political development that has been outgrown:

It is of course perfectly true that mediaeval society often seemed to oscillate between an uncontrollable and arbitrary despotism, and an anarchical confusion, but this was due, not to the want of a clear conviction of the rights and duties of rulers and subjects, but to the absence of an effective instrument of government. The history of mediaeval society constantly impresses upon us the conviction that the real difference between a barbarous and a civilized political system lies in the fact that the latter has an almost automatically working administrative and judicial machinery, while the former is dependent upon the chance of the presence of some exceptionally competent and clear-sighted individual ruler.

The truth is that the men of these times were in no way inferior to us in their sense of reverence for law, or in respect for the great principles of human life, of which law is the embodiment, but that they had no efficient civil service and police to secure the smooth execution of law. They apprehended very clearly the principles of political and social order, but it has taken all these centuries to work out an adequate instrument for giving them practical effect.<sup>9</sup>

With this political background in mind, one sees the knight as an instrument of justice in a relatively chaotic society. Originally the knight had been a simple warrior. By the twelfth and thirteenth century, he was an important figure in an aristocratic society, and the details of his training had been surrounded with a mystique. This idealization of the position of the knight was expressed in an artificial code, but behind that code was the reality that the knight had a functional role:

The English knight had long since ceased to be merely the mounted soldier of the earlier Norman armies, with nothing to recommend him but elementary training in arms. He had become a member of a self-conscious aristocracy of birth and wealth as well as of military prowess. He was usually a substantial landowner, related by ties of blood or interest or both to the greater baronial families with whom he shared his chivalric code of values. He had become, willy nilly, an administrative power in his locality,

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 31-32.

holding one or more manorial courts, maintaining actually and within limits not always clearly marked off from the broadening power of the Crown that "justice" which it was his theoretical obligation to do.<sup>10</sup>

Now that the reader has seen the position the knight held in the political development of the Middle Ages, he can see how this position is defined in contemporary works. The earliest work cited here, for the arrangement will be chronological, is the Politicraticus of John of Salisbury:

The Politicraticus of John of Salisbury is the earliest elaborate mediaeval treatise on politics. Completed in 1159, the date of its composition makes it a landmark in the history of political speculation for two reasons. It is the only important political treatise written before western thought had once more become familiar with the Politics of Aristotle. It thus represents the purely mediaeval tradition unaffected by ideas newly borrowed from classical antiquity. It is the culmination in their maturest form of a body of doctrines which had evolved in unbroken sequence from patristic literature in contact with the institutions of the earlier middle ages. In the second place it comes just before the important turning-point in institutional development at the end of the twelfth, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when legal precision began to be stamped on a greater number of previously indefinite relationships and when feudal independence tended to become consolidated into definite organs of political control.<sup>11</sup>

The state is an organic relationship, and not the mere network of private allegiances characteristic of feudalism. To express this idea, John of Salisbury uses the term respublica or commonwealth.<sup>12</sup> To describe the commonwealth, he uses the analogy of the body. The commonwealth is the body, religion is the soul, the prince is the head, the senate is the heart. The judges and governors are eyes and ears, the officials and soldiers are the hands, the

<sup>10</sup> Arthur B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (Durham, N.C., 1960), p. 108.

<sup>11</sup> The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury, Being the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books, and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Politicraticus, trans. John Dickinson (New York, 1927), pp. xvii-xviii.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. xix.

peasants are the feet. Because the peasants are the most likely to stumble, they deserve the protection and aid of the rest of the body. "Then and then only will the health of the commonwealth be sound and flourishing . . . when the higher members shield the lower, and the lower respond faithfully and fully in like measure to the just demands of their superiors, so that each and all are as it were members one of another by a sort of reciprocity, and each regards his own interest as best served by that which he knows to be most advantageous for the others."<sup>13</sup>

This comparison of the state to a body reappears frequently in medieval thought, and is probably derived from the Christian identification of the Church with the mystical body of Christ. Although John of Salisbury claims to have borrowed the scheme from Plutarch, no such work exists. Whatever its source may be, what is of interest is the fact that the writer understand the concept of the interdependence of individuals in society and the need for a common social feeling. However, the society as presented has a fixed order. The relationship between the different levels of society is determined, and no consideration is given to removing these degrees.<sup>14</sup> Spenser's idea of society is the same. The social order is fixed, but noblesse oblige presupposes concern for the welfare of others and a life dedicated to public service.

John of Salisbury defines the function of knighthood:

But what is the office of the duly ordained soldiery? To defend the Church, to assail infidelity, to venerate the priesthood, to protect the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. xx-xxii.

poor from injuries, to pacify the province, to pour out their blood for their brothers (as the formula of their oath instructs them), and, if need be, to lay down their lives. The high praises of God are in their throat, and two-edged swords are in their hands to execute punishment on the nations and rebuke upon the peoples, and to bind their kings in chains and their nobles in links of iron. But to what end? To the end that they may serve madness, vanity, avarice, or their own private self-will? By no means. Rather to the end that they may execute the judgment that is committed to them to execute; wherein each follows not his own will but the deliberate decision of God, the angels, and men, in accordance with equity and the public utility.<sup>15</sup>

The knight maintains justice through the force of arms, but he acts for the public good in obedience to God's laws.

The work also treats the true basis of nobility, a favorite topic of the Renaissance courtesy books. John of Salisbury finds the source of nobility in wisdom. In judging a horse, one ignores the ornaments and one judges the animal's body. In judging men one does not value what is extraneous, but looks deeply into the man himself:

For I call extraneous or borrowed all that he has received from his parents and all that fortune has bestowed on him, and of such things I admit none to a share in my praise of Socrates: I exclude nobility, good ancestry, a long family tree, and enviable wealth. For all these, I say, are borrowed plumes. It is glory enough for Prothaonius that he was a man of whom his grandson need not be ashamed. Therefore all such things you may count as borrowed. Is he of noble birth? Give the praise to his parents. Is he rich? I do not put my trust in fortune,--I rather discount such accidents. Is he strong? He may lose his strength by sickness. Is he quick and active? He will grow old. Is he handsome? Wait a while and he will no longer be so. But he that is well-taught in excellent arts and highly accomplished, and so far as a man may be, wise, and of good counsel. Now at last you are praising the man himself.<sup>16</sup>

This theory of nobility is more advanced than that of works cited later in this chapter. The typical medieval attitude is to place more emphasis upon birth

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 199-200.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 274.

and less upon learning. In judging the entire work, one is impressed by its maturity of thought and style. The idea of a commonwealth with the duty of service to others is a more integral one than that of simple vassalage.

The next work to be discussed, The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, was a manual for knighthood written by Ramon Lull in the thirteenth century. Ramon, the son of a wealthy soldier, lived the life of a worldly courtier until he saw on five successive nights a vision of Christ crucified. After this experience he reformed his life. His special interest was the conversion of the Saracens through love instead of force. Because of this interest, he promoted the study of Arabic. He met his death in Africa in 1315 when he was stoned by the Saracens who were aroused to fury by his efforts to convert them.

That Lull's work was popular in its own time is evident from the number of translations. William Caxton translated it from a French version about 1484 in order to revive interest in chivalry. In connection with the idea of nobility one might notice a change Caxton made in his usually faithful translation. Lull naturally expected a knight to be of noble birth because of the long training involved, but he was willing to admit that a man of unknown family might occasionally merit the honor. Caxton's view of knighthood was strictly aristocratic, and he was not willing to admit any but those of noble birth to knighthood.<sup>17</sup>

In commenting on the work, E. Allison Peers complains that the style is monotonous, and the ideas are often trite and banal.<sup>18</sup> Whatever the literary

<sup>17</sup>Ramon Lull, The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, trans. William Caxton, ed. A. T. P. Byles, E. E. T. S. (London, 1926), pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

<sup>18</sup>E. Allison Peers, Ramon Lull (New York, 1929), pp. 121-123.

merit of the work, the work outlines in detail the ideals of the knight. The manual is introduced with an imaginative incident. A knight has retired to a hermitage where a squire finds him and asks him to instruct him in knighthood. The rest of the book consists of a manual containing the rules of chivalry that the knight gives the squire. The work treats of the origin of chivalry, the office of the knight, the examination of a squire, the significance of the knight's arms, the customs of a knight, and the honor due to a knight.

Knighthood began in order to safeguard justice. The noblest man in every thousand was chosen to be a knight and was presented with a horse, the noblest beast, and with the finest armor. A knight should never forget his noble origin. He should wish to be both loved and feared by the people; love should recover charity, and fear should recover truth and justice.<sup>19</sup>

A trade or a profession must be learned through an apprenticeship, and so must knighthood. The father should see that his son is taught to ride and to care for a horse while the boy is still young. The youth must be taught to serve his lord, to wait at the table, and to assist in arms.<sup>20</sup>

Lull outlines the duties of a knight. The knight should defend the faith and work with the clergy without jealousy. He must defend his lord and maintain justice. His personal qualities should make him an excellent judge if he has sufficient learning for the position. He should keep himself in good physical condition in order to be ready for battle, but he should also keep himself fit spiritually by the practice of virtue.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-17.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-32.



The emphasis upon physical fitness is understandable when one realizes that a knight had to support the discomfort of heavy armor, had to manage a large horse, and was trained in the use of several weapons the effectiveness of which depended not only upon skill but also upon strength:

Knights ought to take coursers to juste & to go to tornoyes/ to holde open table/ to hūte at hertes/ at bores & other wyld bestes/ For in doynge these thynges the knyghtes exercyse them to armes/ for to mayntene thordre of knighthode Thene to mesprise & to leve the custom of that which the knyght is most apparailled to vse his office is but despising of thordre/ & thus as al these thynges afore said apperteyne to a knyght as touching his body/ in lyke wise justice/ wysdom charitie/ loyalte/ verite/ humylite/ strength hope swiftnes/ & al other vertues sēblable appertayne to a knyght as touchyng his soule/22

The idea that physical strength must be accompanied by virtue is repeated here and in the other works cited. Lull argues that "yf chyualrye were more stronge of body/ than in strengthe of courage/ ordre of Chyualrye shold more accorde to the body than to the soule And yf it were so the body shold be more noble than the soule/ but that is openly fals/"<sup>23</sup> A knight is responsible for the maintenance of order and the administration of justice. The weak and helpless look to him and his castle as a refuge. At his castle wrongs are redressed, goods traded, and criminals punished.<sup>24</sup>

According to Lull knighthood is a profession, and any slur upon the reputation of a knight is instantly resented. If a knight is a thief, he lowers the standing of knighthood. "A knyght beyng a theef doth gretter thefte to the

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 31. I have replaced the OE " " with "gh," and " " with "th."

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-44.

hyhe honour of chyualrye, in as moche as he taketh away the name of a knyght withoute cause than he doth that taketh away or steleth money or other thynges/ For to stele or take away thonour/ is to gyue ewyll fame & renomnee/ & to blame that thyng whiche is worthy to have praysyng & honour/ For honour is more worth than gold or syluer withoute ony comparyson/"<sup>25</sup>

The knight is placed next to the priest in dignity. Just as a spiritual significance is usually attached to each of the priest's vestments, so every piece of the knight's equipment has a spiritual significance. A sampling of the full listing is as follows: The spear represents truth; the helmet, dread of shame; the shield, the office of the knight which is to stand between the prince and the people; the horse, high ideals; and the bridle, restraint.<sup>26</sup>

Chivalry is honored when the sanctity of marriage is respected.<sup>27</sup> Lull ignores the tenets of courtly love, not that he had not been one of its followers, but that after his conversion he realized its falseness. The prose works in this chapter, with the exception of Froissart's Chronicles that mentions occasionally the life of the women at court, do not treat of courtly love, but are interested rather in the training and duties of the knight.

Caxton printed The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry in an attempt to revive chivalric values in England. Although the shell of feudalism remained in England, the real function of the knight had been taken over either by professional soldiers or by men trained in law or business. Caxton did not realize

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 77-84.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid , p. 118.

that he was watching a dying culture. He exhorted the knights to return to the ideals of knighthood:

O ye knyghtes of Englonde where is the custome and vsage of noble chyualry that was used in the dayes/ what do ye now/ but go to the baynes & playe att dyse and some not wel aduysed use not honest and good rule ageyn alle ordre of knyght-hode/ leve this/ leve it and rede the noble volumes of saynt grall of lancelot/ of galaad/ of Trystram/ of perse forest/ of Percyual/ of gawayn/ & many mo/ Ther shalle ye see manhode/ curtosye & gentylnesse/<sup>28</sup>

Caxton asks how many knights of England are in good physical condition and have their horses and armor ready for battle. He suggests periodic jousts to keep them in practice.<sup>29</sup>

Several key thoughts appear. Martial prowess is an essential knightly quality. The knight acts from loyalty to his lord, and to maintain justice. He does a deed for the sake of the deed, and not for the benefit of an audience. Just as courtly love enhances the position of women, the chivalric code creates a mystique about the position of the knight, endowing many prosaic actions with symbolic value.

Our next work, Froissart's Chronicles, with its colorful and idealized picture of fourteenth century England and Europe, well illustrates the chivalric code. Froissart has a sympathetic bias for the life of the nobility, a genuine enthusiasm for chivalry, and had the opportunity and energy to gain much first-hand information about his subject:

Any apparent limitations of his vision are fully offset by his appreciation of the chivalric code. No writer has better celebrated this animating

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid , p. 124.

ideal of the Middle Ages. In war every feudal noble must defend his king's rights; every knight, tenant, and serf must follow his overlord into battle. The whole order of society depended upon a common loyalty and upon individual gallantry. Here Froissart is the perfect commentator. The sight of battle is glorious in his eyes. His central purpose is to record "the great marvels and fair feats of arms which have occurred in the great wars of France and of England and neighboring realms." The highest virtue in this warfare is prowess. Without this, he writes, "the gentleman cannot attain perfect honor and the world's glory." His Chronicles provide an enduring encomium of gallantry. They are a veritable Mirror of Prowess.<sup>30</sup>

The opening lines state the author's intention "to encourage all valorous hearts, and to show them honourable examples," and reveal immediately his admiration for martial prowess. He praises Edward III of England, "who so potently reigned, and who was engaged in so many battles and perilous adventures." After naming some outstanding English leaders, he praises the French leaders, for in France was "good chivalry, strong of limb and stout of heart."<sup>31</sup>

Several incidents about the Black Prince show the admiration for martial prowess. The prince's battalion was hard pressed, and a knight was sent to the king to ask for help. The knight told the king that his son was in danger of being overwhelmed by the enemy:

The king replied, "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded that he cannot support himself?" "Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the knight, "but he is in so hot an engagement that he has great need of your help." The king answered, "Now, Sir Thomas, return to those that sent you, and tell them from me not to send again for me this day, nor expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my son has life; and

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<sup>30</sup> Sir John Froissart, The Chronicles of England, France, and Spain, H. P. Dunster's Condensation of the Thomas Johnes Translation, Intro. Charles W. Dunn (New York, 1961), p. x.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

say that I command them to let the boy win his spurs, for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have entrusted him."<sup>32</sup>

In a selection at a later date, Froissart again praises the Black Prince as a soldier. "The prince shone pre-eminently, and proved well his noble birth, and the gallantry of his knighthood, by his eagerness to fight the enemy. . . . The Germans, Flemings, and English declared that he was the mirror of knighthood--that having gained three glorious victories, the first at Cressy, the second at Poitiers ten years afterwards, and the third in Spain, at Navaretta, he was worthy of governing the whole world."<sup>33</sup>

An example of the imperfect discipline of chivalry is seen in the sketch of Count Gascon Phoebus de Foix. "He was so perfectly formed that no one could praise him too much. He loved earnestly the things he ought to love, and hated those which it became him to hate. He was a prudent knight, full of enterprise and wisdom. He never allowed any man of abandoned character to be about him, reigned prudently, and was constant at his devotions."<sup>34</sup> He gave alms, was generous to his followers, but did not spend money for extravagances. "In short, everything considered, though I had before been in several courts, I never was at one which pleased me more, nor was ever anywhere more delighted with feats of arms. Knights and squires were to be seen in every chamber, hall, and court, conversing on arms and armour. Everything honourable was to be

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 108-109.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 304.

found there."<sup>35</sup> Although the Count was a worthy man, Froissart reveals in the story of his son's death the violence that was part of medieval life. His wife was living with her brother; "she was afraid to return home, knowing her husband to be a cruel disposition towards those with whom he was displeased."<sup>36</sup> When her son visited her, her brother gave him some powder to put upon his father's food telling the boy that it would cause his father to forgive his mother. The boy took the bag of powder, not knowing that it was poison. To simplify the incident, one may add that the powder was found on the boy and discovered to be poisonous and that the Count, having been prevented from killing his son, had him imprisoned. The boy was placed in a dungeon where he refused to eat. After ten days the Count angrily visited him and accidentally wounded him with a knife. Weakened from fasting, the boy died.<sup>37</sup> One can see from this story that violence was never far from the surface of feudal life even in a well-regulated court.

Another example of the violence of medieval life is seen in Froissart's descriptions of judicial duels. He relates the abortive judicial duel between Henry of Bolingbroke and Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, under Richard II.<sup>38</sup> He describes a completed judicial duel between Sir John de Carogne and James le Gris. The former's wife had accused the latter of rape. The case was taken to the parliament, which found no evidence except the conflicting testimony of the two

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 305.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 306.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 307-309.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 590-595.

parties and therefore authorized a duel. Lists were built, and a large crowd assembled in much the same manner as that described in the duel between the Red Cross Knight and Sanefoy (F.Q. 1.5). James le Gris was killed; his death was considered to have established his guilt.<sup>39</sup> Another account of this duel corrects Froissart in several details. The slain man was exonerated when a criminal captured for another crime confessed to the assault. This confession was one of the reasons for the abandonment of the judicial duel as a legal process.<sup>40</sup>

The tournament appears much like an elaborate sporting event of today. Below is the description of a tournament that was part of the festivities connected with the marriage of the French king and Queen Isabella in 1389:

The knights who took part in this tournament were thirty in number, including the king; and when the justs began they were carried on with great vigour, every one performing his part in honour of the ladies. The Duke of Ireland, who was then a resident in Paris, and invited by the king to the tournament, tilted well; also a German knight, from beyond the Rhine, by name Sir Gervais di Mirande, gained great commendation. The number of knights made it difficult to give a full stroke, and the dust was so troublesome that it increased the difficulty. The Lord de Coucy shone with brilliancy. The tilts were continued without relaxation until night, when the ladies were conducted to their hotels. At the hotel de St. Pol was the most magnificent banquet ever heard of.<sup>41</sup>

Froissart goes on to relate how three knights, inspired by the desire to please their ladies, offered to hold a field of arms against all foreign knights and squires for thirty days and to tilt with blunt lances or others. The king praised them and gave them some money. When news of the challenge

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 364-367.

<sup>40</sup> Francis Storr, "Duel," Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed. (New York, 1911), VIII, 639.

<sup>41</sup> Froissart, p. 463.

had spread, many knights came to accept it.<sup>42</sup> "The tilt was much praised, and both French and English said that the Earl of Huntingdom, Sir Boucicaut, and the Lord de Sainpi had excellently well justed. The earl wished to break another lance in honor of his lady, but it was refused him. He then quitted the lists to make room for others, for he had run his six lances with such ability and courage as gained him praise from all sides."<sup>43</sup> After thirty days were over, the knights returned to their homes. When they presented themselves later to the French king, they were handsomely received; "indeed, they were entitled to such a reception, for they had behaved themselves gallantly, and well supported the honor of the king, and of the realm of France."<sup>44</sup>

Reading these chronicles, one can see that much of The Faerie Queene reflects the feudal cultural pattern and is not simply an escape into fantasy. The recurring battles of the Red Cross Knight and Guyon reflect the frequent incidence of battle. One finds in Froissart that delight in fighting was a common enthusiasm. Having this work in mind, one can see the knight as a part of a cultural pattern. He is acting rationally according to the customs of his time. Reading the work as a part of a cultural milieu, one can understand the background against which the moral allegory is set.

The Tree of Battle, written by Honoré Bonet about 1387, is both a history and a manual of war. "Honoré Bonet, as a representative of the clergy, has a

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 465-466.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 469.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.



somewhat different view of chivalry from that of his knightly contemporaries. His position as a Benedictine monk gave him a clearer perspective of the knightly class than if he had been a warrior, while his close association with the rulers of Provence and even with Charles VI, in the capacity of adviser, afforded him many opportunities to see the faults of contemporary chivalry."<sup>45</sup>

The work is written for general reading. It is chiefly derivative; Orosius and Martin the Pole are among the sources for his history, and John of Legnano's De Bello is an unacknowledged source for the laws of war. The latter are of interest for their discussion of what constitutes boldness in a knight and for noting the duties of the knight:

That it is the earliest monument of International Law is a hard saying. After a scrutiny of its sources, we are entitled to modify the description, and to say that it is the first statement of theory, in that field, which is in popular form and in a vulgar tongue, and we may limit further by making clear that it treats only of that portion of International Law which is concerned with the Laws of War.<sup>46</sup>

In answering the question of what constitutes boldness in a knight, Bonet first lists imperfect motives in fighting. The knight may be bold from vain-glory in order to be praised. He may fear to diminish the honor and profit of his lord, and he may fear to be captured. He may be bold because his long training assures him that he is a good fighter. He may be bold because he has an irascible temper, or he may be ignorant or covetous. None of these reasons is a worthy motive.<sup>47</sup> "Know that in all these kinds of boldness there is no

<sup>45</sup>Raymond Kilgour, The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), pp. 162-163.

<sup>46</sup>Honoré Bonet, The Tree of Battle, trans. G. E. Coopland (Liverpool, 1949), p. 68.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

virtue whatever; but virtue exists only in him who is bold through right knowledge and understanding, who has the will to hear reason and justice, and the will to sustain all due and possible things, by the virtue of courage."<sup>48</sup>

Next Bonet outlines the duties of a good knight. Even under the threat of death he must keep the oath made to the lord. He must be obedient to whoever is acting in place of the lord. He must concern himself exclusively with the practice of arms and with campaigning for the honor of his lord. "Further, the law says that a knight must not till the soil, or tend vines, or keep beasts, that is to say, be a shepherd, or a matchmaker, or lawyer, otherwise he must lose knighthood and the privileges of a knight."<sup>49</sup> Yet Bonet writes realistically of knighthood:

Bonet approaches the whole subject of the chivalric code of conduct and the laws of war from a practical viewpoint. This book is a working manual for the knight, whom Bonet considers a soldier almost in the Roman tradition, although most mediaeval knights were anything but that. He refuses to consider chivalric gallantry and the point of honor, seeking instead a sober and reasonable basis for his decisions. The success of the work proves in striking fashion how chivalry had changed, judging from its readiness to accept an eminently practicable code without insisting on the application of the teaching of Les Cent Ballades.<sup>50</sup>

Christine de Pisan drew on Bonet's work for The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrie written about 1409 and translated by Caxton in 1489. Christine de Pisan was born in Venice in 1364 and brought as a child to the French court where her father served Charles V as an astrologer. She received the same education as that given to a boy, learning Latin, philosophy, and science.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>50</sup> Kilgour, p. 164.

After the death of Charles V and of both her father and her husband, she was left with a family of three small children, for whose support she wrote books. Christine's work is also derivative; she uses as sources Vegetius, Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, and Bonet. She deserves credit not only for the skill with which she uses such unfeminine material but also for the numerous original passages which she inserts.<sup>51</sup>

Her description of the good Constable contains her ideals of knighthood. Experience is more important than lineage in a Constable, though lineage can be valuable because it helps to inspire respect. The Constable must be wise and courteous, not hasty or easily angered. He must be temperate and just, in conversation gentle and laconic. He must be grave, true, hardy, diligent, unselfish, "fiers to his enemyes pyetous to them that be vainquissed/ and to them that be vnder hym he be not lightly angry/ ne be not moeued for lityel occasion/ ne byleve ouer hastely for lityl apprence/ Ne yeue fayth to wordes whiche haue ne colour of trouthe/"<sup>52</sup> He should not indulge himself by having favorites, by desiring entertainment or jewels; however, his armor should be rich and adequate. He should avoid laziness. He should be diligent in determining his enemies' state: he spies on their actions and attacks them wisely. He should maintain discipline, "& that he knowe to gouerne his owen people & holde in ordre & drede/ & to doo right where he ought to doo it/"<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Christine de Pisan, The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye, trans. William Caxton, ed. A. T. P. Byles, E. E. T. S., O. S., No. 189 (London, 1937), p. xi.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

He should not be curious about new things, but should honor those around him who are worthy. He should reward liberally. His conversation should usually be of arms and of chivalry, but should not be of a boastful nature:

And that he kepe hym wel from avaunting/ & be he louvyng hys prince & trewe to hym/ fauorable to wedowes/ to orphans/ & to the poure/ ne make grete compt of a lityl trespace doon to his persone/ And smale debate to pardone lightly to hym that repreteth/ and aboue all other thyng to love god & the chyrche & to sustene & helpe right/ Thyse sayd condycions bylongen to a good conestable/ and by consequent to the marchallies/ & to alle theym of semblable offyces.<sup>54</sup>

The Constable as described here has not only the obvious qualities that a military leader should possess, but also those of a self-controlled, astute statesman. In his maintenance of justice he is to act rationally and mercifully when possible. If he has the qualities outlined here, he is a solidly virtuous man. The ideal of the knight with the qualities of leadership outlined here is sophisticated in the high standard it sets.

An English work that borrows from the two previous works, The Boke of Noblesse, reveals the chivalric mind during a period of transition:

It was apparently written by William Worcester [secretary to Sir John Fastolf] some time before the change of dynasty in 1461, in an effort to persuade Henry VI to emulate his father's bellicose policy toward France. It was then revised to attract Yorkist patronage when, in 1475, Edward IV was preparing actually to renew the war. Worcester borrowed much of the more traditional material contained in it from the well-known French books of knighthood by Honoré Bonet and Christine de Pisan, and he owed something to Alain Chartier.<sup>55</sup>

The work is a piece of propaganda written to gain support for the invasion of France. This combination of the idealism of chivalry with the self-interest of chauvinism marks a transition to realism in government. In criticizing men who

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-24.

<sup>55</sup>Ferguson, p. 144.

prefer civic duties such as those of the judge or the lawyer to the martial obligations of the knight, the work also notes the trend from knighthood to the civic duties of the gentleman.

The appeal to chivalric idealism exhorts the knight to imitate the qualities of the lion, "For as ire, egrenesse, and feersnesse is holden for a vertu in the lion, so in like manere the said condicions is taken for a vertue and renomme of worship to alle tho that haunten armes: that so usithe to be egre, feers upon his advers partie, and not to be lamentable and sorroufulle after a wrong shewed unto theym."<sup>56</sup>

Hector, Agamemnon, and Ulysses are cited as examples of valiant warriors. As an incentive to action the labors of Hercules are described in detail. The knights are exhorted to keep in condition and to exercise, but the author notes with regret the number that have turned to civil duties:

But now of late daies, the grettir pite is, many one that ben descendid of noble bloode and borne to armes, as knightis sonnes, esquiers, and of othir gentille bloode, set hem silfe to singuler practik, straunge [faculteez] frome that fet, as to lerne the practique of law or custom of lande, or of civile matier, and so wastyn gretlie their tyme in suche nedelese besinesse, as to occupie courtis halding, to kepe and bere out a proude countenance at sessions and shiris halding, also there to embrace and rule among youre pore and simple comyns of bestialle countenance that lust to lyve in rest.<sup>57</sup>

The Boke of Noblesse was written to arouse enthusiasm for an invasion of France. "Once again we are faced with the curious penchant of the fifteenth-century mind to think on two separate levels and to separate the ideal and the

<sup>56</sup>The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on His Invasion of France in 1475, intro. John C. Nichols (London, 1860), p. 4.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

actual whenever it seemed a good thing at the time to do so. The author of The Boke of Noblesse hoped to revive among the English gentry the spirit of chivalry without which he undoubtedly felt the objectives of dynastic policy would be meaningless."<sup>58</sup>

A biography of Don Pero Nino, El Vitorial, was written by his standard bearer, Gutierre Diaz de Gamez, from 1431 to 1449. In the introduction Gamez relates the history of knighthood and defines the ideal of the knight. He reaffirms the position of the knight as the sword-arm of the state, and of the necessity of virtue.

Knighthood originated in one way among the Gentiles and in another way among the Jews. The Gentiles needed good soldiers to place in the front lines of battle, so they selected skilled laborers because the laborers had strong bodies and were dexterous. In battle, however, these men ran instead of fighting. Next they selected butchers because such men were strong and used to the sight of blood, but once again they also proved to be cowards. Finally scouts were commissioned to select the men they saw fighting bravely in the next battle. These men were set apart to devote their life to fighting, and a tax was levied to maintain them.

The origin of knighthood among the Jews is found in the story of Gideon. God instructed him to test his men before taking those who were acceptable into battle. The men came to water. Those who put their mouths into the water like dogs were sent back, but those who drank the water out of their hands, thus

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<sup>58</sup>Ferguson, p. 153.

showing restraint, were selected because they had the desirable qualities needed in a soldier.<sup>59</sup>

There are three orders of knighthood: the good angels, martyrs, and good kings.<sup>60</sup> Gamez defines a knight as a man on horseback. The horse, a noble beast, represents the noble qualities that a knight should have, as follows:

What is required of a good knight? That he should be noble. What means noble and nobility? That the heart should be governed by the virtues. By the four [cardinal virtues] that I have already named. These four virtues are sisters and so bound up one with the other, that he who has one, has all, and he who lacks one, lacks the others also. So the virtuous knight should be wary and prudent, just in the doing of justice, continent and temperate, enduring and courageous; and withal he must have great faith in God, hope at his Glory, that he may attain the guerdon of the good that he has done, and finally he must have charity and the love of his neighbour.<sup>61</sup>

The last two works to be discussed offer an interesting contrast. The first, John Tiptoft's "The Declamacion of Noblesse," compares the older knightly ideal unfavorably with the humanist's ideal of learning. It stands in sharp contrast to the last book to be discussed, The Book of Saint Albans, which contains the stock medieval account of nobility.

Tiptoft's work, a translation of Buonaccorso's De Nobilitate Controversia, was printed by Caxton in 1481, and is the source for Henry Medwell's Fulgens and Lucrece. It is printed as an appendix to Rosamond J. Mitchell's John Tiptoft. She comments thus:

<sup>59</sup>Gutierre Diaz de Gamez, The Unconquered Knight, trans. and selected from El Vitorial, by Joan Evans (London, 1928), pp. 4-7.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

Publius Cornelius Scipio is clearly intended to correspond to the old ideal, Gayus Flammineus to the new, and to Tiptoft must be given credit for recognizing and introducing to Englishmen the new Renaissance ideal. It is interesting that Tiptoft, the framer of ordinances and authority upon joust and tourney, should have been equally at home with the newer point of view, the preoccupation with knightly character rather than knightly deportment.<sup>62</sup>

In pleading for Lucesse's hand, Cornelius presents the arguments for nobility of blood and wealth, and Flammineus presents the arguments for learning and virtue. Though Lucesse's decision is not revealed, Flammineus obviously has the better of the argument.

Cornelius argues for the pre-eminence of family and wealth:

Therefore, me semeth, this is the hiest part of noblesse, to come of theyr auncestres of whom they may recouthe and reherce the noble dedes many tymes worshipfully achieved and parfygthed truly & without colour, And for theyr benefaytes ther yssue may duely desyre, And by title of enherytaunce challenge the office of estate & worshippe in this cyte or any other place, and remembre theym self how they be veray partyes of tho bodyes which haue been so worshipful, beryng the lykenesse, ymage and prynte aftire theym. Who is he that wolde not juge theym noble, namely whan alle men ben of the same oppynyon, Parde the comyne people calle theym onely noble whiche ben descended of noble Auncestry; fferthermore, sothe it is that the habundance of Rychesse embellysseth gretely noblesse, by the whyche Rychesse, the seruauntes and alle other conuenyentes for the well beseeyng of the hows, ben had more goodly and playsant.<sup>63</sup>

Cornelius offers Lucesse singing, dancing, hunting, and hawking if she will marry him. Flammineus presents another point of view:

And forsothe I trowe that noblesse resteth not in the glorie of an other man, or in the flytting goodes of fortune, but in a mannes owen vertu and glorie; ffor what is noblesse other than a certayn excellence in vertu and manhode, which proueth one man worthy to be preferred another? For semblably as man excelleth alle other beestys, and not for his force but for his reason, so by the vertu that one man hath, which another hath not,

<sup>62</sup>Rosamond J. Mitchell, John Tiptoft (New York, 1938), p. 182.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 220-221.



he excellyth hym. Ffor whan a man hath be exercised in the craftes of gretest noblesse, that is to saye, in Justice, pyte, constaunce, Magnanymyte, Attemperaunce, and prudence, deseruyng a fame of excellence in theym, and hath quyte hym wel to the goddes Immortall, to his fader and moder, to his frendes, Kynne, and his contreye, and hath be nourysshed and brought vp in the lectrure, thenne me semeth forsothe he shold be called and reputed more noble worshipful & more famous than another, as Corneli hym selfe said a lytel by fore, whan he spak of his owne maners.<sup>64</sup>

Flamineus offers a life of learning and simple pleasures to Lucesse:

But my lady Lucesse, yf it please you, I shal bringe you to my poure lodgyng, where ye shal fynde quyeteste reste. And how be it that yf it be not so superfluously be seen as Cornelius is, yet I truste ye shal fynde it bettir furnysshed of vertue, maner, and suche pleasyrs, as youre moost womanly courage delyteth in. And fyrst I shal shewe you my lyberary, wel stuffed with fayr bookes of Greke and latyn, wher unto in euery aduersyte is my chief resorte for counseyll and comforte. And ther shal we dyuerse tymes haue commynycacyon and comforte of the connyng and doctryne of my lady and maystresse phylosophe; and there I shal repete to you the merueyllous doctryne of the philosophers of Athenes, whiche I haue hard and enioye me gretly whan I remembre it. No besynes of famylyar thynges shal agayn your wyll departe you fro suche plesaunt ydelnes, ffor I truste to cure goddes that my lytel feelde, of the which I am embayded by Corneli, shal suffise for our dayly lyuelode.<sup>65</sup>

Flamineus expresses the ideals of the courtier. To military accomplishments are added learning, an appreciation of the simple life, and courage that is not related to possessions or family. This enlightened view contrasts with the final work discussed here that makes a pretentious argument for the nobility of blood.

This work, The Booke of St. Albans, was printed in 1486. In quoting from the text, the writer will use The Gentleman's Academie, a 1595 edition of the work. The book impresses one as a conscious attempt to perpetuate the fading

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 240.

glory of the feudal system. William Blades suggests the title "Heraldry Run Mad" for the section upon coat armor.<sup>66</sup> Nobility is pretentiously traced from Genesis. "Everything is treated in nines, and the nine virtues and nine vices of gentleness follow, with nine rejoicings, nine articles that every knight should keep, and nine manner of gentlemen."<sup>67</sup> The law of arms is grounded upon the nine orders of angels crowned with nine precious stones representing nine knightly virtues and nine orders of knighthood.

The work, addressed to those of gentle blood, proposes to show how gentleness can be separated from ungentleness, as the light from darkness. The fact that everyone had the same first parents does not mean that all men are equal. Once all the angels were equal until the fall of Lucifer, but the wise know that Lucifer and his company are not equal to the angels in heaven:

There was never gentleman, nor churle ordained, but hee had father and mother: Adam and Eue had neither father nor mother, and therefore in the sonnes of Adam and Eue, first issued out both gentleman and churle. By the sonnes of Adam and Eue, to wit, Seth, Abell, and Caine, was the royall blood divided from the rude & barbarous, a brother to murder his brother contrary to the law, what could be more ungentlemanly or vile, in that therefore became Caine and al his of-spring churles, both by the curse of God, and his owne father?<sup>68</sup>

Noah was also a gentleman, but his son Cham was a churl, and he was cursed and sent to Europe where he would have to bear the cold. From Japhet came the Jews. "From the of-spring of gentlemanly Japhet came Abraham, Moyses, Aaron

<sup>66</sup> Dame Juliana Berners, The Boke of Saint Albans, ed. William Blades (London, 1901), p. 27.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>68</sup> Dame Duliana Barnes, The Gentleman's Academie or The Booke of S Albans: 1486, And Now Reduced into a Better Method by G.[ervase] M.[arkham] (London, 1595), p. 43.

and the Prophets, and also the king of the right line of Mary, of whom that only absolute gentleman Jesus was borne, perfite God and perfite man, according to his manhood king of the land of Juda and the Jewes, and gentleman by his mother Mary, princesse of coat armor."<sup>69</sup> Japhet began the custom of using coat armor; for on his shield he painted a ball representing the world.<sup>70</sup>

The nine orders of angels are crowned with precious stones, each representing a different virtue. Some of these are truth, courage, chivalry, power in battle, fullness of vigor, wisdom, the capacity to be durable and unfainting in battle, and the ability of being doughty and glorious in battle.<sup>71</sup> The repetition of qualities allied with martial prowess reflects its importance.

Overlapping is also evident in the enumeration of the four chivalric virtues:

Chivalry hath foure vertues, the first, iust in his actions, cleanness of his person, pittie to the poore, gratiouse in prison, reuerent and faithfull to his God: the second is, that he be wise in battaile, prudent in his fighting, hauing his wit alwaies in a readinesse: the third is, that he be not slow in his warres, regard that his quarrell be true, thancke God euer for his victorie, and to haue measure in his sustinaunce: the fourth, to be strong and stedfast in his gouernment, to hope of victory, not to fly the field, nor shame his coate armor, also that hee bee not boasting proud of his manhood, looke that he be courteous, lowly, and gentle, and without ribawldry in his language.<sup>72</sup>

Deficient in style and organization, this work is interesting as a sign of the decline of chivalry. Martial prowess and virtue still remain as the necessary

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-46.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

qualities for the knight. The elaborate attempt to enshrine knighthood by means of biblical references, as well as the emphasis upon nobility of blood, may reflect the faint realization that careers were opening to talent and that a growing middle class was waiting for recognition. On the whole one might say that the artificial quality of the book with its elaborate systemization and its pseudo-history reflects the decay of knighthood.

This chapter has reviewed the chivalric code as it appears in prose medieval works. Such a review has several advantages. First, one sees the setting of The Faerie Queene is in great part a reflection of feudal culture. Many of the attitudes expressed there are typical of the thinking of that period. For example, martial prowess plays an important part in life, yet this prowess should always be accompanied by virtue. The knight has not only the duty of loyalty to his lord but also the duty of maintaining justice and order. The mark of the knight is horsemanship. He is distinguished by this ability from the common man.

Another advantage of this review is that it lays a foundation for distinguishing what is peculiar to the chivalric code from what belongs to the code of the Renaissance gentleman. The latter code, to be studied in the next two chapters, replaces the order of knighthood with the order of learning although it retains many qualities of the chivalric code.

Finally, a study of the chivalric code brings a greater appreciation of The Faerie Queene as a work of art. When one sees the knight as a part of the culture, he takes on reality. The true seriousness of the work emerges when it is set against a background of life.

## CHAPTER IV

### HONOR IN CONTINENTAL COURTESY BOOKS

The Renaissance concept of honor will be studied with reference to contemporary courtesy books. The study will be confined to selected works for several reasons. First, an exhaustive analysis of this genre already exists in Ruth Kelso's The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century.<sup>1</sup> Second, the analysis of a few books allows the writer to go into some detail in studying the individual concepts of honor. Third, while many important works have had to be omitted,<sup>2</sup> the works cited are all of recognized

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<sup>1</sup>University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XIV (Urbana, Ill., 1929).

<sup>2</sup>To cite a few popular courtesy books: William Baldwin, A treatise of morall philosophy contaynyng the sayinges of the wyse, wherein you maye see the woorthye and pythye sayinges of philosophers, emperors, kynges, and oratours . . . Now once againe aug., the third tyme enl. by Thomas Paulfreyman . . . London, 1575. John Ferne, The blazon of gentrie: devided into two parts. The first named the glorie of generositie. The second, Lacyes nobilitie. Comprehending discourses of armes and of gentry. Wherein is treated of the beginning, parts, and degrees of gentlenesse, with her lawes: Of the bearing, and blazon of cote-armors: of the lawes of armes, and of combats. Compiled by John Ferne Gentleman, for the instruction of all gentlemen bearers of armes, whome and none other this worke concerneth. London, 1586. Antonio de Guevara, The diall of princes . . . Englysshed oute of the Frenche by Thomas North . . . London, 1557. Lawrence Humphrey, The Nobles: or, Of nobilitye: the original nature, duties, right and Christian institution thereof three bookes. Fyrste eloquentlye written in Latine by Lawrence Humfrey . . . late englished . . . London, 1563. Pierre de La Primaudaye, The French academie, wherin is discoursed the institution of maners, and whatsoever els concerneth the good

excellence and should offer an adequate cross section of the period. Although the interpretation of honor varies with the personal orientation of the author, the books are not of a controversial nature, but are rather variations on a theme. Deriving many of their ideas from the same classical sources, the writers often display great similarity.

The Italian works, arranged chronologically, are as follows: Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier; Della Casa, Galateo; Guazzo, The Civile Conversation; and Nenna, Nennio. The last author to be cited will represent Northern European thought. Two of Erasmus's works will be studied: De Pueris Statim Ac Liberaliter Instituendis and The Education of a Christian Prince.

An indication of the popularity of the courtesy books is Gabriel Harvey's complaints in two separate letters:

Matchiauell a great man: Castilio of no small reputation, Petrarch, and Boccace in every mans mouth: Galateo and Guazzo neuer so happy: ouer many aquainted with Vnico Aretino: The French and Italian when so highlye regarded of Schollers? The Latine and Greeke, when so lightly? . . . Iacke would faine be a Gentlemanne: in no age so little so muche made of, every one highly in his owne fauour, thinking no mans penny, so good siluer as his own: Something made of Nothing, in spite of Nature.<sup>3</sup>

Harvey repeats the complaint in another letter. He states that such reading is too superficial for a real scholar, although, as will be noted later, he himself read Guazzo carefully:

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and happie life of all estates and callings . . . newly tr. into English by T[homas] B[owes]. London, 1586. Girolamo Muzio, The booke of honor and armes, London, 1590.

<sup>3</sup>Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's Prose Works, ed. Rudolf Gottfried, Vol. IX of The Variorum (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 460-461.

And nowe of late foreoother to help countenance owte the matter they have gotten Philbertes Philosopher of the Courte, The Italian Archebysshoppies grave Galatro, Castiglioes fine Cortegiano, Bengalassoos Civil Instructions to his Nephewe, Seigner Princisca Ganzar: Guatzoos newe Discourses of curteous behaviour, Jouios and Rassellis Emblemes in Italian, Paradines in Frenche, Plutarche in Frenche, Frontines Stratagemes, Polyenes Stratagemes, Polonica, Apodemica: Guigiandine, Philipp de Comines, and I knowe not howe many owtlandische braveryes besides of the same stampe.<sup>4</sup>

The courtesy books were, broadly speaking, guides to conduct for the gentry. Their ultimate objective seemed to be to awaken a sense of responsibility in those who would be leaders. They formed good citizens by instruction in the qualities or virtues of a gentleman and by examples from history, usually classical, of the virtues and the vices. The recurring argument on the true nature of nobility was really an attempt to bring the gentry to the realization that their privileges were to be compensated for by public service. The importance given to virtue was not a call to the less fortunate to rise, but was rather an attempt to train responsible leaders in the upper classes. The social structure was to be maintained, although opportunity to pass from one class to another was open to the talented. By emphasis upon virtue, the works allowed for the rise of the competent and the possible fall of the wasteful, but the class structure itself was to remain. The gentleman now superseded the knight as a class ideal:

If the accent had here shifted from military to civilian aptitudes, the same shift had occurred in other spheres. A man with a good practical knowledge of political affairs in his own and in other countries, with a knowledge of "letters" and the law, was more useful to his monarch than a chivalrous warrior. The knight on horseback had ceased to be a decisive military figure, and England no longer was involved as deeply in military affairs on the Continent as she had been during the Hundred Years' War. The

<sup>4</sup> Gabriel Harvey, Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey A. D. 1573-1580, ed. Edward Scott (Camden Society, 1884), pp. 78-79.

Crown, which was trying to replace the old, largely indirect feudal system of government by more direct methods of rule and control, needed men skilled in the arts of government and administration, both on the central and local level, and was ready to recognize and reward their talents.<sup>5</sup>

The courtesy books offered a guide in forming the new ideal. The most eminent of the works is Castiglione's The Courtier, already discussed in Chapter II on the role of the courtier as one who advises the prince and thus safeguards the state. In this chapter, The Courtier will be discussed in relation to its theory of nobility and to the qualities demanded of a courtier in his pursuit of honor.

A courtier should be of noble birth. If he is, he will have the example of his ancestors to imitate in their virtuous living. Also he should inherit the outstanding qualities of his forbears just as animals show their breeding by physical inheritance. If the descendant of a noble family is base, it is not because of his birth, but because of faulty training. Some people are born with great ability, but if they are not, they can cultivate this grace or air and make themselves worthy of the favor of their lord. A dissenting argument makes the observation that many nobles are wicked, while many of humble birth are illustrious for their virtue. The discussion is finally resolved by the observation that while the common man may be virtuous, the well-born has always the advantage of having public opinion on his side. The well-born will be accepted by others as noble; the low-born will not be accepted as gentlemen without great effort on their part to create a good impression.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Caspari, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup>Castiglione, pp. 28-32.



The qualities of a courtier are based on those of the knight with the difference that the courtier is learned and conscious of the social graces. Another difference is that the knight has a real function as the sword-arm of the state, but the courtier usually adopts the forms of knighthood without their reality. The courtier is self-conscious in his actions. The thought is too often of the audience, not of the deed. "But to come to some particulars: I hold that the principal and true profession of the Courtier must be of arms; which I wish him to exercise with vigor; and let him be known among the others as bold, energetic and faithful to whomever he serves."<sup>7</sup> Although Castiglione later stresses the importance of performing one's good deeds before the proper audience, he does recognize the importance of true valor. "But those men who, even when they think they will not be observed or seen or recognized by anyone, show courage and are not careless of anything, however slight, for which they could not be blamed, such have the quality of spirit we are seeking in our Courtier."<sup>8</sup>

The refinement of manners demanded of a courtier is seen in the anecdote of a knight who was ill at ease in a social gathering, explaining that dancing and listening to music were not his business. Fighting was his business. The lady with him suggested that he pack himself away with his armor. It was no longer enough to be a fighter. "Therefore, let the man we are seeking be exceedingly fierce, harsh, and always among the first, wherever the enemy is; and in every other place, humane, modest, reserved, avoiding ostentation above all

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

things as well as that impudent praise of himself by which a man always arouses hatred and disgust in all who hear him."<sup>9</sup>

Besides having social graces, the courtier should perform his actions with a certain aesthetic quality. He should manage to praise himself without seeming to do so. His physical appearance should be handsome. He "should be naturally endowed with beauty of countenance and person, and with a grace that would make him lovable."<sup>10</sup> He should be "well built and shapely of limb, and [I] would have him show strength and lightness and suppleness, and know all the bodily exercises that befit a warrior."<sup>11</sup> For example, he should know how to wrestle and ride. Hunting is good exercise because it keeps a warrior in shape for combat. He should know how to swim, jump, run, and throw stones. Tennis and vaulting on horseback are valuable because they impress others with his agility.<sup>12</sup>

This emphasis upon effect is seen in the importance given to nonchalance. The courtier is "to avoid affectation in every way possible as though it were some very rough and dangerous reef; and (to pronounce a new word perhaps) to practice in all things a certain sprezzatura [nonchalance], so as to conceal all art and make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort and almost without any thought about it."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

It is impossible to summarize all the qualities of the courtier. He should know literature, be able to speak effectively, and write well. He should have some knowledge of the arts, especially of music. Castiglione does not give his courtier a list of virtues, but rather declares that he should wish to be good, this wish being what is really necessary. "Socrates was right, therefore, in saying that all his teachings seemed to him to bear good fruit when anyone was incited by them to wish to know and understand virtue."<sup>14</sup>

Castiglione's portrait of the man of the world presents him as the possessor of desirable intellectual and social qualities. However, the portrait is vitiated by the emphasis upon "seeming." The great attention to appearance is candidly stated. One might say that a man in public office has a responsibility to consider public opinion, yet this self-conscious working for effect lessens the courtier as a heroic figure. This emphasis is reflected in Castiglione's peculiar view of honor.

Honor is not the reward of virtue but is rather synonymous with fame. The courtier's attention is not on the deed, but rather on performing it before the right audience:

Yet you may also take to be implied in our rule that whenever the Courtier chances to be engaged in a skirmish or an action or a battle in the field, or the like, he should discreetly withdraw from the crowd, and do the outstanding and daring things that he has to do in as small a company as possible and in the sight of all the noblest and most respected men in the army, and especially in the presence of and, if possible, before the very eyes of his king or the prince he is serving; for it is well indeed to make all one can of things well done. And I think that even as it is wrong to seek false glory or what is not deserved, so is it wrong also to rob oneself of a deserved honor and not to seek that praise which alone is the true reward of virtuous labors.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

The speaker criticizes the courtiers who would risk their lives to capture a flock of sheep as much as to scale a wall. The courtier will not do this because his motive in going to war is only honor. Honor here seems to mean reputation without a great consideration for real virtue. If the courtier is in a tourney, "he will strive to be as elegant and handsome in the exercise of arms as he is adroit, and to feed his spectators' eyes with all those things that he thinks may give him added grace; and he will take care to have a horse gaily caparisoned, to wear a becoming attire, to have appropriate mottoes and ingenious devices that will attract the eyes of the spectators even as the loadstone attracts iron."<sup>16</sup> He will not appear last because then the audience is weary. Pageantry replaces the reality of life, and the courtier strives to gain public approval.

The Courtier presents a secular, cultivated ideal for a man of public life. Spenser in his own life possesses the qualities delineated in The Courtier, and he sees in men at court, such as Sir Philip Sidney, this ideal in practice. Spenser agrees with Castiglione in emphasizing good birth and physical fitness in The Faerie Queene. But Spenser disagrees with Castiglione on a fundamental, and that is the importance of appearance. One of the themes of The Faerie Queene is the difference between "seeming" and "being." Spenser's heroes and heroines are noteworthy for their complete selflessness and their lack of self-consciousness. On the other hand, Spenser excoriates hypocrisy. Honor to Spenser is not merely fame; his heroic characters do not curry favor but concentrate on being rather than seeming.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid , pp. 99-100.

Although Della Casa's Galateo treats of manners more than of the more basic fundamentals of conduct, it has insights into conduct and shows a respect for the feelings of others. Della Casa argues that the foundation of good manners is the desire to live without offending. To be pleasing to others, one must pay attention not only to what is done but also to how it is done. Good manners are usually the commonly accepted ways of behaving.<sup>17</sup> Castiglione wrote for the members of the Italian court; Della Casa wrote for the middle class. He translates the manners of the court into the manners of ordinary life and in doing so laid the foundation for modern etiquette:

I meane what manner of Countenance and grace, behoveth a man to use, that hee may be able in Communication and familiar acquaintance with men, to shewe himselfe plesant, courteous, and gentle: which neverthelesse is either a vertue or the thing that comes very nere to vertue. And albeit Liberalitie, or magnanimitie, of themselves beare a greater praise, then, to be a well taught or manored man: yet perchance, the courteous behaviour and entertainment with good maners and words, helpe no lesse, him that hath them: then the high minde and courage, advaunceth him in whome they be. For these be such things as men shall neede alwayes at all hands to use, because a man must necessarily be familiar with men at all times, & ever have talk & communication with them: But justice, fortitude, and the other greater, and more noble vertues are seldom put in uze.<sup>18</sup>

Although a man may have few opportunities for being magnanimous, he is constantly called upon to be gracious. Men with limited abilities have ingratiated themselves by their affability:

And, if I could wel intend it, I could name you many, whoe, (being otherwise of litle account) have ben & be still, muche esteemed & made of, for their cherefull & plesaunt behaviour alone: which hath bin suche a helpe & advaancement unto them, that they have gotten greate preferments,

<sup>17</sup>Giovanni Della Casa, Galateo, Of Manners and Behaviours, ed. J. E. Spingarn, trans. Robert Petersen (1576), in The Humanists Library, Vol. VIII (Boston, 1914), p. xiii.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-14.

leaving farre behinde them, such men as have bin endowed with those other noble and better vertues, spoken of before.<sup>19</sup>

Della Casa uses an analogy to illustrate that constant discourtesies can be as annoying as a great wrong. Petty discourtesies are like gnats and may upset a person as much as the attack of a dangerous beast:

So y<sup>t</sup> there is no doubt, but who so disposeth himselfe to live, not in solitarie and deserte places, as Heremites, but in fellowship with men, and in populous Cities, will think it a very necessarie thing, to have skill to put himselfe forth comely and seemely, in his fashions, gestures and maners: the lacke of which parts doth make those other vertues lame, and little or nothing can they work to good effect, without other helpe: wheare this civilitie and courtesie, without other releefe or patrimonie, is riche of it selfe, & hath substance enough, as a thing y<sup>t</sup> standeth in speache and gesture alone.<sup>20</sup>

Common sense marks Della Casa's attitude toward courtesy; men live in society, and consideration for the feelings of others makes such an association pleasant and efficient. Common sense also marks his attitude toward honor. One should not offend others by boasting of his nobility, honors, or riches. If he is with equals, he will seem to contend with them, but if he is with inferiors, he will seem to criticize their lives.<sup>21</sup> Out of false modesty a man should not refuse a justly deserved honor, because that would seem to reject other men's judgments:

But be it blame, or praise y<sup>t</sup> he deserved: it is most sure, he that refuseth that which every man els doth hunt for: sheweth therein, he reproveth or contemneth the common opinion of men. And, to contemne the honour & renowne, which other men gape for so much, is but to glorifie and magnifie him selfe above other. For asmuche as there is no man

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-16.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

(without he be mad) will refuse and reject things that be deare and of price: unles hee be suche, as hathe plenty and store of those deare and deintie things:<sup>22</sup>

The Redcross Knight shocked by the false Una treats her courteously (F.Q. 1.1.50-54) and pays his respects to Lucifera (F.Q. 1.5.16). Guyon treats Phaedria politely, although he secretly objects to her behavior (F.Q. 2.6.26). But men seem to agree in respecting the feelings of their fellow men.

Another work treating the subject of living in society is Guazzo's The Civile Conversation. However, this work is similar to The Courtier in that it handles more fundamental issues. Guazzo's work was very popular in England during Spenser's time. The work is written in dialogue form, and although the author disclaims any desire to be philosophical, the work is the product of a learned mind. Civil conversation is "an honest commendable and vertuous kind of living in the world."<sup>23</sup>

The work is a dialogue between Guazzo and Annibal. It begins with a discussion of the values of solitude as against those of mutual association. Generally speaking men must live in society, and the work is a discussion of the varying relationships in society. Men should avoid evil men, tolerate those who are indifferent, and desire to associate with the good. Men win the favor of other men through their speech and their behavior. They should endeavor to speak well of others and know how to keep a discreet silence. As to behavior, men should follow the example of Socrates:

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>23</sup> Stefano Guazzo, The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo, The First Three Books translated by George Pettie, 1581, and the Fourth by Barth. Young, 1586, ed. Sir Edward Sullivan, in Tudor Translations, 2nd Series, Vols. VII-VIII (New York, 1925), I, 56.

Guazzo. Your conclusion in briefe is, that to be acceptable in companie, a man must indeavour to be a Grecian in wordes, and a Romane in deedes.

Annib. You have hit my meaning right: but for that I have already protested, that I will not binde my self to search out all the partes of morall Philosophy, we will give those, that are more studious, leave to turn over the Philosophers bookes, to furnish their mindes thorowly with morall precepts, and wee will content our selves to speak of thinge most familiar, and easie to bee observed in conversation. Amongst the whiche (to growe nowe to the matter) I woulde wishe every one that seeketh to winne credite in companie, to resolve with him selfe above all thinges (whiche very fewe folke doe) to followe that excellent and divine counsell of Socrates, who beeing demaunded which was the readiest way for a man to winne honour and renowne: answered, To indeavour to bee such a one in deede, as hee desireth to seeme to bee in shewe.<sup>24</sup>

Sincerity is to be the key to action. A man should not be affected; he should speak of what he knows; he should not praise himself nor slander the absent. His manner should be modest and discreet. The least worthy press most for honor. It is not enough to be honored if one does not have his neighbors' good will:

Annib. Those whom you speake of, are rather loved then honoured, and therefore I ment to tell you, that it is not enough for a man to bee honoured for some office that hee is in, or for vertue that is in him, if hee purchase not also the friendship and good will of other whiche is the right and sure bond of conversation: and in my judgement, they may bee rightly termed their owne enemies whiche labour not by all lawfull and laudable means, to heape up to themselves so riche a treasure.

Guaz. And howe I pray you is this good will chiefly to be gotten?

Annib. It is gotten of the absent by reporting well of them behinde their backes, and of the present, by using that common meane and instrument, whereby mens hearts are wonne, that is, curtesie and affabilitie.<sup>25</sup>

Guazzo discusses the proper behavior toward others according to their estates. Different social relationships require different behavior. Some

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 147-148.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 155-156.



social relationships are as follows: the young and the old, gentlemen and yeomen, rulers and private citizens, learned and ignorant, strangers and residents, secular and religious, men and women.<sup>26</sup> Before discussing the relationship between the gentleman and the yeoman, Guazzo reviews the basis of gentility. Guazzo asks, "I pray you even at once undoe mee the knot of this gentry, which I see to be verie intricate by reason of the diversitie of opinions which are about it."<sup>27</sup> Annibal does not wish to enter upon a subject about which so much as been written, but he consents to give a brief resume of the question as follows:

Yet somewhat to followe your minde, and not much to hinder our course, I say unto you (as it were in passing by) that some falling to define gentry, have sayde it be the dignitie of the fathers and auncestours, others the auncient patrimonie, others riches joyned with vertue, others vertue onely. Besides that the woorthie maister George Carretto an Academike alleaged the other day in his discourse the authoritie of Balde who maketh three sortes of gentry, the first in respect of blood, as the common sorte understandeth it: the other in respect of good conditions, as the Philosopher taketh it: the thirde in respecte of both, and that I call true gentry.

Guaz. There might be added here that other sorte of gentry, which is gotten by the Priviledge of Princes.

Annib. Perchaunce he joyned that with the Philosophers gentry. For it may be sayde that the prince by that priveledge doeth approve the vertue and merites of him he rayseth to the state of gentry. But the excellencie of gentry hath ben much more restrained by Diogenes, who being asked, who were the best Gentlemen, answered, those which set naught by riches, honours, pleasures and life, and which overcome their contraries, to wit, povertie, ignominie, payne, and death.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> John Leon Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance 1575-1675 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), pp. 22-23.

<sup>27</sup> Guazzo, I, 175.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 175-176.

Guazzo distinguishes three degrees of gentility: the half gentleman is a gentleman by birth only, by good condition only, or by local allowance or custom only; the gentleman is a gentleman by birth and by virtue; the "right" or absolute gentleman is the gentleman by birth, virtue, and riches.<sup>29</sup> The question of gentility is discussed at some length (I, 175-191) with familiar arguments. Some are given here.

A gentleman by birth only who lacks virtue is like a once fertile field that is now barren. Birth is meaningless because every king was ultimately descended from a slave, and every slave from a king. Nor is wealth the basis for gentility, because wealth is usually obtained through injustice.<sup>30</sup>

What a man has through his own labor and industry are superior to what he has from nature or fortune. The gifts of the mind are superior to those of the body:

But that which putteth a difference betweene us, is the vertue of the minde. So that neither in respect of the matter, nor of the forme, nor of the mind, considered of it selfe, but in respect of the vertue gotten and acquired by our owne industry, wee are more excellent one then another. And thereof we may nowe see that touching the original wee are all one thing, and as one sayde, wee are all made of durt: and as wee have one selfe beginning, so have wee likewise one selfe ende. Wherefore wee are to conclude, that gentry and renowme is not got by our birth, but by our life, yea and sometyme by our death, according to that saying.

A worthy death doeth honour al our life.<sup>31</sup>

The argument recurs that a good family is valuable because it gives its descendants an example to imitate and because a man will be virtuous in order not to disgrace his family's name.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Lievsay, p. 23.

<sup>30</sup>Guazzo, I, 177.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 182.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 183.

The "right" or absolute gentleman adds wealth to birth and virtue. Riches can add luster to virtue just as a fine setting enhances a precious stone. A rich man can maintain a fine household and thus help poor students. Riches are a part of gentility if the rich man is generous. "I am of this mind, that riches joynd with good birth, and good conditions, make not a man an absolute gentleman, if they bee not accompanied with that royall vertue called magnificence, and if hee bestow not those riches bountifully as is meete for his estate."<sup>33</sup>

Having analyzed the nature of gentility, Guazzo defines the correct relationship between the gentleman and the yeoman. In doing so he strikes a Christian note. Gentlemen who associate with yeomen express gentleness and courtesy: "According to that more philosophical and Christian saying, That the more loftie we are placed, the more lowly wee ought to humble ourselves: which is in deed, the way to ryse hygher."<sup>34</sup> Being with yeomen a gentleman has the opportunity to be a leader.<sup>35</sup> In recommending courtesy between those of different social ranks, Guazzo was not preaching a doctrine of equality. The class lines remained. Guazzo warns the yeomen that they should not presume to dress like gentlemen nor to treat them as equals.<sup>36</sup>

Later, honor is discussed in connection with learning. A wise and worthy

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 187.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 192.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 197.

man desires to leave behind fame which is triumphant over death. For this reason learning and history are important because fame is impossible without the knowledge of the past.<sup>37</sup> Honor is a spur to action. "I thinke verily, that without some spurre of everlasting praise, fewe men would bee pricked forward to enterprise any thing worthie praise. Annib. Wee all covet this glory, as the fruite and lawfull reward of our travell: and there is no man but is right glad to consecrate his name of immortalitie."<sup>38</sup>

This discussion of Guazzo is limited chiefly to his handling of honor and gentility. Lievsay compares The Civile Conversation to The Courtier:

As has been intimated, The Civile Conversation has a wider range of scope. Not only does it offer a broadly reasoned defense of social living as opposed to an egocentric individualism, but it also offers a vade mecum of rational advice on the selection of proper companions and the avoidance of improper, on religion, on the basic relations between the citizen and his neighbors, on the relations of master and servant, on marriage and the home, on the education of children, on the cultivation of an intellectual life--all topics outside the scope of The Courtier. Castiglione's idealized figure, though thrown through the accident of his profession into the company of others, is essentially a lone wolf bent upon self-advancement; Guazzo envisages civic man in his total relationships. Castiglione is concerned exclusively with the habitué of the court, with cortegiania; Guazzo roams abroad through the world, aiming at civiltà.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to the secular spirit of The Courtier, The Civile Conversation emphasizes religion as the foundation for life. "In a world which has vanished or is about to vanish, Castiglione is intent upon a theoretic and impossible ideal for a narrow coterie of the elite; Guazzo is engrossed in a practical,

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 217.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Lievsay, p. 44.

workaday model of conduct for all levels of society in a world in process of becoming. The knight-courtier recedes, the bourgeois-citizen advances: The Courtier looks to a dream of the past, The Civile Conversation to the actuality of the future."<sup>40</sup>

Spenser's knowledge of Guazzo can be assumed, although there is no final proof. External evidence for Spenser's knowing the work is strong. Spenser's friend, Gabriel Harvey, admired Guazzo and names him in two letters. Harvey owned two copies of his work; these he marked as "treasures of the Italian language, discourse, and daily life" and "the 'discourse of discourses,' to be read until possessed ad unguem."<sup>41</sup> Lodowick Bryskett also mentions the work in his Discourse of Civill Life. Knowing Italian literature as he did, Spenser most probably must have read The Civile Conversation, a work that after The Courtier was most widely read in England.<sup>42</sup>

Internal evidence also points to Spenser's knowledge of Guazzo. They agree in many areas:

Starting with the conception that nobility is fundamentally the result of virtue, the flowering of a worthy mind, they agree in demanding of the gentleman that he observe the Christian ethic of service, sympathetic help to all in distress, unselfishness, and hospitality. In all his activities they would have him to follow the classic ideal of moderation, self-restraint, and, above all, self-knowledge. They follow the same basic psychology of early education, and they agree that no amount of knowledge will be of any avail if divorced from godliness. In the traditional pairing of arms and letters, which they hold to be the dual possibilities of gentlemanly pursuit, both grant high praise to letters; but

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid , p. 96.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

whether in arms or letters, and however highly accomplished, both insist that their gentleman be properly modest, avoiding all self-praise or boasting. Neither finds much to praise in the manners of the present, and there is a certain dryly humorous quality in their immoderate lamentations over the decay of the times.<sup>43</sup>

They are remarkable in their condemnation of slander. They have the same concept of the ideal gentleman. He will respect womanhood, will know how to behave with decorum toward all degrees of society. In speech and in action he observes a pleasing gravity. Both criticize idleness and praise ambition and the ennobling effect of love upon a virtuous person. Both criticize courtly life.<sup>44</sup>

Spenser and Guazzo are similar in their method of teaching virtue through a description of vice and in their use of proverbs. Guazzo arrives at right conduct by first discussing unacceptable ways of acting. Spenser illustrates his virtues through the use of foils presenting opposing vices. But Guazzo and Spenser use proverbs liberally. "As to special emphases, Spenser's characteristic insistence upon the contrast between appearance and reality, his denunciation of hypocrisy in the persons of Archimago and Duessa, is likewise fundamental to Guazzo."<sup>45</sup>

Our next work, Nennio, deals exclusively with the problem of nobility. The work receives a certain eminence by being prefaced by a complimentary sonnet written by Spenser:

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<sup>43</sup>John Leon Lievsay, "Spenser and Guazzo: A Comparative Study of Renaissance Attitudes," Unpublished Doctor's Thesis (U. of Washington, 1937), p. 451.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 452.

<sup>45</sup>Lievsay, Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, p. 98.

Who so will seeks by right deserts t'attaine  
 Unto the type of true Nobility,  
 And not by painted shewes & titles vaine,  
 Deriued farre from famous Auncestrie,  
 Behold them both in their right visnomy  
 Here truly pourtray'd, as they ought to be,  
 And striuing both for terms of dignitie,  
 To be aduanced highest in degree.  
 And when thou doost with equal insight see  
 The ods twixt both, of both thē deem aright  
 And chuse the better of them both to thee,  
 But thanks to him that it deserues, behight:  
 To Nenna first, that first this worke created,  
 And next to Jones, that truely it translated.  
 Ed. Spenser<sup>46</sup>

The translator outlines the contents of the book in a preface. There is nothing so certain as the fact that all races are descended from one stock, yet there is nothing so uncertain as tracing that descent. Perhaps it is God's will that the origin of families is lost in history:

And the most part of those which haue beene left unto vs, are either perished by the iniurie of time, or else it hath not pleased God to continue the remembrance of them, thereby to tame and bridle the curiositie and ambition of men, and to teach them to know that they are nothing, and come of nothing, (in regard whereof they haue smal reason to bragge so much of their Nobility:) as also to shew, that when it pleaseth him, he can and doth bring to ruine the most honourable families in the world, and makes them abiect and contemptible.<sup>47</sup>

The noble men of Rome wore little moons upon their shoes to remind themselves of the instability of honor. Honor feeds men's pride. Once the pagans claimed descent from the gods; today some men place too much value upon their family descent. "Albeit it were more praise worthy, to be born the sonne of a

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<sup>46</sup> Sir John Baptist a Nenna of Bari, Nennio or A Treatise of Nobility, trans. William Jones (London, 1595).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

common Crier, with Horace; or of a Mason, with Socrates; or of uncertaine parentes with Euripides, and to be vertuous, and learned: then the sonne of Nero, or of Domition, and to be vitious."<sup>48</sup> If one is not virtuous, descent from a noble family is to his disgrace. The translater tells us the work is modeled on Cicero's De Oratore and consists of the discussion of different learned men on the subject of nobility. The work contains countless arguments on the subject of nobility presented in urbane impartial discussions. The preface outlines the chapters. "In the first, is spoken in the behalfe of Nobility of blood conioyned with riches: In the second, of Nobilitie purchased by vertue: In the third, whether of the two is to be preferred: and what true and perfect Nobilitie is, whence it proceedeth, how it is gotten, maintained and perserved. In which three bookes (if I bee not deceiued) all questions (or at the least the chiefest) that may be objected on either side, are thoroughly debated and aunswered, with great learning, and varietie of discourse."<sup>49</sup>

The discussion is set within a frame. A group has been driven into seclusion by the plague. The speaker has a dream which is emblematic of the discussion to follow. He sees a woman dressed in cloth of gold and bejewelled accompanied by a troop of young ladies. He sees another, rather elderly woman, wearing sanguine colors and accompanied by noble knights carrying ancient privilege and trophies of victory. Behind these is a woman of great authority with sparkling eyes and also very old. Sometimes she seems of normal height,

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 2.



and sometimes she seems to reach to the heavens. She holds a royal scepter and is reverently attended by a discreet and learned company. The last woman is more worthy than the rest. Mild in appearance, she is crowned and wears multi-colored garments. From her countenance shines a princely light. The meaning of these figures is given at the end of the discussion. The last woman tells the speaker to give up vain pleasures and to seek a more sure and virtuous way of life. The speaker awakens and wishes to follow her advice, but is prevented from activity by the plague. One day in retirement, two friends, Possidonio and Fabricio, entertain a young lady who gratefully leaves with them a golden ring to be given to the more noble. Possidonio represents riches and blood; Fabricio represents virtue. The company proposes that each present his defense, and Nennio will act as judge to select the one more worthy of nobility.

Possidonio begins his defense. The establishment of noble families makes a man willing to sacrifice his life:

For if they who doe expose their liues to a thousand dangers, as it were men banished from their own houses, the space of many yeares, in the service of their king, their countrey, or other princes, to purchase to themselves a glorious name everlastinglie, did consider that so soon as they should depart this life, their renown and their glorie should die with them, and not remaine to their children, and posterity; he might surely be accounted foolish that would take paines, or indure any trauel or disquiet: but they waighing that this name which they did get amongst bloody battails, did not onlie adorne their own persons (which should indeed be but a small thing) but likewise all their whole stocke after them, they did not against their wil, but of their own accord enter into such toile & labour. Whereby it followeth of necessitie that we conclude, that the selfe-same renowne, and the selfe-same Nobilitie, that was in their ancestors whatsoever it be, is trasferred to their postertie: Bicause that naturally we have no better instrumēt, nor more perfect means, by which the glorie and Nobilitie which is in men, may indure long, then their children & postertie: by them nobilitie is preserued, by them the generositie of families is liuelie maintained.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

An argument in favor of riches is that riches are a means, "seeing that no man can mount vp to anie degree of vertue, or nobilitie, but riches must open the gap, and make the way."<sup>51</sup> This is simply a sketch of the argument, as are later summaries. Each topic is discussed at length.

Fabricio counters with the argument that when a noble family began, it was awarded nobility because of the virtue of its founder. Birth is not important because a father cannot transmit virtue, a moral element, to his son. Children are noble only in as much as they possess their father's virtues. Riches are not essential to virtue. Many cardinals and bishops are poor. Many great men, such as Demosthenes, Euripides, Socrates, and Xenophon were poor. Riches are often the source of evil because they turn men into misers. Riches cause murder and treachery. Nobility cannot depend on an external good such as riches or the position that membership in a noble family can bring. Man is made for a purpose, and those things (virtues) that bring him to fulfill that purpose are the important things of life:

The vertues of the minde being then the ornament of the soule, which is the subject of the saide vertues, they are (as I said) the meanes to attaine vnto the end wee shoote at. He shall be then most Noble, hee shall be more perfite and amongst mortall men most renowned; which being adorned with the vertues I have recited, shall approach neerest unto this Soueraigne, and infinite good.<sup>52</sup>

Fabricio defines nobility thus: "I say Nobilitie is nothing else, but an excellencie, by the which things that are most worthy, do take place before those that are less worthy."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

In the third chapter, Nennio summarizes the arguments. He divides nobility into that derived of the glory of our ancestors accompanied with riches; secondly, that from the virtues of the mind; thirdly, compounded nobility consisting of blood, riches, and virtue; and lastly, civil nobility which is conferred by a prince.<sup>54</sup> He notes the difficulty in analyzing nobility of blood because it varies according to local custom. In some countries merchants are not admitted into nobility; in others, they are. In some lands nobles live on their estates, in others in the cities. Nobility is judged in some areas by the number of servants, in others by the number of horses or hunting dogs. From these differences in customs he concludes that nobility of blood has no real merit.<sup>55</sup>

On the other hand, nobility of the mind is stable. "It onely taketh beginning from vertue, and with good and vertuous actions is conserved. Whereupon some doe call it perfect nobilitie, because it standeth in neede neither of bloud, nor of the riches of other men."<sup>56</sup> Perfect nobility depends upon the life of reason, man's peculiar gift.<sup>57</sup> Nobility of blood is unflinchingly criticized in pointing out that force or fraud is the basis of their preeminence.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp. 68-71.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid , p. 74.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid , p. 76.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 83-85.

It is impossible to list all the arguments, so the writer will conclude with a description of the ideal gentleman:

A gentleman borne of noble blood ought to be intirely good, and therewithall he ought in like manner to bee wise, prudent, just and temperate, aduised in all his actions, according as the degree of his nobilitie doeth require, he ought to be couragious and gracious, but especially of a sharpe wit, quicke judgement and good vnderstanding: in his discourse honest, eloquent, and modest, in as much as in any action whatsoeuer modestie bringeth great ornament vnto men. Let him carrie grauitie with him, which bringeth credite, and reputation amongst men. Let him yet bee respectiue, reuerent, gentle, and courteous, for by that meanes hee shall become pleasing, and amiable to all men, and the brightnesse of his nobility shall thereby shine and increase much more.<sup>59</sup>

The gentleman should not be ambitious or arrogant. He should avoid vanity and speaking evil of others.<sup>60</sup> Spiritual qualities take the precedent. He must be self-controlled and intelligent. He must speak effectively but modestly. He should be serious and courteous. Sincerity is essential. The gentler virtues of civil life take over.

The dream is interpreted as a prelude to Nennio's decision. The woman in the cloth of gold is riches; the woman accompanied by the knights carrying trophies of victory is nobility of blood; the woman with great authority and sparkling eyes seeming at times to reach to the heavens and attended by a learned company is virtue. They do homage to the last woman who is true nobility, a fact which is designated by the brilliant light around her. True nobility consists of all these elements.<sup>61</sup>

While all the elements discussed are considered to contribute something

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 87-88.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 91-92.

to nobility, nobility of virtue is the best:

Wherefore I saie, that like as it is a thing worthy greater commendation, to builde a newe pallace, to stoare it with moueables, and to inhabite it, then it is onlie to dwel therein: so is he worthy of far more greater glorie who of himselfe becommeth noble, then hee who is simplie borne noble: and for this cause therefore (and many more, no lesse pregnant, then true reasons heretofore alleadged,) I judge, and determine this: that the nobilitie of the minde<sup>is</sup> farre more true, and farre more perfect, then the nobility of blood conioyned with riches.<sup>62</sup>

So Fabricio is awarded the ring, but he insists that Possidonio wear it in remembrance of him. So Possidonio takes it as a sign of brotherly friendship. The Nennio with its urbane atmosphere reflects a highly civilized culture. The argument is learned, but not pedantic; the tone is moral, but not rigid. Although there is some severe criticism of unworthy nobles and of the corrupting power of wealth, the work as a whole, as can be seen from the conclusion, accepts that family and money enhance the quality of true nobility, but that true nobility is fundamentally nobility of the mind. Spenser does not go as far as Nenna in criticizing nobility of blood, but he would not have written a complimentary sonnet if he had not been in substantial agreement with the work.

The last work to be discussed in this chapter is that of Erasmus who sought the improvement of the social order through education. He adopts a more serious tone in expounding his ideal that envisioned a state based upon Christian love. "Knight and scholar shall be welded into a new type of man, the Christian prince and the Christian knight, and to that end Erasmus gave fruitful advice."<sup>63</sup> In developing Erasmus's evaluation of life, the chapter

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>63</sup> Caspari, p. 49.

will use two texts, De Pueris Statim Ac Liberaliter Instituendis; or The Argument of Erasmus of Rotterdam that Children Should Straightway from their Earliest Years Be Trained in Virtue and Sound Learning, 1529, and The Education of a Christian Prince. The first essay is an attempt to convince parents of their obligation to train their children in learning and virtue:

It is the height of folly that one should train the body to be comely, and wholly neglect that excellence of mind which alone can guide it aright. For I hesitate not to affirm that those things which men covet for their sons--health, riches, and repute--are more surely secured by virtue and learning--the gifts of education--than by any other means. True, the highest gifts of all no man can give to another, even to his child; but we can store his mind with that sound wisdom and learning whereby he may attain to the best.<sup>64</sup>

A dog is made to hunt and a bird to fly, so the natural bent of man is to philosophy and right conduct. A man who is not instructed in philosophy and sound learning is worse than an animal.<sup>65</sup> Experience is profitable, but it is profitable only after one can interpret it through an intelligent and informed judgment gained through education.<sup>66</sup> The good example of the Romans is cited; they took pride in the fact that their children were learned. "Nowadays the mark of a noble house seems to consist in exhibiting coats of arms, in giving feasts, in plays and sport; and the only service which elders perform for their sons is to provide them with rich marriages."<sup>67</sup> Erasmus praises Thomas

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<sup>64</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, De Pueris Statim Ac Liberaliter Instituendis, trans. W. H. Woodward, in W. H. Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education (Cambridge, 1904), p. 185.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

More for devoting his leisure to the instruction of his family "both in the uprightness of life and in the liberal studies of Greek and Latin."<sup>68</sup>

The education of an ordinary person is the means to train him to live according to his rational nature, but the education of a prince must also form a character that can assume the responsibilities of the many people under his authority. The welfare of many is under his protection. In The Education of a Christian Prince Erasmus lays down rules for his training and guidance.

Here this chapter will merely study what Erasmus has to say of the meaning of honor:

Therefore, the tutor should first see that his pupil loves and honors virtue as the finest quality of all, the most felicitous, the most fitting a prince; and that he loathes and shuns moral turpitude as the foulest and most terrible of things. Lest the young prince be accustomed to regard riches as an indispensable necessity, to be gained by right or wrong, he should learn that those are not true honors which are commonly acclaimed as such. True honor is that which follows on virtue and right action of its own will. The less affected it is, the more it redounds to fame. The low pleasures of the people are so far beneath a prince, especially a Christian prince, that they hardly become any man. There is another kind of pleasure which will endure, genuine and true, all through life. Teach the young prince that nobility, statues, wax masks, family-trees, all the pomp of heralds, over which the great mass of people stupidly swell with pride, are only empty terms unless supported by deeds worth while. The prestige of a prince, his greatness, his majesty, must not be developed and preserved by fortune's wild display, but by wisdom, solidarity, and good deeds.<sup>69</sup>

The prince is warned against being a tyrant. A prince loses nothing by ruling as a Christian; he secures his power by his just rule. Under a tyrant there is no true obedience, but a Christian prince truly possesses his authority.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, The Education of a Christian Prince, trans. Lester K. Born (New York, 1936), pp. 148-149.

"No one gets more honor than the man who does not exact it. To no one do they more willingly pour out their wealth than to him whom they know will expend it for the development of the state and return it with interest."<sup>70</sup>

Erasmus's ideal of conduct never loses its Christian orientation. The only true nobility is virtue modeled on an imitation of Christ. "Whenever you think of yourself as a prince, remember you are a Christian prince."<sup>71</sup> Christianity is not a matter of compliance with a formal code. The true Christian is "rather the man who has embraced Christ in the innermost feelings of his heart, and who emulates Him by his pious deeds."<sup>72</sup>

Both Erasmus and Spenser share a morally serious view of life. Both combine religion and humanism as a basis for life. Neither man could accept expediency as a rule of conduct, but both sought for ultimate truth. Erasmus sought an ordered society through education:

Erasmus hoped that the education of all individuals, especially of princes and nobles, in the spirit and disciplines of antiquity and Christianity would bring the rational element in them to full fruition. Ratio, reason, was, in his mind, almost synonymous with "goodness" and "kindness." The rule of reason, achieved through education, would therefore result in men living together in universal peace and harmony in accord with the lessons of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. This briefly was what Erasmus envisaged. Spirit, virtue, reason were important to him, more important than outward forms.<sup>73</sup>

In summary one sees that the chivalric code has been transformed by humanistic ideals which are pertinent to the civic duties of the courtier functioning

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>73</sup>Caspari, pp. 34-35.



as a civil servant. The knightly quest belongs to an era that has passed; it is replaced by a secular, civic ideal of good citizenship and personal perfection. Occasionally a Christian note appears, but it is exceptional. The courtesy books reflect the desire to educate the gentry in their responsibilities as leaders, and in its emphasis upon virtue it leaves an opening for rising talent but only within the existing social structure.

## CHAPTER V

### HONOR IN ENGLISH COURTESY BOOKS

Four works have been selected to represent the English courtesy books:

Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book Named the Governour; the anonymous The Institution of a Gentleman; Lodowick Bryskett, The Discourse of Civill Life; and Robert Ashley, Of Honour. Elyot's work was selected because of its popularity; the Institution for its picture of contemporary England; Bryskett's for his connection with Spenser; and Ashley's because it is the only complete work in English on this subject. Needless to say, many other works could be included, but desire for some detailed treatment requires a limitation. These works are representative enough for the writer's purpose to establish the cultural milieu in which The Faerie Queene was written.

Inevitably Elyot's work is compared to The Courtier:

Whatever the degree of Castiglione's influence, Elyot's Governour is the English counterpart of The Cortegiano--a crude counterpart, it is true, with much that sounds ponderous, commonplace, and mediocre, and without the Italian's superb mastery of form and matter; yet it is a genuine creation of Elyot's mind, not without originality, sincere in its aims and as it turned out, highly influential in his country. The two writers are truly representative of their respective civilizations: Castiglione was the end product of a highly urbane and refined civilization and wrote with a corresponding brilliance almost brittle in its perfection; Elyot stood at the beginning of a great period in the civilization of his country and had not quite shaken off what might be termed a certain archaic heaviness in style and thought. His great achievement was the adaptation of the humanistic ideal of man and society to English needs and conditions: he created a new social norm which the English ruling class, then in its

most formative period, could and did adopt as its own. The thought of Italian and northern humanism is fused in its conception.<sup>1</sup>

Elyot's work was addressed to a class of which he himself was a member, the enlightened gentry, the magistrates who would administer the government. The first two chapters describe the public weal and pay a graceful compliment to Henry VIII in implying unlimited authority in the king. The next chapter is transitional, describing the magistrates who will administer the kingdom. The rest of the first book is an educational treatise dedicated to the training of the magistrates. The last two books are devoted to chapters on virtues. Each chapter defines the virtue and illustrates it with examples usually from classical history.

Elyot defines the public weal as "a body living, compact or made of sundry estates and degrees of men, which is disposed by the order of equity and governed by the rule and moderation of reason."<sup>2</sup> The rest of the chapter spells out Elyot's concept of a hierarchical society and contains his often quoted passage on order. "Moreover take away order from all things, what should then remain?"<sup>3</sup> God has ordained a hierarchy; one finds it in the angels, in heaven which has many mansions, in the four elements of a man's body. All of creation has different levels of ability. Man rules by virtue of his reason, and men who use their reason to the highest degree (magistrates) should be honored

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<sup>1</sup>Caspari, pp. 85-86.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book Named the Governor, ed. S. E. Lehmberg (New York, 1962), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

above all others.<sup>4</sup> He illustrates his argument with an example from domestic economy:

Now to conclude my first assertion or argument: where all thing is common there lacketh order, and where order lacketh there all thing is odious and uncomely. And that we have in daily experience; for the pans and pots garnisheth well the kitchen, and yet should they be to the chamber none ornament. Also the beds, testers, and pillows beseemeth not the hall, no more than the carpets and cushions becometh the stable. . . . Wherefore, to conclude, it is only a public weal where, like as God hath disposed the said influence of understanding, is also appointed degrees and places according to the excellency thereof; and thereto also would be substance convenient and necessary for the ornament of the same, which also impresseth a reverence and due obedience to the vulgar people or commonalty; and without that, it can no more be said that there is a public weal than it may be affirmed that a house without his proper and necessary ornaments is well and sufficiently furnished.<sup>5</sup>

The second chapter defends a strong monarchy, describing the evil effects of divided authority. This is one of the first expressions of the absolute authority of the king. Spenser's fullsome flattery of Elizabeth reflects the centralized authority of the Tudors:

Wherefore undoubtedly the best and most sure governance is by one king or prince, which ruleth only for the weal of his people to him subject: and that manner of governance is best approved, and hath longest continued, and is most ancient. For who can deny but that all thing in heaven and earth is governed by one God, by one perpetual order, by one providence? One sun ruleth over the day, and one moon over the night; and to descend down to the earth, in a little beast, which of all other is most to be marvelled at, I mean the bee, is left to man by nature, as it seemeth, a perpetual figure of a just governance or rule: who hath among them one principal bee for their governor, who excelleth all other in greatness, yet hath he no prick or sting, but in him is more knowledge than in the residue.<sup>6</sup>

Having paid his homage to the king, Elyot now proceeds to the magistrates

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

to whom the king's power is delegated. Ordinarily these should come from the upper classes as long as the gentry are virtuous. There are several reasons for preferring the gentry. First, it is appropriate to prefer the upper classes. Second, they should be wealthy enough to work without seeking money. Next, gentlemen are usually more long-suffering, affable, and mild than those who have risen from the common people. People are more willing to obey someone superior to them in rank. The children of wealthy parents are better trained:

Also such men, having substance in goods by certain and stable possessions which they may apportionate to their own living and bringing up of their children in learning and virtues, may (if nature repugn not) cause them to be so instructed and furnished toward the administration of a public weal, that a poor man's son only by his natural wit, without other adminiculation or aid, never or seldom may attain to the semblable.<sup>7</sup>

Elyot does not close the door to the admission of the talented poor, but by the working out of his argument in favor of the gentry, he shows his preference for those of established families.

Education is the means for preparing the governor for his role in society. He should have a well-rounded education in the humanities before he enters the study of law. Several chapters stress the importance of physical development.

In the last two books, devoted to the virtues appropriate to a governor, Elyot discusses nobility and magnanimity. Elyot's theory of nobility is that in the beginning men had everything in common. He believes that possessions were undoubtedly given to those whose virtue was remarkable and who rewarded the people by their labor and industry. This paternalistic arrangement was perpetuated by the fact that good men engendered good children who were raised virtuously and continued their fathers' works:

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

And for the goodness that proceeded of such generation the state of them was called in Greek Eugenia, which signifieth good kind or lineage, but in more brief manner it was after called nobility, and the person noble, which signifieth excellent, and in the analogy or signification it is more ample than gentle, for it containeth as well all that which is in gentleness, as also the honor or dignity therefore received, which be so annexed the one to the other that they cannot be separate.<sup>8</sup>

Nobility is more evident where virtue joined with great possessions has long continued in the same family; but lineage is not an automatic sign of nobility. Just as the blood in a youthful body may be a source of health, and in an aged body, of disease, so some noble families are decadent.<sup>9</sup>

Elyot gives several examples of nobility. Both Numa Pompilius and Quintius were farmers who were elected king by the Romans because of their virtue.<sup>10</sup> The Decii, men of common birth, gave an example of nobility by vowing to die for their country. An English coin is called a noble only when it is made of gold; the same print on baser metal is not dignified with that name. "Thus I conclude that nobility is not after the vulgar opinion of men, but is only the praise and surname of virtue; which the longer it continueth in a name or lineage, the more is nobility extolled and marvelled at."<sup>11</sup>

In his discussion of magnanimity, Elyot defines it as "an excellence of mind concerning things of great importance or estimation, doing all thing that is virtuous for the achieving of honour," and suggests "good courage," as a synonymous term.<sup>12</sup> Having referred briefly to Aristotle's and Cicero's

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

discussions of the virtue, Elyot then describes magnanimity metaphorically:

By this it seemeth that magnanimity or good courage is, as it were, the garment of virtue, wherewith she is set out (as I might say) to the uttermost. I mean not that thereby virtue is amended, or made more beauteous, which of herself is perfect, but likewise as a lady of excellent beauty, though she be always fair, yet a rich and fresh garment declareth her estate, and causeth her the more to be looked on, and thereby her natural beauty to be the better perceived.<sup>13</sup>

Several examples of courage are given as illustrations. Agesilaus with a small army defeated the Persians; Antigonus faced and defeated a much larger naval force; Alexander the Great fought bare-headed. When King Edgar of England heard that the King of the Scots complained "that he wondered how it should happen that he and other kings, that were tall and great personages, would suffer themselves to be subdued by so little a body as Edgar was," Edgar arranged on a hunting trip to encounter him privately. When he offered to fight him, the Scottish king apologized for his remarks, and Edgar was able to show that he ruled through his ability and not through chance. When the tyrant Dionysius found that Plato would not uphold him and was forced to let the latter return unharmed to Athens, he accused Plato of criticizing him upon Plato's return. The latter answered, "God defend there should be in my school so much vacant time from the study of wisdom, that there might be any place left once to remember thee."<sup>14</sup>

As can be seen from the examples given, Elyot's work is highly derivative:

To sume up, our analysis of the sources for The Governor reveals that Elyot drew most of his ideas from Plato and Aristotle, from Quintilian, Plutarch, and Cicero among the ancients, and from Petrarch, Erasmus, Castiglione,

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 197.

Pontano, and Patrizi among the writers of the Renaissance. More space in The Governor is actually given, however, to the historical tales which illustrate Elyot's points and "recreate the readers" than to the ideas themselves. Plutarch's Lives was by far the most important source for these examples, though Sir Thomas frequently utilized Biblical stories and borrowed also from Pliny, Xenophon, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus. One gets the feeling, indeed, that Elyot's primary aim in Books II and III was to recount as many episodes from ancient history as possible; his definitions of virtues supply only a unifying framework, and a not very satisfactory one at that. Elyot succeeded mainly in retailing to his fellow Englishmen popular versions of ancient and Renaissance philosophy and history.<sup>15</sup>

Elyot wishes to instill precepts and examples of moral conduct. He desires to train men who would administer the laws of England and maintain justice:

Elyot's governour is not a courtier who only too frequently acquires knowledge for the sole purpose of showing off in elegant conversation, nor is he a scholar to whom knowledge is an end in itself; he makes it his task to realize the good in this world by administering true justice--the good which he has come to know through study and intuition. For this task Elyot wishes to prepare the noble youth of his country. Each one has to contribute his share toward the realization of this humanistic ideal, whether he serves the king in Council, in Parliament, in an embassy, as a judge, as justice of the peace, as sheriff, or in any other of the functions that the Tudor state assigns to its governours. This is Elyot's aim, and his lively literary activity is always determined by it.<sup>16</sup>

Elyot and Spenser have the same aim but use different methods in achieving it:

While Elyot's purpose, the education of a "governour," is evident everywhere, and while his advice is to the point and practical, Spenser conveys his advice by colorful "historical fiction." Elyot's gentleman excels mainly by his skill in governing, by the justice which he administers equably among those intrusted to his care. The "governour" is primarily a "civilian," even if his prowess in physical exercise and war is held desirable and essential. He belongs to a nonmedieval social structure and represents an antecedent of the modern "civil servant." Spenser's exemplars of "vertuous and gentle discipline" in The Faerie Queene are

<sup>15</sup>Stanford E. Lehmborg, Sir Thomas Elyot Tudor Humanist (Austin, Texas, 1960), p. 91.

<sup>16</sup>Caspari, p. 109.



knights, not civilians. They live in a restored feudal world, but are created as examples for men who constitute the upper class in a state that is much closer to absolutism than to feudalism.<sup>17</sup>

A less well-known and less pretentious work than Elyot's is The Institution of a Gentleman, first printed in 1555. "There is a quiet yet high tone and bearing in it that will, it is presumed, easily find its way to the gentlemanly mind, and no reader can fail to admire the genuine integrity with which the author has maintained the principles & essentials of the GENTLEMANLY CHARACTER, which, superior to all fashion, is itself for ALL TIME."<sup>18</sup> The work is notable for its glimpse of the English social scene.

The author declares that he prefers to "wryte sum little booke of rare tytle, then to make a greate volume of common matter."<sup>19</sup> As handicraft men are jealous of the reputation of their craft, so gentlemen should wish to protect their ideals:

me semed then that noble men descended of approued gentry, knowen to be the offspring of worthy ancitours & Gentlemen, ought to buyld gentry up agayne, which is (for troth) sore decayed, & falne to greate ruine: wherby suche corruption of maners hath taken place, that almost the name of gentry is quenched, and handycraft men haue obtayned the tytle of honour, though (in dede) of them selues they can challenge no greater worthynes then the spade brought unto their late fathers: but finding fewe & feble tenauntes in the house of worthy fame, these base sorte of men have easely entred therin, & at this day do beare those armes which wer geuen unto old gentry, as a perpetual remembrance of their worthy dedes.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 183-184.

<sup>18</sup> "Advertisement," The Institution of a Gentleman (London, 1568), Reprinted by Charles Whittingham (London, 1839). The pages of this book are not numbered, so chapter headings will be used as a substitute.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., "The Epistle."

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

Gentlemen must repair through virtue what they have lost through negligence. This work hopes to help restore the decayed honor of gentlemen. The author is willing to carry tile and bear mortar to help rebuild the house of worthy fame, which, being rebuilt, should not again admit unworthy men. The author will write according to his small skill, "not challenge to do the thing clerkly."<sup>21</sup> Although men who recognize only the gentility of blood are blind, so also blind are those men who ignore any class lines. The author outlines the contents of his work:

Herein is also declared who is gentle, and who is ungentle: what offices condicions, qualities and maners ought to bee in a gentleman, & how he should differ from other sortes of men, as wel in condicions and behauor as also in apparel, & ornaments to his bodye belonging, not leauing unreherseed what games & pastimes be fit for a gentleman & how they ought to be used. Finally of honor & worship therein is sumwhat rehersed of which no man is worthy but he that by his dedes deserveth the same: thus with a little discourse against Idlenes & comendacion of reading of historyes, the booke endeth.<sup>22</sup>

The author is not confounded by the question, "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman?" "To whom it may be said, that so much grace as Adam our first father receiued of God at his creacion, so much nobilitie and gentry he receuyed."<sup>23</sup> So gentlemen took their beginning in gentle deeds.

Another basis for gentility is found in Diodorus Siculus who described an ancient city called Asty that had three classes of society: nobles who were learned, soldiers, and skilled workers. "Thys prouethe that Gentlemente haue been in aunciente tyme of greater wourthynges and estymacyon thenne any other

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., "The Prologue of this Booke."

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., "The Institution of a Gentleman."

sortes of men, and that by their wourthynesse they haue had the hyghest place aboute all others: and in respect of theyr vertues, they had the title of nobilitie geuen unto them, because they were in knowledge more worthy then the rest."<sup>24</sup>

Chaucer describes a gentleman as one who does gentle deeds. Boccaccio defines a gentleman as one who follows virtue. As related in the Bible, men are all from the same mass of flesh, but virtue was the first cause for distinction in man. Although the word "gentleman" is not in the Bible, virtuous men are described there. Education is essential to gentility because it fosters virtue. The author complains about contemporary students who had corrupted the meaning of "gentleman":

What is a man if he knowe not howe to weare his apparell after the best facion? to kepe company with gentilmen and to play his xx nobles at cardes or dice, at tables, at post, Cente, glek, or suche other games: for he that cannot thus dooe is called a lout or a miser and one that knoweth no facion. But it becommeth a gentleman (saye they) to be a Royster, whyche worde I doe not well understand onles it signifie a ruffian or howe it differeth I cannot well tell.<sup>25</sup>

In opposition to this type of life, the author offers his own ideals of life:

For to what purpose tendeth nobilitie unlesse honest maners be there with adioyned? The giftes of Fortune enriche a Gentelman slenderly, but the giftes of vertue are thynges whych bring every man to honour, and do strengthen him in whome they take their place. To come of greate bloude, to haue greate ryches, and such lyke, although they be counted in this earthe very blissful thynges, yet are they in one man no more commendable then in an other, but gentelnes and nobilitie of spirite, ouer and besydes they bee thynges of all men praysed, they dooe also heape up and make greater the praise of that man whyche is noble.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

There are three types of men: gentle gentle, gentle ungentle, and ungentle gentle. The gentle gentle are born of noble kindred and gentle manner. They should be learned, know foreign languages, and be skilled in arms. If they are too small in stature to be knights, they should serve the state as advisers. They should be trained in courtly behaviour, knowing how to treat men of different degrees, and knowing how they themselves should be treated. They should be skilled in music. Julius Caesar is given as an example of this type. He was a warrior; he was learned; he had an excellent style as a writer. He was merciful, exercised self-control, and served the state by restoring the commonwealth.<sup>27</sup>

The gentle ungentle is a man of noble parentage with corrupt and ungentle manners, probably arising from the fact that he was spoiled when a child.<sup>28</sup>

The ungentle gentle is a man of poor birth and ability. He is described thus:

whyche man takinge hys begynning of a poore kindred, by his vertue, wyt, pollicie, industry, knowledge in lawes, valieny in armes, or such lyke-honest meanes becometh a welbeloued & hygh esteemed man, preferred than to great office, put in great charg and credit, even somuch as he becommeth a post or stay of the commune wealth, and so growynge ryche doth thereby auance and set up the rest of his poore line or kindred: they are the children of such one commonlye called gentlemen, of which sort of gentlemen we haue now in England very many, whereby it should appaere that vertue florisheth among us. These gentilmen are now called upstartes, a terme latelye inuented by such as pondred not the grounds of honest menes of rising or coming to promocion.<sup>29</sup>

A person who is the object of envy because of his virtue should consider such

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., "Gentle gentle."

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., "Gentle ungentle."

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., "Ungentle gentle."

envy an honor. If a man has risen through his own merit, he should be honored. Nobles should imitate the virtues of their ancestors. But, unfortunately, today many of the gentry do not realize the obligations of their state:

But this alloweth nothinge the newe sort of menne whyche are run out of theyr order, and from the sonnes of handycraft men have obteigned the name of gentlemen, the degre of Esquiers, and title of Knyghtes, nothing differing from thestimation of right gentrye. These men ought to be called worshipful unworthie, for that they haue crepte into the degree of worshippe wythoute worthines, neyther broughte thereunto by valieneye ne vertue . . . And wel it is knowen that such intruders, such unworthy worshipful men, haue chiefly florished since the puttinge downe of Abaies, whyche time is within my remembraunce.<sup>30</sup>

The author's generosity in accepting new men into the gentry if they have merited the rise is balanced by his dislike of the nouveau riche.

Only certain occupations are suitable for a gentleman. For example, he may be a soldier, an ambassador, or a justice of the peace. His position requires that he be magnanimous, "to take his profession to be this A defender of right, a soldier of justice, bearyng with him a shyld to put away wronges not only shewed to hymself, but forasmuch as in hym lyeth to defend the ryght of others."<sup>31</sup> He may defend the right by being a lawyer. Forgetting private interest, he should work for the common good. In the government he should work for the good of the whole and not for any special interests. As a justice of the peace he must defend the weak:

and so to bee a man both stout and humble: as stout in defence of right, and lowly in his conuersion towards al men. This man ought alwayes to haue a firme conscience, and so charely to loke to the preservacion thereof, that no worldly blastes of pride or ambicion do corrupt the same, so

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., "Howe Gentlemen may profit in bearing Offices in a Commune wealth."

that he may be profitable unto others by the examples of his well doings: whyche thynges by him obserued he maye thenne bee ryghtefully called and woorthelye deserve the name of a Gentleman.<sup>32</sup>

He complains about the excessive time spent in hunting and about the use of dice. He recommends shooting the long bow as a good exercise as well as a useful art for war. The gentleman's apparel should be clean and well-made but not ostentatious.

The author distinguishes between "honour" and "worship" when used as titles. In common usage the words are synonymous, but it is the custom in England to use "honour" for men of great dignity, such as dukes, earls, and lords, while "worship" is used with knights, esquires and gentlemen.<sup>33</sup> Real honor cannot be bequeathed, so the author exhorts gentlemen to virtue:

Therefore to atteygne unto vertue, all gentlemen ought earnestlye to labour and to stryue emonge themselues whyche of them may excel other therein, whych strike is called Sine acerbitate contentio, a contention or strife wher in there is no hurt or displeasure. That gentleman therefore whiche loueth uprightnes in all his doinges, whyche seketh to excell others in valiency of armes, in knowledge, and dexteritie in all honest thinges, doth not onely deserue the name, but also the estimation of an honourable gentleman.<sup>34</sup>

The book concludes with the advice to avoid idleness and to read history.

Besides the charm of its style and of the author's character, the work is interesting as a comment on English society. He wishes to preserve the ideals of gentility from the irresponsibility of the nouveau riche and from internal

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., "How a Gentleman dwelling in the Countrie may profit others by his Office or otherwise."

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., "Of Honour and Worship."

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

decay. His unselfish ideal of protecting the needy is more typical of the medieval code for the knight. He expresses a more generous spirit than Spenser in his willingness to accept without snobbery men who have risen through merit. The gentleman has a real duty imposed by his social position of living an exemplary life of charity.

In contrast the next work is academic, being substantially a translation of Giraldi Cintio's work on a civil life. Bryskett's A Discourse of Civill Life has a particular interest because of the author's friendship with Spenser and his use of him as a character in the Platonic dialogue through which the ideas are presented. "The course which I hold in this treatise, is by way of dialogue (which I haue chosen as best pleasing my minde) to discourse vpon the morall vertues, yet not omitting the intellectual; to the end to frame a gentleman fit for ciuill conuersation, and to set him in the direct way that leadeth him to his ciuill felicitie."<sup>35</sup>

Bryskett finds that he must defend his retirement from public life in order to study:

But hauing now withdrawne my selfe from the toilesome place I held, and gathered my selfe into a little compasse, as a snaille into his shell, my purpose is (if God shall please to giue me this gracious assistance) to spend my time in reading such bookes, as I shall find fittest to increase my knowledge in the duties of a Christian man, and direct me in the right path of vertue, without tying my selfe to any particular kind. And as I haue (God be thanked) some store of all sorts; so shall I dispense my time accordingly, sometime in perusing such as may instruct me more and more in the true maner of seruing God; sometime in reading of histories, which are as mirrours or looking-glasses for euery man to see the good and euill actions of all ages, the better to square his life to the rule of vertue, by the example of others; and sometimes, and that for the most part (as thus aduised) in the study of Morall Philosophie, which frameth men fittest for

<sup>35</sup>Lodowick Bryskett, A Discourse of Civill Life (London, 1606), p. 5.

ciuill conuersation, teaching them orderly what morall vertues are, and particularly what is the proper action of every one, and likewise what vice is, and how vnseemly a thing, and how harmefull to a good mind the spot and contagion thereof is.<sup>36</sup>

Bryskett testifies to Spenser's interest in and knowledge of moral philosophy, "knowing him to be not onely perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in Philosophie, both morall and naturall."<sup>37</sup> Complaining that he finds Plato and Aristotle difficult to understand, Bryskett envies the Italians who have works presenting their teachings in popularized forms. He mentions three authors of such works, Alexander Piccolomini, Giovanni Baptista Giraldi, and Guazzo.<sup>38</sup>

Spenser excuses himself from taking a leading role in the discussion:

For sure I am, that it is not unknowne unto you, that I haue already undertake a work tēding to the same effect, which is in heroical verse, under the title of a Faerie Queene, to represent all the moral vertues, assigning to every vertue, a Knight to be the patron and defender of the same: in whose actions and feates of armes and chiuallry, the operations of that vertue, whereof he is the protector, are to be expressed, and the vices & unruly appetites that oppose themselues against the same, to be beate-downe & ouercome.<sup>39</sup>

The suggestion is made that Bryskett read his translation of Giraldi's essay on the civil life. "Therefore if you shal not think it good to reade it vnto vs as it is set downe in the translation precisely; at the least yet this we will vrge you vnto, that you will be content to deliuer vnto vs the general

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-27.



points of the same, marshalling them in their order, though in the circumstances of the dialogue and the persons you follow not exactly the forme of the author";<sup>40</sup> Bryskett agrees to this.

The rest of the discussion is divided into three days. The first day treats the training of the child. Advice is given on the choice of a wife, on the choice of a suitable name for the child, and on the attitude to adopt toward a deformed child. Civil felicity is defined in connection with the education of the child. "Ciuill felicitie is nothing else then a perfect operation of the mind, proceeding of excellent vertue in the perfect life; and is atchieued by the temper of reason, ruling the disordinate affects stirred vp in vs by the vnreasonable parts of the mind, (as when the time shall serue will be declared) and guiding vs by the meane of vertue to happy life."<sup>41</sup>

The author comments on the choice of a nurse, the training of the young, and the duty of the father to give good example. The education of a king's son, given as an example, is to include the cardinal virtues:

When he was come to the age of 14 yeares, then was he deliuered ouer to foure other excellent personages, who were called the royall schoole-masters, the one most wise and prudent, the other most just, another most temperate, and the last most valiant. The first instructed him to know and honour God, and taught him the knowledge of things diuine and eternal, and withall, such as appertaine to the life of a good Prince: by which he became learned, as wel in things contemplatiue, as in things concerning the actions necessary and conuenient for a King. For they exercised him dayly in the vnderstanding of sciences, and in the knowledge of good and vertuous behaulour, as two most necessary things to humane life, and which should leade him the ready way to his felicitie and happiness in their world; making him to know, that nothing was more miserable

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-30.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

in man then ignorance, and how by the generall consent of the most wise men, he that is ignorant is esteemed an ill man.<sup>42</sup>

His first education is in religion and the fear of God. He is trained morally in the manners and behaviour suitable to a king.<sup>43</sup> The boy is taught the use of arms and horsemanship. A long digression on dueling (65-85) follows, in which dueling is condemned as opposed to order. The initial training in prudence and religion corresponds roughly with the theme of The Faerie Queene, Book I.

The discussion of the second day centers on the education of the youth. There are a criticism of flattery (106-113) and a discussion of the nature of the soul in relation to how virtues are to be learned (121-132). A tutor should be appointed who will inspire respect rather than fear. Bashfulness is a good quality in youth because of their lack of experience and natural impetuosity:

For clearing hereof, you must understand that the Platonikes say two things among others are specially giuen to for a diuine gift vnto man: Bashfulnesse the one, and Magnanimitie the other: the one to hold vs back from doing of any thing worthy blame & reproch: the other to put vs forward into the way of praise and vertue, whereby we might alwayes be ready to do well onely for vertues sake, to the good and benefit of others, and to our owne contentment and delight. Of which course, the end is honour in this world, and glory after death. But because the force of the Concupiscible appetite is so great, and setteth before vs pleasure in so many sundry shapes, as it is hard to shun the snares which these two enemies of reason set to intrap vs, and that the coldnesse of old age cannot wholly extinguish the feruour of our appetities; for my part I think that as in all ages it is fit that Magnanimitie inuite vs to commendable actions; so also that we haue neede of shamefastnesse to correct vs whēsoeuer we shal go beyond the bouds or limits of reason in what yeares soeuer, and to check vs with the bridle of temperance.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 140. In the text the numbers in parentheses correspond to the pages in Bryskett's work.

To provide for youth's desire for activity, study should be relieved by physical exercise and music as provided for by the Greeks (143-149). The curriculum should consist of poetry, geometry, arithmetic, logic, and rhetoric.

The third day discusses the role of the mature man in the world. A man is mature when he can formulate universals, when he possesses self-knowledge. The question of the evil in the world is raised. Is virtue within our power, or are we ruled by destiny or the stars? Why do men follow vice? Arguments against destiny (168-172) and predestination (173-177) are brought forward. Vincible and invincible ignorance (179-180) are discussed in connection with sin. The conclusion is that virtue and vice are within man's power. Man must choose what he wants from life. The vegetative parts of men seek for profit; the sensitive, for pleasure; the reasonable, for virtue. There must be a golden mean in the use of objects. For example, riches and sensual pleasure have legitimate roles to play in man's life, but man's felicity lies in virtue.

Bryskett borrows Piccolomini's discussion of the nature and number of the virtues because he feels that Giraldi has not discussed them adequately. He lists twelve moral virtues:

There are then by the generall consent of all men foure principall vertues appertaining to ciuill life, which are, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and Prudence; from which foure are also deriued (as branches frō their trees) sundry others to make vp the number of twelue, and they are these ensuing, Liberalitie, Magnificence, Magnanimitie, Mansuetude, Desire of Honor, Veritie, Affability, and Vrbanitie.<sup>45</sup>

This selection will confine itself to a view of his study of honor and man-  
nimity. Honor is to be prized even though it is only an external good,

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 214.

"because it is the certaine token of vertuous life, and is the due reward of vertue."<sup>46</sup> Honor is the outward reward of virtue, as felicity is the inner reward. A digression on friendship follows, for a man needs friends for a perfect life (224-231).

Aristotle's description of the magnanimous man forms the basis for the discussion of magnanimity. All men should not try to be magnanimous, for this virtue belongs only to the highest type; a lesser man will only appear ridiculous trying to be magnanimous. "He that is adorned with this vertue, loyeth when great honours fall vpon him, he little esteemeth any perill, when honestie inuited him thereunto, and not anger, nor fury, nor desire of revenge, nor onely respect of honor."<sup>47</sup> He does not seek honor officiously, for he knows that he is not truly magnanimous if he injures another. If anyone injures him, he repays with forgiveness, showing his moral superiority. He is above external circumstances. A Christian note is seen in his refusal to take revenge and in his remembrance of the presence of God:

He will neuer refuse to spend his life (though it be deere unto him, knowing his owne worth) for the defence of his countrey, of his friends, of his parents, of his religion, or of Gods cause, with whom he is continually in thought, though he be bodily here below on earth conuersant among men, neuer busied in base conceits or imaginations.<sup>48</sup>

Bryskett interrupts his description of the magnanimous man for a digression on ingratitude (233-237), and then resumes:

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

Of whom returning to speake, thus much is to be added, that he vseth himselfe and all his abilitie euermore with greatnesse of courage, spending when occasion serueth magnifically, in workes worthy admiration, and in helping of others honorably. Towards all men he is courteous, gentle, and affable, neuer giuing occasion of offence or mislike in his conuersation: such due regard he hath to place, time, persons, and other circumstances, so as he neuer doth anything vnseemely or vnworthy himselfe. And so he tempereth pleasantnesse with gravitie, benignitie with dignitie, that to the humble he neuer seemeth proud, nor to the great ones neuer base or demisse: but valewing him neither more nor lesse then he is worth, insisteth still vpon truth, discovering himselfe modestly and decently as he is indeed a man of vertue, and with graue, yet gentle speeches giuing satisfaction to all persons of what degree soeuer. And finally in all his actions and behauor he taketh great heed that he commit not any thing whereby he may haue cause to die his cheeke with the purple blush; but euermore deserue of all men praise and commendation.<sup>49</sup>

The work ends with a discussion of prudence and wisdom, and of man's ultimate destiny to be united with God through contemplation. Bryskett warns, however, that man must take his part in civil life before he gives himself to contemplation. This warning is reminiscent of Heavenly Contemplation's advice to the Redcross knight (F.Q. 1.10.40-41). "But being as we are among men, and set to liue and conuerse with them ciuilly, the ciuill man must not glue himself to contemplation, to stay vpon it as wisdome would perswade him, vntill he haue first employed his wit and prudence to the good and profit as well of others as of himselfe."<sup>50</sup>

Although this concept expresses the secular spirit of the Renaissance, it is also in conformity with religious thought. Bryskett places more emphasis upon the active life, but Saint Thomas recognizes that although the contemplative life is in itself more excellent, it is not so for every person and for every circumstance. A person may get to heaven without the contemplative life

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

if he does all that he should, but no one can get to heaven without a life of moral virtue:

The contemplative life is directed to the love of God, not of any degree, but to that which is perfect; but the active life is necessary for any degree of the love of our neighbor. Hence Gregory says (loc. cit. in Ezech.): "Without the contemplative life it is possible to enter the heavenly kingdom, provided one omit not the good actions we are able to do; but we cannot enter therein without the active life, if we neglect to do the good we can do."

From this is it also evident that the active precedes the contemplative life as that which is common to all precedes, in the order of generation, that which is proper to the perfect.<sup>51</sup>

Several critics have commented on Spenser's indebtedness to Bryskett. J. J. Jusserand discounted as misleading Spenser's statement that he was going to portray in Arthur the image of a knight perfected in the twelve private moral virtues as Aristotle had devised. He finds no list of twelve virtues in Aristotle, nor does he agree that Spenser's virtues are the same as those listed by Aristotle. Instead he states that Spenser derived his list of virtues and the idea regarding a list of twelve from Bryskett:<sup>52</sup>

To sum up: Spenser owes something to Aristotle, but far less than he led us to believe. Here, as elsewhere, to the exalted models whom he quotes, different ones, of lesser stature, must be added. He borrowed as much from such moderns as Piccolomini and Bryskett as from Aristotle. We must be careful, to be sure, not to pass too severe a judgment on him for that; the notions then prevalent about borrowing, imitating, and referring to sources were very different from ours. But the fact just pointed out is a fact, and must be kept in remembrance.<sup>53</sup>

In his study of the virtue of friendship in The Faerie Queene, John

<sup>51</sup>S. T., II-II, q. 182, a. 4.

<sup>52</sup>J. J. Jusserand, "Spenser's 'Twelve Private Morall Vertues As Aristotle Hath Devised,'" MP, III (June, 1905), 380.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 382.

Erskine compares Bryskett's Discourse with Giraldi's work. He concludes that Bryskett's work is a slavish translation of Giraldi. The only differences are a passage from Piccolomini that Bryskett notes and a description of Mansuetude, Desire of Honor, Verity, and Affability, inserted between Giraldi's account of Magnanimity and of Justice.<sup>54</sup> Erskine points out that the conversation was probably a fiction. "The fact is that except for some dramatic trimming, such as the reference to the Faerie Queene, except for the change of scene and persons, and except for that one passage from Piccolomini, Bryskett's book has been taken literally from Giraldi."<sup>55</sup> Erskine concludes that Spenser probably knew Giraldi's dialogue in the original.

In fairness, one cannot omit William DeMoss's arguments to the contrary in his thesis to establish Spenser's indebtedness to Aristotle:

In the next place, even if Spenser had known Bryskett's Discourse, he could not have taken his virtues and the plan of his Faerie Queene from it. For one reason, Spenser and Bryskett's virtues are unlike in nature. For example, Bryskett, like Plato, makes Prudence one of the moral virtues, whereas Spenser, as we have already seen, follows Aristotle in making it that intellectual virtue which determines the mean in the case of each of the moral virtues. Again, Bryskett makes Magnanimity a subordinate virtue, whereas Spenser, like Aristotle, makes it include all moral virtues.<sup>56</sup>

DeMoss also points out the fact that Spenser dealt with thirteen virtues, twelve virtues plus magnanimity, and not with twelve.

Spenser's indebtedness to Bryskett, or Giraldi, is problematic. B. E. C.

<sup>54</sup> John Erskine, "The Virtue of Friendship in The Faerie Queene," PMLA, XXX (1915), 838-839.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 840.

<sup>56</sup> William Fenn DeMoss, The Influence of Aristotle's "Politics" and "Ethics" on Spenser (Chicago, n.d.), Reprinted in Part from MP, VI (May and September, 1918), 48.

Davis finds a similar mental climate in the two works. He notes Spenser's conformity with the commonplaces of Renaissance ethics derived from classical sources:

The Italian philosophers cited in Bryskett's Discourse owed something to their mediaeval forbears as well as to the classics, and similarly Spenser, framing a poem on current ethics, draws his philosophical material not from any one original but from commonplaces familiar to every sixteenth-century moralist. His ethical allegory, like his romantic narrative, is a "gallymaufrey" of ideas derived from many sources but harmonized in one poetic whole.<sup>57</sup>

Davis states that Spenser's starting point is that of the orthodox sixteenth-century moralist as represented in Bryskett's The Discourse of Civill Life. He concludes that the latter supplied raw material for the general design of fashioning a gentleman and for the attributes of the principal personages.<sup>58</sup>

Although the ideas that Bryskett and Spenser share were the common property of all educated men, one can note certain specific similarities in their works. Bryskett's list of twelve virtues includes the cardinal virtues. Spenser includes a possible three of the cardinal virtues as follows: prudence (Holiness), temperance, and justice, and two of his books handle courtesy and friendship, topics that Bryskett discusses. The admonition that man must participate in civil life before seeking heavenly contemplation is expressed in Book I, Canto 10, Stanzas 40-41. Bryskett and Spenser illustrate their virtues by giving examples of opposing vices. There is nothing conclusive in these resemblances, but they establish the mental climate in which Spenser was working.

The last work to be discussed, Robert Ashley's Of Honour, is the first

<sup>57</sup> B. E. C. Davis, Edmund Spenser: A Critical Study (Cambridge, 1933), p. 110.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp 214-215.



attempt of an Englishman to discuss honor comprehensively and systematically in a separate work.<sup>59</sup> The manuscript was written approximately between 1596 and 1603,<sup>60</sup> but the work was not printed until 1947. Although Ashley depends upon Aristotle, his arrangement of the whole, his examples from Greek and Roman history, and a Christian note in several passages give the work its originality.

Ashley was interested in foreign cultures, had travelled abroad, and had six translations from Italian, French, and Spanish to his credit. The work is not presented as a direct source for Spenser, but as an example of the cultural milieu of the period. Ashley wrote his apology for honor to defend it against those who suspiciously viewed its overzealous pursuit:

To counteract this extreme he set about devising a system of principles, the practice of which would enable a man to achieve and maintain moderation in his desire of honor, to the betterment of both himself and his fellow men. Accordingly the object of the treatise, he tells Sir Thomas Egerton, was "to proue against the dull and heavye spirited, and against the abiect and base minded, that a moderate desire of Honor ys not only very conuenient, but also aboue all other good things (vertue only excepted which yt usually accompanieth) to be preferred."<sup>61</sup>

God is the source of honor, and we fulfill our duty to God by honoring

Him:

For what els doth he aske or demaund of men? Any rewardes or benefittes or any such other thing, seeing he himself geveth all these plenteously? Nothing else but honour, bicause he thinckes yt best beseemeth him; not that he wanteth hauing all thinges perfect in himself; but bicause yt ys proper unto him and he wilbe decked with his owne ornament and not

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<sup>59</sup> Robert Ashley, Of Honour, ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (San Marino, California, 1947), Intro., p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., Intro., p. 18.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Intro., p. 15.

with any of ours which are all too base and vnbeseeing his heavenly nature. And what more divine or heavenly thing can he endew vs withall then honour?<sup>62</sup>

The value of honor is that it is an inducement to endure the rigors of a virtuous life. Without a desire for honor, men are not stirred to heroism; and without heroes, states fall. Honor, the most esteemed of external goods, is valuable because it restrains men from vice:

Therefore ys honour a more perfect thing then all praise which ys appointed for yt. And yf so be that nothing cann be imagined of man better then felicitie, and yet honour be the chefest and most excellent thing, yt followeth consequently that yt ys both ionyed with felicitie and to be preferred before all other especiall good thinges: Propose unto your self riches, healthe, freindes, Cleintes, kinsfolke, alliaunce, Children, sonnes, nobilitie of linage, witt, strengthe, swyftnes, and all other good gyftes of the body and of fortune, before all these ys honour so much to be preferred as yt neerer approocheth vnto vertue then the rest. For vertue only excepted (by whose affinitie each thing ys called good) all other thinges of themselves are not good, but are so termed either more or lese according as they draw neer or decline from vertue but honor ys close conioyned with vertue as the witnes and beawty thereof which not only withholdeth vs often from vice but ys geuen of god unto men for a reward and ys therefore the greatest good.<sup>63</sup>

Ashley in his first chapter praises honor enthusiastically. Although the fact that he attributes all the good of life to honor is logically weak, the overall effect of his praise is emotionally impressive:

Wherefore nothing ys more excellent then honour, nothing more fitting the mind of man, nothing more divine, nothing wherby we are more likened to the image of Th'almighty: For by honour are vertues kindled and encouraged, by honour are vices eschewed, by honour ignoraunce, error and folly, sloth and sluggishnes, hatred and fear, shame and ignoraunce, and all evil affeccions are alayed, Calmed, and quieted, by honour are Citties kept, famelies preserved, the society of men quietly and peaceably continued, the common wealth defended, dominions enlarged, the warrs well

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 29-30.

followed, learning cherished, and all artes mainteyened. To conclude, without honour no one thing can be well administred or worthely effected. Take honour out of vertuous accions, you take away all delight of the mind and easines of accion. Magnanimitie will perish, fortitude, moderation, and decencie will decay, the observaunce of lawes and lawes themselves wilbe neglected, offyces of honour despised, magistrates contemned, discordes arise amongst Cittizens, and every one dare to do each foule and wicked deed. More easilie then shall you breake the bandes of human societie and cutt the sinewes of vertue asunder then take honour out of the world.<sup>64</sup>

An unusual aspect of Ashley's treatise is the distinction he draws between honor and glory; this distinction is found in Saint Thomas (S. T., II-II, q. 132), not in the classical philosophers. Glory is more far reaching than honor:

for yt ys of glorie when any mans name ys magnified amongst many and ys much spoken of in euery bodyes mouth as renowned and very rare. Honour on the contrary being content with the ample approbacion of the better sort, yea, and peradventure with a few, doth neither seeks after fame nor magnificence, nor affecteth great prayses. Besides glory ys not only of the living but also of the dead; whereas honour perteyneth properly to those which are alive, because yf yt be geven for vertue to some one, and that vertue be not in him when he ys dead, howsoever yt were before, by reason that the accion of the vertue ceasinge, the prayse thereof ceaseth therewith.<sup>65</sup>

Glory is more than good opinion, "so that glory is accompanied with shew and solemnitie, pomp and magnificence; but honour only with the approbacion of a good and sound judgment directed by reason."<sup>66</sup>

Ashley repeats the distinction made by Aristotle and Saint Thomas that honor is not desired for itself but as a means to happiness. Men wish honor as a sign that they have the approbation of good men. But honor in itself

<sup>64</sup> Ibid , p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

does not content men. If they have some, they want more, and it is often given to those who do not deserve it. A regard for honor is instinctive in man. Man naturally abhor what is foul, and they follow what is fair; "yt geveth not only a certeyne grace and ornament to the duties of this lyfe but ys also a great spurr unto vertue."<sup>67</sup>

A moderate desire of honor is the golden mean contrasted with ambition and indifference. Two examples are given to illustrate this point. If a soldier performs a brave action he should desire reasonable recognition, but he should not demand to be made a general nor on the other hand should be refuse to accept any honor.<sup>68</sup> An example of the right attitude toward honor is Coriolanus, who refused the spoils of victory saying that he was satisfied with the honor he had received and the commendation of his captain.<sup>69</sup>

Once again one hears the argument for the establishment of noble families --they encourage virtue by perpetuating the recognition of heroism and by offering the offspring good example to imitate;

To conclude, all great men, and they which study in prayse to go beyond the rest are putt forward by Honour as the spurr of vertue and haue shame and Obloquie in detestation. Hetherto belongs the respect of nobilitie, and good credite, and estimacion; which we find amongst all men, because everie one ys thought to be so much the apter vnto vertue as he ys of greater birth, dignitie or aucthoritie! For to what end are so many priviledges of nobilitie in well ordered common weales, so many monumentes and petigrees graunted to excellent men and such as haue well deserved of their Countrey but that by them they meant to teach posteritie to be

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 46-47.

forward in vertue by imitation of their Auncestors: by reason we say of those which without honour haue done any thing basely or abiectly that they haue done that which no man of any calling or reckoning wold euer haue donne.<sup>70</sup>

The dull of wit are not capable of honor; only the high-minded and intelligent desire and achieve it.

True honor is distinguished from what is a matter of custom. To speak honestly and modestly is honorable in itself; but to have many servants may be honorable in Spain, but in Germany a man is judged by the banquets he gives his friends.<sup>71</sup> A man should do good for the sake of the good and should despise no one.

Although a man should not desire honor, he should rejoice when he receives it because good men recognize his excellence. He should thank God for the honor and return the honor to God. He should attribute his good to God. The humility with which honor is received echoes Saint Thomas (S.T., II-II, q. 129):

Therefore as yt ys the part of humilitie to beat downe vayne and swelling cogitacions, and yet to know the good which ys in vs, and to geve god thanckes for the same, least by not knowing the goodnes of the same we be also ignoraunt what we owe vnto God: so ys yt likewise the part of a modest desire of Honour not to wishe to haue Honour geven vs of others, as yf with our whole mind we longed after yt, but rather when yt ys offered to accept yt moderately, as reioycing that others do see and approue some vertue in vs: which ought to be of more account with vs then the reputacion thereof: which yf yt bee too much desired of vs, yt cannot be but we must needes fall into a great fault of ambition and arrogancie.<sup>72</sup>

Those who bestow honor should be responsible, impartial, and objective.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

An honor should be merited, but recognition should also take into account social position. Those in high position by virtue of their office should receive preference.<sup>73</sup>

In evaluating Ashley's treatise, Of Honour, one can find several elements. The work is a rather carefully reasoned presentation. It has an Aristotelian matrix with Christian overtones; examples from classical history illustrate its arguments. In defining the nature of honor as being characterized by humility and charity, it shows Scholastic influence. In distinguishing between honor and glory, it also shows Scholastic influence.

In summary, the conclusions reached in reference to the continental courtesy books can be applied here. All the works cited show their authors' awareness of earlier continental works and one, Bryskett's, is a close translation of an Italian work. All write with the purpose of preparing men for public life by detailing plans for their moral and intellectual development and by outlining their duties as leaders. The Governor and The Institution of a Gentleman are more specifically English in their reflection of the social scene. Both works reflect the rise to prominence of a talented middle class and the emphasis upon the duties of a magistrate rather than those of a courtier.

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71.

## CHAPTER VI

### FIXATION OF THE SHIFTING CONCEPT OF HONOR

The definition of honor as the recognition of excellence and as the highest external good is generally accepted. The definition of excellence, however, varies according to the philosophical, cultural, and personal orientation of the writer. These few pages will attempt to crystallize the shifting concept. Since the works have been previously cited, they will be identified the first time by author, title, and page, and thereafter by author, abbreviated title, and page. Sometimes an author presents a concept of honor that he criticizes (e.g., Augustine, The City of God, V. 12 on the Roman love of glory), but as this is a concept of honor, it will be presented as such.

The presentation will be divided into the following: pagan, early Christian, medieval, and Renaissance. This is done to keep the works within their cultural context, but no effort will be made at Procrustean distinctions. The desire is rather to be faithful to each writer's intent and to recognize that there must be some overlapping. For example, while the Renaissance concept of honor is chiefly civic and secular, based upon classical ideals, yet it manifests at times a Christian influence. Bryskett, in his translation of Giraldi's essay on the civil life, condemns dueling,<sup>1</sup> and he recommends

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<sup>1</sup>Bryskett, pp. 65-85.

forgiveness to his magnanimous man.<sup>2</sup> Guazzo advises his gentlemen to be courteous to yeomen in a spirit of humility.<sup>3</sup> Here one sees a blending of classical and Christian values.

There is also no clear dividing line between two periods. John of Salisbury, in the twelfth century, writes a typically Renaissance definition of nobility in his characterization of it as wisdom.<sup>4</sup> John Tiptoft's fifteenth-century translation of Buonaccorso's De Nobilitate Controversia appeared when the medieval values of England still flourished. An early Renaissance work in England, it presents the ideals of the courtier in the character of Flammineus; and the characteristic medieval attitudes less favorably presented in the person of Cornelius. This outline is simply an attempt to lay down broad guide lines for evaluating the shifting concept of honor.

#### A. Honor as a pagan concept.

1. Honor as self-esteem. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1123<sup>b</sup>-1125<sup>a</sup> 35; Augustine, The City of God, V.12; Plato, Republic, VIII, 549.
2. Honor as the recognition of civic duty. Cicero, De Officiis, I; Augustine, The City of God, V.13.

#### B. Honor as a Christian concept before St. Thomas.

1. Honor referred to God and fellow men. Matt. v.14-16; I Cor. iv.7; I Cor. xiii.4-7; II Cor. x.17-18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Guazzo, I, 192.

<sup>4</sup> John of Salisbury, p. 274.



2. Honor as self-esteem, an unworthy motive for a Christian. I Cor. i.27-31; I Cor. iv.10; Augustine, The City of God, V.14, XIV.13,28.

C. Honor According to St. Thomas.

1. Magnanimity characterized by humility and charity. S.T., II-II, q. 129; Ashley, Of Honour, p. 59.
  - a. Its nature. S.T., II-II, q. 129.
  - b. Its opposites.
    - (1) Presumption. S.T., II-II, q. 130.
    - (2) Ambition. S.T., II-II, q. 131.
    - (3) Vainglory. S.T., II-II, q. 132; Ashley, Of Honour, pp. 36-37.
    - (4) Pulsillanimity. S.T., II-II, q. 133.
2. Magnificence, greatness in work. S.T., II-II, q. 134.
3. Patience. S.T., II-II, q. 136.
4. Perseverance. S.T., II-II, q. 137.
  - a. Its nature. S.T., II-II, q. 137.
  - b. Its opposites. S.T., II-II, q. 138.
    - (1) Softness. S.T., II-II, q. 138, a. 1.
    - (2) Pertinacity. S.T., II-II, q. 138, a. 2.
5. Honor and the temperate life.
  - a. Temperance, a prerequisite for honor. S.T., II-II, q. 142.
  - b. Honesty as a source of honor. S.T., II-II, q. 145.

D. Honor in the medieval chivalric code.

1. Honor in the government.
  - a. Feudal relationship of loyal service. A. J. Carlyle, Political Theory from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth, III, 26.
  - b. The state as an organism of mutual assistance. The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury, p. 244.

## 2. Honor as a source of nobility.

- a. Nobility as exalted rank. Lull, trans. Caxton, The Booke of the Ordre of Chyvalry, pp. xxxviii-xxxix; Berners, The Boke of Saint Albans, pp. 43-44; Buonaccorso, trans. Tiptoft, De Nobilitate Controversia, pp. 220-221.
- b. Nobility as wealth. Buonaccorso, De Nob., p. 221.
- c. Nobility as virtue. John of Salisbury, Statesman's Bk., p. 274; Buonaccorso, De Nob., pp. 226-240; Petrarch, Secretum Meum, pp. 52-55.

## 3. Honor in the knightly role.

- a. Sword-arm of the state, instrument of justice. John of Salisbury, Statesman's Bk., pp. 199-200. Lull, Ordre of Chyv., pp. 24-32, 41-44. Christine de Pisan, The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye, pp. 23-24; Honore Bonet, The Tree of Battle, p. 131; Berners, St. Albans, p. 47; Gutierre de Gamez, The Unconquered Knight, pp. 11-12.
- b. Martial prowess. Berners, St. Albans, pp. 44-46; The Boke of Noblesse, p. 4; Lull, Ordre of Chyv., pp. 21-22; Froissart, Chronicles, pp. 9-10, 47, 108-109.
- c. Horsemanship. Lull, Ordre of Chyv., p. 21; Gamez, Unconq. Kn., p. 11.
- d. Religious motivation. Lull, Ordre of Chyv., pp. 23-25, 31-35, 77-88; Gamez, Unconq. Kn., pp. 11-12; Berners, St. Albans, pp. 44-47.
- e. The Cultural pattern
  - (1) Judicial duel. Froissart, Chronicles, pp. 590-595, 364-367.
  - (2) Tournament. Froissart, Chronicles, pp. 463, 465-469.
  - (3) Brotherhood in arms. G. B. Coulton, "Knighthood and Chivalry," Encyclopedia Britannica (New York, 1911), XV, 853.

## E. Honor in the Renaissance.

### 1. Honor in the government.

- a. Honor in a hierarchical society. Elyot, The Governour, pp. 1-14; The Institution of a Gentleman, "The Epistles," "The Prologue."

b. Honor in civil life. Guazzo, The Civile Conversation, I, 56; Bryskett, The Discourse of a Civill Life, p. 257; Inst., "How Gentlemen May profit in bearing offices in a Commune wealth."

2. Honor as a source of nobility.

a. Nobility as exalted rank. Nenna, Nennio, p. 6; Inst., "Gentle Gentle."

b. Nobility as wealth. Elyot, Gov., p. 14; Guazzo, Civ. Con., I, 187; Inst., "Gentle ungentle"; Nenna, Nennio, p. 24.

c. Nobility as virtue. Nenna, Nennio, pp. 30-50, 74-86, 97; Erasmus, De Pueris . . ., pp. 185-190; Erasmus, The Education of a Christian Prince, pp. 148-149; Elyot, Gov., pp. 104-106; Inst., "The Institucion of a Gentleman," "Ungentle gentle," "Of Honour and Worship"; Guazzo, Civ. Con., I, 147-148, 182.

d. Nobility as virtue and exalted rank. Guazzo, Civ. Con., I, 175-191; Castiglione, The Courtier, pp. 28-32; Nenna, Nennio, p. 91.

3. Honor in the life of the individual.

a. Honor as a spur to action. Guazzo, Civ. Con., I, 217; Ashley, Of Honour, pp. 29-30, 39-40.

b. Honor accepted in deference to those who bestow it. Della Casa, Galateo, p. 45.

c. Honor as fame. Machiavelli, The Prince, pp. 289-290; Castiglione, Court., pp. 99-100.

4. Honor in the courtier's role.

a. Magnanimity. Elyot, Gov., pp. 195-197; Bryskett, Discourse, pp. 232, 238; Inst., "How Gentlemen may profit in bearing Offices in a Commune wealth."

b. Courtesy. Guazzo, Civ. Con., I, 155-156; Della Casa, Galateo, pp. 15-16; Castiglione, Court., pp. 33-34.

c. Physical Training. Castiglione, Court., pp. 32, 36-39; Elyot, Gov., pp. 59-68, 88-94; Inst., "Shooting in the Long Bow," "What Pastimes Gentlemen ought to use, how and after what sort, and what Games are unmeete to be used."

d. Horsemanship. Castiglione, Court., p. 38; Bryskett, Discourse, p. 64; Elyot, Gov., p. 64.

e. Learning. Castiglione, Court., pp. 67-71; Elyot, Gov., pp. 28-59; Inst., "The Institution of a Gentleman," "How Ambassadors he most mete for a Gentleman," "Gentle gentle"; Erasmus, De Pueris, pp. 185-190; Bryskett, Discourse, pp. 143-149.

In summary, one can see that honor as the recognition of excellence is a generally accepted definition. The exception is Machiavelli who sees it simply as favorable public opinion without relation to morality. The standards of a culture, however, help to determine what is accepted as excellence. The pagan code sees honor as due self-esteem (Aristotle), or as a recognition of service to the state (Plato, Cicero). The Christian concept relates the honor to God and accepts it with the addition of humility and charity. Augustine, expressing a severe Christian attitude, discounts all honour as virtue except that directed to God. St. Thomas views honor as the highest material good, but recognizes that it must be attributed to God and must be accepted with humility and charity toward one's fellow men. The medieval knight seeks honor by serving as a sword-arm in establishing justice. Ideally he performs this service for religious and supernatural motives. The Renaissance man more commonly strives after recognition in civil life. The order of knighthood is replaced by the order of the learned. Living in a more sophisticated and refined age, he reflects the altered cultural pattern in his education and in the courteous conduct of his daily life. Secular ideals of patriotism and service to the state replace the religious ideals of the knight.

## CHAPTER VII

### HONOR IN THE FAERIE QUEENE, BOOK I, CANTOS I-VI

Analysis of the text in relation to theme, characters, plot, and comments of the omniscient author presents the best means of determining Spenser's concept of honor. The study is centered on the concept of honor as it is revealed through the totality of the action.

In defining the theme, one must consider Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh in which he expresses his intent, "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." One might note here in relation to the concept of honor that his audience is to be the gentry or the nobility. One need not take this intent in an absolutely literal sense, but it does demonstrate the hierarchical attitude of a society that excludes the lower classes from any pretensions of appreciating the ideals of the upper classes. A second point to be noted is that his purpose is the same as that of the courtesy books previously noted.

Spenser explains that his method will be allegorical. "To some, I know, this methode will seems displeasaunt, which had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts or sermoned at large, as they use, then thus cloudily enwrapped in allegoricall devises. But such, me seeme, should be satisfide with the use of these dayes, seeing all things accounted by their

showes, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightfull and pleasing to commune sence."<sup>1</sup>

Continuing the analysis of Spenser's letter, one notes that he mentions two other elements of his concept of honor, the chivalric and the civic. The Arthurian story was chosen as "furthest from the daunger of envy, and suspition of present time."<sup>2</sup> Arthur seeks glory through service to Gloriana. "In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our souveraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery Land."<sup>3</sup>

Besides the civic and chivalric elements of the concept of honor, one finds also a statement of ethical intent. Spenser asserts, "I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of these first twelve bookes."<sup>4</sup> One purpose of this analysis will be to determine how literally this statement should be received. It is not the intention here to revive this controversy, but if one wishes to read a succinct summary of it, one may consult the first section of Ernest Sirluck's article.<sup>5</sup> The writer of this dissertation believes that some of

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<sup>1</sup>Spenser, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ernest Sirluck, "The Faerie Queene, Book II, and the Nicomachean Ethics," MP, XLIV (November, 1951), 73-100.

the Aristotelian elements in Spenser's work may be attributed to the Aristotelianism absorbed in Scholasticism.

Arthur is to exemplify magnificence in particular, "which vertue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue which I write of in that booke."<sup>6</sup> "Aristotle and the rest" opens conjectures as to who these unnamed "rest" are. This chapter hopes to make this phrase more meaningful. Magnificence is sometimes used as synonymous with magnanimity.

Viola Hulbert in her thesis, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues 'According to Aristotle and the Rest,'" establishes that the source of Spenser's ethical thought is ultimately medieval. The tradition of the twelve virtues came from Scholastic commentators to whom the eleven virtues mentioned in the Nicomachean Ethics had no special significance, and who added one to make the symbolically significant number of twelve: "In view of the strength which comes from the longevity of a tradition, it is not strange that Spenser knew the Aristotelian virtues numbered twelve; he would have had difficulty in failing to know it. He remembered also that one of the virtues was all inclusive and that this all inclusive had as its subject matter honour, although he called the virtue magnificence instead of magnanimity."<sup>7</sup>

The importance of honor as a spur to action can be seen in the dedicatory

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<sup>6</sup>Spenser, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup>Viola B. Hulbert, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues 'According to Aristotle and the Rest,'" Unpublished Doctor's Thesis (University of Chicago, 1927), p. 77.

sonnets in which the nobility of the patrons is praised. The Faerie Queene is offered to them as a mirror of their excellence. The sonnet to the Earl of Cumberland, who had demonstrated his prowess as a war hero and had occupied the position of Queene's Champion, contains several key ideas of honor:

Redoubted Lord, in whose corageous mind  
 The flowre of chevalry, now bloosming faire,  
 Doth promise fruite worthy the noble kind  
 Which of your praises have left you the haire;  
 To you this humble present I prepare,  
 For love of vertue and of martiall praise;  
 To which though nobly ye inclined are,  
 As goodlie well ye shew'd in late assaies,  
 Yet brave ensample of long passed daies,  
 In which trew honor yee may fashioned see,  
 To like desire of honor may ye raise,  
 And fill your mind with magnanimittee.  
 Receive it, Lord, therefore, as it was ment,  
 For honor of your name and high descent. E.S.<sup>8</sup>

One sees that the chivalric life offers an ideal pattern for the Renaissance man. The Earl's courage reflects the nobility of his family. Spenser states that his work is motivated by the love of virtue and of martial prowess. In "long passed daies," he has found the example of true honor. The intent of the work is to inspire others to a like desire of honor and magnanimity. The praise of the Earl's "high descent" shows the importance given to nobility of blood.

In the proem to Book I, Spenser again sounds the chivalric note in announcing the subject of his work: "Fierce warres and faithfull loves shall moralize my song" (Proem 1.9).

Following the purpose of the morality play, Book I illustrates its theme

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<sup>8</sup>Spenser, p. 142.



of holiness by outlining the soul's growth in grace through experience and instruction. This growth is developed within the frame of the knightly quest.<sup>9</sup>

In connection with the theme of honor, Book I answers the question, "Has a Christian any right to pursue earthly glory or must he be content with the pursuit of heavenly Glory?"<sup>10</sup> The Red Cross Knight's pursuit of glory is within the Christian context of humility and charity. Through failure he learns his dependence upon grace, and he earns his glory through service to others.

One is struck immediately by the religious and chivalric orientation of the work by the delineation of the Red Cross Knight. His armor suggests the picture of the warfaring Christian, steeled by his virtues, and ready for combat against the powers of darkness:

You must wear all the weapons in God's armoury, if you would find strength to resist the cunning of the devil. It is not against flesh and blood that we enter the lists; we have to do with pryncedoms and powers, with those who have mastery of the world in these dark days, with malign influences in an order higher than ours. Take up all God's armour, then; so you will be able to stand your ground when the evil time comes, and be found still on your feet, when all the task is over. Stand fast, your loins girt with truth, the breastplate of justice fitted on, and your feet shod in readiness to publish the gospel of peace. With all this, take up the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the fire-tipped arrows of your wicked enemy; make the helmet of salvation your own, and the sword of the spirit, God's word. (Eph. vi.11-17)

The religious meaning of the armor possibly explains the fact that although the knight has never wielded arms, his armor bears the marks of deep

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<sup>9</sup>F. M. Padelford, "The Spiritual Allegory of the Faerie Queene, Book One," JEGP, XXII (1923), 1.

<sup>10</sup>McNamee, p. 146.

wounds (F.Q. 1.1.1.3-5). This may symbolize the soul wounded by original sin from its conception and birth. The knight's emblem is the cross, signifying his allegiance to and dependence upon Christ. He possesses the virtues of a spiritual man: integrity, gravity, courage:

But on his brest a bloodie crosse he bore,  
 But deare remembrance of his dying Lord,  
 For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,  
 And dead as living ever him ador'd:  
 Upon his shield the like was also scor'd,  
 For soveraine hope, which in his helpe he had:  
 Right faithfull true he was in deede and word,  
 But of his cheere did seeme too solemne sad;  
 For nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad.

(F.Q. 1.1.2)

Chivalric elements are intermingled with religious ones. The knight is "gentle," reflecting the hierarchical society. His horse, the distinguishing mark of the knight, is a vigorous animal. "Full jolly knight he seemd, and faire did sitt,/ As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fitt" (F.Q. 1.1.1.8-9).

He seeks an earthly glory to be achieved through martial prowess:

Upon a great adventure he was bond,  
 That greatest Gloriana to him gave,  
 That greatest glorious queene of Faery Lond,  
 To winne him worshippe, and her grace to have,  
 Which of all earthly thinges he most did crave;  
 And ever as he rode his hart did earne  
 To prove his puissance in battell brave  
 Upon his foe, and his new force to learne;  
 Upon his foe, a dragon horrible and stearne.

(F.Q. 1.1.3)

Here one sees Spenser's concept of honor in which he justifies the pursuit of honor in the fulfillment of service to the state. Gloriana personifies not only earthly glory, but specifically the glory to be gained from the service of Queen Elizabeth.

The moral allegory is expressed in the object of his combat, a dragon, representing the powers of darkness. With the knight is Una, dressed in white and wearing a black veil and stole. While white represents truth, the veil represents the fact that the full light of truth is too dazzling for most eyes. The blackness of the veil represents Una's gravity. The lamb is a familiar symbol of purity. Such figures are common in Elizabethan pageants. Una, as truth, represents the Anglican Church. Many of her obstacles personify the conflicts following the establishments of this religion in a country which had been fifty years ago predominantly Catholic. Her representation of the Anglican Church is also symbolized in her descent from ancient kings and queens (Adam and Eve). She is accompanied by a dwarf personifying human prudence. The minor part he plays in the allegory (his chief function is the warning he gives to the Red Cross Knight of the true nature of the House of Pride and the information he imparts to Una of the knight's capture by Orgoglio) shows the importance given to the supernatural element in the allegory. With the appearance of Arthur and the reappearance of Una he disappears from the story.

The first incident in the plot is introduced by a storm that forces the party to enter the wood. This wood is a symbol of sin as it is in the first canto of Dante's Inferno. The deceptively attractive appearance of the wood symbolizes one aspect of sin. Once within it they are to find themselves hopelessly lost and in conflict with Error. The shady grove promises aid:

Whose loftie trees, yclad with sommers pride,  
 Did spred so broad, that heavens light did hide,  
 Not perceable with power of any starr:  
 And all within were pathes and alleies wide,

With footing worne, and leading inward farr:  
 Faire harbour that them seemes, so in they entred ar.  
 (F.Q. 1.1.7.4-9)

One notes that the trees in full leaf are suggestive of pride; they hide the light, a symbol of good. The paths, wide and well-worn, suggest the broad highway of sin. This "seemes" a good refuge. At first the atmosphere is pleasant. "And foorth they passe, with pleasure forward led" (F.Q. 1.1.8.1), delighted with the birds' songs. The birds "seemd" to scorn the storm. "Led with delight, they thus beguile the way" (F.Q. 1.1.10.1), but when the storm has passed, they find themselves lost:

So many pathes, so many turnings seene,  
 That which of them to take, in diverse doubt they been.  
 (F.Q. 1.1.10.8-9)

One sees here a picture of the inexperienced sould confused by the complexities of a life it has not yet learned to face.

They take the path which is most worn in the labyrinth of paths and which leads them to Error's den, the scene of the knight's first encounter. The cave is in the thickest wood. Una has the perception to recognize the place for what it is, and she warns the knight against rashness:

'Be well aware,' quoth then that ladie milde,  
 'Least suddaine mischief ye too rash provoke:  
 The danger hid, the place unknown and wilde,  
 Breedes dreadfull doubts: oft fire is without smoke,  
 And perill without show: therefore your stroke,  
 Sir knight, with-hold, till further tryall made.'  
 (F.Q. 1.1.12.1-6)

The knight, however, is confident of his untried powers; he fears the shame of retreat. "Vertue gives her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade" (F.Q. 1.1.12.9).

Una does not wish to see him disgrace his knighthood, yet her wisdom

recognizes that they are in the wandering wood and that this is Error's den. The dwarf also warns him against the danger. Though the knight is rash in wishing to encounter Error, he is also courageous. One finds throughout this work that his errors are those of judgment; his will is always ready to face the combat. "But full of fire and greedy hardiment,/ The youthfull knight could not for ought be staide" (F.Q. 1.1.14.1-2).

In his first encounter with evil, the knight is equated with light, and evil with darkness:

But forth unto the darksom hole he went,  
 And looked in: his glistring armor made  
 A little glooming light, much like a shade,  
 By which he saw the ugly monster plaine,  
 Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide,  
 But th' other halfe did womans shape retaine,  
 Most lothsom, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdaine.

(F.Q. 1.1.14.3-9)

When her many offspring see the unfamiliar light from the knight's armor, they retreat into her mouth. Error, having been aroused, rushes from her den, but seeing the light from the knight's armor, she attempts to retreat:

She lookt about, and seeing one in mayle,  
 Armed to point, sought backe to turne againe;  
 For light she hated as the deadly bale,  
 Ay wont in desert darknes to remaine,  
 Where plain none might her see, nor she see any plaine.

(F.Q. 1.1.16.5-9)

Boldly the knight prevents her return, so she threatens to sting him with "her speckled taile." The "speckled taile" here is also a symbol of sin. The knight's first battle, once entered into, is not as easy as he had anticipated. He finds himself wrapped in Error's train: "God helpe the man so wrapt in Errours endlesse traine" (F.Q. 1.1.18.9). Una advises him to ask for God's help:

His lady, sad to see his sore constraint,  
 Cride out, 'Now, now, sir knight, shew what ye bee:  
 Add faith unto your force, and be not faint:  
 Strangle her, else she sure will strangle thee.'

(F.Q. 1.1.19.1-4)

Following this advice, he strangles Error, an action that causes her to vomit great lumps of flesh and books and papers. These papers represent that great amount of controversial literature written in the religious conflicts of the time. The knight is repulsed by her vomit and by her offspring which she spews forth. The knight continues the combat through imperfect motives, fear of shame and rage:

Thus ill bestedd, and fearefull more of shame  
 Then of the certeine perill he stood in,  
 Halfe furious unto his foe he came,  
 Resolvd in minde all suddenly to win,  
 Or soone to lose, before he once would lin;  
 And stroke at her with more then manly force.

(F.Q. 1.1.24.1-6)

Although he is fighting from imperfect motives, he is aided here by grace, and this combination results in his slaying Error. Error's brood, feeding upon the blood of their mother, are poisoned by it. "His foes have slaine themselves, with whom he should contend" (F.Q. 1.1.26.9). This picture is a reverse of that of the Pelican who restores her young with the blood pricked from her own breast. In that image the Pelican represents Christ's self-sacrifice; in this image one sees Error's brood destroyed by error.

The Red Cross Knight has faced his first battle and has found it more difficult than he has expected. The chivalric code is reflected in Una's congratulations, equating success with martial prowess:

'Faire knight, borne under happie starre,  
 Who see your vanquisht foes before you lye,

Well worthie be you of that armory,  
 Wherein ye have great glory wonne this day,  
 And proov'd your strength on a strong enimie,  
 Your first adventure: many such I pray,  
 And henceforth ever wish that like succeed it may.'

(F.Q. 1.1.27.3-9)

Although the courtier combined the qualities of the warrior and the scholar, the medieval knight was expected to be only a warrior, while the clergy alone received extensive formal education. Lull distinguished between the duty of the clergy to maintain religion and of the knight to protect it by force of arms:

There in lyke wyse as our lord god hath chosen the clerkes for to mayntene th<sup>e</sup> holy feith catholike with scripture & resons ayest the mescreaüts & not bileuyng/ In lyke wise god of glory hath chosen knyghtes/ by cause th<sup>t</sup> by force of armes they vaynquysshe the mescreaütes which daily laboure for to destroye holy chirche/ & suche knyghtes god holdeth them for his frendes honoured in this word.<sup>11</sup>

Although Lull recognized the function of the knight as the sword-arm of the state, he was dissatisfied with his training. He wished him to have a formal education and thought that the practical training in horsemanship and in service to a knight as a squire at tournaments and battles was not sufficient.

'For by the clerkes they shold haue devocion and love to god/ And by the knyghtes they shold doubte to doo wronge/ trayson and barate the one to another.'<sup>12</sup> Other medieval works agree in stressing the martial prowess of the

<sup>11</sup>Lull, pp. 24-25.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid , p. 23.

knight; one might cite John of Salisbury,<sup>13</sup> Christine de Pisan,<sup>14</sup> Bonet,<sup>15</sup> Berners,<sup>16</sup> and The Boke of Noblesse.<sup>17</sup>

Having conquered Error, the knight, Una, and the dwarf are able to find their way out of the wood by following a well-beaten path. The defeat of Error allows their easy escape. The Red Cross Knight proceeds with God's help:

That path he kept which beaten was most plaine,  
 Ne ever would to any by way bend,  
 But still did not follow one unto the end,  
 The which at last out of the wood them brought.  
 So forward on his way (with God to frend).

(F.Q. 1.1.28.3-7)

Although the knight has overcome obvious error, he immediately falls prey to hidden error personified by Archimago. Archimago appears as a hermit. "Sober he seemde, and very sagely sad" (F.Q. 1.1.29.5). One notes again the use of "seemde" to imply deception. Archimago is a caricature of the devout man, the knight accepting him as he appears. The knight expresses the chivalric code in courteously asking him if he could tell him of any adventures. Sanctimoniously the hermit replies that he is preoccupied with prayer, but he offers the information that a strange man has been wasting the countryside. The knight

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<sup>13</sup>John of Salisbury, pp. 199-200.

<sup>14</sup>Christine de Pisan, pp. 23-24.

<sup>15</sup>Bonet, p. 131.

<sup>16</sup>Berners, pp. 44-46.

<sup>17</sup>The Boke of Noblesse, p. 4.



expresses his intention of fulfilling his knightly office by righting this wrong:

'For to all knighthood it is foule disgrace,  
That such a cursed creature lives so long a space.'  
(F.Q. 1.1.31.8-9)

Since the day is spent, the party accepts Archimago's hospitality for the night. The hermitage is idyllic, and the hospitality simple:

Arrived there, the little house they fill,  
Ne looke for entertainment, where none was:  
Rest is their feast, and all thinges at their will;  
The noblest mind the best contentment has.  
(F.Q. 1.1.35.1-4)

Although this last line reflects the praise of a simple life found in Renaissance courtesy books, it reflects also the best principles of the spiritual life. Since honor is the recognition given to virtue, a spiritual quality, the life of a truly honorable man must be judged apart from such external qualities as wealth and social position.

The praise of the simple life might arise from different motives. In the pagan cultures, simplicity might be praised as an attribute of the philosophic life or as a necessary quality for a good ruler. It might reflect the Epicurean desire for the avoidance of pain by the reduction of desires or the Stoic desire for the rule of reason by cultivating indifference to external circumstances. In the spiritual life, simplicity is stressed to free the mind for contemplation. The desire for a simple life that leaves time for intellectual pursuits is expressed by Flaminius in his proposal to Lucesse. "But my lady Lucesse, yf it please you, I shal brynge you to my poure lodgyng, where ye shal fynde quyete rest. And how be it that yf it be not so superfluously be seen as Cornelius is, yet I truste ye shal fynde it bettir furnysshed

of vertue, maner, and such pleasyres, as youre moost womanly courage delyteth in."<sup>18</sup> Citing examples from classical history, Elyot praises the virtue of simplicity in connection with temperance. He gives examples of abstinence that he defines as "the wilful abandoning of money";<sup>19</sup> of moderation, "the limits and bounds which honesty hath appointed in speaking and doing";<sup>20</sup> and of sobriety in diet.<sup>21</sup>

His guests having retired, Archimago reveals his true nature as an agent of evil:

He bad awake blacke Plutoes griesly dame,  
 And cursed heven, and spake reprochful shame  
 Of highest God, the Lord of life and light:  
 A bold bad man that dar'd to call by name  
 Great Gorgon, prince of darknes and dead night,  
 At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight.

(F.Q. 1.1.37.4-9)

One notes again that evil is equated with darkness. His spirits are called out of deep darkness. One of his spirits he sends to Morpheus, living in the bowels of the earth where light never penetrates. Morpheus is difficult to awaken, but once awake he complies with the messenger's request and sends from his dark prison a false dream. Meanwhile from the other spirit Archimago has shaped the semblance of Una. The false dream causes the Red Cross Knight to dream lustfully of Una. The knight awakens, upset by the unexpected passion, only to find himself confronted with the feigned image of Una. He is shocked

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<sup>18</sup> Buonaccorso, p. 240.

<sup>19</sup> Elyot, pp. 200-203.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 210-213.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 213-218.

to find such shamelessness in one he has considered chaste:

All cleane dismayd to see so uncouth sight,  
 And halfe enragd at her shamelesse guise,  
 He thought have slaine her in his fierce despight;  
 But hastie heat tempring with sufferance wise,  
 He stayde his hand, and gan himselfe advise,  
 To prove his sense, and tempt her faigned truth.

(F.Q. 1.1.50.1-6)

The knight exercises some self-control in dealing with her importunities. She appeals to his sympathy on the basis of her noble blood and youth, at the same time explaining that she is a victim of Cupid. Her love for him has driven sleep away. The knight has difficulty in accepting her explanation, but he is too inexperienced to recognize falsehood when he finds it. He resolves the compromising situation by reassuring her of his faithfulness to her and her cause, and she leaves.

When the two false spirits return to tell Archimago that the knight has not succumbed to this trial of his virtue, Archimago makes a second attempt. This time he shapes another spirit in the form of a squire who lives "without regard of armes and dreaded fight" (F.Q. 1.2.3.6). When the squire and the false Una are lying together, Archimago brings the knight to witness the sight. Upon seeing it, the knight gives way to his emotions:

Which when he saw, he burnt with gealous fire,  
 The eie of reason was with rage yblent,  
 And would have slaine them in his furious ire,  
 But hardly was restreined of that aged sire.

(F.Q. 1.2.5.6-9)

Overcome by his feelings, the knight leaves with the dwarf, deserting Una. He commits a serious offence against the chivalric code by deserting his quest and the woman he has been delegated to protect. "Will was his guide, and

griefe led him astray" (F.Q. 1.2.12.4). Padelford sees this desertion of Una as a desertion of reason.<sup>22</sup>

The chivalric code laid upon the knight the obligation of protecting the weak. "Then and then only will the health of the commonwealth be sound and flourishing, when the higher members shield the lower, and the lower respond faithfully and fully in like measure to the just demands of their superiors."<sup>23</sup> Lull reiterates this obligation to help the oppressed. "Thoffyce of a knyght is to mayntene and deffende wymmen/ wydowes and orphanes/ and men dyseased and not puyssaunt ne stronge/ For lyke as customme and reason is/ that the grettest and moost myghty helpe the feble and lasse/ and that they haue recours to the grete/ Ryght soo is thordre of chyualry/ by cause she is grete/ honourable and myghty/ be in socoure and in ayde to them that ben vnder hym/ and lasse myghty and lasse honoured than he is."<sup>24</sup> Christine de Pisan notes that the Constable should be "fauorable to wedowes/ to orphans/ & to the poure."<sup>25</sup> Dame Juliana Berners cites "pitty to the poure"<sup>26</sup> as a necessary quality.

Una, finding that her knight has fled, follows him but without success. She grieves that her knight has so "ungently left her" (F.Q. 1.2.8.9) in opposition to the chivalric code. Archimago rejoices in the success of his scheme

<sup>22</sup> Padelford, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> John of Salisbury, p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> Lull, pp. 38-39.

<sup>25</sup> De Pisan, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> Berners, p. 47.

in deceiving "true meaning harts" (F.Q. 1.2.9.5), but determines to cause Una more suffering. He disguises himself as the Red Cross Knight:

But now seemde best, the person to put on  
 Of that good knight, his late beguiled guest:  
 In mighty armes he was yclad anon,  
 And silver shield; upon his coward brest  
 A bloody crosse, and on his craven crest  
 A bounch of heares discolourd diversly:  
 Fully jolly knight he seemde, and wel adrest,  
 And when he sate uppon his courser free,  
 Saint George himselfe ye would have deemed him to be.

(F.Q. 1.2.11)

In the person of the Red Cross Knight, Archimago serves as a foil to the true knight. His conduct later deserves the adjectives of "coward" and "craven" used here, for he only "seemde" a full jolly knight.

The true Red Cross Knight has separated himself from truth. As a consequence he immediately faces an obvious temptation against faith in his meeting with Sansfoy. Sansfoy, a Saracen, is a worthy opponent: "full large of limbe and every joint/ He was, and cared not for God or man a point" (F.Q. 1.2.12.8-9). Sansfoy is accompanied by Duessa, a lavishly dressed companion. She represents the Roman Catholic Church and Mary Stuart, but on the moral level she represents falsehood. Duessa incites Sansfoy who attacks the Red Cross Knight in order to impress her. In keeping with his nature, Sansfoy curses the cross that protects the Red Cross Knight. Receiving a vehement blow from the Saracen, the knight is saved only by his shield. Aroused to new vigor by the blow, the Red Cross Knight kills his opponent. Seeing this result, Duessa flees, only to be overtaken by the Red Cross Knight who reassures her of his good will. His inexperience is such that he cannot perceive her true nature though it is hinted at in her gaudy attire:

Her humblesse low,  
 In so ritch weedes and seeming glorious show,  
 Did much emmove his stout heroicke heart.

(F.Q. 1.2.21.4-6)

In gaining the knight's sympathy, Duessa weeps and tells the knight her story. Although Duessa uses the name Fidessa, she will be referred to here for the sake of clarity only as Duessa. She explains that she is the daughter of an emperor that rules the West (the Pope). She was betrothed to a noble prince who died before they could be married. Seeking his body, she was seized by the Saracen who has since held her in captivity.

One might note here that she serves as a foil to Una. Una too is of noble parentage. When her kingdom is seized by a dragon, she too seeks for help. But Una, pure and innocent, is all that Duessa is not. Duessa's story of being an unwilling captive of the Saracen is obviously a lie, as the knight might have guessed from her behavior toward Sansfoy when the knight first saw them. But the Red Cross Knight is a rather willing victim of her duplicity:

He in great passion al this while did dwell,  
 More busying his quick eies, her face to view,  
 Then his dull eares, to heare what shee did tell.

(F.Q. 1.2.26.5-7)

Neill considers Duessa and Archimago in the light of the teachings on witchcraft. Just as the witches in Macbeth could not have started Macbeth on his bloody career if he had not had the seeds of ruthless ambition within his soul, so the Red Cross Knight would not have been deceived if he had been confirmed in virtue:

Spenser first presents him to us as a virtuous, chaste young knight, protected by the armor of a Christian man and in the company of Truth, but at the hour of his trial he fails because he is not sufficiently strong in faith nor confirmed in chastity. At the allegorical level he doubts Truth, and at the literal level he burns in wrath and a sensual jealousy

that makes him an easy prey to the next temptation of the flesh. In spite of dreams, false apparitions, what appeared the valid testimony of the senses, and the later appeal of what seemed a lady in distress, if the Red Cross Knight had kept passion under the rule of reason, he would not have been started on his way to ruin by the witchcraft of Archimago and Duessa.<sup>27</sup>

The knight must learn humility through his mistakes; he must realize that the good in him is from God:

There is in man something great which he possesses through the gift of God; and something defective which accrues to him through the weakness of nature. Accordingly magnanimity makes a man deem himself worthy of great things in consideration of the gifts he holds from God: thus if his soul is endowed with great virtue, magnanimity makes him tend to perfect works of virtue; and the same is to be said of the use of any other good, such as science or external fortune. On the other hand, humility makes a man think little of himself in consideration of his own deficiency, and magnanimity makes him despise others in so far as they fall away from God's gifts: since he does not think so much of others as to do anything wrong for their sake.<sup>28</sup>

The Red Cross Knight transfers his allegiance to Duessa, "the seeming simple maid" (F.Q. 1.2.27.5):

So forth they rode, he feining seemely merth,  
And shee coy lookes: so dainty, they say, maketh derth.  
(F.Q. 1.2.27.8-9)

The next incident involving Fradubio and Fraelissa is not only a reflection of doubt, a sin against faith, but is an echo of the Red Cross Knight's action and a warning to him that he does not recognize. It is also a study in pusillanimity on the part of Fradubio. The couple stop to rest beneath two shady trees. A hint of the true nature of the trees is given in the information that shepherds shun this spot. The Red Cross Knight is now making the

<sup>27</sup>Kerby Neill, "The Degradation of the Red Cross Knight," ELH, XIX (September, 1952), 190.

<sup>28</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 129, a. 3.

same mistake in dallying with Duessa that Fradubio will confess:

Faire seemely pleasaunce each to other makes,  
with goodly purposes, there as they sit:  
And in his falsed fancy he her takes  
To be the fairest wight that lived yit.

(F.Q. 1.2.30.1-4)

To please her, he plucks a bough from a tree to weave into a garland only to find that the tree bleeds and pleads with him to spare it. Gaining control of himself, the knight questions the voice. The tree was once a man, Fraudubio, who has been transformed by a witch, Duessa. He had been a knight in love with a young lady who is now transformed into the second tree. Meeting another knight who had championed Duessa, he had killed him and received Duessa as his prize.

He contrasts the two ladies, the one truly fair, and Duessa only seemingly so:

Fraelissa was as faire as faire mote bee,  
And ever false Duessa seemde as faire as shee.

(F.Q. 1.2.37.8-9)

Fradubio, representing doubt in the moral order, is deceived by Duessa into believing that Fraelissa, frail faith, is ugly. He chooses Duessa, and his former love is transformed into a tree. Fradubio's actions are an echo of those of the Red Cross Knight, but the latter does not make the connection. Fradubio continues his story when he recounts how one day he saw Duessa's true nature, that of a filthy, foul old woman. He continues true to his doubting and fearful nature, however, by not leaving her immediately. In relation to honor, Fradubio might also represent pusillanimity. He refuses to face up to difficulties that he might well handle and overcome. "Hence it is that the servant who buried in the earth the money he had received from his master, and



did not trade with it through fainthearted fear, was punished by his master" (Matt. xxv; Luke xix).<sup>29</sup> Duessa realizes through his changed manner that he recognizes her true nature and transforms him also into a tree. Now he leads the sterile existence characteristic of a doubter. Only time and a satisfied fate will restore him to his true nature through a bath in a living well (baptism). Upset by these revelations which she knows to be true, Duessa resorts to the womanly expedient of a feigned swoon. The knight is taken in by the deception, so he, "too simple and too trew" (F.Q. 1.2.45.7), comforts her.

Meanwhile Una, the truth and the duty that the knight has deserted, wanders alone. One sees in this lonely figure an example of the patience and perseverance that is a part of the fortitude necessary for an honorable life.<sup>30</sup> Spenser may not have consciously used her character to portray heroism in labors and dangers, but she too illustrates greatness of soul:

Though true as touch, though daughter of a king,  
 Though faire as ever living wight was fayre,  
 Though nor in word nor deede ill meriting,  
 Is from her knight divorced in despayre,  
 And her dew loves deryv'd to that vile witches shayre.  
 (F.Q. 1.3.2.5-9)

She is unsuccessful in her search for the Red Cross Knight who has been "subtily betrayd/ Through that late vision which th' enchaunter wrought" (F.Q. 1.3.3.5-6).

In the next incident, one sees truth (Una) recognized by natural powers

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<sup>29</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 133, a. 1.

<sup>30</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 136, a. 1.

and rejected by religious counterfeits. One day, while resting, she removes her veil and stole. A lion, seeing her, through natural instinct offers her his protection:

O how can beautie maister the most strong,  
And simple truth subdue avenging wrong!

(F.Q. 1.3.6.4-5)

In her simplicity, Una accepts his aid, lamenting the absence of her rightful champion. Protected by the power of nature, Una meets Abessa, daughter of Corceca. These two women represent respectively superstition and spiritual blindness. In contrast to the lion's instinctive perception of Una's worth, they help her only because of their fear of the lion. During the night their cottage is entered by Kirkrapine, another example of religious aberration, the plundering of churches. The lion kills this paramour of Abessa. When Una and the lion depart, they are followed by the recriminations of Abessa and Corceca. One can see here through Anglican eyes an allegorical representation of its conflict with the Catholic church.

Una's patience meets another trial in her meeting with Archimago, disguised as the Red Cross Knight. Archimago, always a coward in an open fight, is afraid to approach because of the lion. When Una, deceived by his appearance, hastens to him, Archimago's hypocritical speech, enunciating the chivalric code, is ironic in this context:

He thereto meeting said, 'My dearest dame,  
Far be it from your thought, and fro my wil,  
To thinke that knighthood I so much should shame,  
As you to leave, that have me loved stil,  
And chose in Faery court, of meere goodwil,  
Where noblest knights were to be found on earth:  
The earth shall sooner leave her kindly skill

To bring forth fruit, and make eternall derth,  
 Then I leave you, my liefte, yborn of hevenly berth.  
 (F.Q. 1.3.28)

Lying, Archimago explains that he had punished a felon; he asks her to accept his excuse and his faithful service. Una forgives him and they start on their way when Sansloy rides up angrily. Seeing the red cross that Archimago carries, he prepares to attack him. Archimago has no desire to fight, "Loth was that other, and did faint through feare" (F.Q. 1.3.34.5). Encouraged by Una, he prepares to fight. Had his horse not drawn back in fear, he would have been killed instantly; instead he is wounded and thrown to the ground. Thinking he is the Red Cross Knight, Una pleads for "the truest knight alive" (F.Q. 1.3.37.6), but when Sansloy removes the knight's helmet, he recognizes Archimago. Sansloy admires his magic power, so he is willing to make friends; however, Archimago is temporarily unconscious. Disheartened at finding herself fooled by Archimago, Una is left to the mercy of Sansloy. Trying to protect her, the lion is killed because reason cannot support faith where there is no love.

In summary, one can read Una's deception by Archimago as an example of the trials of the Anglican Church with the Roman Catholic. It can also be interpreted as the need for patience in the life of fortitude. In connection with the theme of honor, Archimago's cowardice stands in sharp contrast to the courage of the truly magnanimous man.

Meanwhile, the true Red Cross Knight, who should have been protecting Una, aggravates his departure from virtue by his journey with Duessa to the House of Pride:

Young knight what ever, that dost armes professe,  
 And through long labours hunttest after fame,  
 Beware of fraud, beware of ficklenesse,

In choice, and chaunge, of thy deare loved dame,  
 Least thou of her believe too lightly blame,  
 And rash misweening doe thy hart remove:  
 For unto knight there is no greater shame,  
 Then lightnesse and inconstancie in love:  
 That doth this Redcrosse Knights ensample plainly prove.

(F.Q. 1.4.1)

More through weakness than through deliberate fault, the knight finds himself the companion of falsehood. One need not note here that the knight's shift of allegiance brings him in contact with a life of dishonor. At the House of Pride the knight sees honor misused. The desire of honor is good when it includes recognition that what is truly honorable is from God and that the honor itself is ultimately to be referred to God. "Pride is a deviation of that legitimate sentiment which prompts us to prize what is good in us, and to seek the esteem of others in the measure in which this is useful."<sup>31</sup> The religious orientation of the treatment of pride can be seen in the oblique references to the New Testament. The palace lies on a broad highway on which great troops of people travel. "Make your way in by the narrow gate. It is a broad gate and a wide road that leads on to perdition, and those who go in that way are many indeed" (Matt. vii.13).

One is reminded of Augustine's two cities in considering the House of Pride and later contrasting it with the House of Holiness. In one there is the love of self; in the latter, the love of God:

Accordingly, two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the one seeks glory from men; but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of conscience. The

<sup>31</sup> Adolphe Tanqueray, S.S., The Spiritual Life, trans. Herman Branderis, S.S., 2nd ed. (Tournai, Belgium, 1930), p. 393.

one lifts up its head in its own glory; the other says to its God, "Thou are my glory, and the lifter up of mine head."<sup>32</sup>

The palace itself is ostentatious but not sturdily constructed. The bricks have no mortar; the walls are high but not strong or thick. The whole, covered with golden foil, has many lofty towers, goodly galleries, and fair windows:

It was a goodly heape for to behould,  
 And spake the praises of the workmans witt;  
 But full great pittie, that so faire a mould  
 Did on so weake foundation ever sitt:  
 Far on a sandie hill, that still did flitt  
 And fall away, it mounted was full hie,  
 That every breath of heaven shaked it;  
 And all the hinder partes, that few could spie,  
 Were ruinous and old, but painted cunningly.

(F.Q. 1.4.5)

This is another oblique reference to the New Testament. "But whoever hears these commandments of mine and does not carry them out is like a fool, who built his house upon sand; and the rain fell and the floods came and the winds blew and beat upon that house and it fell; and great was the fall of it"

(Matt. vii.26-27). In opposition to the House of Holiness where the door is small and securely locked, this gate is wide open with Malvenù as the porter. The house is richly decorated and crowded with people. Pride, the beginning of all sins, is often expressed in riches. Man wants the perfection or enjoyment arising from goods. Lucifera sits in regal luxury: "In living princes court none ever knew/ Such endlesse riches, and so sumptuous shew" (F.Q. 1.4.7.4-5). As honor is to be a shadow of virtue, riches are only a counterfeit. Although wealth has a legitimate rôle in procuring a good life, the

<sup>32</sup>Augustine, The City of God, XIV, 28, p. 397.

purchase of recognition exclusively through wealth is false.

Lucifera, sitting in glorious splendor, is a foil to Gloriana, true glory:

High above all a cloth of state was spred,  
 And a rich throne, as bright as sunny day,  
 On which there sate, most brave embellished  
 With royall robes and gorgeous array,  
 A mayden queene, that shone as Titans ray,  
 In glistring gold and perelesse pretious stone;  
 Yet her bright blazing beautie did assay  
 To dim the brightnesse of her glorious throne,  
 As envying her selfe, that too exceeding shone.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.8)

She is compared to Phaeton, an example of presumption, and in the following lines conforms to Saint Thomas' description of pride:

So proud she shyned in her princely state,  
 Looking to heaven, for earth she did disdayne,  
 And sitting high, for lowly she did hate.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.10.1-3)

She shows her self-love by a mirror in which she delights to look. Although she is the daughter of Pluto and Proserpina, she claims to be the daughter of Jove, and if there were a more exalted parentage would claim that. Thus she exemplifies pride:

Pride (superbia) is so called because a man thereby aims higher (supra) than he is; wherefore Isidore says (Etym. x): A man is said to be proud, because he wishes to appear above (super) what he really is; for he who wishes to overstep beyond what he is, is proud. Now right reason requires that every man's will should tend to that which is proportionate to him. Therefore it is evident that pride denotes something opposed to right reason, and this shows it to have the character of sin, because according to Dionysius (Div. Nom. iv.4), the soul's evil is to be opposed to reason.<sup>33</sup>

Saint Thomas finds pride opposed to magnanimity and humility by excess. It is

<sup>33</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 162, a. 1.

opposed to humility because it scorns subjection, to magnanimity because it tends inordinately to great things. It is more directly against humility, however, because it implies some elation.<sup>34</sup>

Pride here is opposed to the Scholastic definition of honor as a quality based upon humility and charity. The Christian ideal can be found reflected in the beatitudes blessing the poor in spirit and blessing those who mourn. The poor in spirit stand in reverence before God, not seeking their own grandeur, nor being inordinately attached to external things such as honors and wealth. Those who mourn in a contrite spirit recognize God's excellence and their own weakness. This reverence for God's majesty moderates their own inordinate desires. This reverential fear of God, essential for a life of honor, is conspicuously absent at Lucifera's court.

Lucifera does not hold her kingdom through a rightful claim to the throne, nor does she rule justly. Appropriately her usher is Vanity, an inordinate love for the esteem of others, a desire of approval arising from pride. Her actions and those of her court reflect the vainglory of their lives. In her greeting of the Red Cross Knight and of Duessa, she lacks courtesy:

With loftie eyes, halfe loth to looke so lowe,  
 She thancked them in her disdainefull wise,  
 Ne other grace vouchsafed them to shoue  
 Of princesse worthy; scarce them bad arise.  
 Her lords and ladies all this while devise  
 Themselves to setten forth to straungers sight:  
 Some frounce their curled heare in courtly guise,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

Some prancke their ruffes, and others trimly dight  
 Their gay attyre: each others greater pride does spight.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.14)

Knowing Duessa well, they welcome her, and they are glad to increase  
 their ranks with the presence of the knight. However, he has perception  
 enough to see the vainglory of the court and to resent Lucifera's discourtesy:

Yet the stout Faery mongst the middest crowd  
 Thought all their glorie vaine in knightly vew,  
 And that great princesse too exceeding proud,  
 That to strange knight no better countenance allowd.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.15.6-9)

The vainglory of the court is expressed in the fact that the praise is for  
 something unworthy, love of self, as is later expressed by the procession of  
 the seven capital sins. The vainglory is expressed in that it is given by  
 unworthy persons, those in attendance in court. It is unrelated to God di-  
 rectly and unrelated indirectly by its contributing to the spiritual welfare  
 of man.<sup>35</sup>

Lucifera begins a procession accompanied by the other capital sins. Her  
 chariot imitates the splendor of Juno's, drawn by peacocks, a symbol of pride.

The procession of the Seven Deadly Sins is a commonplace of medieval  
 literature. In connection with the concept of honor, the writer will confine  
 herself to noting the lack of moral excellence in each sin. One can easily  
 find qualities incompatible with the life of honor. Idleness performs no  
 useful work:

From worldly cares himselfe he did esloyne,  
 And greatly shunned manly exercise;  
 From everie worke he challenged essayne,

<sup>35</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 132, a. 1.



For contemplation sake; yet otherwise  
 His life he led in lawlesse riotise.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.20.1-5)

Gluttony has neglected man's peculiar power, reason, and has rendered himself unfit for service to others:

In shape and life more like a monster then a man.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.22.9)

Unfit he was for any worldly thing,  
 And eke unhable once to stirre or go;  
 Not meet to be of counsell to a king.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.23.1-3)

Lechery is too preoccupied with pleasing women to do any serious work, "Full of vaine follies and new fanglenesse" (F.Q. 1.4.25.4).

Avarice is a slave to his wealth, which he collects without any useful purpose:

For of his wicked pelfe his god he made,  
 And unto hell him selfe for money sold.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.27.6-7)

Envy resents charitable deeds and, perhaps in a personal note from Spenser, calumniates poets:

He hated all good workes and vertuous deeds,  
 And him no lesse, that any like did use;  
 And who with gracious bread the hungry feeds,  
 His almes for want of faith he doth accuse;  
 So every good to bad he doth abuse:  
 And eke the verse of famous poets witt  
 He does backebite and spightfull poison spues  
 From leprous mouth on all that ever writt.  
 Such one vile Envy was, that fite in row did sitt.  
 (F.Q. 1.4.32)

Wrath, the last sin, lacks the self-control essential for leadership or even for any productive work:

For of his hands he had no government,  
 Ne car'd for blood in his avengement:  
 But when the furious fitt was overpast,  
 His cruell facts he often would repent;  
 Yet, wilfull man, he never would forecast,  
 How many mischieves should ensure his heedlesse hast.

(F.Q. 1.4.34.4-9)

Although Duessa places herself next to Lucifera in the procession, the knight, sensing its vanity, refrains from participation:

But that good knight would not so nigh repaire,  
 Him selfe estraunging from their joyaunce vaine,  
 Whose fellowship seemd far unfitt for warlike swaine.

(F.Q. 1.4.37.7-9)

So at the House of Pride one finds honor misused. There is the love of self, not the love of God. Instead of glory there is vainglory.

The knight has to meet another trial, this time against hope, when Sansjoy enters. Sansjoy has a melancholy disposition:

Enflam'd with fury and fiers hardyhed,  
 He seemd in hart to harbour thoughts unkind,  
 And nourish bloody vengeance in his bitter mind.

(F.Q. 1.4.38.7-9)

It takes only the sight of his brother's shield in the dwarf's keeping to send him into a rage and to cause him to seize the shield. Here the Red Cross Knight manifests his self-esteem, reminiscent of the knight untouched by Christianity, in rescuing his prize and defending his claim. To stop the quarrel, Lucifera proclaims a judicial duel for the next day. Sansjoy accuses the knight of treachery in his victory over his brother, but the Red Cross Knight is determined to answer with swords not words. The violence depicted here not only was a part of medieval life, but could be found in a more suppressed fashion among Elizabethan courtiers. Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl

of Oxford quarreled in such a manner over a tennis court. Essex, too, was noted for his imperious nature.

Duessa takes advantage of nightfall to promise Sansjoy her support. The story that she tells him is the opposite of that told to the Red Cross Knight. It also is a lie in that she accuses the latter of forcing her cooperation. She warns Sansjoy that the knight carries a charmed shield, but Sansjoy is confident of his success and promises to help her.

The Red Cross Knight is eager to gain honor through his martial prowess:

The noble hart, that harbours vertuous thought,  
 And is with childe of glorious great intent  
 Can never rest, untill it forth have brought  
 Th' eternall brood of glorie excellent:  
 Such restlesse passion did all night torment  
 The flaming corage of that Faery knight,  
 Devizing how that doughtie turnament  
 With greatest honour he atchieven might:  
 Still did he wake, and still did watch for dawning light.

(F.Q. 1.5.1)

In the first four lines is the thought that man must perfect himself through an active life of virtue. In the preparation for and in the ceremonies of the judicial duel, one sees a reflection of medieval culture. The court is eager to see the combat. Minstrels, bards, and chroniclers gather to rehearse old triumphs and witness today's duel. Wine is given to the combatants who bind themselves by oath to observe the laws of arms. Lucifera arrives and is given a place of honor. Sansfoy's shield and Duessa, the prizes, are placed on the other side in open view. A trumpet announces the beginning of the combat.

The Saracen, fighting for blood and vengeance, is contrasted with the Red Cross Knight, fighting for praise and honor: "So th' one for wrong, the other strives for right" (F.Q. 1.5.8.1). Aroused to fury at the sight of his

brother's shield, Sansjoy stuns the knight. Thinking Sansjoy victorious, Duessa calls, "Thine the shield, and I, and all." This shout arouses the Red Cross Knight who forces Sansjoy to his knee. The Red Cross Knight is prevented from killing him, however, by the cloud that renders him invisible. Duessa very quickly changes her allegiance, saying to the Red Cross Knight, "The conquest yours, I yours, the shield and glory yours." The knight is quite eager to finish his enemy, but he is declared victor, and the duel is over. The knight follows the conventions by offering his service to Lucifera who accepts it with thanks, "Greatly advauncing his gay chevalree" (F.Q. 1.5.16.5).

Once again, Duessa, working under the cover of night, comes to help Sansjoy whom she had saved by the enchanted cloud. One sees evil equated with darkness, night, and the underworld. Duessa asks Night to rescue Sansjoy. Duessa complains that the children of light are triumphing. Since Duessa is disguised as Fidessa, Night at first does not recognize her. Duessa identifies herself as the daughter of Deceit and Shame. A humorous touch is given to the scene when Night apologizes for not knowing her:

'In that fayre face  
The false resemblaunce of Deceipt, I wist,  
Did closely lurke; yet so true-seeming grace  
It carried, that I scarce in darksome place  
Could it discerne, though I the mother bee  
of Falshood, and roote of Duessaes race.'

(F.Q. 1.5.27.2-7)

Night and Duessa bring Sansjoy to hell. Here Aesculapius, imprisoned for restoring Hippolytus to life, is persuaded to cure Sansjoy.

When Duessa returns to the House of Pride, she finds that the Red Cross Knight has left. The dwarf, human prudence, has seen the victims of pride and has warned the knight:

A ruefull sight as could be seene with eie:  
 Of whom he learned had in secret wise  
 The hidden cause of their captivitie;  
 How mortgaging their lives to Covetise,  
 Through wastfull pride and wanton riotise,  
 They were by law of that proud tyrannesse,  
 Provokt with Wrath and Envyes false surmise,  
 Condemned to that dongeon mercillesse,  
 Where they should live in wo, and dye in wretchednesse.

(F.Q. 1.5.46)

One sees here in the House of Pride that the activity can be compared to the activity of a deadly growth, not to the activity of productive life. Because the inhabitants do not turn their activities toward God and toward their neighbor's good, but to a wasteful consumption motivated by self-love, they succeed in destroying themselves. They have turned away from God (pride) and have turned towards changeable good. Wealth is one of the means of doing this; at the House of Pride, wealth is given excessive importance. On the contrary, the magnanimous man recognizes that the goods of fortune are useful as a means of getting things done, but he is not much uplifted if he has them, nor cast down if he loses them.<sup>36</sup> Honor here is unmerited because it is given to actions motivated by self-love or to the strictly external quality of wealth.

One can see in looking at a few victims how they are examples of pride. Nebuchadnezzar wanted to be worshipped as a god; Croesus devoted his life to riches; Antiochus attempted to replace the Jewish religion with the worship of Greek gods. Nimrod is an example of treachery or desertion; Ninus is a personification of Nineveh, the city he is credited with founding; and Alexander the Great is an example of pride because of the tradition that he wished to be worshipped as a god (F.Q. 1.5.47-48).

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<sup>36</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 129, a. 8.

Besides having a moral meaning, this scene carries a warning for courtiers who often wasted their wealth at the Elizabethan court:

Besides the endlesse routes of wretched thralles,  
Which thether were assembled day by day,  
From all the world, after their wofull falles  
Through wicked pride and wasted welthes decay.  
But most of all which in that dongeon lay,  
Fell from high princes courtes, or ladies bowres,  
Where they in ydle pomp, or wanton play,  
Consumed had their goods, and thriftlesse howres,  
And lastly thrown themselves into these heavy stowres.

(F.Q. 1.5.51)

A study of the economic position of about sixty nobles in the reign of Elizabeth bears witness to an extravagant way of life. "If the Tudor aristocracy went bankrupt, this calamity occurred because they consistently lived beyond their means in an attempt to keep pace with extravagant social conventions. Snobbery and foppery, gluttony and gambling were all more important than any changes in price structure or land tenure."<sup>37</sup> The Renaissance brought with it a taste for opulent living. The nobles were accustomed to maintain large households, dress extravagantly, and dispense lavish hospitality. They were called upon to give lavish dowries. When they died they were expected to be buried with elaborate ceremonies. They might be called upon by the government to serve in embassies or entertain, and they were expected to pay for these out of their own income.<sup>38</sup> In depicting the dungeon in the House of Pride, Spenser warns his readers against conspicuous waste.

Meanwhile Una has been rescued from Sansloy by the satyrs who

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<sup>37</sup> Lawrence Stone, "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy," Econ. Hist. Rev., XVIII (1948), 3.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 3-13.

instinctively recognize her value. Like the lion, they represent man's natural powers that can discern and safeguard truth. Here she meets Satyrane, an example of nobility based upon nature; he possesses the qualities of a true knight. He has been trained to be fearless in the forest, but having subdued all of the animals there, he sought for recognition abroad. Occasionally he returns to his former companions:

It fortun'd, a noble warlike knight  
 By just occasion to that forrest came,  
 To seeke his kindred, and the lignage right,  
 From whence he tooke his weldeserved name:  
 He had in armes abroad wonne muchell fame,  
 And fild far landes with glorie of his might;  
 Plaine, faithfull, true, and enemy of shame,  
 And ever lov'd to fight for ladies right,  
 But in vaine glorious frayes he litle did delight.  
 (F.Q. 1.6.20)

Although Satyrane represents natural virtue, his actions are not differentiated in such a way as to represent Aristotelian self-esteem. Rather his kindness has a Christian quality. Saint Thomas describes the magnanimous man as one who seeks for honor for his courageous deeds, but he is magnanimous in refraining from petty activities. "Again, in the second place, it is said that he is remiss and slow of action, not that he is lacking in doing what becomes him, but because he does not busy himself with all kinds of works, but only with great works, such as are becoming to him."<sup>39</sup>

The idyllic scene of Una among the satyrs stands in direct contrast to the picture of the House of Pride. The long-suffering and patience of Una accentuate the duplicity of Duessa. The devotion of Satyrane is a foil to the

<sup>39</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 129, a. 3.

truancy of the Red Cross Knight. Satyrane finds Una instructing the satyrs. He too has the intelligence to learn from her:

Thenceforth he kept her goodly company,  
 And learned her discipline of faith and verity.  
 (F.Q. 1.6.31.8-9)

But Una (religion) cannot remain here forever. She asks Satyrane to help her escape:

Too late it was to Satyres to be told,  
 Or ever hope recover her againe.  
 In vaine he seekes that, having, cannot hold.  
 (F.Q. 1.6.33.5-7)

Once again Archimago appears, this time disguised as a palmer. True to his nature, he lies, telling Una that he has seen the Red Cross Knight slain. Satyrane immediately offers to champion her, and he finds Sansloy and accuses him of the deed:

'Arise, thou cursed miscreant,  
 Thou hast with knightlesse guile and trecherous train  
 Faire knighthood fowly shamed, and doest vaunt  
 The good Knight of the Redcrosse to have slain.'  
 (F.Q. 1.6.41.1-4)

Sansloy denies the accusation, but he and Satyrane fight. Sansloy is torn between a desire to kill Satyrane and a desire to regain Una. Realizing her danger, Una escapes, followed by Archimago.

In this scene of Una with the satyrs, one sees truth accepted by the untaught. The contrast does not seem to be so much that of paganism against Christianity as it is the simple life against the corruptions of society. Satyrane can be interpreted from two different aspects. On one level he and the satyrs represent the nobility possible from a life based upon reason and uncorrupted by sophistication. Necessarily, the figures are idealized. From



another point of view, he and the satyrs represent the humble and poor who are more receptive to the Christian message than those more favored by society. One might call him an "ungentle gentle," who, though of unpretentious background, has the qualities of the magnanimous man.

The interpretation of Satyrane and the satyrs as manifesting a life based solely upon reason is carried out when Una leaves them. Her role as the Anglican church requires that her actions be within a supernatural frame of reference. Though the instruction of the ignorant would certainly be within the supernatural frame of reference, Una's role is not fulfilled by this. With the aid of the Red Cross Knight she must rescue revealed religion from the devil.

## CHAPTER VIII

### HONOR IN THE FAERIE QUEENE, BOOK I, CANTOS VII-XII

One follows the Red Cross Knight in his development into a magnanimous man, a development that for him must be founded upon a realization of his own weaknesses. In the next instance one finds him guilty of presumption. This defect is opposed to hope because one assumes the attainment of some good without the necessary effort to attain it. It is opposed to magnanimity because one seeks a goal beyond his power.

To equate the Red Cross Knight (holiness) with magnanimity is not a confusion of terms. The magnanimous man undertakes great things for God and for his neighbor. These great things may be in the political order, in service in the army and in civil life. They may also be in the supernatural order in the pursuit of a high ideal. The Red Cross Knight manifests magnanimity when he pursues holiness, when he attempts to conquer himself and acquire solid virtue.

The Red Cross Knight has still to learn his own weaknesses. Duessa has managed to rejoin him and he accepts her. He seems to have forgotten that she had brought him to the House of Pride and that she had taken Sansjoy's side against him:

What man so wise, what earthly witt so ware,  
As to discry the crafty cunning traine,  
By which Deceipt doth maske in visour faire,  
And cast her coulours died deepe in graine,  
To seeme like Truth, whose shape she well can faine,

And fitting gestures to her purpose frame,  
 The guiltlesse man with guile to entertaine?  
 Great maistresse of her art with that false dame,  
 The false Duessa, cloked with Fidessaes name.

(F.Q. 1.7.1)

The knight has triumphed over the obvious temptation against hope by defeating Sansjoy; now he falls prey to the less obvious temptations in the persons of Orgoglio (presumption) and Despair. These temptations are less obvious because they call for moral courage, and not merely physical courage as did the assault upon Sansjoy. He must learn humility through failure, and the next two incidents prepare him for the right disposition when he enters the House of Holiness.

The knight is presumptuous here in several ways. First, he accepts Duessa whom he has had sufficient opportunity to recognize as false. Second, he does not take the necessary precautions of watchfulness and prayer in order to overcome temptation. One sees him resting idly; he has removed his armor, the symbol of his Christian faith. The danger of his idleness is reflected in the story of the metamorphosis of a nymph into a spring in punishment for her having rested while hunting:

Thenceforth her waters waxed dull and slow,  
 And all that drunke thereof did faint and feeble grow.

(F.Q. 1.7.5.8-9)

He is affected by the water. "Eftsoones his manly forces gan to fayle,/ And mightie strong was turnd to feeble frayle" (F.Q. 1.7.6.4-5).

The Red Cross Knight is presumptuous in thinking that he can carry out his quest without ordinary precautions, and so one finds him the victim of his indolence:

Yet 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.

(F.Q. 1.7.7.1-3)

The knight is taken by surprise before he can don his armor or get his shield.

He would have been killed, "were not heavenly grace, that him did blesse"

(F.Q. 1.7.12.3). Since the Red Cross Knight, somewhat to our surprise, is not baptized until the end of his first day with the battle with the dragon

(F.Q. 1.11.29-36), one must assume that the graces he receives before his baptism are actual graces.

His captor is Orgoglio who, on different levels, represents carnal pride and presumption and the Roman Catholic Church. Orgoglio is born of the Earth and Aeolus, materialism and vanity:

So growen great, through arrogant delight  
 Of the high descent whereof he was yborne,  
 And through presumption of his matchlesse might,  
 All other powres and knighthood he did scorne.

(F.Q. 1.7.10.1-4)

Here Orgoglio's presumption seems to be not in something great, but in something only seemingly so, such as despising and wronging others. "Hence Seneca says (De Quat. Virtut.) that when magnanimity exceeds its measure, it makes a man high-handed, proud, haughty, restless, and bent on excelling in all things, whether in words or in deeds, without any considerations of virtue. Thus it is evident that the presumptuous man sometimes falls short of the magnanimous in reality, although in appearance he surpasses him."<sup>1</sup>

Ironically his parents are not persons of whom to be proud. The only

<sup>1</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 130, a. 2.

quality of knighthood that he respects is physical strength. His weapon, an oaken mace, represents his crudeness. Orgoglio is literally a wind-bag, a term Saint Thomas applies to the presumptuous man:

No one attempts what is above his ability, except in so far as he deems his ability greater than it is. In this one may err in two ways. First only as regards quantity, as when a man thinks he has greater virtue, or knowledge, or the like, than he has. Secondly, as regards the kind of thing, as when he thinks himself great, and worthy of great things, by reason of something that does not make him so, for instance by reason of riches or goods of fortune. For, as the Philosopher says (Ethic. iv.3), those who have these things without virtue, neither justly deem themselves worthy of great things, nor are rightly called magnanimous.<sup>2</sup>

The Red Cross Knight is imprisoned by Orgoglio, but the dwarf escapes with his armor. Duessa adjusts herself to this situation by allying herself with Orgoglio. He gives her a triple crown (the papal tiara) and a hydra that desecrates sacred objects, an allusion to the Scarlet Whore and the red dragon (Apoc. xvii.3-4).

The dwarf meets Una who once again thinks the knight is dead. Reviving her, the dwarf recounts the knight's adventures. Una is resolved to find him, and on her journey encounters Arthur.

Arthur personifies God's grace that will rescue the soul, and in himself he personifies the perfection of all the virtues. He is the embodiment of the excellence awarded true honor.

In considering Arthur as the central figure one might note the relationship between magnanimity and honor. Magnanimity, or large-mindedness, is the desire for great actions. An action is absolutely great when it is the best use of the best things. High honor truly deserved is the best of external

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

things. When a man has these honors and uses them in a noble manner, he is magnanimous. Because it is an established, reasonable habit of mind that manifests itself in courage in defending what is honorable, magnanimity is a virtue. Because every virtue is rewarded with honor, magnanimity refers to all the virtues. Yet as magnanimity strengthens the mind and will in its pursuit of greatness, it is also a part of fortitude.<sup>3</sup> Arthur manifests this magnanimity in all his actions and shows that honor is one of the central motive forces of The Faerie Queene.

Arthur's important role is reflected in the detail in which he is described (F.Q. 1.7.29-37). He is dressed in brilliant full armor, with a bejewelled baldric, containing a gem in the shape of the Faerie Queene. He wears an elaborately carved sheath; his golden helmet is decorated by an impressive dragon and surmounted by a bejewelled brush. He has a diamond shield that when unveiled can paralyze any power. The shield is like the Red Cross Knight's in that it represents the power of faith.<sup>4</sup> In keeping with his dignity, he is accompanied by a squire, an excellent horseman.

The disagreement on whether Spenser means magnificance or magnanimity in referring to Arthur is a rather fine point with arguments existing on both sides. Magnificance and magnanimity could be used synonymously during the Tudor period. Spenser himself tended to use words in their broadest connotations; for example, he uses "honor" and "glory" interchangeably at times, as

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<sup>3</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 129, a. 1-5.

<sup>4</sup>W. J. B. Pienaar, "Arthur's Shield in The Faerie Queene," MP, XXVI (August, 1928), 65.

well as "noble" and "gentle." Since magnificence, which really means "doing great things," is more commonly used to mean rich display, this writer prefers to consider that he meant the commonly used word magnanimity. However, the argument for magnificence is validly based upon an accurate reading of Saint Thomas. "Recent scholars, such as Professor Moloney, have pointed out that, in Saint Thomas and other commentators on Aristotle, magnificence merely means the external impressive manifestation in deeds (magna facta) of the internal virtue of magnanimity (magna anima)."<sup>5</sup>

Moloney declares that the Renaissance courtier was not simply the resurrection of a forgotten classical idealism, a revolt against medieval otherworldliness. Christianity from Alcuin's time had incorporated classical humanism into its social thought. The Middle Ages were concerned with the perfectibility of man, but in a different way than the modern world is. The moderns think of perfection in terms of scientific evolution, but the medieval man thought of perfectibility in terms of the individual and the brief span of a single life. A man was endowed with certain talents and could acquire certain virtues:

Naturally there were certain virtues which had an especial relevance to a particular way of life; this being true, magnificence was, without question, the particular virtue of the governor. The hierarchical organization of society, which was the medieval ideal, provided for the doing of great things greatly, and of simple things simply. With their insistence upon human law as derived from Eternal Law and upon the human ruler as vice-regent for God himself, medieval man thought it completely reasonable to surround the ruler with the appurtenances of power and the externalities of grandeur which automatically win respect. Hence magnificence was the inevitable attribute of the prince.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>McNamee, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup>Michael F. Moloney, "Saint Thomas and Spenser's Virtue to Magnificence," JEGP, LII (January, 1953), 60.

Sister Mary Anne Winkelmann follows this interpretation. The magnanimous man is great in soul, while the magnificent man has used these noble potencies and has achieved something great. She concludes that Spenser's magnificence included magnanimity. Magnificence is not only the greatness of purpose but the successful accomplishment of great undertakings.<sup>7</sup> Thus Spenser's use of magnificence can be justified in the exact denotation pointed out by Saint Thomas. Since The Faerie Queene is unfinished, and Arthur's role is not complete delineated, the final answer as to whether Spenser means magnificence or magnanimity is not available.

Arthur manifests courtesy and sympathy in his meeting with Una. At first Una cannot bring herself to talk of her misfortunes, but through his gentle persuasion she is reassured and tells of her plight. Her parents are besieged by a dragon. Many knights have attempted to free them, but they could not because of want of faith or guilt of sin (F.Q. 1.7.45). She went to the court of Gloriana, "Of Gloriane, great queene of glory bright" (F.Q. 1.7.46.6):

Yt was my chaunce (my chaunce was faire and good)  
 There for to find a fresh unproved knight,  
 Whose manly hands imbrewd in guilty blood  
 Had never beene, ne ever by his might  
 Had throwne to ground the unregarded right:  
 Yet of his prowesse prooffe he since hath made  
 (I witnes am) in many a cruell fight;  
 The groning ghosts of many one dismaide  
 Have felt the bitter dint of his avenging blade.  
 (F.Q. 1.7.47)

The knight's presence at Gloriana's court reflects his pursuit of honor. Gloriana is peculiarly appropriate as the name of a sovereign from whom the

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<sup>7</sup>Winkelmann, pp. 207-208.



knights wish to receive public recognition. Glory is the clear public recognition of one's excellence. "The word glory properly denotes that somebody's good is known and approved by many."<sup>8</sup> As noted before, Ashley also recognizes that glory has a broader connotation than honor. "So that glory is accompanied with shew and solemnitie, pomp and magnificence; but honour only with the approbation of a good and sound judgment directed by reason."<sup>9</sup> Therefore the name of Gloriana is appropriate to a sovereign and is appropriate to the source of the public recognition that the knights are seeking. So Spenser recognizes glory as a legitimate goal for his knight.

Una recounts how the Red Cross Knight, deceived by Archimago, deserted her. Now, betrayed by Duessa, he lies in Orgoglio's dungeon. Arthur promises his help. Honor, lost through human frailty, will be regained with the aid of God's grace.

In the rescue of the Red Cross Knight by Arthur and Una, one sees the Christian concept that the soul needs grace and instruction in order to gain salvation:

Ay me! how many perils doe enfold  
 The righteous man, to make him daily fall,  
 Were not that Heavenly Grace doth him uphold,  
 And stedfast Truth acquite him out of all!  
 Her love is firme, her care continuall,  
 So oft as he, through his own foolish pride  
 Or weaknes, is to sinfull bands made thrall:  
 Els should this Redcrosse Knight in bands have dyde,  
 For whose deliverance she this Prince doth thether guyd.

(F.Q. 1.8.1)

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<sup>8</sup> S.T., II-II, q. 132, a. 1.

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

The Red Cross Knight's weakness will result in his learning humility. Arthur appears here as a part of the supernatural order, in a sense, as an agent of God. Spenser's version of the magnanimous man is based on Christian ideals.<sup>10</sup> Although the Red Cross Knight has been called to Christian perfection, he is now far from that ideal. His imprudence, resulting from his pride and sensuality, has placed him in the power of Orgoglio. Later in the House of Holiness he will begin a consciously willed growth in spiritual perfection, spurred on by the realization of his own weakness, but now is he rescued by God's grace. Grace, personified by Arthur, will release him from his imprisonment, and enable him to go on to Christian perfection.

The Red Cross Knight (holiness) seeks the glory of God as his ultimate end, and his own sanctification for the greater glory of God. But in his life on earth as a wayfarer, he must seek this glory through participation in the life of God through sanctifying grace and his union with him through charity. This sanctifying grace is the beginning of his eternal life of glory. The aid that Arthur gives him in his rescue might be interpreted as an actual grace helping him to continue on his way to holiness. Arthur and the squire proceed to rescue the knight. The squire blows a horn that magically opens the castle. This horn represents justice, but it is also "the word of truth, the word of God, whose sound goeth into all the earth" (Romans: x.18).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>H. S. V. Jones, "Magnanimity in Spenser's Legend of Holiness," SP, XXIX (1932), 200-201.

<sup>11</sup>John Upton, The Faerie Queene of Edmund Spenser . . ., 2 vols. London, 1758, quoted in The Works of Edmund Spenser, a Variorum Edition, I (Baltimore, 1932), 257.

Orgoglio appears accompanied by Duessa mounted on her many-headed beast. Arthur is "wise and wary" (F.Q. 1.8.7.6), avoiding the giant's blow, which is so powerful that his mace is buried in the ground. Arthur takes advantage of this situation and cuts off his left arm. When Duessa attempts to aid him, the squire prevents her. She renders him helpless by poison from a golden cup, a reference to the Apocalypse xvii.4, but also a possible reference to what was considered the pernicious effect of the Mass. The beast is about to kill him when Arthur comes to his aid. Arthur cuts off one of the beast's heads. Orgoglio strikes a blow upon Arthur's shield that causes the veil to fall from it. The shield, the power of faith, renders the opponents helpless, and Arthur is able to kill Orgoglio. Dying, Orgoglio reveals his true nature:

That huge great body, which the gyaunt bore,  
 Was vanisht quite, and of that monstrous mas  
 Was nothing left, but like an emptie blader was.  
 (F.Q. 1.8.24.7-9)

The squire captures Duessa, who attempts to escape. Una thanks Arthur for his assistance:

Fayre braunch of noblesse, flowre of chevalrie,  
 That with your worth the world amazed make,  
 How shall I quite the paynes, ye suffer for my sake?  
 (F.Q. 1.8.26.7-9)

Arthur enters the castle to find the knight. Appropriately it is kept by Ignaro. He carries keys that he does not know how to use. When he walks, he always looks backward. The only sentence he knows is: "He could not tell." Ignorance is a part of presumption because it is the result here of a lack of effort, a refusal to use the normal mental powers:

Divine and immortal things surpass man according to the order of nature.  
 Yet man is possessed of a natural power, namely the intellect, whereby

he can be united to immortal and Divine things. In this respect the Philosopher says that man ought to pursue immortal and divine things, not that he should do what it becomes God to do, but that he should be united to Him in intellect and will.<sup>12</sup>

Arthur soon realizes that Ignaro will be of no help but he "calmd his wrath with goodly temperance" (F.Q. 1.8.34.5), takes the keys from him, and begins his search for the Red Cross Knight. He finds the castle filled with rich decorations, but the floors are covered with blood, representing the victims of the religious persecutions. Finally he comes to a door for which he can find no key, but he hears behind it the hollow, dreary complaints of the knight. Arthur forces the door and proceeds into the foul atmosphere of the dungeon. He finds the knight in a pitiable condition:

His sad dull eies, deepe sunck in hollow pits,  
 Could not endure th' unwonted sunne to view;  
 His bare thin cheekes for want of better bits,  
 And empty sides deceived of their dew,  
 Could make a stony hart his hap to rew;  
 His rawbone armes, whose mighty brawned bowrs  
 Were wont to rive steele plates, and helmets hew,  
 Were clene consum'd, and all his vitall powres  
 Decayd, and al his flesh shronk up like withered flowres.  
 (F.Q. 1.8.41)

Forgetting past misunderstandings, Una comforts the Red Cross Knight who is too weak to respond. Arthur advises that the good to come from past trials "Is to be wise, and ware of like agein" (F.Q. 1.8.44.6). Una decides that to kill Duessa would be shameful, but she is stripped, revealed in all her ugliness, and left to wander alone.

In this conflict with Orgoglio one finds magnanimity contrasted with

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<sup>12</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 130, a. 1.

presumption. Magnanimity purposes to itself honorable achievement which lies within its power. But presumption seeks for greatness with ill-founded confidence. Orgoglio lacks the interior qualities of a great man, specifically he lacks virtue. His effort to compensate for these with bluster and riches is deflated.

At the castle Arthur and the Red Cross Knight pledge themselves to brotherhood. This fraternal spirit among the knights has been expressed already by Arthur's rescue of the knight:

O Goodly golden chayne! wherewith yfere  
 The vertues linked are in lovely wise,  
 And noble mindes of yore allyed were,  
 In grave poursuitt of cheualrous emprize,  
 That none did others safety despize,  
 Now aid envy to him, in need that stands,  
 But friendly each did others praise devize  
 How to advaunce with favourable hands,  
 As this good Prince redeemd the Redcrosse Knight from bands.  
 (F.Q. 1.9.1)

Arthur tells the story of his life. He does not know who his parents are. As soon as he was born he was taken to be educated by a knight "in gentle thewes and martiall might" (F.Q. 1.9.1). He was trained by Timon. "I have often observed that Spenser varies his names from history, mythology, or romance, agreeable to his own scheme; and here, by saying that Arthur was nurtured by Timon, allegorically he means that he was brought up in the ways of honour, for so his tutor's name signifies."<sup>13</sup> Merlin came often to visit him and assured him that he was the son of a king. He is here because he dreamt of the Faerie Queene, loved the vision of her, and has for the last nine months

<sup>13</sup>Upton, p. 264.

been trying to find her. Una congratulates the Faerie Queene for finding so worthy a champion:

'O happy Queene of Faries, that hast fownd,  
Mongst many, one that with his prowesse may  
Defend thine honour, and thy foes confownd!  
True loves are often sown, but seldom grow on ground!'  
(F.Q. 1.9.16.6-9)

The Red Cross Knight reassures Arthur that he is worthy of the Faerie Queene's grace:

'And you, my lord, the patrone of my life,  
Of that great Queene may well gaine worthie grace:  
For onely worthie you through prowes priefe,  
Yf living man mote worthie be, to be her liefе.'  
(F.Q. 1.9.17.6-9)

The two knights pledge themselves in brotherhood:

Brothers in arms were supposed to be partners in all things save the affections of their "lady-loves." They shared in every danger and in every success, and each was expected to vindicate the honour of another as promptly and zealously as his own. The plot of the medieval romance of Amis and Amiles is built entirely on such a brotherhood. Their engagements usually lasted through life, but sometimes only for a specified period, or during the continuance of specified circumstances, and they were always ratified by oath, occasionally reduced to writing in the shape of a solemp bond and often sanctified by their reception of the Eucharist together.<sup>14</sup>

This brotherhood is ratified by an exchange of gifts and by a pledge

(F.Q. 1.9.18). Arthur gives liquid in a diamond box that can heal any wound (Baptism and the Eucharist), and the Red Cross Knight gives a New Testament.

The knights go on their separate ways.

Having been rescued from presumption, the Red Cross Knight has one more

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<sup>14</sup>George G. Coulton, "Knighthood and Chivalry," Encyclopedia Britannica (New York, 1911), XV, 853.

temptation against hope before he will have the proper disposition to enter the House of Holiness. He and Una meet a knight who is obviously upset:

In fowle reproch of knighthoodes fayre degree,  
 About his neck an hempen rope he weares,  
 That with his glistring armes does ill agree;  
 But he of rope, or armes, has now no memoree.

(F.Q. 1.9.22.6-9)

The knight is incoherent through fear, but the Red Cross Knight is finally able to get him to tell what has happened. Another knight, Sir Terwin, has loved a lady who was too proud. She enjoyed seeing him languish. One day when the two knights are together they meet Despair, who convinces Terwin that he should kill himself. Sir Trevisan promises to bring the Red Cross Knight to Despair though he is afraid to have anything else to do with him. Despair is sitting in a cave, a dismal sight, dressed in rags, with hair hanging disorderly about his shoulders and over his face.

The Red Cross Knight is foolish enough to argue with Despair who advances several sophistic arguments for taking one's own life. They are as follows: man deserves death for his sins; in assisting a neighbor to die, one is simply helping him to arrive sooner at his destination; death is eternal rest; man's death is predestined by God; the longer a man lives, the more he sins, and the greater punishment he deserves; life is filled with cares. Despair introduces a personal note by reminding the knight of his many mistakes. Everyone must die, so it is better to die willingly and not to linger. When Despair sees that his words have had effect, he shows the knight a picture of hell. He hands him a dagger and the knight lifts his hand to strike. Once again Una comes to the rescue, reminding him of his duty to kill the dragon. She tells him that the arguments are sophistic and a temptation from the

devil. The knight can depend upon grace for his salvation. They leave for the House of Holiness.

The attitude of the honorable man toward suicide varies somewhat with the culture. Aristotle objected to suicide because it was an unjust act against the state.<sup>15</sup> The Stoics taught that man dwelt here as in an inn, and he had the right to leave when he wished. The Christian attitude can be seen in concentration upon God, not upon self. If one accepts self-esteem as the center of life, one might logically commit suicide to avoid disgrace. But if one centers his life upon God, one will bear the difficulties of life, accepting them in a spirit of reparation. Ultimately, the evil of suicide is the taking of something that is not ours, life. Fortitude, the quality of the magnanimous man, gives him the strength to endure, to bear up, to see things through. The courage to accept the trials of life with patience and perseverance is a truly heroic act. Honor here consists in trust in God and patient endurance.

With the entrance into the House of Holiness, one sees a change in the direction of the plot. Up to this time, the knight, physically courageous, has been imperfectly trained in virtue. Though his will has been good, his judgment has been poor. With the training given to him here, he will emerge confirmed in virtue and prepared for his combat with evil forces and for his marriage with truth. Here his spiritual training will make him a magnanimous man according to Saint Thomas, one that recognizes that his good is from God:

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<sup>15</sup>Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1138<sup>a</sup>4-13.



What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might,  
 And vaine assurance of mortality,  
 Which, all so soone as it doth come to fight  
 Against spirituall foes, yields by and by,  
 Or from the fielde most cowardly doth fly?  
 Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,  
 That thorough grace hath gained victory.  
 If any strength we have, it is to ill,  
 But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.1)

From this stanza one can see that Spenser's concept of honor is based on a Christian ethic. Man himself cannot triumph in the spiritual combat without the aid of grace.

Virgil K. Whitaker points out Spenser's essential conservatism. Although theologically he was a staunch Protestant when a belief was not a matter of controversy, "his sympathy lay with medieval Catholic ways."<sup>16</sup>

The knight's training in the House of Holiness is simply a description of the three stages of the spiritual life, the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive:

In the House of Holiness, the specific discipline of Christian mysticism is prescribed to bring about a spiritual regeneration and final arrival at the sublime heights of mystical contemplation. Thus, the House of Holiness in the tenth canto stands apart from the other cantos as an allegory complete in itself of man's conversion and training toward spiritual perfection. And, moreover, it is an excellent exemplification, in form of allegory, of the methodology of Christian mysticism.<sup>17</sup>

Spenser's concept of excellence here is medieval and religious. The man of honor will be trained spiritually:

<sup>16</sup>Virgil K. Whitaker, The Religious Basis of Spenser's Thought, Stanford Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. VII (Stanford, 1950), p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>Joseph B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 192-193.

There was an auncient house not far away,  
 Renowmd throughout the world for sacred lore  
 And pure unspotted life: so well, they say,  
 It governd was, and guided evermore,  
 Through wisdom of a matrone grave and hore;  
 Whose onely joy was to relieve the needes  
 Of wretched soules, and helpe the helpelesse pore:  
 All night she spent in bidding of her bedes,  
 And all the day in doing good and godly deedes.

(F.Q. 1.10.3)

Prayer and charity form the backbone of the life here. One can contrast this dwelling with the House of Pride where there is inordinate attention to self and vanity is the keynote. Dame Caelia, the knowledge of holiness has three daughters who represent the theological virtues, the essential elements of the Christian life. "We must put on our breastplate, the breastplate of faith and love, our helmet, which is the hope of salvation" (I Thess. v.8). "We give thanks to God always for all of you, making mention of you continually in our prayers; such memories we have of your active faith, your unwearied love, and that hope in our Lord Jesus Christ which gives you endurance, in the sight of him who is our God and Father" (I Thess. i.3). The theological virtues are considered the essence of the spiritual life because their object is God, whereas the moral virtues can have as their object simply man's perfection. As has been noted before, honor is placed in a religious context.

In contrast to the open gate of the House of Pride, the door is locked, but opened immediately upon their knocking. They have to stoop to go in the straight and narrow way. The porter is Humility. One might note that humility is a peculiarly Jewish and Christian virtue and that humility is a quality lacking in Aristotle's magnanimous man. A true knowledge of one's dependence upon God is the first step in the spiritual life.

Having made the first difficult step, they find that within is a pleasant, spacious court. This can be taken to imply that the spiritual life is not one of neuroticism or self-torture, but that it has its own rewards. They are met by the ushers, Zeal and Reverence. The latter takes them to Dame Caelia, who is praying. Recognizing Una, she greets her and the knight hospitably. One might contrast this greeting with that of Night's to Duessa and with the haughty reception of Lucifera. Caelia remarks that few find their way to the House of Holiness. They meet her daughters Fidelia and Speranza. A halo of light surrounds Fidelia's head. Fidelia, dressed in white, carries a golden cup, representing the sacraments, containing a serpent, emblematic of health.<sup>18</sup> Her faith is represented by her constancy of mood and by the New Testament she carries in her left hand. Speranza, dressed in blue and supporting herself on an anchor, is serious and prayerful. Charissa, symbolizing the fruitfulness of love, is absent, having not fully recovered from being delivered of a son. The guests are invited to rest, and they are led to their lodgings by Obedience, a virtue that removes many causes of dissension. One might note the order and the courtesy manifested in the House of Holiness.

Fidelia begins the knight's instruction with the Bible. She relates examples of the power of faith:

And when she list poure out her larger spright,  
 She would commaund the hasty sunne to stay,  
 Or backward turne his course from hevens hight:  
 Sometimes great hostes of men she could dismay;  
 Dry-shod to passe, she parts the flouds in tway;  
 And eke huge mountaines from their native seat

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<sup>18</sup>Upton, p. 285.

She would commaund, themselves to beare away,  
 And throw in raging sea with roaring threat:  
 Almighty God her gave such powre and puissaunce great.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.20)

Among the miracles cited, one can mention Joshua's command to the sun to stand still, the passage of the Isrealites through the Red Sea, and the New Testament reminder that faith can move mountains. Having matured in his understanding, the knight begins to feel remorse for his sins, but Speranza reassures him. Because he is still despondent, Caelia sends him to Patience, a leech, to cure him. This figure was known in earlier allegories as Shrift or Confession:<sup>19</sup>

Who, comming to that sowle-diseased knight,  
 Could hardly him intreat to tell his grief:  
 Which knowne, and all that noyd his heavie spright  
 Well searcht, eftsoones he gan apply relief  
 Of salves and med'cines, which had passing prief,  
 And there to added wordes of wondrous might:  
 By which to ease he him recured brief,  
 And much aswag'd the passion of his plight,  
 That he his paine endur'd, as seeming now more light.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.24)

When the knight tells his grief, he receives relief. But after confession, he finds that the cause of sin still remains, so Patience prescribes fasting and penance. This mortification cleanses from past faults, but it has also the important function of guarding against future sin by weakening the love of pleasure, the source of sin.<sup>20</sup> The knight experiences great agony of soul:

In which his torment often was so great,  
 That like a lyon he would cry and rore,  
 And rend his flesh, and his owne synewes eat.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.28.1-3)

<sup>19</sup>Collins, p. 196.

<sup>20</sup>Tanqueray, p. 362.

This is a natural phenomenon: "Temptations at times terrible, arise from the soul's lower depths stirred by the devil and the world, but the soul, leaning upon Him who has overcome the world and the flesh, will fight from the outset and as long as necessary against these attacks of the enemy."<sup>21</sup> This active purgation does not render the soul perfectly pure, and the next step is the illuminative way in which the soul exercises the moral and theological virtues. This is exemplified by the knight's being placed under Charissa's tutelage.

Charissa teaches him "Of love, and righteousness, and well to donne" (F.Q. 1.10.33.4). She assigns him to Mercy who takes him to a hospital in which the seven corporal works of mercy are exemplified. The charity of the beadsmen, given in God's honor and the result of a life dedicated to others, stands in contrast to the selfishness and waste of the seven Deadly Sins:

Eftsoones unto an holy hospitall,  
 That was foreby the way, she did him bring,  
 In which seven bead-men, that had vowed all  
 Their life to service of high heavens King,  
 Did spend their daies in doing godly thing:  
 Their gates to all were open evermore,  
 That by the wearie way were traueiling,  
 And one sate wayting ever them before,  
 To call in commers by, that needy were and pore.

(F.Q. 1.10.36)

The seven beadsmen, the corporal works of mercy, give material aid to the poor. Their functions are as follows: to shelter the homeless, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to ransom the captive, to visit the sick, to bury the dead, and to care for widows and orphans. The first entertains those who can never repay him:

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 453.

Not unto such, as could him feast againe,  
 And double quite for that he on them spent,  
 But such as want of harbour did constraine:  
 Those for God sake his dewty was to entertaine.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.37.6-9)

In time, and in the forthcoming acts of charity, one can recognize the moral excellence lacking in the description of the Capital Sins. The second beadsman shows his trust in God by giving his money to the poor:

He feard not once him selfe to be in need,  
 Ne car'd to hoord for those whom he did breede:  
 The grace of God he layd up still in store,  
 Which as a stocke he left unto his seede;  
 He had enough; what need him care for more?  
 And had he lesse, y<sup>t</sup> some he would give to the pore.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.38.4-9)

The third beadsman gives clothes that are not expensive symbols of pride, but are made to keep out the cold. Because he recognizes God's image in each man, he gives generously. If he had nothing else to give, he would share his own coat.

The next beadsman ransoms captives and prisoners even though he knows they have committed crimes. Remembering God's mercy, he tries to imitate it. The fifth comforts the dying in their final agony. "All is but lost, that living we bestow,/ If not well ended at our dying day" (F.Q. 1.10.41.6-7).

The sixth beadsman prepares the dead for burial:

The wondrous workmanship of Gods owne mould,  
 Whose face He made, all beastes to feare, and gave  
 All in his hand, even dead we honour should.  
 Ah! dearest God me graunt, I dead be not defould.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.42.6-9)

The last beadsman cares for widows and orphans. One is reminded of The Institution of a Gentleman, in which such care of the needy is recommended:

Moreouer ech gentle man ought to accoumpt himselfe a man ordeyned to labor and trauaile in right causes, offices and ministracions, a man ready to defend hys countrey from Enemyes, widowes from wronges, orphanes from oppression, and eche other poore man in his just cause according to the power & habilitie which lyeth in him, and so to bee a man both stout and humble: as stout in defence of right, and lowly in his couersion towards al men.<sup>22</sup>

The same ideal of selfless charity is presented in Spenser's lines:

In face of judgement he their right would plead,  
 Ne ought the powre of mighty men did dread  
 In their defence, nor would for gold or fee  
 Be wonne their rightfull causes downe to tread:  
 But when they stood in most necessitæe,  
 He did supply their want, and gave them ever free.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.43.4-9)

Mercy instructs the Red Cross Knight in these charitable works until he performs them proficiently:

Shortly therein so perfect he became,  
 That, from the first unto the last degree,  
 His mortall life he learned had to frame  
 In holy righteousnesse, without rebuke or blame.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.45.6-9)

The regard for the poor manifested here is part of the Christian delineation of the great-souled man:

Yet humility makes us honour others and esteem them better than ourselves, in so far as we see some of God's gifts in them. Hence it is written of the just man (Ps. xiv.4): In his sight a vile person is contemned, which indicates the contempt of magnanimity, but he honoureth them that fear the Lord, which points to the reverential bearing of humility. It is therefore evident that magnanimity and humility are not contrary to one another, although they seem to tend in contrary directions, because they proceed according to different considerations.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>"How Gentlemen dwellyng in the Contrie may profit others by his Office or otherwise."

<sup>23</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 129, a. 3.

One can contrast the value placed upon each soul as an image of God in the Christian economy with the pagan evaluation of man only as a part of a social unit. Although the medieval manuals discussed here did not deal with the spiritual life as such, they did recognize the obligation of helping the needy. In contrast, most Renaissance courtesy books do not emphasize charity, and when they do mention duty to others, it is usually in relation to the state and to personal perfection. One can see that Spenser's view here is medieval and religious.

Having purified his soul and adorned it with the practice of virtue, the knight is now ready for the unitive way, habitual and intimate union with God. Mercy takes him to Heavenly Contemplation. Appropriately, the hermit lives on a steep hill so that the knight needs Mercy's help to reach the summit. The old man is emaciated from fasting:

His mind was full of spiritual repast,  
 And pyn'd his flesh, to keepe his body low and chast.  
 (F.Q. 1.10.48.8-9)

Preoccupied with prayer, he is not eager to have visitors, but in deference to Mercy whom he respects he receives the knight. Although Heavenly Contemplation tells Mercy, "Who better can the way to heaven aread/ Then thou thy selfe" (F.Q. 1.10.51.5-6), he consents to instructing the knight. Leading him to a high mount, compared to Sinai, Calvary, and Parnassus, he points out the New Jerusalem.

The knight admits that he had considered Cleopolis the fairest city, but now he sees its glory dimmed by that of the New Jerusalem. The hermit distinguishes between the two cities. Cleopolis is the city of the active life:



'Most trew,' then said the holy aged man;  
 'Yet is Cleopolis, for earthly frame,  
 The fairest peece that eie beholden can:  
 And well beseemes all knights of noble name,  
 That covett in th'e immortall booke of fame  
 To be eternized, that same to haunt,  
 And doen their service to that soveraigne dame,  
 That glory does to them for guerdon graunt:  
 For she is hevenly borne, and heaven may justly vaunt.'  
 (F.Q. 1.10.59)

The knight is correct in serving the Faerie Queene by aiding a maiden in distress, but when his active life is over, he can return to the New Jerusalem where he will be received as St. George.

The hermit's defense of Cleopolis presents the Renaissance view of glory which is, according to Miss Rathborne, a compromise between pagan and patristic ideas of earthly glory:

In other words, fame is the noblest of earthly rewards, and her "immortall booke" in which the citizens of Cleopolis are "eternized" is inferior only to the Book of Life, which registers the saints of the New Jerusalem. Nor is there any enmity between the two cities. The queen of Cleopolis is "heavenly borne," and unlike her antitype, Philotime, has never lost her heavenly citizenship, for fame, rightly pursued, is a divinely implanted stimulus to moral action on earth. The love of fame, indeed, has inspired St. George to undertake the defense of true religion. Yet the service of Gloriana is only a stage upon the road to celestial glory.<sup>24</sup>

Although Spenser's praise of the life of active virtue is characteristic of the Renaissance, it is not in conflict with Scholastic philosophy. Saint Thomas recognizes that the contemplative life is the most excellent, but he adds that no one can get to heaven without an active life of virtue, while one can get to heaven without a contemplative life.<sup>25</sup> One must assume that in an

<sup>24</sup>Rathborne, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 182, a. 4.

active life of virtue, a person must pray or he would not be able to persist. The Renaissance emphasis upon an active life is present in Guazzo's theme when he defines civil conversation as "an honest commendable and vertuous kinde of living in the world."<sup>26</sup> The idea is well expressed by Bryskett: "But being as we are among men, and set to liue and conuerse with them ciuilly, the ciuill man must not glue himself to contemplation, to stay upon it as wisdome could perswade him, vntill he haue first employed his wit and prudence to the good and profit as well of others as of himselfe."<sup>27</sup> Spenser's defense of the pursuit of earthly glory within the framework of virtue and service to the state is peculiar to him.

The knight wonders that he can ever be a saint, but the hermit reassures him that others who are now saints had to overcome their faults. The knight asks if he must forsake deeds of arms and lady's love. The hermit answers that neither has a place in heaven. The knight wishes to remain with the hermit, but Heavenly Contemplation reminds him of his duty to Una.

Since the Red Cross Knight is a changeling and therefore does not know his parentage, the hermit tells him that he is the descendant of Saxon kings. He was stolen by a fairy and left with a plowman:

Whereof Georgos he thee gave to name;  
 Till prickt with courage, and thy forces pryde,  
 To Fary court thou cam'st to seeke for fame,  
 And prove thy puisssaunt armes, as seemes thee best became.  
 (F. Q. 1.10.66.6-9)

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<sup>26</sup>Guazzo, I, 56.

<sup>27</sup>Bryskett, p. 257.

This revelation that the knight is a descendant of Saxon kings reflects a commonplace of chivalric tales that limits heroic qualities to the nobility. The attributing of noble birth to the hero reflects the hierarchical concept of society. It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to summarize the complex social, economic, and political conditions that influenced the arguments defending the importance of noble birth or, on the other hand, the arguments emphasizing the value of virtue as the basis for nobility. One might simply make two points. The extensive arguments on the importance of noble birth reflect the existence of a hierarchical society, even though the structure of that society might be debated. Second, the emphasis upon the importance of virtue as the basis for nobility should not be interpreted as the democratic expression of the equality of all men, but should rather be interpreted, in most cases, as an attempt to impress those of the gentry with the responsibility of their position and to train them in their duties as leaders. Although capable men of obscure families could rise to high office, the advantage in the structured society lay with the gentry.

In his translation of Lull's work, Caxton reflects the importance of degree when he restricts his translation to the nobility. "Whiche book is not requysyte to euery comyn man to haue/ but to noble gentylnen that by their vertu entende to come & entre in to the noble ordre of chyualry/ the whiche in these late dayes hath ben vsed accordyng to this booke here to fore wreton but forgotten."<sup>28</sup> The editor, A. T. P. Byles, notes that Caxton in his usually faithful translation departs from the original when he omits Lull's concession

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<sup>28</sup>Lull, p. 121.

that a man of low birth may rise to knighthood.<sup>29</sup> Lull himself couples knight-  
hood with nobility. "Parage and chyualrye accorden to gyder/ For parage is  
none thyng but honour auntyently accustomed/ And chyualrye is an order that  
hath endured syth the tyme in whiche hit was begonne vnto this present tyme/  
And by cause that parage and chyualrye accorde them yf thou make a knyght that  
is not of parage/ thou makest chyualrye to be contrary to parage."<sup>30</sup>

Most authors previously cited recognize that the simple fact that one is  
born of a noble family is not sufficient in itself as an object of honor;  
among other, Nenna,<sup>31</sup> Erasmus,<sup>32</sup> and Elyot,<sup>33</sup> state this explicitly. Both  
Guazzo<sup>34</sup> and Nenna<sup>35</sup> define perfect nobility as a combination of virtue,  
wealth, and good birth. Elyot prefers a governor of good birth because such a  
background gives him advantages that a less favorable environment would not  
afford.<sup>36</sup> Although the anonymous author of The Institution of a Gentleman  
defends the admission into the gentry of men of low birth who have shown  
ability, he insists upon the recognition of degree in society. The "gentle  
gentle" are men of the gentility who couple good birth with magnanimous

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

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 58-59.

<sup>31</sup>Nenna, pp. 68-72.

<sup>32</sup>Erasmus, The Education of a Christian Prince, p. 149.

<sup>33</sup>Elyot, p. 106.

<sup>34</sup>Guazzo, I, 185.

<sup>35</sup>Nenna, p. 97.

<sup>36</sup>Elyot, pp. 13-14.

qualities.<sup>37</sup> The elaborate arguments on the true meaning of nobility reflect the existence of a class society, even if it was a society that was adapting its structure to changing social conditions.

Trained in the House of Holiness, the knight is now ready to combat the dragon. Needless to say, this combat reflects the religious orientation of the work because the dragon represents the forces of evil. The preparation for the battle has been instruction in the spiritual life.

The religious orientation is reflected in Spenser's evoking of the muse of everlasting fame. He notes that this is not an account of martial prowess, but a combat of a "man of God" (F.Q. 1.11.7.9). The detailed description of the dragon (F.Q. 1.11.8-15) fails artistically in creating an effect of horror. The excessive use of specific detail creates the effect of a description of a mechanical toy rather than a feeling of repulsion at the underlying diabolic force. One has only to contrast the description with Milton's description of Satan to see that Spenser fails in sublimity.

The combat itself has religious echoes. To duplicate Christ's descent into hell, the fight lasts three days. On the first day the knight is able to wound the dragon under his wing, but is in turn burnt by the fiery breath of the dragon. He falls back into the Well of Life (Baptism) and remains there the first night. On the second day the knight arises strengthened by the waters from the Well of Life:

I wote not whether the revenging steele  
Were hardned with that holy water dew,  
Wherein he fell, or sharper edge did feele,

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<sup>37</sup>"Gentle Gentle."

Or his baptized hands now greater grew,  
Or other secret vertue did ensew.

(F.Q. 1.11.36.1-5)

Strengthened by grace, the knight is able to inflict a skull wound on his antagonist. In return the dragon strikes the knight in the shoulder. "But yet more mindfull of his honour deare" (F.Q. 1.11.39.1), the knight retaliates by cutting off a section of the dragon's tail. When the dragon seizes his shield, he is able to cut off a paw. Once again, at the end of the second day, the knight is burnt by the dragon's fiery breath. This time he falls into a stream of balm from the Tree of Life (Eucharist). On the morning of the third day, the knight dispatches his antagonist quickly by running him through the mouth. Una praises God and thanks the Red Cross Knight, "That had atchieved so great a conquest by his might" (F.Q. 1.11.55.9).

In reviewing this incident, one can certainly look beyond the martial combat for Spenser's concept of honor. Martial prowess is certainly important, but the knight's victory is clearly shown to be the result of grace. He is revived by two sacraments.

Una and the knight are greeted with honor by the people they have delivered. Una's court, like the inhabitants of the House of Holiness, is noted for its simplicity:

What needes me tell their feast and goodly guize,  
In which was nothing riotous nor vaine?  
What needes of dainty dishes to devize,  
Of comely services, or courtly trayne?  
My narrow leaves cannot in them contayne  
The large discourse of roiall princes state.  
Yet was their manner then but bare and playne:  
For th' antique world excesse and pryde did hate;  
Such proud luxurious pompe is swollen up but late.

(F.Q. 1.12.14)

One might note that Spenser equates luxury with pride.

The life of active virtue in service of the state is seen in the Red Cross Knight's refusal to rest from his labors, and in his intention to fulfill his promise of six more years of service to the Faerie Queene. However, he does receive his reward in his imminent marriage to Una. He sees her in her full beauty without her wimple and stole, a reflection of his spiritual enlightenment that can now recognize truth and embrace it.

The peaceful scene is interrupted by the appearance of a messenger carrying a note that accuses the Red Cross Knight of breaking his promise to marry Duessa. When the knight explains candidly that he was deceived by Duessa, one praises him for his honesty. Una defends him and exposes the messenger as Archimago. Archimago is imprisoned. This incident seems an intrusion, but it does serve two purposes. First, one respects the knight for his candor. Second, Archimago receives some kind of punishment after managing to evade it before.

Holiness and truth are united in the marriage of Una and the knight. Heavenly approval is expressed in the singing of angelic voices. Yet the work ends with the knight's departure for future quests, a life of active virtue.

In attempting to determine Spenser's concept of honor, one might analyze the knight's decision to serve Gloriana instead of enjoying his reward in a life that for Una is equated with the beatific vision (F.Q. 2.1.2.8-9). As Spenser tells us that he is presenting in "an historicall fiction" his intent "of fashioning a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," one must look beyond the literal aspects of the story. The delineation of the Red Cross Knight as holiness, as has been shown, manifests Scholastic and

chivalric ideals, yet one can assume that Spenser expects the contemporary reader to apply certain principles of the work to the life of the Renaissance. One of these principles seems to be the duty of service to the state. The knight restores order through his martial prowess, but could not the courtier apply this restoration of order to his life as a civil servant? As noted in discussing the meaning of the hermit's answer to the knight (F.Q. 1.10.59), one finds that Bryskett and Guazzo emphasize the life of active virtue in society. Elyot dedicates The Governor "to the intent that men which will be studious about the weal public may find the thing thereto expedient compendiously written."<sup>38</sup> Castiglione's courtier is to dedicate his life to the guidance of the prince so that the latter may rule wisely. The anonymous author of The Institution of a Gentleman reminds his readers that exalted rank carries with it the obligation of service. As Spenser states that his precepts are "cloudily enwrapped in allegorical devices,"<sup>39</sup> one may assume that the knight's continued service is an oblique reference to the courtier's and magistrate's duty of maintaining order in the state.

In the first book of The Faerie Queene, one can find several elements in the concept of honor. Since the theme is holiness, there is a strong religious orientation. The plot is centered on the growth of the soul in holiness through experience and grace. Honor as Aristotelian self-esteem is discounted, because to grow in holiness the knight must learn humility, a quality lacking in Aristotle's magnanimous man. One finds honor as the recognition of civic

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<sup>38</sup>Elyot, p. xiii.

<sup>39</sup>Spenser, p. 136.



duty, seen in the praise of the active life. This is a reflection of the secular view of the Renaissance, borrowed from classical sources. This secular view does not deny man's religious nature, but rather ignores it by emphasizing his natural perfection and service to the state. Although the Red Cross Knight is promised sanctity, one might note that although he acquires the virtues of humility and charity, he does not become a contemplative. Having achieved the unitive way, he does not remain in a life of contemplation, but rather he turns to a life of external activity. One might see in this Spenser's preference for the active life.

In his delineation of the spiritual life, Spenser follows the principles of charity and love laid down in the New Testament. However, the emphasis upon seeking recognition through service to the state is given more importance. Spenser's idea of honor is a refinement of that of St. Augustine who appears to approve only the glory given to God, though his City of God must be read in its historical context.

Spenser's idea of honor reflects that of St. Thomas. The magnanimity of both the Red Cross Knight and of Arthur is displayed by humility and charity. One finds the opposing virtues as follows: Orgoglio, presumption; Lucifera and her court, vainglory; Fradubio, pusillanimity. Arthur manifests magnificence; and Una, patience and perseverance.

Honor in the medieval chivalric code is reflected in the chivalric context. John of Salisbury's idea of the state as an organism of mutual assistance is seen in the Red Cross Knight's and Arthur's readiness to help the needy. The hierarchical concept of society is seen in both the Red Cross Knight's and Arthur's royal lineage. The place of virtue in the knightly role can be seen

in the punishment of unworthy knights, Sansfory, Sansjoy, and Sansloy.

The Red Cross Knight manifests the function of the knight as the sword-arm of the state, the instrument of justice. He sets out to restore order. Both he and Arthur portray the martial prowess essential for knights. The religious motivation is prevalent throughout, but one can note Arthur's role as the agent of grace, and the emphasis upon the theological virtues in the House of Holiness. The feudal culture is reflected in the judicial duel carried on in the spirit of a tournament (F.Q. 1.5). The custom of brotherhood in arms is described (F.Q. 1.9.18-19).

The Renaissance emphasis upon virtue is expressed in the intent of the work. It is also expressed in the justification of the pursuit of honor in service of the state. The nationalism of the Renaissance is seen in the choice of Arthur who represents the Tudor regime and in Gloriana who represents Queen Elizabeth. Spenser expects his readers to find in this presentation of feudal society their ideals for contemporary Renaissance life. They can extract from the allegory oblique references to their duty of restoring order in service to the state and to the necessity for personal integrity in their pursuit of honor.

The Red Cross Knight, however, presents in his character chivalric and Scholastic ideals. In his external conduct he manifests the ideals of the chivalric code as present in the medieval manuals. In his moral conduct, he presents a Christian ideal that can be equated with Scholastic philosophy, though probably from secondary sources in Renaissance moral philosophy.

## CHAPTER IX

### HONOR IN THE FAERIE QUEENE, BOOK II: INTRODUCTION

The concept of honor in Book One has a religious orientation. It is in the order of grace. The concept of honor in Book Two is in the order of nature and is directed chiefly to man's natural perfection. Book One is centered in man's growth in holiness through humility and charity. Though Book Two does not negate this theme, as can be seen in the amicable meeting of the Red Cross Knight and Sir Guyon in the first canto, the theme of Book Two is man's perfection in the natural order. Primarily, temperance is concerned with the rule of reason over man's sense of taste and touch, and secondarily, it is concerned with the rule of reason over all of man's conduct. The analysis of Book Two will consider the concept of honor as it is developed in the first chapters of this dissertation. Temperance will be seen as a source of honor because it is opposed to what is most dishonorable in man, yielding to animal passions. Temperance, because it establishes order in the soul through the dominance of reason, gives a spiritual beauty to man, or honesty, and this honesty is excellent in itself and deserving of honor.

Before analyzing the text of Book Two, the writer will review chronologically and briefly the different definitions of temperance and, for the sake of clarity, will give a short summary of critical works on the theme of temperance in Book Two.

Plato considers temperance as the rule of reason in man's actions, a harmony in which the inferior is subject to the superior:

Temperance, I replied, is the ordering or controlling of certain pleasures and desires; this is curiously enough implied in the saying of "a man being his own master" . . . The meaning is, I believe, that in the human soul there is a better and also a worse principle; and when the better has the worse under control, then a man is said to be master of himself; and this is a term of praise: but when, owing to evil education or association, the better principle, which is also the smaller, is overwhelmed by the greater mass of the worse--in this case he is blamed and is called the slave of self and unprincipled.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to this definition of temperance as an all-inclusive virtue, Aristotle limits temperance narrowly. "Temperance and self-indulgence, however, are concerned with the kind of pleasures that the other animals share in, which therefore appear slavish and brutish; these are touch and taste."<sup>2</sup> In the Nicomachean Ethics, Book VII, Aristotle distinguishes between the temperate and the continent man. The temperate man is well disciplined so that he has no bad desires. The continent man, although subject to bad desires, is able to suppress them and live virtuously. The incontinent man acts only from passion. Contenance covers a broader sphere than temperance does:

The things that give pleasure and excite desire are of three kinds: (a) the things which are in themselves worth choosing but admit of excess, such as victory, honour, wealth; (b) the things which are in themselves worthy of avoidance; (c) the things which are neutral in themselves, but necessary to the life of the body (nutrition and sexual activity).<sup>3</sup>

A man may be incontinent in reference to the last kind, profligacy, and in a less culpable way to the first kind. If a man is incontinent to the second

<sup>1</sup>Plato, The Republic, 430-431, IV, 348.

<sup>2</sup>Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1118<sup>a</sup>24-26.

<sup>3</sup>W. D. Ross, Aristotle (New York, 1959), p. 218.

kind, that incontinence is morbid or bestial. A third kind of incontinence is exhibited with regard to anger.<sup>4</sup> One can see that Aristotle's treatment of temperance does not cover the scope of The Faerie Queene, Book II, nor, in fact, is his continence broad enough to cover all aspects of the characters.

Cicero, like Plato, considers temperance as an over-all virtue, one related to honor. Honor lies in the observance of duty.<sup>5</sup> Man deserves honor when he lives as a reasonable being:

How precious should we deem the gift of reason since man is the only living being that has a sense of order, decorum and moderation in word and deed. No other creature is touched by the beauty, grace and symmetry of visible objects; and the human mind transferring these conceptions from the material to the moral world recognizes that this beauty, harmony and order are still more to be maintained in the sphere of purpose and of action; reason shuns all that is unbecoming or unmanly, all that is wanton in thought or deed. These are the constituent elements of the conception of honour which is the subject of our inquiry: honour even when cast into the shade loses none of its beauty; honour, I say, though praised by no one, is praiseworthy in itself.<sup>6</sup>

Honor springs from the practice of the four cardinal virtues. Honor in the practice of temperance comprises considerate feelings and self-control. It includes decorum, a quality inseparable from honor:

It is decorous to think and speak wisely, to act deliberately, and in everything to see and uphold the truth; on the other hand, it is just as indecorous to be led astray and wander stumbling in the dark as to go crazy, and lose one's reason. All just acts are decorous, while unjust acts are at once dishonourable and indecorous. The same thing is true of fortitude. To act in a manly and courageous spirit is decorous and worthy of a man, to do otherwise is at once dishonourable and indecorous. The

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Cicero, "On Moral Duties, Book I," trans. George B. Gardiner, The Basic Works of Cicero, ed. Moses Hadas (New York, 1951), p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.

decorum of which I speak is thus related to honour as a whole, and the relation is so manifest that no abstruse process of reasoning is required to discover it.<sup>7</sup>

Decorum and virtue must be considered in relation to each other. One cannot consider bodily grace and beauty without considering the health of the body, so decorum and virtue must be taken together:

There are two kinds of decorum; the one is general and is associated with honour as a whole, the other is special and belongs to particular virtues. General decorum is commonly defined as that which harmonizes with the characteristic excellence of man which distinguishes him from all other living creatures; and special decorum as that which so befits our nature as to invest moderation and temperance with an indefinable charm.<sup>8</sup>

When poets create characters for their plays, they take care that the characters are consistent with themselves in their actions. So a man must play his role in life in a manner consistent with his duties to society. Just as one admires the movements of a graceful body, so should one admire decorum in conduct. A respect for the opinion of others requires that a man's actions should inspire esteem by its order, consistency, and restraint. To the virtue of justice, one should add the quality of sympathy, a respect for the feelings of others. The three other cardinal virtues employ decorum in their performance, but temperance is especially allied with decorum:

But it is in Temperance, the division of Honour now under discussion, that the force of decorum is most conspicuous; for neither the gestures of the body nor the emotions of the mind can be called decorous unless they are in harmony with Nature. The soul is swayed by two forces: the one is appetite, called by the Greeke horme, which hurries us this way and that, the other reason, which teaches us what to do and what to avoid. It follows that reason must command and appetite obey.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 37-38.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

Cicero defines temperance as the rule of reason, and he pays particular attention to its effect upon man's conduct.

Saint Thomas combines the all-inclusive treatment of temperance with Aristotle's limited one of moderation in taste and touch. Temperance is a general virtue, for moderation which is the object of temperance is in all the moral virtues. Temperance is a special virtue in that it bridles concupiscence. It regulates the desire (nutriment) involved in the preservation of the individual, and the desire (sex) involved in the preservation of the species. It also regulates the bodily goods necessary for the well-being and comfort of life.<sup>10</sup>

Although temperance is primarily limited to touch and taste, it is secondarily involved in all men's action. The Ten Commandments are precepts of temperance as they make for moderation and right order in human conduct.<sup>11</sup> Temperance includes shamefacedness by which one recoils from the disgrace of intemperance and honesty by which one loves the beauty of temperance. Virtues subordinate to temperance are continence, humility, meekness, and mildness.<sup>12</sup> One can find in Saint Thomas' treatment of temperance almost every aspect of the moral allegory in The Faerie Queene, Book II.

Cajetan Chereso, O.P., has studied how and why Saint Thomas focuses his attention on the virtue of temperance as the virtue of honor and beauty. The following is a summary of his conclusions. The spiritual beauty of a virtue

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<sup>10</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 141.

<sup>11</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 170.

<sup>12</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 143.

is termed honestas. The rational order of virtue makes it attractive as an end and worthy of honor. Moral virtue which results in the perfection of man is excellence and therefore merits honor:

St. Thomas begins by pointing out that, when man's life exhibits rational wholeness, order, and clarity, he is spiritually beautiful. Then he shows that it is virtue which moderates man's whole life, proportioning it according to the spiritual clarity of reason. Hence it is, he concludes, that virtue refers to the same thing as the spiritually beautiful. And since honestum was found to refer to the same thing as virtue, it is further concluded by the Angelic Doctor that honestum and the spiritually beautiful are the same.<sup>13</sup>

Saint Thomas bases his argument upon the principle that opposites manifest each other. Spiritual beauty is opposed to disgracefulness. Temperance is opposed to that which is most disgraceful and unbecoming in man, namely animal-like voluptuousness; therefore spiritual beauty is a part of temperance.<sup>14</sup>

Chereso details Saint Thomas's argument into three parts: (1) why temperance is worthy of special honor, (2) why it is especially beautiful, (3) why honestas, taken in a special sense, is an integral part of temperance.<sup>15</sup>

First, disgrace is opposed to honor. Of all the vices, intemperance is the most disgraceful because it places man on a level with the animals. Therefore special honor should be given to temperance because it opposes what is most disgraceful and preserves man's honor and dignity.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Cajetan Chereso, O.P., The Virtue of Honor and Beauty According to St. Thomas Aquinas, An Analysis of Moral Beauty (River Forest, Illinois, 1960), pp. 80-81.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.



The second argument states that disgrace is opposed to glory and that glory implies clarity. Intemperance, more than any other vice, is opposed to clarity. By reducing man to the animal side of his nature, intemperance robs man of his integrity. On the other hand, temperance brings harmony and order to the soul by allowing reason to rule.<sup>17</sup>

The last argument is that honestas is an integral part of temperance because a man cannot be temperate unless he loves the beauty of temperance. Therefore honestas is an integral part of temperance.<sup>18</sup>

The other moral virtues have a great excellence, but temperance is deserving of greater honor because controlling our animal-like passions is the most difficult virtue. It is the most beautiful of virtues because in its opposition to the ugliest of vices, it manifests its qualities of rational wholeness, order, and clarity.<sup>19</sup> Thus one can see how temperance according to St. Thomas is a source of honor.

In connection with the definition of temperance, one might cite two Renaissance works that distinguish between temperance and continence. Castiglione compares the continent man to a ship in a storm. For a while it resists the stormy seas, but it is at last beaten by the storm and driven without helm or compass. The temperate and the continent man are compared. The continent man is like a captain who fights manfully and is finally able with great difficulty to conquer the powerful enemy. The temperate man is like

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 83-84.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85.

the captain who conquers without opposition. He reduces the enemy secretly:<sup>20</sup>

Thus, this virtue does no violence to the mind, but very gently infuses it with a vehement persuasion which inclines it to honorable things, renders it calm and full of repose, and in all things even and well tempered, and informed throughout by a certain harmony with itself that adorns it with a tranquility so serene as never to be disturbed; and in all things becomes most obedient to reason and ready to direct its every movement accordingly, and to follow it wherever reason may wish to lead, without the least recalcitrance, like a tender lamb which always runs and stops and walks near its mother and moves only when she moves.<sup>21</sup>

Cesare Gonzaga argues that temperance would be fitting for a hermit, but not for a man of the world who must rule others. But Signor Ottaviano points out that temperance does not remove the passions, nor would this be well, but it brings the passions under the sway of reason. One does not forbid the drinking of wine because of the possibility of drunkenness. Horses that are trained are not prevented from running and jumping, but must run and jump at the command of their riders. So it is with temperance:

Hence, the passions, when moderated by temperance, are an aid to virtue, just as wrath aids fortitude, and as hatred of evil-doers aids justice, and likewise the other virtues too are aided by the passions; which, if they were wholly taken away, would leave the reason weak and languid, so that it could effect little, like the master of a vessel abandoned by the winds and in a great calm.<sup>22</sup>

Another work distinguishing between temperance and continence is Elyot's The Governor. He recognizes Aristotle's definition of a continent man as one that has evil desires but abandons them in accordance with reason. Elyot himself defines continence as "the only forbearing the unlawful company of

<sup>20</sup>Castiglione, pp. 299-301.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

women."<sup>23</sup> In discussing temperance, Elyot paraphrases Aristotle's definition of temperance as "a mediocrity in the pleasures of the body, specially in taste and touching," but he prefers the broader definition of Plotinus, "to covet nothing which may be repented, also not to exceed the bounds of mediocrity, and to keep desire under the yoke of reason."<sup>24</sup> Elyot notes Aristotle's distinction between the continent and the temperate man:

The same author also maketh a diversity between him that is temperate and him that is continent, saying that the continent man is such one that nothing will do for bodily pleasure which shall stand against reason. The same is he which is temperate, saving that the other hath corrupt desires, which this man lacketh. Also the temperate man delighteth in nothing contrary to reason. But he that is continent delighteth, yet will he not be led against reason. Finally, to declare it in a few words, we may well call him a temperate man that desireth the thing which he ought to desire, and as he ought to desire, and when he ought to desire.<sup>25</sup>

In both Elyot and Castiglione, one finds the differentiation between temperance and continence and the tendency to view temperance as an all-inclusive virtue. Elyot knows Aristotle's definition of temperance, but he chooses a definition of wider scope.

In relating temperance to honor, Father Chereso's analysis of Saint Thomas's definition of temperance as the virtue of honor and beauty seems the best source. As related before, temperance is worthy of special honor because it is opposed to the most disgraceful of vices, intemperance. By allowing reason to rule, temperance brings order to the soul. Honor is essential to temperance because a man cannot be temperate unless he appreciates its

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<sup>23</sup>Elyot, p. 201.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

spiritual beauty. In praising temperance, one must add that it does not forbid the lawful and reasonable use of sense pleasures.

Having reviewed briefly the definitions of temperance and its relation to honor, the writer will summarize briefly the chief critical works on the moral allegory of the second book of The Faerie Queene. F. M. Padelford makes a detailed analysis of the second book in order to supplement W. F. DeMoss's thesis that Spenser should be taken literally when he says that his virtues are according to Aristotle. Padelford argues that Spenser's temperance is really continence. The temperate man would not hold interest as a central character because he has no inner conflicts and no strong desires. The continent man possesses a more ardent nature. He has strong impulses that he controls by making reason the guide of his life. The temperate man would not pursue victory, honor, and wealth because he is not ardent enough, but the continent man pursues them with enthusiasm.<sup>26</sup> Padelford then discusses the spheres of continence and incontinence. He relates excess and mean to characters and events in the second book. "Upon a foundation of severely classical philosophy, this English Renaissance poet rears an ornate Gothic structure, charmingly rich and varied. One sees herein the free fusion of two very noble traditions."<sup>27</sup>

Mrs. Hulbert answers Padelford's argument that the continent man is a more virile personality by pointing out that this is a misreading of Aristotle. The continent man is inferior to the temperate man because he has less self-control.

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<sup>26</sup>F. M. Padelford, "The Virtue of Temperance in The Faerie Queene," SP, XVIII (July, 1921), 334-335.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 346.

There are several other inconsistencies in basing the second book on the Nicomachean Ethics. Aristotle's temperance covers sensual pleasure only, but Spenser's temperance covers all the virtues. If the book is about continence, why is it called the "Legend of Temperance"? Why is Acrasia, who represents purely sensual pleasures, given a name that etymologically means incontinence? If Spenser was a student of Aristotle, he must have known that he distinguished carefully between temperance and continence.<sup>28</sup> Having argued against Aristotle as a source, Mrs. Hulbert points out that the Christian Fathers use the mean, and reason for determining the mean. They give temperance a province wide enough to cover all phases of human conduct.<sup>29</sup> Aquinas reconciles the Church Fathers and Aristotle. Temperance, as he defines it, is primarily concerned with concupiscence, and secondarily concerned with outward things that arouse concupiscence, such as riches and worldly glory, and also with the irascible passions.<sup>30</sup>

Popular handlings of temperance in the ethical tracts in the vernacular have the idea of the mean and reason as an all-embracing virtue. One tract on the Nicomachean Ethics by a sixteenth-century lecturer at Oxford touched upon Christian temperance in discussing the Aristotelian virtues:

If we compare Book II of the Faerie Queene with the Christian treatment of temperance, we see that they agree in nice points. In the Christian treatments of temperance, the mean and reason are emphasized just as they

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<sup>28</sup> Viola Blackburn Hulbert, "A Possible Christian Source for Spenser's Temperance," SP, XXVIII (April, 1931), 184-187.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 187-191.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 199.

are in the Faerie Queene, whereas in the Nicomachean Ethics these aspects are no more stressed in temperance than in the other virtues. The figures of Medina, Elissa and Perissa with Sans-loy and Huddibras are not the means and extremes of the Aristotelian temperance. Even if the Aristotelian temperance is made to include the Aristotelian continence, it is still too narrow to cover the characteristics of these figures. The meeting of Guyon with Shamefastnesse gains meaning when one considers that verecundia is an integral part of temperance in Christian ethics. The episode with Phaedria is in keeping with the pitfalls which intemperance, according to Christian teachings, prepares for the unwary; Braggadocchio and Trompart can be explained without going beyond the bounds of Christian temperance whereas, if one insists upon an Aristotelian source for them, one has to go to vices other than those connected with the Aristotelian temperance. Incontinence, Acrasia, and Chastity, Belphoebe, are parts of the Christian temperance.<sup>31</sup>

In Mrs. Hulbert's thesis, from which her article is derived, she points out specific examples of temperance based on a non-Aristotelian source. Amavia, who commits suicide while depressed, is opposed to the moderation of feeling recommended by Cicero and Seneca. Spenser's sentiment, "A Harder lesson to learne continence/ In joyous pleasure then in grievous paine" (F.Q. 2.6.1.1-2), is opposed to Aristotle. Medina, Elissa, and Perissa can be explained by Christian ethics. Braggadocchio is the miles gloriosus. Anger, represented in the fourth and fifth cantos, is opposed to Christian clemency. Phaedria is sloth. Avarice and ambition are given a Christian interpretation. The quality of shamefastness is found in Aquinas's verecundia. Acrasia is sexual impurity.<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Hulbert in fitting Spenser's temperance into the Christian ethic seems to have arrived at an impartial solution without any inconsistencies or forcing of evidence. The work has aided this writer

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 209-210.

<sup>32</sup>Hulbert, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues," pp. 112-117.

in determining Spenser's concept of honor, but she intends a much more minute analysis of the text than that of Mrs. Hulbert.

A more recent article is James L. Shanley's "Spenser's Temperance and Aristotle." He also agrees that Spenser's temperance is medieval and Christian, but he notes that Aristotle can be used as a basis for analysis, if interpreted carefully. He points out that Padelford errs in considering the continent man more vigorous than the temperate one. He finds that temperance in the second book is used in reference to virtue in general. Guyon is virtuous rather than continent: "Guyon, then, is first continent but finally virtuous in respect to anger; always virtuous in respect to the desire for wealth and worldly position; but only continent in respect to bodily pleasures."<sup>33</sup> Shanley believes that Spenser found his inspiration for the handling of temperance in his experience and observation rather than in any schematic arrangement.<sup>34</sup> Although it is hard to find any obvious pattern in the second book, except to note that the first cantos have to do with the irascible passions and the later with the concupiscible, it is doubtful that Spenser wrote simply out of his own experience. To give one example, The Faerie Queene, Book II, covers much the same topics as does Saint Thomas's treatment of temperance. It is probable that Spenser followed some standard treatment of the subject as a guide.

Ernest Sirluck, after summarizing previous criticism on the source of

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<sup>33</sup>James Lyndon Shanley, "Spenser's Temperance and Aristotle," MP, XLIII (1946), 173.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 174.

Spenser's moral allegory, states his position. He believes that it is impossible to take literally Spenser's statement that each book of the work is based upon a virtue from Aristotle. "It leaves available only a choice between repudiating Spenser's assertion that he made serious use of the Ethics, and accepting that assertion but accounting for the way in which he used the Ethics so as to fit (as Spenser's own account does not) the facts of the poem. The present study makes the latter choice."<sup>35</sup> Sirluck considers the Ethics as a whole with its problem, the achievement of the good for man, as the source of the second book. The good for man is the activity of the soul in accordance with complete virtue. Both the Ethics and The Faerie Queene, Book II, are concerned with virtue. Taking the Ethics as a whole, Sirluck makes a thorough analysis of the second book, pointing out how certain characters correspond to the mean, excess, or defect of the virtue. He concludes, "This, I think, demonstrates that Book II of The Faerie Queene is a poetic version (with some liberties taken but, in general, of extraordinary fidelity) of the whole of the Nicomachean Ethics, but with the intellectual virtues other than practical wisdom omitted."<sup>36</sup>

He explains the inconsistency with Spenser's letter, in which Spenser states that each book was to treat one virtue, by noting that the letter is not consistent with the poem. Sirluck explains the title by noting that Spenser was looking for a title to cover the whole range of moral experience:

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<sup>35</sup>Sirluck, "The Faerie Queene, Book II, and the Nicomachean Ethics," 77.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 97.



The dominant ethical theory of the Middle Ages, still of great force in the sixteenth-century, was not Aristotelian but one to which the Aristotelian was with some difficulty accommodated: that of the four cardinal virtues. Plato had elaborated a doctrine of four great virtues--wisdom, temperance, justice, and courage. The Stoics had adopted the scheme, but with prudence and fortitude substituted for wisdom and courage. This is the form in which the cardinal virtues became fixed in the Christian tradition.<sup>37</sup>

Sirluck's relating of the Ethics to the second book of the Faerie Queene is thoroughly done, but one must object that many other treatments of ethics could be related to The Faerie Queene, Book II. As temperance in general has to do with the rule of reason in man's actions, many similarities can be found in the Ethics, but might as well be found in the Ten Commandments. Sirluck's analysis ignores Aristotle's precise and narrow definition of temperance, and is not confined within the broader definition of continence. Spenser's second book seems to be based on a Scholastic interpretation of ethics as can be seen by the key position held by the episodes in the House of Alma and the Bower of Bliss. It seems that Sirluck's masterful analysis of the action might have been better applied to a Christian ethical scheme.

From the analysis of the definitions of temperance, one can see that they vary from Aristotle's limited definition of the pleasures of taste and touch, to the broad definition of Plato and Cicero of the rule of reason in action. The Christian tradition accepts the broad definition of reason in action. Saint Thomas combines the limited definition with the treatment of temperance in a primary sense, and with the broad definition of the need of moderation in a secondary sense. One can realize that the distinction between temperance and

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 99-100.

continence was established by the differentiation given by Elyot and Castiglione.

Critical treatments of Spenser's text recognize the difficulty of relating it exactly to Aristotle. Padelford errs in considering continence superior to temperance. Mrs. Hulbert relates temperance to Christian ethics. Shanley finds a limited relationship to Aristotle. Sirluck relates the work to the entire Nichomachean Ethics. Although the intention of this writer's analysis is to determine Spenser's concept of honor, such an analysis must be based upon an understanding of the moral allegory. It will be the purpose of this textual analysis to determine which elements are predominant. Although Aristotelian elements are present, as they are in Saint Thomas's analysis of temperance, the chief basis for the ethics seems to be in Christian thought.

## CHAPTER X

### HONOR IN THE FAERIE QUEENE, BOOK II, CANTOS I-VI

Spenser introduces the second book with a graceful argument lest his story "th' aboundance of an ydle braine/ Will judged be, and painted forgery" (F.Q. 2.Proem.1.3-4). He notes that new lands have been discovered in the western hemisphere that were before unknown. Just as possibly his fairy land may exist:

He may it fynd; ne let him then admyre,  
But yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace,  
That no'te without an hound fine footing trace.  
(F.Q. 2.Proem.4.3-5)

Spenser compliments Elizabeth by stating that in the delineation of temperance she will find a mirror of herself and that in this Arthurian fairy land she will find a reference to the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors. Her glory will be veiled to protect the feeble eyes of its viewers (F.Q. 2.Proem.5.4-5).

The first canto is transitional and offers an introduction to the second book. Archimago, the instrument of evil, has escaped from his bonds after hearing that the Red Cross Knight has resumed his service of the Faerie Queene:

And forth he fares full of malicious mynd,  
To worken mischief and avenging woe,  
Where ever he that godly knight may fynd,  
His onely hart sore and his onely foe.  
(F.Q. 2.1.2.1-4)

Una is beyond his power, for she is now established in her kingdom, "Where she enjoyes sure peace for evermore" (F.Q. 2.1.2.8). Una represents the soul

confirmed in glory in the beatific vision, immune from any further trial.

Archimago recognizes that the Red Cross Knight will not be as easily deceived as he was before, "For hardly could bee hurt, who was already stong" (F.Q. 2.1.3.9). Archimago persists in his attempt to subvert good, although the knight seems confirmed in grace:

But now so wise and wary was the knight  
 By tryall of his former harmes and cares,  
 That he descryde, and shonned still his slight:  
 The fish that once was caught, new bait will hardly byte.  
 (F.Q. 2.1.4.6-9)

In his effort "to win occasion to his will" (F.Q. 2.1.5.2), "For to all good he enemy was still" (F.Q. 2.1.5.5), Archimago seems a minor version of Milton's Satan. He meets a knight fully armed, Guyon. Appropriate to temperance, his full armor represents his invulnerability to attack. He is described thus:

His carriage was full comely and upright,  
 His countenance demure and temperate,  
 But yett so sterne and terrible in sight,  
 That cheard his friendes, and did his foes amate:  
 He was an Elfin borne, of noble state  
 And mickle worship in his native land;  
 Well could he tourney and in lists debate,  
 And knighthood tooke of good Sir Huons hand,  
 When with King Oberon he came to Fary Land.  
 (F.Q. 2.1.6)

The juxtaposition of the qualities "demure and temperate" with those of "stern and terrible" seems incongruous, but in reality presents an aspect of temperance. His strength, as presented in the latter qualities, assures his friends of his stability and in turn dismays his enemies. His demure and temperate appearance shows that his self-mastery results in refinement and sensitivity, and his control is not merely an effect of insensibility. One is reminded of

Ambrose's praise of decorum in his De Officiis, I, and of St. Thomas's discussion of modesty of movement in reference to temperance:

As stated (ad I) outward movements are indications of the inward disposition, and this regards chiefly the passions of the soul. Wherefore Ambrose says (De Offic. 1.18) that from these things, i.e. the outward movements, the man that lies hidden in our hearts is esteemed to be either frivolous, or boastful, or impure, or on the other hand sedate, steady, pure, and free from blemish. It is moreover from our outward movements that other men form their judgment about us, according to Ecclus. xix.26, A man is known by his look, and a wise man, when thou meetest him, is known by his countenance.<sup>1</sup>

Guyon follows the convention of being of noble ancestry. The chivalric code is reflected in the praise of his martial prowess.

He is accompanied by a palmer dressed in black, of advanced maturity, who insures his steady progress by carrying a staff. The black attire represents his immunity to earthly pleasures as did Una's black stole (F.Q. 1.1.4.5). His maturity represents his fully developed wisdom. His staff, a symbol of reason, is later shown to have magical powers in overcoming natural and diabolical powers (F.Q. 2.12.26.7, 2.12.86.1). His personification of prudence is evident in the qualities ascribed to him:

He seemd to be a sage and sober syre,  
And ever with slow pace the knight did lead,  
Who taught his trampling steed with equall steps to tread.  
(F.Q. 2.1.7.7-9)

In the palmer's management of Guyon's steed, the poet represents his role of controlling Guyon's passions.

Archimago decides that this will be the knight to act as his agent in his attempt to avenge himself on the Red Cross Knight. He begins his machinations by approaching Guyon with a flattering speech:

<sup>1</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 168, a. 1.

'Fayre sonne of Mars, that seeke with warlike spoyle,  
And great atchiv'ments, great your selfe to make,  
Vouchsafe to stay your steed for humble misers sake.'

(F.Q. 2.1.8.7-9)

Archimago fabricates a tale of a knight who has raped a lady. He is successful in obtaining Guyon's promise of assistance in punishing one who would so offend against knightly honor. Archimago offers to lead Guyon to the false knight.

Although anger is justified in putting down evil, Guyon is impetuous in this first episode:

He stayd not lenger talke, but with fierce yre  
And zealous haste away is quickly gone,  
To seeke that knight, where him that crafty squyre  
Supposd to be.

(F.Q. 2.1.13.1-4)

Archimago brings Guyon to the supposedly wronged maiden who is, as might be suspected, Duessa in disguise. One notes that the palmer is not mentioned in this incident that reveals a slight impetuosity in Guyon. At first the maiden is seemingly reluctant to discuss her plight, but Archimago persuades her to seek relief by sharing her sorrows with others. When Guyon asks her to identify the knight who has misused her and she describes the Red Cross Knight, Guyon can scarcely believe her:

For may I boldly say, he surely is  
A right good knight, and trew of word ywis:  
I present was, and can it witnesse well,  
When armes he swore, and streight did enterpris  
Th' adventure of the Errant Damozell;  
In which he hath great glory wonne, as I heare tell.

(F.Q. 2.1.19.4-9)

However, Guyon promises that the Red Cross Knight will have to prove his innocence or be punished. Although Archimago's chief end is to avenge himself on the Red Cross Knight, an echo of the theme of temperance is seen in his intent

to draw knights from an honorable life. Here one finds honor opposed to idleness and sensuality:

For all he did was to deceive good knights,  
And draw them from pursuit of praise and fame,  
To slug in slouth and sensuall delights,  
And end their daies with irrenowned shame.

(F.Q. 2.1.23.1-4)

Strictures against idleness and sensuality are certainly not confined to the chivalric code, but for the knights, lacking the discipline of study, idleness often resulted in dissipation. In her description of the Constable, Christine de Pisan warns against it thus, "Ne be he not slouthful/ sluggysh/ ne slepy/ ne curyous in metes & festes in lyf delycate."<sup>2</sup>

Leading Guyon to the Red Cross Knight, Archimago accuses the latter of trying to disguise himself (his helmet is removed) to escape the punishment of his crime. Without questioning the Red Cross Knight, as prudence would dictate, Guyon, "inflam'd with wrathfulnesse" (F.Q. 2.1.25.8), attacks without warning. His lack of temperance is, however, corrected immediately, for Guyon just as quickly withdraws from the attack:

When suddeinly that warriour gan abace  
His threatned speare, as if some new mishap  
Had him betide, or hidden danger did entrap.

(F.Q. 2.1.26.7-9)

Guyon amends for his impetuosity by apologizing to the Red Cross Knight:

And cryde, 'Mercie, sir knight! and mercie, lord,  
For mine offence and heedelesse hardiment,  
That had almost committed crime abhord,  
And with reprochfull shame mine honour shent,  
Whiles cursed steele against that badge I bent,

<sup>2</sup>De Pisan, p. 23.

The sacred badge of my Redeemers death,  
Which on your shield is set for ornament.'

(F.Q. 2.1.27.1-7)

One notes here honor is opposed to shame; honor is equated with external reputation. Although Spenser expresses the idea of honor as personal integrity in the working out of his incidents, he chiefly uses the word "honor" in his context as synonymous with reputation.

The Red Cross Knight, recognizing Guyon, replies with equal courtesy, blaming himself, "Whose hastie hand so far from reason strayd" (F.Q. 2.1.28.5). From the Red Cross Knight's meeting with Guyon, one can see that the former had remained faithful to the lessons learned in the House of Holiness. Maturity now marks his conduct. The two knights greet each other courteously. The Red Cross Knight asks Guyon, who is known for his "goodly governaunce" (F.Q. 2.1.29.8), what had betrayed him into such an action. This description of Guyon reflects the self-mastery that the temperate man possesses; a sense of honor can love and appreciate this self-mastery. One might note that the imperfect development of Guyon's sudden change of mind in attacking the knight seems to be a reluctance to find any defect in the temperate man. Since he is to personify a man who has no evil desires, who possesses self-mastery, one can assume that Spenser wishes to present him without interior weaknesses.

Guyon reveals his self-control by the ease in which he changes what had been an armed encounter into a pleasant conversation:

So can he turne his earnest into game,  
Through goodly handling and wise temperaunce.

(F.Q. 2.1.31.1-2)

The palmer, significantly absent during Guyon's attack, reappears and



recognizes the Red Cross Knight immediately. He praises him for his valiant achievements and remarks that similar trials await Guyon:

'Joy may you have, and everlasting fame,  
Of late most hard atchiev'ment by you donne,  
For which enrolled is your glorious name  
In heavenly registers above the sunne,  
Where you a saint with saints your seat have wonne:  
But wretched we, where ye have left your marke,  
Must now anew begin like race to ronne.  
God guide thee, Guyon, well to end thy warke,  
And to the wished haven bring thy weary barke.'  
(F.Q. 2.1.32)

In this passage one finds honor equated with virtue. The Red Cross Knight received earthly glory for his achievements and also a heavenly reward. One can assume that Spenser feels the pursuit of earthly glory is justified as a by-product of the pursuit of heavenly glory. The emphasis upon heavenly glory can be understood in reference to the theme of holiness and the supernatural life. The first book is interested in the religious development of man; the second book is interested in his moral development. That these two aspects of man complement each other, with grace building upon nature, can be seen in the expression of the palmer that Guyon must undergo similar trials before he reaches his goal, with God's guidance.

A. S. P. Woodhouse notes the presence of these two levels in Spenser and other Renaissance writers, "their recognition of the two levels of existence and experience, traditionally known as the order of nature and the order of grace":<sup>3</sup>

In the natural order belonged not only the physical world, what is commonly called the world of nature inanimate and animate, but man himself

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<sup>3</sup>A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in The Faerie Queene," ELH, XVI (1949), 194.

considered simply as a denizen of that world. The rule of its order was expressed not only in the physical laws of nature, but in natural ethics (in what was significantly called the law of nature), and even in natural as opposed to revealed religion. This order was apprehended in experience and interpreted by reason; and it had its own wisdom, for upon the law of nature had been erected the ethical system of a Plato, an Aristotle, or a Cicero. It had its own institutions, of which the highest was the state, but this is an aspect of the order of nature which need not detain us here. . . . To the order of grace, on the other hand, belonged man in his character of supernatural being, with all that concerned his salvation, under the old dispensation and the new. The law of its government was the revealed will of God, received and interpreted by faith, and it included a special kind of experience called religious experience. The order of grace had also its appropriate institution, the Church, which, like the state, need not concern us here.<sup>4</sup>

In answer to the palmer, the Red Cross Knight shows his humility in attributing all his success to God's grace:

'Palmer,' him answered the Redcrosse Knight,  
 'His be the praise, that this achiev'ment wrought,  
 Who made my hand the organ of His might:  
 More then goodwill to me attribute nought;  
 For all I did, I did but as I ought.'

(F.Q. 2.1.33.1-5)

This expression of humility conforms to Saint Thomas's concept of magnanimity as being based upon humility and charity. "Accordingly magnanimity makes a man deem himself worthy of great things in consideration of the gifts he holds from God."<sup>5</sup> The thought is echoed by Ashley:

Therefore as yt ys the part of humilitie to beat downe vayne and swelling cogitacions, and yet to know the good which ys in vs, and to geue god thanckes for the same, least by not knowing the goodnes of the same we be also ignoraunt what we owe unto God: so ys yt likewyse the part of a modest desire of Honour not to wishe to haue Honour geuen vs of others, as yf with our whole mind we longed after yt, but rather when yt ys

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 195.

<sup>5</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 129, a. 3.

offered to accept yt moderately as reioycing that others do see and approve some vertue in vs: which ought to be of more account with vs then the reputacion thereof.<sup>6</sup>

In the brief meeting of the two knights, one can see a recognition of the interrelationship between the order of nature and the order of grace. Artistically, it forms a bridge between the two books.

Guyon continues his quest accompanied by the palmer who guides him in the way of temperance:

His race with reason, and with words his will,  
From fowle intemperance he ofte did stay,  
And suffred not in wrath his hasty steps to stray.  
(F.Q. 2.1.34.7-9)

The palmer keeps him from intemperance through reasoned argument.

Guyon's adventures being him renown, "Of which he honour still away did beare,/ And spred his glory through all cuntryes wide" (F.Q. 2.1.35.3-4).

The next episode, embodying in miniature the theme of intemperance, introduces the action of the second book. Guyon hears the cries of a woman calling for death because of the wrongs she has suffered and exonerating her child of any crime. Dismounting, Guyon finds the woman bleeding to death from a self-inflicted wound in her breast, and on her lap is an infant dipping his hands in his mother's blood. Next to them on the ground is the corpse of a young, handsome knight. Sympathetically, Guyon attempts to revive the woman and comfort her with gentle words. Here one can see that his austerity is not insensibility. Promising his aid, Guyon persuades her to tell him of the circumstances behind this action. The incident, as she relates it, introduces the

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<sup>6</sup>Ashley, p. 59.

future conflict with Acrasia and is expository in the sense that it sounds the theme of excess and incontinence.

The knight is her lord, Sir Mortdant (one who gives death). In search of honor, he left her even though she was pregnant. Coming to the Bower of Bliss, he became sunk in sensual pleasure. She was forced to dress herself as a palmer and search for him. In time she is delivered of her child, and finally finds Sir Mortdant enthralled by Acrasia. She is able to rescue him, "Till through wise handling and faire governaunce, / I him recured to a better will, / Purged from drugs of fowle intermperaunce" (F.Q. 2.1.54.5-8).

However, Acrasia has placed the following curse upon the knight:

Sad verse, give death to him that death does give,  
 And losse of love to her that loves to live,  
 As soone as Bacchus with the Nympe does lincke.  
 (F.Q. 2.1.55.4-6)

This linking of Bacchus with the Nymph foreshadows the description of the fountain in the Bower of Bliss (F.Q. 2.12.60-61), and is interpreted thus: "If Bacchus symbolizes the male, and the nymphs the female function, the linking of the two must stand for that act by excessive indulgence in which the incontinent give themselves death."<sup>7</sup> According to the curse, Mortdant expires.

Amavia, who was also cursed with "loss of love to her that loves to live," dies upon telling her story. As her husband represents incontinence, she represents excess of emotion. Her depression at Mortdant's death results in her suicide despite the fact that she has a child to care for. Although Guyon is represented as stern, he shows his sympathy by weeping, and he draws a moral:

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<sup>7</sup>C. W. Lemmi, "The Symbolism of the Classical Episodes in the Faerie Queene," PQ, VIII (1929), 276.

Then, turning to his palmer, said: 'Old syre,  
 Behold the ymage of mortalitie,  
 And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre,  
 When raging passion with fierce tyranny  
 Robs reason of her dew regalitie,  
 And makes it servaunt to her basest part,  
 The strong it weakens with infirmitie,  
 And with bold furie armes the weakest hart:  
 The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through smart.'  
 (F.Q. 2.1.57.6-7)

In this and the following stanza, Guyon gives a classic definition of temperance. Man's feeble soul is embodied in a physical nature that tyrannizes over him, robbing his reason of its supremacy. The strong capitulates to pleasure; the weak, to difficulty. The virtue of temperance corrects this imbalance by self-control. Man through his reason overcomes excessive indulgence in either pleasure or melancholy.

One can see in this incident an exemplum illustrating intemperance. In relation to the concept of honor, one sees that Mortdant betrays the chivalric code in his pursuit of pleasure. He betrays himself, as a rational creature, in his abandonment to sensuality. Through following his animal nature and forsaking his role as a reasonable creature, he merits dishonor. Although Amavia can be praised for the rescue of her husband, she, too, betrays her rational nature in her suicide. Her lack of maternal instinct leaves her child an orphan. One might note Augustine's argument that suicide can not be prompted by magnanimity:

But they who have laid violent hands on themselves are perhaps to be admired for their greatness of soul, though they cannot be applauded for the soundness of their judgment. However, if you look at the matter more closely, you will scarcely call it greatness of soul, which prompts a man to kill himself rather than to bear up against some hardships of fortune, or sins in which he is not implicated. Is it not rather proof of a feeble mind, to be unable to bear either the pains of bodily servitude or the foolish opinion of the vulgar? And is not that to be pronounced the greater mind, which rather faces than flees the ills of life, and which,

in comparison of the light and purity of conscience, holds in small esteem the judgment of men, and specially of the vulgar, which is frequently involved in a mist of error?<sup>8</sup>

Thus one sees that Amavia is guilty of weakness in her suicide. Through betraying her rational nature and her responsibilities in giving way to emotion, she is a second example of dishonor.

Guyon attempts to wash the hands of the child, but he finds that the blood stains are permanent. The palmer has the explanation for the phenomenon. The spring at which Guyon is washing the child's hands springs from the tears of a maiden transformed into stone to escape the advances of Faunus:

And yet her vertues in her water byde;  
 For it is chaste and pure, as purest snow,  
 Ne lets her waves with any filth be dyde,  
 But ever like her selfe unstayned hath been tryde.  
 (F.Q. 2.2.9.6-9)

The nymph's attempt to protect her chastity is appropriate to the theme of temperance. The child's hands will remain bloody to testify to his mother's innocence and to remind him of his duty of revenge.

Seeking his horse, Guyon finds that it is missing. In connection with the theme of temperance, Guyon controls himself at the loss, "Which when Sir Guyon saw, all were he wroth,/ Yet algates mote he soft himselfe appease,/ And fairely fare on foot, how ever loth" (F.Q. 2.2.12.1-3). The party arrives at an ancient castle.

Within the castle live three sisters, daughters of the same father, but each with a different mother. The sisters have inherited the property equally, but the youngest and the oldest quarrel with each other and with the middle

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<sup>8</sup> Augustine, The City of God, I, 22, p. 143.

sister. Although the sisters are usually taken to represent the mean, the excess, and the defect of Aristotle, they seem more correctly designated as the three parts of the soul: reason, spirit, and appetite. Taken in this sense, they foreshadow the division of the book into the irascible (wrath and ambition) and the concupiscible passions (sensual pleasures).

One can see the division of the soul into three parts in Plato's Republic, though one might note that Elissa and Perissa as delineated here show the irascible and concupiscible passions in disorder:

And ought not the rational principle, which is wise, and has the care of the whole soul, to rule, and the passionate or spirited principle to be the subject and ally?

Certainly . . .

And these two, thus nurtured and educated, and having learned truly to know their own functions, will rule over the concupiscent, which in each of us is the largest part of the soul and by nature most insatiable of gain; over this they will keep guard, lest, waxing great and strong with the fulness of bodily pleasures, as they are termed, the concupiscent soul, no longer confined to her own sphere, should attempt to enslave and rule those who are not her natural-born subjects, and overturn the whole life of man?<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to the disorder manifested by Elissa and Perissa, one might note Plato's further presentation of these elements of the soul and of the state in their correct order:

And he is to be deemed courageous whose spirit retains in pleasure and in pain the commands of reason about which he ought or ought not to fear?

Right, he replied.

And him we call wise who has in him that little part which rules, and which proclaims these commands; that part too being supposed to have a

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<sup>9</sup>Plato, The Republic, 441-442, p. 354.

knowledge of what is for the interest of each of the three parts and of the whole?

Assuredly.

And would you not say that he is temperate who has these same elements in friendly harmony, in whom the one ruling principle of reason, and the two subject ones of spirit and desire are equally agreed that reason ought to rule, and do not rebel?<sup>10</sup>

Medina reflects her exemplification of reason in her gracious conduct:

A sober sad, and comely courteous dame;  
Who, rich arrayd, and yet in modest guize,  
In goodly garments, that her well became,  
Fayre marching forth in honorable wize,  
Him at the threshold mett, and well did enterprize.  
(F.Q. 2.2.14.5-9)

Both she and Alma are of similar character and have qualities that cause one to recall the Valiant Woman (Proverbs xxxi.10-31). The order of Medina's life seems exemplified in her hairdress of neat braids. Each of her sisters is entertaining a knight that reflects the character of the sister. Elissa, the spirit of the irascible nature, entertains Sir Huddibras:

He that made love unto the eldest dame  
Was hight Sir Huddibras, an hardy man;  
Yet not so good of deedes as great of name,  
Which he by many rash adventures wan,  
Since errant armes to sew he first began:  
More huge in strength then wise in workes he was,  
And reason with foole-hardize over ran;  
Sterne melancholy did his courage pas;  
And was, for terrour more, all armd in shyning bras.  
(F.Q. 2.2.17)

In opposition to true courage that seeks honor through prudent action, Sir Huddibras exemplifies rashness. He has the natural courage that is not tempered by the interior virtues insisted upon by the writers of manuals for

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



knights. He lacks graciousness and is not beyond terrorizing his opponents by such external devices as arming himself in brass.

Many writers have noted the distinction between physical and moral courage, and even when discussing physical courage have noted the distinction between what is prudent and reasonable and what is merely a display of strength. "For the man who flies from and fears everything and does not stand his ground against anything becomes a coward, and the man who fears nothing at all but goes to meet every danger becomes rash."<sup>11</sup>

The medieval manuals for knights constantly emphasize the superiority of moral virtue to physical strength. In recommending physical training for knights, Lull reminds them of the importance of spiritual qualities. "Thus as al these thynges afore said apperteyne to a knyght as touching his body/ in lyke wise justice/ wysedom/ charitie loyalte/ verite/ humylite/ strength hope swiftness & al other vertues seblable appertayne to a knyght as touchyng his soule."<sup>12</sup> Later he notes the superiority of the spiritual element in the chivalric code. "Yf chyualrye were more stronge of body/ than in strengthe of courage/ ordre of Chyualrye shold more accorde to the body than to the soule And yf it were so the body shold be more noble than the soule/ but that is openly fals."<sup>13</sup>

In answering the question of what constitutes boldness in a knight, Bonet notes that "virtue exists only in him who is bold through right knowledge and

<sup>11</sup>Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1104<sup>a</sup>20-23, p. 349.

<sup>12</sup>Lull, p. 31.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

understanding, who has the will to hear reason and justice, and the will to sustain all due and possible things, by the virtue of courage."<sup>14</sup> In a similar vein, de Gamez, in answer to the question of what is required of a good knight, says that he should be governed by the virtues, listing the cardinal and theological virtues.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, Buonaccorso has Flammineus describe nobility as resting not in riches nor in blood, "but in a free and noble courage, which is neyther seruaunt to vyce ne vnclennesse, but is exercised in connyng and vertu. And he that is endued with suche a courage deserueth best to be called noble, worshipful, & excellent."<sup>16</sup>

In their definitions of magnanimity, the Renaissance courtesy books emphasize moral courage. These definitions reflect the fact that the chivalric way of life had changed; the courtiers had superior formal education, enjoyed a more refined standard of living, and sought distinction as statesmen. "Let him yet bee respectiue, reuerent, gentle, and courteous, for by that meanes hee shall become pleasing, and amiable to all men, and the brightnesse of his nobility shall thereby shine and increase much more."<sup>17</sup> In speaking of the magnanimous man, Bryskett attributes these qualities to him:

He useth himselfe and all his abilitie euermore with greatnesse of courage, spending when occasion serveth magnifically, in workes worthy admiration, and in helping of others honorably. Towards all men he is courteous, gentle, and affable, neuer giuing occasion of offence or mislike in his conuersation: such due regard he hath to place, time, persons, and other circumstances, so as he neuer doth anything vnseemely or vnworthy himselfe.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bonet, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> De Gamez, pp. 11-12.

<sup>16</sup> Buonaccorso, p. 234.

<sup>17</sup> Nerma, pp. 87-88.

<sup>18</sup> Bryskett, p. 238.

While Hudibras reflects man's irascible nature in his search for honor, he does not reflect true courage because his actions are not motivated by prudence. He lacks the moral qualities required by the authors cited, qualities that temper and direct courage.

The youngest sister, Perissa, the appetite or concupiscible passion, also has a lover reflecting her own characteristics:

But he that lov'd the youngest was Sansloy,  
 He that faire Una late fowle outraged,  
 The most unruly and the boldest boy,  
 That ever warlike weapons menaged,  
 And to all lawlesse lust encouraged  
 Through strong opinion of his matchlesse might;  
 Ne ought he car'd, whom he endamaged  
 By tortious wrong, or whom bereav'd of right.  
 He now this ladies champion chose for love to fight.  
 (F.Q. 2.2.18)

Sansloy represents man's sensual appetites. In the satisfaction of his appetites without regard to order, he is, as his name signifies, without law. The mention of his attempt upon Una recalls his true nature. In his self-centeredness, "Through strong opinion of his matchlesse might" he disregards reason.

As can be expected, these two knights, representing the passions, war upon each other. Although they leave with the common purpose of attacking Guyon, they are quarreling with each other before they find him. When Guyon tries to separate them, he finds himself attacked by both men. The two knights, "Whose grieved mindes, which choler did englut,/ Against themselves turning their wrathfull spight" (F.Q. 2.2.23.5-6), exemplify the disorder of the passions. When Guyon finds himself the object of their anger, he shows by his ability that a temperate man is not a weak man:

So boldly he him beares, and rusheth forth  
 Betweene them both, by conduct of his blade.  
 Wondrous great prowesse and heroick worth  
 He shewd that day, and rare ensample made,  
 When two so mighty warriours he dismade.

(F.Q. 2.2.25.1-5)

Spenser comments on the misdirected love motivating the action. The love of Elissa and Perissa, arising from self-love, is only a form of hate, resulting in disorder (F.Q. 2.2.26).

To stop the fighting, Medina reasons with the knights, reminding them of the respect due to women because of their own mothers and of their loves and because of the vows of knighthood. Although her sisters wish to see the fight continue, she is able to persuade the knights to stop. This example of the knights' wrath is a fore-shadowing of the fourth and fifth cantos. Medina argues that knighthood requires that they fight with due right for a cause that is just. She warns them against wrath:

'But lovely concord, and most sacred peace,  
 Doth nourish vertue, and fast friendship breeds;  
 Weake she makes strong, and strong thing does increace,  
 Till it the pitch of highest praise exceeds;  
 Brave be her warres, and honorable deeds,  
 By which she triumphes over yre and pride,  
 And winnes an olive girlond for her meeds:  
 Be therefore, O my deare lords, pacifide,  
 And this misseeming discord meekely lay aside.'

(F.Q. 2.2.31)

This praise of concord recalls Augustine's concept of order and fits the definition of the three sisters as the three parts of the soul. Augustine sees the peace of the irrational soul in the harmony of knowledge and action.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Augustine, The City of God, XIX, 13, 519.

Medina suggests that the knights recreate themselves with pleasant entertainment.

The reactions of the two sisters characterize their natures:

Elissa (so the eldest hight) did deeme  
Such entertainment base, ne ought would eat,  
Ne ought would speake, but evermore did seeme  
As discontent for want of merth or meat;  
No solace could her paramour intreat  
Her once to snow, ne court nor dalliaunce;  
But with bentlowing browes, as she would threat,  
She scould, and frownd with froward countenance,  
Unworthy of faire ladies comely governaunce.

(F.Q. 2.2.35)

Since Elissa's discourteous conduct is the action of a sullen person, it can be construed as a type of irascibility. Her partner Huddibras echoes her actions for he behaves like a stern or bad-tempered person.<sup>20</sup> He is a malcontent, grieving and inwardly tormented (F.Q. 2.2.37.6-9).

As already mentioned, Perissa personifies the concupiscible appetites:

But young Perissa was of other mynd,  
Full of disport, still laughing, loosely light,  
And quite contrary to her sisters kynd;  
No measure in her mood, no rule of right,  
But poured out in pleasure and delight;  
In wine and meats she flowd above the banck,  
And in excesse exceeded her owne might;  
In sumptuous ture she joyd her selfe to pranck,  
But of her love too lavish (little have she thanck.)

(F.Q. 2.2.36)

The lack of modesty in her outward behavior reflects her inward dispositions. Her excess is seen in her rich clothing. Here, too, her companion fits her nature, for Sansloy enjoys such conduct (F.Q. 2.2.37.1-5).

Medina presides over the entertainment, keeping the couples in order and

<sup>20</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 158, a. 5.

personifying the role of reason. One cannot entirely deny that the sisters represent the Aristotelian mean, excess, and defect, as their names signify, but one might note that the qualities of lust and irascibility are not opposed to each other. The interpretation of them as the three parts of the soul can be justified by the text. It is also congruent with the theme of temperance that is concerned with moderation.

An aspect of temperance is also seen in the implied criticism of their conduct, actions lacking in decorum. They illustrate how inward character is manifested in external conduct. Outward activity falls under the rule of virtue; it is controlled by reason, and reason seeks moderation. An honorable man possesses both inward dispositions and outward decorum.<sup>21</sup> The sisters offend against decorum because their conduct is lacking in order and graciousness. Because their conduct is controlled by their passions, it is lacking in the honor one gives to reasonable action.

Guyon throughout is courteous, and when asked to tell of his adventures, he does so graciously. His ability to enjoy relaxation correctly is in contrast to the conduct of Elissa and Perissa and stands as an example of eutrapelia, "The habit of a pleasant and cheerful turn of mind." As man needs relaxation, he finds it in rest and mental diversion. Guyon shows the virtues of taking such recreation ordinally, a virtue that is a part of temperance.<sup>22</sup>

In relation to the concept of honor, one finds in his praise of the glorious Faerie Queene the concept of honor as a part of nationalism and the fusion

<sup>21</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 168, a. 1.

<sup>22</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 168, a. 2.

of religion and nationalism into a single virtue:

In her the riches of all heavenly grace  
 In chiefe degree are heaped up on hye:  
 And all, that els this worlds enclosure bace  
 Hath great or glorious in mortall eye,  
 Adornes the person of her Majestye;  
 That men beholding so great excellence,  
 And rare perfection in mortalitye,  
 Doe her adore with sacred reverence,  
 As th' idole of her Makers great magnificence.

(F.Q. 2.2.41)

This description of Gloriana as possessing the highest degree of heavenly approbation plus all that is glorious from a human point of view is a key passage in interpreting Spenser's concept of honor. Gloriana is described as the image of God's magnificence. In Spenser's mind, nationalism and religion fuse; sanctity and patriotism are linked. One can understand this attitude when one considers how central was the religious conflict both in England and also during his experience in Ireland. However, the equating of service to Gloriana with the pursuit of glory presents a secular aspect in the development of moral and spiritual values. This view of honor is peculiarly characteristic of Spenser.

One may find the same nationalistic spirit in Shakespeare, in John of Gaunt's eloquent description of England, but it is not linked with religious values:

This royal throne of kings, this sceptered isle,  
 This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
 This other Eden, demi-Paradise,  
 This fortress built by Nature for herself  
 Against infection and the hand of war,  
 This happy breed of men, this little world,  
 This precious stoneset in the silver sea.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup>William Shakespeare, "Richard II," 11.1.40-46, Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets, ed. G. B. Harrison (New York, 1948), p. 201.

In this excerpt one sees the same love of England is manifested but in a secular context.

Guyon explains that he was at the annual feast of the Order of the Garter when the palmer appeared, complaining of Acrasia's wrongs. His sovereign, "Whose glory is in gracious deeds, and joyes/ Throughout the world her mercy to maintaine" (F.Q. 2.2.43.6-7), has delegated Guyon to undertake the quest. Guyon has now been searching for Acrasia for three months. He tells the story of Mortdant and Amavia to illustrate her wickedness. Medina welcomes the story as an exemplum illustrating the necessity of abstaining from pleasure's poison. At the end of the story, the guests retire to rest.

In Guyon's description of the inception of his quest and in his praise of Gloriana, one sees the peculiar blend of religion and nationalism that is typical of Spenser. Although Spenser's severest criticisms are aimed at the unworthy courtier, he finds his ideal of the true courtier embodied in all his heroes who serve his queen. Guyon's service of Gloriana reminds one of the description of the true courtier's concept of honor in "Mother Hubberds Tale":

For all his minde on honour fixed is,  
 To which he levels all his purposis,  
 And in his princes service spends his dayes,  
 Not so much for to gaine, or for to raise  
 Himselfe to high degree, as for his grace,  
 And in his liking to winne worthie place,  
 Through due deserts and comely carriage,  
 In whatso please employ his personage,  
 That may be matter meete to gaine him praise;  
 For he is fit to use in all assayes,  
 Whether for armes and warlike amenaunce,  
 Or else for wise and civill governaunce.

(M.H.T. 11.771-782)

Guyon's selfless devotion to Gloriana echoes this concept of honor.

Early the next morning Guyon starts on his quest, leaving the child with



Medina. She is to train him in virtuous lore and the nurture becoming a noble child. Spenser is never specific in these references to education. The child is to be called Ruddymane to remind him of his duty of avenging his parents.

Guyon shows his temperance in his attitude in setting off on foot:

Patience perforce: helplesse what may it boot  
To frett for anger, or for grieffe to mone?

(F.Q. 2.3.3-4)

The following incident, which involves Braggadochio, Trompart, and Belpheobe, does not include Guyon. In reference to the virtue of temperance one might see Braggadochio as the opposite of humility but as the incident has certain comic overtones, one might consider him simply as a braggart, a caricature of the true knight. In the manner in which the incident is developed, it presents a contrast between false honor and true honor:

The whyles a losell wandring by the way,  
One that to bountie never cast his mynd,  
Ne thought of honour ever did assay  
His baser brest, but in his kestrell kynd  
A pleasing vaine of glory he did fynd,  
To which his flowing toung and troublous spright  
Gave him great ayd, and made him more inclynd:  
He, that grave steed there finding ready dight,  
Purloyned both steed and speare, and ran away full light.

(F.Q. 2.3.4)

Here honor is equated with bounty in contrast with vain glory. Braggadochio has an over-active, garrulous personality. One is reminded of Cicero's warning against being such a type. "Another offence against decorum is to boast of oneself, especially without ground, and to expose oneself to derision by playing the 'Braggart Captain.'"<sup>24</sup> The characters of Mandricardo and Martano in

<sup>24</sup>Cicero, "On Moral Duties," p. 52.

Orlando Furioso seem to offer suggestions for the characterization.<sup>25</sup> Having stolen merely two external trappings of a knight, his horse and spear, Braggadochio sets off exultantly for court. He cannot appreciate the interior virtues that a knight is to possess or the training that he has to undergo.

His caricature of knighthood is seen in his first encounter with an unarmed peasant sitting idly on a sunny bank, scarcely a worthy opponent. Riding badly, he attacks, reviling him with a thunderous voice. Braggadochio allows the peasant, Trompart, to live on the condition that he serve him. Trompart, a cunning man himself, is quick to perceive that Braggadochio is a caricature of true knighthood and panders to his vainglory with flattery:

Trompart, fitt man for Braggadochio,  
 To serve at court in view of vaunting eye;  
 Vaineglorious man, when fluttering wind does blow  
 In his light winges, is lifted up to skye;  
 The scorne of knighthood and trew chevelrye,  
 To thinke, without desert of gentle deed  
 And noble worth, to be advaunced hye:  
 Such prayse is shame; but honour, vertues meed,  
 Doth beare the fayrest flowre in honourable seed.  
 (F.Q. 2.3.10)

The magnanimous man is always superior to flattery. One notes that Spenser defines honor as the reward of virtue, the flower of an honorable seed. The reference to "honourable seed" is somewhat ambiguous; one is not sure if the reference is to noble birth or simply to honor given as the recognition of virtue.

As the magnanimous man possesses the reality of virtue, he is deserving of honor. Augustine cites Cato as the example of a man who sought virtue for

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<sup>25</sup>R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," PMLA, XII (1897), 178-180.

itself and was honored for his singleness of purpose.<sup>26</sup> However, the honorable man had to be warned against flattery, the counterfeit of honor. Spenser expresses the true courtier's dislike of flattery:

He hates fowle leasinges, and vile flatterie,  
Two filthie blots in noble gentrie.

(M.H.T. 733-734)

Warnings against flattery are frequent in the Renaissance courtesy books. Although Castiglione wants his courtier to please his prince, he also expects him to guard the prince against his chief faults, ignorance and self-conceit. The wise counselor is to be "someone to tell them the truth and make them [princes] mindful of what is right."<sup>27</sup> Elyot warns the nobleman against flatterers. "And surely as the worms do breed most gladly in soft wood and sweet, so the most gentle and noble wits, inclined to honour, replenished with the most honest and courteous manners, do soonest admit flatterers, and be by them abused."<sup>28</sup> Flatterers should be treated as traitors and counterfeiters and put to the torture:

In reason how much more pain (if there were any greater pain than death) were he worthy to suffer, that with false adulation doth corrupt and adulterate the gentle and virtuous nature of a nobleman, which is not only his image, but the very man himself. For without virtue man is but in the number of beasts. And also by perverse instruction and flattery such one slayeth both the soul and good renown of his master.<sup>29</sup>

Bryskett devotes several pages to a warning against flattery.<sup>30</sup> One sees in

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<sup>26</sup>Augustine, The City of God, V, 12, 218.

<sup>27</sup>Castiglione, p. 290.

<sup>28</sup>Elyot, p. 155.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>30</sup>Bryskett, pp. 106-113.

Braggadocchio's acceptance of flattery an example of his vainglory. The magnanimous man seeks virtue and regards honor only as a by-product of that virtue. He does not reject honor for it is the highest external good, but he accepts it with the realization of his own weakness and of God's grace, and he accepts it in order that by his good example he may help his neighbors.

The comic interlude continues with the appearance of Archimago. Ironically, the great deceiver is taken in by Braggadocchio's appearance and hopes to use him against the Red Cross Knight and Guyon. One might note here that Braggadocchio is wearing armor with no explanation of how he has obtained it. When Archimago comments to Trompart that Braggadocchio has no sword, Trompart replies ostentaciously that he has vowed never to wear a sword until he has gained his revenge, but that his spear can kill a thousand. This vow is a parody of similar vows found in chivalric tales. Having gained Braggadocchio's promise of aid, Archimago advises him to use a sword. Braggadocchio boasts of his ability, a pretentious assertion in view of his actual accomplishments:

'Is not enough fowre quarters of a man,  
 Withouten sword or shield, an hoste to quayle?  
 Thou litle wotest what this right-hand can:  
 Speake they, which have beheld the battailes which it wan.'

(F.Q. 2.3.16.6-9)

Explaining that he had killed seven knights with his sword, Braggadocchio adds that he had vowed never to wear a sword unless it were that of "the noblest knight on earth" (F.Q. 2.3.17.9). Archimago promises to steal Arthur's sword. He describes Arthur as "the best and noblest knight alive" (F.Q. 2.3.18.3). This reference to Arthur is a double compliment, for it comes from an enemy. In pursuit of Arthur's sword, Archimago vanishes. Braggadocchio and Trompart manifest their cowardice by their reactions:

then dead through great affright  
 They both nigh were, and each bad other flye:  
 Both fled attonce, ne ever backe retournd eye.

(F.Q. 2.3.19.7-9)

One is reminded of certain comic teams in their trembling reaction to every sound. The sound of a horn sends Braggadochio into a paroxysm of fear. He falls from his horse and hides beneath a bush. It is the servant, Trompart, who is left to stand his ground at Belphoebe's appearance.

Belphoebe, a prototype of true honor, is one of the set pieces into which Spenser has poured all his talent. She is the best developed feminine character in the book, standing in sharp contrast with Phaedria and Acrasia and possessing an individuality that Alma and Medina lack. Her presentation here is best compared to the introduction of Arthur in the first book. Her character has several aspects. She is a graceful compliment to Queen Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen. She enunciates Spenser's concept of honor. She might be taken as a representation of the love of virtue or spiritual beauty that a temperate person must possess to achieve the self-mastery that is his aim.

There is a detailed description of her person (F.Q. 2.3.21-2.3.31). As befits a follower of Diana, she is a huntress with a stately carriage that suggests heavenly birth. Her complexion is fair with rosy cheeks, the traditional white and red of the sonneteers. On her forehead good and honor are manifest, and she is described as the mirror of heavenly grace. She can walk with great dignity or race swiftly, according to her wishes. As a huntress, she carries a spear and bow and arrows. Upon her breast she wears a golden baldric.

Seeing Trompart, she tells him she is searching for a wounded hind. When

she sees a movement in the bush, she aims at it, but Trompart stops her, explaining that the movement is caused by his lord, "whose warlike name/ Is far renowned through many bold emprize" (F.Q. 2.3.35.3-4). Emerging, Braggadochio pretends to have been sleeping. Although he is attracted by her beauty, he is apprehensive of her weapons. In her greeting, Belphoebe declares that the warrior's life is the most praiseworthy, a sentiment that Spenser must have shared:

'All haile, sir knight, and well may thee befall,  
As all the like, which honor have pursewd  
Through deeds of armes and prowesse martiall!  
All vertue merits praise, but such the most of all.'  
(F.Q. 2.3.37.6-9)

Braggadochio is faithful to his name in introducing himself as a great warrior whose battles are known throughout the world and who wishes to raise his name above the moon. He implies his own desire to be at court when he asks Belphoebe why she is not there where she can live in pleasure among her equals.

In Belphoebe's answer, Spenser expresses his ambivalent attitude toward court life and defines his idea of an honorable life. A man who spends his life at court will not be honored and will live in "obscuritee" and oblivion, because of his idleness:

But who his limbs with labours, and his mynd  
Behaves with cares, cannot so easy mis.  
Abroad in armes, at home in studious kynd,  
Who seekes with painfull toile, shal Honor soonest fynd.  
(F.Q. 2.3.40.6-9)

By the mention of physical exercise and of civil concerns one is again reminded of the description of the true courtier in "Mother Hubberds Tale."

There the courtier banishes idleness "with faire exercise/ Of knightly feates"

(M.H.T. 737-738). He dedicates himself to the ruler's service:

For he is fit to use in all assayes,  
Whether for armes and warlike amenaunce,  
Or else for wise and civill governaunce.

(M.H.T. ll. 780-782)

He will serve in arms away from court, as did Spenser's patrons, Lord Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Grey. In "Mother Hubberds Tale" Spenser specifies the courtier's studies:

Or lastly, when the bodie list to pause,  
His minde unto the Muses he withdrawes;  
Sweete Ladie Muses, ladies of delight,  
Delights of life, and ornaments of light:  
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.

(M.H.T. ll. 759-767)

Honor is to be found in painful toil, a fact that Spenser must have known from his personal experience as an aide to Lord Grey in addition to his own work as a poet.

Belphoebe continues her description of honor:

In woods, in waves, in warres she wonts to dwell,  
And wilbe found with perill and with paine;  
Ne can the man, that moulds in ydle cell,  
Unto her happy mansion attaine;  
Before her gate High God did sweate ordaine,  
And wakefull watches ever to abide:  
But easy is the way, and passage plaine  
To Pleasures pallace; it may soone be spide,  
And day and night her dores to all stand open wide.

(F.Q. 2.3.41)

Honor is derived from administration of distant provinces ("woods"), from exploration ("waves"), and from wars. It is purchased by effort. This

description of honor fits the activities of the best type of English courtiers. The reference to the man that "moulds in ydle cell," causes one to infer that Spenser did not consider the monastic life, or perhaps the strictly academic life, a valuable one. The reference to "sweate" and "wakefull watches" reinforces his reference to painful toil. This seems more applicable to the civil life, though it does not exclude a knightly career.

In considering Belpheobe's definition of honor, one can find several qualities. First, a life spent exclusively at court is usually one of idleness and dissipation. Second, honor is found in knightly exercises and quests, in studies and civil administration. Third, work is opposed to pleasure. Fourth, the monastic life is discounted as a means to honor. One might read a personal reference in his dislike of the court from which he was exiled, and in his praise of painful toil which he experienced. Spenser seems to have found his ideal in the conscientious warrior or administrator.

Belpheobe's discourse on honor is incongruously interrupted by Braggadochio's attempt to assault her. Repulsing him with her javelin, she flees. Too much of a coward to pursue her, he contents himself with a comment to Trompart, a comment that is an ironic reversal of the chivalric code:

'What fowle blott  
Is this to knight, that lady should agayne  
Depart to woods untoucht, and leave so proud disdayne!'  
(F.Q. 2.3.43.7-9)

The two men excuse their cowardice by asserting that she is a goddess; Braggadochio comments that he has a special power that can fear nothing earthly, but only the supernatural. If these men were presented seriously, they might be taken as a satirical criticism of knighthood, or, on the moral



level, of the lack of humility. However, since they are presented with comic overtones, they present only a burlesque of knightly honor. In their meeting with Belphoebe one finds false and true honor presented, though it seems unfortunate that she is not seen with more worthy companions.

In reference to Braggadochio one finds another quality mentioned that was essential for a knight--horsemanship. Though such a quality has no validity in the moral order, the ability to ride well was a source of honor both for the knight and for the courtier. Braggadochio is a ridiculous figure because he rides poorly. Spenser himself cites horsemanship as the mark of noble birth:

In brave poursuitt of honorable deed,  
 There is I know not what great difference  
 Betweene the vulgar and the noble seed,  
 Which unto things of valorous pretence  
 Seemes to be borne by native influence;  
 As feates of armes, and love to entertaine;  
 But chiefly skill to ride seemes a science  
 Proper to gentle blood: some others faine  
 To menage steeds, as did this vaunter; but in vaine.

(F.Q. 2.4.1)

In analyzing the concept of honor, one must consider the cultural pattern of an age. Horsemanship is essential to a knight. His ownership and management of a horse set him apart from the peasant. Both manuals of knighthood and Renaissance courtesy books stress the importance of his quality. Since the management of a horse when one was dressed in full armor was difficult and required long training, horsemanship was a distinguishing mark of a trained knight.

One might note several expressions of the importance of horsemanship.

"The scyence and the scole of the ordre of Chyualrye/ is that the knyght make

his sone to lerne in his yongthe to ryde/ For yf he lerne not in his yongthe/  
 he shalle neuer lerne it in his old age/ And it behoueth that the sone of a  
 knyght in the tyme that he is squyer can take kepyng of hors."<sup>31</sup> Diaz de  
 Gamez states that the horse, a noble animal, reflects the nobility of the  
 knight. "They [knights] have not been taken from among feeble or timid or  
 cowardly souls, but from among men who are strong and full of energy, bold and  
 without fear; and for this reason there is no other beast that so befits a  
 knight as a good horse."<sup>32</sup>

The respect for horsemanship continued during the Renaissance, as can be  
 seen in Castiglione's mention of it. "Therefore I wish our Courtier to be a  
 perfect horseman in every kind of saddle; and, in addition to having a knowl-  
 edge of horses and what pertains to riding, let him put every effort and dili-  
 gence into outstripping others in everything a little, so that he may be always  
 recognized as better than the rest."<sup>33</sup>

Elyot recommends it as a fit accomplishment for a governor:

But the most honourable exercise, in mine opinion, and that beseemeth the  
 estate of every noble person, is to ride surely and clean on a great  
 horse and a rough, which undoubtedly not only importeth a majesty and  
 dread to inferior persons, beholding him above the common course of other  
 men, daunting a fierce and cruel beast, but also is no little succour, as  
 well in pursuit of enemies and confounding them, as in escaping imminent  
 danger, when wisdom thereto exhorteth.<sup>34</sup>

From Elyot's statement one can infer that while horsemanship had a practical

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<sup>31</sup>Lull, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup>De Gamez, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup>Castiglione, p. 38.

<sup>34</sup>Elyot, p. 64.

value, it also served as a social distinction between the upper and the lower classes. On the other hand, Spenser's limiting of horsemanship to "noble seed" is not based on pure snobbery, but is rather a recognition of the fact that learning the art of horsemanship involved a long, expensive training that only the upper classes could afford.

In reference to temperance, Guyon's loss of his horse has a symbolic value, for the horse might be taken as a representation of man's pride and animal passions. Spenser's brave courtier shoots the long bow:

Without a gowned beast him fast beside;  
 A vaine ensample of the Persian pride,  
 Who after he had wonne th' Assyrian foe,  
 Did ever after scorne on foote to goe.

(M.H.T. 11.749-752)

Guyon's patient progress at the side of the palmer who regulates his pace can symbolize the deliberate controlled passage of the temperate man, as Spenser suggests:

But he, the rightfull owner of that steede,  
 Who well could menage and subdew his pride,  
 The whiles on foot forced for to yeed,  
 With that blacke palmer, his most trusty guide,  
 Who suffred not his wandring feete to slide;  
 But when strong passion, or weake fleshlinesse,  
 Would from the right way seeke to draw from wide,  
 He would, through temperaunce and stedfastnesse,  
 Teach him the weak to strengthen, and the strong suppressse.

(F.Q. 2.4.2)

Here one sees the concept of temperance as self-mastery, a virtue worthy of honor because it results in man's perfection. Man has a complex nature with the spirit warring against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit. When man achieves self-mastery in a life of rational wholeness and order, he merits honor.

In the fourth canto, in Guyon's conflict with anger, the main action of the second book begins. The first canto introduced the theme of intemperance with the story of Amavia and Mortdant. The second canto delineated the three aspects of the soul: reason, concupiscence, and irascibility. The third canto distinguished between true honor and false honor. In Guyon's conflict with anger, one finds man in conflict with his irascibility, a conflict that will include avarice and ambition, and will not be resolved until Arthur appears in the eighth canto. Then the work will conclude with man's conflict with concupiscence.

Guyon sees a distraught man dragging a youth by the hair and beating him. Accompanying the assailant is a hag who inflames him with angry words and who represents the incident that can arouse passion. In accordance with his knightly role, Guyon tries to restore order by rescuing the youth.

To clarify this study of Spenser's allegory, one might review St. Thomas's analysis of clemency, of meekness, and of the opposing vice of anger. Clemency is the virtue that moderates the anger of a superior in punishing or sentencing a subject. Meekness is the virtue that moderates anger in a person's own soul.<sup>35</sup> Anger is a sense-passion, but since it can quickly affect the will, it is called a "passion of the soul." Anger can be justified if it is within reason and inspired by a desire for justice. However, it is inordinate if it inspires outrageous words or deeds and is inspired by a desire for personal revenge. Anger can have several effects: "Anger is stated to be the door to the vices accidentally, that is by removing obstacles, to wit

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<sup>35</sup> S.T., II-II, q. 157, a. 1.

by hindering the judgment of reason, whereby man is withdrawn from evil. It is, however, directly the cause of certain special sins, which are called its daughters."<sup>36</sup> These daughters are listed as quarreling, swelling of the mind, contumely, clamor, indignation, and blasphemy.<sup>37</sup> Indignation and swelling of the mind consist in thought. Indignation is the thought that the person with whom one is angry is unworthy and consists in treating him as one who is unworthy. Swelling of the mind consists in planning methods of revenge. Clamor, blasphemy, and contumely consist of anger in words. Clamor denotes the disorderly and confused speech characteristic of anger. Blasphemy is injurious words against God; contumely, against one's neighbor. Anger in deeds consists in quarrels.<sup>38</sup> This analysis of clemency, of meekness, and of the opposing vice, anger, and its effects will be used in interpreting the characters and actions in the allegory. Although injury is not so disgraceful as lust, it can lead to injustice and injury. An inordinately angry man sacrifices his dignity as a rational creature, and motivated by injured self-esteem, he wastes his energy. One cannot honor the hasty, irrational actions that characterize his deeds.

When Furor turns upon Guyon, he is described as a madman:

Against him turning all his fell intent,  
 With beastly brutish rage gan him assay,  
 And smott, and bitt, and kickt, and scratcht, and rent,  
 And did he wist not what in his avengement.  
 (F.Q. 2.4.6.6-9)

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<sup>36</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 158, a. 6.

<sup>37</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 158, a. 7.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

One can see an effect of anger, namely, temporary insanity. His actions show a lack of control, resulting in a waste of energy. He not only misses his mark but also injures himself. Because Guyon is not accustomed to fighting such opponents, he finds himself thrown to the ground and beaten by Furor and Occasion. Occasion exemplifies clamor in her bitter threats and reproaches. When Guyon manages to get on his feet to defend himself, the palmer warns him against this method of subduing wrath. The palmer advises Guyon to silence Occasion. The latter fastens an iron lock to her mouth and ties her hands to a stake. With the occasion of wrath silenced, Guyon is able to bind Furor, but is unable to restrain his indignation.

In the moral allegory, Furor represents the abstract quality of headlong wrath, while Phedon, the youth he was beating, represents a specific instance of headlong wrath. Phedon reveals to Guyon how an occasion betrayed him into wrath:

'Fayre sir,' quoth he, 'what man can shun the hap,  
That hidden lyes unwares him to surpryse?  
Misfortune waites advantage to entrap  
The man most wary in her whelming lap.  
So me, weake wretch, of many weakest one,  
Unweeting, and unaware of such mishap,  
She brought to mischief through occasion,  
Where this same wicked villein did me light upon.'  
(F.Q. 2.4.17.2-9)

In achieving rational wholeness and order, man must guard against the occasion that will betray him into passion. Phedon explains how, in a situation similar to Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing, his friend tricked him into believing that his betrothed was unfaithful to him. In his anger he killed his betrothed. When her maid told him how he was deceived, he killed his

friend and was attacked by Furor when he attempted to kill her. Here one can see the violence and injustice arising from unreasonable anger.

The palmer draws the fundamental moral in the maintenance of self-mastery to resist the beginning of passion:

Then gan the palmer thus: 'Most wretched man,  
That to affections does the bridle lend:  
In their beginning they are weake and wan,  
But soone through suff'rance growe to fearefull end.  
Whiles they are weake, betimes with them contend:  
For when they once to perfect strength do grow,  
Strong warres they make, and cruell battry bend  
Gainst fort of reason, it to overthrow:  
Wrath, gelosy, grieffe, love this squyre have laide thus low.'  
(F.Q. 2.4.34)

The palmer expresses himself metaphorically. Wrath is a fire that grows from sparks; Jealousy is a weed that grows from seeds; Grief is a flood that grows from drops; Love is a monster that grows from filth (spontaneous generation). These passions should be extinguished before they have a chance to develop. Guyon advises the squire to learn from his mistake and "guyde thy waies with warie governaunce" (F.Q. 2.4.36.4). Although Spenser does not here mention other helps in achieving rational wholeness, such as mortification, prayer, and the development of wholesome interests and activities, he does mention a fundamental precept, the avoidance of occasions of sin. Man can not hope to achieve the honor given to moral excellence unless he is willing to adopt this regimen.

The next episode is introduced by the entrance of Atin, strife. He lacks the quality of reflective action that every temperate man must have. His lack of control is seen in his heated appearance. Running in a cloud of dust, he approaches, panting, breathless, and hot. His motto expresses his wrath and

its effect, "Burnt I doe burne." Guyon shows meekness in the mildness with which he treats him. Atin warns of the approach of two brothers: Pyrochles, the wrath that burns without occasion, and Cymochles, a type of the incontinent man and of fickle passion. Pyrochles has sent his squire Atin to seek Occasion, for he desires a quarrel. The palmer notes the foolishness of seeking Occasion who comes unsought:

'Mad man,' said then the palmer, 'that does seeke  
Occasion to wrath, and cause of strife!  
Shee comes unsought, and shonned followes eke.  
Happy who can abstaine, when Rancor rife  
Kindles revenge, and threats his rusty knife:  
Wee never wants, where every cause is caught,  
And rash Occasion makes unquiet life.'

(F.Q. 2.4.44.1-7)

When Guyon points out Occasion bound, Atin leaves to seek Pyrochles to revenge what he considers an injury. Guyon evades Atin's dart.

The theme of temperance in reference to wrath is stated in the first stanza of Canto Five:

Who ever doth to temperaunce apply  
His stedfast life, and all his actions frame,  
Trust me, shal find no greater enemy,  
Then stubborne perturbation, to the same;  
To which right wel the wise doe give that name;  
For it the goodly peace of staid mindes  
Does overthrow, and troublous warre proclame:  
His owne woes author, who so bound it findes,  
As did Pyrochles, and it wilfully unbindes.

(F.Q. 2.5.1)

Man's rational wholeness is marred by perturbation; his internal calm is lost; his external activity is wasted in quarrels. Such a man is Pyrochles. With the sun shining on his armor, his armor seems to send forth sparks, while his horse is blood-red. As with Atin, haste keynotes his actions. He lacks the deliberation and reflection that controls anger. Without attempting to



discover the true circumstances by questioning Guyon, he aims a blow at him. When Guyon strikes back, he misses Pyrochles and accidentally beheads his horse. In Pyrochles's unfounded criticism of Guyon, one can see the irrationality of anger manifested here by clamor and contumely. This criticism is unfounded because Guyon's blow is accidental:

'Disleall knight, whose coward corage chose  
 To wreake it selfe on beast all innocent,  
 And shund the marke at which it should be ment!  
 Therby thine armes seem strong, but manhood frayl:  
 So hast thou oft with guile thine honor blent;  
 But litle may such guile thee now awayl,  
 If wonted force and fortune doe not much me fayl.'  
 (F.Q. 2.5.5.3-9)

Since Pyrochles has never known Guyon, he cannot justly call him a coward. He does not consider that his attack upon a man on foot is unfair and that Guyon's blow against him could easily have been misdirected at the horse. "It was clean against the laws of chivalry to strike a horse. Spenser makes Guyon do it by accident, and his antagonist pretends to think it was done purpose-ly."<sup>39</sup> He has no reason for accusing Guyon of blemishing his honor with guile. This irrational speech is characteristic of the lack of self-control accompanying anger.

One sees in Guyon's anger at Pyrochles's repeated attack the example of justifiable anger. "The man who is angry at the right things and with the right people, and further, as he ought, when he ought, and as long as he ought, is praised."<sup>40</sup> "Wherefore if one desire revenge to be taken in accordance with

<sup>39</sup>G. W. Kitchin, Book II of the Faery Queene, quoted in Variorum (Baltimore, 1933), p. 234.

<sup>40</sup>Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics, 1125<sup>b</sup>31-33, p. 372.

the order of reason, the desire of anger is praiseworthy, and is called zealous anger."<sup>41</sup> "When a man is angry with reason, his anger is no longer from passion: wherefore he is said to judge, not to be angry."<sup>42</sup>

Continuing his personification of inordinate anger, Pyrochles fights wildly without self-control:

Ne thenceforth his approved skill, to ward,  
Or strike, or hurtle rownd in warlike gyre,  
Remembred he, ne car'd for his saufgard,  
But rudely rag'd, and like a cruel tygre far'd.  
(F.Q. 2.5.8.6-9)

Guyon, "wary wise," waits his advantage, shifting his position and feinting skillfully. When Pyrochles is exhausted, he strikes him first to his knees and then lays him prone. Although Pyrochles calls for mercy, he is not generous enough to admit that he has been justly defeated but rather attributes Guyon's victory to luck (F.Q. 2.5.12.7-9). Guyon tempers his passion and shows his magnanimity in offering him his life if he will swear allegiance. He gives him some advice:

'And henceforth by this daies ensample trow,  
That hasty wroth, and heedlesse hazardry,  
Doe breede repentaunce late, and lasting infamy.'  
(F.Q. 2.5.13.7-9)

Although Pyrochles takes his defeat with bad grace, he is consoled by the fact that Guyon is so noble that he has not taken his life. In connection with temperance, one notes Guyon's reminder that the only defeat that brings dishonor is the defeat that comes when one is untrue to one's self:

<sup>41</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 158, a. 2.

<sup>42</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 158, a. 8.

Losse is not shame, nor to bee lesse then foe,  
 But to bee lesser then himselfe doth marre  
 Both losers lott, and victours prayse alsoe:  
 Vaine others overthrowes who selfe doth overthrow.  
 (F.Q. 2.5.15.6-9)

This view of morality as inner rectitude, as purity of conscience, shows Spenser's concept of honor as personal integrity, not merely as external reputation. Though he chiefly uses the word "honor" to denote merely reputation, as he develops the concept of honor through the totality of the action, Spenser shows the idea of honor as personal integrity.

This idea of personal integrity, of rational wholeness, is seen in his warning to Pyrochles against unruly emotions. He tells him to fly that anger, discord, impatience, and misplaced love that hold him captive. That Guyon's warning is unheeded is seen when Pyrochles releases Occasion, who immediately incites a quarrel between Pyrochles and the newly released Furor. When one sees the beleaguered Pyrochles asking Guyon for aid, one sees a wrathful man the victim of his own passions. The palmer advises Guyon to leave him to his punishment:

'Dear sonne, thy causelesse ruth repress,  
 Ne let thy stout hart melt in pittie vayne:  
 He that his sorow sought through wilfulnesse,  
 And his foe fettred would release agayne,  
 Deserves to taste his follies fruit, repented payne.'  
 (F.Q. 2.5.24.5-9)

Atin, who had seen Pyrochles fall under Guyon's sword, assumes he is dead and goes to find Cymochles to revenge his death. Cymochles, like his brother, is a powerful fighter. He seems to be of a somewhat more cruel nature, for he leaves the bodies of the knights he has killed to be the prey of birds and beasts and hangs their arms on a tree in honor of his love, Acrasia. He differs from his brother in his sensuality, for when not fighting

he spends his time in lewd living, as he is doing now in the Bower of Bliss. The scene foreshadows that of the final canto. When Atin arrives and accuses him of abandoning his knightly honor by his sensuality, Cymochles arouses himself hastily, promising to have revenge that day:

For he has vowd to beene avengd that day  
 (That day it selfe him seemed all too long.)  
 (F.Q. 2.5.38.6-7)

In the haste in which he acts one can see the lack of the habit of reflective action, a habit necessary for the supremacy of reason.

In developing the character of Cymochles, a personification of incontinence, Spenser comments on the nature of continence:

A harder lesson to learne continence  
 In joyous pleasure then in grievous paine:  
 For sweetnesse doth allure the weaker sence  
 So strongly, that unweathes it can refraine  
 From that which feeble nature covets faine;  
 But griefe and wrath, that be her enemies,  
 And foes of life, she better can restraine;  
 Yet Vertue vauntes in both her victories,  
 And Guyon in them all shewes goodly maysteries.  
 (F.Q. 2.6.1)

This concept that pleasure is more difficult to combat than anger is found in both Aristotle and Saint Thomas. "Again, it is harder to fight with pleasure than with anger, to use Heraclitus' phrase, but both art and virtue are always concerned with what is harder; for even the good is better when it is harder."<sup>43</sup>

Saint Thomas observes that "the movement of desire is more inordinate than the movement of anger."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup>Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1105<sup>a</sup>7-10, p. 350.

<sup>44</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 156, a. 4.

The incident with Phaedria exemplifies the incontinent man's surrender to pleasure, and it shows the temperate man's self-mastery. Cymochles serves as a foil to Guyon. In accordance with his exemplification of incontinence, Cymochles falls under Phaedria's spell. When he finds her, singing loudly to herself and laughing convulsively, he asks her to ferry him in her gaily decked boat. Her actions exemplify her personification of idle mirth. Although she consents to take Cymochles, she will not admit Atin, or strife, who would be an obstacle to her excessive love of pleasure. Enchanted by her frivolity, Cymochles forgets his desire for revenge:

So easie was, to quench his flamed minde  
 With one sweete drop of sensuall delight;  
 So easie is, t' appease the stormy winde  
 Of malice in the calme of pleasaunt womankind.  
 (F.Q. 2.6.8.6-9)

Phaedria's name is suggestive of her nature. "The word often had a bad connotation in Greek as it has in Spenser, and was used on the comic stage for a young man sowing his wild oats (e.g. Terence, Phormio). Apparently this is the particular sort of temptation that Guyon is allegorically experiencing in Canto 6."<sup>45</sup> From the Idle Lake, they disembark on a pleasant island, a place to allure a frail mind to ease. There she entertains Cymochles as might be expected. Invitingly, she sings a call to pleasure in a lyric that distorts the New Testament's argument for reliance upon God's providence: "See how the lilies of the field grow; they do not toil or spin; and yet I tell you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these" (Matt. vi.29).

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<sup>45</sup>J. W. Draper, "Classical Coinage in the Faerie Queene," PMLA, XLVII (1932), 102, quoted in Variorum (Baltimore, 1933), p. 243.

She argues against the constant vigilance to which one gives honor and recommends instead a surrender to pleasure:

'Why then doest thou, O man, that of them all  
 Art lord, and eke of Nature souveraine,  
 Wilfully make thy selfe a wretched thrall,  
 And waste thy joyous howres in needelesse paine,  
 Seeking for daunger and adventures vaine?  
 What bootes it al to have, and nothing use?  
 Who shall him rew, that swimming in the maine  
 Will die for thrist, and water doth refuse?  
 Refuse such fruitlesse toile, and present pleasures chuse.'

(F.Q. 2.6.17)

This invitation to abandonment, an abandonment to animal pleasures and an abandonment of man's honor and dignity, illustrates why temperance is deserving of great honor. In his sensual indulgence, Cymochles not only sacrifices his dignity as a rational creature, but he also deserts his knightly duty of revenging his brother.

When Phaedria insures that Cymochles will not awaken hastily by dropping a potion in his eyes, she sets off again for shore. Here she finds Guyon and the palmer awaiting passage. One might contrast Guyon's reactions to the same temptations faced by Cymochles to understand the difference between the temperate and the incontinent man. In Guyon's actions one is reminded of Castiglione's description of the temperate man:

Thus, this virtue does no violence to the mind, but very gently infuses it with a vehement persuasion which inclines it to honorable things, renders it calm and full of repose, and in all things even and well tempered, and informed throughout by a certain harmony with itself that adorns it with a tranquility so serene as never to be disturbed; and in all things becomes most obedient to reason and ready to direct its every movement accordingly, and to follow it wherever reason may wish to lead, without the least recalcitrance, like a tender lamb which always runs and stoops and walks near its mother and moves only when she moves.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup>Castiglione, p. 301.

In the action to follow one might note Guyon's self-mastery.

Taking Guyon in her boat, Phaedria sets off without the palmer, a persona non grata to her. Although Guyon is courteous, he is affronted by her frivolity. When he finds that she has not taken him across the lake as he wished, but only to this island, he is angry. Phaedria lies in blaming the detour on the wind, and she attempts to entice him from a life of honor:

So did she all, that might his constant hart  
 Withdraw from thought of warlike enterprize,  
 And drowne in dissolute delights apart,  
 Where noise of armes, or vew of martiall guize,  
 Might not revive desire of knightly exercize.

(F.Q. 2.6.25.5-9)

In the total context of the poem, one might equate the "knightly exercize" with the life of active virtue demanded of the rational man and the "dissolute delights" with the abandonment of the incontinent man. Guyon, always courteous but intelligent enough to realize the situation, requests that he be allowed to continue on his journey.

Cymochles has awakened and, seeing Guyon with Phaedria, jealously challenges him to battle. This confrontation of the temperate and the incontinent man results in what would have been a victory for Guyon had Phaedria not intervened. In Guyon's superiority one can see that the temperate man's restraint does not arise from weakness but from an intelligent and free acceptance of the virtues that will give his life a rational wholeness. Phaedria realizes that Guyon is superior to her enticements, and she returns him to shore.

There Guyon has another opportunity to practice self-control when Atin tries to quarrel with him:

But sober Guyon hearing him so rayle,  
 Though somewhat moved in his mightie hart,  
 Yet with strong reason maistred passion fraile,  
 And passed fayrely forth.

(F.Q. 2.6.40.2-5)

The canto concludes with the appearance of Pyrochles, suffering from the inward agitation that torments him as a result of his battle with Furor. He attempts to drown himself in his agony but is saved by Archimago, whose magic powers heal his wounds. In Pyrochles' agony from Furor's wounds, one can see exemplified the emotional disturbance of the angry man which robs him of peace of mind. His cure by Archimago cannot be construed as contributing to the moral allegory, but seems rather the convention of the chivalric tale.

In summarizing the action of the first six cantos in relation to temperance and to the honor given to that virtue, the writer will review the moral significance of the characters and their actions. Since temperance has to do with man's perfectibility as man, the influence of the supernatural is not stressed. The temperate man leads a life of rational wholeness, of self-mastery. Bryskett's definition of civil felicity can be applied to the life of a temperate man. "Civil felicitie is nothing else then a perfect operation of the mind, proceeding of excellent vertue in a perfect life, and is atchieued by the temper of reason, ruling the disordinate affects stirred up in vs by the vnreasonable parts of the mind, (as when the time shall serue will be declared) and guiding vs by the meane of vertue to happy life."<sup>47</sup> Guyon, acting under the direction of the palmer, exemplifies this reasonable action. His brief meeting with the Red Cross Knight and the statement that

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<sup>47</sup>Bryskett, p. 40.



Guyon must undergo the trials of his quest in a similar manner show that the supernatural life is based on the moral, but that as the supernatural life is aimed at union with God, and the moral life at man's perfectibility, they may be treated separately.

The incident of Mortdant and Amavia sounds the theme in intemperance. Mortdant exemplifies the strong man who falls through pleasure, and Amavia represents the weak person who succumbs to difficulties.

In the incident of Medina, Elissa, and Perissa, one can see the three elements of the soul, the irascible, the concupiscible, and the rational. Echoing Bryskett, one can view the reason (Medina) as attempting to rule the disordered actions of the unreasonable parts of the soul.

In the incident of Braggadochio and Belphoebe one can behold the contrast between spurious honor and true honor. Possessing only two external marks of a knight, a horse and a spear, Braggadochio lacks the moral code that personifies the reality of knighthood. This lack of the interior qualities, evident in his cowardice, his boastfulness, and his sensuality, is magnified by his susceptibility to flattery (Trompart). Belphoebe expresses Spenser's definition of true honor: service to the state, toil, study, martial prowess.

Honor is presented as rational wholeness and self-mastery, shown by contrast in the incidents involving Cymochles, Pyrochles, Phaedria, and other minor characters. In the incident involving Furor, Occasion, and Phedon, one sees the effects of wrath personified. When man allows his unjust anger to affect his conduct, he treats others unfairly and loses his own mental equilibrium. Through absence of a reflective habit of mind, Phedon falls prey to an occasion of wrath, unjustly killing Claribell and in his anger killing

Philemon. His falling victim to his anger is personified in his being beaten by Furor, an abstraction of wrath. Pyrochles represents the irascible man whose fury is unfounded and verges on insanity. Cymochles represents the incontinent man who can control neither his anger nor his sensuality. He falls a willing victim to Phaedria, the idleness and relaxation of spirit that invites concupiscence. Guyon's self-mastery proves superior to the incidents; he shows a meek, chaste spirit in confronting temptations to wrath and concupiscence.

In relating these actions to honor, one must review Chereso's argument showing why temperance is worthy of special honor. Intemperance is the most disgraceful of vices because it places man on a level with the animals. The disgrace accompanying intemperance is opposed to the honor given to the moral excellence manifested in man's rational actions. Special honor is given to temperance because it opposes what is most disgraceful and preserves man's honor and dignity.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Chereso, p. 83.

## CHAPTER XI

### HONOR IN THE FAERIE QUEENE, BOOK II, CANTOS VII-XII

The allegory of temperance is continued in the next episode in Mammon's cave in which Guyon successfully meets temptations against avarice and ambition. Meanwhile Guyon is left alone without the guidance of the palmer:

And evermore himselfe with comfort feedes  
Of his owne vertues and praise-worthie deedes.  
(F.Q. 2.7.2.4-5)

His self-sufficiency should not be read as a sign of pretentiousness. One might contrast the characters of Guyon and the Red Cross Knight for an understanding of this passage. Before his training in the House of Holiness, the Red Cross Knight is often betrayed into ill-advised action. To emphasize the weakness of the soul and the necessity of God's grace, the Red Cross Knight often suffers from the effects of his poor judgment until he learns humility. On the other hand, Guyon usually shows mature judgment, a part of his representation of the temperate man. It is also in keeping with the tone of the work, which is concerned with natural virtue. God's grace is seen in the help given to Guyon by the angel (F.Q. 2.8.1-8) and in the help given to Arthur (F.Q. 2.11.30), but the supernatural element plays a minor role. So Guyon's self-sufficiency need not be traced to the pride of Aristotle's magnanimous man, but may logically be found in the self-mastery of the temperate man.

In Areopagitica, Milton insists that the virtue of a true Christian must

result from an intelligent and informed choice. Guyon, the temperate man, has been tempted by evil, but he has proved his virtue in a deliberate choice of the good:

I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, 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; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Guyon, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.<sup>1</sup>

Although Milton errs in having the palmer accompany Guyon in the cave of Mammon, his defense of an intelligent and informed choice of virtue helps to explain Guyon's self-confidence. Having made a deliberate choice of rational wholeness, Guyon faces temptation fortified by his resolution.

In his encounter with Mammon, Guyon is confronted with the inordinate desire for power and with the ambition that is fed by the possession of money. Guyon comes upon an isolated man whose face is black with smoke and soot. The selfishness of the pursuit of power for personal satisfaction and without regard for the rights of others is exemplified in Mammon's anti-social behavior. He is untouched by the central motive of the Christian life, charity. He seeks wealth for the personal power resulting from it, not as a means of helping those less fortunate. His anti-social character is manifested in his

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<sup>1</sup>John Milton, "Areopagitica," Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), pp. 728-729.

untidy dress and his unfriendly attitude. His rusty iron coat, lined with gold, is covered with dust. When he sees Guyon approach, he hastily attempts to pour the gold "that never could be spent" (F.Q. 2.7.5.2) into a hole in the earth, but Guyon prevents him. Guyon asks him about his selfish behavior:

'What art thou, man, (if man at all thou art)  
That here in desert hast thine habitaunce,  
And these rich heapes of welth doest hide apart  
From the worldes eye, and from her right usaunce?"  
(F.Q. 2.7.7.1-4)

Disdainfully Mammon introduces himself:

'God of the world and worldings I me call,  
Great Mammon, greatest god below the skye,  
That of my plenty poure out unto all,  
And unto none my graces do envye:  
Riches, renowme, and principality,  
Honour, estate, and all this worldes good,  
For which men swinck and sweat incessantly,  
Fro me do flow into an ample flood,  
And in the hollow earth have their eternall brood.'  
(F.Q. 2.7.8)

Mammon has a mistakenly high evaluation of himself, calling himself "God of the world and worldings," and "greatest god below the skye." The poverty in the world would not indicate that he pours his plenty out to all. Nor is he the legitimate source of power and honor.

In refusing Mammon's offer of gold, Guyon states his ideal of life. He finds the love of money incompatible with true heroism:

'Me ill besits, that in derdoing armes  
And honours suit my vowed daies do spend,  
Unto thy bounteous baytes and pleasing charmes,  
With which weake men thou witchest, to attend:  
Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend  
And low abase the high heroicke spright,  
That joyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend;  
Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight:  
Those be the riches fit for an advent'rous knight.'  
(F.Q. 2.7.10)

One sees the conflict of the chivalric spirit with the bourgeois ideal of money-making. The debate that follows is a reflection of the expanding money economy of the Renaissance. Mammon reminds Guyon that all his equipment can be readily supplied with money. Money can also create kings and bring honors to those who are wealthy.

Guyon answers this by calling riches the root of disquiet:

'First got with guile, and then preserv'd with dread,  
 And after spent with pride and lavishnesse,  
 Leaving behind them grieffe and heavinesse.  
 Infinite mischiefes of them doe arize,  
 Strife and debate, bloodshed and bitternesse,  
 Outrageous wrong and hellish covetize,  
 That noble heart, as great dishonour; doth despize.

(F.Q. 2.7.12.3-9)

In Guyon's debate with Mammon one finds a remarkable similarity of thought with that found in the Nennio's discussion of the importance of wealth in determining true nobility:

We see in euerie place, abhominable treasons, and conspiracies, to attaine vnto riches. This is not all that may be said thereof, but much more: for the rich man is alwaies in feare, that being pursued by some eniuous person, he be not at sometime, or other murthered. If he eate, he feareth poison: if he walke abroad, terror attendeth on him: he quaketh at the name of warre: he standeth in dread of water, of aire, of fire: and to conclude, he is neuer without feare. And this happeneth, because he knoweth, that riches vanish away as lightly as the smoke before the winde, what shall I say more?<sup>2</sup>

Guyon continues, pointing out that Mammon does not make kingdoms lawfully but that, instead, he breeds treason. Because of him innocent blood is shed and murderers are crowned; castles and cities are taken and sacked. This is the kind of government he breeds. Besides, a private life has enough troubles; by implication the life of a king would have many more.

<sup>2</sup>Nenna, p. 41.

One argument in the Nennio points out that riches are the root of all evil. A love of riches caused Marcus Crassus to rob the temple of Jerusalem, an action that resulted in his own death, in that of his son, and in the ruin of the Roman army. Ptolemy, when faced with the loss of his riches, committed suicide. "So that it cannot be denied but that riches are the cause of all euill: For besides the mischief I haue already recited that commeth by the greedie desire of them: we see (which my tongue hath horror to tell) that the father is the murtherer of his sonne, the brother of the brother, and one friend of another."<sup>3</sup>

Mammon counters Guyon's argument by pointing out that all men seek riches. If they do not have them, they complain and, if they do have them, they are not satisfied.

The Nennio comments also on the universal desire for wealth:

Forasmuch as euerie day, and in all places, the most part of mortall men, do, some after one maner, some after another, giue themselves to the getting of gold and silver. Yea not onelie the base and vulgar sort, but likewise men of great credite, and reputation, old and yong men, and those that are most wise in worldly matters. Others carelesse of their owne life, doe endeouour to enrich themselves, vpon the sencelesse waters of the sea, and doe daily scoure the coasts of the East countries, the shores of the west parts, and from North to South, and South to North, and leaue no place vntouched, where they may inrich themselues: Others to that purpose doe follow bloody battels; and some men doe manfully labour both night and day to get wealth.<sup>4</sup>

Guyon points out that the love of wealth is a form of intemperance. Men should remember how little they actually need to live without care. Wealth is like the muck that cloyes the flowing stream. He points to the antique

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-42.

world as an example of simplicity. It was only with the discovery of gold and silver that pride and avarice became a part of life.

Mammon suggests that he forget about the golden age when life was actually forlorn. He must live in the present in which money is man's reward. Once again, he offers Guyon gold.

Once again Guyon refuses; this time he argues that the money may be stolen. Mammon assures him that it is rightfully his and offers to show him where it is kept. Although Mammon's assurance that the gold has never been used is really an argument against him because money's value is in the good that it can do for its owner and for the needy, Spenser does not develop this argument.

The debate between Mammon and Guyon, the first representing money as the source of power and high position, and the second representing the pre-eminence of virtue and the chivalric code, reflects the changing economy of the Renaissance and is echoed in the courtesy books. The exalted tone of Castiglione's Courtier is manifested by the fact that the question receives no extended discussion. On the other hand, Erasmus in the two works previously cited deplores the importance given to wealth instead of to the training of the reason and to the practice of the imitation of Christ. In De Pueris Statim Ac Liberaliter Instituendis, Erasmus objects to the mistaken sense of values. Nobles are interested not in providing their sons with a good education, but only in arranging a rich marriage. He praises More for his wisdom in training his family "both in the uprightness of life and in the liberal studies of Greek and Latin."<sup>5</sup> Erasmus warns against a false

<sup>5</sup>Erasmus, p. 201.



emphasis upon wealth in The Education of a Christian Prince:

Lest the young prince be accustomed to regard riches as an indispensable necessity, to be gained by right or wrong, he should learn that those are not true honors which are commonly acclaimed as such. True honor is that which follows upon virtue and right action of its own will. The less affected it is, the more it redounds to fame. . . . The prestige of a prince, his greatness, his majesty, must not be developed and preserved by fortune's wild display, but by wisdom, solidarity, and good deeds.<sup>6</sup>

Thomas More finds pride based on wealth to be a great evil of his time.

In a concluding remark in the Utopia, Raphael objects to the Utopians' disdain of money, "by the whyche thyng onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourship, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, vtterly be ouerthrowen and destroyed."<sup>7</sup> By the inclusion of the phrase "as the common opinion is," one can infer that More does not agree with the counterfeit values that substitute wealth for virtue.

His contemporary, Thomas Elyot, also warns magistrates about the corrupting influence of money. In his discussion of abstinence, "the wilful abandoning of money, possessions, or other things semblable," he cites instances of incorruptibility from classical history. "By these examples it doth appear how good men did alway flee from rewards, although they might have been lawfully taken, which in them was neither foolishness nor yet rusticity, but of a prudent consideration. Forasmuch as both by wisdom and experience they knew that he which taketh a reward before anything done is no longer at liberty, but of a free man is made bond, inasmuch as he hath taken earnest for his true

<sup>6</sup>Erasmus, pp. 148-149.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas More, Utopia, ed. J. Churton Collins (Oxford, 1936), p. 143.

endeavour."<sup>8</sup> He notes the obvious fact that when the officials of a city are open to bribes, the state is endangered:

Scipio, when he had gotten and destroyed the great city of Carthage, he was not therefore the richer one halfpenny. By this it appeareth that honour resteth not in riches, although some perchance will say that their revenues be small, and that they must take such rewards as be lawful, only to maintain their honour, but let them take heed to the saying of Tully, "Nothing is more to be abhorred than avarice, specially in princes and them which do govern public weals."<sup>9</sup>

From the debate in the cave of Mammon and from the discussions in the courtesy books, one can see a reflection of several elements of contemporary society. First, Guyon's defence of the unselfish service of the knight shows that the chivalric ideals still influenced the more magnanimous elements of society. Second, the defense of a formal education in the classics as a preparation for leadership shows the rise of trained civil servants. Third, the space given to the debate on the importance of money reflects the development of a capitalistic society that was threatening the position of the established noble families. Spenser offers in Guyon's arguments the ideal of unselfish service. In a world offering more bourgeois standards, he presents to his readers a noble standard.

The temperate man's temptation through avarice and ambition continues with Guyon's descent with Mammon into the underworld, the source of Mammon's treasure. The figures encountered in the descent symbolize the companions of Riches. First they meet Pain and Strife, who threaten their life. Next they come upon a group: Revenge, Despite, Treason, and Hate. Jealousy sits to one

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<sup>8</sup>Elyot, pp. 202-203.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 203.

side while Fear flies about, seeking for a safe place. Sorrow laments in darkness, and Shame hides his face. Horror flies over all, but Celeno, a harpy, sings sadly to herself. Finally they come to the house of Riches, located on one side of the door of hell, with the house of Sleep on the other. The door is guarded by Care to keep out Force or Fraud, nor is Sleep ever allowed to enter. In this formidable company, Spenser presents graphically the troubles besetting the possessors of wealth. "My children, how hard it is for those who trust in riches to enter God's kingdom! It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, than for a man to enter the kingdom of God when he is rich" (Mark x.25).

When Guyon and Mammon enter the house of Riches, Guyon is followed by a fiend, the penalty for covetousness, who will kill him instantly if he takes any of the treasure. The house of Riches reflects its wealth in the abundance of gold there, but the absence of productive use is seen in its dusty interior and dim light. The room is cluttered with chests doubly locked and with the bones of men who have succumbed to covetousness. Mammon shows off his treasure proudly:

'Loe here the worldes blis! loe here the end,  
 To which al men doe ayme, rich to be made!  
 Such grace now to be happy is before thee laid.'  
 (F.Q. 2.7.32.7-9)

In his refusal of Mammon's offer, Guyon again expresses his ideal of life:

'Certes,' sayd he, 'I n'ill thine offred grace,  
 Ne to be made so happy doe intend:  
 Another blis before mine eyes I place,  
 Another happines, another end.  
 To them that list, these base regards I lend:  
 But I in armes, and in atchievements brave,  
 Do rather choose my flitting houres to spend,

And to be lord of those that riches have,  
 Then them to have my selfe, and be their servile sclave.'  
 (F.Q. 2.7.33)

Guyon's ideal of martial prowess and brave achievements can be related to the Renaissance ideal of the magnanimous man. He has a goal of active virtue founded on character and not on external qualities. If honor is given to a rich man because of his gold, how is he to be treated if the gold is stolen? Is his excellence gone when this external quality is removed?

Mammon tries a final temptation to avarice when he brings Guyon into a room where the ore is being smelted. Since Guyon is the first man to penetrate this far, one can assume that all others had succumbed to covetousness. Showing him the fountain of the world's gold, Mammon offers it to Guyon, who again declines:

'All that I need I have; what needeth mee  
 To covet more then I have cause to use?  
 With such vaine shewes thy worldlinges vyle abuse:  
 But give me leave to follow mine emprise.'  
 (F.Q. 2.7.39.3-6)

Guyon once again places his trust in virtue, rejecting mere external qualities.

Having failed to entice Guyon to avarice, Mammon attempts to attract him to ambition in Philotime's court. The entrance is guarded by Disdain, characterized by self-importance. To reflect the false love of honor, the court room looks like a temple with its pillars decked with crowns and titles. A large audience from every land and every type is attempting to approach the throne on which is seated a richly garbed woman:

Her face right wondrous faire did seeme to bee,  
 That her broad beauties beam great brightnes threw  
 Through the dim shade, that all men might it see:  
 Yet was not that same her owne native hew,  
 But wrought by art and counterfetted shew,

Thereby more lovers unto her to call;  
 Nath'lesse most heavenly faire in deed and vew  
 She by creation was, till she did fall;  
 Thenceforth she sought for helps to cloke her crime withall.  
 (F.Q. 2.7.45)

Because ambition is the desire for honor that a man wishes for himself without referring it to God, it is inordinate. Ambition is sinful because it is not regulated. This distortion of honor is seen in the description of Philotime. Her beauty is counterfeit. Although the desire for honor was given men as a spur to virtue, for Philotime was created with heaven's blessing, the inordinate desire for honor has led to crimes. Philotime attempts to hide these crimes with external splendor.

She holds a golden chain that extends from highest heaven to the lowest part of hell. Lemmi quotes Conti's comments on the chain: "In regard to the golden chain by which all the gods were unable to pull Jove down from heaven, I should judge it to mean sometimes avarice and sometimes ambition, which although it is very potent, and has drawn many from the true faith of God to false dogmas . . . nevertheless will not be able to move a good man."<sup>10</sup>

In a scene reflecting the Elizabethan court, a group around the throne strive to grasp the chain that represents ambition:

Some thought to raise themselves to high degree  
 By riches and unrighteous reward;  
 Some by close shouldring, some by flatteree;  
 Others through friends, others for base regard;  
 And all by wrong waies for themselves prepard.  
 Those that were up themselves, kept others low,  
 Those that were low themselves, held others hard,  
 Ne suffred them to ryse or greater grow,  
 But every one did strive his fellow downe to throw.  
 (F.Q. 2.7.47)

<sup>10</sup>Lemmi, p. 277.

A glance at the Elizabethan political scene shows that the court was the source of patronage. The Queen had tremendous personal power with many offices at her disposal. Men seeking some favor usually obtained it through a member of the inner ring of the court whom they commonly rewarded with a gratuity. The custom of primogeniture also forced many younger sons to seek their fortunes at court. "The competition at Court was ceaseless. Success not only meant money; it meant power."<sup>11</sup>

That Spenser had suffered in his attempts to gain recognition can be inferred from "Mother Hubberds Tale":

So pitifull a thing is suters state.  
 Most miserable man, whom wicked fate  
 Hath brought to court, to sue for had ywist,  
 That few have found, and manie one hath mist!  
 Full little knowest thou that hast not tride,  
 What hell it is, in suing long to bide:  
 To loose good dayes, that might be better spent;  
 To wast long nights in pensive discontent;  
 To speed to day, to be put back to morrow;  
 To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;  
 To have thy Princes grace, yet want her Peeres;  
 To have thy asking, yet waite manie yeeres;  
 To fret thy soule with crosses and with cares;  
 To eate thy heart through comfortlesse dispaies;  
 To fawne, to crowche, to waite, to ride, to ronne,  
 To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne.  
 Unhappie wight, borne to desastrous end,  
 That doth his life in so long tendance spend!

(M.H.T. 11.891-908)

From Spenser's complaint and Neale's study of the political situation, one can see that the service of Gloriana in actuality was often a frustrating one. The scene at Philotime's court reflects the self-seeking of many

<sup>11</sup> John E. Neale, "The Elizabethan Political Scene," Proceedings of the British Academy, XXXIV (London, 1948), p. 106.

courtiers. Moffet in his praise of Sir Philip Sidney comments on the corruption at court. "For the courts are, as it were, common inns of kingdoms, in which live a great many of the base along with the upright."<sup>12</sup> He extolls Sidney for his unselfishness:

Our Philip, however, possessed the greatest possible resources of fortune, wit, grace, eloquence, learning, and influence, and he made his way into the Queen's love (not by flattery or gifts but by distinction in virtue) so deeply that the nobles of the realm scrupulously cultivated and valued his favor and his friendship. Yet perfect beyond all others in graciousness, he showed himself obliging and affable toward all men, yea, actually accessible to most of them. When he came before the Queen's Majesty, he walked not anointed with perfume but imbued with virtue; in attitude, in speech, in gait he showed not the haughtiness and vanity of some courtiers; but he exceeded their arrogance by his charm, their extravagance by his modesty. Why say more? He kept such measure that he seemed both common and kingly; and when he wished, in his speech or his action, to approach particular ranks of men, he won to himself the good will and the hearts of all.<sup>13</sup>

Spenser must have had the corrupting ambition of the courtiers in mind when he pictured Philotime's court. He may have wished to see more courtiers in Sidney's pattern, with honor being given to those who possessed virtue.

When Mammon offers Philotime in marriage to Guyon with the promise of his advancement, Guyon politely declines. The life of rational wholeness desires only that honor which it rightly deserves. He explains that he is already betrothed to another. "To change love causeless is reproch to warlike knight" (F.Q. 2.7.50.9). Although Spenser does not present the temperate man as renouncing love, Spenser thought it appropriate to present him alone.

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<sup>12</sup>Thomas Moffet, Nobilis, A View of the Life and Death of a Sidney and Lessus Lugubris, eds. Virgil Heltzel and H. H. Hudson (San Marino, California, 1940), p. 78.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

Mammon and Guyon tour the Garden of Proserpina, another symbol of avarice and ambition. Below a tree on which grow golden apples is a silver seat. Natale Conti interprets the golden apples as symbols of wealth, given as touchstones to test men's souls. For the wise they are a means of glory; for the foolish, torment and punishment.<sup>14</sup>

In Cocytus, which flows at the foot of the tree, Guyon notes many unhappy souls, among whom is Tantalus. Natale Conti finds Tantalus a symbol of avarice, for the avaricious are never able to satisfy their desires.<sup>15</sup> The Nennio agrees with this interpretation:

The rich man is alwaies a thirst, with an vnquenchable drought, as hee that is tormented with a quotidian ague. For if he be wealthy, he coueteth still to possesse more: so y<sup>t</sup> the whole world cannot suffice to glut his greedie desire. Who is then so unaduised to terme such a one rich, who (miserable man) is no otherwise tormented then Tantalus, who sitting in the midst of fresh and cleere running streames, seeth most pleasant and delightfull fruite rounde about him, and yet his heart burning to eat and drink of them, and yet he cannot.<sup>16</sup>

He is also an example of the perils of high position, because he was a guest at Jove's table and was punished for telling his secrets.<sup>17</sup> Guyon describes him as an example of the "mind intemperate" (F.Q. 2.7.60.4).

Guyon also notices Pontius Pilate, vainly trying to wash his hands. Pilate identifies himself as a false and unjust judge. One might take him as an example of ambition, for his unjust judgment of Christ was motivated by a

<sup>14</sup>Lemmi, p. 277.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 277-278.

<sup>16</sup>Nenna, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup>Kitchin, p. 267.



fear that he might jeopardize his position with his superiors in Rome. Guyon refuses Mammon's invitation to take a golden apple or to rest on the silver seat. Either of these actions, the first representing covetousness and the second sloth, would have been intemperate and resulted in Guyon's death.

In connection with the theme of honor, the scenes described between Guyon and Mammon reveal the temperate man's struggle against the inordinate desires of avarice and ambition. True honor is the recognition of virtue, but in reality the wealthy man often receives honors simply on the basis of his wealth. Although wealth is an external good that brings many benefits, for it can free a person from the cares attendant upon normal living and provide means for aiding the poor, wealth is often in reality a source of great dissension. The Nennio states that wealth is the cause of many crimes and the object of much misdirected energy. Spenser echoes this thought: "First got with guile, and then preserv'd with dread,/ And after spent with pride and lavishnesse,/ Leaving behind them grieffe and heavinesse" (F.Q. 2.7.12.3-5). Guyon refuses this external good, preferring a life of active virtue.

Because Guyon has been in the underworld for three days, Mammon is forced to permit him to leave. When Guyon returns, he faints from want of food and sleep. His exhaustion is not from any internal struggle against temptation, but the result of physical fatigue. Since one of the aspects of temperance has to do with the preservation of the human individual with the use of the bodily goods of nutriment (food and drink), his faintness is central to the theme.

With the introduction of an angel to minister to Guyon, one finds that Spenser does not ignore the supernatural in his treatment of moral virtue:

And is there care in heaven? And is there love  
 In heavenly spirits to these creatures base,  
 That may compassion of their evilles move?  
 There is: else much more wretched were the case  
 Of men then beasts. But O th' exceeding grace  
 Of Highest God, that loves his creatures so,  
 And all his workes with mercy doth embrace,  
 That blessed angels he sends to and fro,  
 To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe!  
 (F.Q. 2.8.1)

The palmer, who has been searching for Guyon, hears the angel calling to him. Following the voice, he finds Guyon unconscious, waited upon by an angel. The angel reassures the palmer that Guyon, who is only unconscious, will revive, and he leaves him in the palmer's care. Promising his continued interest, the angel leaves, warning the palmer that enemies are near. The palmer notices the approach of Pyrochles, Cymochles, Atin, and Archimago. With the entrance of these characters, Spenser resumes the treatment of anger which will be resolved in the eighth canto. The two knights who are seeking revenge for Guyon's previous battles with them recognize his unconscious body.

In return to the treatment of anger, one might note again how the brothers manifest the results of rage: quarreling, vengeful thoughts and designs, blasphemy, clamor or disordered speech, and indignation. An example of this is Pyrochles' insulting treatment of the palmer and the unfounded accusations that he makes:

'Thou dotard vile,  
 That with thy brutenesse shendst thy comely age,  
 Abandon soone, I read, the caytive spoile  
 Of that same outcast carcas, that ere while  
 Made it selfe famous through false trechery,  
 And crownd his coward crest with knightly stile:  
 Loe where he now inglorious doth lye,  
 To proove he lived ill, that did thus fowly dye.'  
 (F.Q. 2.8.12.2-9).

Needless to say, Pyrochles' statements are irresponsible. There has never been any evidence of Guyon's "false trechery" or of his cowardice. Pyrochles has no knowledge of how he died, nor would his death be any proof of an evil life. The palmer wisely does not tell them that Guyon is only unconscious because one can suppose that if he had done so they would have murdered Guyon in his helpless condition. Reminding Pyrochles that he could bear witness to his power as a knight, the palmer defends Guyon's reputation.

Cymochles also shows the results of anger in his brutal treatment of the palmer and in his faulty reasoning. Cymochles argues illogically that Guyon's death is a proof of his unworthiness. Certainly a knight's death in battle does not indicate incompetence. Stating that he wants revenge, Pyrochles intends to spoil him of his arms, an act against the chivalric code. The brothers begin to remove his armor.

One can contrast Guyon's helpless position with that of the Red Cross Knight in Orgoglio's dungeon. Both are at the mercy of their enemies, but the Red Cross Knight through his carelessness is responsible for his position while Guyon is not. Guyon is merely the victim of ordinary physical fatigue; he has not surrendered to the temptations he encountered. At this low point in the hero's fortune, as he did in the first book, Arthur arrives:

An armed knight, of bold and bounteous grace,  
Whose squire bore after him an heben lance  
And coverd shield.

(F.Q. 2.8.17.5-7)

His nobility is acknowledged by Archimago who warns the brothers of his ability:

'Rise, rise bylive,  
And unto batteill doe your selves addresse;

For yonder comes the prowest knight alive,  
 Prince Arthur, flowre of grace and nobillesse,  
 That hath to Paynim knights wrought gret distresse,  
 And thousand Sar'zins fowly donne to dye.'

(F.Q. 2.8.18.1-6)

If one can judge from Arthur's adventures previously cited, Archimago's account of his deeds seems slightly exaggerated and aimed at inciting the rage of the Saracen brothers. He is successful in arousing the brothers.

Pyrochles, lacking a sword, asks Archimago for the sword he had stolen from Arthur. Although Archimago warns him that it is useless against its owner, Pyrochles, true to his nature, impatiently takes the sword, ignoring Archimago's advice.

One might contrast Arthur's courtesy and self-control in his impartial attempt to settle the quarrel with the brothers' haste and irrationality. First he attempts to determine the situation by questioning both parties. He notes the magnanimity in Guyon's face; he greets the palmer courteously. In response to his courtesy, the palmer tells the truth, that Guyon is only unconscious, and he asks for Arthur's protection:

'But you, faire sir, whose honourable sight  
 Doth promise hope of helpe and timely grace,  
 Mote I beseech to succour his sad plight,  
 And by your powre protect his feeble cace.  
 First prayse of knighthood is, fowle outrage to deface.'

(F.Q. 2.8.25.5-9)

Arthur agrees that there is no honor in taking advantage of weakness. Patiently he reasons with the knights, recognizing that their desire for revenge must be justified. However, he asks their mercy in sparing Guyon. Cymochles is adamant, even though reminded that he will dishonor his reputation as a knight:

But gentle knight,  
 That doth against the dead his hand upheave,  
 His honour staines with rancour and despight,  
 And great disparagment makes to his former might.

(F.Q. 2.8.29.6-9)

One notes the use of honor here as the reputation of a knight awarded him as the follower of the chivalric code. Arthur's gentle persuasion has no effect. When Pyrochles senselessly accuses him of being Guyon's accomplice and attacks without warning, Arthur is aroused to a just anger and returns the attack. Because Pyrochles is carrying Guyon's shield, Arthur is reluctant to strike the image of the Faerie Queene. When Cymochles stuns him, Arthur is forced from the saddle. Lacking a sword, Arthur is in a difficult position in opposing two powerful antagonists. The palmer comes to his rescue by giving him Guyon's sword. Aided by the palmer, he no longer hesitates in attacking Pyrochles because of Guyon's shield. Realizing that he is defeated, Cymochles wants to die with honor and fame. Arthur wounds him fatally. Pyrochles, in his excessive anger, fights like a madman. Wisely, Arthur lets him exhaust himself. Pyrochles is a victim of his hasty judgment for he finds that Morddure, Arthur's sword, is useless. In the face of death, Pyrochles is consistent in his anger, sullen and unrepentant. Although Arthur magnanimously offers him his life if he will be his liege, he is unrepentant, and Arthur is forced to kill him.

In this episode one sees the defeat of anger. Although Arthur makes an attempt at a peaceful conciliation, anger is finally defeated by force. The defeat is more in keeping with the chivalric context of the story than with its moral allegory, but it does emphasize the fact that the temperate and magnanimous man is not weak. His self-control is not a result of any

deficiency in his nature but is rather the effect of the disciplining of his energies under the control of reason or, more simply, virtue.

When Guyon awakens, the palmer tells him how Arthur has rescued him.

Arthur forestalls his expression of gratitude by stating that he has simply fulfilled his knightly code:

Are not all knightes by oath bound to withstond  
Oppressours powre by armes and puissant hond?  
Suffise, that I have done my dew in place.

(F.Q. 2.8.56.4-6)

Arthur and Guyon find a common bond in the moral code they share, and they continue their journey together. Guyon answers Arthur's question about the Faerie Queene, pictured on his shield, assuring him that the beauty of her spirit, her bounty and power, are a thousand times fairer than her physical beauty. She is Guyon's sovereign:

'My liefte, my liege, my souveraine, my deare,  
Whose glory shineth as the morning starre,  
And with her light the earth enlumines cleare:  
Far reach her mercies, and her praises farre,  
As well in state of peace, as puissaunce in warre.'

(F.Q. 2.9.4.5-9)

Describing her as a flower of grace and chastity, Guyon emphasizes her gentler qualities in this speech. He assures Arthur that his character and martial prowess give him every hope of being numbered among the knights. Although Guyon's quest will not allow him to return to the court until it is finished, he encourages Arthur to continue his search for her. In return, Arthur offers his help in Guyon's quest against Acrasia. By this time, night has fallen, and they arrive at a castle only to find it securely closed.

The castle, the House of Alma, is the scene of the next episode in connection with temperance. Because temperance has to do primarily with bodily

goods, the ninth canto is appropriate in its allegorical presentation of the body and its interaction with the soul, considered on the natural level. The first stanza introduces the canto's theme:

Of all Gods workes, which doe this world adorne,  
 There is no one more faire and excellent,  
 Then is mans body doth for powre and forme,  
 Whiles it is kept in sober government;  
 But none then it more fowle and indecent,  
 Distempred through misrule and passions bace:  
 It growes a monster, and incontinent  
 Doth loose his dignity and native grace.  
 Behold, who list, both one and other in this place.  
 (F.Q. 2.9.1)

One can see from this stanza that Spenser agrees with Chereso's study of Saint Thomas's analysis of temperance as the virtue of honor and beauty. In an argument based upon the principle that opposites manifest each other, Chereso argues that temperance is opposed to that which is most disgraceful and unbecoming in man, namely, animal-like voluptuousness.<sup>18</sup> The other moral virtues have greater excellence, but temperance deserves greater honor because the control of concupiscence is the most difficult virtue. Because it manifests man's qualities of rational wholeness, order, and clarity, it is the most beautiful of virtues.<sup>19</sup> Spenser echoes this idea when he states that there is nothing more excellent than man's body in sober government and nothing more indecent than man when he is the victim of his own passions.

Canto Nine introduces the theme of the temperate man's conflict with concupiscence, a theme that is carried through to the end of the second book. In

<sup>18</sup>Chereso, p. 83.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85.

the ninth canto one sees an allegorical presentation of the body under the rule of the soul: the nutritive system, the emotions, the mental powers. Although the tenth canto is somewhat of a digression because of its lengthy treatment of British history, it contributes to the theme of temperance because through the study of history, the knights are motivated to a life of active virtue. In their country's history, they find motivation for their role as the sword-arm of the state, the restorers of order. The eleventh canto presents Arthur in conflict with Maleger's forces that represent the results of original sin. In consequence of original sin, man's rational wholeness was weakened, and he became susceptible to his irrational passions. The last canto, set in the Bower of Bliss, deals specifically with man's conflict with the sexual urge. So one can see that, with the possible exception of the tenth canto, the last part of the book deals with the concupiscible passions. Since the tenth canto offers a motivation for a life of virtue, it, too, can be construed as contributing to the theme.

When Guyon and Arthur arrive at the castle, the inhabitants do not open the gates to them, but instead warn them to fly. Because of the many enemies besieging the castle, they are afraid to admit them. Scarcely had they spoken, when the party is attacked by a poorly armed rabble. Although the description of the rabble seems to have been drawn from the memories of Irish mobs, the rabble themselves represent the temptations that besiege man. Their supernatural character is shown by the fact that they are spiritual substances, impervious to injury. After regrouping several times, they disperse, driven back by Arthur and Guyon.

When the lady of the castle hears that the knights have been successful,



she appears with her court. As the castle represents the body, she is Alma, the soul. A maiden wooed by many knights, but not yet in love, she is the essence of grace, modesty, and courtesy. Simply dressed and attended by carefully trained damsels, she is described as wise and liberal. After the knights have rested, she takes them on a tour of the castle, an allegorical presentation of the body.

The castle is made of a substance like Egyptian slime that will soon turn to dust, an obvious reference to man made of the slime of the earth. The structure of the castle is described as being partly circular and partly triangular, with a quadrate proportioned by seven and nine as the base. Sir Kenelm Digby regards the circle as man's soul, for the circle is a perfect figure. The triangle is the body, an imperfect figure. The soul is immortal, perfect, and masculine, supporting the body which is imperfect, mortal, and feminine, in the sense of being passive. The quadrate are the four humors in man's body: choler, phlegm, blood, and bile. The seven refers to the influences of the seven planets on the body. The nine refers to the influences of the hierarchies of angels on the soul. When all these elements work together, man is in perfect harmony.<sup>20</sup>

The following stanzas describe that part of the body having to do with nutrition (F.Q. 2.9.23-32). There are two gates of unnamed substance, the mouth and the palate. The porch is the lips, decorated by an ivy, the uvula,

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<sup>20</sup> Sir Kenelm Digby, Observations on the 22 Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2d. Book of Spencers Faery Queen (London, 1644), quoted in Variorum, pp. 472-478.

and overhung by a portcullis, the soft palate. The barbican contains a porter, the tongue. The porch is guarded by thirty-two warders, the teeth. Within is a stately banquet hall presided over by Diet. Appetite seats the guests and supervises the serving of the meals. The stomach is represented by a large kitchen; the lungs, by a great pair of bellows. Concoction and Digestion preside over the kitchen. The waste is carried off through a great pipe to the backgate, Port Esquiline, an obvious reference to the organs of elimination.

In his treatment of nutrition, Spenser seems to take a neutral attitude; his knights admire the efficiency of the operation described. One might note omissions in his treatment of nutrition; he discusses neither fasting, nor, on the other hand, the excesses of gluttony and drunkenness. Spenser does not discuss the usefulness of fasting for controlling the desires of the flesh and for freeing the mind for heavenly contemplation. One can only conjecture on the omission. First, he may not have wanted to distort the allegorical scheme by such a discussion, although in other cases, e.g., canto ten in the second book, he is willing enough to discuss a point at such a length that it amounts to a digression. Second, although he describes Heavenly Contemplation sympathetically as an ascetic, he may not have had a personal conviction of the necessity of fasting. Nor does Spenser treat excess in nutrition, namely, drunkenness and gluttony. In summary, one might say that Spenser's treatment of nutrition is neutral. Ignoring its excesses and the value of fasting, he praises nutrition as a natural function.

The two knights are next brought into a parlor in which the emotions are represented. Here are young couples with Cupid in their midst, who has laid aside his bow and arrow. The couples exemplify different emotions:

Diverse delights they fownd them selves to please;  
 Some song in sweet consort, some laught for joy,  
 Some plaid with strawes, some ydly satt at ease;  
 But other some could not abide to toy,  
 All pleasaunce was to them grieffe and annoy:  
 This fround, that faund, the third for shame did blush,  
 Another seemed envious, or coy,  
 Another in her teeth did gnaw a rush:  
 But at these straungers presence every one did hush.

(F.Q. 2.9.35)

The group greet Alma and the two knights courteously. Arthur is paired with an attractive maiden who is also somewhat pensive. This pairing is appropriate, for he represents magnanimity, and she is Prays-desire (the Desire of Praise), the honor that the magnanimous man seeks, "That by well doing sought to honour to aspyre" (F.Q. 2.9.39.9). Her character is portrayed in her purple attire ornamented with gold and in the poplar branch she carries, a costume restricted to the honorable. When Arthur asks her why she is so pensive, she startles him by reminding him that he also echoes her feeling:

'Pensive I yeeld I am, and sad in mind,  
 Through great desire of glory and of fame;  
 Ne ought I weene are ye therein behynd,  
 That have twelve moneths sought one, yet no where can her find.'

(F.Q. 2.9.38.6-9)

In presenting Arthur as magnanimity that seeks honor, Spenser shows that he not only justifies but recommends the pursuit of recognition.

Guyon also finds himself fittingly matched with Shamefastnesse, the fountain of modesty. Saint Thomas defines shamefacedness as a recoil from what is disgraceful, a drawing or shrinking back from what is base.<sup>21</sup> It is an integral part of temperance. Strictly speaking, it is not a virtue because it lacks the full perfection of a habit, but it is rather a praiseworthy passion.

<sup>21</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 144, a. 1.

The maiden often blushes and carries an owl, known for his elusiveness. Her lowered eyes and her evasive manner do not make her a good companion. When Guyon tries to talk to her, she does not answer, and Alma has to tell him who she is. This shamefacedness is not Aristotle's mean, but it is an excess, as pointed out by Kerby Neill. She represents Saint Thomas' definition and the common usage of Spenser's time. This usage can be seen in a letter of Sir Henry Sidney to his son. "Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden shamefacedness, than of your sober friends for pert boldness."<sup>22</sup>

It is interesting to note that Bryskett combines the qualities of magnanimity and shamefacedness in much the same manner that they are presented here. He praises bashfulness in youth:

For cleering herof, you must understand that the Platonikes say two things among others are specially giuen to for a diuine gift vnto man: Bashfulnesse the one, and Magnanimitie the other. the one to hold vs back from doing of any thing worthy blame & reproch: the other to put vs forward into the way of praise and vertue; whereby we might alwayes be ready to do well onely for vertues sake, to the good and benefit of others, and to our owne contentment and delight. Of which course, the end is honour in this world and glory after death. But because the force of the Concupiscible appetite is so great, and setteth before vs pleasure in so many sundry shapes, as it is hard to shun the snares which these two enemies of reason set to intrap vs, and that the coldnesse of old age cannot wholly extinguish the feruour of our appetities; for my part I think that as in all ages it is fit that Magnanimitie inuite vs to commendable actions; so also that we haue neede of shamefastnesse to correct vs whēsoeuer we shal go beyond the bouds or limits of reason in what yeares soeuer, and to check vs with the bridle of temperance.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Kerby Neill, "Spenser's Shamefastnesse, Faerie Queene 2.9.40-44," MLN, XLIV (June, 1934), 391.

<sup>23</sup>Bryskett, p. 140.

Bryskett gives another example of the contemporary usage of shamefacedness. His coupling of bashfulness and magnanimity is allegorically presented in Guyon and Arthur. Bashfulness restrains its possessor from the loss of honor by intemperance; Magnanimity inspires its possessor to honor by the performance of noble and virtuous actions.

Alma now leads the knights up a staircase (neck) to a turret (head).

This tower excells all other works and is most like the heavenly tower that God had built. In it there are different rooms, but in the three chief ones, three wise men dwell:

The first of them could things to come foresee;  
 The next could of thinges present best advize;  
 The third things past could keepe in memoree:

(F.Q. 2.9.49.-13)

These men represent respectively imagination, reason, and memory. The imagination is represented by Phantastes, a mature man with a youthful appearance. An active person, he has a melancholy disposition with a hint of madness (F.Q. 2.9.52). The walls of his room in the front of the brain are painted with fantastic creatures, and the room itself is filled with buzzing flies that represent men's idle thoughts:

All those were idle thoughtes and fantasies,  
 Devices, dreames, opinions unsound,  
 Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies;  
 And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies.

(F.Q. 2.9.51.6-9)

The knights do not do Phantastes the honor of addressing him. From Spenser's description of the production of the imagination, "leasings, tales, and lies," one can see that he did not view it sympathetically. He certainly would not agree with some textbook descriptions of him as the most fanciful of poets.

The heroic characters he presents are so delineated to present a model for those faced with the hard reality of life.

The second sage, reason, is not given any special name. The walls of his room are painted:

with memorable gestes  
Of famous wisards, and with picturals.  
Of magistrates, of courts, of tribunals,  
Of commen wealthes, of states, of pollicy,  
Of lawes, of judgements, and of decretals;  
All artes, all science, all philosophy,  
And all that in the world was ay thought wittily.

(F.Q. 2.9.53.3-9)

This is one of the few references to civic affairs and to higher education in the first two books of The Faerie Queene. This sage is a man of perfect years who has meditated long upon life. The knights honor him:

Great pleasure had those straunger knightes, to see  
His goodly reason and grave personage,  
That his disciples both desyrd to bee.

(F.Q. 2.9.54.6-8)

The third room, book-lined, shows signs of age. Here Eumnestes, good memory, is assisted by a page, Anamnestes, reminder. Although Eumnestes is aged, he has an active mind, remembering all of recorded history. Arthur begins to read Briton Moniments, a history of early England to the time when it came under the rule of one man (Arthur). Sir Guyon picks up Antiquitee of Faery Lond, tracing the genealogy of elves and fairies. As both men are intensely interested in their country's history, they ask for and receive permission to read the books.

The tenth canto corresponds to that of the House of Holiness in the first book. In the latter, the Red Cross Knight was instructed in the spiritual life. In this canto, the knights receive inspiration for a civil life of moral

virtue through reading their country's history. One might note that studiousness is a virtue that is considered as a part of temperance. Studiousness disposes a person to apply his mind for the purpose of acquiring and extending knowledge.<sup>24</sup> It is opposed to mere vain curiosity.

The reading of history was recommended as a means to virtue. Elyot praises it as a source of wisdom:

Experience whereof cometh wisdom is in two manner of wise. The one is acts committed or done by other men, whereof profit or damage succeeding, we may (in knowing or beholding it), be thereby instructed to apprehend the thing which to the public weal, or to our own persons, may be commo-  
dious; and to eschew that thing, which either in the beginning or in the conclusion, appeareth noisome and vicious.<sup>25</sup>

The Institution of a Gentleman finds in the reading of history a preparation for government and a cure for idleness:

Therefor to auoyd this blemyshe of idlenes, whiche defaceth utterly the lyfe of a gentleman, it behoueth them alwayes to be occupied, and although there wante sunetye mete occasion of corporall exercyse, yet the mynde of man maye be occupied much to the increase of hys knowledge and understandyng: wherein there can be nothyng more meete for gentlemen then the reacyng of histories, a most excellent and laudable exercise for them, euen somuche as historyes are called the bokes of kynges and Princes, because unto rulers of this earthe the knowledge of histories is most profitable, and very necessary to be read of all those whyche beare office and authority in the commun wealth.<sup>26</sup>

Bryskett expresses his intention to study his duties as a Christian man; one of the means he will use is the study of histories, "which are as mirrours or looking-glasses for euery man to see the good and euill actions of all

<sup>24</sup> S.T., II-II, q. 166, a. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Elyot, p. 228.

<sup>26</sup> "To reade Hystories & to auoyde Idlenes."

ages, the better to square his life to the rule of vertue, by the example of others."<sup>27</sup> So one sees in this presentation of English history the motivation for the virtuous actions of the heroes. The honor that they seek will be found in the service of their country.

In The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene, Carrie A. Harper has traced Spenser's use of source material. Geoffrey of Monmouth in the Historia Regum Britanniae is the ultimate source, but Spenser was well read in the chronicles. She notes that he emphasizes the British point of view and the continuity of British rule.<sup>28</sup> The extensive reading what Spenser had done to construct this history manifests his genuine interest in antiquities.

The narration falls into two parts. Arthur reads of the history of Britain from its savage state until the record breaks off abruptly with the account of his father, Uther. Guyon reads of his ancestry begun when Prometheus formed a man, Elfe, and his mate, a Fay, in the Garden of Adonis. One of their descendants founded Cleopolis; another, Panthea. Seven hundred princes who gave example of martial and civil rule were numbered among his offspring. Elficleos (Henry VII) advanced the kingdom, leaving two sons, Elferon (Arthur), who died in his youth, and Oberon (Henry VIII). Edward VI and Mary Tudor are ignored in the narration that ends with a tribute to Henry VIII's daughter Tanaquill (Elizabeth).

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<sup>27</sup>Bryskett, p. 17.

<sup>28</sup>Bryn Mawr College Monograph VII (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1910), p. 180.



The account fulfills several purposes. First, it serves as a motivation for the heroes' actions. Second, it glorifies British nationalism. Third, it glorifies the Tudor dynasty, especially Elizabeth.

The motivation for the heroes' actions is expressed by Arthur after reading the history:

'Deare countrey! O how dearely deare  
Ought thy remembrance and perpetual band  
Be to thy foster childe, that from thy hand  
Did commun breath and nouriture receive!  
How brutish is it not to understand  
How much to her we owe, that all us gave,  
That gave unto us all, what ever good we have!'

(F.Q. 2.10.69.3-9)

Once again one finds Spenser's concept of honor as service to England. His heroes seek the glory that will be theirs everlastingly as a reward for a virtuous life, but they expect to earn this glory in the honorable service of their country. The battleground on which they fight the good fight is not only that of the spirit but also that on which England is struggling to emerge as a great nation.

The house of Tudor was strengthened by the idea of the Arthurian empire. The idea that Britain had been an empire co-equal and coeval with that of Rome gave England some prestige in its break with Rome. The claim that the Arthurian empire included all the British Isles served as a justification for bringing in two unwilling countries, Ireland and Scotland.<sup>29</sup>

The Tudor claim to the throne was enhanced by tracing its descent to Arthur. One recalls that Henry VII was the descendant of a union between Owen

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<sup>29</sup>Lilian Winstanley, "The Arthurian Empire in the Elizabethan Poets," Aberystwyth Studies, IV (1922), 59.

Tudor and Katherine, the widow of Henry V, a union for which there were no official marriage documents. The Tudors sought to strengthen their once flimsy claim to the throne by an emphasis upon their Welsh ancestry and especially by a glorification of Arthur:

By Fairy Spenser means Welsh, or, more accurately, Tudor, as distinguished from the general term British. He looks on England as Britain, ignoring, for the purpose of his poem, post-Conquest history. . . . The Tudor dynasty, therefore, brings back the ancient British line, and one purpose of the poem is to celebrate this fact in compliment to the Queen. But Gloriana, the Faerie Queene, is Elizabeth Tudor. The old British spirit, the real England, represented in Prince Arthur, finds in her "glory," in the rich connotation given that term in the Renaissance, and also the power government ("rule"--see the proem to Bk. 3, stanza 5) that was making England a great European power and was the prophecy of the coming British imperialism. Thus the epic celebrates both the ancestry of Elizabeth, the return of the old British strain, and also her greatness as an individual. The title that Spenser chooses for his poem takes on new significance.<sup>30</sup>

The glorification of the Tudor dynasty, as Greenlaw notes, is at the same time a glorification of Elizabeth:

Ne under sunne, that shines so wide and faire,  
Whence all that lives does borrow life and light,  
Lives ought that to her lineage may compaire,  
Which, though from earth it be derived right,  
Yet doth it selfe stretch forth to hevens hight,  
And all the world with wonder overspred;  
A labor huge, exceeding far my might:  
How shall fraile pen, with feare disparaged,  
Conceive such soveraine glory, and great bountyhed?  
(F.Q. 2.10.2)

She is carrying on the tradition that brought honor to her ancestors (F.Q. 2.10.4). Once again one sees honor derived from service to the state and its sovereign. The narration concludes with a tribute to Gloriana, the flower of

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<sup>30</sup> Edwin Greenlaw, Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory (Baltimore, 1932), p. 198.

a noble ancestry, "Long mayst thou, Glorian, live, in glory and great powre" (F.Q. 2.10.76.9). Inspired by their country's history, the knights are strengthened to return to their pursuit of honor.

In the last two cantos, one finds two examples of the triumph of temperance. In Canto 11 Arthur defeats Maleger, the soul's natural weakness as a result of original sin. In Canto 12 Guyon expells Acrasia, specifically man's disordered sexual drive. Characteristically the theme of Canto 11 is introduced in the two beginning stanzas:

What warre so cruel, or what siege so sore,  
As that which strong affections doe apply  
Against the forte of reason evermore,  
To bringe the sowle into captivity?  
Their force is fiercer through infirmity  
Of the fraile flesh, relenting to their rage,  
And exercise most bitter tyranny  
Upon the partes, brought into their bondage:  
No wretchednesse is like to sinfull vellenage.

But in a body which doth freely yeeld  
His partes to reasons rule obedient,  
And letteth her, that ought, the scepter weeld,  
All happy peace and goodly government  
Is settled there in sure establishment.  
There Alma, like a virgin queene most bright,  
Doth florish in all beautie excellent,  
And to her guesstes doth bounteous banquet dight,  
Attempred goodly well for health and for delight.  
(F.Q. 2.11.1-2)

One must return to Cajetan Chereso's comment on the virtue of honor and beauty that, though the other moral virtues have more excellence, temperance is deserving of greater honor because of the greater difficulty involved in subduing the animal-like passions. It has more beauty because it is opposed to the ugliest of vices.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Chereso, pp. 84-85.

The flesh pulls against the spirit, but man has the potentiality of mastery. He achieves this first through temperance:

Temperance does not attack sense pleasures; rather it guarantees them. It imposes the norm of reason on the mild or the concupiscible appetite of man; it guarantees that the goal of man, the good of reason, will not suffer interference from the sense appetite in its own search for sense good. In a word, it protects that happy medium of reason which is the absolutely essential condition for peace and progress in human life. Its goal is not repression or inhibition; it does not frown down all that is attractive in life. Rather it insists on the full freedom that can be given only by control, the control of reason.<sup>32</sup>

After Guyon and the palmer have left on their quest piloted by Alma's ferryman, the siege of the affections against the fort of reason is begun. The castle is attacked by a rabble divided into twelve troops. "Why unto twelve? 'Seven of them,' i.e., the seven deadly sins attacked the castle gate: 'the other five,' imaging the vices that attack the senses, he set against the five bulwarks of the castle."<sup>33</sup> The first troop, "a monstrous rablement/ Of fowle misshapen wightes" (F.Q. 2.11.8.1-2), attack Sight and the two things that Sight most arouses, the inordinate love of beauty and money. The second group attack the Hearing:

Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies,  
Leasinges, backbytinges, and vaine glorious crakes,  
Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries;  
All those against that fort did bend their batteries.  
(F.Q. 2.11.10.6-9)

The third group attack the sense of Smell, "Foolish delights and fond abusions/ Which doe that sence besiege with light illusions" (F.Q. 2.11.11.8-9). The fourth troop attacks Taste, "Surfeat, misdiet, and unthriftie waste,/ Vaine

<sup>32</sup>Walter Farrell, A Companion to the Summa (New York, 1940), III, 409.

<sup>33</sup>Upton, p. 340.

feastes, and ydle superfluity" (F.Q. 2.11.12.7-8). The fifth group attack the sense of Touch "With stinges of carnall lust, and strong effort/ Of feeling pleasures" (F.Q. 2.11.13.7-8). In the vehemence of their attack one can see that the battle to achieve moral excellence is an arduous one. Man is attacked on all sides, and his self-mastery is deserving of honor.

Upon leaving the castle to forestall the attack, Arthur and his squire are immediately the target of a flood of arrows. The leader of the rabble is Maleger (sick unto death) who represents the weakened condition of the soul after original sin. He is mounted on a tiger:

Full large he was of limbe, and shoulders brode,  
 But of such subtile substance and unsound,  
 That like a ghost he seem'd, whose graveclothes were unbound.  
 (F.Q. 2.11.20.7-9)

Arthur experiences great difficulty in combating Maleger. First, he is evasive; mounted on a tiger, he cannot be forced into a face-to-face combat. Second, he has a supply of arrows that are collected by two hags, Impatience and Impotence, so that he never exhausts his ammunition. These hags are the fitting companions of man's weakened condition; the one represents his lack of control over the irascible passions, and the other, over the concupiscible. Arthur's difficulty in combatting Maleger and the hags reflects the arduousness of the temperate life. Man fights an elusive opponent whose weapons are never exhausted. Opposed to the disgrace that would accompany defeat is the honor given to the victor in such a trying battle.

When Arthur attempts to restrain the hags, he finds himself in their power, only to be rescued by his squire:

So greatest and most glorious thing on ground  
 May often need the helpe of weaker hand;

So feeble is mans state, and life unsound,  
 That in assurance it may never stand,  
 Till it dissolved be from earthly band.  
 Prooffe be thou, Prince, the prowest man alyve,  
 And noblest borne of all in Britayne land;  
 Yet thee fierce Fortune did so nearely drive,  
 That had not Grace thee blest, thou shouldst not survive.

(F.Q. 2.11.30)

One is reminded of Bryskett's statement. "But because the force of the Concupiscible appetite is so great, and setteth before vs pleasure in so many sundry shapes, as it is hard to shun the snares which these two enemies of reason set to intrap vs, and that the coldnesse of old age cannot wholly extinguish the feruour of our appetites,"<sup>34</sup> he suggests that magnanimity attract us to honorable actions, and shamefacedness withdraw us from dishonorable ones. Here one sees magnanimity, the temporary victim of concupiscence, rescued by God's grace. Even though treating a moral virtue, Spenser presents the theologically sound fact that man needs God's grace if he wishes to attain self-mastery. Woodhouse agrees:

I suggest that Maleger is original sin or human depravity, the result of the fall, and that the marks of physical disease and death are the symbols of the inherited taint, the moral and spiritual malady, which man is powerless to remove, and which may betray the strongest and most secure in the natural virtues. It is in his character of magnanimity (of natural virtue) that Prince Arthur barely escapes defeat, and then only by providential intervention.<sup>35</sup>

Arthur, shamed by his fall, revives himself with the thought of glory, and rises determined to prove himself. Magnanimity here is a spur to action.

<sup>34</sup>Bryskett, p. 140.

<sup>35</sup>Woodhouse, p. 221.

Because Maleger had dismounted in order to seize Arthur, he is now at a disadvantage without weapons or a means of escape.

This combat between Arthur and Maleger is based on Hercules' struggle with Antaeus. Since Hercules was a popular Renaissance symbol for the heroic in virtue and Antaeus an obvious symbol of lust, the echo of Hercules' struggle brought rich connotations to the Renaissance reader. Antaeus renews his strength at every fall, for he is nourished by his mother, the earth, and is subdued only by being kept from the earth, a symbol of virtue's triumph over lust by depriving it of support.<sup>36</sup> Because Arthur has not realized the true nature of his foe, he sees him rise revived when he fells him. Because Maleger is a spiritual substance, he cannot be wounded. So Arthur discards his weapons in order to wrestle with him. Finally realizing that the earth is Maleger's source of strength, Arthur drowns him by throwing him into a lake. This drowning of Maleger has some symbolic value, for it may be compared to the defeat of evil through baptism. Arthur's victory is secured by the suicides of Impatience and Impotence.

Because Arthur is faint from the exhausting struggle with the powers of evil, the squire leads him back to the house of Alma where he is healed. Arthur's conflict represents the struggle of temperance against the temptations of the flesh. The assault on the castle represents the five-fold assault on the senses. His enemy, Maleger, is elusive, attacking from all sides. He is assisted by Impatience and Impotence, the weakness of the flesh arising from inordinate desire and overindulgence. Arthur's difficulty in

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<sup>36</sup> Merritt Y. Hughes, "The Arthurs of The Faerie Queene," Etudes Anglaises, VI (August, 1953), 209.

subduing his enemy reflects the difficulty of man, because of original sin, in maintaining rational wholeness and order in his life. Honor is given to temperance because the control of the animal-like passions is the most difficult, and yet it is a prerequisite for the development of other virtues. The difficulty is reflected in Arthur's momentary defeat by the hags. Arthur's victory over the general disordered nature of man that makes him susceptible to passions is a fitting prelude to Guyon's struggle in the Bower of Bliss.

The final episode deals with the sexual drive, an instinct designed for the preservation of the human species. Acrasia in the Bower of Bliss represents the disordered sexual drive, aimed not at the continuation of the race nor at the charitable assistance of one's fellow man, but merely at self-indulgence without any sense of responsibility. The defeat of Acrasia is difficult, begun only when the frame of temperance is based on true charity:

Now ginnes this goodly frame of Temperaunce  
 Fayrely to rise, and her adorned hed  
 To pricke of highest prayse forth to advaunce,  
 Formerly grounded and fast setteled  
 On firme foundation of true bountyhed.

(F.Q. 2.12.1.1-5)

Temperance deserves the highest praise when it is based on charity. By this one may assume that Spenser does not confuse temperance with insensibility. Temperance is not the complete rejection of pleasure but the use of these pleasures for man's well-being. Temperance does not renounce sex, but only the irresponsible use of it as is depicted in the Bower of Bliss.

In this difficult encounter Guyon is strengthened by the presence and advice of the palmer. Both men are assisted by the boatman from the House of Alma. The first two days of the voyage are uneventful, but the third day that



brings them near to the Bower of Bliss is beset with many perils. These perils serve two purposes. First, they unify the book by recapitulating previous examples of vice. Second, they might be read as the gradual progress of the soul to sensuality. Man's spiritual beauty or honesty, presupposing a love of virtue, is attained through sustained self-discipline and usually lost through a series of minor self-indulgences. The various perils of the trip can also be seen as the soul's gradual progress into the full tyranny of the senses.

The boat must pass between a whirlpool (Gulfe of Greedinesse) and a magnetic rock (Rock of Vile Reproach). The Greediness seems to represent a general inordinate desire; and the Vile Reproach, the infamy of a misspent life:

Of such, as having all their substance spent  
 In wanton joyes and lustes intemperate,  
 Did afterwarde make shipwrack violent,  
 Both of their life, and fame for ever fowly blent.  
 (F.Q. 2.12.7.6-9)

Man's intemperance results in his dishonor. Even on the natural level man is attracted by rationally ordered conduct and repelled by animal-like excesses.

The palmer points out the wrecks decaying on the cliff as an example "Of lustfull luxurie and thriftlesse wast" (F.Q. 2.12.9.3). Next they come to the Wandering Islands which Guyon mistakenly takes as the Bower of Bliss. Although they seem pleasant, the pilot warns that a wanderer who lands on them is lost forever in uncertainty. Conti states that the pilot was suggested by Charon who represents a good man's clear conscience that assists him in his last moments.<sup>37</sup>

The next meeting is with Phaedria whom the palmer rebukes and sends away.

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<sup>37</sup>Lemmi, p. 278.

The ferryman warns them of another danger. They must sail between the Quicksand of Unthriftyed and the Whirlepoole of Decay. This lack of thriftiness may simply represent waste, but it has a certain contemporary significance in the picture of the wreck of a richly laden ship. Because this was a time of great commercial expansion and of exploration, many gentlemen lost their fortunes in the losses of ships that they had financed. The Whirlepoole of Decay seems to have no specific reference but only that derived from the general meaning of the word. These dangers are related to temperance because it regulates the use of material goods, and these are the examples of excess.

The honorable man's self-control is personified in the next danger, a storm at sea and the appearance of many sea monsters. The palmer recognizes that the monsters are only illusions sent by Acrasia. Raising his staff, he calms the sea and causes the illusions to disappear. Lemmi interprets this as the necessity for self-control under adversity and against the depraved faculties represented by the sea monsters.<sup>38</sup>

The next two temptations appeal to Guyon's susceptibility to femininity, and in both the palmer warns the unsuspecting knight of the danger. In the first a maiden is weeping on the shore. The palmer warns Guyon against her as a deception, "womanish fine forgery" (F.Q. 2.12.28.8), sent to weaken Guyon's purpose. Guyon shows his temperance by taking the palmer's advice. The second temptation comes from five mermaids or sirens who flatter Guyon and offer rest from work:

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

'O thou fayre sonne of gentle Faery,  
 That art in mightie armes most magnifyde  
 Above all knights that ever batteill tryde,  
 O turne thy rudder hetherward a while:  
 Here may thy storme-bett vessell safely ryde;  
 This is the port of rest from troublous toyle,  
 The worldes sweet in from paine and wearisome turmoyle.'

(F.Q. 2.12.32.3-9)

Lemmi, quoting Conti, interprets the sirens as voluptuousness, but adds that others consider them as the flatterers of powerful men.<sup>39</sup> Once again the palmer has to warn Guyon, who wishes to land. Guyon may be taken here as an example of the continent man; he has control of his desires but only under the guidance of reason. If he were temperate, he would not be deceived by these temptations.

The final difficulties are unpleasant aspects of nature. A heavy fog covers the island bringing the natural fear connected with the unknown. The next trial is a flight of ominous birds: owls, ravens, bats, and harpies. The party is repaid for its courage when the weather clears. The ferryman remains in the boat, but Guyon and the palmer go forward with constancy and care.

Because temperance is the virtue of moderation, the various difficulties encountered are all examples of excess. There is no clear-cut progression, but one can note certain differences in the temptations. The Gulfe of Greedinesse and the Rock of Vile Reproch might refer to excess in the use of bodily goods. The Wandring Islands and Phaedria might refer to the lack of firm purpose that results in succumbing to temptation. The Quickestand of Unthriftyhed and the Whirlepoole of Decay might refer to excess in the use of material goods. As noted before, the monsters refer to the necessity for self-control under

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

adversity. The temptation of the maiden and the sirens is an appeal of pleasure to swerve from the line of duty. As can be seen, the dangers on the voyage to the Bower of Bliss may be said generally to refer to different types of intemperance. One can understand the honor given to the temperate man because of the difficulty of attaining a life of rational wholeness and the disgrace allied with surrender to the animal-like passions.

Upon arrival at the Bower of Bliss, the palmer and Guyon are greeted by the bellowing of wild beasts. The palmer quiets them with his staff, which might be compared to Mercury's rod as the power of reason. The Bower of Bliss is an artful imitation of nature. Although it is encircled by a barrier, the fence is fragile:

Nought feard theyr force, that fortilage to win,  
But wisdomes powre and temperaunces might,  
By which the mightiest things efforced bin.

(F.Q. 2.12.43.5-7)

Temperance is the result of wisdom and self-control. On the ivory gate is carved the story of Jason and Medea. Medea's guiding passion for Jason was the source of many crimes, and his desertion of her resulted in further outrages. Since the Bower of Bliss represents the misuse of love, the story of Jason and Medea is peculiarly appropriate.

A porter, Genius, is at the gate. His pleasing personage, "more then naturall" (F.Q. 2.12.46.5), and the description of his garment that implies lack of virility is a hint that he is not the true Genius, the celestial power of generation:

His looser garment to the ground did fall,  
And flew about his heeles in wanton wize,  
Not fitt for speedy pace or manly exercize.

(F.Q. 2.12.46,7-9)

Spenser states this specifically in Stanza 47, and goes on to describe his true nature:

The foe of life, that good envyes to all,  
That secretly doth us procure to fall,  
Through guilefull semblants, which he makes us see.  
(F.Q. 2.12.48.4-6)

He is decked with flowers and at his side is a bowl of wine, items associated with the worship of the god Genius.<sup>40</sup> Guyon dashes the bowl to the ground and breaks the staff; the temperate man's battle against the disorder of the sexual passion has begun.

Having entered into the Bower, they find it pleasant but overdone:

Thus being entred, they behold arownd  
A large and spacious plaine, on every side  
Strowed with pleasains, whose fayre grassy grownd  
Mantled with greene, and goodly beautifide  
With all the ornaments of Floraes pride,  
Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne  
Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride  
Did decke her, and too lavishly adorne,  
When forth from virgin bowre she comes in th' early morne.  
(F.Q. 2.12.50)

The note of excess is sounded. Nature is a "pompous bride" that Art did "too lavishly adorne." Flora, the Roman goddess of spring and flowers, had certain connotations because her feast was celebrated with licentiousness. To emphasize the difficulty of being temperate, Spenser presents the Bower in all its loveliness. The constantly temperate climate provides an atmosphere of ease. Although he does not allow the pleasant atmosphere to affect him, Guyon is conscious of the beauty:

But passed forth and lookt still forward right,  
Brydling his will, and maystering his might  
(F.Q. 2.12.53.4-5)

<sup>40</sup>Upton, p. 376.

In contrast to temperance, the virtue of moderation, is the personification of excess. Excesse, an attractive woman in garments that would have been pleasing had they not been in such a disorderly condition, is found in an attractive arbor enhanced with the addition of bunches of grapes made of gold. When she offers wine to Guyon, he dashes it to the ground. The impotence accompanying self-indulgence is noted in her helplessness when Guyon repulses her:

Whereat Excesse exceedingly was wroth,  
 Yet no'te the same amend, ne yet withstond,  
 But suffered him to passe, all were she loth;  
 Who, nought regarding her displeasure, forward goth.

(F.Q. 2.12.57.6-9)

The moral excellence to which one gives honor is personified here. Excess is characterized here by disorder and impotence; Guyon, by order and self-control.

Once again, the attractiveness of the Bower of Bliss reflects the appeal of sensual pleasure. The Bower is a spacious park; valleys alternate with hills, groves with streams. Art contends with nature, and nature with art. In the midst of the park is a fountain ornamented with cupids and carrying pure shining water. Ivy vines made of gold trail in the water. Since ivy is attributed to Bacchus, the masculine principle, and water stands for the feminine principle, the fountain is a phallic symbol.<sup>41</sup> While Guyon walks on the border of the fountain, he sees two maidens bathing. They offer an obvious invitation, and Guyon is tempted:

Whom such when Guyon saw, he drew him neare,  
 And somewhat gan relent his earnest pace;  
 His stubborne brest gan secret pleasaunce to embrace.

(F.Q. 2.12.65.7-9)

<sup>41</sup>Lemmi, pp. 382-383.

Although the maidens realize that Guyon is attracted and attempt to secure their conquest, they are frustrated by the palmer who rebukes Guyon. In Guyon's susceptibility to the maidens is figured the force of the passions. The honor given to temperance is the result of the recognition of the difficulty involved in maintaining the rule of reason.

Arriving at the Bower of Bliss, they are greeted by harmonious music: "Birdes, voices, instruments, windes, waters, all agree" (F.Q. 2.12.70.9). Once again the attractiveness of sensual pleasure is emphasized. Acrasia is solacing herself with a new lover. Appropriately someone sings of the rose that blushes modestly when first coming to bloom, reveals itself in all its beauty, and soon after fades. Thus one must gather the rose of love while it is blooming, for life passes quickly (F.Q. 2.12.74-75). Lying upon a bed of roses, dressed in a diaphanous gown of silk and silver, Acrasia is an obvious sexual symbol. Guyon and the palmer find her with her lover, a young man of noble birth:

His warlike armes, the ydle instruments  
 Of sleeping praise, were hong upon a tree,  
 And his brave shield, full of old monuments,  
 Was fowly ra'st, that none the signes might see;  
 Ne for them, ne for honour, cared hee,  
 Ne ought that did to his advaancement tend,  
 But in lewd loves, and wastfull luxuree,  
 His dayes, his goods, his bodie he did spend:  
 O horrible enchantment, that him so did blend!  
 (F.Q. 2.12.80)

Honor is opposed to sensuality. The knight's armor is discarded. In the chivalric context, the discarding of his armor is the abandonment of his duty of maintaining order. In the moral context, the discarding of his armor is the abandonment of virtue. Reason, man's peculiar gift, is to guide the

Christian in fighting the good fight. His virtue results in honor in this life and glory after death; but the youth has abandoned the pursuit of self-mastery, and he now is a slave to his bodily cravings.

Surprising the couple, Guyon and the palmer ensnare them in a net, an action reminiscent of Vulcan's capture of Venus and Mars.

Although Acrasia is firmly bound, with no hint of her reappearance as in the capture of Archimago or Duessa, Guyon releases the youth, Verdant, with some good advice. Next, Guyon levels the structures of the Bower of Bliss. They return to the beasts encountered when they first landed. The palmer explains their true nature:

Sayd he: 'These seeming beasts are men indeed,  
Whom this enchauntresse hath transformed thus,  
Whylome her lovers, which her lustes did feed,  
Now turned into figures hideous,  
According to their mindes like monstruous.'

(F.Q. 2.12.85.1-5)

The depiction of intemperate men as beasts reflects the dishonor allied with intemperance:

Disgrace is seemingly opposed to honour and glory. Now honour is due to excellence, as stated above (Q. CIII., AA. 1,2), and glory denotes clarity. Accordingly intemperance is most disgraceful for two reasons. First, because it is most repugnant to human excellence, since it is about pleasures common to us and the lower animals, as stated above (Q. CXLI., AA. 2,3). Wherefore it is written (Ps. xlviii.21): Man, when he was in honour, did not understand: he hath been compared to senseless beasts, and made like to them. Secondly, because it is most repugnant to man's clarity or beauty; inasmuch as the pleasures which are the matter of intemperance dim the light of reason from which all the clarity and beauty of virtue arises: wherefore these pleasures are described as being most slavish.<sup>42</sup>

The representation of intemperate men as beasts is a commonplace. The

<sup>42</sup>S.T., II-II, q. 142, a. 4.



Renaissance reader found in Spenser's use of Acrasia a reflection of the myth of Circe, but the moral implications are in accord with Scholastic philosophy.

Merritt Hughes studies Spenser's use of Acrasia as a derivation of the myth of Circe:

It has been the purpose of this study to indicate that Spenser's conception of Circe and her beasts had a background wider than any single literary source, such as Ariosto, Plutarch, or Homer; and wider than Neo-Platonism or any other single philosophical system. The beasts, we may be sure, he regarded much as Conti did. He thought of them as essentially (in Conti's language) "faculties of the mind conspiring with the body's affections and breaking their harmony with reason." For Conti--as for many interpreters of the sun's daughter as far back as Plutarch--Circe was both a physical and a moral symbol. She was, he said, the libido which drives the elements through the eternal process of birth and decay; but in man she was the libido which, unless reason prevents, transforms the delicately balanced microcosm, as poets feign, into various beasts; the lustful into hogs, the wrathful into lions.<sup>43</sup>

The palmer complies with Guyon's request that he return the men to their former state. Striking them with his staff, he does so. When the men express shame or wrath "to see their captive dame" (F.Q. 2.12.86.5), it is not clear if they are angry with Acrasia or rather with Guyon and palmer for capturing her. When Grylle, formerly a hog, complains at his transformation, Guyon interprets this as an example of the disgrace of intemperance that reduces man to the level of the beast:

Saide Guyon: 'See the mind of beastly man,  
That hath so soone forgot the excellence  
Of his creation, when he life began,  
That now he chooseth, with vile difference,  
To be a beast, and lacke intelligence.'

(F.Q. 2.12.87.1-5)

Wisely the palmer advises, "Let Gryll be Gryll," for some delight in incontinence.

<sup>43</sup>Merritt Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia and the Circe of the Renaissance," JHI, IV (October, 1943), 397.

In summary one might review the definition of honor as the recognition of excellence to be accepted, in the Scholastic tradition, with humility and charity. In treating the virtue of temperance a new dimension is added to the concept of honor. Special honor should be given to temperance because it opposes what is most disgraceful and preserves man's honor and dignity. Honor is given to the qualities of rational wholeness, order, and clarity that the temperate man possesses.

Temperance is the virtue by which a person acts with moderation in accordance with reason. Temperance has a special phase in moderating the appetites for sensible and bodily delights.

Temperance in its general aspect of the virtue of moderation is presented in Cantos 7 and 8, in reference to the irascible passions. In Canto 7, Guyon withstands the inordinate desires of avarice and ambition. In opposition to the merely external goods of wealth, goods that often are the motives for crimes, Guyon relies upon the honor given to the life of active virtue, a life which he defines in terms of martial prowess. He rejects the inordinate desire for honor, namely ambition, which is often supported by unjust actions. In Canto 8, Arthur rescues Guyon from Pyrochles and Cymochles, exemplifications of wrath and incontinence respectively. When meekness fails in pacifying the brothers, Arthur defeats them in combat. He is assisted by Guyon's sword, an assistance that shows that he too shares in the qualities of the temperate man.

In the house of Alma, the knights see reason in control of the body. The nutritive system is allegorically described, as well as the emotional and mental faculties. The presentation of the nutritive system is a part of the virtue of temperance that deals with the preservation of the individual through

the use of bodily goods. In the presentation of the emotions, Arthur is allied with Prays-desire, magnanimity with the honor it pursues. Guyon, temperance, is allied with Shamefastnesse, the recoil from the disgrace of intemperance. The knights ignore the imagination, but honor the mental faculties of reason and memory.

Canto 10, in its review of British history, provides a motive for the knights' virtuous actions. Through their studiousness, the right effort after knowledge, they find a motive for patriotism in studying their country's history. This canto exemplifies an aspect of Spenser's concept of honor. Honor is found in active virtue in service of the state. Nationalism is a predominant aspect of his concept of honor.

Arthur's conflict with Maleger in Canto 11 represents the honorable man's conflict with man's weakened condition that is a result of original sin. Before the fall, Adam had rational wholeness, order, and clarity, but after his fall he was subject to the tyranny of the passions. Though self-mastery was possible, it was accomplished only with great difficulty. His descendants have inherited this taint, personified in Maleger. The difficulty is expressed in Arthur's momentary defeat until he is rescued by God's grace. The difficulty in attaining self-mastery is personified in Arthur's struggle.

In the final canto Guyon's capture of Acrasia and the destruction of the Bower of Bliss personify temperance's primary concern, the regulation of the goods of sex, aimed at the preservation of the human species. The Bower of Bliss personifies the irresponsible use of this good. The power of this instinct is presented in the attractive appearance of the garden and the nymphs. The disgrace resulting from surrender to the animal-like passions is personified

in the men turned into beasts. The difficulty in controlling man's sexual instinct is personified in the palmer's constant attendance upon Guyon. Guyon, an honorable man, escapes danger several times only because he follows the direction of the palmer. Spenser cannot be considered insensible in his imprisonment of Acrasia and the destruction of the Bower of Bliss because he does not object to the legitimate use of sex, as can be seen from the predominant use of love as a motive force, but he does object to its illicit and irresponsible use. Honor is found in man's rational wholeness, order, and clarity which he attains through the love of virtue.

In determining the source of Spenser's concept of temperance and its relation to honor, one is faced with a multitude of sources. To attempt to find a single direct source would be foolhardy and unnecessary. Plato's definition of temperance as the rule of reason in man's actions is reflected in the depiction of Medina and Alma. Aristotle's treatment of temperance as the animal-like passions is echoed in Phaedria and the Bower of Bliss. His extension of continence to external goods, things worthy of avoidance, and neutral actions is also reflected, but to find in Aristotle the great single source for this book is certainly erroneous. Cicero's treatment of temperance as decorum, the rule of reason teaching us what to do and what to avoid, is reflected in Guyon's self-possession and self-control.

The Christian treatment of temperance reflects the classical sources. Augustine reflects the Platonic idea of reason and order. Saint Thomas uses Aristotle's primary treatment of temperance as having to do with taste and touch, but he extends the treatment of temperance to moderation in all actions. Spenser's broad treatment of temperance can be interpreted by the same broad

treatment in Scholastic philosophy. The only prominent omission is in the extensive treatment that Spenser gives to Mammon. A great similarity is found in Saint Thomas' definition of temperance as the virtue of honor and beauty. Both equate temperance and honor, intemperance and disgrace. Another Christian aspect of temperance is the implicit praise of sexual purity.

Since the Renaissance inherited the classical and Scholastic moral code, it retained the traditions, as is seen in the citations from Elyot and Castiglione. Two elements in the treatment, however, are peculiarly of the Renaissance. These elements are nationalism and the prominence of the money economy. Spenser may not have objected to the money economy in itself, but he did object to the abandonment of the ideal of unselfish service that his knights personified. The nationalistic element is most prominent in Canto 10 in which the heroes find motivation for their life of active virtue in the patriotism inspired by their country's history. It is prevalent throughout in the service of Gloriana. The reflection of the expanding money economy of the Renaissance is seen in the debate between Mammon and Guyon. Guyon defends virtue as the source of honor while Mammon's argument reflects the fact that in actuality honor was given to those who had wealth, wealth often unjustly acquired. The landed nobility was being replaced by the prosperous bourgeois.

Because the story is told in a chivalric context, certain medieval ideals are presented. The knight finds his role as the preserver of order, the sword-arm of the state. Martial prowess is an essential quality. Horsemanship is the mark of the well-born. The knight does not kill his opponent's

horse nor despoil his defeated foe. Thus, the concepts of the second book are reflected in many sources; they are the commonplaces of Renaissance ethics, but the core of the presentation of the concept of honor remains in Christian ethics.

## CHAPTER XII

### CONCLUSION: SPENSER'S CONCEPT OF HONOR

The purpose of this study is to analyze Spenser's concept of honor as it is contained in The Faerie Queene, Books I and II, and to determine its derivation by setting it against various concepts of honor presented in different periods by selected prose writers. Although the meaning of the word "honor" as it appears in the context of the sentence is not ignored, the study is centered on the concept of honor as it is revealed through the totality of the action. Through an explication of the text, the writer has attempted to determine Spenser's ideals of moral excellence. A statement of the findings of this study is now in order.

Honor is a central motive force for Spenser's heroes. This honor has two elements: the first in relation to personal integrity, the second in relation to the service of the state. In relation to personal integrity, honor is allied with virtue. The respective heroes pass through severe trials from which they ultimately emerge triumphant. To be specific, the Red Cross Knight, Holiness, has to learn humility and the practice of the spiritual life. He learns humility through a recognition of his own mistakes and the necessity of God's grace. He is instructed in the spiritual life under the guidance of Una. However, his role is not merely a passive one. Before his conversion, he manifests good will, and after his conversion he combines this good will

with an enlightened judgment and the practice of active virtue. Guyon in his portrayal of temperance, the rule of reason, does not experience these failures. This is appropriate since he represents a moral virtue with the natural perfection of man as its goal. The role of grace is not denied, but the emphasis is upon man's natural integrity. Guyon too is subjected to severe trials through which, with the aid of the palmer, he passes successfully. He manifests honor in his triumph over intemperance, a vice most degrading to the dignity of man's rational nature. Arthur acts in conformity with the theme of holiness in the first book by acting as God's agent and as an instrument of grace. This role is not entirely lost in the second book, in which he defeats Maleger, a symbol of man's weakened condition resulting from original sin. However, as the emphasis in the second book is upon natural virtue, his rescue of Guyon and his experiences at the House of Alma echo Guyon's role as that of the temperate man.

Service to the state is manifested directly in the Red Cross Knight's and Guyon's quests undertaken at the request of Gloriana. Service to the state is manifested indirectly in Arthur's vision of Gloriana and his subsequent search for her, during which time he aids her knights. Both Guyon and the Red Cross Knight conceive of their role as a life of active virtue carried out in the glorification of the state. Arthur, representing the Tudor regime, is a nationalistic symbol. These three men embody one aspect of Spenser's concept of honor: that honor is a legitimate goal to be attained by virtuous actions in the service of the state.

To determine the sources of Spenser's concept of honor, the writer will follow the outline developed in Chapter VI. The Aristotelian definition of



the magnanimous man as one who thinks himself worthy of great things because he is really worthy of them is not found in the first book; rather the first book is a denial of this self-esteem. The Red Cross Knight, thinking himself worthy of great things, has to learn through his mistakes that he is not. Arthur, in his role as an agent of grace, is magnanimous but in a Christian sense, since he recognizes God's role. Although Guyon manifests self-esteem, "And evermore himselfe with comfort feedes/ Of his owne vertues and praise-worthie deedes" (F.Q. 2.7.2.4-5), this esteem must be considered as a part of his role as the self-controlled man. It is a part of his temperance, of his love of virtue, and is not necessarily Aristotelian at all. In their service of the state, the knights reflect the classical emphasis upon the political life, but this may also have been derived from the Renaissance works that copied it and from the nationalistic spirit of Spenser's time.

The early Christian ideal is present in the Red Cross Knight's religious orientation. The ideal of temperance as the rule of reason as presented by Augustine is found in the second book. However, Spenser did not share Augustine's low regard for the secular pursuit of honor.

As has been noted previously, Saint Thomas transforms the Aristotelian definition of the magnanimous man into a Christian concept. He retains the idea that the pursuit of honor is a legitimate goal, but he adds several qualifications. Good should be sought first, and the honor that accompanies that good should be accepted, but the emphasis is upon the good, not upon the honor. This honor should be accepted with the recognition of God's grace that helped to obtain it, and it should be accepted because it gives good example to one's neighbors. The knights mentioned exemplify this definition. The Red Cross

Knight after his conversion is a magnanimous man who has learnt the virtues of humility and charity. Guyon, who has learnt humility, expresses it in his obedience to the palmer. Arthur, as an ideal, has no flaws, but he too is rescued by grace (F.Q. 2.11.30). Through contrast, honor is manifested by its opposites. Lucifera, whose court is characterized by self-indulgence and vainglory, serves as a foil to true honor. Philotime, ambition, is rejected by Guyon.

Since the work is set in a chivalric context, it is only natural that it manifest chivalric ideals. Although feudalism was no longer a functional way of life, Renaissance England found it fashionable to present its ideals of life through the artistic distance lent by a portrayal in a feudal context, e.g., the Queen's annual tourney. For example, a high ideal of service was presented to the civil servant in the person of the knight. In the service of the weak, the knight conforms to the role of mutual assistance defined for him by John of Salisbury. The knight's assistance to those in distress conforms to the Christian ideal of charity; this service comes from the heart.

The hierarchical concept of society is manifested in the noble birth of the knights. The Red Cross Knight is descended from Saxon kings; Arthur is the son of Uther; Guyon was knighted by Sir Huon. Untouched by the profit motive, all of the knights seek honor validly gained through virtuous action. The disdain of the profit motive is best expressed by Guyon in the cave of Mammon:

'Certes,' sayd he, 'I n'ill thine offred grace,  
 Ne to be made so happy doe intend:  
 Another blis before mine eyes I place,  
 Another happines, another end.  
 To them that list, these base regards I lend:

But I in armes, and in atchievements brave,  
 Do rather choose my flitting houres to spend,  
 And to be lord of those that riches have,  
 Then them to have my selfe, and be their servile slave.'

(F.Q. 2.7.33)

The knights' pursuit of honor can be seen in their rejection of its substitutes. The Red Cross Knight recognizes the vainglory of Lucifera's court; Guyon rejects an alliance with Philotime.

Continuing the study of the presence of medieval ideals, one notes that the knights have a real function as the sword-arm of the state, the instrument of justice. Their quests are concerned with the establishment of order, the suppression of evil. Their justice, however, is tempered with charity. On their quests the knights are willing to pause to rescue those in distress.

In their maintenance of order, martial prowess is a sine qua non. The Red Cross Knight, Guyon, and Arthur are all outstanding antagonists who pride themselves upon their ability. Although they will show mercy to a repentant opponent, they do not hesitate to kill when their foe is adamant. As befits knights, they are excellent in their horsemanship. Although Spenser need not be taken literally in his praise of the warrior's life, the Renaissance man was expected to possess the training necessary for a soldier's role. Spenser's own patrons, Lord Grey, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Earl of Essex, served as military leaders.

An analysis of the spiritual qualities presented by Spenser reveals that the Red Cross Knight, as holiness, has a specific religious orientation. As a Christian soul seeking its sanctification, he carries out his actions in this frame of reference. As noted before, the second book has to do with man's perfection as man, and while it does not deny the role of grace, it

emphasizes the rule of reason. One does find the supernatural mentioned in the angel's ministration to Guyon after his return from Mammon's cave and in Arthur's rescue. One finds it also, in contrast, in Maleger's symbolism of original sin and in the witchcraft attributed to Acrasia. In the delineation of temperance as the virtue of honor and beauty, Spenser reflects the Christian ethic. Although one cannot disregard the influence of classical sources, striking similarities between his definition of temperance and that found in Saint Thomas are to be noted.

In determining Spenser's concept of honor, one must consider the cultural pattern of feudalism as it appears in his work. First, one finds a reflection of chivalric love in the service of Gloriana and Una. Second, the knights consider themselves as a select group, coming to one another's aid. For example, Arthur saves the Red Cross Knight and Guyon. Arthur and the Red Cross Knight pledge themselves in the brotherhood of arms (F.Q. 1.9.18-19). Third, one finds a judicial duel carried out in the atmosphere of a tournament (F.Q. 1.5). Finally, dishonor is the penalty of those who offend against the chivalric code by the killing of an opponent's horse (F.Q. 2.5.5) and by the despoiling of a corpse (F.Q. 2.8.13-16).

Because the Renaissance retained many ideals of the Middle Ages, a study of the Renaissance influence upon Spenser's concept of honor must note some overlapping. While the hierarchical order of Renaissance society is not as rigid, the idea of degree is still maintained. The emphasis upon gentle birth has been commented on in connection with the chivalric code.

A typically Renaissance ideal is nationalism. The service of the knights

is for the glorification of the state. Honor is to be obtained from the service of Gloriana, the central motive force of the poem.

Another aspect of the Renaissance is the emphasis upon riches. Although riches are the foil to true honor, the prominent position of the argument against them shows that they were influential element in the society of the time. For example, Mammon claims to be the source of all honor. The condemnation of extravagance in the House of Pride and in the dangers encountered in the voyage to the Bower of Bliss reflects the more elaborate economy and the greater love of luxury during the Renaissance.

Spenser's aim, "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," echoes the spirit of the Renaissance courtesy books. He shares their aim but uses an allegorical method and develops his ideals within a chivalric context. Spenser concurs with Guazzo, Castiglione, and Nenna in finding nobility in a combination of virtue and exalted rank.

The importance of honor in the life of the Renaissance is exemplified by the knights to whom honor is a spur to action. They see it as a legitimate goal and accept it when it is a recognition of virtue. They aim for honor in this life and for glory after death. This honor cannot be construed as the egoistic cult of fame. When counterfeits of honor are offered, as they are by Lucifera and Mammon, the knights reject it. From the emphasis upon virtue, one can see that Spenser would not agree with Machiavelli's concept of honor outside of a moral context, nor are his knights interested in an ostentatious pursuit of honor as suggested by Castiglione.

Because the knights have a function as the sword-arm of the state, the courtier's role as an administrator in civil life is not emphasized. However,

the knight's devotion to duty and to the assistance of the needy might be taken as an oblique reference to the correct fulfillment of the courtier's role. The civil life is hinted at in Belphebe's description of honor, "at hom in studious kind" (F.Q. 2.3.40.8), and in the civic duties shown as murals in the room of reason (F.Q. 2.9.53). In the knights' actions, the courtiers find an ideal of noblesse oblige for the civil life.

In the Renaissance courtesy books, magnanimity is usually defined in dependence on Aristotle's definition of the magnanimous man with the addition of Christian overtones. However, since the writer has established a definite relationship with Saint Thomas's definition of magnanimity, it seems best to consider these as only peripheral influences on Spenser. On the whole, Spenser's definition of nobility is usually somewhat more religious than that contained in Renaissance works.

The knights express their courtesy in their sympathy and forbearance. Guyon consoles Amavia and weeps at her death. Arthur, through his gentle manner, is able to give Una the necessary reassurance so that she can tell him of the plight of the Red Cross Knight. Arthur expresses great forbearance in his attempt to persuade Cymochles and Pyrochles that they err in despoiling Guyon. Guyon courteously rejects Phaedria's advances and politely declines the offer of Philotime in marriage. Although disliking her haughtiness, the Red Cross Knight is respectful to Lucifera after his duel with Sansjoy.

The emphasis on physical training and horsemanship that was evident in the Middle Ages is carried over into the Renaissance. Although a characteristic of the Renaissance is the educated layman, one does not find a direct expression for the necessity of learning in the knights. One might rather find

it in Spenser himself, in the learning and poetic skill manifested by the author.

In conclusion one might say that the direct classical influence on Spenser's concept of honor is not impressive. The mental climate of the work is chiefly medieval. The knights' selfless devotion to duty and to the needy reflects the chivalric code, as does the glorification of the soldier's life. In reference to the moral allegory, point by point similarity can be found between Spenser's work and Scholasticism. The development of honor as a part of magnanimity and as a part of temperance closely resembles that of Saint Thomas.

The Renaissance influence is seen in the glorification of Tudor England and the definition of the knight's life as service to the state. In the equating of honor with virtue, however, the Renaissance courtier could find ideals for conduct in civil life, even though the ideal was expressed in a chivalric context. Spenser's concept of honor is a blend of many elements and is peculiarly his own, but the chief influence seems to be chivalric and Scholastic thought.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Mary Jane Coogan has been read and approved by five members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

January 28, 1964  
Date

Edward Surtz  
Signature of Adviser