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# "his Body Well Be Red": The Politics Of Representing The Body In "the Faerie Queene"

David Sean Kinahan

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"HIS BODY WELL BE RED": THE POLITICS OF  
REPRESENTING THE BODY IN THE FAERIE QUEENE

by

David S. Kinahan

Submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Western Ontario  
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## ABSTRACT

This study explores the representations of the body in Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene and several other early modern texts. It takes as its premise the Foucauldian notion that the body, born into culture, is never entirely present in itself, but that it is actively produced in discourse; the body is not simply the object on which power operates but the result of a negotiation of its fashionings. The apparent naturalness of bodily presence is used in discursive practice for its authority, and constructions of the body lend formative force to ideological and political ideas and organizations. The regulation of the body that is culture can be perpetuated, resisted, and/or negotiated through the representation of the body. These dimensions and potentialities form the focus of this study.

In an attempt to suggest the cultural embeddedness of Spenser's representations of the body, I employ some of the practices of the new historicisms and cultural materialisms; I have incorporated a variety of other early modern discursive material and have read this material against The Faerie Queene. This study contains four chapters, each of which examines a different kind of bodying forth. The first chapter explores, through the cave of Mammon episode, the sometimes conflictual meeting of the discourse of mining with the discourse of anatomy, and probes the debate between Mammonic mercantilism and pastoral nostalgia that takes

place over the body of the earth. My second chapter, a reading of the lower region of the house of Alma, is concerned with the constitutive linkage between the excremental production of the lower bodily stratum and those bodies constructed as 'low' in the social order. The penultimate chapter concerns the discursive production of subjectivity, and explores class and gender absolutes as they are produced on and about three Spenserian bodies: Braggadocchio, Mirabella, and Duessa. The final chapter considers bodies designated as monstrous, particularly the giant Argante, and examines the deployment of narratives of sibling incest as they contribute to this designation. The representations of the body in The Faerie Queene and other early modern texts perform political and ideological work.

This project is dedicated to the  
three most important people in my life,  
who should infer nothing from the order  
in which they are represented.

Thomas F. Kinahan,  
my dad, who patiently endured my years of  
wandering and wondering, and whose heart barely  
skipped a beat when I told him "five more years."

Kathleen (De Luca) Kinahan,  
my mom, whose quiet strength and absolute  
faith is always there to reassure, and  
who is forever willing to lend of her composure.

And

Carolyn Quick,  
my beloved and my friend:  
You frame my thoughts and fashion me within,  
You stop my tounge, and teach my hart to speake,  
.....  
Darke is the worlde where your light shined neuer;  
Well is he borne, that may behold you euer.

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Our doubts are traitors  
And make us lose the good we oft might win  
By fearing to attempt.

(Lucio in Measure for Measure)

The role self-doubt had to play in the production of this thesis cannot be underestimated, and I owe a great deal of thanks to those who refused to let me surrender when they saw the white flags on my horizon.

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## INTRODUCTION

In his review of Peter Brook's Body Work, Terry Eagleton complains about what he calls the "orthodox heterodoxy of the new somatics" (3):

There will soon be more bodies in contemporary criticism than on the fields of Waterloo. Mangled members, tormented torsos, bodies emblazoned or incarcerated, disciplined or desirous: it is becoming harder given this fashionable turn to the somatic, to distinguish the literary theory section of the local bookshop from the soft-porn shelves...Many an eager masturbator must have borne away some sexy-looking tome only to find himself reading up on the floating signifier. (7)

Behind Eagleton's rhetoric lies a suspicion that criticism concerned with representations of the body is just the last, however spectacular and sensationalist, gasp of a dying post-structuralist movement -- that in fact there is nothing new to be found here. He argues that the body is only a (dis)location that enables the critic to talk about human beings "without going all sloppily humanist" (7). The title and subject of this dissertation should signal the fact that I disagree with Eagleton's assessment. "Movements" in literary criticism are discernable at any given period, and, while the 1980s and '90s may have witnessed the production of a number of texts concerned with the somatic, the attempt

to dismiss them under the label of "fashionable" or trendy seems to me greatly to undervalue their contribution to contemporary scholarship.

Brian Turner, in The Body and Society, succinctly outlines part of the project of criticism that focuses on the body: "A materialist theory of the body has to provide the linkage between the discipline of the body and the regulation of populations in terms of the institutional connections between family, property, and patriarchy" (35). Turner's concept of the body is heavily influenced by the early writings of Michel Foucault, who argued the connection between institutional organization and bodily regimes to which (and by which) individuals are made subject(s). The body, in this conceptualization, becomes the site and product of contesting and formative forces that define and shape it -- forces with their own ideological impulses that attempt to produce the bodies they desire. This theory suggests that the critic consider the institutional or social interests and implications of certain representations of the body -- to consider the ways in which these representations negotiate<sup>1</sup> the demands of social production and perpetuation. "The body," asserts Turner, "is a site of enormous symbolic work and symbolic production. Its deformities are stigmatic and stigmatizing, while at the same time its perfections, culturally defined, are objects of praise and admiration" (190). The body is born into

culture and becomes a social entity, and the apparent 'naturalness' of its material presence can be employed to disguise the forces shaping its expression. The regulation of the body that is culture can be perpetuated, resisted, and/or negotiated through the representation of the body.

The broad topic of this dissertation is representations of the body in early modern discourse. Because of the potentially limitless nature of the subject, this study is necessarily incomplete; at its best moments, I hope it can contribute to the description of the diversity and interpretative range of representations of the body currently underway in Renaissance studies. I have made the central text in this consideration Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene (1596), and I made that choice for two reasons: first, because I desire the grounding effect that a single text can provide a study; and second, because Spenser's text is impossible to ground, and that imaginative plenitude, open to "opinions and misconstructions" ("Letter to Raleigh," 737) has always appealed to me. What I have tried to achieve here is an understanding of the ways in which Spenser's representations of different bodies participate in and contribute to the fashioning of social decorums -- how the body is disciplined, and the ways in which this discipline is naturalized. The declared intention of Spenser's Faerie Queene is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline"

("Letter," 737). This fashioning describes both the imaginative creation of exemplary literary characters, and the shaping work involved in their production. The gentle or noble body becomes defined by the extent to which it manifests the "vertuous and gentle discipline" that is necessarily a cultural construct. The exemplarity of these bodies in turn participates in the fashioning of Spenser's readership, who witness the spectacular inscription of social ideology in the bodies of the text.

Stephen Greenblatt, in Renaissance Self-Fashioning, argues that self-fashioning is "achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile. This threatening Other -- heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, Antichrist -- must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed" (9). Greenblatt's choice of the term "invented" here, and his use of it again in his essay "Invisible Bullets" (19), suggests that he invokes power as an all-encompassing system that produces its own counter-discourse only to reinforce its own identity. Greenblatt, and his new historicism, has encountered the wrath of a number of commentators for what they allege amounts to a totalization<sup>2</sup> of power that seems to do away with contesting locations of alternative discourse and the possibility of resistance. Personally, I have a need for there to be the possibility of subversion that is not ultimately contained or produced ("invented") by

dominant discourse -- the other option is too despairing of social change. However, this said, I have to add that the poem around which this study revolves is very often, but not always, supportive and constructive of dominant ideological positions, and that Spenser's apparent desire for social power often sees him assume the role of its spokesperson. And Spenser's fashioning of the "gentleman or noble person" takes place at the expense of embodiments of social Otherness that he "invents," imaginatively, in order to secure disciplined and desired identity. I believe that the subversion/containment model can function within individual texts, but that the extension of this paradigm to an entire social framework overestimates the pervasiveness of dominant discourses.

Nonetheless, Greenblatt's work has exerted a tremendous influence on my own approach to literature. Renaissance Self-Fashioning was a ground-breaking work that opened the way for various interpretations and negotiations of the practices and purposes of new historicisms and cultural materialisms, practices and purposes that inform my own work. Greenblatt's mandate, to investigate "both the social presence to the world of the literary text and the social presence of the world in the literary text" (Self-Fashioning, 5), remains an important cornerstone of the criticism that I find the most engaging. Louis Montrose reworks this tenet to reveal the interrelation of textual

and social production:

To speak, then, of the social production of 'literature' or of any particular text is to signify not only that it is socially produced but also that it is socially productive...that it is the product of work and that it performs work in the process of being written, enacted, or read. ("Elizabethan Subject" 309)

For new historicisms and cultural materialisms, literature is not a transcendent realm of universality, but expression embedded in and productive of cultural context.

Jean Howard, in "The New Historicism and the Renaissance," sets out to differentiate between new historicist and old historical modes of criticism. She identifies what she argues is a tendency in the old approach toward a more positivistic stance, an assumption that the past is wholly accessible and can be used to stabilize the literary text that is perceived as somehow less stable. The literary text becomes simply a reflection of its historical circumstance, usually a major cultural event or figure, "something more real and more important than [the poetry] itself" (Howard, 8). For new historicist work, the authority of historical texts as containers of fact is undermined with reference to the figurative nature of language and the inescapability of narrative.<sup>3</sup> What was previously considered context becomes text, another mode of discursive representation. New historicisms tend to

collapse the distinction between text and context and argue that the literary text itself can function to create the 'reality' it was previously thought to be reflecting. As Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier assert, "'literary' and 'non-literary' texts are both implicated in and generative of cultural milieu" (3). This perspective constructs literature as a much more political and socially engaged action.

So part of the project of new historicist work has been to reveal this social engagement without privileging historical determinations as constitutive. Montrose describes his own practice as one that attempts

to resituate canonical literary texts among the multiple forms of writing, and in relation to non-discursive practices and institutions, of the social formations in which those texts have been produced -- while, at the same time, recognizing that this project of historical resituation is necessarily the textual construction of critics who are themselves historical subjects. ("Renaissance Literary," 6)

It is this self-reflexive broadening of scope that appeals to me in much of the new historicist and cultural materialist work. James Holstun, in "Ranting at the New Historicism," accuses the practitioners of new historicist techniques of remaining too attentive to canonical authors (191). He argues that such a focus permits the premature



totalization that he argues is prevalent in much new historicist work. I have chosen for this study what is certainly considered a canonical text, Spenser's Faerie Queene, but I have done so with the knowledge that its very canonicity may have something to do with its proximity to dominant cultural discourses. I have also attempted to explore the embeddedness of Spenser's text in a larger social milieu by juxtaposing it with other discursive material such as legal writings, political proclamations and statutes, 'new world' literature, and pamphlet literature. I have tried to avoid the kind of totalization of which Holstun complains, and I hope my references to cultural tendencies will not be construed as generalizations that attempt to sweep clean, but rather as assertions of trends that do not exclude the possibility of discursive alternatives.

Like Spenser's Poet, who "thrusteth into the midst, euen where it most concerneth him" ("Letter," 738), I range widely and freely through The Faerie Queene. I have chosen to emphasize episodes and characters over narrative sequence and structure, and, while this approach may have the drawback of not providing a unified and cohesive reading of the poem (something I feel is impossible with this particular poem in any case), I believe that the intensity of focus allows for the enrichment of discreet sections. In chapter one, my primary concern is with representations of

the body of the earth, paying particular attention to the discourse of mining. The animism that characterized classical conceptions of the body of the earth finds expression in the Renaissance. But, at the same time, there is also a kind of counter-discourse of mercantilism that attempts to overcome or rework the animism of 'mother Nature' or 'mother Earth' that is prohibitive of certain practices (such as mining). The confluence of the discourse of mining and the discourse of anatomy (or, the human body), the reciprocity of conceptual language between them, means that humanity's relationship with the earth must be carefully negotiated. The figuring of the earth as female further complicates the representation of the body of the earth because such a figuring involves it in contesting notions of gender.

The central focus of chapter one is the cave of Mammon episode in Book two of The Faerie Queene. I argue that the conceptual model for the cave is a mine, and that, in the episode, Spenser negotiates contesting representations of the practice of mining. I approach this consideration through a variety of textual material, from Golding's Renaissance translation of Ovid to Georgius Agricola's De Re Metallica, a sixteenth-century treatise on mining and metallurgy, to Raleigh's Discoverie...of Guiana. I also include in this chapter details from a court case between Elizabeth I and the Earl of Northumberland that develops a

very provocative connection between the body of the earth and the body of the monarch.

In chapter two, I pick up on some of the implications of chapter one concerning the representation of class and labour in the Renaissance. My particular focus is the representation of class in the body that is the House of Alma. As Guyon and Arthur descend in their tour of the house/body, they figure the movement of a hierarchical organization not only of the body but also of society. As they stand in the kitchen/stomach, viewing the processes of digestion, the poet narrator moves by degrees (social and methodical) through each successive stage until he reaches those labourers closest to the Port Esquiline, the figurative anus of this hierarchized body. That these labourers should exist on the margins of the body, close to that which is excluded ("auoided quite") associates them with a kind of social excrescence.

The second chapter opens with a consideration of two Elizabethan proclamations that I bring together to reveal the social, geographical, and bodily hierarchies as delimited in much Renaissance discourse. The association of a particular class (or classes) with the production of the lower bodily stratum suggests the ways in which social codings are reproduced on the body. Scatological imagery is used to articulate social relations, and the margins and orifices of Spenser's constructed body enact the

marginalization of the socially problematic.

Chapter three continues this concern with class but does so within the current critical debate concerning subjectivity and the construction of the essential self. The chapter opens with a brief discussion of the parameters of the debate as they have been variously articulated, and then moves through three characters of The Faerie Queene: Braggadocchio, Mirabella, and Duessa. Through these characters I explore the discrepancy between self-fashioning and constructed essence. I argue that Spenser uses the bodies of these figures to reconstruct spectacularly the agreement between bodily exterior and interiority. This chapter makes frequent reference to and use of Foucault's Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Each character is punished, and the discourses of their punishments are intended to combat the discourses of their self-directed self-fashionings. Foucault's descriptions and analyses of the dynamics of spectacular punishment provide an illuminating paradigm within which to understand the fashioning of subjectivity.

In the first section of this chapter I consider Philip Stubbes' Anatomie of Abuses (1583), a text that manifests anxiety about the notion of literal self-fashioning, anxiety that is further expressed in the society's sumptuary laws to which Stubbes makes reference. I argue that Braggadocchio is represented as a class aspirant and that his assumption

of the exterior fashionings of nobility is a threat to the identity of 'true' nobility. The spectacular punishment inflicted on him is a humiliation meant to reinforce absolutes of class and birth by making them visible and legible on the body. The next section of this chapter considers Mirabella's class, and the nature of the transgression for which she is punished. But Mirabella's transgression also involves the dimension of gender. She is represented, and made explicitly exemplary, as a woman who has abused her endowment of beauty -- she is constructed as one who violates social codes that are here naturalized with reference to divine origins. She is made to reinforce further these constructed absolutes of female socio-sexual behaviour through a moment of transvestite ventriloquism<sup>4</sup>, confession in 'her own' voice, that represents her internalization of the penal mechanism that subjects her, and ostensibly validates the truth of her 'crime.' The final section of this chapter continues the exploration of gender absolutes by focusing on the cultural category of the "witch" as it is represented by Spenser and others. As with Braggadocchio, there is in Duessa a discrepancy between self-fashioning and constructed interiority. Punishment in this case, instead of inscribing absolutes on the transgressive body, is represented as simply revealing essence. This section also considers a contemporary pamphlet describing the trial, torture and confession of a

so-called witch. This pamphlet reiterates the notion that the exposed body is revealing of its transgressive nature. However, in the pamphlet and in the Duessa episodes, the proximity of these bodily signs of transgression to female genitalia suggests the ways in which the Renaissance category of 'witch' involved the construction of a notion of women in general.

The final chapter centres on the monstrous body, and, through Spenser's Argante in particular, explores the representation of sibling incest and the politically loaded dimension of this representation. The chapter begins with a reading of a 1600 pamphlet entitled "A Most Straunge, and true discourse, of the wonderfull iudgement of God. Of a monstros, deformed infant, begotten by incestuous copulation." Through this pamphlet I explore the ways that representations of incestuous bodies (or the issue of incestuous bodies) are used in Renaissance discourse to stabilize social norms of sexual behaviour. I also explore the ways in which Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I were caught up, through representations of their origins, in the problematic of incest. John Foxe, Christopher Goodman, and John Knox all represent Mary Tudor as the illegitimate offspring of incestuous origins, and each goes on to augment this accusation by depicting Mary as a monster. Elizabeth I, who was also suggested by some to be the product of incest and whose virginity could have been understood to be a form of

endogamy, was also implicated in these attacks on Mary. I argue that Spenser's Argante, the monstrous product of an incestuous coupling and involved in incestuous practices herself, is a dangerous confrontation with the body of Elizabeth I. Through Argante and Ollyphant, and through the reworking of this image in *Isis and Osiris*, Spenser carefully negotiates the representation of the monarch and her ancestry, and it is a representation that is ultimately critical of Elizabeth's determination to be the master/mistress of her own body.

What I have tried to suggest in each of these chapters and through each of these examples is what Anna Bryson argues is the emphasis of the work of Norbert Elias: that the "form of the body politic and the experience of the body personal are always interlinked" (138-139). The constructions of the body in *The Faerie Queene* and other early modern texts attempt to perform political and ideological work. Spenser's fashioning of the "gentleman or noble person" proceeds by "ensample" rather than "rule" ("Letter, 737), but lurking behind those exemplary bodies are the rules they are intended to codify.

## ENDNOTES

1. Theodore Leinwand, in "Negotiation and New Historicism," derives his idea of negotiation from Antonio Gramsci (cf. The Modern Prince and Other Writings). Leinwand offers the term as one that is a preferable description of the subject's relations with power; an alternative between what Leinwand suggests has been a new historicist tendency to conceive of power relations in terms of only subversion or containment:

A negotiation based model of social relations that can account for change or for resistance to change has the significant advantage of recognizing that the lower orders are not limited to a choice between quietism and insurrection. (480)

2. See James Holstun's essay, "Ranting at the New Historicism" (English Literary Renaissance (Spring) 1989 19:2 pp. 189-225) and Theodore Leinwand's "Negotiation and New Historicism" (Publications of the Modern Language Association May 1990 105:3 pp.477-490).

3. See Hayden White's Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism, and Dominick LaCapra's "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts."

4. See chapter three's references to Elizabeth Harvey's Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts.



Troubling Nature: Mining the Cave of Mammon

"And I feel like I'm dying from mining for gold"

(Cowboy Junkies)

In the first book of Paradise Lost, Milton's fallen angels search out the depths of hell for the materials with which to fashion Pandemonium. Milton addresses his audience's supposed surprise as the rebels take from the soil ribs of Gold: "Let none admire / That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best / Deserve the precious bane" (PL. 1:690-691). The oxymoron used to describe the metal negotiates contesting conceptions of mining and the products of that industry. That gold is simultaneously of value and a curse is a recognition of the metal's double nature in terms of its relationship with civilization. It is at once the measure of purity and beauty, the prize for the fairest, and at the same time, it is the element of the apple of discord, the source of strife for which man can become animal. My purpose in this chapter is to explore the representation of mining and material accumulation in several Renaissance texts. I want to pay particular attention to the confluence of the discourse of mining and the discourse of anatomy or the human body. The discourse of childbirth, for instance, plays a particularly important role in the negotiation of the value of mining. There is a

reciprocity in the metaphors used in the discourses of mining and in descriptions of anatomy that charges language with social meaning. The employment of particular anatomical vehicles is value-laden; they are shaped and limited by cultural decorums that shape and limit the body itself. My final goal in the chapter is to establish the cultural embeddedness of Spenser's cave of Mammon episode, and I propose to do this through the examination of, to borrow Stephen Greenblatt's term, "reiterations"; that is, the cultural network of "analogies, repetitions, correspondences, and homologies" (Self-Fashioning, 179) that can illuminate an event (literary or otherwise). Cultural "reiterations" reveal the embeddedness of discourses in their social world.

Contained in Milton's lines above is a metaphor of the body. They are, after all, "ribs of Gold" and they may be seen as another version of the divine creation of woman from another wound in yet another body.<sup>1</sup> Adam's rib is fashioned into Eve, Earth's ribs of Gold are made to house the rebel angels. Each violation of the body's boundaries is implicitly connected to a fall of some sort. William Empson argues that this implied connection "is not specially unkind to Eve" but "makes her stand for the pride and loyalty that won grandeur even from the fall" (176). This gesture seems overly generous to me. An implied connection between Eve and the council chambers of the rebel angels

suggests that woman's body is the temple of Satan rather than God.

In Paradise Lost Milton is Christianizing a long tradition. Eden and the golden age are two versions of the same nostalgic impulse that finds an ideal landscape in the past that is whole, complete, sufficient: "The fertile earth as yet was free, untoucht of spade or plough, / And yet it yeilded of it selfe of every things inough" (Golding's Ovid, 1:115-116).<sup>2</sup> This past landscape of abundance without excessive toil is a common topos employed whenever writers want to point up the inadequacy of their contemporary world, the state to which we have fallen.

It is ironic if not paradoxical that the classical 'ages' take their names from metallurgy, and that the most ideal age, the golden age, is distinguished from the others by the absence of metal working.<sup>3</sup> Writers referring back to an ideal time and landscape must do so with the 'infected' vocabulary of the present. Paradise Lost makes frequent use of this linguistic discrepancy -- a word like "appetite" is used prior to Book nine and it has been argued that it is only for the fallen reader that the word resonates with evil potential. Harry Levin, for instance, argues that "the distinctive trait of any endeavor to reconstruct the first epoch of humanity, whether by poets or anthropologists, is the fact that it necessarily must have antedated the developments and the encroachments of

technology" (13). So too is the value-laden language of metallurgy born into a world of fallen language. Knowledge of the value of precious metals is so ingrained that, even though in the context of their writings Ovid and others criticize the very assumptions that make the metals precious, they nonetheless order the history of mankind in a hierarchy that has 'gold' and 'golden' as its pinnacle.

If the golden age is characterized by wholeness, abundance and "no more toil / Of thir sweet Gard'ning labor than suffic'd" (Milton, 4:327), the iron age, man's fall, comes about through the violation of the body of the earth. The boundaries of beneficial and peaceful coexistence are transgressed by upstart man:

Not onely corne and other fruites, for sustnance and  
for store,

Were now exacted of the earth: but eft they gan to  
digge

And in the bowels of the ground unsaciably to rigge,  
For Riches coucht and hidden deepe in places nere to  
hell,

The spurres and stirrers unto vice, and foes to doing  
well. (Golding, 1:154-158)

The original sin in Ovid's Metamorphoses is the search for gold, the attainment of which promotes insatiable desire and evil action. Milton's original sin too connects gold, or the desire for gold, with evil actions or consequences.

Satan tempts Eve alluding to a goodly tree laden with "alluring fruit" (9:588) of "Ruddy and Gold" (9:578), and, when Eve eats of the fruit, "Earth felt the wound" (9:782). That Milton should choose to make his apple of discord more than simply red is a gesture to its classical counterpart, but it also accounts further for the attractiveness of the fruit to Eve. It is Eve's "longing eye" (9:743), refusing to remain lowly wise and transgressing the boundaries that are naturalized powerfully in the text as a prohibition from God, that causes the loss of Eden. Like Discordia, who supplied the golden apple of discord that led to the judgement of Paris and, indirectly, to the fall of Troy, Satan throws a tempting apple before Eve, an apple made more tempting by its golden character, and connected ultimately to the fall of mankind. That the result of the appetite that the red-golden fruit arouses is described in terms of physical injury to the Earth is not surprising in the Christian context of the tree from which it comes, but the fact that the apple should be described as containing gold, or at least of golden colour, again connects the despoiling of the Edenic landscape with the precious metal that is only discovered through a wounding of the earth.

This figuring of the earth is achieved not only with reference to the human body in general, but the human female body in particular. Carolyn Merchant, in The Death of Nature, explores the value-laden metaphor of the female body

that is used to describe the earth.<sup>6</sup> She traces contesting imagery that at their poles can either prohibit or allow -- it is sacrilege to penetrate or wound the body of the mother; it is permissible to dominate a rebellious woman. Milton and Ovid clearly are writing within this tradition that sees the earth as a beneficent mother. The disruption of the body of the mother earth causes all sorts of dire consequences. Pliny also sees mining as an unnatural practice -- an expression of human audacity that is answered by disruption in the natural order. Unnatural events (ironically, what we now call 'natural disasters') are, according to Pliny, the result of this unnatural procedure imposed upon a metaphoric female body:

We trace out all the fibres of the earth, and live above the hollows we have made in her, marvelling that occasionally she gapes open or begins to tremble -- as if forsooth it were not possible that this may be an expression of the indignation of our holy parent! We penetrate her inner parts and seek for riches in the abode of the spirits of the departed, as though the part we tread upon were not sufficiently bounteous and fertile. (Pliny, vol 9, Bk. 33, 3)

Pliny is gesturing here to a conventional attitude that looks at the earth as the giver of life, and for that reason he refers to it as "our holy parent." But "she," to use Pliny's pronoun, is also a vengeful body, who, violated,

will strike back at the violator.

H. E. Rollins, in The Pack of Autolytus, includes a seventeenth-century ballad about Dorothy Mattely, who is "swallowed" by the earth, ostensibly for her perjury.<sup>5</sup> She is accused by a little boy of stealing two pence out of his pocket, and she denies it by suggesting that if she is lying the earth should swallow her up. But the ballad includes a stanza that connects the anti-perjury narrative to the practices of mining and figures the earth as an instrument of justice that punishes those who victimize it -- for not only is Dorothy swallowed up, but so are the tools with which she participates in mining:

As for the Tub not yet spoke of before  
Wherein the wretched woman washed her Oare  
It clear was gone, not yet found out by man,  
As many of her neighbours witness can. (stanza 13;  
Rollins, 66)

John Bunyan's telling of this tale in The Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680), which records Dorothy's practice of washing "the Rubbish that came forth of the Lead Mines" (33), also makes reference to the mysterious disappearance of the tools Dorothy uses for her own re-mining. The implication is made available that the earth itself confiscates and withholds the instruments that do it harm, and that Dorothy's connection to the practices of mining also contributed to her miraculous and literal downfall.

Mining is de-naturalized by these references to the earth as an instrument of justice.

For Milton, the earth is involved in processes metaphorically constructed as natural and procreative, and to interrupt or attempt to profit from these processes is to court the retributive power of the earth. In Paradise Lost Satan tells his legions of the natural process of things: "Deep under ground, materials dark and crude, / Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touch't / With Heav'n's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth / So beauteous" (6:478-481). Satan argues that by interrupting this natural gestation process they can harness the power that is pregnant within. The result of this appropriation and acceleration of the reproductive process is of course gunpowder, which Raphael argues will one day "plague the Sons of men / For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent" (6:505-506). That the fruit of this unnatural harvest should be such a destructive force gives the passage, which has everything to do with mining, an almost parabolic simplicity. Pliny naturalizes this place and order -- this decorum of the body of the earth: "The things that she [Earth] has concealed and hidden underground, those that do not quickly come to birth, are all things that destroy us and drive us to the depths below" (9.33:5). Again we have a reference to reproductive processes, and, again, it is the manipulation of these processes that produces destructive offspring.



The metaphor of reproduction is by no means accidental. This metaphor, like the female image to which Merchant makes reference, can be used as permissive or prohibitive. It initially suggests 'natural' processes, but with the growth of scientific inquiry in the sixteenth century, arguments were being made that 'natural' processes could be manipulated in the interests of civilization. Georgius Agricola, in De Re Metallica (1556), a sixteenth-century treatise on mining and metallurgy, cautiously avoids overt use of the prototypical Mother Earth metaphor, but Agricola does consider fertility:

let the farmers have for themselves the fruitful fields and cultivate the fertile hills for the sake of their produce; but let them leave to miners the gloomy valleys and sterile mountains, that they may draw forth from these, gems and metals which can buy, not only the crops but all things that are sold. (6)

Agricola is valorizing a capitalist economy over the georgic/pastoral society. Over and above the system of exchange of foods, Agricola posits a mineral currency into which all things may be converted and made available. His statements can also be read as a commodification of procreation. Agricola's miners become midwives and more. They not only deliver the earth of its issue, but make the barren productive -- literally and economically. Milton's birth of gunpowder, which I alluded to earlier, is

represented by him as a kind of abortive act; a material is taken before its natural gestation from its "dark Nativity" (6:482), its character and power still latent within it. For Agricola, this same searching out of the earth is represented as positive -- he represents the process of mining as making the barren fertile -- for the purposes of delivery rather than abortion. Milton's angelic miners are invasive and appropriative, Agricola's are facilitators.

In "A Speech Touching the Recovering of Drowned Mineral Works," Francis Bacon uses imagery similar to that of Agricola. He asks parliament for permission to begin work on

the earth, in whose womb those deserted mineral riches must ever lie buried as lost abortments, unless those [miners] be made the active midwives to deliver them.

(2:209)

Again, miners are imaged here as the promoters of natural process. As the title suggests, the womb of the earth is searched in order to "Recover" what it wrongfully withholds. Bacon uses the image of abortion with the reverse emphasis of Milton. The unnatural here is the earth's prevention of these minerals being "brought into use" (2:209).

Addressing the traditional arguments against mining that suggest it is unnatural, arguments such as Pliny's and Ovid's, Agricola forces a naturalization of man's relationship to the mineral wealth of the earth: "Indeed,

it is far stranger that man, a terrestrial animal, should search the interior of the sea than the bowels of the earth" (12). But his naturalization ignores the corporeal implications of his metaphor -- to what extent is the word "bowel" suggestive of prohibitions to invasive searchings? Does the very corporeal tenor not delimit boundaries for its vehicle? Agricola denies that it is the violation of the earth's body through mining that causes strife between men, and he makes use of the "guns don't kill people, people kill people" (see National Rifle Association handbook) argument to support this assertion: "It is not the metals which are to be blamed but the evil passions of men which become inflamed and ignited; or it is due to the blind and impious desires of their minds" (16). Gold and silver, he argues, are things indifferent, and it is the covetousness which they inspire that should be criticized.

Agricola's shift of the blame certainly serves his own purposes, but it also indicates yet another problem associated with mining, and that is that the accumulators of the wealth tied to mining, in fact those associated with excessive wealth of any kind, are often perceived as tainted by the 'dirtiness,' the 'worldliness,' of that accumulation. That the wealth of mining is often imaged as the rifling of the earth's bowels connects the occupation not only with violence against the body of the earth, but with the bowel and its faecal residue. As one might expect, Freud makes

much of the "connections which exist between the two complexes of interest in money and of defaecation" (9:173).<sup>6</sup> In "Anal Erotism and the Castration Complex" he argues that

one of the most important manifestations of the transformed erotism derived from [the anus] is to be found in the treatment of money; for in the course of life this precious material attracts on to itself the psychical interest which was originally proper to faeces, the product of the anal zone. (17:72)

Gold and money become the focus of a retentiveness that is associated in childhood with anal pleasure from withholding faeces. The desire for the accumulation and retention of gold and money is associated with sickness and neuroses because of those resources' psychological affinities with excrement. Freud also alludes to the early Babylon cult and oriental folk tales for which gold is "the faeces of Hell" (9:174). He argues for a traditional and historical connection between money or gold, the products of mining, and the products of the excretory system.

Perhaps equally important for my purposes here, is Freud's suggestion of a continuum between defecation and childbirth. In his lecture "The Sexual Life of Human Beings" Freud asserts that "children are all united from the outset in the belief that the birth of a child takes place by the bowel; that is to say, that the baby is produced like

a piece of faeces" (16:317). Freud's analogies seem appropriate to this discussion of the use of metaphors of the body (bowel, wound, birth, pregnant, nativity) to describe the mining of gold and other mineral wealth. Freud contends that the vagina and the anal passage are conceptually linked as mucous membranes that give birth.

Evelyn Fox Keller, in "Secrets of Life to Secrets of Death," extends this connection to facilitate her discussion of the atomic bomb's place in the history of science. She suggests that the analogue of fetal and faecal productivity compensates for a 'womb envy' in the male. Men seeking to 'fathom the secrets' of a female nature and control 'her' assert their own desire to live without the female in their cultivation of what Keller refers to as the "symbolic creativity of the anus" (183). Keller suggests that in the male scientist's interest to probe the secrets of nature, and their use of the metaphors of pregnancy and birth to do so, "maternal creativity is effectively coopted" (181). But the result is an inversion; instead of finding the secret of life (birth) this cooptation discovers the secret of death (the atomic bomb). This paradigm has an obvious relationship to my discussion of Milton's representation of the discovery of gunpowder. The rebel angels search out "the dark Nativitie" (6:482) of the "celestial soil" (6:510), described to Adam in terms of an earthly surface, and deliver from that, "pregnant with infernal flame"

(6:483), "thir Engins and thir Balls / Of missive ruin" (6:518-519). Their probe into the "originals of Nature in thir crude / Conception" (6:511-512) discovers not the processes of life but an instrument of death. Milton's rebel angels are clearly miners, and like Keller's scientists, their appropriation of generative processes, at the metaphorical or representational level, is catastrophic. Male birthing becomes possible through vivisection of the mother's body in the attempt to find and expropriate the secrets of her wealth.

Perhaps the taint of mining or the accumulation of wealth is not exclusively to do with its association with the lower parts but with the lower classes as well. That mining is thought to be a somewhat contemptible occupation is revealed through Agricola's concern in De Re Metallica to justify it. He opens his text by addressing the detractors of mining, those who refer to it as "sordid toil" (1). As Agricola winds down his twenty-page defence of mining to its classical and contemporary detractors, he poses for himself the problem of the social status of mining: "it has been asked whether to work in metals is honourable employment for respectable people or whether it is not degrading and dishonourable" (20). Agricola's gesture suggests a class consciousness about the problem of mining. After all, the development of mineral wealth would have been responsible for the economic advantaging not only of the aristocratic

landowners but also the expert skilled labour necessary to exploit the resources. Mining was one more form of the nascent mercantilism that characterized the English Renaissance, and its ability to empower through money would have been one more threat to the hierarchy of blood. That mining could enable the social mobility of a non-leisure, non-aristocratic class may partially account for its "degrading and dishonourable" associations.

Contemporary representations of miners also contribute to the linkage of the practice of mining with baseness. The miners Francis Bacon envisions in "A Speech Touching the Recovering of Drowned Mineral Works" are petty-felons "whose wretched carcasses the impartial laws have, or shall dedicate, as untimely feasts, to the worms of the earth, in whose womb those deserted mineral riches...lie buried" (2.209). In Bacon's phrasing there is an implicit connection between the criminal's status as effectively dead and belonging in the earth with the correctness of their use as miners. Robert Greene also reveals that the miner -- particularly the coal miner, called a collier -- was notorious for greed and cheating in business. Greene's A Notable Discovery of Coosnage (1591) contains a chapter devoted to "the Coosenage of Colliars" (10:51), in which a particular brand of cozener, whom he calls the Leger, occupies the suburbs and cheats townspeople of their rightful weight of coal. The Leger converts the thirty-six

sacks of coal he purchases from the honest country collier into sometimes more than fifty-four sacks topped up with "filler" to "shew faire" (10:53). Greene also implies that these men make use of the popular perception of affinity between the miner and the base soil he works: "they durtie theyr hose and shoos on purpose to make themselues seem countrie colliers" (53). Greene goes on to encourage the law to look after these men:

I would kneele before the Queene, and intreate that such coosening Colliers might not onlie bee punished with the / bare pillerie, (for they haue such blacke faces, that no man knowes tham again, and so are they careles) but that they might leaue their eares behind them for a forfeit. (10:56)

Greene's implication is that the mark of the soil is no longer an adequate indicator by which to infer occupational status, and he suggests that the marking of punishment, imposed by the state, will renew appearances as a reliable system of meaning. Greene's dedication of an entire chapter in A Notable Discovery of Coosenage suggests that the collier's, and, by extension, the miner's, social position was associated with the dishonourable. Although Greene's interest is primarily in the "coosenage" that makes certain individuals disreputable, the occupation itself becomes implicated.

Robert Crowley, an often controversial writer, also



wrote about the social status of the collier. His "Of the Colier of Croydon" in Epigrams (1550) has the ring of a popular ballad possibly of oral and/or folk origin. Crowley's poem expresses the wish that mining and marketing coal had remained the occupation of the more common folk. He opposes "knyght Colyars" (497) to "pore Colyars" (493), and argues that the price of coal has not been reasonable since the "knightes / dyd minde colinge" (490-491). But Crowley also implies that a certain amount of social mobility has been made possible through the practice of mining -- and this implication problematizes the class distinction between his categories of "knyght" and "pore" collier. Crowley asserts: "For his riches thys Colier / Myght haue bene a knight" (485-486). The ostensible point of the poem is problematized because on one hand Crowley is blaming the gentry for gouging the commons, yet, on the other hand, he is suggesting that the common Collier can become gentry through the riches of this industry. The distinction between colliers becomes less clear, and this can be read as yet another example of how the lower classes cannot manage properly in a higher social position -- another indictment of the 'realities' of nascent capitalism and an emerging middle class. Mining's ability to bestow position on people "unworthy" of that position implicates it in a network of threatening mercantile practices associated with the earth and the lower orders of civilized society.

That Agricola, a man who dedicated most of his life and several hundred pages of text to the exploration of issues of mining and metallurgy, would answer questions about the social status of mining with an affirmation of mining's nobility should come as no surprise. "The occupation of the miner," Agricola asserts, "is just as noble as that of agriculture" (20), and it is the naturalness of mining which Agricola wants to make persuasive. A naturalness that will remove the taint of the earth and authorize and ennoble mining as another version of the pastoral relationship with the land characteristic of the golden age: "The gain derived from mining is not sordid, for how can it be such, seeing that it is so great, so plentiful, and of so innocent a nature" (22, emphasis mine). Agricola attempts a reconciliation of the golden and iron ages where the pastoral and the industrial live in harmony, and the barren body can be made fertile.

## II

"To seek new worlds for gold, for praise, for glory."

(Raleigh, "Ocean to Cynthia," 49)

Both Elizabeth and James, at various times in their respective reigns, found themselves in economic difficulties. When Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, inflation was, relatively speaking, high, and English money

was being devalued by the abundance of precious metals glutting the European market from the Spanish Peninsula. This trend continued into James' reign, and by 1616, his financial situation was so dire that he chose to liberate one of his favourite targets of persecution, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the hope that he would bring back to England and the English exchequer a great wealth of colonial gold. This need for economic improvement prompted more immediate concern with the development of natural resources. In his 1932 history of the British coal industry, J. Nef argues that "in proportion to the number of persons interested in the industry, there have never been so many [legal] disputes as in England and Scotland under Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts" (286). I will consider here two cultural reiterations that suggest the embeddedness of the discourse of the body (particularly, the female body) in Elizabethan and Jacobean concerns with mining: a 1565 property dispute between Elizabeth and the Earl of Northumberland, and Raleigh's representation of the wealth and availability of the New World. These texts also share the concern with class evident in the discourses around mining. The court case between Elizabeth and Northumberland is very much a conflict between subject and sovereign because Elizabeth's claim rests entirely on her royal prerogative.

Late in 1565, Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, was brought before the Court of Exchequer to answer charges that

he did, on October eighth of that year, "hinder and disturb" the carrying out of a mining patent given to Thomas Thurland and Daniel Howseter by Queen Elizabeth. Northumberland's lawyer, Thomas Fanshaw, maintained that the mining land in question was rightfully the Earl's because it was given to his family by King Philip and Queen Mary in the last years of her reign. Gilbert Gerard, prosecutor for the Queen, did not deny the prior claim, but distinguished the nature of the Marion patent that Fanshaw attested gave his client the lands and "all their Appurtenances" (Plowden, 312). Fanshaw argued that this patent gave his client title to the disputed area's entire resources, including "Wrecks of Sea, Mines, Quarries, and all other their Rights, Privileges, Profits, Commodities, Emoluments, and Hereditaments whatsoever, situate, lying, and being, and issuing, growing, and renewing in the Towns, Fields, Parishes, or Hamlets" (Plowden, 312) of the land contained in the Marion gift. Gerard had to defend the Queen's right to issue a patent, as she did on March first of that year, entitling Thurland and Howseter "to cause and procure certain Lands to be searched and dug for such Ore or Metal, called Ore of Copper, containing in itself Gold or Silver...to be taken and carried away from thence, and to the Use of the said Lady the Queen, to be melted, fined, or otherwise converted" (Plowden, 310-310a). When the Queen's case was pleaded, frequent reference was made to the gold and silver present

in the ore, and to the Royal Prerogative for all of England's mines of gold and silver. The royal Prerogative, in Gerard's reading of it, naturalized the connection between position and possession. Gerard argued that "of all the Things which the Soil within this Realm produces or yields Gold and Silver is the most excellent; and of all Persons in the Realm the King is in the Eye of the Law most excellent" (Plowden, 315), and that therefore the two are implicitly related. Just as de Prerogativa Regis establishes the King's right to sturgeons and whales because they are the most excellent of fish, so too should this argument extend to things of the earth. The "veins" containing gold and silver in the body of the earth correspond with the veins of the body of the monarch, the containers of royal blood, and therefore are argued to be a natural right.

Northumberland's defense rested on the notion that Philip and Mary were aware of what they were doing when they handed over "Derwentfels" (Northumberland's term for the disputed region; a region which Elizabeth's people called "Newlands") to the Northumberland family. Fanshaw stressed that Philip and Mary, "of their Special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, granted to the said Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, the said Veins or Mines" (Plowden, 314a). Fanshaw argued that it was the intent of Philip and Mary to give up any royal claim to the resources of the lands for

the benefit of the Northumberland family. And Fanshaw added that de Prerogativa Regis does not include reference to gold and silver. The O.E.D. suggests that the anatomical and geological usage of the English "veins" are roughly concurrent with one another (14thC); however the Latin origin (vena) finds its priority in the discourse of anatomy. Agricola uses the term as well, but he does not do so with the same kind of advised consideration that characterizes his use of the other somatic vehicles; for instance his altering of the problematic relationship of mining with the conventional womb image of earth by suggesting the miner's relationship to midwifery. Fanshaw asserted, in his reference to the veins of Derwentfels, Northumberland's possession of and control over the land metaphorically rendered as a body.

Gerard made a more apparent leap of faith when he argued that the Queen should have the soil's gold and silver because the defense of the realm required treasure:

God has created Mines within this Realm, as a natural Provision of Treasure for the Defence of the Realm, it is reasonable that he who has the Government and care of the People, whom he cannot defend without Treasure, should have the Treasure wherewith to defend them; so that the law has for Necessity's sake appropriated the Mines of Gold and Silver to the King. (Plowden, 315a)

The exploration of the body of the earth is here not a

violent desecration of a sacred body, but a God-given, God-intended, action that is in the interests of national security. Gerard went on in his argument to cite several precedents from cases involving Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Henry VI, and Edward IV, all of which establish the royal right to mines of gold and silver whether they are in another's soil or not. Gerard argued also to support the royal Prerogative on mines of base metal as well, provided the mine contained either Gold or Silver. He cited a case in the second year of the reign of Edward IV, and he analyzed the passage for his listeners: "And the Words (where any Gold and Silver may be had out of it) imply that be the Quantity of it ever so small, yet the King shall have the whole base Metal" (Plowden, 326). This issue of quantity becomes important in the final working out of the decision, but here Gerard is trying to make the case that the presence of gold and silver in any amount marks the property with the sign of the sovereign. In many ways this argument relates somewhat to contemporary sumptuary laws that declare cloth of gold and silver the exclusive ornamentation of nobility. Spenser contributes to this system of identification when he describes Florimell as "Royally clad...in cloth of gold, / As meetest may beseeme a noble mayd" (3.5:5). In Still Harping on Daughters, Lisa Jardine argues that Elizabethan sumptuary laws were enacted in part because of the rising monetary power of a mercantile

class (141). "Control of dress," asserts Jardine, "was seen as a significant control of real social power and influence" (142). Although Northumberland was a nobleman and therefore could wear cloth of gold, his assertion of ownership of lands producing real gold was clearly taken by Gerard, speaking for Elizabeth, as a threat to royal power. Mines possessing gold or silver were "mines royal," and their decoration in these precious metals was an indication of ownership.

Gerard would have us believe that not only are proprietary rights at issue, but the social order itself was in jeopardy. Mineral wealth means material wealth, and for the sovereign to lose control of this productive source would be to lose control of the body politic. Plowden records Gerard's suggestion that it would be "subversive of all Rule and Order" (316) and potentially dangerous should a subject be wealthier, and therefore, by his extension, more honourable and powerful, than the King. To combat this possibility the system of feudal 'royalties' was developed. In the case of productive and profitable mines of base minerals, a share of the monetary gain was owed to the crown. In the case of mines that produced gold and silver only incidentally in the production of other minerals, rather than the crown declaring it a mine royal and working it themselves, a levy was exacted that was to account for the relinquished 'rightful' due.



Gerard distinguished lead mines from tin and copper mines: "for some are fertile, that is, containing Gold or Silver, and some are barren, viz. without Gold or Silver" (Plowden, 328). Gerard maintained that the gift of Philip and Mary included only barren mines (i.e. mines of base metal only) because it did not specify royal mines: "the base mines shall only be comprehended and intended in the Word (Mines), and not the Royal Mines" (Plowden, 333-333a) because the mines granted to the Earl were those mines "Parcel of the possessions of Henry, late Earl of Northumberland," and Henry, a subject, could not have possessed mines royal. But perhaps the references to barren and fertile, a reproductive vehicle not uncommonly used in conjunction with an agricultural tenor, take on somewhat of a different charge in this particular context. Not only because the barren/fertile binarism refers to mining and inverts Agricola's sense above, but because the reproductive metaphor can be read as referring to the royal bodies involved. This dispute was not only a disagreement about land title between the queen and one of her subjects, it was also a contestation of authority and power between Elizabeth and one of her royal predecessors.

Gerard suggested that Philip and Mary could only have given Northumberland the barren mines, and that therefore any fertile mines remained a possession of Elizabeth. By this time it was widely known that Philip and Mary were

reproductively barren, whereas Elizabeth, particularly in the mid-sixteenth century, was associated with virginal potential. Elizabeth fashioned herself as a virgin mother; an English Virgin Mary, fertile and lovingly maternal though chaste, in opposition to a bloody Mary, barren, hateful, and associated with Spain. Elizabeth's gesture in her first speech in Parliament of taking her coronation ring as a wedding band marrying her to her subjects suggests a powerful union that is both Protestant and English. Mary's much protested marriage to Philip on the other hand resulted in a compromised royalty in which the husband was rendered politically impotent due to his foreign blood. This political impotence was mirrored in a suggested sexual impotence that contributed to the couple's infertility. That Philip and Mary could give Northumberland only the barren mines on the property in question was a reflection of their productive ability; they could give only what is barren, whereas what is fertile, productive and self-regulated was Elizabeth's. Gerard's use of the barren/fertile opposition not only set apart the mines but also the monarchs. The analogy between the body of Elizabeth constructed through the references to the Perogativa and the gestures to reproductive potential set up a discursive context whereby Northumberland's violation of the land through mining is a violation of his sovereign's body.

Gerard asserted that the land and the resources annexed to it were "to the Use of the Said Lady the Queen" (Plowden, 310), while Fanshaw maintains that the lands and resources were apportioned

to the aforesaid Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and to the Heirs Males of his Body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten, and for Default of such Issue, the Remainder to Henry Percy, Esquire, Brother of the aforesaid Henry, lawfully begotten, and to be begotten. (Plowden, 310b)

The clauses attaching the lands to the Northumberland males were typical expressions of the patriarchal system of primogeniture, while Gerard's clause attaching the lands and resources to Elizabeth was a disruption of this male line of succession that finds its authority in exception, the female sex of the sovereign. Here is another expression of the exceptionality of Elizabeth that Louis Montrose<sup>7</sup> finds in Spenser's lines:

vertuous women wisely vnderstand,  
That they were borne to base humilitie,  
Vnlesse, the heauens them lift to lawfull soueraintie.

(FQ, 5.5:25)

It is both ironic and convenient for the purposes of this argument that Spenser opposes "base" to "soueraintie" in his passage about Elizabeth's exceptionality because, as the Northumberland case suggests, this distinction is embedded

in a network of discursive practices one of which is the designation of minerals and mines as either base or royal.

The "base humilitie" to which Spenser refers is a social placement that has women occupying a position of little more than a proprietary holding of a father or husband. Montrose offers A Midsummer Night's Dream as a literary analogue ("Fantasies," 65-75), but one could just as easily look at The Taming of the Shrew, in which Bianca is simply a commodity of exchange bid upon by rivals and dispensed for advantage by her father, Baptista. Both lands and women are owned as properties to be occupied and/or cultivated by men. In Book one of The Faerie Queene, after his victory over Orgoglio, Arthur is awarded Duessa as his rightful spoil, "Now in your powre, to let her liue, or dye" (1.8:45). Derwentfels was awarded to the Northumberland family for past service to the state. Just as Arthur has the right to dispose of Duessa in any manner he wishes, so too should Northumberland be allowed to do as he wishes with the property that is his -- Duessa is stripped, Derwentfels was mined. Fanshaw repeated the creed of primogeniture like an incantation used to ward off the intrusion of the female claimant (an England personified in the monarch and assertive of the control of her own body).

The case was decided unanimously in favour of the Queen, with three of the judges rationalizing that the value

of the gold and silver in Northumberland's mines was greater than that of the copper and therefore it was to be considered a mine royal. The other nine judges did not make this value distinction, but asserted that any mine which contained gold and silver in any quantity was to be considered a mine royal. The gift of Philip and Mary did not support the Earl's claim because "nothing of Prerogative can pass without express and determinate words" (Plowden, 332). The Northumberland vs. Elizabeth case was "mined" by Plowden in order to extract its legal meaning.

That Elizabeth should call this disputed area "Newlands" is particularly interesting given the tendency for colonization projects to refer to the colonized lands as a discovery of the colonizer or in some way 'new.' The connection between the colonial project and sexual politics has been a subject of much interest and exploration in recent literary criticism. It has been perhaps most convincingly established with reference to Donne's "To His Mistress Going To Bed." The speaker's line, "O my America, my new found land" (27), licences the exploration and the exploitation of the body imaged as a territory.<sup>8</sup> Donne's narrator also refers to the beloved as "My mine of precious stones" (29). The play on possessives in this line and their connections to mineral explorations and proprietary rights see the body as a land to be "manned" (28) and excavated for fun and profit. Elizabeth's term "Newlands"

in her case against Northumberland was an assertion of discovery that was, to the colonizing mind, indicative of ownership and management rights. Montrose, in his discussion of Raleigh and the Virginia territory argues the importance of (re)naming:

Thus, [with 'Virginia'], the Virgin Queen verbally reconstitutes the land as a feminine place unknown to man, and, by doing so, she also symbolically effaces the indigenous society that already physically and culturally inhabits and possesses that land. ("Work of Gender," 8)

Elizabeth's "Newlands" does similar, if only more subtle. work for the court case as the name 'Virginia' does for the colonial project. "Newlands" deprives Northumberland of proprietary priority at the same time as it stakes a claim of discovery. It is this notion of discovery that enables Sir Walter Raleigh to assert a similar claim in Guiana.

Raleigh wrote The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana on his return to England in 1596.<sup>9</sup> In the Discoverie Raleigh claimed the territory, largely occupied (in the military senses of the word) by the Spanish, for England. The importance of the lands to the imperial interest rested in the purported richness of its mining potential. Raleigh images the land and peoples as exploited and enslaved by the Spanish, and exhorts Elizabeth to "liberate" Guiana by English conquest and occupation.

The language he uses to describe this new-found-land is very telling:

Guiana is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath neuer been entred by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by any Christian Prince. (115)

Stephen Greenblatt finds the tone of this passage "disquieting." He detects "a note of regret and dread running counter to the dominant assertion" (Raleigh, 112). I agree that the passage is disquieting, but I find it so for different reasons. Where Greenblatt perceives reservation and apprehension, I see only excited anticipation, "the dominant assertion." To my mind, the metaphor of virginity, the remark that Guiana has never been sacked or entered, more than expressing regret at its potential despoiling, echoes one of the most popular of the Petrarchan<sup>10</sup> tropes "Englised" during the sixteenth century; the embattled maiden fortress and the persistent lover army. At the same time, the violence of the language, the corporeality of the metaphors, is not unlike Agricola's or other producers of scientific discourse, and while it echoes the language of the golden age ideal landscape, it does not do so with the

judgemental and nostalgic tone of an Ovid, Pliny or Milton. Like Agricola's use of the metaphors, in Raleigh's passage this body is offered for its potential productivity -- it is to be entered and manned in order to make what is currently barren to England fruitful.

The Ovidian pastoral strain, the "landscape of wish-fulfilment" (Raleigh, 112), that Greenblatt identifies in Raleigh's writings is certainly present, but perhaps not always where he indicates. Raleigh is clearly affected by the landscape he describes, but, and Greenblatt would argue that this is because Raleigh had a good sense of audience, the splendour he remarks is always demonstrative of the abundance of gold. What Greenblatt chooses not to notice in his attempt to safeguard Raleigh's poetic nature is the paragraph that follows the above quotation, which recommends conquest and possession (115-116).<sup>11</sup> The paragraph clearly places the preceding one in the context of an attempt to make persuasive the ease with which Guiana could be attained and its complete vulnerability to the superior forces of England. What makes this landscape valuable to Raleigh and England is its pre-fallen state. But all of the things that Raleigh lists as advantages of the landscape are things that it will not be possible for anyone to say about the land after Raleigh has "possessed" it.<sup>12</sup> That a woman is often said to be "possessed" by a man through sexual intercourse accords with the metaphorization of Guiana as a country



still having "her Maydenhead" (115) and, as yet, unpossessed of any Christian Prince. Raleigh's "conquest" will be both military and (metaphorically) sexual. The virgin soil to which Raleigh alludes will be penetrated and made productive; indeed, one of the ships in Raleigh's second excursion to Guiana is called "The Husband."

In an anonymous manuscript titled "Of the Voyage to Guiana," a manuscript Robert Schomburgk confidently situates after Raleigh's first voyage, the writer remarks that

Guiana does prostrate herselfe before her Majesties feet[,] the most potent enemy that the Spaniards hath, not onely intreating but by vnvaluable offers and vnanswerable reasons alluring, even urging and forcing her highness to accept it vnder her alleigeaunce.

(Discovery, 138)

Instead of the sexual conquest of the virginal country/woman, the language shifts to image a vulnerable and seductive woman offering herself in return for someone to champion her cause. Like the noble knight and adventurer he fashioned himself to be, Raleigh takes up this cause, at least at the level of rhetorical gesture, and, from the time of his first voyage until the time of his death in 1618, actively pursues its resolution. The discovery of the mines and the conquest of the country should have meant for Raleigh each of the "gold," "praise" and "glory" he mentions in "Ocean to Cynthia." Instead, like the other powerful virgin

in his life, it contributed to his undoing.

At the marriage of the Thames and Medway in Book four of The Faerie Queene, Spenser takes some time to discuss the quest list. When he comes to the Orinoko and the Amazon he makes an unprecedented, for this section, editorial comment:

Rich Oranochy, though but knowen late;  
 And that huge Riuer, which doth beare his name  
 Of warlike Amazons, which doe possesse the same.

Ioy on those warlike women, which so long  
 Can from all men so rich a kingdome hold;  
 And shame on you, O men, which boast your strong  
 And valiant hearts, in thoughts lesse hard and bold,  
 Yet quaile in conquest of that land of gold.  
 But this to you, O Britons, most pertaines,  
 To whom the right hereof it selfe hath sold;  
 The which for sparing litle cost or paines,  
 Loose so immortall glory, and so endlesse gaines.

(4.11:21-22)

It is unlikely that Spenser is here condemning his good friend Raleigh. What is more likely is that Spenser is lending support to the claims of Raleigh that Guiana and the territories occupied by the Spanish should be, if they are not in fact, England's, and that England does not enjoy the benefits of these holdings because of a lack of political and masculine courage. The generic differences and the

ideological similarities between Raleigh's and Spenser's texts are persuasively outlined by Montrose: "whereas Spenser's polysemous allegorical fiction works explicitly toward a general system of moral virtue, Raleigh's ostensibly factual narrative inscribes elements of such ideological schemata into its intended representations of particular persons and event" ("Work of Gender," 33). That Spenser should image the territories as in the current possession of women, a male river the property of female warriors, accentuates the topsy-turvy nature of the situation. Here the rightful owner of the "land of gold" is absent and 'his' absence undermines the natural order of things. Spenser's picture of the New World as the locus for the attainment of "gaine" and "glory" echoes the sentiment of the speaker in "Ocean to Cynthia" and the Discoverie. This land possessed by "warlike women" awaits its liberation by the latter Britomart who will "true Iustice deale" and restore the landscape "To mens subjection" (FQ, 5.7:42).

### III

As I stated in the first paragraph of this chapter, I am interested in exploring the cultural embeddedness of the cave of Mammon episode in The Faerie Queene. The cave of Mammon has received a considerable amount of critical attention, and I do not pretend to be the first to reveal its relationship to mines and mining,<sup>13</sup> or issues of the

body.<sup>14</sup> My interest in and use of some new historicist critical practices however offers a different perspective on the episode and its relationship not only with mining and the body, but with the cultural environment within which it was written and to which it contributes. David Read's essay, "Hunger of Gold: Guyon, Mammon's Cave, and the New World Treasure," perhaps bears the closest relationship to some of the work that I have set about in this chapter. However, I would argue that there is a fundamental difference in our philosophical approaches to literature and concerns about the transmission of texts. Read's primary interest in his article is to use historical texts about the Spanish use of the silver of the Indies to stabilize a reading of the cave of Mammon. Read searches out "sources" of "this sort of [contemporary] relevance" (213) in pre-Spenserian documents which he reads not as representational in themselves, but much in the way histories have been traditionally received; that is, as the containers of historical truths not subject to the myriad of contingencies that make problematic such a practice. Read, instead, looks for "the one [text] Spenser would most likely have come in contact with" (213, emphasis mine). The issue of whether or not Spenser has read a text did not constrain my choices of textual material in this consideration of the cave of Mammon. What I have been more concerned with here is the illumination of a cultural milieu that affects the ways in

which Spenser can conceive of the issues present in the episode. I juxtapose the Northumberland mining case and Raleigh's texts with my consideration of the cave of Mammon not because I argue that Spenser must have been familiar with these texts, but because they reveal similar ways of conceptualizing the earth, mining, the female body, and the relationship between them.

Like Milton's "precious bane," Spenser's exploration of mining and the accumulation of material wealth in The Faerie Queene is double-edged. Mammon and Guyon debate the status of such resources in a section that at first appears like a masque attempting to reconcile perceived opposites (e.g. pleasure and virtue). Each character speaks for an opposing perspective on the subject. The cards are stacked in Guyon's favour: the reader has already spent six cantos with Guyon, the titular hero of the second book, and Mammon is working against a personal literary history that, at the very least, has him occupying a position antithetical to God (cf. Matthew 6:24). Nonetheless, stanzas seven through twenty play out this exchange of opinion, and the remaining portion of the canto is Mammon's temptation of Guyon, an attempt to persuade him, and by extension, the reader, of the metaphysical and physical value of the wealth amassed through mining.

The cavelike structure, the furnace refinery, "the darksome way...That deepe descended through the hollow

ground" (2.7:20) and the claustrophobic movement of the episode all combine to suggest that a mine is the conceptual model being employed here. Mammon suggests that this mineral production is in turn socially and politically productive:

Riches, renowne, 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 haue their eternall brood.

(2.7:8)

Mammon wants to claim personal responsibility for "all this worldes good," but the clause at the end of the stanza indicates another origin, an image of the earth as a womb that Mammon exploits through mining in order to attain his power. While Mammon is, allegorically, wealth, the source of that allegorical power is the body of the earth. And the "hole full wide" in this body through which Mammon attempts to pour the gold to hide it from Guyon is, to Mammon, the orifice of the inconstant woman, who is open to anyone and whom Mammon tries desperately to keep chaste. Mammon wants to keep control of the fertility of the body of the earth -- he wants it to be only productive for him.

This reading of the "hole full wide" is supported further by the linkage between Mammon and Mulciber (Vulcan). Spenser connects Mammon and Mulciber in the text with

reference to the refining of Mammon's holdings and also in the description of Mammon that makes use of images of a blacksmith. Milton further exploited this connection in Paradise Lost -- his Mammon supplies the materials for the building of Pandemonium under the direction of the great architect Mulciber. But Spenser's allusion to Mulciber/Vulcan later in his text reiterates the concern for chastity that is metaphorically present in the Mammon section's anxiety over the vulnerability of the body of the earth. Vulcan is conventionally a jealous god. The infidelity of Venus, and Vulcan's attempts to catch or contain her, are well documented throughout classical literature.<sup>15</sup> Spenser's gesture to this tradition is to ornament Florimell with Cestus<sup>16</sup>, a kind of non-invasive chastity belt. Able to be worn only by a chaste lover, Spenser's Vulcan wrought this girdle "to bind lasciuious desire, / And loose affections streightly to restraine" (4.5:4). Lynda Boose, in "Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member," gestures to the bridle's conceptual relationship with the chastity belt, which she argues "was an earlier design to prevent entrance into one aperture of the deceitfully open female body" (204). Mammon and Vulcan come together thematically in their concern to possess. Spenser's Cestus is fashioned to mark the female body as property and inhibit the inherent openness that makes it a source of anxiety. Mammon's

hoarding and his residence in an isolated "gloomy glade" (2.7:3) reveal his desire to contain and master a body that is at once a source of personal pride of possession and a perceived object of desire for others.

Mammon's retentiveness and his fear that others desire to steal his holdings are echoed in another character in Spenser. Malbecco is described as one who has the resources to spend but instead, "all his mind is set on mucky pelfe, / To hoord vp heapes of euill gotten masse" (3.9:4). But Malbecco's desire to hoard does not stop at his money. His wife, Hellenore, is also jealously guarded. At the burning of his castle, Malbecco is torn between saving his money and his wife, and his inability to distinguish between the two properties causes him to lose both. The Malbecco - Hellenore - Paridell triangle is a comic reduction, a mock-heroic retelling, of the Troy story, which, of course, has at its centre the golden apple of discord. The episode, simply put, reveals the pitfalls of excessive greed -- sexual and monetary. With this pairing, it inextricably connects the control of women's bodies with the control of monetary resources, and indicates both possessions as a source of anxiety.

Mammon's "great affright" (2.7:6) at the approach of Guyon is because of his perception that the body from which he draws his wealth is a body that it is necessary but difficult to control. Like Malbecco, Mammon wants to close



off the body to potential rivals for its possession. Cynthia Collins suggests that this is partly the reason Mammon is depicted in "His Yron Coate all ouergrowne with rust, / [Which] was vnderneath enueloped with gold" (2.7:4). Collins' allegorical argument asserts that the coat's construction reveals "the intrinsic relationship between mined gold and the iron needed to protect it" (50).<sup>17</sup> The iron coat covers and protects both its golden underpart and the body of Mammon. The description of the coat re-enacts on the body of its owner the penetration of the elements through baseness to discover gold. That its "rich entalye" is kept hidden "vnderneath" suggests again the singular possessiveness of Mammon, which culminates in the almost onanistic image of him with "a masse of coyne" in his lap feeding his "couetous desire" (2.7:4). The body from which Mammon draws his gold must be guarded also, so that it is not open to, as Guyon poses, "wrong and robbery" (2.7:20). Mammon's anxiety reveals a conception of the body of the earth that is ironically similar to the classical topos of the providing mother, but, while Mammon recognizes this prolific capacity, he wishes to monopolize and exploit it for his own self-aggrandizement.

Guyon, on the other hand, offers another interpretation of the body of the earth, a perspective very similar in emphasis to the more classical readings manifested in Ovid, Pliny and, later, Milton. Mining is once more the original

sin responsible for the fall of man and it is couched in religious terms:

Then gan a cursed hand the quiet wombe  
 Of his great Grandmother with steele to wound,  
 And the hid treasures in her sacred tombe,  
 With Sacriledge to dig. (2.7:17)

The earth here as hallowed female body is incestuously violated in mining, and this transgression of the boundaries of man's searching into God and Nature, this aspiration to be more than simply 'lowly wise' and content with "Vntroubled nature" (2.7:15) is punished with "Strife, and debate, bloudshed, and bitternesse, / Outrageous wrong, and hellish couetize" (2.7:12). The contest between Mammon and Guyon is over what is natural and what is unnatural -- what Nature 'freely' offers, and what must be taken from her and protected by violence. The "steele" necessary to "unearth" the gold becomes necessary to protect its possession.<sup>18</sup>

Gabriel Plattes, an early seventeenth-century supporter of mining, reveals the animism characteristic of contemporary conceptions of the earth. He can only conceive of the production of minerals in the earth with reference to human generation. For him the earth is a live organism productive of precious metals that are to be attained in a kind of deep harvest. Plattes argues that minerals are generated in the hotter regions of the earth where the heat coagulates and evaporates the fatness of the earth from

which they take their substance (13). Carolyn Merchant argues that

for most traditional cultures, minerals and metals ripened in the uterus of the Earth Mother, mines were compared to her vagina, and metallurgy was the human hastening of the birth of the living metal in the artificial womb of the furnace -- an abortion of the metal's natural growth cycle before its time. (4)

Spenser uses the term "womb" only twice in the Mammon episode, and, in both cases its usage is particularly telling. It is first used by Guyon to describe the violation of the productive body of the earth, an invasive digging (wounding) of the developing body. The term is next employed as an antonymic description of the trees in the Garden of Proserpina.<sup>19</sup> The trees bearing black fruit are "Not such, as earth out of her fruitfull woomb / Throwes forth to men" (2.7:51). The anatomic metaphor, "her fruitfull woomb" is clearly used here to indicate the impropriety of the invasiveness of mining. In mining, as it is represented in these instances by Guyon, violent force must be used by man to exact the mineral wealth, whereas "untroubled nature" (2.7:15) will provide to man of its (her) own accord.

The metaphor of reproduction, the reference to the "quiet wombe" of the grandparent, raises the problem of "husbandry," a term used not only in reference to

agricultural pursuits but mining activities as well.<sup>20</sup>

Instead of Agricola's and Bacon's midwives facilitating the delivery of precious metals from the barren soil, Spenser's miners' invasion of the "sacred tombe" brings death into the world. The opposition of the well-known rhymed pair "wombe" and "tombe" is particularly effective in this instance.

Man's investigation into the operations of Nature, for scientific or industrial purposes, discovers not the life-giving wealth that Mammon proposes, but the source of their own destruction. The womb is the site of 'natural' generation, yet when approached by man for capitalistic purposes, the digging out of treasures, it becomes a tomb, a site associated not with life but death. The tampering with the body of the earth that Spenser images here is similar to the tampering that Milton depicts as Satan discovers gunpowder. Again, to put it in Evelyn Fox Keller's terms, the attempted cooptation of female reproductivity discovers not the secrets of life and Nature, but the seeds of destruction.

Keller's paradigm has an obvious relationship to my discussion of Spenser's representation of Mammon and mining. Guyon's accusation of mining as the cause of social discord rests on his belief that the natural process of things has been disrupted, that the wounding of the "quiet wombe" is an indecorous and unnatural thing. I do not mean to imply an intellectual alliance between Guyon and what contemporary

critics call 'eco-feminism.' To avoid any oversimplification I would suggest instead that Guyon is constructing a version of the female body that limits and imposes in ways that are different from Mammon, but they are limits and impositions nonetheless. His treatment of Acrasia at the end of the book suggests that he has very definite ideas concerning the decorum of the female body. Ironically, his accusation of Acrasia finds its justification in a similar position as his accusation of gold; that is, they both inspire a "fierce tyrannie" and reveal the "basest part" (2.1:57) of man.

The central distinction between the positive depictions of exploration of the earth, like Agricola's, and the negative representations, such as Spenser's above, seems to depend on the employment of the sexual metaphors. Agricola's midwife/miner is represented as an assistant to the processes of nature, whereas Spenser's miner is a rapist, and rape of the body of the earth can result only in a monstrous birth. Witness Orgoglio. Sired on the earth by blustering Aeolus...

Who with his breath, which through the world doth pas,  
 Her hollow womb did secretly inspire,  
 And fild her hidden caves with stormie yre,  
 That she conceiv'd; and trebling the dew time,  
 In which the wombes of women do expire,  
 Brought forth this monstrous masse of earthly slime.

(1.7:9)

Earth's twenty-seven month gestation is repaid her not only with a monstrous son, but with one who further violates his mother. The products of rape perpetrated upon a 'real' woman are not necessarily problematic: Amorett, Belpheobe, and Satyrane are all the progeny of rape. However, in Spenser, rape committed against the body of the earth, further suggested by Argante and Ollyphant (3.7:47-48), produces monstrous issue that plague the society.

In The Faerie Queene, the equation of inordinate, hoarded wealth and corruption is manifested in the proximity of Mammon's cave and Hell. And Mammon identifies as the source of this wealth the underground refinery described in stanzas thirty-five to thirty-eight:

Therein an hundred raunges weren pight,  
 And hundred fornaces all burning bright;  
 By euery fornace many feends did bide,  
 Deformed creatures, horrible in sight,  
 And euery feend his busie paines applide,  
 To melt the golden metall, ready to be tride.

(2.7:35)

Spenserian poetics demands that these workers of ore be deformed in body. Moral corruption is frequently represented by physical distortion, and the "ugly shapes" of these workers are reflections of the taint of the work that they do and the world they inhabit beneath the surface of

the earth. In many ways they bear an implicit relationship to the issue of rape of the earth such as Orgoglio, who further torments his mother by arming himself with an oak "which he had torne / Out of his mothers bowelles" (1.7:10). The forge attendants, living within this artificial womb, are simultaneously the products and accomplices of the rape of the earth in the interests of Mammon, and their bodies bear the markings of that 'crime.'

This taint is also visible in the body of their master. We see Mammon through the gaze of Guyon, and it is a gaze that dehumanizes its object:

An vncouth, saluage, and vnciuile wight,  
 Of griesley hew, and fowle ill fauour'd sight;  
 His face with smoke was tand, and eyes were bleard,  
 His head and beard with sout were ill bedight,  
 His cole-blacke hands did seeme to have beene seard  
 In smithes fire-spitting forge, and nayles like  
 clawes appeard. (2.7:3)

Freud asserts that "in ancient civilizations, in myths, in fairy tales and superstitions, in unconscious thinking, in dreams and neuroses -- money is brought into the most intimate relationship with dirt" (9:173). Mammon's body bears the physical signs of his association with what Guyon refers to as "worldy mucke" (2.7:10). Walter Kendrick argues that, in the Mammon episode, "Man, by opening the earth to seek gold, not only rapes her in the process, but

also joins thereby the multitude of malignant creatures which live inside her passive bulk" (541). The monster Error, the "disordred" and "ragged" Despair (1.9:35-36), the boar that threatens to disrupt the operation of the womb of the world in the Garden of Adonis, and many other monstrous creatures are born from or find their dwelling place in caves of the earth. The earth is the residence of that which is malformed, monstrous, that which nature should have discarded -- to Guyon, mining and the retention of gold, "mucky filth" (2.7:15) is something which the temperate and noble body should avoid, in both its social and scatological senses. The classing of this kind of labour and its associations with the taint of excrement is something which I will explore further in the following chapter. As much as Agricola may try to ennoble the industry, his very attempt belies that the physical digging of mining and the cavernous region that it creates associates it strongly with uncivilized, animal existence on one hand, and, on the other, the physical labour of the lower classes.

Cynthia Collins illuminates persuasively the contradiction present in Mammon's argument: to Mammon's claims that mined gold provides happiness and 'worldes blis,' she points out the way in which "all must labor 'incessantly' for Mammon's bounty (a reality demonstrated throughout the canto, as all the demons at the forge must also 'swincke' and 'sweat'" (49). Mammon has



represented himself as the earthly power broker, who, through the control of wealth, is responsible for the endowment of all honour and estate. Georges Bataille argues that "the masters, who act as if they were the expression of society itself, are preoccupied -- more seriously than with any other concern -- with showing that they do not in any way share the abjection of the men they employ" (125).<sup>21</sup> Mammon shares this concern, yet through the narrative it is revealed that the labourers at the furnace and the master of their labour partake of a similar physical (suggestive of spiritual) deformity.

Mammon is classed with Spenser's references to 'smithes,' and his relationship to civility, the social world, is denied by no other evidence than the physical appearance resulting from mining. (In fact, although grudgingly and perhaps hypocritically, Mammon is remarkably courteous to Guyon as he leads him through his cave.) This moment of Guyon's gaze, which classes Mammon as of a lower order, can be read as an allegory of sixteenth-century class difficulties. Mining gives birth to gold, gold gives birth to capitalism, Mammon is the god of capitalist theology, and that 'sacriledge,' as Guyon calls it, produces unprecedented enrichment of those involved in the industry that in turn creates problems of class structure and difference. Mining gives birth to a problematic class, a class necessary for production but uncomfortable to acknowledge -- a waste

class.<sup>22</sup> Just as Freud has revealed the conceptual links between money and dirt/excrement, so the class responsible for the production of the money, and the practitioner of the retentive hoarding, become tainted with the stigma of bodily elimination, and marginalized. Mammon and his followers are "soiled" in both senses of the word. Even Mammon has to admit the effect of his world that "Doth dim with horroure and deformitie" (2.7:49) his once beautiful daughter, Philotime. Mammon and Mammon's servants occupy the dark corners of the Faery realm -- Mammon is found in "secret shade" (2.7:3) and his servants exist as a threat known only to the reader, who is provided with partial (in both senses of the word) illumination. Mammon's world is literally an underworld, a substructure upon which the superstructure is built, but, as Guyon demonstrates, it is a production the necessity of which the society would rather deny than admit.

That gold too is the product of this underworld can in some instances be sufficient to taint its possessor or those associated with excessive displays of it. The words "gold" and "golden" are used six times in the house of Pride episode, an episode that also reveals a "dongeon deepe" (1.4:45) like the Hellish landscape connected to the cave of Mammon. But at the same time, to say that gold is always negative in The Faerie Queene would be to misrepresent its use. Spenser refers to gold frequently in the description of Arthur's armour, and it is often used as a simile to

indicate positive worth or beauty. However, in what may appear at first to be inconsistency, Spenser critiques gold's ability to endow a character with quality, and he does this at the level of readership. Readers are made to question their own tendencies to associate the possession or display of gold with the possession of virtue. Duessa reveals this potential as she approaches Night, who is frightened by her apparent quality:

I that do seeme not I, Duessa am,  
 (Quoth she) how euer now in garments gilt,  
 And gorgeous go'd arayd I to thee came.

(1.5:26)

In the characters of Disdayne and Munera, Spenser literalizes the ability of gold, and the desire it provokes, to dehumanize. Disdayne, the servant of Mammon is "all of golden mould" (2.7:40), and Munera's body is dismembered by, or in the process of conversion to, precious metals (5.2:10). Their bodies, like the attendants at the furnaces, are altered by their association with the productions of mining that necessitate the alteration of the body of the earth.

Guyon easily, perhaps rather too simply, rejects the first offers of amassed wealth in Mammon's cave. His rejection inverts the Mammonic hierarchy, calling the offered gold "base," and asserting that rather than buying power with gold he will do so with "atchievements" (2.7:33).

Guyon rejects gold-getting labour in favour of what he believes is a labour that will make him "Lord of those, that riches haue" (2.7:33). There is a strong strain of ambition present in Guyon's assertion, but it is an ambition of a kind different from that subsequently critiqued in Philotime's court. The continuum that Mammon attempts to establish between mining, wealth and political power is a construction of society that Guyon is able to recognize as, like Philotime herself, falsely painted. Geoffrey Moore, in a curious move in an article that is elsewhere unconcerned with issues of class, argues that Guyon's humble rejection of Mammon's offer of Philotime is perhaps not simply in the interests of courtesy: "Rather, his excessive politeness and mock humility suggest that he is playing an aristocratic game in order to refuse marriage into what is, after all, a bourgeois family" (165-166). The parameters of Moore's observation appeal to me, especially in the context of what I have suggested about the classing of Mammon and his followers in this episode. In terms of the issues of the female body suggested here, Guyon's refusal of Philotime is not only consistent with his other rejections but a necessary display of an awareness of what it is he is rejecting. The body of a woman is offered him. A physical attachment to that body, its possession in marriage, would bring him, argues Mammon, wealth, status and power. Guyon establishes the terms of his counter-argument to Mammon

early in the canto when he asserts that the exploitation of the body of the earth for material gain is a sacrilege. In the offer of Philotime, Mammon subtly changes the parameters of the contest -- Guyon's acceptance would be hypocritical, and he courteously turns down what ironically he refers to as the "offered high estate" (2.7:50) that would make him complicit with the operations of the mercantile Mammon. Guyon does not marry into the family or ennoble the mercantile line with blood.

Philotime's court blends indistinguishably into the hellish Garden of Proserpina, the permanent residence of Tantalus and Pilate. Critics of Spenser have long been puzzled about the significance of the presence of these particular figures. Pilate is the most confounding presence, and, to my mind, has not adequately been accounted for in this episode. Frank Kermode tries rather awkwardly to make him an emblem of curiositas, the sin of which Harry Berger accuses Guyon for his entrance into the cave in the first place (Kermode, 163-164). Humphrey Tonkin argues that Pilate is one who "followed the least line of resistance," denied his god, and, by implication chose Mammon (1). I would be more comfortable with Tonkin's reading if Pilate had some sort of specific tie with money -- had it been Judas Iscariot instead, then I could accept the presence more readily. One thing that does, I believe, bring Pilate and Mammon together is their relationship to asserted power.

As a threat to the captive Christ, Pilate says: "Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee" (John 19:10). In Spenser's text Mammon asserts that his own accumulations have garnered him political and social power, that he is the creator of kings (11). Christ's response to Pilate is to deny his possession of power: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above" (John 19:11). The presence of Pilate in the cave episode could be another undercutting of Mammon's assertion of the power that mining and the money appended to it can yield.<sup>23</sup>

Tantalus's presence seems less puzzling to critics: A. Kent Hieatt comments that Tantalus is "according to Renaissance authority, traditionally rich" (201), and Patrick Cullen correctly associates him with pride and aspiration to godhead. These observations are accurate and valuable, but do not illuminate adequately the episode in terms of gold or the desire for gold. Yet, Tantalus, as well as being a type of aspiration and greed, according to some myths, steals the golden mastiff that Vulcan made for the Magna Mater to watch over the infant Jove (Graves, 2:25). This connection to the theft of gold, and Kermode's assertion that Tantalus "stands for a blasphemous ambition of divine knowledge, a subject both traditional, and, in Spenser's time, acutely topical, for the limits of permitted enquiry were a matter of interest to theologians,

scientists, and magicians alike" (163), combine to place Tantalus more securely in the Mammonic context as I understand it here. Kermode takes his assertion no further than to suggest that Tantalus also shares in the curiositas that he asserts is characteristic of Guyon and Pilate. However, Kermode's observation seems to me to suggest that Tantalus' presence in Hell confirms the valorisation argued by Guyon of "untroubled nature" (15) over the invasive searchings of the body of the earth defended by Mammon.

Tantalus and Pilate have one more thing in common that I believe is important for their presence in the cave episode. To provide for the banquet of the gods, Tantalus cut up his son, Pelops (Graves 2:26), and, at the insistence of the Jews, Pilate offered up Christ for crucifixion (John 19). Pilate succumbs to the threats that he is not serving Caesar by allowing Christ to live, and Tantalus, the host of the banquet of the gods, does not wish to have them find his table wanting. Both men offer up another's body for their personal protection or self-aggrandizement. As well, Pilate tries to wash his hands of the guilt associated with the sacrifice of the body. He tries to disavow his connection to something with which he is necessarily implicated -- just as Spenser's Mammon, and many sixteenth-century land-owners, attempt to distance themselves from the labour that supports them. Seen in this way both Pilate and Tantalus bear a direct relationship to Mammon, who "the quiet wombe / Of his

great Grandmother" wounds for personal gain.

The entire canto is concerned with mining, the wealth accumulated through mining, and the powers and the perils coincident to that accumulation. The dialogic nature of the episode gives expression to the poles of understanding of wealth and mining. That Guyon in this episode successfully withstands temptation is clear, but his development, his progress toward the embodiment of Temperance, is less clear. In my opinion, Disdayne is central to an understanding of Guyon's movement through the cave of Mammon. The appearance of Disdayne in the cave of Mammon has a similar function to that of Despair in Book one. Redcrosse becomes vulnerable to an attack by Despair because of his cumulative experience prior to that episode. Guyon's negative responses to Mammon's offers of gold and wealth stem from simple disdain. Just as despair is not a sufficient response to the situation in which Redcrosse finds himself, so too is simple disdain an inadequate way to conceive of wealth and the production of mining. Mammon and Despair both attempt to persuade their listeners with sophistic arguments. Guyon is approached by Disdayne because of his own tendency to reject all worldly things as tainted with "mucky filth" (2.7:15). As temperate man he can neither give in to the excesses of Mammon, nor retire from the world in which, as Mammon argues, men "must wage / [Their] workes for wealth, and life for gold engage" (2.7:18). Guyon's faint at the end of the



episode reminds the reader that the temperate man cannot completely disengage himself from the things necessary to sustain life.<sup>24</sup> Things of the body, food and sleep, things of the body of the earth, gold and money, are held in contempt by Guyon. Guyon is made vulnerable to Disdayne because he does not negotiate the double nature of the products of mining, and the necessary relationship of body to spirit.

The canto ends with an image of birth. Guyon is delivered from the cave of Mammon, "brought to living light," left at the cave's opening "enfeebled" and desperately taking "sucke" (2.7:66). Guyon is delivered by Mammon, the metallurgic midwife, and it is a delivery that, like Milton's gunpowder and Spenser's Mammonic gold, results in a kind of death rather than life. The closing lines in the canto leave Guyon at the very edge of death: "The life did flit away out of her nest, / And all his senses were with deadly fit opprest" (2.7:66). In The Poem's Two Bodies, David Miller suggests that one can understand Arthur's delivery of Redcrosse from the dungeon of Orgoglio in Book one of The Faerie Queene as a kind of birth (129). Following his lead, I suggest that the Palmer, Arthur, and the angel before them, tend the stillborn product of the cave of Mammon and convert that birth that is death to a rebirth in nurture that partakes of learning and discipline in the body of the castle of Alma. Guyon must recover from

his invasion of the body of the earth by receiving the  
nourishment, physical and mental, of the human body.

## ENDNOTES

1. In Some Versions of Pastoral William Empson points out that Zachary Pearce has suggested that the line is an allusion "to the formation of Eve in viii. 463" in Paradise Lost (176).
2. Harry Levin in The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance discusses the opposition of golden age and iron age in Ovid's works. Cynthia Collins uses Levin's work to construct a reading of Spenser's cave of Mammon in terms of this opposition.
3. Levin calls 'golden' and 'silver' ages "chronological metaphors" (13).
4. Carolyn Merchant, interested in the history of science, examines the use of the discourse of the female body with reference to scientific investigation:  
the images of both nature and woman were two-sided. The virgin nymph offered peace and serenity, the earth-mother nurture and fertility, but nature also brought plagues, famines, and tempests. Similarly, woman was both virgin and witch: the Renaissance courtly lover placed her on a pedestal; the inquisitor burned her at the stake....Disorderly woman, like chaotic nature, needed to be controlled. (127)
5. Rollins also notes Peele's Edward I (1593), Roxburghe Ballads' "lamentable fall of Queen El[li]nor," and Nathanael Richard's Messallina -- all of which describe the earth gaping to devour someone for some crime.
6. James Strachey the editor of The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, tries to bridge the cultural gap of exemplarity that exists between Freud and his North American readers by reminding them of the story of the goose that lays the golden eggs.
7. See "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture." pp. 77-78.
8. Thomas Greene, in "The Poetics of Discovery: A Reading of Donne's Elegy 19," comments: "the joy of initiation seems indistinguishable from the joy of possession....These lines breathe triumphant imperialism" (139). Patricia Parker, in Literary Fat Ladies, also connects the mercantilism of the Elizabethan explorations with the language of sexual conquest. Her critique of the blazon

suggests a connection to Annette Kolodny's work on the gendering of the New World landscape in The Lay of the Land and The Land before Her. One must add to this ever-growing list Louis Montrose's most recent version of his work on Elizabeth I and the "fantasies" of possession and subjection in "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery."

9. The winter 1991 edition of Representations contains two articles on Raleigh and the Discoverie. Louis Montrose's "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," and Mary Fuller's "Raleigh's Fugitive Gold: Reference and Deferral in The Discoverie of Guiana." Montrose does not discuss the voyage with particular reference to mining, but he does concern himself with issues of the gendered landscape -- not necessarily with its violation, but its capture and occupation. Fuller, on the other hand, is more concerned with representational issues -- she is interested in the difficulties of material and literary representation of the presence of the mines in Guiana -- Raleigh's desire and failure to bring back a synecdotal "handfull of the mine" to validate its existence, and his literary supplement to this testimonial lack. Both Fuller and Montrose are interested in the way in which the Discoverie is a re-version of the sexual transgression that put Raleigh out of favour with Elizabeth -- the Throckmorton incident. Montrose and Fuller suggest that the Discoverie asks Elizabeth's permission for the taking of Guiana, imaged as a female body, as a compensatory gesture for the prior taking of a female body (Throckmorton) without her permission.

10. I name this topos Petrarchan here to avoid confusion with the "golden age" Ovid I have represented here. This military trope is, of course, characteristic of the Ovidian love poetry of the Amores. That this linkage of sexual aggression with the taking of territory (the imperial impetus) should coexist in a body of work with the nostalgic impulse revealed in the detailing of the fall of man through violation of the earth imaged as the female body seems to me to be made possible through the contesting generic requirements.

11. Montrose argues that in several places in Raleigh's text the national Otherness of the Spanish on which, in part, the persuasion of the "liberation" of Guiana depends, experiences rupture. Montrose reveals "a brief eruption into discourse of the subliminal counter-awareness that English desires in the New World are fundamentally identical to Spanish ones" ("Work of Gender," 24).

12. Raleigh makes frequent reference in the Discoverie to the respect with which the English, under his direct orders, treated the native women -- this is stated in opposition to

the ways in which Raleigh argues the women are treated by the Spanish. In Montrose's most recent article on the Discoverie, he suggests that the image of the native woman's body becomes a kind of microcosmic suggestion of their proposed relationship with the land itself. These women, who Raleigh suggests are alluring in their nakedness and naivete, require protection and receive it at the hands of the English. But Montrose underlines the undercurrent to all of this also; that is, that Raleigh is conspiratorial with his English readers suggesting that he has not "yet" revealed to the natives the purpose of his coming. That purpose is of course in direct opposition to the purpose suggested in the representation of their relationship to the bodies of the native women.

13. David Read's "Hunger of Gold: Guyon, Mammon's Cave, and the New World Treasure" explores this potential, as does Maria Bernhart's dissertation, "Imperialist Myth and Iconography in Books I and II of The Faerie Queene." Cynthia Collins' "The Golden Age and the Iron Age of Gold: The Inversion of Paradise in the Cave of Mammon" also contributes to the critical examination of this relationship.

14. Walter Kendrick's "Earth of Flesh, Flesh of Earth: Mother Earth in the Faerie Queene" discusses the moral implications, as they are represented in The Faerie Queene, of the invasion of the body of the earth upon the human animal. Kendrick is more concerned with the earth as the shelter and corporeal material of degraded figures. He suggests that "it is man's ultimate task, and the problem with which The Faerie Queene is most deeply concerned, to rule and vanquish the earth in his flesh before the earth reclaims it" (548).

15. Venus/Aphrodite and her betrayal of Vulcan/Hephaestus occurs in Homer's Odyssey (VIII. 266-367), Theocritus' Idylls (i. 105-7), Ovid's Metamorphoses (X) and many other classical texts. She is also associated with prolific procreativity: the mother of 5 children by Mars/Ares, and 1 child by each of Mercury/Hermes, Bacchus/Dionysus, Neptune/Poseidon and Anchises.

16. Robert Graves, in volume one of his The Greek Myths, suggests that the classical Cestus was a "magic girdle which made everyone fall in love with its wearer" (67). Spenser's girdle partakes of this only so much as to suggest the virtue of chastity that makes the wearer worthy of love.

17. Cynthia Collins, in "The Golden Age and the Iron Age of Gold," picks up on Patrick Cullen's observations that the personified figures occupying the cave (Payne, Strife,

Reuenge, Despight, Treason, Hate, Geolosie, Feare, Sorrow, Shame, Horrour, and Care) connect with Mammon's initial reaction to Guyon's approach. Collins augments Cullen's observation by suggesting that these figures represent the "forms of 'disquietnesse'" that Guyon associates with the procurement and protection of riches (50).

18. Relying heavily on Harry Levin's The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance, Collins points out the numerous horrible figures in the cave of Mammon and the iron weapons that they possess. Payne carries an "yron whip" and Disdayne an "yron club." "The names and iron imagery," asserts Collins, "identify Mammon's kingly riches with the ultimately impoverishing riches of the Iron Age" (50).

19. The name Proserpina connects the cave of Mammon with yet another rape narrative. Proserpina is abducted by Pluto. She is carried forcefully to the bottom of the sea bed where "the ground streight yeelded to his [Pluto's] stroke and made him way to Hell" (Golding, 5:527). Demeter holds the people and lands responsible for this loss and causes the earth to be infertile, "and man and beast that tilde the earth [she] to death in anger strake" (5:596). Like the Dorothy Mattely narrative, those assumed complicit in the ravishment are punished, except here it is the surface of the earth that is punished, while Proserpine is contained within its womb. But one of the seas claims that Demeter is being unfair, and defends the earth on the basis that it too was raped in the process of the rape of Proserpina: "The lande deserves no punishment, unwillingly God wote / She opened to the Ravisher that violently hir smote" (5:611-612). So Pluto, in the ravishment of Proserpine, becomes guilty of two rapes. The Garden of Proserpina in Spenser is an infertile surface perhaps because it bears the marks of Demeter's punishment of the earth for what she believed was its complicity in the ravishment of her daughter's body.

20. A 1700 publication of a collection of works under the title A Discourse for the Benefits and Improvements of Husbandry (London: Tho Bennet), includes a work called "The Compleat Collier: Or, The Whole Art of Sinking, Getting, and Working, Coal-Mines &c. As Is Now used in the Northern Parts, Especially about Sunderland and New-Castle" written as a dialogue between a Coal-owner and a servant.

21. Montrose argues that Raleigh too makes this sort of gesture. After having made the distinction between English and Spanish, Raleigh goes on to suggest "that he had to exercise vigilant control over the inherent tendency toward lawlessness among the 'meaner sort' within his own company" ("Work of Gender," 21). Montrose suggests that this is a moment "provided to demonstrate containment of the poorer

sort's petty thievery by the moral rectitude and judicial vigilance of their betters" ("Work of Gender," 22). It serves Raleigh's purpose of self-aggrandizement to set himself apart from those that labour on his behalf. I'd like to thank Peter Georgelos for sending me to Battaille.

22. There is an awkward social moment in Guyon's tour through the cave of Mammon. The workers at the forge are quite taken with the appearance of Guyon and they stop their work and stare at this man, who is "Glistring in armes and Battailous aray" (2.7:37) in direct contrast to their own deformed bodies, which are "horrible in sight" (2.7:35). The sigh' of the workers and their insistent stares quite unnerve the knight, and "were it not for shame, he would retire" (2.7:37) from the room. The "shame" present in this moment seems to me to exist in suspension between Guyon and the furnace workers. Guyon does not wish to dishonour himself by avoiding what Mammon presents to him, but there is also the possibility that Guyon does not wish to shame the workers by leaving, therefore suggesting that they are too repellent to look on. Their admiration points up the social discrepancy between themselves and the knight, and Guyon, good aristocrat that he is, does not wish to be seen as anything but gracious.

23. Of interest here may be the suggestion by Josephus and Philo that Pilate was insensitive to the demands of the Jews. Josephus tells of one particular instance when, much to the vocal and demonstrative displeasure of the Jews, Pilate used sacred money reserved to build a temple to build an aqueduct. This is the only association of Pilate with money that I have heard of, and I owe its uncovering to Rev. Ken Boonstra.

24. Guyon's faint has also been a great locus for critical contention. To Moore it is a moment that reveals to the reader that Guyon has been acting out of vanity, "presuming his own moral excellence [is] sufficient to support him" (157). To Kermode, Guyon's faint reveals the weakness of human nature, and Tonkin qualifies this by suggesting that it be read as exhaustion rather than wholly as a fall from grace. Critical consensus however is that Guyon is being punished in some way for some transgression -- most often the curiositas and vanity displayed in the opening stanzas of the canto.

**Marginalizing Practices: The Avoidance  
of Social Excescence.**

In the thirty-second year of the reign of Elizabeth I (1590), a royal proclamation was issued "commaunding the execution of an Acte of Parliament, prouided for auoiding of dangerous annoyances about Cities, Burroughes and Townes within the Realm" (6 June, 32Elizabeth I). The proclamation complained that

so much dounge, and other filth of the issues and intralles, as well as of beastes killed, as of other corruptions, were cast and put in Ditches, Riuers, and other Waters, and also within many other places within, about, and nigh unto diuers Cities...that the Ayre there was greatly corrupt and infect, and many maladies, and other intollerable diseases did daily happen.

Elizabeth commanded that those who cast off the materials must "cause them utterly to be remoued, auoyded and caried away." There is no mention in the proclamation as to where the materials were to be "caried away," but, because it was the proximity of the disposals to inhabited areas that was causing offense, the implication is that they were to be rendered less visible -- to sight and smell. Whether or not the proclamation may be referring in part to human wastes is difficult to discern. The structure of the passage is



labyrinthine and it is unclear if the beasts mentioned occupy the centre or whether there is a human presence perceived as so monstrous or shameful in its productive ability that it must pass without direct mention.

Twelve years prior to the above proclamation, Elizabeth had issued a proclamation concerned with the problem of vagabonds in the cities.<sup>1</sup> "Hauing nothing to lyue on," the proclamation asserted, these people

do dayly resort to the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Suburbes of the same...and there are suffered to lyue very disorderly: by occasion wherof, many robberies, and felonies, and other horrible crimes and offences be committed and done...to the great hurt of her [Majesty's] good and louyng Subiects. (31 Jan 1578 -- cf. same proclamation 14 Dec. 1576 19Eli: I)

The problem of the vagabonds was represented in a similar fashion to that of the problem of the bodily-waste-filled ditches and waters. Both issues were described in terms of their negative effect on the people of the areas ("diseases" and "great hurt" respectively). Elizabeth's solution to the problem of the vagabonds was to proclaim that within two days of the proclamation all "masterlesse men," "idle persons," "roges" or "vagabondes" were to "departe and auoyde themselues from the sayde Cities of London, Westminster...and all other Townes and Villages within seuen

myles compasse" (emphasis mine). Just as the corrupt bodily waste was "to be remoued, auoyded and caried away" (June 6, 32Eliz I, emphasis mine), so too are the vagabonds to "departe and auoyde themselues" (31 Jan., 1578).

What I am suggesting by juxtaposing these two proclamations is that just as there are constructed "waste" products of the corporeal body, so the sixteenth-century social body produced members it constructed as waste to be "auoyded" -- and that this construction often manifested itself in the conflation of the discourses of class with the discourse of scatology. Vagabonds, criminals and other 'anti-social' forces were, in these constructions, social excrescence and their discursive association with corporeal excrescence was an extension of the metaphor of the social body that suggested and justified the kinds of treatment they were to receive. Spenser's allegorical construction of the human body in The Faerie Queene, the house of Alma, includes a "back-gate," the port Esquiline, whereby the allegorical body "auoided quite" its excremental production. This body, its multi-valence encouraged by allegory, is caught up in a network of representational dimensions that dilate the significance of the waste producing body. It is this productive body, this hierarchized form that draws attention to its own avoidance strategies, that I want to consider in this chapter. Like Gail Paster, in The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early

Modern England, I want to take scatological humour and imagery seriously. But unlike Paster, whose goal is to seek in scatological humour and imagery "discursive traces of the early childhood experiences of uncontrol and anal cathexis" and "to see its formations as the external residue of unresolved struggles of infancy" (115), I want to focus on the ways in which the social codings of the body and its productions parallel and reproduce the social differentiations of class; to see the representation of the hierarchy of the body as productive and conservative of the ideological formation of the social order.

## II

The Elizabethan proclamations have in common the expression of a desire to distance and isolate the waste products of society. That the proclamation against beggary should specify that a seven-mile perimeter was to be observed is suggestive of the creation of social boundaries. The proclamation defined a space inside by suggesting what must be placed outside. It created a threshold of society the limits of which were made visible by their transgression. What was outside these social boundaries was what was criminalized on the inside. Perhaps nothing made this kind of delineation more explicit than the Renaissance practice of displaying the bodies of executed criminals at the margins of the city. Donald Reid, in Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations, describing the

Paris site of Montfaucon, reveals the conceptual and physical connection between topography, social status and the lower bodily stratum:

From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century thousands of criminals had been hanged there; the bodies of those who had died during torture were strung up on the gallows. The corpses were left dangling until their bones fell to the ground. The remains were thrown into the pit used as a dump for household garbage and fecal matter....Although executions took place elsewhere during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the authorities continued to bring criminal bodies to the garbage pits. (11)

That Montfaucon was on the outskirts of medieval and Renaissance Paris further suggests the ways in which these problematic social productions, the criminals, like the vagabonds, were to be avoided -- in the senses of both banished and shunned. Their social placement involved both status and geography.

This topographical marginalization of the socially marginal was also a characteristic of Renaissance London. Steven Mullaney, in The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England, identifies the liberties (margins) of London as the forum for "displays of power exercised on the body of the exile or traitor -- figures who were subjected to the extreme effects of early modern power

but who also served to mark, in their place of banishment or death, the threshold and vanishing point of such power" (ix). The rotting corpses or heads of traitors and malefactors, displayed in the marginal space around the city, graphically articulated the boundaries, physical and social, that operated within. The case of traitors is particularly significant because often a ritual part of their punishment was disembowelment -- the opening up and displaying of the excremental. The victims of this process were usually hanged until half dead, they were then cut down and cut open, their intestines removed and held up to the crowd. The intestines were then placed on a fire and the victim was made to watch as they were consumed by the flames.<sup>2</sup> This act of butchery seems designed to reveal the most disgusting aspect of the criminal body -- the treacherous thought and the intestinal anatomy become equated as the hidden is made visible only to be spectacularly destroyed by the power of the monarch it dared to oppose.

The status of the Renaissance criminal body is also made manifest by the history of its involvement in medical research. W. S. Copeman, in "The Evolution of Anatomy and Surgery Under the Tudors," observes that the Barber-Surgeons Company, founded in 1540, received "raw material in the form of the right to four bodies of executed criminals each year for purposes of dissection in their Hall in Monkwell Street"

(7, emphasis mine). In 1557 John Caius' Cambridge College and, in 1565, the Royal College of Physicians, also were granted the right to four criminal bodies a year for dissection purposes (Copemane, 9). Mullaney's and Copemane's observations suggest the ways in which the criminal body was subjected to vision. In punishments and anatomies the criminal body was constructed as exemplary: in the former, it was set off as a once dangerous Other manifesting the power that places it in its subjected position; and, in the latter, it was made to be a physical analogy, in some way different from yet able to comment on the privileged bodies that surrounded the anatomy table. Francis Barker, in The Tremulous Private Body, articulates the social dimension of the anatomy, describing it as "an act of penal and sovereign domination...[that] searches out in dramatic and public fashion, and then realizes, corporal meanings which belong to a disposition of power" (74). The criminal body was, then, a hybrid figure, both of and Other than the society that made it exemplary. The criminal has transgressed some boundary and in the transgression revealed his Otherness. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White suggest that "it is precisely 'creatures of the threshold' which become the object of fear and fascination" (47), and the uses to which the criminal body was put, exhibited and anatomised, reveal this doubleness.<sup>3</sup> This threshold to which Stallybrass and White refer can be used by a society

as a (constantly shifting) line of demarcation between a number of constructed binarisms crucial to the security of the (bourgeois) self.

Edward Forset, in A Comparative Discovrse of the Bodies Natvral and Politigve (1606), reveals the way in which the image of the body was used to naturalize social distinctions and requirements. He uses the analogy between the human body and the social body to construct a question that has at its basis a definition of social utility:

In the bodie there is not any part so weake, so little, or so base, which God hath not framed and appointed to some good vse; and shall there in the state bee cherished, or suffered, any so loose, idle, vagrant, and vnprofitable people, as that no vse can bee made of them for the publique behoofe? nay, that bee noysome, pernicious, combersome, and contrarious thereunto?

(56-57)

Forset is defining the space "in the bodie," and vagrancy, being of no use, must lie outside that conception of the body and society. Greenblatt suggests that "the extraordinary harshness with which vagabonds were treated" (183) demonstrates the importance of social definitions of utility. The social body in distress must be cured "by opening some veine, by purging of superfluties, and putting to payne some part thereof, for the more certaintie of the generall good" (Forset, 70). The discourse of medicine

informs the discourse of social theory, and by its employment justifies social amputation and purgation. That Forset should use the term "purging" with "noysome," a word frequently used to describe the odour of accumulated excrement, suggests the conceptual equation of the socially unproductive with excremental waste and indicates the imperative for elimination.

That the criminal body was understood as a kind of waste product is also revealed in Francis Bacon's "Speech Touching the Recovering of Drowned Mineral Works" to which I refer in chapter one's discussion of the cave of Mammon. The miners Bacon seeks to employ in the dangerous work, all convicted criminals, are suitable because they are "wretched carcasses" already "dedicate...to the worms of the earth" (2.209). In Bacon's terms, these men are already waste -- fit for dangerous labour (the 'filthy' taint of which is examined at more length in chapter one) -- distinguished from Everyman, who will resort to dust, by a more immediate relationship with their own decomposition.<sup>4</sup> The criminal body was outside civilization and therefore occupied a space, physical and discursive, among everything else that society attempted to displace from itself in the process of fashioning itself.

But what of those involved in the physical work of ridding society of those productions constructed as waste? The status of the executioner is important because he



provides a bridge between the criminal and society, and is therefore a kind of threshold figure. The extent to which he is constructed as marked or tainted by his dealings with the constructed excrement of society can also facilitate an understanding of the representation of the labouring classes in the English Renaissance, those responsible for the carrying out of work, production, understood as beneath the stature of the dominant class(es). James Bland, in The Common Hangman: English and Scottish Hangmen before the Abolition of Public Executions, argues that the position of executioner was a difficult one because of its place between the government and the populace:

he [the executioner] did not have the respectability of the legislators and judges who gave him work and he was not always popular even with the crowds who gathered to watch the sufferings of his victims. There was, in fact, a stigma upon his post and all who occupied it; for it was, by common consent, a revolting way of earning a living. (3)

The social ostracism that Bland argues was experienced by the executioner has perhaps only partially to do with the murderous nature of his occupation and may also have operated by reason of his association with the criminal element (and their association with excrement).

In fact and fiction the executioner was frequently a past or practising criminal himself. In Hangmen of England:

A History of Execution from Jack Ketch to Albert

Pierrepoint, Brian Bailey describes the infamous hangman Derrick, who, condemned for rape in France, was saved and brought to England by the Earl of Essex on a condition, one that Bailey argues was customary at the time, that the rescued felon serve as executioner (5).<sup>5</sup> But perhaps the most telling reflection of the status of the criminal and the executioner lies in the appointment of William Low in 1649. Bland asserts that Low, prior to his appointment as London's executioner, was "'a dust carrier and cleaner of the dung hills'" (17).<sup>6</sup> The appointment of Low brings together the literal excrement of the human body and the figurative excrement of the social body, and Low is stigmatized by these productions that the rest of society desires to "avoid."<sup>7</sup> Low by name, and low by occupation. What we have in the English Renaissance executioner is a figure who operated at the literal and figurative margins of society -- his work was performed at Tyburn or Tower Hill, two of the entrances (and exits) to (and from) London, and he functioned to distance the society from the (ostensibly) necessary but tainting labour of social elimination.

As for those labourers responsible for the cleaning of the literal wastes of English society, contained in the cesspools and sewers, very little information is available. The Commissioners of Sewers' reports suggest that, in rural communities, a kind of communal work was often required,

"menetwork," where the entire community would be asked to participate in the cleansing of their waterways. However, those capable were able to buy their way out of the labour with the payment of a "distrain" and the money was used to pay someone else (Owen, Wiggenhall, 14). Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor, primarily concerned with nineteenth-century London, seems to be one of the few texts that considers the English labourers responsible for the "goodly order" (Spenser, 2.9:33) of the city. Mayhew attempts to provide, in his survey of contemporary street life, an historical assessment of street-cleaning and "scavengery" (179) as well. Mayhew asserts that the occupation of scavenger is "degraded" "in public estimation" (205), yet the scavenger was in fact responsible for the supervision of the cleaning carried out by "goungfermours" (206). However, in popular representation the scavenger and the goungfermour were collapsed; apparently distinctions of rank in such a profession were considered irrelevant. In the sixteenth century, John Harington asserted that the "scavengers" carry out all the filth that the rain does not wash away, taking it "without the citie...beyond Golding lane" (Harington, 146). For Harington, no distinction of rank between those responsible for sanitation seemed necessary, and he reveals the topographical displacement of the product of their labour.

Mayhew cites the Tudor (Henry VIII) "Oath of

Scavengers" which demanded that the work of the gongfermour be done after dark. Donald Reid asserts that the same restriction was on the cesspool cleaners in pre-revolution Paris. Periods of darkness were more fitting times to remove with discretion the material wastes that shamed the city in the daylight. That the operations of the scavengers took place at night would also seem to be a reflection of the desire to render the performers of such dark labour invisible to 'proper' society. The "oath" demanded that the gongfermour neither spill ordure nor bury it within the city limits. That these restrictions needed to be specified suggests that the cleaner was reputed to be careless, disruptive, or dishonest in his work. Reid confirms that the cesspool cleaners of Paris were in fact notorious for such misbehaviour, and often had confrontations with authorities because of "raucous drinking" and ordure spillage (89-90). For these reasons, and primarily because of the materials with which they were associated, "cesspool cleaners were perceived to be 'external'...to the hierarchical social order" (Reid, 88). Cesspool cleaners had a reputation as disorderly, dishonourable, and disgusting (Reid, 95). Its social resonance is apparent in the fact that it was frequently a task given to convicts or those on the lowest level of the social ladder.

But the criminal body and its handlers, and the handlers of the literally excremental by-product of society,

were not the only ones to be associated with the polluting matter of excrement or waste. A society such as that of the English Renaissance, characterized by a plenitude of social divisions and levels, seemed often to measure the distance between high and low in terms of the distance from bodily processes and productions. Shakespeare makes use of a number of constructions that suggest that scatological discourse was part of the discourse of social organization. In 1 Henry VI, Gloucester calls the warders who guard Henry VI "dunghill grooms" (1.3.14). This insult is significant because it comes at a moment when the warders are in the position of having to resist the authority of Gloucester (Lord Protector) -- Gloucester's use of the epithet might be understood as reminding the guards of the social barriers they are presuming to overstep in their denial of the Lord Protector. In the remainder of the scene Gloucester encounters opposition from other characters, but it is only the warders who are referred to with (dis)respect to excrement. Also, in 2 Henry VI, an apprentice accusing his master of a treasonous utterance is called a "base dunghill villain" (1.3.193). Both instances deploy the excremental discourse at the points of class tension -- when the boundaries are being tested, the discourse surfaces in the attempt to reestablish them.<sup>8</sup>

This tendency is particularly in evidence when Kent encounters Oswald, the class aspirant in Shakespeare's King

Lear. Kent's hostility to Oswald seems to have no basis except class. He immediately designates Oswald as "base" (1.4.86) and swears to him that he will "teach [him] differences" (1.4.89-90). In a later scene Oswald seems to be questioning the source of Kent's antagonism, and his puzzlement draws attention to the initial difficulty of accounting for Kent's social response to Oswald. Oswald asks Kent the reason why he mistreats him so when he cannot really know him, and Kent's lengthy rant that erupts in response reveals the origin of the enmity that has little basis in the textual events. Kent tells Oswald that he knows him for

A knave, a rascal, an eater of broken meats; a base, proud, shallow, beggarly, three-suited, hundred-pound, filthy worsted-stocking knave; a lily-liver'd action-taking, whoreson, glass-gazing, superserviceable, finical rogue; one-trunk-inheriting slave; one that wouldst be a bawd in way of good service, and art nothing but the composition of a knave, beggar, coward, pandar, and the son and heir of a mungril bitch.

(2.2.15-23)

The density of the class-inflected language, the equation of low station with corruption that is moral and physical, suggests that Kent's hatred of Oswald goes beyond personal experience with him, and draws on culturally available constructions of and assumptions about the servant classes.

Later in the same scene Kent threatens to "tread this unbolted villain into mortar, and daub the walls of a jakes with him" (2.2.65-67). Again, then, we have this expression of class conflict resorting ultimately to scatological images. To Kent, who asserts "I am a gentleman of blood and breeding" (3.1.40), Oswald's social position is one which is associated with excrement. Kent's anger with Oswald stems from what he perceives to be Oswald's attempted transgression of what was, prior to Lear's abdication, an entrenched social order that not only placed Oswald near the bottom socially but, as the threat to smear his body on the walls of a privy suggests, discursively as well.

The deployment of scatological discourse in reference to lower or labouring classes associates these classes with a powerful cultural taboo and isolates them in a bounded community, or perhaps more accurately, outside the bounded community of the employers. Mary Douglas argues that the body "is a model which can stand for any bounded system" (115). Excrement, however, has "traversed the boundary of the body" and is therefore by its very nature marginal, a product of a margin (orifice) of the body (Douglas, 121). Douglas suggests that margins and marginal matter is specially dangerous because it is at the margins that "fundamental experience" is given definition -- to alter the margin is to alter that fundamental experience (121). In social terms then the displacement of the bodily marginal on

the lower classes participates in the stabilization of the subjectivity of the higher classes, while at the same time it makes these lower classes a powerful site of danger and contagion.

Stephen Greenblatt, in "Filthy Rites," argues that the management of the body's products has been (is?) used to mark the entrance into civility, an entrance that distinguishes not only the child from the adult, but the members of a privileged group from the vulgar, the upper classes from the lower, the courtly from the rustic, the civilized from the savage. (2)

Greenblatt's concern here is particularly with the ways in which a body manifests its discipline. In this social construction of the body, one which Greenblatt suggests is in particular evidence during the English Renaissance, the extent to which one could distance oneself from one's own, particularly lower, (animal) bodily processes determined the level of one's sophistication and breeding.<sup>9</sup> In De Civilitate morum puerilium, for instance, Erasmus frequently makes use of binary systems of differentiation to define the behavioural rules that consolidate the identity of the group for which he writes. His concern for the way in which one manages bodily excretions is expressed in terms of class: the properly bred young boy will differentiate himself from fishmongers, tunnies, and smiths by refraining from wiping his nose on his cap or clothing (274).<sup>10</sup> The



labourers here are used as negative exemplars from which the 'proper' student of Erasmus will desire to distance himself. That the social boundary should be articulated with reference to bodily production reveals the way in which the 'lower orders' were constructed as having a more essential relationship with the animal body. The nose is another orifice or portal of the body, and the management of its production is, according to Erasmus, a sign of social position. Stallybrass and White assert that "as the bourgeois produced new forms of regulation and prohibition governing their own bodies, they wrote ever more loquaciously of the body of the Other" (126). That this Other frequently took the form of a labouring or servant class served to justify the social organization as a series of relatively impermeable, if not essential, bounded communities.

### III

Spenser opens his consideration of the human form with a gesture toward discipline:

Of all Gods workes, which do this world adorne,  
 There is no one more faire and excellent,  
 Then is mans body both for powre and forme,  
 Whiles it is kept in sober gouernment. (2.9:1)

The reference to government achieves two ends: by it, Spenser signals the social restrictions that go into the construction of the 'faire and excellent' Renaissance body,

and it is also suggestive of the familiar theoretical topos of the body politic. Leonard Barkan argues that "the human body is the only, as well as the most obvious, way of understanding a unity of diversity" (62). Spenser's reference to the body being "kept in sober government" suggests that there is something containing it -- that power can be manifested by it but only when the body is itself under the influence of power. The unified body is divided by implication into that which controls and that which requires controlling, and the privileging of the body depends on the privileging of its "sober government." Barkan's diversity in unity assumes an ordering that is hierarchical.

The assertion that the body can be "Distempred" (2.9:1) naturalizes, by reference to an ordered state of the body, a certain hierarchy within the body. The conversation that takes place between Guyon and Arthur as they move toward the house of Alma is significant for what it reveals about this hierarchy and the complexity of the body as metaphor. Arthur praises the physical beauty of the representation of Gloriana on Guyon's shield. Guyon's response is to deprecate the painted likeness in favour of the "trew liuely-head / Of that most glorious visage" (2.9:3). And then, from her physical body he takes one more step and praises something else again:

...the beautie of her mind...,

That is her bountie, and imperiall powre,

Thousand times fairer then her mortall hew. (2.9:3)

Before they reach the house of Alma, Arthur and Guyon sketch out the hierarchy of the human body on the body of the sovereign, and it is a body that is praiseworthy because it is a thousand times removed from its own physicality.

Barkan argues that for Plato and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Aristotle, the "anthropomorphic analogy is largely heuristic, it rarely attempts to be exhaustively physical" (63). Aristotle, asserts Barkan, "does not develop the different meanings, values, or purposes of the parts of the body" (65). Spenser's consideration, however, at least at one level, does concern itself with the physicality of the body -- the body of the house of Alma is not simply a vehicle for the discussion of the ideal commonwealth but, like Erasmus' De Civilitate morum puerilium, is employed as a construct of the body in society as well. The house of Alma is an image of society, an architectural construct, and a body divided and united in its parts.

#### OUTSIDE

Stallybrass and White discuss the ways in which the "hierarchy of the body [is] transcoded through the hierarchy of the city" (145), and the conceptual linkage of the "lower bodily stratum," the margins of society, and the physical margins of the city. The outskirts was the place of filth -- close to common dumps and living among its own polluting

productions (the resources of cleanliness, good sewers or ample space in which to distance their refuse unavailable to them). Evident in the castle of Alma episode is a topology of the city writ small around the body, and its 'ideal' organization is constructed as natural. The metaphor of the body suggests that social constructions are not constructions at all but divinely ordered because the body is supposed to be a reflection of divine order and influence. The body as city under siege constructs an inside and an outside based on social acceptability. Gregg Carr suggests that the urban patterning of London took place "according to economic status and prestige" (1). As the Elizabethan proclamations suggest, what is socially peripheral is made topographically peripheral.

For Arthur and Guyon to enter the house of Alma they must first pass through its margins. They are initially denied access and are forced to face what lies outside the ordered and bounded body/society. In Purity and Danger, one of the goals of Mary Douglas is to "show how the symbolism of the body's boundaries is used in this kind of unfunny wit to express danger to community standards" (122). The entrances to the house of Alma are guarded because vulnerability exists at these margins. Guyon and Arthur are advised by the sentinel to leave and save themselves "from neare decay" (2.9:12). This particular choice of language, specifically the term "decay," is suggestive not only of the

threatened death of the knights, but of the encounter with the decay of the human body/society that exists at its margins -- Guyon and Arthur, being in the liminal space are "neare decay."

This liminal space around the castle of Alma, a space that, if the body is to represent the city, would be the site of waste disposal for that city, is occupied by Maleger and his crew, who are characterized as "a thousand villeins...Vile caytiue wretches, ragged, rude, deform'd / All threatning death" (2.9:13). The confrontation of Arthur and Guyon with Maleger is a reworking of the battle between Heracles and Antaeus; the Greek hero and the Libyan Other. But Spenser's reworking, instead of constructing the Other as exclusively foreign, suggests also a class difference. Spenser is often inconsistent in his use of spellings, and "villein" and "villain" are used interchangeably in The Faerie Queene. The significance of this goes beyond etymological connections to reveal a conceptual linkage between villainy, and the servitude that 'villein' connotes. A villein is one of the class of serfs in the feudal system, and is a term designating one of low birth,<sup>11</sup> and 'caytiue' or its variants can be used for a similar emphasis. So, occupying the marginal space outside the temperate body, and attempting to attack and overthrow (pollute) its physical and hierarchical composure, is an army of a particular social makeup. They are characterized

as "raskall routs," both of which terms are used later by Spenser to characterize a "foolish" assembly of "meane" people that harken to the levelling giant in Book five (5.2:51;52;54). Maleger's "rude troupes" and "raskall routs" desire to tread Arthur and Guyon "to the ground" (2.9:15). Their own baseness is represented as something which might be able to degrade Arthur and Guyon. Barkan asserts that Maleger draws his strength from a Nature that is conceived of as "earthly fallen matter" (173), but that this same Nature can also be represented as the source of life. Yet Barkan does not address the class-specific quality of this constructed doubleness of Nature: is social station what is responsible for Nature being "earthly fallen matter" for Maleger, or is this just a coincidence? The "earthly fallen matter," the ground to which Maleger and his "rude troupes" try to bring Arthur and Guyon, is a space not only physically but socially isolated from the upper rooms of the Castle of Alma that are occupied by aristocratic courtiers and the genealogies of royalty.

The classing of Maleger and his band that takes place in these several stanzas is carried further by the extended simile Spenser employs to describe their attack on Guyon and Arthur:

As when a swarme of Gnats at euentide  
 Out of the fennes of Allan do arise,  
 Their murmuring small trompets sounden wide,

Whiles in the aire their clustring army flies,  
 That as a cloud doth seeme to dim the skies;  
 Ne man nor beast may rest, or take repast,  
 For their sharpe wounds and noyous inuries,  
 Till the fierce Northerne wind with blustring blast  
 Doth blow them quite away, and in the Ocean cast.

(2.9.16)

In this simile the threat of Maleger and his forces is seemingly defused: they are reduced to insects,<sup>12</sup> "murmuring" and "noyous," yet capable of being dispersed with one strong blast of wind. Because of the position they occupy outside of the allegorized body, I would argue that this simile represents them as a kind of excremental by-product of the body, a lingering haze expelled by the body but that remains to 'annoy' it. There is humour available here but it is humour generated at the expense of Maleger and the class of which he is represented as being a part. The simile sets out to elaborate the amorphous nature of the "rude troupes" that "though they bodies seeme, yet substance from them fades" (2.9:15). That the gnats with which they are compared find their origins in "fennes," a term that served as a synonym for 'sewer' in many of the Tudor commission titles catalogued in the STC, and a term that the O.E.D. asserts carried connotations of dirt, filth and excrement, suggests also the originary status of the tenor of the simile. The fens of Great Britain were characterized

frequently as a source of noxious emission or pollution (spiritual or physical). For instance, in "Mortimeriados" (1596), Michael Drayton images the degradation of King Edward by describing the reduction of his surroundings and luxuries: "A silly molehill is his kingly chair, / With puddle water must he now be dressed, / And his perfume the loathsome fenny air" (l.1814-1816). The fenborn gnats are described by Spenser as "noyous," the identical term he uses in reference to the product expelled by the temperate body at the port Esquiline in stanza thirty-two. Maleger and his band, then, are compared to a "cloud" of noxious quality emitted with "murmuring small trumpets," implicitly associated with excretory processes by their "noyous" quality, and dispersed in a "blustering blast" of "wind."<sup>13</sup> And finally, the image of the gnats being "in the Ocean cast" (2.9:16), while, as Hamilton argues, prefiguring Maleger's final disposal, is also analogous to the Renaissance practice of the disposal of human waste product in waterways -- it is otherwise a very strange way to image the destruction of gnats. The frequent use of the term "seige" in this part of the episode, a word Eric Partridge<sup>14</sup> identifies as an alternative for the close-stool or commode, also identifies the nature of the attack under which the temperate body suffers. This comic reduction of Maleger and his band displaces the frightening and threatening associations of the body with corruption safely



on to a class that is distanced through humour and physical exclusion.

David Miller suggests that Elizabethan writers revealed a reticence to name the bodily organs of generation (165-166), and that this area, then, becomes "a vernacular carnival ground" producing a "semantic fertility" of slang and innuendo displacements (167). In "Alma's Nought," David Miller's chapter in The Poem's Two Bodies on the house of Alma, his concern is with the displacement of the genitals as they are (nought) represented in Spenser's allegorical body. I would argue that scatological humour and imagery occupy the same kind of semantic territory that Miller designates for the organs of generation and that there is present here and throughout the first stage of the episode a displacement of the excremental, and that this displacement mirrors the physical displacement of beggars and waste products. Spenser's entomological simile reveals a more playful kind of displacement of bodily processes. But playful and benign are not necessarily equivalent. The fashioning of the classical (to use the Bakhtinian term) temperate body depends for its efficacy upon the creation of an Other (grotesque) body upon which the classical can distance its own bodily processes, and the fact that this fashioning often takes place, as I suggest it does here, with reference to class suggests the way in which hierarchies reproduce themselves.

The specification of the gnats' origin, "the fennes of Allan" in central Ireland, may stem not only from Spenser's personal experience with the landscape but also the desire to displace social problems on to a foreign and lower-class influence. In Richard Carew's Svrvey of Cornwall, he cites Ireland as the source for most of the poor burdening their area. He recommends that stiff statutes be executed for a whole month so as to "acquit" the area of the troublesome presence for an entire year. He devises this plan because the current practice of executing the statutes for only a short time results in too short a respite, and, in just "nine dayes," "those vermine swarme againe in euerie corner" (67r). This reiteration of the image of the swarm, the specification of its origin, and the infectious nature of its presence, suggest that what we have in these two instances are examples of the employment of a cultural tendency in the representation of problematic social presences; a social and geographical displacement of the source of pollution. In these cases the high/low of society becomes reinscribed as an English/Irish binary. Greenblatt suggests that, in A View of the Present State of Ireland (1596), Spenser uses the Irish as Other to assist in the fashioning of identity (Self-Fashioning, 186-187). Spenser associated the Irish with "licentious barbarism" and the English with "goodness and civility" (View, 11). But Spenser asserted that the danger existed that, in this

hybrid zone, the English-occupied Ireland, Irish habits could act as a "contagion" (66) and infect the English, and he suggested that already some Englishmen had "degenerated and grown almost mere Irish" (48). One of the ways in which Spenser asserted the Otherness of the Irish was to characterize their living conditions as beastly: the "swinesteads" they occupied Spenser designated as "the chiefest cause of his [the Irishman's] manner of life and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast in one house in one room in one bed, that is the clean straw, or rather the foul dunghill" (82-83, emphasis mine).<sup>15</sup> In this representation, the Irish, like Maleger, exist outside the disciplined body, in the territory occupied by animals, savages, and excrement. They are set off from the English self in order to displace the admitted potential of degeneration.

Port Esquiline, like the gate in the Roman wall to which it alludes, is the threshold of social and bodily displacement. From here, all that "noyous was, and nought, / By secret wayes, that none might it espy / ...was auoided quite" (2.9:32). Jerome Carropino, in Daily Life in Rome, asserts that "Esquiline was completely outside the original bounds of the Roman Urbs, and it was not until Augustus, in 7 B.C., that it was considered part of the city" (24). The hill was the site of a reservoir of water and connected to the network of sewers that carried sewage to the Tiber

(Cosgrove, 24). The makeup of that sewage was not always what one might assume it should be. Reid asserts that, in the time of Diocletian, the corpse of Saint Sebastian was disposed of in the Cloaca<sup>16</sup> Maxima, the city's largest ancient sewer (19). J.J. Cosgrove, in his History of Sanitation, suggests that the large dimensions of the sewers can be assessed by the uses to which Nero put them, one of which was to throw "into them the unfortunate victims of his nightly riots" (34). These practices of Nero and Diocletian, then, suggest that the sewer system of ancient Rome, of which Esquiline was a part, was also the conduit for the disposal of a waste class from the city.<sup>17</sup> J. E. Zimmerman notes that Esquiline Hill, beyond the gate of the city, was also the site where criminals were executed, and their bodies were left there for beasts and birds of prey (99-100).

We are not actually 'privy' to the disposal of any waste materials during the tour of the house of Alma. But its architectural rendering and the site of its disposal seems to me analogous to another Spenserian moment; the dismemberment and drowning of Munera in canto two of Book five. After the defeat of Pollente, Munera's father, Artegall and Talus storm the castle in which Munera hides herself. Talus finds her and handles her so roughly that "Artegall him selfe her seemlesse plight did rew" (5.2:25). After chopping off her hands of gold and feet of silver,

Her selfe then tooke he [Talus] by the slender wast,  
 In vaine loud crying, and into the flood  
 Ouer the Castle wail adowne her cast,  
 And there her drowned in the durty mud. (5.2:27)

Munera's body is made to participate in the discourse of punishment; it is dismembered and the signifying parts are "nayld on high, that all might them behold" (5.2:26). What remains of her body, "wast" in both the available senses of waist and waste, is disposed of by Talus in a manner appropriate to its status. Her body having served its exemplary function is refuse and its convergence with the "durty mud" of the stream that surrounds the Castle reinforces not only her association with the "mucky pelfe" (5.2.27) of material wealth but also the excreta that is traditionally jettisoned in this way and may be what is making the mud "durty."

In the first section of chapter three, I suggest that the punishment of Braggadocchio by Talus is a class specific action. If this dimension of his punishing action is functional in the Munera episode, then perhaps his disposal of her in the above fashion is operating on that level as well. But the class of Munera and Pollente is difficult to determine. Elizabeth Heale glosses the episode as a representation of the "evils of aristocratic violence" and tyranny (481). For her, the episode is socially critical of the oppressive workings of some members of the landed

gentry, an oppression that she argues was at the root of much of the revolution from below in the sixteenth century. In this case, the episode would be fairly radical, a critique of a powerful elite for abusing their position in the hierarchy, a position Spenser argues elsewhere is a birthright. Heale's reading is certainly available in the text. Her assertion of Pollente's aristocracy is grounded in Spenser's description of him as "Having great Lordships got and goodly farmes" (5.2:5) (Heale cites this line, 481). Yet there is no narrative assertion here, as one comes to expect in Spenser, concerning birth. Pollente and Munera acquire great Lordships, but they do so only through extortion and oppression; "natural" right or a priori status is passed over here. There is room here to read Pollente and Munera more as part of the rising social group, about which Lawrence Stone writes,<sup>18</sup> whose position was based on wealth rather than birth. Pollente and especially Munera are characterized by excessive material accumulation,

That many Princes she in wealth exceeds,

And purchast all the countrey lying ny

With the reuene of her plenteous meedes. (5.2:9)

Munera's ability to purchase (real) estate, in its opposition to title, right, and order embodied in the "Princes" she surpasses, is set out as a potential social threat. Her punishment at the hands of Talus, then, may be understood as class-inflected, and her subsequent

association and assimilation with the "durty mud" (5.2:27) may be playing on a cultural tendency to associate the lower levels of social organization (criminal as well as class) with the lower bodily stratum and its "durty" production. There is a scatological association with the punishment of Munera that in turn suggests a classing of her 'nature.' The disposal of Munera places her outside the castle wall; in the house of Alma episode, this position is occupied by Maleger and his crew. Both seem to me an articulation, in architectural and topological terms, of the boundaries of social existence, and that both instances class their characters and associate them with excremental production reveals the way in which the body of the Other, 'lower' class was made to be the sign of danger in order to construct an area of stability and security.

#### INSIDE

That Guyon and Arthur come upon the house of Alma and find its "gates fast barred...And euery loup fast lockt" is suggestive of the Renaissance association with mastery of the body and civility. The allegorical ideal body occupied by Alma is a body that is impermeable, closed -- like the definition of the classical body articulated by Bakhtin and his followers. Paster argues that the "increased expectation of bodily refinement and of physical and emotional self-control" that characterized the early modern period "worked to lower thresholds of shame at the same time

they promoted what Foucault and others have seen as a reform movement directed toward inculcating self-discipline" (14). The body of the house of Alma is a body that attempts such careful self-regulation, and its success is reflected in its ability to remain impervious to the forces of disorder and to keep in "goodly order" (2.9:33) and containment the disparate elements within it.

"Goodly order" of bodies depended on the equilibrium established between the humours, the four elements of bodily makeup. Paster suggests that the humoral theory of bodily organization that was accepted doctrine from classical times to the mid-seventeenth century did much to stabilize social organization through its analogical employment. Humoral theory, argues Paster, "establishes an internal hierarchy of fluids and functions within the body which is fully assimilable to external hierarchies of class and gender" (19). Spenser does not explicitly refer to humoral organization of the body in the House of Alma, but the "quadrate" that is "twixt" the "imperfect, mortall, foeminine" and the "immortall, perfect masculine" can be understood, according to Hamilton, as "the four bodily humours which connect soul to body" (2.9:22 and note). Spenser's allegorical body is very definitely organized according to hierarchical strategies, and the stages in the tour of the house of Alma correspond to the structure of social organization from low to high. In his anatomy of the



temperate human body is represented an anatomy of the temperate social body.

The tour of the body, conducted by Alma for Guyon and Arthur, can be separated into three distinct literal units: the functions and organs of digestion; the functions of the heart; and the functions of the head. Nohrnberg describes this tripartite division in terms of

three kinds of 'spirits' that, according to contemporary physiology, mediated the link in man between the physical and the intellectual creation. These are the natural, cordial, and animal spirits, which act on the body, the emotions, and the mind respectively. Their seats are the liver, the heart and the brain. (344)

Walter Davis argues that the tour of the body is based on what he asserts is the traditional division of the soul "into three parts: the vegetable soul of nourishment and growth (the triangle of the lower functions), the sensitive soul (the quadrate of the breast), and the intellectual soul (the circle of memory, judgement and imagination)" (25). Nohrnberg chooses a physiological paradigm, whereas Davis opts for the spiritual -- the working out of both analogies reveals the way in which the body can be used as a vehicle for a myriad of tenors. Barkan suggests: "the human body as a metaphoric vehicle has considerable range...since it is capable of subdividing its referent into a great number of

parts, while at the same time controlling the total range by means of the body's essential unity" (4). Yet the very predominant concern in the Renaissance for the fashioning of the body suggests that perhaps this unity is not as essential as Barkan may wish to assert. The body is always already the product of cultural pressures that shape and determine it in certain ways. As Brian Turner argues, "Biological facts exist but they exist by virtue of classificatory practices which preclude fixed points (such as 'nature')" (28). Turner's argument complicates the very certainty of the body that is responsible for its popularity as a site of metaphorical exploration. In this way, the body and the tenors it ostensibly describes are actively and mutually productive -- the body's 'naturalness' makes it a powerful ideological medium in the social construction of itself and of its tenors. As Elaine Scarry argues: "the sheer material factness of the human body will be borrowed to lend [any] cultural construct the aura of 'realness' and 'certainty'" (14). The tripartite tour of the house of Alma, then, is a multivalent paradigm which can lend an apparent stability to a great number of organizational theories or strategies, one of which is a social hierarchy paradoxically based on the very distance of its components from the constructed instinctual body. My tripartite division of the house of Alma moves from the physical labourers of the stomach (digestion) to the aristocratic

court of leisure in the heart to the seat of royalty and its narratives in the head.<sup>19</sup>

I argue in chapter one that evident in the recesses of the cave of Mammon is a substructure of production that is disturbing for Guyon, the gentle knight, to admit and face without shame. The "deformed creatures" (2.7:35) that attend the refinery furnaces and "swincke" and "sweat" (2.7:36) in their production of the gold which Guyon dismisses as "mucky filth" (2.7:15) are necessary for production but uncomfortable for 'proper' society to acknowledge. To my mind, these attendants, who make Guyon particularly ill at ease and self-conscious, are remarkably similar to the kitchen attendants in the house of Alma, who "did about their businesse sweat, and sorely toyld" (2.9:30).<sup>20</sup> In the cave of Mammon, "Some scumd the drosse, that from the metall came; / Some stird the molten owre with ladles great" (2.7:36). In the house of Alma, many cooks, with "hookes and ladles" (2.9:30) attend digestion. Each "had seuerall offices assind, / Some to remoue the scum, as it did rise; / Others to beare the same away did mind" (2.9:31). Evident in both locations is a labouring class responsible for the removal of the problematic substances inherent in production.

But in the Castle of Alma, unlike the cave of Mammon, Guyon does not feel the impulse to "retire" from the sight of the labourers. I suggest that this difference can be

accounted for by the greater physical distance from which Guyon encounters the residue of labour. David Miller argues that, in the house of Alma, the "governing metaphor" is digestion: "with Guyon and Arthur, we enter the body through the mouth, descend the throat to the stomach, survey the mechanics of excretion, as though we had been allegorically swallowed" (176). Yet we, "with Guyon and Arthur," are not the waste products of this process, and our tour both does and does not include the "mechanics of excretion." Miller is being careful when he says that Arthur and Guyon "survey" excretory processes, for the last steps we see them take are "Into the kitchen rowme" (2.9:28). The prospect may be awesome from here, but it can not include the "secret wayes" and close conveyances that eliminate that which is "noyous." Their view, like ours, is from a privileged height, taking in the aspects of consumption, digestion, and excretion, but remaining at some remove from the physical contact and its tainting association -- nor are they confronted, as Guyon is in the cave of Mammon, by the "staring eyes" (2.7:37) of the workers. The reader does not see into the "secret wayes" but is merely made aware of their operation. Arthur and Guyon are not described as specifically entering or viewing this final stage of digestion. The preparation of Concoction and the ordering of Digestion are open to the view of character and reader alike, but, as for the

excretory function, "none might it espy" (2.9:32). Like the removal of the city waste that took place at night, the process is acknowledged but made invisible. The narrator suggests that "neuer had they seene so straunge a sight" (2.9:33), and, it seems to me, that this describes both what they see and what they do not ('neuer') see.

The processes not seen, and the labour and labourers involved in making it not seen, are also unnamed. The hierarchy in the kitchen/stomach moves carefully down through particularized and named processes with their associated attendants, Diet, Appetite, Concoction, Digestion, until it reaches the excretory functions, the attendants of which are unnamed and operate with a discretion bordering on denial. Miller asserts that the body's genitals, because conspicuously absent from the tour of this zone, are the "figurative excrementa of the 'first' digestion of the body into allegory" (180). But I would suggest that not only the genitals are avoided here, but the excremental production and site themselves. While the architectural anus is figured in the "Port Esquiline," the literal and detailed description characteristic of the other areas of the stomach is conspicuously absent from this (almost) representation. Instead of an allegorical personification such as the figure of Diet, we get an architectural locus that is at the very threshold of the body and the route to which is a close secret. The

invisibility of these processes and the anonymity of the labourers involved suggest the problematic nature of the work the body (as body and society) requires but finds difficult to admit. These are the people that are inside and associated with what is placed outside, and for this reason they are marginalized, and their work, to avoid and "priuily" throw out waste, becomes the object of nervous and joking displacements in language.

Miller frequently suggests that Spenser represents himself in different places in The Faerie Queene. In the figure of the steward, named Diet, Miller is encouraged in this practice by Hamilton's gloss suggesting that evident in the passage is "witty praise of the poet's own name, which signifies 'steward'" (Miller, 176; TFQ, 2.9:27 n.8-9). Miller argues that Spenser, then, is "the figure presiding over an allegorical repast," and that he positions himself "as we cross over into another mode of figuration" (177). Miller is suggesting here that Spenser/Diet is a threshold figure in terms of the mode of representation: Diet serves as a pivot-point from the literal and visceral to the symbolic courtiers of the heart. But neither Miller nor Hamilton consider the social implications of such a positioning. If Diet figures Spenser, then Spenser is placing himself near the marginal area of the processes of digestion -- he is describing himself as a figure at the edge of social categories -- one of the physical and literal

forces of production yet at the very threshold of the symbolic courtiers of a higher physical and social position.

But 'steward' is not only another form of the name 'Spenser'-- the O.E.D. suggests that the term 'steward,' used to indicate someone who attended on a meal, was in this sense synonymous with a particular signification of the term 'sewer.' That Diet, designated as the steward -- the uppermost man in our hierarchy of the stomach -- is revealed, at the level of language, to be associated with excrement and its disposal suggests that this class/excrement paradigm is operating very early in the episode, and operating with particular reference to the poet himself. Ruth Mohl, in her consideration of the biographical details of Spenser's life, offers a number of possible candidates for Spenser's father, and concludes with the assertion that "it is certain...that Spenser was not born a gentleman" (668). And Greenblatt indicates that Spenser was designated as a "poor Boy" on the roll at Merchant Taylor's School (Self-Fashioning, 185). "In the spring of 1569," records Mohl, "Spenser matriculated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as a sizar (a poor but not penniless scholar given servant's duties in exchange for room and board)" (669). Diet's threshold position, then, does seem an apt description of the poet, who spent a great deal of his formative life on the boundaries between different social positions.

Spenser's social position was also problematic because, according to Richard Helgerson, he aspired to be more than a part-time poet. Helgerson's representation of the sixteenth-century practice of gentlemen minimizing their own involvement with poetry suggests that the position was perceived of as on the margins of social acceptability for the adult male (894). Helgerson asserts that Spenser tried to renegotiate these boundaries and create a legitimate and recognizable space for himself as Poet. Poetry had to be made sufficient unto itself; the contemplative life had to be justified in response to the demands of the active. "Colin Clout," asserts Helgerson,

could not be blamed, as Philisides [Sidney] could, for abandoning a higher calling to become a shepherd. But Spenser could. He, like Sidney, has been given an education that destined him for public service, an education that defined poetry not only as different from action but opposed to it. (895)

But Helgerson's suggestion of similarity between Spenser and Sidney ignores the differences of class and birth between the poets,<sup>21</sup> differences that meant very different social and vocational destinies. Helgerson draws attention to the possibility that, in Colin Clout's inability to make his vision comprehensible to the courtly Calidore, Spenser is revealing a disillusionment with his role and the social recognition and position it had failed to win for him.



Diet, then, becomes available as an early textual site of Spenser's figuring of his own social status -- not yet an expression of dissatisfaction, rather an acknowledgement that he is on the very threshold of the higher social orders, but not of them.

This reading of Diet/Spenser also makes available another explanation of the designation 'Port Esquiline.' Virgil, one of Spenser career models, had a home on Esquiline hill. As mentioned above, Carropino asserts that Esquiline was completely outside the original bounds of "the Roman Urbs" until Augustus' time (24). Virgil, then, occupied a place on the topographical margins of Rome, a position similar to, although not as geographically distant as, the relationship of Spenser to the court he sought to represent, and fashion. In 1580 Spenser went to Ireland in the service of Lord Grey, and it was in Ireland where he would remain, aside from periodic visits to London, until his death. The positioning of a figuring of Spenser in proximity to the Port Esquiline achieves a double function: it suggests that he has been kept low in the hierarchical organization of the body politic; and it also suggests the 'real' value, Virgilian in fact, of the marginalized figure -- Diet suggests his social degradation at the same time as it asserts his 'real' worth. In contemporary parlance, Diet has hit his 'glass ceiling,' and while he has some contact with the higher orders of the social body, he

remains in the "stately Hall" (2.9:27) between the "goodly Parlour" (2.9:33) and "kitchin rowme" (2.9:28) where the unnamed labour and the unnamed substance is secretly avoided.

The kind of non-specific textual avoidance that almost describes the house's labourers and their functions is also present in the early records of the Commissioners of Sewers. Whereas these men were primarily responsible for seeing that the system of field drainage and flood management was maintained, also making up part of their jurisdiction were issues of sanitation. Yet, while their records frequently refer to necessary "clensyng" and "scouringe" (Owen, Holland, 131)<sup>22</sup> of the systems to keep them open and operational, they never describe the kinds of blockage materials that necessitate this action. John Harington, in The Metamorphosis of Ajax (1596), suggests that the commission, while "chiefly intended to keep open the channels of riuers in the deepe countrey," also dealt with faeces disposal "which in populous towns had as much neede to be looked to" (121). This reticence to specify, a reticence Harington himself reveals in his long opening apology for the "basenesse of the subject" (62), must have something to do with social decorums surrounding the body and its productions. These social decorums, as Erasmus and the wealth of conduct material makes evident, are to distinguish one from one's social inferiors, who, by logical

displacement, become conceptually associated with the material of social prohibition.

Robert Brenner argues that, within a Marxist reading of capitalist cultural organization, "the way people produce their means of subsistence -- their mode of subsistence -- determines what they are" (275); that is, the way work is organized (divided) determines social position. In the house of Alma, we see a clear division of labour within the kitchen/stomach and within the body as a whole, and this hierarchy is based on the assessed social value attributed to the work of each level.<sup>23</sup> The status of the waste-remover is low because the object of his work is that which is (un)productive; that is, waste rather than product. "Those who remove waste," asserts Reid, "become the 'other,' untouchables outside society whose integral place in the functioning and identity of society is frequently obscured" (88). The irony of course is that in a society such as the Renaissance, one so overtly concerned with the management and control of the body as a reflection of civility and distinction, it is precisely this low position that is responsible for that management.

Douglas, in Purity and Danger, includes a very revealing discussion of the caste system in India. She argues that it is the services of the lowest castes that "enable the higher castes to be free of bodily impurities....The whole system represents a body in which by

Fashioning Interiority: The Discursive  
Construction of Gender and Class Absolutes.

In the mid-1980's a number of Renaissance scholars, building upon paradigms posited by the French philosopher Michel Foucault -- paradigms of history, the history of knowledge, and their relationships to power -- came to consider the modern notion of the self as anachronistic to the early modern period. The question in its early conception was constructed in terms of the naked opposition between those who argued that there had always been an essential self, and those who understood the notion of an essential self as an Enlightenment construction. It became readily apparent that the question put in these terms was non-productive, and the controversy shifted to Renaissance discourses of subjectivity. The concern was no longer with whether or not Renaissance subjects conceived of themselves as possessing an interiority, but with their discursive constructions (and the strategies of denial or forgetting that masked the constructedness) of interiority. Consequently, these scholars made one of the practices of new historicist work an attempt to historicize the Renaissance subject,<sup>1</sup> exerting "special effort" to "become conscious of 'the individual' and 'society' as 'no more than descriptions'" (Williams, 72) with their own interpretative history. For instance, Francis Barker and Jonathan

(the mouth) that "Did [Esquiline] far in workmanship excell" (2.9:23), and it seems to me that this structuring makes available a reading by which "workmanship" could indicate, not only an aesthetic evaluation of the designs but a differentiation of the status of the labour of each bodily zone. Book two ends with a final reinscription of the hierarchy that finds its basis in excremental imagery with the Palmer's explanation of Grill's beastliness: "The donghill kind / Delights in filth and fowle incontinence" (2.12:87). Spenser's text, and other cultural texts of the period, presume to describe a substructure of society and they reveal the way in which the representational strategies employed in such descriptions contribute to their object's continuance as a substructure.

## ENDNOTES

1. It should be noted that this was certainly not the first nor the last of the proclamations against vagabonds. This particular one however was issued twice in almost identical form, and for that reason I use it here -- cf. STC # 8109, 8218, 8236, 8255.5, 8261.7, 8266, 8271, 8282 for other proclamations against vagabonds covering roughly the years 1576-1600.
2. For several descriptions of disembowelments see Leonard Parry's The History of Torture In England (pages 106-109, 118-125).
3. This doubleness is not as structurally distinct as I might seem to suggest here. Whereas the anatomized body was an object of fascination, the exhibition of the punished body did not always function exclusively as an object to inspire fear; it also fascinated and attracted its viewers. This fascination factor can go a long way toward explaining the proliferation of the pamphleteering surrounding executions and public punishments.
4. In Montaigne's essay, "On cruelty," even as he argues for a more humane treatment of 'live' malefactors, he displays a similar tendency to refer to the body of the criminal as a kind of waste product. He argues that boiling or quartering the dead body (after a "plain execution" (184)) would be just as useful toward the inspiration of awe in the viewers, and therefore the state would achieve the exemplary function while at the same time not driving the criminals to despair and therefore damnation through lengthy torture. Montaigne's proof of this thesis is to describe the post-strangling quartering of a robber in Rome: "every single stroke that the executioner made was greeted by the people with doleful cries and exclamations, as if everyone lent his own sense of feeling to the carrion" (185, emphasis mine).
5. That Derrick should later serve as executioner for his saviour, the Earl of Essex, is a great source of ironic amusement to the penal historiographers. But this coincidence could also be used to support the assertion that to associate with such people was to court a dangerous pollution.
6. Bland is quoting someone here, but the source of his quotation is unclear. Because elsewhere in his study Bland uses Session Rolls, it is likely that this citation is from

a calender or roll for the year 1649, but I cannot be certain.

7. In his 1991 consideration of the hangman, Geoffrey Abbott makes a very interesting and telling critical move in his introduction. Seeking to justify his attention to the position of hangman, he comments on what he describes as a "deliberate omission" of the details of the hangman in court proceedings. He wants to rectify this historical and historiographical reticence:

Executioners were no faceless, nameless pieces of the law's machinery but were as necessary to society as were the public prosecutor, the lord chamberlain and indeed the prime minister of the day. As one political philosopher, on being presented with an abstract scenario for the perfect and ideal community commented wryly, 'Et qui videra les pots de chambre?' -- but who will empty the chamber pots? (11)

In Abbott's choice of anecdote he reveals his own conceptual linking of the criminal with human excrement, and the connection between those labourers responsible for the handling of both kinds of, in these constructions, 'waste' -- a linkage that I argue is also a tendency of Renaissance cultural organization.

8. This tendency seems also to be employed at different levels of the hierarchy. In Lear, Oswald is prevented by the disguised Edgar from slaying Gloucester -- Oswald's response is to call him "peasant" and "dunghill" (4.4.231;244). Oswald makes the mistake of assuming that Edgar (Poor Tom) is beneath him in rank, and the language he adopts to negotiate and describe that social distance employs scatological imagery.

9. The social value of this denial of the body is evident in the pamphlet "A notable and prodigious Historie of a Mayden, who for sundry yeeres neither eateth, drinketh, nor sleepeth, neyther auoydeth any excrements, and yet liueth" (1589). The woman in this pamphlet is valorised and made exemplary because of her complete denial of the body. She becomes, in fact, a religious icon of sorts -- the object of pilgrimages and prophecy. Her distance from the bodily processes is understood by those around her as suggestive of her purity and spirituality. This kind of mastery of the body, its functions and its urges, is what Spenser seems to want to privilege.

10. Norbert Elias covers much of this kind of material in The Civilizing Process: The Development of Manners, and his excerpts and commentary reveal the concern for secrecy (and shame) which surrounded all of these bodily functions (130). Elias asserts that with Erasmus one can discern a different

standard of shame -- but, nonetheless, one that is perhaps less repressive than our own.

11. A. C. Hamilton notes that Spenser refers to the body in "sinfull vellenage" in the first stanza of canto 11 as an echo of the state of villeiny of Maleger (2.11:1 n.9). Maleger as villein is one in bondage -- the allegorical implications which Hamilton sets out are that Maleger's "vellenage" is to sin and "fraile flesh." But this ignores the ramifications of the fact that Spenser employs a socially specific term to designate this condition of depravity and monstrosity. The category of villein is drawn from the discourse of class and its bondage, while supplying an apt analogy, is nonetheless a social imposition, and the representation of that position inhabits the literal social world as much as it does the allegorical moral universe.

12. The entomological simile seems also to have a class specific dimension. In Book five Spenser describes the "tumultuous rout" (2:51) of "vulgar" (2:33) people who follow the levelling giant as "foolish flies" (2:30). However, the flies of this simile are not imaged as clustering around decaying matter as the fen image in Book two may suggest.

13. The author of Vlysses vpon Ajax, an answer to Harington's Metamorphosis, offers a wonderful anecdote that reveals the class inflected nature of scatological humour: Henry VIII and a hunting party of nobles come upon a locked gate barring them from some hunting ground. In order to get in Henry blows his horn to rouse the keeper, and as he blows, Sir Andrew Flamocke, "troubled with the chollicke," lets flie a rouncing F.... The king looking backe and angerly asking who it was that durst be so beastly in his presence? Sir Andrew (after a low congee) made this answer: If it please your maiestie, you blew for the keeper, and I blew for Iohn the keepers man.  
(F3r-v, ellipsis mark is in original)

14. Partridge reveals that to associate excretory processes with those classed as low in the social hierarchy is still a strong impulse:

Flatulence was, in Shakespeare's day, the source and the target of humour and wit among all classes: nowadays, its popularity as a subject is, in the main, confined to the lower and lower-middle classes, and to morons elsewhere. (11)

Partridge's implication is obvious; those of refinement, higher class and intelligence no longer find entertainment in such scatological humour -- he implicitly connects scatological humour, the lower and lower-middle classes, and



morons. But at the same time, he seems to want to protect Shakespeare from those 'low' associations by a gesture to historical refinement.

15. It should be noted that this passage may be quite easily read as an indictment of the land-owning English. Spenser asserted that the Irish built houses like this because they were only given short-term leases and never knew whether they would be living there the following year. The tenant therefore had no stake in the land and would not bother to build a more permanent and 'civil' dwelling.

16. Even the very architecture of the city betrays its conceptual linkage with the organization of the body. The root of Cloaca, cloac, is also used to describe various parts of the intestines.

17. In The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, Caxton acknowledges that "the tyrants threw his [St. Sebastian's] body into a great privy," but when Sebastian appears to St. Lucy and tells her where to find his body he adds that it "was not defouled with none ordure" (2:243). Thus, even though Diocletian attempts to degrade the body and declare it waste, the temperate, sainted body distances itself from the waste material that would pollute it.

18. In An Open Elite?, Stone suggests that wealth from wool trade and other mercantile and agricultural industries was making possible the purchase of country estates: "By the early seventeenth-century, conservatives were protesting actively against this infiltration, and especially at infiltration by merchants" (399). Although Stone's observations are about the early seventeenth-century, what he describes is not an overnight occurrence but was already present to some extent in the 1590s. Pollente and Munera are not represented as labourers or merchants, but their possession of more resources than many Princes suggests that they are disturbing the established hierarchy and can be read in terms of social aggression.

19. In The Metamorphosis of Ajax, John Harington makes a kind of parable out of the position of the dung carter ("gongfarmer"), and, in it, he reproduces the hierarchy that situates excrement in the lowest position, while seeming to invert it. A hermit and an angel walk through the street and at the sight of the dung carter "the Poore Hermit, as other men did, stopt his nostrils, & betooke him to the other side of the street" while the angel walked directly past (85). Next, a woman, a "faire sight and sweet savour" (85), passed and the angel stopped his nose, while the hermit gazed in admiration. When the hermit asks the

angel why he stopped his nose at the woman and not at the carter, "he was told by the Angel, that this fine courtesan laden with sinne, was a more stinking savour afore God & his holy Angels, then that beastly cart, laden with excrements" (85). The angel inverts the human tendency to place excrement on the lowest point of the scale, yet that inversion is really just the reproduction of another hierarchy that valorizes the spiritual before the bodily. Both of these hierarchical organizations are available in the representation of the House of Alma.

20. In The Analogy of The Faerie Queene, James Nohrnberg suggests a comparison between the cave of Mammon and the Castle of Alma (327). He articulates an analogy between the three domains of Mammon's temptations of Guyon and the three-stage tour of the Castle of Alma (344), but he does not explore specifically the labour nor the labourers present in the both episodes.

21. To be fair to Richard Helgerson, he does acknowledge later in his article that Spenser's reworking of the position of Poet did have a "certain autobiographical plausibility" (896) due to the fact that Sidney, Harington, and Lodge had very different expectations from the "poor scholar" (896).

22. The uses of the words "clensyng" and "scouringe" are not confined only to the page or work cited. In The Records of the Commissioners of Sewers in the Parts of Holland 1547-1603 and The Records of a Commission of Sewers for Wiggerhall 1319-1324 the most frequent verdict is for the community to see to the cleaning of the indicated sewers. In Robert Callis' "reading" of the Statute of 23Henry8. cap 5 "of Sewars" (1622) he suggests that the waterways under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Sewers were important to the commercial prosperity of the nation. Callis suggested that the country's sewers, fens, marshes, ditches, and trenches (3-4) often required purging and cleansing, but he, like the records of the commissioners of sewers, never describes the nature of the accumulation that made those purgings necessary -- although I wonder if perhaps his use of the word "purging" is not an indication.

23. In The Body Embarrassed, Gail Paster quotes from Helkiah Crooke's Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man (1615): "neyther yet [does] the noisome steame of the feculent excrements have free and direct ascent to the upper part, but be intercepted and detained within those meanders, & so smothered in those gulphs of the Guts" (Paster, 11). Paster reads Crooke's description as a naturalization of the kind of division we see evident in the house of Alma: "In the process [of the description] digestion assumes an

ethical meaning, a social coding, as the steam of the lower body is providentially diverted from improper access to the noble organs above" (11).

Fashioning Interiority: The Discursive  
Construction of Gender and Class Absolutes.

In the mid-1980's a number of Renaissance scholars, building upon paradigms posited by the French philosopher Michel Foucault -- paradigms of history, the history of knowledge, and their relationships to power -- came to consider the modern notion of the self as anachronistic to the early modern period. The question in its early conception was constructed in terms of the naked opposition between those who argued that there had always been an essential self, and those who understood the notion of an essential self as an Enlightenment construction. It became readily apparent that the question put in these terms was non-productive, and the controversy shifted to Renaissance discourses of subjectivity. The concern was no longer with whether or not Renaissance subjects conceived of themselves as possessing an interiority, but with their discursive constructions (and the strategies of denial or forgetting that masked the constructedness) of interiority. Consequently, these scholars made one of the practices of new historicist work an attempt to historicize the Renaissance subject,<sup>1</sup> exerting "special effort" to "become conscious of 'the individual' and 'society' as 'no more than descriptions'" (Williams, 72) with their own interpretative history. For instance, Francis Barker and Jonathan

Dollimore construct their arguments based on the Foucauldian premise that the Individual self (bourgeois subjectivity) appeared only in the late seventeenth- early eighteenth-centuries with the beginnings of Enlightenment philosophy. For them, the English Renaissance occupies a middle space between the relative certainty of Medieval England -- a certainty that Dollimore argues is provided by a Christian essentialism -- and a Restoration essential humanism that proposed an autonomous subjectivity (a private self). This Renaissance, as it is constructed by these critics, is a period profoundly concerned with and troubled by absolutes ('monarchy, religion, self, gender, etc.) because removed from a stable and definite relationship with God and a stable and definite social order. "Individual identity," asserts Dollimore, "had hitherto depended ultimately on the 'coherence' of a geocentric cosmology and a corresponding ideology of centred structure" (158). The reformations of the church -- events that revealed the mutually-constructing relationship between religious order and social order, and the dependence of both those orders on the sovereign's power -- as well as Galileo's decentring of universe and humanity in physical terms are two examples of the kinds of upheaval that Dollimore and some others suggest dislocated identity in the Renaissance.

What these observations mean for literary studies is that the critics who understand the early modern period in

these terms find in its literature an expression of this dislocation. In The Subject of Tragedy, a text concerned with representations of subjectivity on the Renaissance stage, Catherine Belsey argues that fictional texts "are a rich repository of the meanings [a social body's] members understand and contest" (5). This sounds very much like Stephen Greenblatt's notion of art as a sensitive "register of the complex struggles and harmonies of culture" (5), but Greenblatt and Belsey do not harmonize completely. Bringing Greenblatt into the debate not only complicates the question because we have another player, but because that player is particularly hard to characterize. On page one of Renaissance Self-Fashioning Greenblatt suggests "his starting point is quite simply that in sixteenth-century England there were both selves and a sense that they could be fashioned" (1). It seems to me that Barker, Belsey, and Doillimore would admit only the latter half of Greenblatt's assertion and suggest that the "selves" to which Greenblatt refers are always already fashioned. In his epilogue however, Greenblatt states that there is "no moment of pure unfettered subjectivity" (256); how, then, does one reconcile this concluding statement with his opening one above? Is fettering fashioning? Is the subject born into culture immediately shaped by that entrance? What I am trying to negotiate is the space between self and self-fashioning that seems to be present here. In his opening

gesture Greenblatt sets up a both/and structure that seems, though his references to Clifford Geertz suggest otherwise, to posit a self before fashioning which can be both the origin of fashioning and the object of its actions.

I want to examine the question through Laura Levine's article, "Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization from 1579-1642," because her discussion focuses on actors and anti-theatrical writers, and thus centres on the notion of social acting and the essential self. Levine argues that Greenblatt's references to deep "psychic structure" (Greenblatt, 251) are "vaguely essentialist" (122). For Levine the discrepancy hinges on notions of will. She argues convincingly that Greenblatt requires "an informed will" (Levine, 140, n10) from which one acts. Greenblatt suggests that in the sixteenth century there is "an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulatable, artful process" (2). His reference to the self-consciousness of the process is suggestive of an interiority that is wilfully fashioning an exteriority, which represents the self and yet is at some remove from it. Greenblatt, of course, opens the process up to coercive power, delimiting the ways in which selves are fashioned "by forces outside one's control" (3), but it seems to me that for Greenblatt there is something a priori that is being acted upon, something metaphysical or pre-social. Levine, using Renaissance anti-theatrical

tracts, attempts to construct another model of subjectivity that can do without essence and account for its entrenchment as a point of reference. Levine's argument suggests that the self is constituted, or not, discursively, and that evident in the Renaissance are discursive attempts to deny this constructedness.

Levine tries to describe what she perceives to be the conception(s) of the self held by several anti-theatrical writers, and her first assertion is that their notions of the self as implied in their works are profoundly contradictory, not only in relation to each other but also within individual works. She suggests that their fears of the theatre's ability to transform actor and spectator result from a conception of the self as both "shapeless and animal-like to begin with" (128). The theatre is able to accomplish a movement in the spectator and actor from playing to becoming because "the self [as conceived by the anti-theatrical writers] is both inherently monstrous and inherently nothing at all" (Levine, 123). Where Levine's argument gets trickier is in her description of the anti-theatrical writers' defense mechanisms against these competing senses of self. She suggests that they project onto the stage the fears they wish to manage. Thus the actor becomes the locus for the working out of psychic anxiety for the anti-theatrical writers:

In order to 'protect' the idea of the self as fragile



and indeterminate, for instance, one would effectively have to banish the notion of the self as monster. Perhaps one would accomplish this by projecting the idea of monstrosity onto other things, things outside the self like witches and actors....Alternately, if one were committed to the notion of the self as monster, one might banish all ideas having to do with precarious identity onto other things, things like incubi and succubi with no inherent genders. (128-129)

What Levine sees happening in the anti-theatrical work is an increased resorting to essentialist rhetoric as a defence against the sense that identity is not stable. She suggests that the anti-theatrical writers perceive actors as calling into question the notion of inherent self. This questioning, implicit in the theatrical process, is anxiety producing for the anti-theatrical writers because it threatens their sense of the social and political order of the world -- if anyone can play and therefore be anything then the structure of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline society is up for grabs. But Levine does not suggest that the anti-theatrical writers fear this implication and therefore try to silence the theatre -- instead, she argues that they recognize the validity of the theatre's assertion of unstable identity, and, as a defense mechanism, critique that expression.

I am persuaded by Levine's basic argument, but I am

made uncomfortable by several instances of her explication, and her challenge to Greenblatt's notion of "informed will" (140, n10). For instance, to reveal Anthony Munday's sense of the self as unfixed, she proceeds as follows:

'Who on the Sabbath,' asks Munday, isn't 'carried whither his affections lead him?' But it is not just the affections which the writer imagines being 'carried away,' but parts of the physical body itself. (126-127, emphasis mine).

Here, Levine seems to me to transpose agency for the purposes of her argument. She asserts, as initial premise, that the affections are carried away, yet Munday, in the very sentence she quotes, describes the affections as leading. She is positing something external acting upon spectators and transforming them, yet Munday seems to be gesturing to something inherent in the spectators that is active in itself. To me, the difference here is crucial because those "affections" which lead the subject could be construed as a form of desire or will, the will she finds so problematic in Greenblatt.

Levine's accusation of Greenblatt's self-fashioning subjectivity is based on her notion that he presupposes an internal agency conscious of fashioning an external persona; "an informed will" playing a social position. But, to my mind, Levine does not sufficiently substitute for this notion of will a framework that can function in its absence,

nor does she account for the fact that this is only one part of self-fashioning as Greenblatt proposes it. Greenblatt, like Levine, suggests that "forces outside one's control" (Greenblatt, 3) also fashion selves, over and potentially against 'individual will,' if there can be said to be any such thing. Greenblatt's self-fashioning has in part to do with acting: "it suggests representation of one's nature in speech or actions" (Greenblatt, 3). Levine asserts that the anti-theatrical tracts belie a fear that acting can translate into being, that beneath clothes and gesture there is no 'nature.' Greenblatt describes a self in the act of fashioning a self, with the proviso that that self may already be a product of social forces that shape and fashion. Levine's construction of the Renaissance notion of self suggests a self that is exclusively the product of fashioning. I will attempt to negotiate between these two positions in the argument which follows, and my lengthy introduction here is meant to clarify the critical debate concerning subjectivity within which my present chapter is situated.

What I propose to examine in what follows is the representation of interiority in Spenser's The Faerie Queene and several other Renaissance texts. In The Faerie Queene there are a number of instances of disguise; moments where Spenser is making his reader aware of the discrepancy between self presentation and what he constructs to be

individual essence. These instances share reference to the body of the figure -- initially, a body that presents a false interior through external fashionings, and ultimately, a body that is shown or made to reveal, through punishment, a 'true' relationship to the interior that that exterior is ostensibly supposed to represent. The first section of this chapter considers Braggadocchio and the naturalization of class structures through essentialist rhetoric and the technique of punishment. And in the final section of the chapter I examine, through Duessa, the cultural category of the witch and its mystification of interiority only to find reassurance in a construction that ultimately implicates all women as a source of anxiety. To bridge these two instances of disguise, the second section focuses on the character of Mirabella, whose challenge to both class and gender identities is answered by a cooptation of her interiority (again, through punishment) that produces a body constructed to speak the validation of conservative ideology. However, in all of the cases, the constructedness of these expressions of essence, the labour required to produce them, is so overt that one must question whether or not they serve only to undermine the notion of the essentialism they seem to suggest.

### I

"But when I other knew, my selfe I boldly reard" (2.3:45)

In sonnet eight of his Amoretti Spenser praises the

virtue of his beloved and considers that virtue's effect on the poet-lover in relatively typical neoplatonic terms:

You frame my thoughts and fashion me within,  
 you stop my tounge and teach my heart to speake,  
 you calme the storme that passion did begin,  
 strong through your cause, but by your vertue weak.

The beloved is here constructed as an instructor that teaches the lover and effects an internal change. One of Greenblatt's senses of self-fashioning is that it "describes the practice of parents and teachers" (3). The ambiguity consists here in the discourse that produces subjectivity; the pronoun "me" in "You...fashion me within." Is the external fashioning (the teaching that fashions) complementing an internal nature, or entirely producing it? This question is important for constructing an interpretation of one of Spenser's most famous uses of the verb "fashion"; his statement to Raleigh that the declared purpose, "the generall end," of The Faerie Queene is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline" (737). What can this statement suggest about the processes of self-fashioning? Is this line simply a reference to the poetic fashioning of Arthur, or does it go beyond that?

Greenblatt suggests that The Faerie Queene "rests on the obvious but by no means universal assumption that a gentleman can be so fashioned, not simply in art but in

life" (169). Greenblatt's claim suggests that Spenser's conception of subjectivity is one in which identity and self are manipulatable. If we enlarge the significance of Spenser's gesture of intention beyond the fashioning of a literary character, then the line becomes a little more problematic. In one sense, what it suggests is that nobility (the status of gentleman) can be created, and that, not only will fashioning take place at the level of character, but also at the level of readership; that the "ensample" provided within the poem can, and is intended, by Spenser's declaration, to shape and fashion. However, an alternate option would be to suggest that what Spenser is doing here is designating his readership. Like the courtesy books before him, Spenser could be targeting an audience for his pedagogical purpose and indicating the direction of study ("in vertuous and gentle discipline") rather than the recreative nature of that study ("to fashion a gentleman"). The "gentleman or noble person" must already be at least partially present in the reader -- in blood or nature. In either case, the letter makes clear that the "generall intention" (737) of the fashioned figure of Arthur is in turn to fashion his readership.

The dedicatory sonnets for The Faerie Queene seems to me a logical place to look for the poem's proposed relationship to the reader. Of course, the complexities of patronage and social position<sup>2</sup> mediate the dedicatory genre

and make interpretation even more difficult, but the representation of the poem that these sonnets provide attempts to construct the way in which it is to be received. In one of the dedicatory sonnets for The Faerie Queene Spenser imagines the effect the work might have on his readership. "To the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland" addresses a man of "promise" (1), "now bloosming" (2). But the second and third quatrains of the poem seem to suggest that the poem dedicated to him may "raise" him, "though ye nobly inclined are" (7):

To you this humble present I prepare,  
           For loue 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 fashiond see,  
           To like desire of honor may ye raise,  
           And fill your mind with magnanimitee. (5-12)

Spenser is presuming to fashion not only the poetic portrait of "trew honor" but also the desires of at least one member of his readership. The status of Cumberland's inclination is what I am interested in here -- is it an essential nobility? In moments where Spenser addresses his readership directly in The Faerie Queene, the implied audience is clear; for instance, canto nine of Book three begins "Redcubted knights, and honorable Dames, / To whom I leuell

all my labours end" (3.9.1). Spenser seems to conceive of his text in these instances as a supplement to an already (natural?) noble disposition.

The question these observations provoke is: according to Spenser, can nobility be fashioned or is there an a priori requirement to that status? With this question in mind, I want to focus on the movement of Braggadocchio through The Faerie Queene. Braggadocchio is a character that is literally and figuratively a self-fashioner, and his inability to become that which he plays is suggestive of the fixity of social positions. But beyond this, there is an attempt in the text to naturalize these social positions by constructing a reliable body, a body that will be an external indicator of a supposedly internal "self."

In "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed," Peter Stallybrass refers to Tudor and Elizabethan sumptuary laws as closely defining the relationship between social status and dress (125). The body is adorned with items or marks which distinguish it from other bodies and/or create an alliance between it and bodies of similar fashioning. Stallybrass's main concern is the social formation of the body and what it suggests about gender constructions, but his arguments also extend themselves to notions of class. He posits the position of "class aspirant" (134) and his description seems applicable to Braggadocchio:

Like the members of the male elite, the class aspirant



has an interest in preserving social closure, since without it there would be nothing to aspire to. But, a[t] the same time, that closure must be sufficiently flexible to incorporate him" (134)

Class aspirants, then, while denying an essential quality to class by their very actions, desire to hold onto the exclusivity that reference to essence creates.<sup>3</sup> One might think about Spenser's own position in this representation. His career and his own self-fashioning were attempts to overcome his low birth, and his representation of Braggadocchio may be an attempt to conserve the class barriers he was sure he would overcome. English sumptuary laws of the Renaissance suggest the ways in which clothing (exterior fashioning) was to be constructed with reference to the body (interiority) that wore them. Clothes were to reflect the person, not make them. But the danger that they could in fact make a person was always there, because clothing is not only a sign system that figures forth a body, but it also potentially disguises it.

Apparel speaks, and what it says has to do with class, status, and hierarchy. Renaissance writers such as Baldesar Castiglione knew this, and his 'fashioning' of a courtier included attention to apparel. Castiglione's Federico argues that the courtier

should decide for himself...what sort of man he wants to seem, and then dress accordingly, so that his

clothes help him to be taken for such, even by those who do not hear him speak or see him perform anything at all. (136)

For Castiglione, "external things often provide information about what is within" (137), and it is the construction of this interior nobility that is the lesson of The Book of the Courtier. There is, then, a very literal sense to self-fashioning by which one is to reflect distinction in the social world. But the possibility that these signs may be subverted, that the exterior "self" can be constructed without reference to "interior quality," is the kind of anxious thought out of which the sumptuary laws and other conservative measures and tracts arose.

One such text is Philip Stubbes' The Anatomie of Abuses (1583), an anti-theatrical tract that, in its broad scope, attacks gaming, dancing, prostitution, adultery, and, the most notable of these "vices and imperfections" (title page), "excess in apparell" (B5v).<sup>4</sup> This pride of apparel is manifested by the

wearyng of Apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous & precious than our state, callyng or condition of lyfe requireth, wherby, we are puffed up into Pride, and inforced to think of our selves, more than we ought. (B7r)

Clothing, then, for Stubbes, is to be a clear indicator of the station of the wearer, and the danger of class cross-dressing is that the clothes themselves may "inforce" an

identity upon the wearer that is not in accordance with their station. That apparel should be given such an active role in identity construction reveals the anxious possibility that clothing is itself constitutive -- by the taking on of certain clothes, we are "inforced" to take on the correspondent social position.

But almost immediately in the text Stubbes starts sidestepping his focus on "excess in apparell" as a vice in itself and grounds his argument in a class specific notion of the abuse of such excess. "I would not be so understood," he begins to qualify,

as though my speaches extended, to any, either noble, honourable, or worshipful...they both may, and for some respects ought to were such attire (their births, callings, functions and estats requiring the same).

("To the Reader," 4-5)

Stubbes allows that the nobility and the gentry "may use a rich, and precieuse kynd of apparell (in the feare of God) to innoble, garnishe & set forthe their byrthes, dignities, functions and callings" (C2r). His use of the verb "innoble" suggests that the clothes themselves have an active power that can confer nobility. Yet the other two verbs he uses in this passage, "garnishe" and "set forthe," suggest an a priori nobility that clothes are to enhance or represent. In either case, the clothes have the power to represent (and potentially create) social power.

Stubbes' anxiety, then, stems not from the excessive displays themselves, but from the "confuse[d] mingle mangle" (C2v) that results when the "inferior sorte" ("To the Reader," 5) take these signs upon themselves. The real problem for Stubbes is that the base born and the gentleman are indistinguishable if they are wearing the same clothes - - this notion of indistinguishability suggests, although Stubbes overtly argues that clothing should 'reflect' social position, that clothing is constitutive and, for the practical purposes of social interaction, the disguised body becomes the disguise. Stubbes wants desperately to assert that there is an essential difference between the classes, but ultimately he ends up asserting that clothing is the only way to tell them apart and, "now adayes," not even this is functioning to distinguish them:

to such an outrage is it growne that now adayes euery Butcher, Shoemaker, Cobler, Husbandman, and other, yea euery Tinker, Pedlar, and swineherd, euery Artificer and other, gregarii ordinis, of the vilest sort of men that be, must be called by the vain name of Maisters at euery word...[a name] proper to the Godly wyse, for some special virtue inherent, either els in respect of their birth, or calling due unto them." (K4r-v)

What is described here is a social world where money can buy the signs of nobility, and even though Stubbes wants to hang on to that sense of inherent (interior) worth, he is aware

that not only can the signs be purchased but so can the status. His anecdote about the need to call everyone "Maister," a designation that was reserved for gentlemen (Youings, 116), suggests that the physical assumption of exterior signifiers by the performer necessitates the intellectual assumption of interior value by the viewer -- the viewer then in turn endows that subject with the linguistic sign of social worth. The social address provides the name, and naming further cements identity.

What Stubbes wants to do, his corrective impulse, is to reconstruct a body on which dress will be a manifestation of the internal character or quality of the wearer. I use the term "reconstruct" for two reasons: it suggests the sense that Stubbes is trying to regain something that has been lost, in this case, a meaningful lexicon of apparel; and the term also suggests the constructedness of any such system of social meaning -- a constructedness that Stubbes desires to deny in his very project but one to which he cannot help but draw attention. Stubbes does include a brief section in his tract suggesting that "vertue maketh gentilitie" (Dr), yet he is always careful to be deferential to established gentlemen "for their byrthes sake, parentage and consaguinitie, and not only that but also, in respect of their callings, offices and functions" and includes only a parenthetical "(so long as they gouerne godly and well)" (C8v). The problem is that distinctions of blood are

invisible and the only visible manifestations are subject to abuse. The solution is the coercive reinstatement of practices that reinforce the meaningful relationship between clothing and the body it is to represent.

In the dedication of The Anatomie of Abuses, Stubbes urges his patron, Phillip, Earle of Arundell, "a Lamp of Light unto the world, of true nobilitie and of al integritie and perfection, to "reforme vices, punish abuses, and correcte sinne" ("Dedication," 6). In the body of the text Stubbes alludes to Tudor and Elizabethan sumptuary laws and he prays that these laws might be actively enforced: "would God euery man might be compelled to weare apparell, according to his degree, estat, and condition of life" (D2v, emphasis mine). Stubbes mourns the loss of class distinction through apparel and considers it has thrown the country into "a great confusion and a general disorder" (C2v). For this reason he calls on Arundell, other Magistrates, and people in power, to compel subjects to dress in accordance with their 'nature,' thus re-establishing clothing as a reliable lexicon of social meaning. It is with this notion of legal and legislative compulsion that I return to Spenser and Braggadocchio.

The first reference to Braggadocchio appears in the fourth stanza of Canto three in Book two -- he is described as "a losell wandering by the way." The etymological sense of "losell" as 'one who is lost' is rendered here in terms

both literal and spiritual -- Braggadocchio is lost wandering -- as opposed to the knights errant who wander but with a sense of purpose -- and he is lost to redemption, a scoundrel. He is also wandering between social positions. And the description of Braggadocchio that follows is conspicuous for its class-inflected language:

One that to bountie neuer cast his mind,  
 Ne thought of honour euer did assay  
 His baser brest, but in his kestrall kind

A pleasing vaine of glory vaine did find. (2.3:4)

Braggadocchio's aspirations are identified as neither bountiful, nor honourable. Spenser makes reference to Braggadocchio's physical body, his "brest," as a synecdochical locus for describing his moral character or nature. In the proem to Book three, Spenser asserts that Elizabeth's quality is enshrined in her "brest" (3Proem:1). That Braggadocchio's breast should be described as "baser"<sup>5</sup> suggests an interiority that is low or base born. Stubbes too uses "base" in this sense when he complains in The Anatomie that some are dressing in rich clothes "notwithstanding that they be base by byrth, meane by estate, and seruyle by calling" (C2v).

Spenser further reinforces Braggadocchio's class designation by referring to his "kestrell kind." The metaphor is drawn from a Medieval-Renaissance avian hierarchy that associates particular species of birds with

particular classes.<sup>6</sup> The kestrall is, as A. C. Hamilton points out in his edition of The Faerie Queene, "a small hawk of poor breed and base nature" (2.3:4, n4). This avian imagery is used elsewhere to set Braggadocchio apart from another figure. For instance, Belpheobe is a "soaring hawke" to his "fearfull fowle" (2.3:36), and "fowle" further resonates in all its senses to derogate Braggadocchio and place him in a 'naturally' inferior position (see chapter two). Braggadocchio, "in his kestrall kind," is the focus for narratorial derision, and "his...kind" suggests not only a type or manner, but a nature -- "kind" here could be a gesture to descent (kin), and Braggadocchio is being constructed with reference to base (kestrall) blood (kind).

So, immediately in the text Braggadocchio is identified by the narrator as base in nature and presumably birth -- his legitimacy is even called into question when the narrator describes his attempt to embrace Belpheobe in his "bastard armes" (2.3:42), a phrase that plays not only with the physical body (arms) but also with heraldic discourse (armes) supposed to reveal descent. Even the attempt itself serves to fix Braggadocchio as a class aspirant. He tells her that her beauty is wasted in the forests and that, reflecting his own desires, she is fit for the court (2.3:39). Leonard Tennenhouse and others have pointed out the way in which "the ideal [court] woman exerted extraordinary power as the object of desire, especially over



men of aspiring social groups" (Armstrong, 7).<sup>7</sup>

Belphoebe's ability to body forth the world of the court makes her that much more desirable to the pretender.

Belphoebe represents for Braggadocchio the world to which he aspires. There is a strong subtext of vision in this moment of voyeuristic desire. This desirous gaze is figured in his name as well, the 'occhio' being Italian for 'eye.' The episode contains a paradigm of class relations.

Braggadocchio sees the trappings of aristocracy, what is visible, and wants to possess or emulate.

But it is Braggadocchio's own pretensions to nobility that play a significant part in the narrator's critique of him. After his theft of Guyon's horse (Brigadore) and spear,

Now gan his hart all swell in iollitie,  
 And of him selfe great hope and helpe conceiu'd,  
 That puffed vp with smoke of vanitie,  
 And with self-loued personage deceiu'd,  
 He gan to hope, of men to be receiu'd  
 For such, as he him thought, or faine would bee.

(2.3:5)

In terms of the place of subjectivity, this passage is very difficult. Braggadocchio's aspirations are simultaneously self-generated and self-deceiving. Braggadocchio is forgetting his own construction is a construction. This passage is surprising close to Stubbes' concern that, by the

wearing of the apparel of a higher station, "we are puffed up into Pride, and inforced to think of our selves, more than we ought" (B7r). Is Hamlet right -- does thinking make it so? The subject is here "inforced" or "deceiu'd" into a social position that it at first seems only to be feigning. "Personage" can be an indication of identity and high rank, but it can also suggest only an image of that status, a physical deportment or appearance that is at some remove from the position it imitates. Braggadocchio's taking upon himself the accoutrements of (Guyon's) nobility, a self-motivated theft, has created a "now" characterized by an apparent alteration of internal processes -- wearing the external signs of nobility deceives Braggadocchio into conceiving of himself as nobility. But there is also a distance allowed here between Braggadocchio's aspirations and his achievements; he "faine would bee" a gentleman -- a line that simultaneously indicates his goal and his inability to reach it. He is never allowed completely to assume the status he impersonates; there is always something present, at the level of narration ("personage," "deceiu'd," "faine"), that gives him away as fake. This class cross-dressing also seems to upset Braggadocchio's gender identity -- by playing with essence Braggadocchio begins to slide from 'natural' categories and this is evident at the level of language. We are told that, after his theft, "his hart [began to] all swell in iollitie / And of him selfe great

hope and helpe conceiu'd" (2.3:5, emphasis mine). He is feminized by Spenser's deployment of the discourse of pregnancy as he gives birth to a new self-image.

It seems to me that it is with these instances of disguise that the questions surrounding the early modern period's conceptions of the self more complex. Richard Levin, in a quite reactionary article on what he understands to be new historicism, raises an objection that initially troubled me in my consideration of the issues of subjectivity in the Renaissance: "unless identity is assumed to be fixed and continuous, there can be no impersonation and certainly no 'mistaken identity'" (444). My understanding of one of the ways in which Levin's objection may be defused is with reference to Lacanian paradigms of psychic processes. Just as Laura Levine argues that the anti-theatrical writers projected their anxieties concerning the self onto actors to provide themselves with a stable and manageable site of instability, one might suggest that the spectacular revelation of the impersonator is being used to assure stable identity. "Impersonation" thus becomes a position constructed by the dominant cultural force to reclaim essential categories of social existence. The very term presupposes an inherent self, but the use of the term does not mean that an inherent self exists but that it is something for which there exists a need. Levin's objection, then, is answered by reference to the discursive

production of an essential self inherent in a terminology that opposes the 'real' and 'impersonation.'

Peter Stallybrass and Allon White argue that the most powerful socio-economic group is usually the one with the authority to designate 'high' and 'low' as hierarchical positions in a social order (4) -- (for my purposes here, the terms "noble" and "base" for "high" and "low" respectively may be more appropriate). Stallybrass and White suggest that there is a dependency between these positions; a "mobile conflictual fusion of power, fear, and desire in the construction of subjectivity" (5), that makes the socially peripheral symbolically central. In other words, a dominant cultural force is able to manage psychic disturbances that threaten identity by displacing those anxieties onto an Other. The Other is exhibited or described -- "often reduced to a frightening or comic spectacle set over against the antithetical 'normality' of the spectator" (Stallybrass, Politics, 41, emphasis mine). This is precisely the use that is made of Braggadocchio.

In "The Function of The Mock Hero in Spenser's Faerie Queene," J. Dennis Huston argues that there is a difference between the early appearances of Braggadocchio and his appearances in Books four and five. He argues that Braggadocchio's initial comic and entertaining foolishness "becomes [in the later books] a real threat to the order of society" (212). I would tend to collapse his structural

division and suggest instead that Braggadocchio is, in both halves of The Faerie Queene, consistently being set apart as Other; first descriptively and, in the fifth book, spectacularly. To my mind, the very foolishness that Huston finds in the early Braggadocchio is a technique by which Braggadocchio is constructed to reveal his essential baseness. He can be nothing other than bumbling in his attempts to imitate knightly behavior because he is designed as an impersonator; that is, someone who will validate that people have a 'true' nature that is inescapable by remaining circumscribed by that nature even at the moment of its denial. In the terms of Stallybrass and White, he is "exhibited" and "reduced" in order to secure the social position in relation to which he is being constructed as Other.

The bridge between cantos 3 and 4 of Book two is built upon the distinction between Braggadocchio and Guyon in terms of horsemanship, but the final stanza of canto 3 and the first stanza of canto 4 together suggest that these distinctions go deeper than performance. Braggadocchio sits on Guyon's horse and proves himself "As one vnfit, . . . that all might see" (2.3:46). Even Guyon's horse understands Braggadocchio's unworthiness, and the canto ends, the horse yearning to be rid of its "base burden," with yet another class designation. The opening stanza of canto 4, picks up on this image and discusses the difference "Betweene the

vulgar and the noble seed" (2.4:1):

chiefly skill to ride, seems a science  
 Proper to gentle blood; some others faine  
 To menage steeds, as did this vaunter; but in vaine.

(2.4:1)

Again Spenser uses the term "faine" to suggest a distance between representation in 'fiction' and possession in 'reality.' What distinguishes the positions is the mysterious "natiue influence" (2.4:1). There seems to be an attempt here to naturalize the distinctions with reference to an exterior ordering force.

But perhaps "seems" is the operative word in my assertion above, for in fact it is a word on which the narrator himself chooses to balance his argument:

In braue pursuit of honorable deed,  
 There is I know not what great difference  
 Betweene the vulgar and the noble seed,  
 Which vnto things of valorous pretence  
Seemes to be borne by natiue influence.

(2.4:1, emphasis mine)

To argue for a natural, instinctive, inherent inclination toward honour is the direction the passage seems to be suggesting. Yet the use of "seemes" in the same stanza as "faine" can be taken to imply a level of disguise or self-conscious construction that collapses the distinctions it seems at first to support. The mystification of the

ordering of humanity into vulgar and noble can be taken as an assertion of a divine ordering that escapes human comprehension, but the language with which the narrator describes the distinctions undermines the assertion that people, as Hamlet would have it, "have that within which passes show."

Braggadocchio's desire, as it is constructed in the text, is to be taken for a "person meet" (2.3:11), and, for the most part, he is taken at this face value. It is in the moments when he is required to act in accordance with his exterior fashionings that he reveals the discrepancy. By canto 8 in Book 3 Braggadocchio has acquired (through less than noble processes) all the necessary accoutrements of the noble knight errant; he has a spear, a shield, a horse, a squire, a sword, and finally, a 'woman' in distress, the false Florimell, who is, in her very constructed essence, an ornament. The implications of Braggadocchio ending up coupled with a being that is 'herself' a fashioned surface are obvious.<sup>8</sup> The false Florimell is also a transvestite being -- she is the "wondrous worke" of the witch, who surpasses "Nature selfe" (3.8:5), fashioning the outside female and animating it with a male spirit. Braggadocchio's changeability, his challenge to social categories, once more is undermined by a subtext of feminization (or homoerotic tension). His attempt to blur class boundaries results in a problematizing of gender distinctions.

But Braggadocchio does not possess the false Florimell for long. Sir Ferraugh challenges his right in her, and Braggadocchio appears to accept this challenge:

This said, they both a furlongs mountenance  
 Retyrd their steeds, to ronne in euen race:  
 But Braggadocchio with his bloodie lance  
 Once hauing turnd, no more returnd his face,  
 But left his loue to losse, and fled himselfe apace.

(3.8.18)

This action of course, in the context of a chivalric romance, distinguishes Braggadocchio as base. The fact that it is a comic moment is important because the laughable inadequacy of the impersonator reaffirms the security of the position impersonated. Stallybrass and White suggest that "the Other's mimicry of the polite is treated as absurd, the cause of derisive laughter, thus consolidating the sense that the civilized is always-already given, the essential and unchanging possession which distinguishes" (41). A man of base birth attempting the status of nobility must be constructed as comic in order to reduce the threat to noble identity that is implicit in such an action.

But these comic moments belie the fact that Braggadocchio is repeatedly mistaken for a true knight. Archimago, Belpheobe, Ferraugh, the witch's son, Malbecco, Cambell and Triamond, and all who watch the tournament at Florimell's wedding take Braggadocchio's external



fashionings as reliable indicators of an interior worth. Braggadocchio, while relying on the signifying power of apparel, implicitly denies it by suggesting through his actions and expectations that anyone taking the dress of nobility upon them becomes nobility -- he removes from the equation the signified essence that Stubbes seems to need and that Spenser attempts to reinscribe.

It is in Book 5 that the discourse of apparel and the discourse of punishment come together in a violent struggle for self-fashioning. Braggadocchio has been asserting that the clothes make the man, and Artegall, through the spectacular public ritual of punishment, reinforces that the man is always already made. Artegall undertakes the kind of action to which Stubbes exhorts his patron; he compels the distinctions of "degree, estate, and condition of life" (D2v) through the power invested in him as a representative of the power of the sovereign.

Huston argues that Artegall does not "cope constructively with Braggadocchio" (217). To my mind, the very opposite is true. Artegall does use Braggadocchio constructively; that is, he exploits his transgression to validate a construct of the social order. In Discipline and Punish, Michel Foucault argues that spectacular punishment was used for its "positive and useful effects" (24).<sup>9</sup> The punishment of Braggadocchio in Book five of The Faerie Queene serves to unite the knights of the tournament around

a definition of nobility that has been revealed through the exclusion of its base opposite (forcefully) embodied by the boastful "lozell" (5.2.35). Foucault's paradigm of punishment, as it operates prior to the eighteenth century, suggests that punishment is used to serve a "juridico-political function. It is a ceremonial by which a momentarily injured sovereignty is reconstituted" (48). Punishment is a political process with its own poetics, and like other poetic constructs, it is meant to be read. The punishment of Braggadocchio is all about 'reconstitution'; by the public designation of Braggadocchio as Other, the noble community reaffirms its integrity (of self and purpose).

Central to the punishment of Braggadocchio is the process of 'baffling.' Michael Leslie defines baffling as "a particular action indicating dishonour" that seems to have to do with the ritual and forcible removal of the signs of honour or positive distinction (78-79). Deserved suffering is the essence of punishment. The knight of justice humiliating and violently defrocking (baffling) Braggadocchio must be seen by the spectators within and the readers outside the text as justified. Social codes have been violated and require reinscription on the body of the criminal violator. This authorized violation in response to Braggadocchio's unauthorized violation marks his body with the sign of transgression -- Braggadocchio's body becomes a

palimpsest upon which authority effaces and then reinscribes. The essential body is chimeric here -- Braggadocchio constructs his own through ornamentation, and then his executioners construct another based on their notions of the proper agreement between exterior and interior. Like Philip Stubbes, Artegal! and Talus wish to reunite signifier and signified, and by that process restore the body as a reliable indicator of essential nature.

In Writing From History, Timothy Hampton discusses the nature of the operations of exemplarity. He argues that the creation of an ideological icon demands both a narrative and a body on which ideology can leave its mark. This suggests that the question of exemplarity involves not merely the interpretation of history and ideals of action...but the very status of the body itself, an object constituted by history and social power. (122)

For the fashioning of Braggadocchio, Spenser constructs both the narrative and the body, and, as Hampton suggests, the result is an exemplary figure on which can be read the ideological position it is constructed to support -- Braggadocchio's is a body that tells a story at the same time as it is an interpretation of one. It is perhaps significant that as Braggadocchio silently enters the text as the horse thief about whom "here fits not [to] tell" (2.2:11), Spenser is fashioning another ideological body;

this one marked with the stigmata of innocence. Amauia's babe, playing in the blood of his mother, is described as a "pitiful spectacle" (2.1:40). The blood-stained baby becomes to Guyon and his Palmer a "sacred Symbole" (2.2:10) of violated innocence and the necessity of revenge. The baby is constructed through the narrative as a victim and his body wears the indelible sign of that victimization. Braggadocchio, on the other hand, while being used as a spectacle, is not to be pitied in the text. The spectacle of his punishment, while similarly used as an ideological and pedagogical technique, has a different goal. Ruddymane and Braggadocchio are contrasted to each other by their textual proximity -- each body becomes an ideological icon, one to justify imperialist violence in Acrasia, the other to justify the organization of human beings into high and low (or civilized and primitive) in which such violence originates.

At the tournament in honour of the marriage of Marinell and Florimell, a feast at which Braggadocchio is in attendance, Spenser reiterates his didactic poetic purpose:

To tell the glorie of the feast that day,  
 . . . . .  
 Were worke fit for an Herauld, not for me:  
 But for so much as to my lot here lights,  
 That with this present treatise doth agree,  
 True vertue to aduance, shall here recounted bee.

(5.3:3)

Spenser's narrator explicitly gestures to the fact that he is constructing, in Hampton's terms, ideological icons. The 'lot' of his narrative is the presentation of exemplars (bodies) that in some way make available what is understood at the narrative level as an absolute category, "True vertue."

A strange play of imposture takes place in this canto as Artegall becomes an impersonator, borrowing and fighting under the shield of Braggadocchio, only to reveal Braggadocchio's impersonation. The actions Artegall accomplishes in disguise, actions undertaken while the other imposter keeps close "his false Ladie" and remains out of the contest (5.3:13), once more punctuate the inability of Braggadocchio to live up to the apparel by which he seeks to define himself. His status as impersonator is further reinforced by his subsequent acceptance of the glory won under his shield by Artegall and the language with which this acceptance is described: "So courage lent a cloke to cowardise" (5.3.15 emphasis mine).

But as the above line suggests, this "cloke" is only "lent" and it is soon to be violently rent from the imposter in a ritualized delineation of high and base. That Guyon's horse should enter into this equation is fitting both structurally and thematically -- for it was Guyon's horse that lured Braggadocchio into the narrative, and it will be

through the horse that Braggadocchio will be ejected. The horse, at Braggadocchio's first appearance, has been endowed with the ability to recognize a "base burden": "that valiant courser did discern" the "vnfit[ness]" (2.3:46) of its rider. This passage alternates between language that suggests horsemanship is a learned "skill" (a "science" in which one may be "trayned") and suggestions of its innate possession (derived from "natiue influence," "Proper to gentle blood"). The final appearance of Braggadocchio once again suggests the horse's intuition, that only serves to naturalize, in an ironic gesture in which the animal recognizes the baseness, the social distinctions of rank. It goes beyond the simple recognition of ownership that the final narrative might suggest because the horse has already been established in the larger narrative as capable of discerning quality. The return of the horse to its rightful owner begins to enact the promise Artegall makes to Braggadocchio: that "When they [others] are all restor'd, thou shalt rest in disgrace" (5.3:20).

The restoration of the others, the noble knights gathered at the tournament, depends upon that latter half of Artegall's promise. The accusation of Braggadocchio is quite plain: "Thou losell base, / That hast with borrowed plumes they selfe endewed" (5.3:20). Artegall simultaneously asserts Braggadocchio's 'true' identity, and accuses him a fashioning a false one -- a self-directed

augmentation of self with signs of status not his own. The reference to plumes here might be understood to go beyond the conventional understanding of it as a reference to Aesop's jackdaw,<sup>10</sup> and include also a reference to contemporary sumptuary laws that were very specific about the types of plumage permitted the various stations of society. And of course it is the metaphorical plucking of these plumes that takes place at Braggadocchio's baffling. The items with which he has his "selfe endewed" are stripped from him, and his disgrace is the process by which the others are restored (materially, and in terms of subjectivity).

Braggadocchio's punishment requires a public and a publicity. His shaming is at the same time an exaltation of the communal values of the knights of Gloriana's court. He is, in Greenblatt's words, their "perception of the non-self, of all that lies outside, or resists or threatens identity" (177), and his impersonation must be revealed in order to secure that identity. The vanity of his crime is balanced by the shame of his punishment. Foucault argues that the art of punishing is value-giving; it constrains toward conformity by naturalizing and excluding (183). The least important factor in the punishment of Braggadocchio is Braggadocchio -- he is merely a surface on which power exercises its right of definition. For Foucault, the feudal body "becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive

"Beauty," asserts Veronique Nahoum-Grappe, "was a tactical mask" (95). Like Braggadocchio's external fashionings, Mirabella's beauty allows her to be taken at face value, and the narrative construction of her makes it clear that this value is above her 'worth' (a term deployed frequently in this episode in both its economic and social senses). The language of economics or exchange does not seem inappropriate here -- Mirabella's beauty has a market value -- it "did kindle lovely fire" (6.7:28) in many men who, according to narrative authority, are of worth. But it is Mirabella's worth that is in question in the narrative. What is the relationship of beauty and interiority? Sara Grieco discusses the ways in which Neoplatonism recovered beauty from its medieval associations with dangerous appetites and temptation (46). "Renaissance Neoplatonism," argues Grieco, "specifically rehabilitated beauty by declaring it to be the outward and visible sign of an inward and invisible goodness...a necessary attribute of moral character and social position" (57-58). Nahoum-Grappe suggests that "beauty complemented other, truer gifts (the gifts of 'birth') and gave physical evidence of their legitimacy" (89). Beauty, then, is supposed to work in the way Stubbes conceives that clothing should function, as an exterior sign of interior worth.

Beauty is like clothing in that it is a threshold between the self and society, but it is ostensibly a more



action takes place as "cleane"; that is, characterized by an absence of spiritual or moral stain or pollution. The transgression and punishment of Braggadocchio is displayed to reaffirm the boundaries between self and Other, high and low, knight and "losell." It may be objected that Braggadocchio is punished not for his impersonation but for his unknighly behaviour -- but the point here is that the two are related in the text -- that the class impersonator cannot live up to the codes of behaviour of the class he impersonates is precisely the validation of that hierarchy.

Pieter Spierenburg, in The Spectacle of Suffering, argues that "if there is no subordination, there is no punishment" (vii), and it is the term 'punishment' to which he is drawing attention as socially loaded. Punishment, for Spierenburg, must be directed downward from a point of presumed moral superiority. Braggadocchio is most certainly punished in this sense of the term. Guyon is the first to use the word "punishment" in the episode, and it is equated in his language with the shaming that Braggadocchio undergoes prior to his baffling: "It's punishment enough, that all his shame doe see" (5.3:36). Guyon not only glances here at the public aspect of the punishment process, but also the humiliation that is part of its modus operandi. Foucault gestures at the class-specificity of Renaissance penal practice: in France, decapitation was "the capital punishment of the nobility" because it was the "least

shaming" (13). In The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 Lawrence Stone argues that the punishment of William Prynne was particularly horrible for contemporaries not because of its savage cruelty but because of "the quality of the person upon whom it was executed" (29). Stone suggests that the general tendency in penal practice was to hold gentlemen "immune from physical penalties" (29). This reticence to touch the noble body did not apply of course in cases of treason. But for the most part, "the indignity of corporal punishment was reserved for those of lower social status" (Stone, 35). This measuring out of shame suggests that issues of class informed the complex discourse of punishment. The shaming of Braggadocchio, the public exposure of his pretences and 'true' worth, is literally humiliating; that is, it brings him down from one social level to a lower one in the eyes of those witnessing, and, in the process, throws those distinctions into sharp relief.

Braggadocchio's beard is forcibly shaven, his shield seized and inverted, his coat of arms "blotted out," his sword broken, his armour scattered, his arms removed item by item, and he is "himselpe baffuld" (5.3:37). This public and ritual stripping of Braggadocchio, even of what one might consider a 'natural' sign of manhood, the beard, functions to oppose the self-directed self-fashioning of the boaster. What happens to Braggadocchio here is similar to what Elizabeth Bellamy asserts happens to Malfont in Book

five: he "is stripped of a semiotic capacity to signify anything other than the legal and penal discourse of the Queen" (304). Malfort's name is "raced out" (5.9:26) just as Braggadocchio's coat of arms, his assertion of identity, is "blotted out" (5.3.37).<sup>11</sup> The exterior signs with which he is "selfe endewed" (5.3: 20) are stripped from him and his body is made to reveal the baseness that is constructed to be his essence. "The body," argues Foucault, "is involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (25). The body's involvement in this political field is constitutive; the body is created by these political and social forces. In The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory. Brian Turner argues that "biological facts exist but they exist by virtue of classificatory practices which preclude fixed points (such as 'nature') precisely because we inhabit a world that is perspectival" (28). The body of Braggadocchio is constructed to obscure that perspectival universe and inscribe comforting absolutes.

It is not insignificant that Talus executes the punishment of Braggadocchio since, as is stated in his introduction in the text, Talus is the one that "thresht out falshood, and did truth vnfold" (5.1:12). It is also appropriate because Talus goes where Artegall fears to tread

-- Artegall has no problem beheading nobility, but give him an "unruly" woman (for instance, Munera in canto 2), or a person far below his station, and his taste for justice is soured. Artegall is at a loss for what to do with the rabble that followed the words of the levelling giant, "for loth he was his noble hands t'embrew / In the base blood of such a rascall crew" (5.2:52). Talus is the figure that mediates for justice here, just as Talus is the figure capable of 'lowering' himself to punish Braggadocchio after Guyon clearly establishes the boaster as beneath Artegall's attentions,

Saying, Sir knight, it would dishonour bee

To you, that are our iudge of equity,

To wreake your wrath on such a carle as hee. (5.3:36)

A. C. Hamilton draws attention to this kind of social structuring when he comments on the Salvage Man's attack on Turpine's rude groom in Book six: "The salvage Man saves Arthur from having to engage in battle with a groom" (6.6:22 n., emphasis mine). That in the end Braggadocchio is punished by Talus fixes his social position as he is losing his textual position -- Braggadocchio is socially placed as he is textually displaced.

Braggadocchio's violent banishment from the narrative is carefully constructed to banish not only the audacious self-fashioner but the anxiety of self that such a figure represents to a social world troubled by the disintegration

of boundaries. The nostalgic impulse prevalent in so much of The Faerie Queene, the sense of the lack of correspondence between "those old times" (5.1:1) Spenser represents and the world for which he writes, underscores the conservative ideological perspective from which his fashioning of the gentleman takes its origin. The security with which the Ladies and Knights "iest and gibe" at the "forgerie" of the "counterfeits" (5.3:39) is one that Stubbes is unable to find in his London and one which Spenser can only fashion through discipline in his poetic text.

## II

"For more on him doth then him selfe depend." (6.8:17)

The issue of the class transgressor arises in quite a different way in Book six of The Faerie Queene with the character of Mirabella. One of the central differences between the Mirabella episode and the Braggadocchio episodes is that, while the reader is able to follow Braggadocchio and witness events unfold and thereby (in theory) validate his punishment, Mirabella is introduced after her transgression and the reader understands her violation only through narrative. Also complicating the representation of Mirabella, as well as the issue of class, is a much more pronounced construction of gender identity.

The narrator introduces Mirabella very briefly in the Turpine episode and then returns to her after the baffling

of Turpine in canto seven of Book six. So the very context of her part in the narrative, her structural placement, allies her with a figure who is punished because he does not act in accordance with the constructed social role of the position he occupies.<sup>12</sup> Arthur proclaims that Turpine should "ne euer knighthood dare / Hence to profess: for shame is to adorne / With so braue badges one so basely borne" (6.6.36). Arthur's pronouncement belies a tautology that also underlies the Mirabella narrative: base actions suggest base birth, and base birth reveals itself through base actions. Turpine, "By such discourteous deeds[,] discover[s] his base kind" (6.7:1), and it is this lesson that we are to take into the Mirabella episode.

Once Turpine has been suitably placed, "the picture of his punishment" used for its exemplarity, Spenser returns to Mirabella, "whom late we left" (6.7:27), and immediately gestures to the discrepancy between the social position that she was able to achieve and her birth:

She was a Ladie of great dignitie,  
And lifted vp to honorable place,  
Famous through all the land of Faerie,

Though of meane parentage and kindred base. (6.7:28)

Mirabella has been "lifted vp;" her power of place is a power that has been bestowed upon her rather than one that she inherently possesses (hence the qualification, "though of meane parentage and kindred base"). The undisclosed

agency by which she is "lifted" is perhaps demystified, or, at least remystified, in the opening of the following canto when the narrator addresses the audience for whom Mirabella is to be exemplary:

Ye gentle Ladies, in whose soueraine powre  
 Love hath the glory of his kingdome left,  
 And th'hearts of men, as your eternal dowre,  
 In yron chaines, of liberty bereft,  
 Deliuered hath into your hands by gift;  
 Be well aware, how ye the same doe vse,  
 That pride doe not to tyranny you lift;  
 Least if men you of cruelty accuse,  
 He from you take that chiefdome, which ye doe abuse.

(6.8:1)

And, in fact, it is before the court of Cupid that Mirabella is brought on charges of abusing her 'endowment.' Played out here is a situation similar to Braggadocchio's -- Mirabella is "deckt with wondrous giftes of natures grace" (6.7.28, emphasis mine). Mirabella does not steal her exterior fashionings as Braggadocchio had; rather, nature bestows them as a gift, but they are a gift that obliges the receiver. This ornamentation allows her to rise to the position of the "gentle Ladies" to whom the narrator addresses himself. There is a kind of confusing play of origins here between Love and nature -- while she is "deckt with wondrous giftes of natures grace" (6.7:28, emphasis

mine), it is through Love that she receives her power, a power, according to Spenser, that is the possession of all "gentle Ladies" (6.8:1). So, nature's gift of beauty gives her the ability to ascend to the position of gentility, and this position in turn gives her further power. But ultimately this ornamentation must correspond with an inherent worth that Mirabella, as Spenser constructs her, lacks. So at the same time as the narrator is setting her up to teach a lesson in courtesy, he suggests her distance from those to whom she is to be exemplary, and this a priori class placement seems always already to limit her ability to occupy the position to which she has been "lifted."

The transgression through which Mirabella reveals herself is to abuse the "soueriane powre" (6.8:1) with which she has been endowed. Her beauty inspires love in many men, but she fails to understand the reciprocal nature of her endowment, the necessary reciprocity that is spelled out in canto eight's opening stanza. Anne Shaver argues that Mirabella is one of a number of versions "of discourtesy which involve challenges to contemporary hierarchies of class or gender or both" (211). Mirabella's 'inability' to "weigh of worthiness aright" and her refusal to accept the hierarchy inherent in Spenser's equation, "noblest she, that served is of noblest knight," causes the narrator to designate her as "vnworthy" (6.7:29) and authorizes the punishment she suffers. It is here that the transgressions



of class and gender come together in Mirabella -- "though of meane parentage and kindred base," she is "lifted vp to honourable place," and once there she refuses the association with men that, according to the narrator, would assure her ennobling.

In their introduction to The Ideology of Conduct, Armstrong and Tennenhouse argue that

A considerable body of medieval texts...represented the aristocratic ideal of sexual conduct. These stories identified noble birth as the natural basis for kinship relations. The source of desirability resided in the woman's noble heritage, just as the compulsion to desire and the capacity to woo such a woman sprang from the aristocratic blood of the male. These stories mystified the element of blood by representing it as the ultimate source of sexual desire. (6)

Spenser's representation of the dynamics of love may at first seem more egalitarian, but as we have seen, a consideration of blood is not absent from his construction of female sexual conduct. Mirabella's beauty allows her to rise above what would normally be her station and she inspires love in many a "worthy pere," but, as might be expected in the conservative world of Spenserian poetics, she is unable to understand the decorum required of such a position and, even though potentially "honourable," she is discursively constructed as essentially base.

"Beauty," asserts Veronique Nahoum-Grappe, "was a tactical mask" (95). Like Braggadocchio's external fashionings, Mirabella's beauty allows her to be taken at face value, and the narrative construction of her makes it clear that this value is above her 'worth' (a term deployed frequently in this episode in both its economic and social senses). The language of economics or exchange does not seem inappropriate here -- Mirabella's beauty has a market value -- it "did kindle lovely fire" (6.7:28) in many men who, according to narrative authority, are of worth. But it is Mirabella's worth that is in question in the narrative. What is the relationship of beauty and interiority? Sara Grieco discusses the ways in which Neoplatonism recovered beauty from its medieval associations with dangerous appetites and temptation (46). "Renaissance Neoplatonism," argues Grieco, "specifically rehabilitated beauty by declaring it to be the outward and visible sign of an inward and invisible goodness...a necessary attribute of moral character and social position" (57-58). Nahoum-Grappe suggests that "beauty complemented other, truer gifts (the gifts of 'birth') and gave physical evidence of their legitimacy" (89). Beauty, then, is supposed to work in the way Stubbes conceives that clothing should function, as an exterior sign of interior worth.

Beauty is like clothing in that it is a threshold between the self and society, but it is ostensibly a more

natural possession. Yet, Spenser describes Mirabella as being "deckt with...giftes" (6.7:28), so while she possesses beauty, it is never something that is allowed to be understood as of her self. Beauty here is something that is externally endowed, a privilege that creates privilege. Spenser uses Mirabella to discipline feminine beauty; she is censured for her unwillingness to engage in the social obligations inherent in Spenserian beauty, and she is simultaneously rendered less offensive to the "gentle Ladies" (6.8:1) by his partial displacement of the blame for her transgression to the inadequacies of her birth.

The narrator's gestures to the external origins of the endowments or gifts of beauty, sexual power, and their corresponding responsibilities, mystify and stabilize the textual constructedness of the disciplined female body. And the validation of these constructs are worked out on the body of Mirabella. The narrator is asserting, through Mirabella and through his gestures outward toward his female readership, that women do possess a certain power, but he does not go so far as to suggest that this power can be exercised in any way that they choose. The eighth canto opens gesturing to a female readership that possesses a "soueraine powre" left to them by Love. Mirabella, some fifteen stanzas earlier, is accused by the narrator of withholding herself and boasting of her "soueraine might" (6.7:31), and it is this abuse of her endowment that opens

her up to indictment in the court of Cupid. The narrator suggests that this power is women's "eternal dowre," delivered to them "by gift" (6.8:1), but the eternity of the endowment is soon made conditional. Cupid, a male god, gives the power to inspire love in men, but this power will remain the dowry of women, paradoxically, only if they give themselves up to men. They never really possess the power of their beauty; it is meant to be possessed by the man who desires it. Women occupy a "pseudo-center" (Newman, "Portia's," 21) between a male god and male suitors. While they are imaged as being endowed, the exchange that takes place seems to be homosocial,<sup>13</sup> between men. The gift (dowry) with which Love endows women serves only to oblige the men to "doe suit and seruice to his [Cupid's] might" (6.7:34, emphasis mine). That "soveraine might" of which Mirabella boasts is revealed to be only a displacement of the "might" which the courtiers (male?) of Cupid are to celebrate. Karen Newman, paraphrasing Marcel Mauss, suggests that gift-giving is significant "because it establishes and expresses social bonds between the partners of an exchange" ("Portia's," 20), but the partners here are men (or a god gendered male) and the commodity of exchange is the endowed woman who is threatened with the forfeiture of that apparent "chiefdome" if she refuses to be that commodity. Spenser's use of the analogue of dowry to assert female power is actually a not so subtle warning of the

conditional status of a power that is really only poetically conferred.

Mirabella's fault is to overvalue her own sexuality, and by closing herself off to men she encounters the wrath of god and poet. For Spenser, chastity is one thing, but squandering the sexual gift is quite another. Mirabella's mistake is her assumption that she is in control of her sexuality and access to her body. The narrator voices what is to be understood as her attitude in two lines that are inflected to reveal the audacity of her self-possession: "She was borne free, not bound to any wight, / And so would euer liue, and loue her owne delight" (6.7.30). Spenser provides a frightening analogue to this moment when he describes the conquest of France in the chronicles in the house of Alma. The second Brute (brute indeed) "with his victour sword first opened / The bowels of wide Fraunce, a forlorne<sup>14</sup> dame, / And taught her first how to be conquered" (2.10:23). This simile posits the rape of a woman as a pedagogical technique for the taming of her shrewishness. France as woman is not supposed to keep her body to herself, and, if she does, she must be mastered by force.

This taming social force reveals itself, makes itself evident, on the body of Mirabella. In "Em(body)ments of Power: Versions of the Body in Pain in Spenser," Elizabeth Bellamy describes the ways in which the bodies of Timias and

Malfont<sup>15</sup> are used as "site[s] of inscription made to speak a repressive discourse" (303). Bellamy wants to understand the differences between these episodes as descriptive of the differences "between the repression of monarchical authority and the repression of desire" (303).<sup>16</sup> She asserts that these differences lie in the way in which the body is made available for reading. But her larger suggestion, and the psychoanalytic reading from which it derives, concerns the interiority of psychic processes that are voiceless -- that cannot be read on the body (for instance, the conversion of Timias' exterior wound to an invisible wound manifested in an unreadable "hysterical symptom" (309)). But just as the psychic wound of Timias is made manifest later in the text through the wounding of the trees with the inscription of Belphoebe's name, so are other instances of interiority and repression in The Faerie Queene made manifest. Against Timias's voiceless displacement of the psychic pain of sexual repression I measure Mirabella's physical pain and psychic conversion at the hands of a repressive social apparatus operating at the level of narrative. Mirabella clearly enjoyed her sexual power -- the repression of desire is forced upon her from the outside and this repression is so powerful that Mirabella is compelled to understand her desire for self-possession as "wrongfull" (6.8.22).

As a result of Mirabella 'misunderstanding' her control of her own body, she is brought before the court of Cupid (a

figure of the "Love" by whom the narrator argues that women are 'empowered') on charges that she, "a rebellious Mayd," "murdred cruelly" her many male suitors (6.7:34). Spenser's use in this episode of the language of the courts and contemporary corporal punishments restrain the episode from the fantastic and bring it down to the realm of everyday experience.<sup>17</sup> A "Iurie" is formed, enquiry made, "evidence" presented, and "Of all those crymes she there indicted was" (6.7:34,35). Mirabella is then arrested and "arrayned" before the court, and, unwilling to plead, she is found guilty. This is an obvious literalization of the Petrarchan conceit that sees the lover/poet accuse his mistress of his own murder and seek revenge for her cruel 'misconduct.' However, the Petrarchan woman was conventionally, whether because of marital status or social station, unavailable to the wooer, and sexual satisfaction of the relationship would ruin not only the poetic impulse, but the poetic trope itself (upon which rested the reputation of the poet/lover). In Spenser's version there is nothing, not even Mirabella, that should stand as an impediment to the logical and sequential assimilation of Mirabella into sexuality, as it exists for Spenser, as a social institution.<sup>18</sup> It is for this reason that the narrator asserts that the revenge exacted on her is done "worthily" (6.7.32), and Arthur reaffirms her punishment as just (6.8.23). Ian Maclean suggests that, for the

Renaissance notion of woman, "there is no place...for the woman who intends to remain unmarried, nor indeed, as the Calvinist Klemens Timpler points out, is virginity a moral virtue" (57). Because Mirabella has withheld her body and scorned and disdained those who would have access to it, her body is made subject to Scorne and Disdaine who "beate and bruse" (6.7.40&45) it to make it speak her transgression.

The episode has a fairly clear contemporary analogue in Elizabeth I, a queen who employed the tropes of Petrarchism as a political tool and refused to give up her body to the mastery of men because she seemed to be aware that to do so would mean disempowerment. Shaver argues that this contemporary historical dimension may be the reason for the severity of Mirabella's punishment: "women other than the queen who challenged gender hierarchy could no longer be humoured" (215) because, with Elizabeth occupying the position of supreme authority, the threat to patriarchy was far too real. Shaver sees Mirabella as

a whipping girl for untouchable royalty and one whose punishment is an attempt to beat back the dawning awareness that if one woman, even a queen, could with impunity -- indeed, from political necessity -- choose independence from male lordship in marriage, other hierarchies, such as class structure based on noble birth, were also at risk. (225-226)

Mirabella thus becomes a site onto which the narrator



displaces and vicariously works out the anxieties caused by ruptured orders.

Perhaps more significant than the narrator's and Arthur's confirmation of the justice of the punishment is Mirabella's own confession and her tacit agreement with the necessity of punishment for her actions (or inactions). We are made to understand that an internal change, a conversion, has taken place through the machinations of the penal apparatus. This moment of confession reveals a penal machinery that functions in a way similar to Foucault's theories about the functioning of Bentham's panopticon, to enact an internalization of discipline in the criminal. Not only the body is acted upon, but also the mind. Mirabella has been made to understand herself as socially visible -- she has been made to understand that she is subject to "habits, rules, orders, an authority that is exercised continually around [her] and upon [her], and which [she] must allow to function automatically in" her (Foucault, 128-129). Foucault's arguments about the body's involvement in a "political field" that can "force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (25) are illuminating for the case of Mirabella. Her body is used (by a power here represented as divine, but ultimately a power that is textual, authorial) as spectacle; through confession and punishment she becomes a speaking picture of the justice and physical power of ideology. Her pilgrimage, a movement

through an open and public space, provides the court of Cupid with a spectacular progress that interpellates<sup>19</sup> subjects through the markings of ideology on her body. Mirabella, as one expects of allegory, becomes an incarnation of the idea of a certain kind of sexual transgression. Spenser instructs the "gentle Ladies" of his readership to "Ensample take of Mirabellaes case" (6.8:2), and he ensures that the reader understands for what Mirabella is exemplary. Foucault asserts that confession was the act by which "the accused himself took part in the ritual of producing penal truth" (38), and Mirabella's beaten and bruised body and her own voice, as it is ventriloquized<sup>20</sup> by the narrator, testify to the nature of her transgression as a transgression.

Mirabella's confession and the appropriation of voice that enables that confession to take place are similar to Thomas Churchyard's representation of Jane Shore in The Mirror for Magistrates. It seems to me not insignificant that part of Shore's confession of culpability, that is of course Churchyard's ventriloquy, includes a reference to her class position as one of "meanest molde" (65). Once again, class is being invoked as a potential cause for social or sexual misstep. She is also, like Mirabella, voiced as confirming the justice of her punishment (and the function of exemplarity by which it operates):

Yf that such zeale had moued this tyrantes minde,

To make my plague a warning for the rest,  
 I had small cause such fault in him to finde,  
 Such punishment is vsed for the best. (351-354)

. . . . .  
 Example take by me both maide and wyfe,  
 Beware, take heede, fall not to follie so,

A myrrour make of my great overthrowe. (388-391)

Jane Shore, although qualifying her agreement somewhat, is constructed as complicit with the system that suggests she requires discipline. Gotz Schmitz, in The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative Verse, suggests that "with women as complaintants, some of the restrictions of the Mirror-form, for example the passive situation, the narrow perspective and the apologetic tone, are employed to more plausible effects" (3). What Schmitz does not focus on here, and where Elizabeth Harvey's analysis provides a more revealing entry into the complaints, is the issue of voice: "it is precisely its crossed-dressed and fabricated nature that makes its depiction so revealing of gender construction" (Harvey, 140). Mirabella is constructed by a male poet to express her complicity. She is cast as the convert; not only is she punished from an ideological position from which she originally dissented but she now acts as its spokesperson (in body and in voice).

"Some cultures, like Protestant Christianity," argues Brian Turner in The Body and Society,

regard the person as highly convertible. The 'true' person only emerges after religious conversion when the old Adam is destroyed. In other cultures, initiation rites (generally rites de passage) are held to produce new persons, and to mark the change the body is often inscribed with symbols of such transformations. (57)

The symbols of Mirabella's transformation are also inscribed on her body in the bruises she bears. In the Braggadocchio episode the executioners are present and their actions represent the will of the sovereign. In the Mirabella episode, the punishers are both external and internal. She is beaten and bruised by the representatives of a divine retributive power, yet this seems to stand for the internal processes by which the punisher becomes one with the punished -- Mirabella is forced to internalize and "speak" her "sentence" in a different way.

Mirabella's transgression stands out not only because of the details of the case, but because these details are twice told, a repetition that Spenser usually avoids in his poetics. On other occasions in The Faerie Queene when, for the purposes of narrative continuity, events must be retold, Spenser either very briefly summarizes the events or simply tells the reader that the details were related. For instance, adventures that spanned six cantos are related by Redcrosse's squire in one stanza in canto seven (1.7:26). But in Mirabella's case, the reader receives the narrator's

explanation of her life, and then Mirabella's 'own' confession which seals the truth of her transgressive behaviour.

This rhetorical structure is similar to that employed by the writers of gallows pamphlets, who recorded the 'facts' of a case and ended their accounts with a "true" record of the malefactor's confession. These pamphlets are legion in the Renaissance and in order not to digress too far I will mention here only a few whose titles themselves reveal something of their method of operation. "The Life, apprehension, arraignment, and execution of Charles Courtney, ...As also the true and hearty repentance..." (1612) is one such pamphlet that, like the Mirabella episode, takes as its structure an opening narrative biography and ends with the prisoner's own confession. There is even a long poem added at the end of the pamphlet, written (or so the pamphlet alleges) in Courtney's voice, that advises his readers to "learn by me." The importance of confession should not be underestimated, for it served to validate the truth of the punishment process and, to recall Hampton's paradigm above, it provided a body and a narrative through which to create an ideological icon. "Within the crime reconstituted by writing," asserts Foucault, "the criminal who confessed came to play the role of living truth" (38). The title of the 1606 pamphlet, "The horrible murder of a young boy of 3 years of age, and how it pleased

God to reveale the offenders" (1606), displays the way in which morality was stabilized by references to an essentialist universe. God's disapproval, like Cupid's disapproval in the *Mirabella* episode, disguises social and/or state forces and displaces the punishing power.

Mirabella's punishment is to "save" as many lovers as she "did slay" (6.8:22). But the punishment also includes a Sisyphus-like task (to fill a leaky vessel with penitent tears and a torn bag with repentance) to be performed while being whipped and beaten by Disdaine and Scorne. Yet, according to the narrator, we are to understand this as a merciful abatement of "the extremitie of law" (6.7:36), a reduction of the "rigour of his [Cupid's] doome" (6.7:37). Nevertheless, when Sir Enias witnesses the brutality of Scorne and Disdaine practised on Arthur's squire he remarks that it is an abuse "against all reason and all law" (7.8:6). It is only when the 'abuse' is set in the context of Mirabella's confession of her actions that it becomes, according to the text, justified. So powerful is the exercise of ideology here that Mirabella internalizes it and finds herself culpable and deserving of the punishment imposed upon her. The desire to believe that guilt justifies punishment, and the inverse of this equation, that, if punishment is taking place, there exists a crime with which to balance it, is a powerful psychological need. The court of Cupid imposes punishment on Mirabella, accusing

her of actions she has not understood as criminal until the threat of punishment is impending. She in turn internalizes this discipline and becomes the spokesperson of its meaning. The narrator gives us no indication by which we might infer that Mirabella's confession and contrition is anything but genuine. The "stubborn stiffnesse, and hard hart" (6.7.31) that characterized her before her punishment has been altered -- fashioned by a social discipline operating at the level of narrative that effects a change in Mirabella that is revealed not only superficially, in body, but also in an alteration of interiority as expressed in 'her' voice.

Despite his expressed agreement with and admiration for the "vengeance" exacted upon Mirabella by Cupid (6.8:23), Arthur offers to release her from her punishment. He proposes to her that "if ye list haue liberty, ye may, / Vnto your self I freely leaue to chose" (6.8:29). I think it is not accidental that Arthur offers Mirabella parole in the terms of her crime. The narrator calls her transgressive self "the Ladie of her libertie" (6.7:31) and Mirabella herself confesses that she is punished for not wanting to give up her "loued libertie" (6.8:21). That she now declines this offered liberty, and "humbly" takes her leave (6.8:30) of the knights is suggestive of the power of the coercion that has been exacted on her. She argues that "more on him [Disdaine] then doth him selfe depend" (6.8:17) and this statement seems to reflect an understanding that

her own self is produced through social forces (here allegorized and mystified). She stops Enais and Arthur from destroying Disdaine and Scorne for their cruel treatment of her by explaining that she is "damned to endure this direfull smart, / For penance of my proud and hard rebellious hart" (6.8:19). This statement in itself is proof that the 'rebellion,' the thought that she had the liberty of her own body, has been beaten out of her and that her disciplined body is now used only for its exemplarity -- a body and narrative tied to and marked by ideology.

### III

"Such as she was, their eyes might her behold." (1.8:46)

In both the *Mirabella* and the *Braggadocchio* episodes, what is at stake are issues of interiority. It was not a crime in the Renaissance to be from a low social position, the crime was in the impersonation -- but the notion of impersonation assumes access to interiority to determine the discrepancy. The crime for which *Mirabella* is tried and punished is the possession of a "proud and hard rebellious hart" (6.8:19) -- again, her crime is internal and the punishment imposed on her seeks to convert that interiority to one that is more in keeping with the moral absolutes, as they are textually and socially constructed, of gender relations. But both episodes also attempt to construct, by obvious force, an external presence that reflects the interiority to a viewing public, and both reveal the way in



which the Other is constructed to codify social 'truths' and the structures that support them. In the last section of this chapter I want to consider the case of Duessa in The Faerie Queene and examine the cultural category of "witch" as it is represented by Spenser. I have left my consideration of Duessa to the end of this chapter because the representation of her partakes of aspects of the representation of both Braggadocchio and Mirabella. Like Braggadocchio, she is an impersonator -- disguising what is constructed to be a corrupt and essentially evil interiority through careful self-fashioning. And, like Mirabella, the transgressive self that is constructed as her essence is tied up with issues of gender. Just as Mirabella is made to embody the consequences of female existence outside the patriarchy, so is Duessa made to embody, as it is textually and culturally constructed, a monstrous potential of female sexuality. Her interiority becomes reflected in an external corruption (deformation) revealed in a stripping that is choreographed in a way similar to the exposure of witches' bodies in judicial examinations.

Duessa is an expert self-fashioner. She possesses the ornamentation and the gesture of the aristocratic woman, yet at the same time, like Braggadocchio, there is a narrative undercurrent that undermines the nature of the relationship between her fashionings and, as it constructed, her essence. She is described as

A goodiy lady clad in scarlot red,  
 Purfled with gold and pearle of rich assay,  
 And like a Persian mitre on her hed  
 She wore, with crownes and owches garnished,  
 The which her lauish louers to her gaue;  
 Her wanton palfrey all was ouerspred  
 With tinsell trappings, wouen like a waue,  
 Whose bridle rung with golden bells and bosses braue.

(1.2:13)

Duessa is constructing her body, like Braggadocchio, to suggest merit. The cultivation of these "trappings" is to persuade those who look on her that she is a woman of social worth. But the language used to describe her fashionings suggests also an excessive and materialistic quality that is too rich for the dominant Protestant aestheticism, which is supported at least at the level of narrative if not narrative style.

Duessa also plays the expected and accepted roles correctly. Casting herself as victim, a "virgin widow" (1.2:24), who, in the face of violent attempts, has never yielded "The Fort, that Ladies hold in soueraigne dread" (1.2:25), Duessa exhibits all the outward forms of accepted behaviour. She receives Redcrosse's assurances that his intentions are honourable with careful attention to the rhetoric of her body:

With chaunge of cheare the seeming simple maid

Let fall her eyen, as shamefast to the earth,  
 And yeelding soft, in that she nought gain-said.  
 So forth they rode, he feining seemely merth,  
 And she coy lookes. (1.2:27)

In gesture is a lexicon of meaning that, like apparel, is to indicate social status, breeding, or, as in this case, a disciplined body. By a disciplined body I mean a body that is controlled by and responds within accepted patterns of behaviour in society. Erasmus, in De Civilitate morum puerilium, argues that "external decorum of the body proceeds from a well-ordered mind...it is very conducive to winning good will and to commending those illustrious gifts of the intellect to the eyes of men" (273). Duessa's coyness, proper for the occasion and certainly an effective means of communicating her worth to the surface-troubled knight, meets what she understands to be the restrictions of social acceptability that exercise control on her body. Her bodily response is constructed to depict shamefastness; shamefastness in turn purportedly reveals a mind and sensibility that are naive and inexperienced when it comes to members (in both senses of the word) of the opposite sex. Duessa wants to seem the Una that Redcrosse requires, and she constructs her gestures and narrative so that both may reveal that propriety of nature.

Though Duessa uses the position of widow in an attempt to fashion herself as someone deserving of sympathy and

defence, I wonder if this is not the first, albeit subtle, indication, through cultural resonances different from our own, that she is being constructed as someone of potential danger. Katherine Henderson and Barbara McManus argue that the Renaissance widow "controlled her own financial affairs and was accountable for her behaviour to neither husband nor parents" (76). This existence on the outside edge of patriarchal authority contributed to the Renaissance widow's association with transgressive behaviours of a social and sexual kind. Sigrid Brauner asserts that "the bad woman who turns into a witch...is the woman who refuses her prescribed social and religious role and negates the divine and secular order. Thus Luther juxtaposes the deviant behaviour of the witch to the ideal behaviour of the housewife, and not to that of the virginal nun" (38). Accusations of witchcraft most frequently fell on what Viviana Comensoli calls "unassimilable women"; that is, women who the society could not readily absorb into the cultural traditions that facilitated its operation -- women such as "old diseased spinsters, widows, prostitutes, obstreperous wives, healers and midwives" (49). Allison Coudert more specifically identifies the witchcraft accusations as an expression of patriarchal control:

the women who were the most likely candidates for witchcraft accusations were also women who did not fit masculine stereotypes of the good woman as the

obedient, silent, and submissive wife and mother, dependent on male kin. The majority of witches were past child-bearing age and a good percentage were unmarried, widowed, or living alone. Among the younger witch suspects, a significant number were charged with sexual crimes -- fornication, adultery, abortion, or infanticide. (62-63)

Henderson and McManus contend that contemporary conduct books for widows suggest, through their "obsessive concern for the chastity and decorum of [widows'] behaviour" (75), that widows were culturally constructed as sexually licentious. What all these observations suggest is an overlap between the categories of "witch" and "widow." So whereas Duessa is fashioning herself as innocent and vulnerable, Spenser may be, in this early moment in the text, fashioning something Other by appealing to (and thus participating in) the position of the widow as it existed as a misogynist cultural force in the denigration and repression of certain women.<sup>21</sup>

Duessa's "true" self, as it is produced in the narrative, is only explicitly revealed when she is stripped of her gestural and physical ornamentation. This revelation of the naked truth of Duessa occurs twice in the poem -- first, as it is narrated by Pradubio, and again, as it is enacted by Arthur (like the more metaphorical stripping of Mirabella -- once in authorial narrative, repeated in

confession). The status of the naked body in the text is particularly significant. In Book six, for instance, the narrator comments that the graces

naked are, that without guile

Or false dissemblance all them plaine may see,

Simple and true from couert malice free. (6.10:24)

This privileging of the naked body as the signifier of true essence, the uncovering that precludes disguise, is responsible for an equation between physical makeup and interiority -- the kind of equation that, for Shakespeare, "determines" Richard III's villainy. The narratives of Duessa's uncovering naturalize, by reference to a supposedly natural site, the constructed coincidence between somatic presence and psychic absence, a coincidence that allows somatic evidence to produce psychic presence.

Both Fradubio and Redcrosse ("doubles" according to Patricia Parker (71)) imperil good women by being unable to distinguish between the signs of worth and the worth itself. Fradubio, like Redcrosse in Archimago's hermitage, almost murders his beloved for what he perceives to be her misuse of the signs of worth. Based on the same assumptions, Fradubio accepts Duessa as his new beloved, until, playing Actaeon to her Diana, he sees her "in her proper hew" (1.2:40). Again, the naked body is here equated with truth, "proper" acting as an ironic pun:

A filthy foule old woman I did vew,

That euer to haue toucht her, I did deadly rew.

Her neather partes misshapen, monstrous,  
Were hid in water, that I could not see,  
But they did seeme more foule and hideous,

Then womans shape man would beleue to bee. (1.2:40-41)

Fradubio's description of his discovery of Duessa's deformity is awkward because of the apparent obscurity of the vision. He says the parts are misshapen and monstrous, but he cannot see them. Nonetheless, he says they seemed more foul and hideous "Then womans shape man would beleue to be." This line is particularly interesting for what it denies and what it confesses. At the same time that Fradubio is confessing obscured vision, he is suggesting imaginative range.<sup>22</sup> The measure of Duessa's deformity is that she exceeds the distortion men already assume women to possess in the "neather partes." It would be unfair to generalize about a cultural construction or conception from a few examples, but Audrey Eccles, in Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Tudor and Stuart England, provides more than a few "textbooks" that reveal a profound sense of disgust with female sexual anatomy. For instance, James McMath, author of The Expert Midwife (1694), argues that pleasure is a necessary component of sexual intercourse, "For how else could man, so noble a Creature, make any attraction of these Obscoene parts, which (for being so Foulsome, are

turned down into the Vilest Room, in a manner the Sink of the Body) much less court, accept, or indulge to this Embrace, so filthy a Fact" (Eccles, 33; McMath, 21-2). Spenser's passage does not gesture at possibility but at opinion: the repulsiveness of the representation of Duessa's genitalia is great because men could believe horrible things about women's sexual bodies. These moments seem to reveal more about the interiority of the male writers than the women they supposedly represented.

But it is the representation of the interiority of Duessa that I am interested in exploring here. Yet how is that interiority constructed? Fradubio "ioyd long time" (1.2:40) with Duessa before he sees her bathing unadorned. It is only after the revelation of her bodily distortion that he can accuse her of maleficium -- the disfiguring exercise of her "hellish science" (1.2:38) on the body of Fraelissa -- the crime is only understood to have occurred once the bodily evidence, 'proving' criminality, has been rendered visible on Duessa. In Religion and the Decline of Magic, Keith Thomas argues that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a difference between popular conceptions of witchcraft and the conceptions of scholars and theologians. The latter believed that the crime of witchcraft was heretical, stemming from a compact made with the devil, whereas, Thomas suggests, the practicalities of the prosecution of witches were for maleficium, the social



damage that the witch allegedly inflicted (443). So for Thomas' purposes, witchcraft was a crime of interiority only to the scholastics and theologians. Katherine Maus, however, suggests that interiority was always a factor, even though proof of the social damage was a crucial part, because the damage had to be connected, in the absence of the visual proof of witnessing, to a particular person. In "Proof or Consequences: Inwardness and Its Exposure in the English Renaissance," Maus argues that "Proceedings against witches and traitors threw into high relief the question of what relation holds between the overt and the covert, the visible effect and the invisible cause" (35). The body was used as the bridge between these two. The body can be understood as the threshold between the self and the world, and Spenser's text and contemporary pamphlet evidence suggest that this liminal site was used as a locus of interpretation.

One such pamphlet, "News From Scotland" (1591), 'records' the examination of several women accused of witchcraft. One of them, Agnis Sampson, refused to confess and was sentenced to receive torture until the truth could be ascertained:

Therefore by special commaundement this Agnis Sampson had all her haire shaven of, in each parte of her bodie, and her head thrawen with a rope...being a paine most greevous, which she continued almost an hower,

during which time she would not confesse any thing until the Diuel's marke was found upon her priuities, then she immediatlye confessed whatsoeuer was demanded of her. (A3r)

Elizabeth Hanson asserts that "the goal of torture was characterized in the official warrants [of the Elizabethan law courts] as the acquisition of knowledge; its purpose was the 'discoverie of the truth,' 'manifestacion of the truth,' or 'the boultinge forth [sifting out] of the truth'" (53). Although the "News from Scotland" describes an occurrence in Jacobean Scotland, the alleged function of torture as it is represented in the pamphlet is similar to that described by Hanson. Torture was a technique that justified itself as a method to gain access to interior truth. Foucault argues that "In the practice of torture, pain, confrontation and truth were bound together: they worked together on the patient's body" (41). The employment of torture foregrounds the work involved in the production of interiority -- the Elizabethan warrants "insisted that the interrogator's task was 'discovery'" (Hanson, 55). The body functioned as a vehicle for that discovery; a surface on which to work to bring this hidden truth to visibility (in voice) and make it available for reading.

This understanding of torture as the making manifest of something hidden or interior bears an obvious relationship to the 'discovery' of the witch's mark -- the external sign

of the compact or contact with the devil.<sup>23</sup> "News from Scotland" argues that it had lately been found that "the Deuill doth lick [witches] with his tung in some priuy part of their bodie" (B2v). The specification of "priuy" areas suggests the liminal quality of the body that is both private and public -- it is the job of the interrogators to transgress those boundaries and make that "priuy" area accessible to scrutiny. The certainty of the devil's mark<sup>24</sup> also provided the assurance that if the truth could not be produced in voice then the body would reveal it, an assurance which was used to authorize these invasive and violent examinations.

But the stipulation of the "priuy" parts as the locus of the mark of guilt serves also to implicate female sexuality in the tangle of witchcraft. During the proceedings against the women in "News from Scotland" the king is told how the devil makes them "kisse his Buttockes" (A3v), and that when they are bowed down to him he "Carnallye use[s] them, albeit to their little pleasure" (C1v). James I's Daemonologie also identifies the witch's "form of adoration" of the devil as the "kissing of his hinder parts" (37). "News from Scotland, in its own choice of detail and in the investigation it describes, betrays a fantastic curiosity about the women's bodies and the uses to which those bodies are put -- both as associates of the devil, and as subjects of torture. That the witch's mark of

Otherness should be found on or near the female genitalia betrays a cognitive and cultural link between women's bodies, sexuality, sin, and witchcraft or any other monstrous practice.<sup>25</sup> The woman's body as it was constructed here was something that concealed and something which it was the task of man and law and king to strip, reveal and control. "The ideological formation of the family and state," argues Stallybrass, "was staked out across the physical bodies of 'criminalized' women" ("Patriarchal," 131). Agnis Sampson was only one of many who were arrested in Scotland at this time, some of whom, as the pamphlet confesses, "were reputed for as ciuill honest women as any that dwelled within the Citie of Edenborough" (B2r).

James Sprenger and Henry Kramer, the two Dominican Inquisitors who produced Malleus Maleficarum, were not the first to construct the relationship between female sexual desire and witchcraft, and, by 1484, the accepted date of publication of the Malleus, the connection was so established that they were able to conclude a discussion of witchcraft and women with the statement "All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable" (47). The Compendium Maleficarum, written by Brother Francesco Guazzo in the early seventeenth century, reveals the tenacity with which these stereotypes continued: "Almost all the Theologians and learned Philosophers are agreed, and

it has been the experience of all times and nations, that witches practice coition with demons" (30). In Fashioning Femininity, Karen Newman asserts that "witches were regularly accused of sexual misconduct" (57) and she suggests that the potential for accusation itself was a tool in the control of female sexuality. Spenser gives Duessa this sexual dimension. Her seductive power is evident in her dealings with Fradubio, Sansfoy, Redcrosse and Sansjoy. The Orgoglio episode emphasizes further Duessa's sexual power and the freedom of its expression that she presumes. Duessa prevents Orgoglio from killing Redcrosse, and offers herself as "worthy meed" (1.7:14) to be the Giant's lover. Her sexual desire for this (dis)figuring of the erect penis is reflected in her voluntary coupling with the giant: "So willingly she came into his armes" (1.7:15). Allying witchery and the open expression of sexual desire<sup>26</sup> in this way serves to naturalize sexual prohibitions and restrictions; it constructs behaviour of this sort as not only socially unacceptable but as demonic and abhorrent. The category of 'witch,' "created in such a way thus serves both as a warning that other women should not depart from the community's norms, and as a rationalization for repressive control of eccentric and independent behaviour" (Horsley, 15). The alleged power of women to seduce and that power's connectedness with bewitchment existed as a threat to male dominance. Male susceptibility to female

'charms' was aligned with weakening of the reasoning powers in men, and this construction of male/female interrelations connected all women to witchery. In this construction, male desire was naturalized, while the alleged female capacity to destroy, effeminize<sup>27</sup> or dehumanize men through that desire was indicted. Witchcraft accusations reveal patriarchy's tyrannical and capricious power over women to whom a power was attributed but only in the process of its often violent containment.

Fradubio suggests that Duessa appears "Like a faire Lady, but did false Duessa hyde" (1.2:35). There is, then, according to Fradubio, an essential quality to her that is disguised and only really discernible when she is stripped and her "neather partes" (1.2:41; 1.8:48) exposed. This exposure ostensibly allows the voyeurs access to the truth: "Such as she was, their eyes might her behold" (1.8:46). Though, as Teresa Krier points out, each stripping "probes the otherwise infrequent viewer response of disgust," this second stripping is an intentional exposure and degradation as opposed to the description of Fradubio's 'accidental' voyeurism (134). The second stripping of Duessa takes place at the bidding of Una and seems designed to assure that the "lesson deare" (1.8:44) which Redcrosse affirms he has learned has in fact been precisely assimilated. The body that Spenser builds up as the layers are stripped away is one that powerfully suggests an interiority of corruption; a

grotesque blason that begins at her "craftie head" and ends with her monstrous feet. Spenser's text reiterates that the naked body is a truthful statement of psychic essence, and the discovery of the witch becomes a dis-covering and displaying of her body:

Her teeth out of her rotten gummes were feld  
 And her sowre breath abhominably smeld;  
 Her dried duggs, like bladders lacking wind,  
 Hong down, and filthy matter from them weld;  
 Her wrizled skin as rough, as maple rind,  
 So scabby was, that would haue loathd all womankind.

Her neather parts, the shame of all her kind,  
 My chaster Muse for shame doth blush to write;  
 But at her rompe, she growing had behind

A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight. (1.8:47-48)

The blason draws attention to the liminal parts of her body -- on or about orificial parts that border on the interior and exterior. Her mouth, which forms the conduit by which internal becomes external, is characterized by rot and decay, and the description of the breath that it expresses is an apt vehicle by which to suggest her interior quality made exterior. Her breasts serve as another locus for this kind of communication of interiority -- rather than providing the bodily nourishment that is a source of human development, they are the wellhead of a contagion that

originates from within. James Nohrnberg contrasts the description of Duessa's breasts with that of the pregnant Charissa, whose bounty, "Full of great loue," and breast, are always "open bare" and fulfilling (1.10.30) (268). Nohrnberg also suggests an analogy between the description of Duessa's skin, "as rough as maple rind," and the maple in the wood of Error that is "seeldom inward sound" (1.8:47) (135). David Lee Miller argues that "her 'maple rind' skin and menagerie of extremities are only the visibilia of a far more inward unsoundness" (86). Both Nohrnberg and Miller point to the way in which Duessa's body, as a liminal surface, is being used to construct interiority.

Recurring here, as in Fradubio's description earlier in Book I, is a tortured syntax that seems to expand Duessa's significance to women in general. The distortion that characterizes Duessa's sexual organs is so great that the narrator declines to describe them and instead displaces his repulsion onto a general womankind that, he suggests, finds them equally debasing. Duessa's genitals are not differentiated from those of other women in this construction; all female genitalia are a source of shame to all women -- the witch and the woman come together here in bodily shame.<sup>28</sup> The editors of The Politics of Gender in Early Modern England argue that the witch is used "as a focus and outlet for misogyny in the early modern period" (Brink, 9). The representation of Duessa would seem to



support such a statement, and this moment of expansion to a construction of women in general only intensifies the cognitive connections between Renaissance witch and Renaissance woman. The "open shame" (1.8:50) that is produced in the course of Duessa's punishment is constructed to impose shamefastness on all women.

Unlike the punishments of Braggadocchio and Mirabella, punishments where a source of condemnation is evident (the powerful social group of knights at the wedding tournament and the court of the infant male Cupid) and where work is inflicted on the body by identifiable sources in the narrative, Duessa's punishment is constructed as a simple revelation. But constructing the revelation of Duessa as simply an uncovering obscures the source of the narrative work involved in the fashioning of Duessa's monstrous body -- work to which the overdetermined nature of the passage ultimately draws attention. The increase in reliance on the cultural category of the witch in the Elizabethan Renaissance may be understood as suggestive of the need to use the witch as a stable site of instability from which the accusers could fashion their own certainties. Yet, does not the excessive artifice involved in producing this body undermine the stability it was meant to achieve and reveal instead the anxiety its fashioning was meant to displace?

The witchcraze was one possible manifestation of the uncertainties that Dollimore and others argue problematize

subjectivity in the Renaissance. The anxiety produced by confrontation with the "far reaching material and ideological changes in Elizabethan and Jacobean England" (Dollimore, 175) could be managed by a number of strategies, one of which is to create a fantasy of order. Creeping into Spenser's controlled world of fiction, a nostalgic realm of past order, are contemporary disturbances that, in this constructed environment, can be suitably controlled. Hierarchies of gender and class were being tested and contested, and there seems to exist in Spenser's text a desire to answer these challenges with bodies fashioned to reaffirm the existence of boundaries by bearing the marks of their transgressions painfully upon them.

## ENDNOTES

1. Francis Barker's The Tremulous Private Body, and Jonathan Dollimore's Radical Tragedy are only two of a myriad of early manifestations of this critical concern. Barker's interests are more explicitly psychoanalytic, whereas Dollimore approaches this issue from materialist perspectives. One should also include in this cursory list Catherine Belsey's The Subject of Tragedy, which discerns a movement between emblematic (Medieval) and illusionist (Restoration) theatre that she ties to a shift in notions of subjectivity.

2. Carol Stillman, in "Politics, Precedence, and the Order of the dedicatory Sonnets in The Faerie Queene," shows how even at this prefatory moment Spenser is profoundly conservative and respectful of social position. The sonnets are arranged in exact order of precedence of station and degree. (cf. Stillman, Carol. "Politics, Precedence, and the Order of the dedicatory Sonnets in The Faerie Queene." Spenser Studies. 5 (1985) pp. 143-148.)

3. Lawrence Stone, in An Open Elite? England 1540-1880 describes what he calls a "cult of gentility" (410). He suggests that the impact of the early nineteenth-century rise of the bourgeoisie was lessened because rather than resenting the upper classes, many of the individuals and families rising in social status were desirous to imitate the upper classes (409). It seems to me that this is an important addition to the definition of the class aspirant. Braggadocchio does not manifest resentment of those who are responsible for his exclusion, rather he seeks to imitate them.

4. Philip Stubbes is frequently referred to in critical texts concerned with gender issues and theatrical cross-dressing. In Vested Interests, Marjorie Garber notes Stubbes' use of the Deuteronomic injunction against cross-dressing in his attack on the Renaissance stage (29). Laura Levine also uses Stubbes to demonstrate her thesis concerning the anti-theatrical writers' conception of unstable sexual identity (130, 133-134).

5. A. C. Hamilton points out that "baser" in this usage is most probably a Latinate form suggesting the "most base" (192, Stanza 3, n4). What Hamilton does not suggest is the way in which this word choice resonates with associations of class, set off in the distinction between base and noble, a recurring Renaissance binarism.

6. Elizabeth Harvey gestures to this kind of metaphor when she writes of the battle between Artegall and Radigund and the bird imagery used in the description of that conflict. Harvey's concern in this section is with the gender inflections of the language used, but she suggests that there is also a moment where Artegall's class is asserted at the very moment when his gender is threatened. Artegall had been associated with the "kingly" eagle (male), and Radigund, the goshawk, but as Artegall loses battle ground to Radigund the similes change: "Radigund now becomes a 'puttock,' a buzzard or kite, attacking a 'gentle' bird, a disabled falcon, a divergence of attitude that suggests not only gender (Artegall has mutated from eagle to 'gentle' (female?) falcon) but also class" (37). Harvey is correct in both senses -- there is an English term "falcon-gentle," derived from the Medieval French meaning noble falcon, but the reference was also a particular designation for the peregrine falcon, a female. Harvey is here pointing out the ways in which the avian imagery is both gender and class inflected.

7. The reason I specify Tennenhouse here is because, as well as in partnership with Nancy Armstrong in The Ideology of Conduct, he makes similar gestures to this kind of class/gender boundary in his article "Violence Done to Women on the Renaissance Stage."

8. Braggadocchio demands the false Florimell from the witch's son because he perceives, "as well he might," that their match is a "disparagement" (3.8:12); that is, a match that disgraces Florimell through association with one of low birth. Here is a moment of the class conservatism that is the characteristic paradox of the class aspirant. Braggadocchio defends the hierarchy of social positioning in the very act of transgressing it. The "disparagement" that Braggadocchio perceives in the match is also supported at the level of narrative by the narrators' affirmation of the correctness of Braggadocchio's interpretation.

9. Foucault writes predominantly about sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France and the movement, via a kind of genealogy of the history of knowledge, to eighteenth-century notions of private self. David Cressy recently indicted English literary critics' use of Foucault suggesting that an argument from France to England was highly specious (125). However, Cressy's reservations ignore the frequent gestures to England that Foucault does make, and also ignore the ways in which Foucault is being used to suggest possibilities of understanding the operations of power in its less specifically national particularity. Foucault asks us to think about punishment "as a political tactic" (23). His general arguments about the political function of

spectacular punishment are not alien to an English application -- spectacular punishment was a characteristic technique of English jurisprudence and the literature of the English Renaissance is filled with the kinds of spectacular exemplarity by which this technique justified itself.

10. In A. C. Hamilton's Longman edition of the poem, the line is glossed as probable allusion to "Aesop's fable of the jackdaw who clothed himself with peacock feathers" (546, 20 n7).

11. Lawrence Stone records a number of instances of individuals being supplied with artificial genealogies to support claims to aristocracy (*Crisis*, 22-24). He also suggests that heraldry became "all the rage in interior design" (*Crisis*, 25, emphasis mine.) The falsification of heraldic symbols to suggest the legitimacy of claims to landed nobility of an increasingly wealthy and mobile merchant class, a practice Stone asserts was common in Elizabethan England when social mobility occurred, was a fashioning of interiority intended to protect the class structure from appearing permeable exclusively through wealth and acquisition.

12. Turpine is ostensibly punished because he "erect[ed] this wicked custome": "Gainst errant knights and Ladies.../Whom when thou mayst, thou dost of armes despoile, / Or of their vpper garment, which they weare" (6.6:34). But the narrative of the Turpine episode is peppered with indirect and direct glances at his class designation. Turpine is frequently referred to as revealing his "basenesse," and he is three times designated as a "cowheard," which A. C. Hamilton suggests can also be read in terms indicative of social status (6.6:26, n6).

13. Karen Newman, in "Portia's Ring: Unruly Women and Structures of Exchange in The Merchant of Venice," points to Eve Sedgwick's term "homosocial" as it is used to describe "the whole spectrum of bonds between men, including friendship, mentorship, rivalry, institutional subordination, homosexual genitility, and economic exchange -- within which the various forms of traffic in women take place" (Sedgwick, "Sexualism and the Citizen of the World," in Critical Inquiry, 11, pp. 227) (Newman, 21).

14. The O.E.D. suggests that "forlorne" is used to indicate something in a lost condition, whether physically or morally. But I would also suggest that there is a connotation of isolation or withholding to the word that is current in the Renaissance. For instance, in Love's Labour's Lost, Navarre's punishment is to live the contemplative life in "some forlorn and naked hermitage /

Remote from all the pleasures of the world" (5.2. 795-6) (see also Titus Andronicus 5.3.75). The Shakespearean usage seems to suggest that the hermitage is not only lost, but lost to society; its remoteness rendering it forlorn. What I am interested in exploring here is the possibility that France, as it is imaged in the passage by Spenser, is made analogous to a woman that is removed, or withholding herself, from her social role as it is fashioned in the text. The first gendering of the landscape as "that forlorn dame" does not seem to suggest 'she' is simply lost, but that she is disobedient in some way that nullifies her social utility.

15. Malfont's punishment at the hands of Mercilla, as it is represented by Bellamy, is reminiscent of the use made by Artegall of the body of Braggadocchio:

Malfont's body becomes a text on which Arthur and Arthegall are urged to 'read' the empire's semiotic conversion of Malfont's pain into the instantiation of its power (Bellamy, 305).

Braggadocchio's body is, like Malfont's, made to embody a socio-political statement. But Braggadocchio's transgression, like Malfont's, is one that is chiefly political -- like the slanderous tongue of the poet that must be nailed silent and as such made to speak something other than its desire, so is Braggadocchio's impersonating body that threatens courtly integrity made to reaffirm the integrity of that social and political order.

16. Bellamy's article is a consideration of the punishment of Malfont (5.9) and the (re)wounding of Timias by Belphoebe (3.5). As I suggest in the body of this chapter, the breaking down of these territories of repression perhaps cannot be achieved with the precision that Bellamy suggests in her opening paragraph. It seems to me that both of the episodes that she describes can be explicated with reference to the paradigm of the other. For instance, the punishment of Malfont is not exclusively a "repression of monarchal authority" (303), but also partakes, as does any technique of repression, in the repression of desire -- the disciplining and shaping of desire. And, whereas Belphoebe's wounding of Timias is certainly a representation of the repression of (sexual) desire, it is also, in the context of this representation of Belphoebe/Elizabeth as the object of desire, a monarch exercising a power that is not exclusively sexual in the name of a decorum that is as political as it is social. To be fair to Bellamy, she does in the last pages of her essay admit "the crosscurrents of erotic and political tensions" (318) that the Timias episode(s) involves, but her more pressing concern in the article is the way in which the wounding of Timias can be read and cannot be read as a symbol and the ways in which

that problematic readability comments on the nature of symbolic readings for literature and psychoanalysis.

17. Transgressions of a sexual nature were usually tried in the ecclesiastical courts; "the bawdy court" (cf. Paul Hair Before the Bawdy Court). Peter Laslett comments that "Norms of sexual conduct were enforced by the established church, though enjoined might be a better word. The church had its spiritual courts, its executive officials called apparitors, and its humiliating and very public punishments" (156). In Religion and the Decline of Magic, Keith Thomas asserts that "the standard ecclesiastical punishment was the imposition of a penance, by which the offender publicly acknowledged his faults before his neighbours, before being reconciled to the community" (529). I wonder if Spenser is not thinking of these courts in his depiction of Mirabella's trial -- is it perhaps for this reason that her punishment is called "penance" (6.7:37 & 8:19)?

18. I do not wish to replicate the kind of critical error of so many nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics (writing on "The Book of Thel," Jane Eyre, and others) by seeming to suggest that what we have in Mirabella is a woman repressing, because afraid of, her own sexuality. What I am suggesting is that, at the level of narrative, the proper role of women, that is a social role fulfilled through relationships with men, is being constructed. Mirabella is anything but afraid of her sexuality. What she is afraid of is the power men might have over her self-possession -- her reason for scorning men is not out of fear of sexuality but because she did not wish to lose her "loued libertie" (6.8:21). That she does in the end lose her liberty through the power of a god gendered male suggests she was justified in these fears.

19. Louis Althusser, in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," argues that an "ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice or practices" (156). Althusser puts forward a mirror-structure theory of the functioning of ideological apparatuses that argues that the subject is "interpellated" or hailed by ideology; that is, the subject is asked to recognize him or her self in the discourse of the ideological apparatuses. "Bad subjects," adds Althusser, "on occasion provoke the intervention of one of the detachments of the (repressive) State apparatus" (169). These repressive apparatuses, operating primarily by violence, force recognition by the "bad subject" of their subjected position (one thinks again of Stubbes' desire to see subjects "compelled" to recognize the distinctions of dress as meaningful).

20. Whereas all creative writing that depicts speaking figures is a form of ventriloquy, I use the term here to refer more to the kind of representation Elizabeth Harvey has identified in Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts. Instances of "transvestite ventriloquy," as they are articulated by Harvey, are textual moments that, "although written by male authors,...are voiced by female characters in a way that seems either to erase the gender of the authorial voice or to thematize the transvestism of this process" (1).

21. Duessa, in all these instances, is revealing the doubleness (that resides also in her name), the multiplicity, that, in opposition to Una (the one, the true), identifies her as monstrous or grotesque. According to Stallybrass and White, the grotesque "is emphasized as a mobile, split, multiple self" (22). In Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode, Patricia Parker describes the landscape of error that Redcrosse enters as a "plenitude" (71). The instability of this landscape renders it conducive to error, and sets it off as fearsome. This landscape is emblematic of Duessa's multiplicity and her body becomes the site on which anxieties of instability are managed. "Duessa eventually shows," according to James Nohrnberg, "the 'uneven paw,' or unevenly cloven hoof, which belongs to an unholy or divisive nature (cf. Deut. 14:6)" (132). In Duessa's impersonation, she embodies contradictory states that are only stabilized through force.

22. The syntactical construction of the line "more foule and hideous, / Then womans shape man would beleue to be" (1.2:41) seems to offer a reading, but ultimately leaves it to the reader. The reading of the nature of Duessa's "neather partes" will depend on the starting point of the male reader's (or listener's -- in the context of the narrative as it is told to Redcrosse) conceptions about the shape of women's genitalia in general. In this passage Spenser is taking away everything that he seems to be offering -- one might also suggest that the genital region appears monstrous and misshapen, "did seeme...foule and hideous," because of the refraction of light in water that distorts vision (Fradubio confesses to this obscured sight). There is a sense here, cultivated by the ambiguity of the constructions, that Spenser is allowing one to construct Duessa according to one's own (pre)conceptions about women and their bodies. The language is certainly loaded to direct the reader/listener/voyeur in a particular way (misshapen, monstrous, foule, hideous) but ultimately it remains ambiguous.



23. Keith Thomas asserts that there exists "No reference in a trial to an oral compact with the Devil...before 1612" (444). Yet this 1591 pamphlet reveals a profound concern with establishing the woman's relationship with the devil and no mention in the pamphlet is made about her maleficium. While Thomas may certainly be correct in asserting that prosecution rarely occurred without evidence of maleficium, I think his blanket statement is misleading about the way in which the devil was an important presence in the witch trials. The kissing of the devil's buttocks by the adoring witches, and the mark inflicted on the witch by the devil's tongue certainly does suggest that an oral compact was a consideration at some level.

24. It seems that the search for this mark was a no-win situation for the accused woman. Thomas argues that "At a popular level it was easy to become convinced of any suspect's guilt. If she were searched for the Devil's mark, her body was certain to offer some suitable mole or excrescence; if not, then she must have cut it off, or perhaps concealed it by magic" (551). To my mind, this, more than anything, reveals the way in which the category of witch satisfied the needs of the community of accusers to place blame.

25. Another pamphlet, "The Apprehension and confession of three notorious witches. Arreigned and by Iustice condemned and executed at Chelmes-forde, in the Countye of Essex, the 5. day of Iulye, last post. 1589. With the manner of their deuillish practises and keeping of their spirits, whose fourmes are heerein trulye proportioned," describes the crimes and executions of three women, one, an 80 year old widow. The narrator of the pamphlet considered the sexual history of her as further evidence supporting the accusations: "This Ioan Cunny, liuing very lewdly, hauing two lewde daughters, no better then naughty packs, had two Bastard Children" (A4r). This woman's name too, Cunny, echoing the Latin cunnus (vulva), the English 'cunning' (from the middle English can, to 'know'), further suggests that her sexuality is being indicated and indicted at some level.

26. I am not entirely happy constructing the representation of Duessa's willingness to move from partner to partner as the "open expression of sexual desire." I think this phrase may obscure euphemistically the constraints on Duessa's expression. In this textual world where women are the property of the victor, where virginity is under savage attack by a myriad of allegorized aggressors, what are the options available for women? They are certainly far more limited than my phrase suggests.

27. Malleus maleficarum records instances of witches depriving men of their "Virile Member[s]" (118-119). This seems to me to be a succinct expression of what was really at stake in these persecutions of women. One might also think of Spenser's Acrasia, Plutarch's Cleopatra and many other literary and historical women constructed as witches to scapegoat the 'fall' of men.

28. Here, as in the Fradubio episode, the syntax cultivates ambiguity. "Her neather partes, the shame of all her kind" (1.8:48) depends on the generosity of the reader to flesh out the pronoun. A more generous reading would be to suggest that "her kind" designates not women in general but witches in particular. But the most obvious reading, and the one on which I build my argument, is to suggest that "her kind" is a gesture to her femaleness rather than her witchery -- the suggestion that the Muse blushes, "for shame," to describe seems to me to further support this reading, the Muse being one of "her kind" in this case.

Embodying Origins: Coupling Incest and Monstrosity.

"What becomes a legend most?" (Lou Reed)

In the post-Freudian world, we tend to think about incest in terms of the family romances of children, the Oedipal complex through which adult male sexuality is fashioned. Freud constructs the development of 'normalcy' through an instinctual drive toward incest with the parent of the opposite sex that is then redirected outside the family, and he interprets neuroses by associating them with the incomplete resolution of these attractions. But much of the literature of the English Renaissance reveals a concern less with these kinds of relationships than with those between brother and sister. 'Tis Pity She's A Whore<sup>1</sup> takes as its subject the informed decision of brother and sister to act on incestuous impulses. Hamlet also reveals a dimension of this concern: Claudius marries the wife of his brother, an act that, according to Renaissance interpretations of Levitical prohibitions, and according to Hamlet's own reading of the situation in his first soliloquy, constituted incest. Luciano Santiago, in The Children of Oedipus, asserts that "brother-sister incest is the sexual fulfilment of the oedipal-once-removed," and he suggests that it is this kind of incest that "appears by far the most frequently in the folklore of almost all ethnic

groups" (7). But Santiago does not offer an explanation for or justification of this predominance. Glenda Hudson, who writes about sibling incest in the novels of Jane Austen, attempts such an answer. She suggests that positive sibling relationships, love between siblings that she blurs with incest, are used by Austen to establish the parameters of an ideal world based on "social and family cohesion" rather than sexuality (8). But to achieve this reading, she de-sexualizes incest, and this is clearly not the way that sibling incest is deployed in Renaissance culture.

In The Family, Sex and Marriage, Lawrence Stone argues that, during the English Renaissance, relations "between parents and children were fairly remote" (105). Contact between parent and child was not frequent, particularly in the propertied classes, where it was common for children to be "brought up mainly by nurses, governesses and tutors" (Family, 107). Stone also describes what he calls the "export of children" (Family, 108); that is, the practice of sending out children to study or work (depending on the class) at a very early age. Stone suggest that the effect of these practices was to create a distance in the relationship between parent and child, a distance which resulted, Stone argues, in a reduction of "oedipal and other tensions which inevitably arise between adolescent children struggling to assert their independence and master the problems of their budding sexuality" (Family, 108). The

system of primogeniture virtually assured tensions and resentments among male siblings. Only the female children, because they were born into a position of relative exclusion from power, seemed to have little reason for sibling rivalry. "There is reason to suspect," asserts Stone, "that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the brother-sister relationship was often the closest in the family" (*Family*, 115).<sup>2</sup> Stone also argues that there was "strong class endogamy" (*Family*, 88) -- a very closed group of potential marriage partners. The narrowness of these groups, combined with the severe restrictions on sexual behaviour in general and relationships of consanguinity and affinity in particular, charged familial relationships with a forbidding that was both fearful and alluring. While Hudson's observations about the literary deployment of incest in Austen may not be applicable to Renaissance discursive practices, her assertions about eighteenth-century social conditions are strikingly similar to what Stone observes concerning sixteenth-century family organization:

In the cloistered, insular familial world of the English upper and middle classes, intensely intimate ties between blood relations were forged. Moreover, restrictions governing heterosexual relations with individuals outside the family meant that unconscious sexual feelings were frequently enclosed within the

family circle. (Hudson, 13)

Sibling incest, then, is a way of conceiving of social relations, and the construction of sibling incest has much to do with the disciplining of sexuality and its expressions. Hudson cites Margaret Doody's imperative to understand "incest as a complex symbolism for sexuality outside conventional social structures, and free of the hierarchies and estrangements of customary heterosexuality" (Hudson, 15). The purpose of this chapter is to explore the use of incest, particularly sibling incest, in some Renaissance texts; to examine the ways in which the incestuous body is monstered, and how that monstering contributes to the fashioning of sexuality.

## I

In 1600, Richard Jones published a work, under the signature initials I. R., entitled "A Most Straunge, and true discourse, of the wonderfull judgement of God. OF A MONSTROVS, DEFORMED Infant, begotten by incestuous copulation, between the brothers sonne and the sisters daughter, being both vnmarried persons." The pamphlet, a quasi-religious piece revealing its author's general distrust of women, takes as its subject the birth of a deformed child to a "young maiden" (2),<sup>3</sup> a yeoman's daughter, who is alleged in the pamphlet to have had sexual relations with (at least) one of her cousins -- a next generational version of brother-sister incest. The writer

suggests he<sup>4</sup> feels a moral compulsion to "do my countrie good" (A3r) and employ his "poore talent" (A3v) against what he argues is the current abundance "these dayes" in the "sinnes of Incest, Onanisme, Whoredom, Adulterie & Fornication, with other Sodomiticall sinnes of vncleanesse & pollutions" (A3r). This monstrous (infant) body reproduced in narrative is explicitly made to serve an ethical and didactic purpose, the "restrainte of fleshly lustes" (A3v). It is also the example through which the author fashions his absolutes of (female) sexual behaviour. He alludes to the "wise and graue histories" of monstrous births, "our neglect" of which, he argues, has caused a contemporary preponderance of sexual incontinence (9). His narrative, then, takes its place among those "wise and graue histories" to which he gestures as reformatory, to "make us tremble and quake, when we shall but reade and heare of them" (9). After itemizing the deformities of "this monster," the author asserts that "It resteth now, that we make vse of it" (7). The monstrous birth here becomes a spectacle employed for its "positive and useful effects" (Foucault, 24) in generating social truth.<sup>5</sup>

Incest is only one of the woman's alleged violations. Like Spenser, in his representation of Mirabella which I discussed in chapter three, the author of this pamphlet includes reference to the potential for this woman to assume a suitable social role. He asserts that she "had conuenient

offers of marriages, fit for her estate" (2) but that she refused such proposals. The community pressure toward conformity is evident in the pamphlet, because, when she finally does meet and respond positively to the attentions of a man, "all the people of those parts thought for truth, that a full match in marriage, should shortly haue been solemnized" (2). The narrative is pulled in two directions when the author describes the woman's separation from the man: it is an act of Satan, who "worked her mind against" the man; yet her actions are also represented as a reflection of the "lightnesse and inconstancy of a great number of this sexe" (2). The agency of the woman's action is on the one hand external and demonized, yet the authorial gesture to the "great number of this sexe" is a suggestion that the action can also find its origin in the "nature" of women. And, again similar to Spenser's representation of Mirabella as one possessed of a "proud and hard rebellious hart" (6.8:19) that must be tempered through punishment, the author of the pamphlet argues that this "proud...wench" (4) must be punished, and her punishment has as much to do with her withholding of her body from the socially perpetuating institution of marriage, as it does her subsequent incestuous relationship:

God in his iust punishment (to shew his displeasure against mockerie with his holy institution of marriage, and his hatred of the sinnes of whoredom, adulterie,



fornication, incese, and all other vncleanesse) made this proud, this scornefull & vnconstant wench, the mother of a monster. (3-4)

The monstrous birth, then, is tied not only to an incestuous coupling, but to the unwillingness to form exogamous social relationships -- which is itself an extension of the social ramifications of incest.

The deformed body of the infant is graphically and spectacularly described,<sup>6</sup> and the narrative of its literal and metaphysical origins, a narrative that frames the physical description on both ends, grounds the anatomy of the infant in social ideology. The infant was of indeterminate sex, "but urine issued out at a small hole in y proper place" (6, emphasis mine), an observation which led the investigator to consider it predominantly male. That there is one "proper place" for the elimination of urine, and that this propriety of location genders the child male, suggests again that the author's condemnation of the woman does not originate exclusively in the alleged incestuous coupling, but is involved in a network of difficulties with female sexuality in general.<sup>7</sup> The eyelids of the 'monster' were not functional, "the insides apeering outward" (5), and the other facial features were distorted in a variety of ways. "The bodie," asserts the writer, "for length and bignesse exceeded the ordinarie stature of other children" (6). The measurable physical distance between this child

and "other children," evident in size, sexual characteristics, and facial feature, permits its classification as monstrous, and the constructed causal link between these physical differences and socially proscribed sexual activities suggests also the monstrosity of the behaviour itself as formative. The mother's sexual practices are made analogous to their productive result, and the baby is represented as "God['s]...iust punishment" -- God behaves in this representation as the monarchical state penal apparatus that Foucault analyzes in Discipline and Punish, creating a spectacular body on which can be read the signs of the crime of its origin.

The gestures in the pamphlet to contemporary conditions add the possibility of another dimension to the social critique focused upon the "mother of this monster" (11). The author states in the opening sequence cited above that "the sinnes of Incest, Onanisme, Whoredom, Adulterie & Fornication, with other Sodomiticall sinnes of vncleannesse & pollution, do so outrageously raign" (A3r). He says these sins have become particularly prevalent "these days" (A3r) and "of late yeares" (A3v). He then subtly suggests a connection between the sins that "outrageously raign" and the reigning monarch: with reference to the abundance of these sins, "the Queenes maiestie and her gouvernement, the preachers of the Gospell and their teaching, are slaundered and euill spoken of" (A4r). He is suggesting that the sins

of English society are enabling people to slander those ostensibly responsible for the conduct of their people. But the reference to Elizabeth and the slander aimed at her might also be a gesture to the genealogical history of the queen herself, a history tied up with questions of incest and accusations of illegitimacy. In a very real sense, Elizabeth is being indicated as a potential source of the social ills. The author distances himself by placing these accusations in the mouths of others and by calling them slanderous, yet at the same time he gives them voice and he allows the discursive space for his readers to make the connections. Like his main subject, the mother giving birth to the 'monster' because of her allegedly monstrous sexual practice, Elizabeth is offered as a maternal site productive of what the author understands to be monstrous sins.

## II

And when you look for marriage, will there be men,  
Will there be one man brave enough to outface  
The scandal that will cling to all my children  
And children's children? Is there a name of ill  
That is not ours? A father that killed his father;  
Despoiled his birth-bed; begetting where he was begot  
Thus they will brand you. Where will you then  
find husbands?  
There will be none, my children, for you; your days  
Can only end in fruitless maidenhood.

(Oedipus, the King, 67)

When, in 1503, under the guidance of his father and in the interest of international relations, Henry Tudor (then, Prince of Wales) married Catherine of Aragon, his late brother's wife, the Tudor dynasty involved itself in a controversy of incest the spectre of which would continue to haunt it into the seventeenth century. Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon failed to produce the desired male heir, instead its results were Mary, and, what Bruce Boehrer describes as "an unprecedented series of miscarriages and stillbirths" (28).<sup>\*</sup> Henry used these 'failed' pregnancies, for the birth of Mary too was considered a failure, as evidence of divine disapproval of the marriage -- whether he was cynically using the reproductive difficulties as a method of clearing the way for Anne Boleyn, or whether he believed with conviction that God was punishing him for an incestuous match is something we cannot determine. The public record, however, suggests the latter, and Statute 25 Henry VIII c. 22 declared the marriage invalid because it was an instance of a practice "plainly prohibited and detested by the Laws of God." This declaration bastardized Mary; she became one of the "many inconveniences" that the Statute described as having befallen the realm due to incestuous couplings. Yet incest, previously understood as an absolute 'natural' category, became, under these

pressures, an explicitly political and flexible one. In 1503, Henry had obtained a papal dispensation allowing his marriage to his late brother's wife, but when this marriage was no longer politically productive or desired, incest was reinvoked to allow for its dissolution.<sup>9</sup> Boehrer succinctly outlines the progression of Henrican Succession Acts, and they reveal the way in which incest is strained by Henry to do political work: the Act of 1534 annulled the marriage between Catherine and Henry, and Mary became a child of incest born out of wedlock; the Act of 1536 annulled the marriage between Anne and Henry "on grounds that included incestuous adultery and the queen's supposed prior marriage contract with another," thus bastardizing Elizabeth and promoting the children of Henry and Jane Seymour; a 1540 statute "authorized marriage between cousins" and declared that "no marriage could be dissolved by reason of pre-contract"; and in 1543, Mary and Elizabeth were reinstated in the succession order behind Edward (Boehrer, 44). What becomes apparent from this confusing and often contradictory series is that the prohibition on incest, rather than a 'natural' or 'divine' law, was a powerful social signifier that could be worked and reworked for political purposes.

Shortly after the death of Catherine of Aragon in 1536, Henry began to make gestures of dissatisfaction with Anne. She, like Catherine, had suffered a number of miscarriages,

and once again Henry started to give out word that God was expressing his condemnation of the match through its productive result (Kelly, 241). "Within a short time," argues Henry Kelly, "Cromwell had gathered together evidence of some rather unlikely adulteries between Anne and a few of her intimates and crowned the whole case with a charge of incest between her and her brother" (242). Elizabeth underwent the same bastardization as her half-sister, Mary, when, as Henry divorced Anne, rumours circulated suggesting the possibilities that Anne was Henry's natural daughter or that Elizabeth was the child of Anne and her brother, George (Boehrer, 47). These genealogical questions were to haunt both Mary and Elizabeth throughout their respective reigns -- Edward seems not to have undergone the same kind of questioning, perhaps a reflection of the society's desire to invest legitimate royal succession in the male body. However, on the death of Edward in 1553, the country was again in crisis over succession.

The question of incest and legitimacy figured highly in the Lords of the Council's defence of the recognition of Lady Jane Grey as queen rather than Mary Tudor. John Foxe records letters and protestations by Mary, prior to the death of Edward, vehemently defending the status of her birth:

I protest before you [certain Lords] and all others that be here present, that my conscience will in no

wise suffer me to take any other than myself for the king's lawful daughter, born in true matrimony.

(6:354)

The passing over of Mary, because of what John Foxe describes as the fear that she would "bring in the pope" (6:384), was justified to Mary with reference to Henry's relationship with Catherine. The Lords of the Council argued that Jane was "invested and possessed with just and right title" and that to have overlooked such claim would have meant that the realm would "fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities" (Foxe, "Answer of the Lords," 6:386). And they followed this suggestion of the potential "grievous and unspeakable enormities" by referring to the "divorce made between the King of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and the lady Katherine your mother, that was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws" (Foxe, 6:386, emphasis mine). This divorce, the Lords argue, "justly made illegitimate" (6:386) the appellant Mary. What made the divorce "necessary" was the marriage's representation and reputation as an incestuous one -- divine and human laws are invoked by the Lords in support of their political resolution to crown Jane.

In this construction, to avoid Mary is to avoid the product of incest, and to avoid the product of incest is to avoid "grievous and unspeakable enormities." Mary becomes,

like the child in the pamphlet, a product to punish -- she, in addition to the numerous miscarriages and stillbirths experienced by Catherine, was represented by her father, according to Boehrer and Kelly, as divine retribution -- the Lords of the Council reminded her of this status, and suggested that to recognize her claim would be to court that retributive power. But Foxe's own historiography and his personal stake in it should not go without mention. He is interested in bringing forward negative evidence in order to support his view of the reign of Mary as a monstrous period in English history, and to make ideologically legible the "sequel of this story," the exemplary martyrdoms of those who opposed her. Mary, then, is constructed as monstrous, and incest is one of the narrative strategies deployed to support such a construction.<sup>10</sup>

David Laing, editor of The Works of John Knox, argues that "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women" (1558) is particularly aimed at Mary (4:352). Knox's indictment, as the title indicates, is ostensibly of female rule in general,<sup>11</sup> but he makes frequent reference to England directly and includes several personal attacks on Mary. In his preface the particularity of his invective becomes readily apparent: "how abominable before God is the Empire or Rule of a wicked woman, yea, of a traiteiresse and bastard" (4:365). On the first page of his text, then, Knox differentiates between the titular



female rule, an abomination in itself according to Knox, and the rule of this particular female, made even more monstrous, he suggests, by way of her bastardy. The reference to Mary's alleged bastardy is a not too indirect assertion of incestuous origins, because the only way in which Mary's birth can be understood as illegitimate is to confirm the validity of the divorce (annulment) between Henry and Catherine on the grounds of incest -- incest was the only (legal) factor justifying the divorce, and Knox uses it to justify his assertion of Mary's bastardy and extends it to mean monstrosity.

Christopher Goodman, another Protestant writer in exile, is less subtle in his attack, one that is roughly contemporaneous with Knox's First Blast. He berates the male power-elite of England for making themselves "bondemen to the lustes of a most impotent and vnbridled woman: a woman begotten in adulterie...contrarie to the word of God" (97). Goodman asserts that

Henry the eight, in marying with his brother's wife, did vtterly contemne the free grace of our Sauour...and also committed adulterous incest contrary to the word of God, when he begat this vngodlie serpent Marie, the chief instrument of all this present miserie. (98, emphasis mine)

This orthographical pun has Henry and Catherine producing a Mary (marying) in the act of marrying. Mary's status as

"vngodlie serpent" seems to be a direct result of her incestuous origins. Goodman's misogynous, political, and religious objections to Mary become fixated on the moment of her conception as he contemplates the allegedly ungodly behaviour that results in this "vngodlie" offspring.

Knox too becomes quite direct in his attack of Mary, calling her "that cursed Jesabell" (4:393) and asserting that anyone could have seen "the erecting of that monstre to be the overthrowe of true religion" (4:394). Here, the monstrous regiment of female rule slides unobtrusively (the resonance of the accusation of bastardy still in the reader's mind) into a direct assertion that Mary herself is a monster. In Knox's representation, from incest comes monsters, and from monsters comes monstrous rule, which in turn infects the state itself: "Woman's authoritie bringeth furth monstres" (4:401, emphasis mine). The very commonwealth itself, at the mercy of Knox's monstrous female ruler, becomes monstrous, and Knox uses the familiar metaphor of the body politic to describe the product of such rule:

who would not judge that bodie to be a monstre, where there was no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the handes, the tonge and mouth beneath the bellye,<sup>12</sup> and the eares in the feet?...And no lesse monstrous is the bodie of that Common welth where a woman beareth empire. (4:391, emphasis mine)

Knox's topsy-turvy body politic is one that will be ordered according to the senses rather than judgement. The location of the instrument of its authorial voice "beneath the bellye" suggests that in Knox's opinion the female ruler is incapable of escaping a perspective derived from the genital region. This monstrous body politic is, with Knox's choice of words, generated by the female body -- she "beareth," "bringeth furth," such an empire. Mary's productive ability, implicated in the frequent marginal admonitions to England to beware, is represented as monstrous, and this monstrous political offspring is itself implicated in incest through Knox's charges of Mary's bastardy.<sup>13</sup> Knox asserts that "who soever receiveth of a woman office or authoritie, are adulterous and bastard officers before God" (4:414). Whereas "A Most Straunge, and true discourse, of the wonderfull judgement of God. OF A MONSTROVS, DEFORMED Infant, begotten by incestuous copulation" images the offspring of incest as monstrous, Knox takes it one generation further and suggests that the political offspring of "that cruell monstre Marie" (4:411) will itself be monstrous.

The position of God in these texts, like the employment of incest, is frequently dependent on the particular ideological work the narrator requires at the moment. God is invoked in the pamphlet to support a number of different social subjects -- he sent the 'monstrous' infant to punish

the parents for their incestuous copulation, to remind us all of our "sins of vncleanesse" (8), to frighten us so that we will mend our ways, and to remind our magistrates to enact the lawes prohibiting such actions as "Incest, Onanisme, Whoredom, Adulterie & Fornication" (A3r) by which "god is dishonoured" (A4r). I discussed above the way in which Henry VIII manipulates incest and divine approval or disapproval to achieve his political or personal ends, and Knox does much the same thing in The First Blast. He suggests that the rule of women like Mary is "abominable before God" (4:365) and that "God hath revealed to some in this our age, that it is more then a monstre in nature that a woman shall reigne" (4:366-7). But Knox also suggests that these women are scourges sent by God to punish: "he hath raised up these Jesabelles [his alternate name for Mary] to be the uttermoste of his plagues" (4:404).<sup>14</sup> Here the rule of Mary is given divine sanction, and she acts, like the infant in the pamphlet, as a punishment for social transgression. Yet at the same time, "if God raise up any noble harte to vendicate the libertie of his countrie" and oppose these women, those who resist this 'liberation' should know "they lift their hand against God" (4:417). These contradictory stances seem to me to go beyond the simple faith that God is ultimately behind every event that transpires, particularly in the context of the vehemence with which Knox's entire document attacks female rule of any

kind. He makes only one gesture to women "exempted from the common ranke of women" by God to rule (4:374), yet this gesture seems especially empty given that he can name none. And, finally, according to Knox, God will countenance such an affront only for so long, and Knox asserts that "the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monstre Jesabel of England, and such as maintein her monstrous crueltie, is alreadie apointed in the counsel of the Eternall" (4:420). The monsterring of Mary takes place in Knox with reference to her reign and her incestuous origins, and both, according to Knox, are abhorrent to his construction(s) of God.

The timing of the publication of The First Blast was perhaps not as fortunate as Knox might have hoped. The indictment that found much of its purpose in the anti-Catholic antagonism to Mary became available only seven or eight months before her death (Knox, 4:420 n.1), and the Protestant Elizabeth may not have provoked the same kind of ire.<sup>15</sup> In a letter written in July, 1559, addressed to "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Quen of England," Knox tried to deny that The First Blast in any way touched her "person in especiall" (6:48). But Elizabeth was not persuaded by these denials; she recognized that even though Knox had not mentioned her name, his tirade against "the Authoritie of all Women" (4:420) could easily be applied to her. Not only that, his inclusion of the detail of bastardy

was as applicable to Elizabeth as it had been to Mary.

Elizabeth, like her half-sister before her, attempted to legislate her own legitimacy. 1 Elizabeth cap. 3, "An Act of recognition of the Queen's Highness' title to the imperial crown of this realm," one of the first statutory actions of the new reign, proclaimed that "your Highness is rightly, lineally and lawfully descended and come of the blood royal of this realm of England." Elizabeth also issued numerous proclamations against "seditious words and rumours" (e.g. 23 Elizabeth cap 2), yet, throughout her lengthy reign, rumours of bastardy and incest reissued from the mouths and pens of her detractors. Boehrer cites the French Martyre de la Roynne d'Escosse (1589) and a collection of French and Latin poems called De Iezabelis Angliae Parricidio (1587), all of which use the incest narratives to undermine the authority and legitimacy of Elizabethan rule (47).

Yet Boehrer asserts that in the English literature of the Elizabethan period can be found "compensatory gestures" which "affirm Elizabeth's authority by deliberately distancing her from the very crime for which, in part, her mother was executed" (46). Boehrer's distinction between detraction and compensation rests in the distinction between direct and 'literary' representations (the anti-Elizabethan works like the Martyre and De Iezebelis as opposed to theatrical or allegorical representations that involve

incest in their representational framework). Boehrer's assertion that this latter literary production attempts to "exorcise the genealogical problems of the Tudor dynasty" (48) seems to me, a reader whose initial thinking about the theatre and literary texts was impressed by Stephen Orgel's Illusion of Power, highly questionable. Orgel allows for the possibility of subversion and critique even in the very act of speaking to princes in their own language (79), and this liberating possibility is something that is missing from Boehrer's textual explications.

Incest, as Boehrer and others represent it, was a controversial subject in the Renaissance, and therefore the representation of incest in literary production was highly charged by contemporary contestation over its meaning and the bodies with which it was associated. In what remains of this chapter I want to focus on the employment of the discourse of incest in The Faerie Queene and consider the ways in which the body is used by Spenser to reflect its origins or practices and to naturalize social codes of behaviour by representing their violations as perpetrated by 'unnatural' bodies. Spenser's letter to Raleigh asserts that, in the representation of the Faery Queene, Spenser's particular meaning is "the moste excellent and glorious person of our Soueraine the Queene" (737). But he also suggests that "in some places els, I doe otherwise shadow her" (737). He seems to attempt to stabilize this openness

with reference to his representation of Belphoebe "in some places" (737). This line at first seems to restrict the representational field for Elizabeth to Gloriana and Belphoebe, yet this is not quite what he has said. "This latter part," Elizabeth's virtue and beauty, "in some places I doe expresse in Belphoebe" (737). This gesture may be taken in at least two ways: Spenser is suggesting that he represents Elizabeth's beauty and virtue through Belphoebe's appearance in different textual situations; or that only "some places" use Belphoebe to represent Elizabeth, and that she may still be "in some places els" shadowed. Page Ann DuBois suggests, and I am inclined to agree with her assessment, that "Elizabeth herself is represented polymorphously within the poem" (54). I am intrigued by the open possibilities of this "shadowing," and I am interested in exploring the extent to which, when incest is represented in The Faerie Queene, Spenser is "recoursing to the things forepast" ("Letter," 738).

Louis Montrose, in "The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text," reveals the way the Queen is both "subject of and in her subject's text," and how this literary and political relationship shaped Spenser and his discourse while at the same time it reshaped "the Queen by the very process of addressing and representing her" (202). Montrose allows that, while Elizabeth may fashion the available terms of address to serve her own ends, "her subjects might rework



those terms to serve their turns" (310). This potential for subversion and negotiation seems to me to be what Boehrer fails to recognize in his account of the literary representation of Elizabeth by her subjects, including Spenser. David Miller asserts, and I agree with him, that Spenser "offers The Faerie Queene as a literary and not literal portrait of Elizabeth" (3). There are some quite obvious white-washings and avoidance strategies employed in the text to negotiate carefully the potentially dangerous project of the representation of the royal body. It seems to me that incest, given Elizabeth's genealogical history, is one of these potentially dangerous areas, and Spenser may tread these waters carefully, but the fact that he treads them at all may be suggestive of something more subversive than an attempt at exorcism.

The proem to Book three, an almost direct address to Elizabeth, echoes Spenser's letter to Raleigh, offering Elizabeth (already one representational level displaced as Cynthia [cf. Montrose, "Elizabethan," 324-325]) "mirrours more then one" (3Proem: 5) in which to see herself. Spenser asserts in the proem that "either Gloriana let her chuse, / Or in Belphoebe fashioned to bee: / In th'one her rule, in th'other her rare chastitee" (3Proem: 5). This textual moment does not offer the shadowings in "places els" that the letter/gloss allows, and I wonder if Spenser is strictly delimiting the scope of Elizabeth's vision in order to

devalue the proximity with which he approaches the queen in other less celebratory areas of this particular book.

Book three of The Faerie Queene is profoundly concerned with the establishment of dynastic security and legitimacy in order to secure national stability -- Britomart must actively defend and represent chastity while she seeks to fulfil her destiny in marriage, and that personal destiny is inextricably linked to national destiny; ontogeny as related to phylogeny. Lois Bueler, in "The Structural Uses of Incest in English Renaissance Drama," suggests that incest is an apt device "for probing the moral relationship between individual passions and social well-being" (116). Incest, asserts Bueler, is an "aggravated selfishness" (127). Society's prohibition on incest, often naturalized with reference to divine law as we have seen above, is considered necessary because it is through exogamous relationships that society is established. Endogamy is the denial of society because it closes off a family rather than involving it in a network of social relationships. W. Arens suggests that the etymological root of incest lies in the Latin 'castum,' meaning 'chaste' (5), and that incest therefore is chastity's opposite. "The argument against incest," asserts Bueler, "is the argument for the necessity of marital exchanges that create and cement social relationships" (144). Incest, then, as the refusal of an exogamy that ostensibly provides such social stability, is the anti-type

to Spenser's narrative subject, and its representation will bear the weight of narrative condemnation.

The figures most strikingly associated with incest are Argante and Ollyphant, Book three's twin and twining giants. Both figures are employed as narrative transition devices: Argante appears only in canto seven and introduces the Squire of Dames (with his stories of unchastity) into the narrative; Ollyphant appears only in canto eleven as an interim adventure to take Britomart to Scudamour and the House of Busirane. Yet both figures are the products and practitioners of incest, begotten by Typhoeus "of his owne mother Earth" (3.7:47). That Spenser should choose to make these giants examples of male and female unchastity is not surprising given the context of their appearance, but that he represents them as involved in a network of incest in addition to their other sexual hobbies suggests that their peripheral textual status may be more central than is readily apparent.

One of the strongest indications that Spenser is working very close to his sovereign in the Argante episode is the fact that the name Argante itself is the name of the Faery Queen in a thirteenth-century Arthurian romance. Judith Anderson finds that Argante is Arthur's final destination in Lawman's Brut (cf. lines 14277-14282). Lawman's Argante, "the fairest of the elf-folke" (14291) is the Queen of the fairys, and will heal Arthur's wounds and

be with him on Avalon until he is ready to return to his kingdom. Anderson reminds her reader that in Chaucer's Sir Thopas there is a giant, Olifaunt, and a dream vision of the Fairy Queen very much like Arthur's in Spenser's poem. Anderson asserts that "Spenser's perverse Argante is a simple antitype of the chaste Belphoebe, and shares, through the origin of her brother Ollyphant's name, a distant tie to prince Arthur's vision of the elf queen, and in these radically deflected ways parodically approaches the idea of Elizabeth I" (197). But it seems to me that this approach to Elizabeth is not as deflected as Anderson argues. The genealogical history of the Tudors, with the narratives of incest surrounding Anne Boleyn (as either Henry's natural daughter or her brother's lover), combined with the nominal synonym for the Faery Queen, Spenser's admitted locus for his representation of Elizabeth, is suggestive of a very powerful and dangerous confrontation with the body of the sovereign.

Argante is a monstrous body; this monstrosity is constructed to reflect both her sexual appetite and, as I have discussed with reference to the monstrous infant pamphlet and the anti-Mary literature, the monstrosity of her conception. The origin of the "mighty Giauntesse" (3.7:37) is described by the Squire of Dames, whose narration of the events of her conception and birth is at least second-hand:

These twinnes, men say, (a thing far passing thought)  
 Whiles in their mothers wombe enclosed they were,  
 Ere they into the lightsome world were brought,  
 In fleshly lust were mingled both yfere,  
 And in that monstrous wise did to the world appere.

(3.7:48, emphasis mine)

The displacement of the narrative voice is multi-layered here: the Squire of Dames is telling the story rather than the poet-narrator, and the Squire himself is only reiterating what he has heard "men say." Spenser distances himself from the articulation by at least three steps. This caution may be a reflection of the danger of the utterance -- if Elizabeth were to see herself in this particular mirror, she would certainly find the image less than flattering, and Spenser may end up like Malfont in the court of Mercilla, violently silenced for his "foule blasphem[e] [of] that Queene" (5.9:25). But the gesture of displacement might also have something to do with the tremendous quantity of gossip generated around the royal body.

The body of Elizabeth was of particular interest to her subjects, who felt themselves vulnerable to its actions and choices. A large factor in the monsterring of Mary was her obstinate choice to marry Philip of Spain. Significantly, Camden records that Elizabeth had the opportunity to wed Philip after Mary's death -- Elizabeth, however, was careful to avoid an action that not only would have alienated her

subjects in the same fashion as her sister had, but would have been a repetition of the original action that involved the Tudors in the controversy of incest; the action that had been responsible for her own bastarding when Mary took the throne, and the cause of the Tudor succession difficulties.<sup>16</sup> "She perceived," argues Camden, "that by contractinge such a Marriage by Dispensation, she could not but acknowledg her self to be born in unlawfull wedlock" (13) because the implications of a wedding between Elizabeth and her brother-in-law would be that the marriage of Henry and Catherine had been valid, and that the annulment/divorce that facilitated the marriage between Henry and Elizabeth's mother had been illegal. But Elizabethans did want Elizabeth to marry. Montrose asserts that "In the 1560s and 1570s, Elizabeth witnessed allegorical entertainments boldly criticizing her attachment to a life of 'single blessedness' ("Fantasies," 80). And Carole Levin suggests that, "while questions, comments and gossip about Elizabeth's sexual behaviour had begun long before she became queen, attention to her behaviour intensified once she gained the throne and continued throughout her reign, even into her sixties" (96). If the body of the monarch should fail to reproduce itself, England would once again experience a crisis of succession. There seems to me to be an implicit critique of the actions (or inactions) of the queen in the poetic division of her into Gloriana and Belpheobe. Is this not an assertion that,

to Spenser's mind, female rule and virginal chastity are incompatible? If Belpheobe remains an unattainable virgin, the Faery realm is not jeopardized because she exists in an all female society and disdains courtly business, but if Gloriana assumes a similar form of chastity, and refuses the marriage that gives Arthur narrative direction, then that unbroken line of over "seuen hundred Princes, which maintaynd / With mightie deeds their sundry gouernments" (2.10:74) would experience rupture.

Argante exists in a textual context, then, in which generation is crucial. Her desire to "deuore / Her natieue flesh" (3.7:49) is expressive of the way in which incest is constructed as self-consuming -- one thinks of Milton's incestuous demonic trinity of Satan, Sin and Death, and Sin's complaint that her son's sexual violation of her has resulted in monsters, which, "When they list into the womb / That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw / My bowels" (Paradise Lost, 2:798-800). "Incest is...an image of anti-society," asserts Bueler, "a condition in which solipsism is expressed by a perversely social act and lovers use the family to unmake the meaning of the family" (145). As Arens argues, the prohibition of incest "sets in motion social and cultural systems" (44) like the family and the community of families, and the nation of communities. Argante denies those systems by her actions, and is therefore a threat to those who have a stake in their maintenance. Maggie Kilgour

asserts that Freud's oral stage figures sexual activity as a kind of ingestion. the expression of the desire for incorporation of the object, and identity between the self and Other (230). Sex becomes a selfish feeding expressive of the desire to maintain a unified centrality in the self -- a denial of the social in the interests of the personal. The incestuous desire in Argante is figured in terms of consumption, and its social dimension indicates a sexuality that is destructive rather than productive, that consumes human beings rather than creates them.

The cannibalistic sexual feeding of Argante prefigures Book five's monster, the terror of Belge's kingdom. Gerioneo's monster, gendered female (see note 12, this chapter), represents a perversion of maternity. Instead of producing offspring, the monster's genitalia serve as the conduit from which blasphemies arise -- Argante is also described as uttering "blasphemous bannes" (3.7:39). Gerioneo's monster is a consumer rather than a producer -- instead of bringing forth life, "she" takes in and is sustained by death. The death that sustains her is the life that should have sustained the kingdom. Belge accuses Gerioneo of having sacrificed twelve of her seventeen sons to this monster (5.10:7-8). Arthur's sword, thrust under the womb of the monster, stops up her blasphemies and facilitates her procreativity as she pours out "loathly matter that she had "damb[ed]" up (5.11:31). This monstrous



body, then, mastered by the male sword, is rendered harmless, and the way is cleared for the succession of the male heirs left unconsumed by this monstrous female body. The connections between Elizabeth and Argante, and Argante and Gerioneo's monster, suggest a representation of Elizabeth in which she, through her form of sexuality (be it virginal, or premarital and unproductive), is consuming her own productivity, a productivity that could mean the smooth transition of power.

Argante, while allegedly rampantly sexual, does not appear to be productive. Boehrer asserts that this is evidence of her "ignoring or disabling the dynastic imperative" (80). This "dynastic imperative" is nowhere so evident as it is in Book three -- female heroism for Spenser involves the acceptance of what Boehrer refers to as "the social utility of sexual behaviour" (80). Royal genealogies figure highly in The Faerie Queene, and Elizabeth is implicated in all of them. Britomart's understanding of her own derivation from the "Trojan Brute" (3.9:46) is expressed in canto nine, and the future of her line is supplied in her vision in Merlin's cave -- these genealogies, taken together, reiterate the myth of the Trojan origins of the Tudors and place Elizabeth as the historical culmination of this "noble" blood. Britomart's place in this book, then, is as a container of history; she is the embodiment of her ancestors, and she also embodies the future of which

Elizabeth is part -- she is pregnant with her own future. Boehrer very ingeniously argues for an understanding of these episodes as compensatory for Elizabeth's barrenness. He suggests that Spenser's apostrophe to Elizabeth in the proem to Book three casts her as poetic model, and that the figures she generates in Book three substitute and compensate for her lack of actual maternal productivity:

The queen becomes at once the product of and the incomparable model for Spenser's work, generating her own ancestry through a species of textual proliferation that allows the poet to enter her and to expose the qualities 'shrined' within her 'brest.' She becomes, that is, the poetic mother of her poetic (fore)mother.

(83)

Britomart's body contains the future, and Elizabeth is part of that future, but only in potential -- it is the union of her body and Artegall's that is made the imperative of Books three and four. It seems to me that the "dynastic imperative" of Book three undermines Boehrer's assertion that the fictive images of the queen "displace her unfortunate resemblance to the childless, incestuous Argante" (81). The royal history, Briton monuments (2.10), is quite clear about the function and success of female rule. Three women are mentioned in that catalogue: Guendolene, Cordelia, and Bunduca. Of these three, Cordelia and Bunduca end in suicide and, childless, cause a rupture

in the history -- only Guendolene, who "first taught men a woman to obey" (2.10:20), is successful, and her success lies partly in the fact that she "surrendered" (2.10:20) her rule to her son when he came of age. Complicating this further is a male ruler, Lucius, who "without issew dide, / Whereof great trouble in the kingdome grew" (2.10:54). The cumulative effect of these genealogies and histories suggests the obligation of the monarchy to reproduce itself. While Elizabeth may be generative of poetic figures and (pre)figurations, Britomart's genealogical future ends ("but yet the end is not" (3.3:50)) in nought; that is, Merlin says nothing. He stops his narration and the possibility exists that he stops it so that he will not have to articulate the "ghastly spectacle" (3.3:50) that follows Elizabeth's "royall virgin raine" (3.3:49). Elizabeth, the unattainable virgin, practised a form of endogamy -- a withholding of her body from the network of social alliances achieved through marriage. While not strictly incestuous, the action prohibited the expansion of the English royal family and was understood by many of her contemporaries as an undermining of the national security.

Yet virginity, "men say," is not really Argante's problem. She is, according to the Squire's description of her reputation, a rampantly sexual being. Her origin in and practice of incest are responsible only for one portion of the censure directed at her, for she "Did wallow in all

other fleshly myre" (3.7:49). "Ouer all the countrey," the Squire of Dames tells Satyrane,

...she did raunge

To seeke young men, to quench her flaming thrust,

And feed her fancy with delightfull chaunge:

Whom so she fittest finds to serue her lust,

Through her maine strength, in which she most doth

trust,

She with her brings into a secret Ile,

Where in eternall bondage dye he must,

Or be the vassal of her pleasures vile,

And in all shamefull sort him selfe with her defile.

(3.7:50)

The promiscuous nature of Argante's desire to "feed her fancy with delightful change" opposes her to the titular hero of Book three, and, taken in combination with her genealogy, accounts for the gigantism expressed in her body. The proliferation of her own flesh coincides with the insatiable feeding of her sexual appetite and thirst. As Lillian Robinson argues, "the dynastic theme is the medium through which certain ideas about sexual character and relationships find their way into the poem" (298). Female sexual desire is being fashioned in this text: chastity, the virtue that best serves the security (and calms the insecurities) of a patriarchal order is reinforced through the monsterring of the sexually aggressive female body.

Britomart's desire is also aggressive, but her aggression is contained within a system that restricts the expression of that desire. Argante has broken free of system and is fulfilling her desire through this liberation. That this behaviour should incur the censure of male voices, for it is "men" who "say" these things of her, is expressive of the fear and hostility with which the male-centred society met a powerful woman.

Levin suggests that, concerning Elizabeth, this hostility often manifested itself in rumours and gossip about her sexual activity and productivity. Elizabeth's employment of Petrarchan discourses in her court created a linkage between the political and the sexual, and suggestions that the political body was not being employed properly could be articulated with reference to her sexual body. Levin cites Edmund Baxter, who "openly expressed the not uncommon view that Elizabeth's reputed unchastity disqualified her as a monarch" (101). She was also rumoured to have had a number of illegitimate children, some of which she destroyed (Levin, 103-105). Her frequent royal progresses were said to be a direct result of her sexual liaisons; that is, she went on progress when she needed to deliver. That the progresses, ostensibly the monarch's spectacular display of royal authority and national possession, were undermined in this way suggests the problematic nature for this society of the investment of

political power in the female body. Levin suggests that these rumours "reflect another level of the fear over the succession and the antagonism toward a queen who refused to provide for her people's future" (103). The monsterring of the sexually aggressive and expressive body in Argante may be another reflection of the social tensions experienced with a virgin queen who exploited the relationship between court and courtship yet refused to participate in an exogamous relationship that would in some way contain her.

The "monstrous" birth of Argante and Ollyphant, "In fleshly lust... mingled" (3.7:48), is a version of the popular Renaissance image of the hermaphrodite. There has been a wealth of criticism produced around the figure of the hermaphrodite, and the deployment of that figuration in Spenser,<sup>17</sup> but most of the work has been concerned with the image of Scudamour and Amoret (and its reversion in 1596), or the Venus biformis in Book four's Venus Temple. I would like, however, to explore briefly Argante and Ollyphant as a kind of monstrous version of the hermaphrodite and consider the potential implications of this monstrosity.

Linda Woodbridge, in Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620, suggests that the image of the hermaphrodite was used in two ways in the Renaissance. There was a positive employment of the image, derived from contemporary interest in Plato's Symposium, to "symbolize the essential oneness of the sexes"

(Woodbridge, 140). But Woodbridge<sup>18</sup> suggests also that "Ovid's myth of Hermaphroditus became in Renaissance exegesis an emblem of bestial transformation, male effeminacy, and impotence" (141). The hermaphrodite became quite a popular point of reference during the controversy over some women's adoption of masculine attire. Both Woodbridge and Elizabeth Harvey discuss the fear of transvestism present in the pamphlet Hic Mulier. Harvey argues that such expressions as those found in Hic Mulier suggest that what is threatening about transvestism is that if women are no longer the "(stable) locus of unknowability" then the attendant fears will no longer be contained and will be free to attach themselves to other bodies (46). Woodbridge argues that it is the "non-symbolic" hermaphrodite, for example, the mannish-woman of Hic Mulier, that was "bemonstered" (141). Woodbridge notes that "the words deforme(d) and deformitie(s) [are used] twenty-one times in the essay's [Hic Mulier's] eighteen pages" (145). The image of the hermaphrodite, then, could be employed to indicate the transcendent oneness of united sexual bodies or something monstrous.

Argante and Ollyphant are said to have done "a thing far surpassing thought" while contained within the "enclosed wombe" of their mother. The poetry reenacts the event, enclosing the line, "a thing far surpassing thought," in the mimetic "wombe" of parenthesis. The unthinkable event in

the invisible region is rendered partially visible, "and [they] in that monstrous wise did to the world appere" (3.7:48). Their appearance "to the world," the act of being born, describes their birth but it also is an indication of the origin of social censure. This social world of men saying things is what constructs the birth as monstrous. Their incest then is literally anti-social. Born as mingled flesh, Argante and Ollyphant are the first version of an image that concludes the 1590 edition of The Faerie Queene.

The hermaphrodite was yet another figure that Elizabeth exploited as part of her political imagery.<sup>19</sup> Montrose records the now famous address of Elizabeth to her troops at Tilbury in which she states: "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and a king of England too" ("Fantasies," 77). Camden describes the event in these terms:

The Queen with a Masculine Spirit came and took a View of her Army and Camp at Tilbury, and riding about through the Ranks of Armed men drawn up on both sides her, with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, sometimes with a martial Pace, another while gently like a Wcman, incredible it is how much she encouraged the Hearts of her Captains and Souldiers by her Presence and Speech to them. (326)

Montrose suggests, and Camden's description above seems to confirm this suggestion, that "by the skilful deployment of



images that were at once awesome and familiar, this perplexing creature [Elizabeth I] tried to mollify her male subjects while enhancing her authority over them" ("Fantasies," 78). The monstrously hermaphroditic birth of Argante (a nominal version of the traditional Faery Queen) and her brother Ollyphant reveals a reworking of this Elizabethan imagery that undercuts and renders grotesque the barren and androgynous body of the sovereign. That the "martiall mayd" (3.4:18), Britomart, a (pre)figuring of Elizabeth, pursues the separate entities of this monstrous body can be argued to be a vision of Elizabeth's power to battle monstrous unchastity; however, the fact that she never does catch up to and defeat Argante and Ollyphant is more suggestive of the difficulty Elizabeth faced controlling the imagery through which she fashioned herself, and the genealogy that fashioned her.

Another set of dynastic analogues are implicated in the Spenserian negotiation of Elizabethan genealogy. Argante and Ollyphant are connected, implicitly, to Osiris and Isis, who figure in Book five's Isis Church, in which Britomart experiences a dream of yet another Tudor genealogy.

Typhoeus, or Typhon, the most monstrous of the giants born after the defeat of the Titans, is indicated by Spenser as the father by incest of Argante and Ollyphant. Typhon is also the brother and murderer of Osiris. While Typhon goes without mention in the Isis church episode,<sup>20</sup> the

implication is that in some way these pairs, Argante and Ollyphant, and Isis and Osiris, are related (literally and figuratively). A. Kent Hieatt suggests that "Typhon is identified with fiery, scorching barrenness" (139), yet, in Spenser, Typhon's incestuous coupling with his mother, Earth, is productive of Argante and Ollyphant. Perhaps Spenser displaces the barrenness of the father onto the offspring in order to make one more quiet connection between Argante and Elizabeth, and to allude very indirectly to the national desolation possible as a result of Elizabeth's barrenness.

But the most significant connection between the textual pairs, one which seems to be submerged in Spenser's narrative, is that Osiris and Isis were siblings who married each other and ruled Egypt together. And the birth of Argante and Ollyphant, "In fleshly lust...mingled" (3.7:48), is a birth that "Plutarch attributes...to Isis and Osiris" (Nohrnberg, 603). Plutarch records, in De Iside et Osiride, that "They say...that Isis and Osiris, being in love with each other even before they were born, were united in the darkness of the womb" (137). Spenser's description of the pre-natal incest of Argante and Ollyphant follows Plutarch's Isis and Osiris even to the point of distancing the source of the information about their gestation and birth from the narrative voice. But, in Spenser, Argante and Ollyphant are never explicitly connected to Isis and Osiris and they are

in fact disconnected by almost two entire books of The Faerie Queene. Carol Stillman suggests that

Isis and Osiris were an actual royal couple, deified in recognition of their virtues as rulers. Such euhemeristic interpretation would have appealed to him [Spenser] as a precedent for shadowing Elizabeth and her possible consort. (407)

Isis, whose symbol is the moon, is, as Stillman points out, another appropriate figure for Elizabeth, who is elsewhere Belphebe, Diana, and Cynthia (407). Appropriate, except Stillman does not discern the incestuous underpinnings of such an analogy. Spenser is once again, at this moment of genealogical origin, suggesting that at the heart of the Tudor dynasty, even figuratively rendered, is an incestuous coupling. Spenser does not explicitly draw on the dimension of incest in his representation of Isis and Osiris. Instead, Isis and Osiris (Equity and Justice, at the level of moral allegory) become figures for Britomart and Artegall respectively. Artegall and Britomart's marriage is thus compared and made analogous to a brother and sister union.

Miller suggests that Britomart's "passion for Artegall is tinged at first with incestuous overtones, and continues to suggest an odd convertibility between the images of parent and child" (279). Miller alludes to the passage in which Redcrosse praises Artegall to Britomart, who is then described in a simile suggestive of a maternal relationship

to Artegall in addition to a romantic one (3.2:11). However, one might trace this back even farther to the vision of Artegall in Britomart's father's mirror. Britomart "Into her fathers closet" ventures, and gazes into the mirror that Merlin had fashioned for her father. In this mirror, she sees her own reflection; she is, then, the image in her father's mirror -- a reproduction of her father in much the same way as Shakespeare suggests his young benefactor is "thy mother's glass" (sonnet 3). The mirror here is used as a device suggesting offspring; the mirror image is the child of the parent. King Ryence's mirror reflects his daughter, Britomart, and then Artegall. Artegall can be understood as another reflection in the father's mirror in the same way that Britomart is a reflection of her father -- they become, then, in the mirror of the father, specular siblings.

The effect of this (re)visioning of the Argante/Ollyphant twinning in the Isis/Osiris, Britomart/Artegall pairs is further to invest morality in the body. Spenser works out a thematization of the philosophical concept of the king's two bodies by investing morality in the grotesque and the classical. Ernst Kantorowitz suggests that the concept of the king's two bodies, the natural and the politic, "provided an important heuristic fiction" (5). For Spenser, the physical body, body natural, of his monarch is problematic because female and single; the Ovidian and

Petrarchan traditions, the very traditions that Elizabeth exploited in her self-fashioning, suggested that such a body was vulnerable and open to sexual seige. Argante's grotesque "corpulent excess" (Stallybrass and White, 9), in addition to her sexual cannibalism, reworks the physical body of the monarch in a way that is critical of its endogamous withholding at the same time that it is accusatory of sexual impropriety: "greatest shame was to that maiden" (3.7:49). The renegotiation of these terms at the political level through Britomart/Artegall and Isis/Osiris attempts to effect a validation or cleansing with reference to the classical body, and the classical bodies produced through the unions. The body politic becomes the concern here -- the dynastic continuity between Britomart/Artegall (Isis and Osiris) and Elizabeth (Horus and the Egyptian succession). Whereas the result of the incest between Typhoeus and his mother, like the incest between the cousins in the pamphlet which opens this discussion, is a monstrous birth (that is itself barren), the result of the incestuous coupling of Isis and Osiris, and the specular siblings, Britomart and Artégall, is a successor son who avenges the father's murder and restores the kingdom to a succession of sons. In the church of Isis the endogamy that results in a seemingly monstrous birth, "a lion of great might" (5.7:16), is supplied, by authority of "the greatest and the grauest wight" ((5.7:18), with an

explicitly political interpretation that attempts to construct it as seemingly respectable.

If it is possible anywhere, then, to find a compensatory gesture for Elizabeth's alleged incestuous heritage, Isis Church would be a logical locus. In Isis Church the lovers are envisioned as "joyne[ing] in equall portion of thy realme" (5.7:23), in opposition to Argante and Ollyphant who are "In fleshly lust...mingled" (3.7:48) -- again, the dimensions of this twinning are opposed, political versus physical. The problematic heritage of the Tudor dynasty is given an ancient precedent, and its productive result, instead of the monster Argante, is the promise of Horus, the child of Isis and Osiris. But this in no way defuses the critique of Elizabeth present in both Argante and Britomart. Argante's barrenness opposes Britomart's fertility, and the dynastic succession that culminates in Elizabeth requires that Britomart listen to the call of her "wombes burden" (3.3:28). Right relations are disciplined on the body, and the swollen flesh of the "mighty Giauntesse" (3.7:37), who feeds her fancy and devours her native flesh, is productive of nothing but self-increase. This representation is in contrast to the swelling of Britomart's body, "That of his game she scone enwombed grew" (5.7:16), which ensures another generation of stability. It is ironic, however, that, while Argante is singled out as one who let "beasts her body...deflowre"

(3.7:49), it is in fact Britomart who dreams of copulation with a crocodile. The difference of course is that "men say" that Argante does these things, but, for Britomart, we have an authoritative voice of interpretation, the high priest of Isis Church, who dignifies through allegory -- who performs what is ostensibly the Spenserian role.

In Rabelais and His World, Mikhail Bakhtin considers the ability of the grotesque to convey "positive meaning" (309). He argues that the grotesque facilitates rebirth: "It is the generating lower stratum" (309). But Argante's grotesqueness is not generative in this sense -- she is not an example of "one image [combining] both the positive and negative poles" (308). To my mind, Spenser displaces this regenerative potential, in its literal sense, to his (re)version of it in Isis Church. The celebration of fecundity and fertility that Bakhtin sees in the Rabelaisian grotesque (313) does not appear in Argante and Ollyphant; their sexuality, expressive as it is, is not productive of anything except the construction of a sexual morality. The grotesque here is used to assist in the codification of the acceptable sexual behaviour. Argante and Ollyphant are a moment of carnival, but they are ultimately contained by dominant ideology. This moment is worked out on the "material bodily level" (Bakhtin, 309) and degraded to be reborn, but the rebirth that it effects is not in the grotesque body itself: instead, Argante and Ollyphant

become the textual predecessors of Isis and Osiris (and, by extension, Britomart and Artegall), but their relation is never made explicit. Even in Isis Church, the careful narrative avoidance of the issue of incest problematizes the attempt to purify or compensate for Tudor genealogy, and Argante remains free, a body at large, to critique the queen.



## ENDNOTES

1. See "'Tis Pity She's A Whore: Representing the Incestuous Body," by Susan Wiseman in Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660. Bruce Boehrer also discusses 'Tis Pity in The Monarchy and Incest in Renaissance England.
2. Stone seems to ignore here the relationship between sisters. There is no reason to privilege the brother-sister relationship over the sister-sister relationship -- unless one considers the competition for marriage partners, but female children had precious little say in the choosing of their husbands, and so this should not present too large an obstacle between sisters. In fact, one should expect that the relationship between brother and sister may have been strained by the possibility that it may be a relationship, for the woman, with the locus of future power in the family.
3. The pagination of this pamphlet is inconsistent. It begins with a section designated only with signature marks, but then moves into regular pagination -- page 1 seems to begin at what would normally be SIG.Blr, yet in fact Blr is signed elsewhere. My experience with this pamphlet is with its microfilm reproduction; the actual book may contain clues that would account for such bibliographic inconsistency.
4. This is the first instance where I use the pronoun designating the author as male. Though the initials I.R. could very easily stand for a woman, a number of the comments about women in the pamphlet suggest to me a male perspective. The author alludes to "the lightnesse and inconstancy of a great number of this sexe [women]" (2), and, when the pamphlet is critical of men, there is a confessional quality to the words that suggests a shared guilt in the abuses of his sex. I understand the pitfalls in this kind of extrapolation, and am aware that it is certainly not outside the realm of possibility that a woman could assert such things about her own sex, particularly in a society such as Renaissance England where the patriarchal pressures were so strong as to be formative.
5. In a later pamphlet, "God's Handy-worke in Wonders Miraculously shewen upon two Women, lately deliuered of two Monsters" (1615), monstrous births are again constructed as punishment for certain sexual behaviours:
 

to punish the sinnes of some particular parents, God from time to time striketh the womb of the mother, and

doubleth his curse, not onely in making her to bring forth with paine and dolour, but to bee deliuered with fearefull and horrid shapes, to astonish the beholders, and affright the sinfull breeders. (A3v)

6. The narrator, I. R., displaces himself from the narrative of the physical deformities in a gesture that may be intended to lend the description more authority. I. R. defers to a "Gentleman of good credite and worship" (4) and, although no change in style is perceptible, the narrative begins over again discussing both the avoidance of marriage and the incestuous coupling (although this particular telling suggests the possibility that she was having sex with two of her cousins). So her tale is twice told (by men outside its events) before the anatomy of what they argue is its consequence.

7. There is another spectacularly monstrous body that haunts this pamphlet. The author suggests that those men who wish a cure for their incontinent desires should "behold one of these wanton dames [prostitute], when she is layed and lyeth rotting of the French disease, ...when one piece is ready to fall from another, and her guts ready to fall out of her belly" (11). The dying body of a prostitute becomes for this author the scene of pedagogical voyeurism; a public and supposedly self-producing anatomy of the corruption and contagion of monstrous female sexuality. Yet it is the author who provides this anatomy and contextualizes the meaning which that body is to produce.

8. Antonia Fraser records that "in six years, the Queen had conceived at least four times; she was not yet thirty. And a few months after the death of the second baby prince -- in May 1515 -- the Queen duly became pregnant again," with Mary (70). After Mary, in 1518, Catherine gave birth to another daughter, but this baby was stillborn (Fraser, 82).

9. In The Matrimonial Trials Of Henry VIII, Henry Kelly records that the Dauphin of France (the future King Louis XI), after the death of his wife in 1445, sought papal permission to marry her sister, the other daughter of King James I of Scotland. The cardinal's judgement was decisive," asserts Kelly, "and admitted of no contradiction: the Levitical degrees were set by the law of God himself, and no pope could tamper with them" (11). So just over 50 years prior to the marriage of Catherine of Aragon with her husband's brother, the pope had been denied the power to make dispensations on what was considered to be divine law. This precedent was carefully avoided during the marriage arrangements, but when Henry VIII wanted out it was used to support his argument that the marriage was incestuous.

10. Foxe 'records' a conversation that took place between Mary and Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, prior to Edward's death. During the recorded conversation, Mary makes reference to the fact that she does not feel bound to obey the laws enacted by Edward until he "came to perfect age" (6:354). Foxe marks off this line with a note, a very infrequent practice in his text, and the note reads, "It is like she was persuaded by witches and blind prophecies, that king Edward should not live so long" (6:354 n.1). So even before Foxe enters into the examination of the reign of Mary he is associating her with preternatural and evil practices -- the first step in the monsterring of Mary.

11. In "Pamphlets and Politics 1553-1558," Jennifer Loach suggests that "the author of An humble supplicacion unto God declared that a sign of God's wrath is the fact that he has given the rule of England to a woman," and that women rulers are, according to this anonymous tract, 'for the moste part wicked, vngodly superstitious & geven to idolatry & to al filthy abhominacion'" (Loach, 41).

12. This description reminds me of Spenser's representation of Gerioneo's monster in Book five. This monster, initially only described with the neutral pronoun "it," is depicted as uttering blasphemies in a male voice that originates in the "poysnous entrails" (5.11:20). After this description, the monster is then gendered female instead of male which would be in accordance with the gendering of the voice. This movement from neutral to female occurs again two stanzas later as the beast is described emerging from its cave, and once again the gendering of the monster as female takes place as the narrator describes the lower regions of its body. Knox's monstrous commonwealth, monstrous, according to him, because of its female rule, finds its tongue and mouth "beneth the bellye" (391).

13. Foxe suggests that "we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks unto almighty God, who so mercifully" made it so that Mary's 'pregnancies' produced no issue (6:581).

14. Robert Tittler, in The Reign of Mary I, asserts that much of the Protestant literature of the Marian period "tended to explain that God had visited Mary's regime upon the faithful as punishment for their sins, and that the duty of the good Christian was one of obedience and endurance for as long as necessary" (42). Tittler cites as examples of this kind of writing Thomas Becon's A Comfortable Epistle too Goddes faythfull People in England and John Scory's An Epistle written unto all the faythfull that be in pryson in Englande. This representation of Mary as a punishment inflicted by God, with the controversy of incest surrounding her production, casts her in the same role as the

"monstros, deformed infant" (title) of the pamphlet cited in the beginning of this chapter. Knox, however, unlike the writers mentioned by Tittler, does not preach passive endurance, but offers more active possibilities.

15. In Christopher Goodman's How the Superiour Powers Oght to be Obeyd, he differentiates between Elizabeth and her sister describing Elizabeth as "lawfullie begotte," a "Godly Lady, and meke Lambe, voyde of all Spanishe pride" (53). But Goodman is not recommending Elizabeth -- he makes it very clear that she would have been the better choice of two evils, but that nonetheless those deciding the coronation should have and could have found a male successor because "The title of the Crowne belongeth onely by Gods Worde, to the heyres males" (Marginalia, 54, emphasis mine).

16. Camden suggests that certain courtiers convinced Elizabeth that to acknowledge the authority of the papal dispensation allowing her to marry her brother-in-law was to validate the authority that "h. J pronounced her Mother to have been unlawfully married to Henry the Eighth" and would in turn give support to the claim of Mary, queen of Scots (14).

17. Linda Woodbridge, in Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620, devotes an entire section of her book, "Towards the Hermaphrodite," to transvestism, androgyny, and other issues related to the hermaphrodite. Lauren Silberman has published at least two articles on the use of Ovid's hermaphrodite: "The Hermaphrodite and the Metamorphosis of Spenserian Allegory" (English Literary Renaissance 1987 spring 17:2 pp. 207-221); and "Mythographic Transformations of Ovid's Hermaphrodite" (Sixteenth Century Journal 1988 winter 19:4 pp. 643-652). Each of these considerations acknowledge the work of Donald Cheney in "Spenser's Hermaphrodite and the 1590 Faerie Queene" (Proceedings of the Modern Language Association 1972 87:1 pp. 192-200). Maggie Kilgour also gives attention to the figure of the hermaphrodite in From Communion to Cannibalism (cf. 31-32).

18. Woodbridge is careful to signal the fact that she is here paraphrasing Nancy Hayle's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Ambivalent Ideal: The Concept of Androgyny in English Renaissance Literature."

19. Kantorowicz reveals that in several instances a female ruler received the male title -- "King" or "Emperor" -- because the political power was invested in the immortal body politic that was gendered male (93). So the idea of the king's Two Bodies was conceptually linked, particularly

in the case of a female ruler, to the hermaphrodite.

20. There is a strong sense of allusion to Typhon in this episode however. In stanza ten, Spenser explains why the Priests of Isis and Osyris will not partake of meat or wine, and the reason comes quite close to the history of Typhon:

...for wine they say is blood,  
 Euen the blood of Gyants, which were slaine,  
 By thundering Ioue in the Phlegrean plaine.  
 For which the earth (as they the story tell)  
 Wroth with the Gods, which to perpetuall paine  
 Had damn'd her sonnes, which gainst them did rebell,  
 With inward grieffe and malice did against them swell.

(5.7:10)

One of the products of this earthly swelling is Typhon, who, as described in the Argante/Ollyphant episode, begets giants in incestuous copulation with his mother earth.

## CODA

It was not until just now that I realized how fortunate Edmund Spenser was to die without having to provide closure. It is quite fitting that The Faerie Queene should have been delivered to posterity unfinished since each section of its (incomplete) makeup refuses containment and postpones closure. The closures that are attempted in the text all depend on the extent of the containment of the narrative construction of the body of the Other. In this study I have considered a number of these embodiments of Otherness: Mammon; the labourers occupying Mammon's cave and the house of Alma; Braggadocchio; Mirabella; Duessa; and Argante. All of these figures are constructed in different ways, as ideological icons used for their "ensample," to codify different social norms. As a gesture of closure to this study I would like to consider briefly the figure of the false Florimell and its (her) relation to the construction of the body in The Faerie Queene.

The false Florimell is another figure of disguise. Like Braggadocchio and Duessa, she is fashioned as a surface of meanings. She is, very literally, constructed, and her construction by the witch proceeds according to the statuary model of the classical body:

The substance, whereof she the bodie made,  
Was purest snow in massie mould congeald,  
Which she had gathered in a shadie glade

.....  
 The same she tempred with fine Mercury,  
 And virgin wex, that neuer yet was seald,  
 And mingled them with perfect vermily,  
 That like a liuely sanguine it seem'd to the eye.

In stead of eyes two burning lampes she set  
 In siluer sockets, shyning like the skyes,  
 And a quick mouing Spirit did arret  
 To stirre and roll them, like a womans eyes;  
 In stead of yellow lockes she did deuise,  
 With golden wyre to weaue her curled head;  
 Yet golden wyre was not so yellow thrise  
 As Florimells faire haire: and in the stead  
 Of life, she put a Spright to rule the carkasse dead.

(3.8:6-7)

This fashioned body is parodically similar to the itemized and dissected woman of Petrarchan poetry; the false Florimell is a literalization of a male poetic practice that defines and contains the 'ideal' woman and subjects her in a poetic fantasy.

Spenser seems here to be thematizing his own practice of fashioning bodies. The 'real' Florimell is the object of fantasy for a number of characters: Arthur, as he chases her, wishes she was his Faerie Queene; the fisher believes initially that she is a "dreame" or "some extasie" (3.8:22),

and, when he realizes that she is real, his "dry withered stocke it gan refresh" (3.8:25); and Proteus too incarcerates her in the hopes of making her fulfil his sexual fantasies. The desires of the witch's son for Florimell are frustrated when she flees their cabin, and the false Florimell is fashioned to supplement that frustrated desire. A body is created, then, to supply for male fantasy and to provide a surface on which to inscribe male desire.

But this ideal rendering of the female body is undercut because of its explicitly male animation: the witch employs a male Spright, "to rule the carkasse dead" (3.8:7). The spright "in counterfeisance did excell, / And all the wyles of wemens wits knew passing well" (3.8:8). The male spright and Spenser both undertake to represent, "in counterfeisance," what it is to be a woman. Spenser thematizes the transvestism of his construction of the female body, and also, by implication, reveals his presence at the centre of all the poetic bodies he creates. The male spirit animating the false Florimell parallels the male spirit animating all of the constructed bodies in The Faerie Queene.

Not only is Spenser the animating spright in the body of the false Florimell, but he is also the architect of that body's physical construction. The episode makes available a reading in which the role of poet and witch are collapsed, and Spenser reveals the work-like nature of his poetic



fashionings; his exemplary bodies, the "general intention" ("Letter," 737) of which are to supply fantasies of social absolutes and stability, are revealed, in this moment of self-reflexivity, to be highly artificial. But this artifice is obscured elsewhere in the text and the false Florimell works her way up the social ladder, from the witch's son to Braggadocchio to Ferragough to Blandamour, to become the object of admiration for a number of noble knights (including the groom) at the wedding tourney of Marinell and the 'real' Florimell. It is at this feast that the false Florimell confronts her counterpart. They are placed side by side, and "so soone as both together met, / Th'enchanted Damzell [the false] vanisht into nought" (5.3:24). It seems to me that this episode makes visible, in embryonic form, the processes and functions of the representation of the body in The Faerie Queene: the constructed body of the Other is, in the act of its exclusion, constitutive of the truth and its functions to obfuscate that truth's constructedness. The regulation of the body, the disciplines through which societies reproduce themselves, are manifested in a male fantasy that naturalizes their processes. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White argue that "the body is actively produced by the junction and disjunction of symbolic domains and can never be legitimately evaluated 'in itself'" (192). Spenser constructs and uses the body to delimit social boundaries;

whether it is sexual behaviour, class and/or gender essentialism, or industrial practice, the body serves as the site of social inscription, and the representation of it is an ideologically potent act.

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