

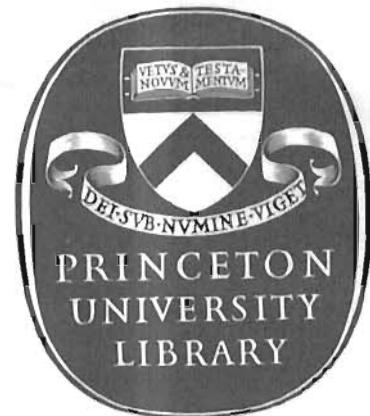
EDMUND SPENSER'S  
*The Faerie Queene*



AN EXHIBITION ON THE OCCASION OF  
THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF ITS PUBLICATION

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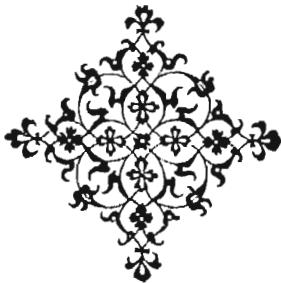


Cover: George Vertue (1684 - 1756), "Edmund Spencer," *Portraits of Poets*. Colored engraving, 1727. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

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*The Faerie Queene*

AN EXHIBITION ON THE OCCASION OF  
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Princeton University Library

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

1990



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

IN MEMORIAM  
A. Bartlett Giamatti  
*Lover of Spenser and baseball*

Whenever the Princeton University Library mounts an exhibition as important as this one dedicated to the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, we are once again forcefully reminded of the generosity of generations of Princetonians who have enriched the holdings of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. As this catalogue makes plain, their gifts and bequests have made possible the high level of scholarly research exemplified by the work of Professor Thomas P. Roche, Jr., and his fellow Spenserians.

The exhibition grew out of a proposal by Professor Roche submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities for support of a major international conference on *The Faerie Queene*. "Spenser 400," as the conference was called, took place at Princeton University in September 1990, with funding from the NEH. William L. Joyce, Associate University Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections, welcomed the opportunity to display the enormous strengths of Princeton's Spenser and sixteenth-century collections to the scholarly public.

The texts of the catalogue for the exhibition were originally published in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Volume LII, number 1 (Autumn 1990). Funds to support this project were supplied by the Friends of the Princeton University Library, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and President Harold T. Shapiro of Princeton University. Scholars and *amateurs* of the poetry of the sixteenth century in England are grateful for their generosity.

Readers of this catalogue will notice that there are a great many illustrations, not only of pages from editions of Spenser's works, but also of paintings based upon characters and events from *The Faerie*

*Queene*. To the many museums, libraries, and private collectors that have granted permission to publish them, we offer our thanks. They are individually acknowledged in the captions to the illustrations.

Finally, the greatest debt of gratitude is owed, of course, to the authors of the articles and the checklist published here, and especially to Professor Thomas P. Roche, Jr., whose idea it was and whose labor made it all possible.

— PATRICIA H. MARKS  
Editor, *Princeton University Library Chronicle*

## *The Faerie Queene* on Exhibit

Celebrating Four Centuries of Edmund Spenser's Poetry

BY THOMAS P. ROCHE, JR.

Edmund Spenser, along with Shakespeare and Milton, has always been singled out for "major author" courses in universities, while Sidney, Donne, and Jonson are slotted into places of prominence in more specialized courses on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. Spenser's place in the canon and curriculum was assured by virtue of his having written the first genuine English epic in the tradition of Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso, and also by virtue of his indubitable influence on Milton, Blake, and the Romantic poets.

Spenser's centrality to the canon of English literature is also evident in the scholarly attention paid to his work. The Spenser concordance<sup>1</sup> appeared shortly after those of Shakespeare and Milton, and the *Variorum Spenser*<sup>2</sup> shortly after Shakespeare and long before Milton. There is also the *Spenser Newsletter* edited by Darryl Gless, *Spenser Studies* edited by Patrick Cullen and Thomas P. Roche, Jr., and the Spenser Society, founded by Cullen and Roche in 1979. The *Spenser Encyclopedia* (general editor, A. C. Hamilton) is promised from the University of Toronto Press this year. That Spenser's work is canonical and not about to be overwhelmed by the preoccupation with modernist studies is attested to by the increasing number of books and articles written about his work every year. The first edition of the Spenser bibliography, 1937–1960 listed 1,200 items; the second edition, adding works from 1960 to 1975, contained 2,600 items.<sup>3</sup> Since

<sup>1</sup> Charles Grosvenor Osgood, ed., *A Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser* (Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1915).

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford et al., 11 vols. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932–1957).

<sup>3</sup> Waldo F. McNeir and Foster Provost, *Annotated Bibliography of Edmund Spenser, 1937–1960* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1962); 2nd ed.: *Edmund Spenser: An Annotated Bibliography, 1937–1972* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1975).

then, the number of books and articles has increased even more, as even a casual look at the annual Modern Language Association bibliography will show.

If it were merely a question of increasing numbers of studies of Spenser, there would be no need either for the "Spenser 400" conference or for a major exhibition centered on his work. But the truth of the matter is that Spenser is central to the most current techniques of reading Renaissance literature. Modern criticism of Spenser can be dated from the inception of the *Variorum Spenser* in 1932. This massive multi-volume edition presented Spenser as he was known for the first half of this century. In critical assessment of *The Faerie Queene* there was little except for C. S. Lewis' final chapter in *The Allegory of Love*<sup>4</sup> and the tentative but powerful essays of Rosemond Tuve.<sup>5</sup> There were, of course, the two voices crying in the wilderness: in 1949, A.S.P. Woodhouse's "Nature and Grace in *The Faerie Queene*,"<sup>6</sup> and twelve years later Northrop Frye's "The Structure of Imagery in *The Faerie Queene*.<sup>7</sup> But it was not until 1957 with the publication of Harry Berger's *The Allegorical Temper: Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's Faerie Queene*<sup>8</sup> that book-length studies of individual books or the whole poem began to displace the New Critical silence on Spenser. Although a spate of books published during the 1960s by Hamilton, Hough, Nelson, Fowler, Williams, Alpers, and myself<sup>9</sup> claimed no common theory about the poem, they did establish Spenser as a poet worthy of the critical consideration given to Shakespeare and Milton. This extensive body of critical opinion has been chal-

<sup>4</sup> C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), chapter VII, pp. 297-360.

<sup>5</sup> Rosemond Tuve, "Spenserus," *Essays by Rosemond Tuve: Spenser, Herkert, Milton*, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 139-163.

<sup>6</sup> A.S.P. Woodhouse, "Nature and Grace in *The Faerie Queene*," in *ELH*, Vol. 16 (1949), 194-226.

<sup>7</sup> Northrop Frye, "The Structure of Imagery in *The Faerie Queene*," in *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Vol. 30 (1961), 109-127.

<sup>8</sup> Harry Berger, Jr., *The Allegorical Temper: Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's Faerie Queene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957).

<sup>9</sup> A. C. Hamilton, *The Structure of Allegory in The Faerie Queene* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961); Graham Hough, *A Preface to The Faerie Queene* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1962); William Nelson, *The Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963); Alastair Fowler, *Spenser and the Numbers of Time* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964); Thomas P. Roche, Jr., *The Kindly Flame: A Study of the Third and Fourth Books of Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). Kathleen Williams, *Spenser's Faerie Queene: The World of Glass* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966); Paul J. Alpers, *The Poetry of The Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

lenged over the past ten or fifteen years by studies in semiotics, deconstruction, cultural materialism, and feminism, all of which have found fertile ground in Spenser. The often conflicting interpretations are such that the older scholars feel that their poet is being lost at the same time that the younger scholars feel that their poet is just being found. Because of this sometimes quite aggressive interchange between the old and the new, opportunities for reassessing Spenser and his work are of utmost importance. And because good scholarship depends upon access to original editions of key works, a conference augmented by an exhibition is especially appropriate.



It seemed right and proper on the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first three books of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* to display some of the riches of Princeton's Spenser collection. Much of it came to the Library as a result of the collecting skill and generosity of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Robert H. Taylor, Class of 1930. Osgood was one of the original "preceptor guys" brought to the University by Woodrow Wilson in 1906. He began to buy Spenser early in the 1930s when he had just accepted the editorial responsibility for the "Minor Poems" of the *Variorum Spenser*. During his long tenure at Princeton (he died in 1964) Osgood "picked up" the odd copy of one of the minor poems or indulged his fancy for buying yet one more copy of the 1611 - 1617 "First Folio." Taylor, who had already launched himself as a book collector when he arrived at Princeton as a freshman, was more professional in his attempts to gather the odd copy of the minor poems of any poet, but the time had already gone when copies of Spenser appeared on the market. Taylor was much chagrined that he had been able to buy only a fifth edition of *The Shepheardes Calender* (1597), the same edition that was already in Osgood's collection. Nonetheless, the efforts of these two men are mainly responsible for the fact that the Princeton University Library owns all but eight of the thirty Spenser items listed in the revised *Short Title Catalogue*, four of those items being the first four editions of *The Shepheardes Calender* that eluded both Osgood and Taylor. With such a rich start we decided to center the ex-



TO  
THE MOST HIGH,  
MIGHTIE  
And  
MAGNIFICENT  
EMPRESSE RENOVV-  
MED FOR PIETIE, VER-  
TVE, AND ALL GRATIOVS  
GOVERNMENT ELIZABETH BY  
THE GRACE OF GOD QVEENE  
OF ENGLAND FRAVNCE AND  
IRELAND AND OF VIRGIL-  
NIA, DEFENDOVR OF THE  
FAITH, &c. HER MOST  
HVMBLE SERVAVNT  
EDMVND SPENSER  
DOTH IN ALL HV-  
MILITIE DEDI-  
CATE, PRE-  
SENT  
AND CONSECRATE THESE  
HIS LABOVRS TO LIVE  
VVITH THE ETERNL  
TIE OF HER  
FAME.

Dedication page, Edmund Spenser's *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelve bookeys, fashioning XII. morall vertues*. London: Printed for William Ponsombie, 1596.  
Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

Photo: Don Breza

hibition on a display of every single issue of Spenser's poetry through the second folio of 1679. We believe that we have succeeded and that this exhibition is the first to display all of Spenser's works in the same space, although for "short time."

The rest of the exhibition is meant to augment our sense of the intellectual and literary world into which Spenser launched the first three books of his epic poem. In 1590 Spenser had already attained the ripe old age of 36—or 38, depending on which set of data we believe. Some ten years before, he had published *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney and embellished by the scholarly "helping hand" of the elusive E.K., who always tells us more than we need to know about the poem but never enough to answer the questions that we ask. From E.K. we learn about "Immerito," the "new Poete," and the grand design of his calendar by way of an epistle to "the most excellent and learned, both Orator and Poete, Myster Gabriell Harvey," that same Harvey who was to publish his correspondence with Spenser in the very next year under the somewhat arch title of *Three Proper, and Wittie Familiar Letters: Lately Passed Betwene Two Vniuersitie Men* (1580). It is not usual for even proper and/or witty letters exchanged between teachers and recent graduates to be published, especially when there are only three of them, plus two more thrown in for good measure. Spenser is for some reason being lionized by Harvey, either to buttress Harvey's bid for academic appointment, cashing in on the putative fame achieved by the new poet, or to pay tribute to a remarkable new talent that had already been sought out when Spenser was still a student at the Merchant Taylors' School to translate some poems for the English translation of Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Voluptuous Worldlings* (1569). We are still uncertain why this schoolboy should have been chosen to take on this responsibility, but it does point to early recognition of the one talent that Spenser cannot be denied. After this early productivity and acclaim we hear nothing from Spenser as poet for ten years, until, accompanied or escorted by Sir Walter Ralegh, he travelled to London to register the first three books of his poem on 1 December 1589 and to hope for preferment at court. It would be, and has been easy to invent a story for these facts that fit all too easily into grids that present a "mighty Pere"<sup>10</sup> with "rugged forehead,"<sup>11</sup> Lord Burghley, and

<sup>10</sup> *Faerie Queene*, Book 6, canto 12, stanza 41.

<sup>11</sup> *The Faerie Queene*, Book 4, Proem, stanza 1.

an aging and parsimonious Queen Elizabeth, bent on depriving poetic talent of its due, except for an annual pension of £50 and the 3,000 acres of rich Munster land that surrounded Spenser's castle Kilcolman in Ireland. I personally hope that both Burghley and Elizabeth were not devoting much of their time to depriving a poet of what we now consider his due reward, but were more firmly bent on those issues of state that we have recently been told were their "imperialistic" designs on European culture in the late sixteenth century.

Another story should be read into (or out of) the events of Spenser's life between his going down from Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1576 and his accession to Kilcolman and its 3,000 acres in 1590. That story is specifically literary, a model for poets, which Spenser's career exemplifies more fully than any other poet of the Renaissance. It is called the *rota Vergilii*, and it is based on the fact that Virgil first wrote his pastoral *Eclogues*, then his *Georgics*, and then his *Aeneid*: pastoral, georgic, epic.<sup>12</sup> Virgil's progression as a poet provided a model for the Renaissance poet to fashion his own career (not self or life) on that of the poet from whom he had learned his Latin and his poetry.

Spenser's career as a poet is modeled very closely on this *rota Vergilii*, with one small difference. He began with *The Shepheardes Calendar*, which is one of the most pretentiously pastoral poems ever written. It combines "smooth" pastoral and "rough" pastoral, and if one were to have the temerity to identify all the modes he imitates or invents, one could come up with an almost Polonian abstract of the genre: "pastoral, pastoral-comical, pastoral-historical, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical, scene individable, or poem unlimited." But Spenser seems to have omitted, between the pastoral of 1579 and the epic of 1590, the georgic, a genre that seems to be linked to farming as opposed to pasturing. For some reason, with the exception of Vita Sackville-West, the georgic has never produced well on British or American shores. There are few imitations of Virgil's blend of husbandry and political commentary. In its place in the Renaissance a poet might substitute a volume of elegiac and satiric poems, such as the "Ruins" and "Visions" of Spenser's *Complaints*, which came out the year following the publication of *The Faerie Queene*,

<sup>12</sup> For *rota Vergilii* see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series 39 (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1953), pp. 201n., 231-232.



"The Red Cross Knight", from Edmund Spenser's *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelve books, fashioning XII. morall vertues*. London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1590. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Gift of Mrs. Marshall L. Brown.

Books I – III. Thus somewhat out of order in terms of publication, Spenser was nonetheless trying to follow the *rota Vergili* in terms of his own poetic development, with his observations as civil servant serving his purpose as Virgilian farmer.

This Virgilian disclaimer does not deny the influence on Spenser of the three men singled out for praise in either E.K.'s annotations to *The Shephearde's Calender* (I cannot abandon a primitive and unprovable suspicion that E.K. might be another pseudonym for the young and ambitious Spenser himself) or in Spenser's "Letter to Ralegh," which appeared with the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*: Gabriel Harvey, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Walter Ralegh. These men have not only a connection to Spenser but also literary and political lives of their own, which both the "Spenser 400" conference and the exhibition would like to honor.

Gabriel Harvey, whose intellectual merits have for at least four centuries been subsumed by the fact that he was a friend of Spenser and ambitious, who has been suggested as Shakespeare's model for the pedant Holofernes in *Love's Labours Lost*, has recently come to be re-evaluated as an intellectual figure in his own right in the work of Anthony T. Grafton and Lisa Jardine.<sup>13</sup> Through an examination of his annotated books they have come to the conclusion that we should pay more attention to him as an intellectual — and therefore more attention to him as an influence on Spenser. By a rare act of fortune for the purposes of this celebration of Spenser's work, Princeton University Library has on deposit from the collection of Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927, six volumes from Harvey's own library, some copiously annotated.<sup>14</sup> We are deeply grateful to Mr. Wilmerding for allowing us to exhibit his treasures.

We are also graced by the lifelong collection of Sir Walter Raleigh material bequeathed to us by Mr. Hamilton Cottier, Class of 1922, which shows the range of Raleigh's interests beyond his espousing the cause of his poetic neighbor. Raleigh's close and stormy relationship to Elizabeth, his introduction of tobacco to England after his voyage to Virginia, and his sad demise in the reign of James I, enveloped by

<sup>13</sup> Anthony T. Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 184–196. See also the forthcoming article in *Past and Present*.

<sup>14</sup> They are discussed here by Anthony Grafton, and were the subject of a lecture by Lisa Jardine at the "Spenser 400" conference at Princeton University in September 1990.

Spenser and Ariosto.

"Spenser may be justly said to equal Ariosto in originality of invention, in force and variety of character, in strength and hardness of conception, in depth of reflection, in fertility of imagination, and above all, in that exclusively poetical cast of feeling which discerns in everything what common minds do not perceive." Hallam, *Literature of Europe*.

"Without calling Spenser the greatest of Poets, we may still say that his poetry is the most poetical of all poetry. Other Poets are all of them something else as well as Poets, and do not reflect, or reason, or humanize, until almost as largely as in the proper product of the imaginative faculty; his strain alone in the Poetry Queen, is poetry, sole poetry, and nothing but poetry."

Crack (Poetaster & Starling in England)

"Spenser's Spenserian is truly sublime, and may rank the seven like 'Inventors' of his exquisite Porthalamian. His attention to one is and will always be extremely minute as to be painful even to my eye, and you can easily see why Spense good to the contemplation." Coleridge, *Scholar Lect.* 1, 371



The River of Niddon castle where Spenser composed the Fa.Q.

And here he describes himself as keeping his flock under the foot of the Mountain side, amongst the early shades of green alders by the shore of the river Niddon. In this delightful retreat he was visited by Sir Walter Ralegh; which visit to Kilcolman occasioned an event of great importance in the history of literature; viz. the determination of Spenser to prepare his first three Books of the Faerie Queene for immediate publication. Spenser tells us that Sir W. sitting by him under the shady alders of the banks of Niddon, after provoked him to play some pleasant fit. " And when he heard the musicke which I made,

He found himself full greatly pleased at it;  
and smilins my pipe, he took in hand  
my pipe, before that amuled of many,  
and plaid theron; (for well he thid he could)  
himself as skilful in that art as any."

Drawing of Kilcolman Castle found in Edmund Spenser's *The faerie queene: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611–1617. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

the orthodoxy and breadth of his vision in his *History of the World*, make him one of the most appealing intellectual and political vagabonds of the Renaissance world.

There remain the Sidneys, all of them — Philip, Mary, and now Robert and his daughter, Lady Mary Wroth — a staggering array of talent. Surely, no British family has produced within two generations such an astonishing fecundity of literary output and influence. In addition to the canonical works of Sir Philip, there are in the Princeton University Library a letter by him and two by his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, and one of the few copies in America of Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countesse of Mountgomerie's Urania*. The recent interest in feminist circles in this latest of the Sidneys bodes well for the publication of the manuscript continuation of her work now at the Newberry Library.

We are also fortunate to have the first fruits of Professor Norman Farmer's extensive research into the illustration of *The Faerie Queene*. His lecture, delivered at the conference, is printed here, and we have attempted to supplement his work on the burgeoning interest in illustrating Spenser in the late eighteenth century and the Romantic period with some earlier illustrations from printed texts of Spenser and from his acknowledged predecessors, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso.

The conjunction of the conference and the exhibition presents a picture of the state of our knowledge of Spenser and his poem four hundred years after the publication of the first three books. For me it seems to pose more questions than answers: bibliographical, biographical, historical, critical. The exhibition of the works of Edmund Spenser, humbly submitted to the scrutiny both of professional Spenserians and *amateurs* of his poetry, that would not stay its due "time to expect,/But promist both to recompens," should be considered less a celebration than a promise to answer some of the questions posed—perhaps even by 1996, four centuries after the last three books of *The Faerie Queene* appeared in London.

## Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia

### New Light on the Cultural History of Elizabethan England

BY ANTHONY T. GRAFTON

*The exhibition celebrating the four-hundredth anniversary of Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene includes books that were essential reading for his contemporaries. Among them are well-known works by Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh. Something of the intellectual context of Spenser's work is also revealed by the handwritten commentary to be found in the books once owned by his friend, the controversial Gabriel Harvey.*

In David Lodge's novel *Changing Places*, the frustrated Rummidge don Philip Sparrow dreams of publishing his collected examination questions. Edmund Spenser's learned and frustrated friend Gabriel Harvey may well have dreamed of publishing his collected marginal notes. His long and combative literary career ended in 1593, when the exchange of pamphlets in which Thomas Nashe publicly humiliated him was suppressed by decree. But during his earlier years in Cambridge and London as well as his forced retirement in Saffron Walden,<sup>1</sup> he assembled a formidable library, covering subjects that ranged from ancient history to modern languages and from the marvels of Scandinavia to the analysis of urine. He also filled these books with systematic notes: underscorings that presumably identified important passages, astrological symbols that called attention to discussions of warfare and diplomacy, and discursive records of his responses to the text at hand (and, often, other matters as well). His sharp, idiosyncratic readings of classical and modern, Latin and vernacular works give us the clearest insight we have into the ways in which Elizabethan intellectuals read and responded to a wide variety of books.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (London: I. Danter, 1596), on loan from the Harvard University Library, was included in the exhibition.

Silius Italicus of the Warres betweene Annibal, & Scipio in Latin verse: much like I. war of  
the Warre betwene Romane, & Caesar. But give mee full of the One & Cestherstus self  
of the other: in comparison of whomne Silius, & Lycan are but trifles. The other warres in  
the world are comparable to these three. The next the warre betwene Spains & Carthagine: who taught  
Cesar his lesson: many of the plagues & miseries in his wars were  
Three of the  
Southernes, & the  
Gentlemanes  
of the world.  
Silius Italicus  
& Virgilius sing.  
rursum petenter, ut sibi quos uellere ex his redimendi potestas fieret, iussi nomina edere.  
& cu c. ferme ederent. S C. factū est, ut legati Romani ducentos ex capitulis, quos Car-  
thaginenses uellent, ad P. Cornelium Scipionem in Africam deportarentur: nūc iacentē ei,  
ut si pax cōuenirellat, sine precio eos Carthaginenses subredderet. Ecciales cum in Africā  
ad feedus seriendo tre iuberent, ipsi postulantibus S. C. in hac uerba factū est: Vt pri-  
uos lapides silices, priuasci uerbas fecū ferreūtū prētor Romanus his imperaret, ut  
feedus serendo illi prētorē agmina poscerent. Herbe id genus ex arce sumptū clari scieccia  
lib. solet. Ita dimissi ab Roma Carthaginēs, cū in Africā uenissent ad Scipionem, quib.  
antē dictū est, legibus pacē fecerūt. Naues lōgas, elephātos, persigas, fugitiuos, captiuo-  
rum equitū milites tradiderūt. inter quos Q. Terētius Calleo senator fuit. Naues, p-

Photo: Don Breza

Top of page 518, Gabriel Harvey's copy of Livy, *T. Liiui Patuini, Romane historiae principis, Decades tres, cum dimidia. . .* Basileæ: Per Ioannem Heruagium, anno M.D.LV. mense Septembri [1555]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

The Princeton University Library houses a number of Harvey's books, some permanently and some on deposit only. These provide fascinating insight into his ideals and aspirations — and into his network of personal relations with other intellectuals and with patrons. His copies of Sir Thomas Smith's works on the pronunciation of English and of Greek,<sup>2</sup> for example, show him reading humanistic work of great originality by his first patron — a man whose combination of humanistic training and political involvement seemed exemplary to Harvey. His copy of the Basel 1555 Livy — the most spectacular of all Princeton's holdings — contains Harvey's running interpretation of the early centuries of Roman history and the career of Hannibal.<sup>3</sup> Specific longer notes record not only Harvey's readings of the text but also the social settings — often public ones — in which these took shape. One long note vividly describes a public debate about Livy that Harvey watched at Hill House, Theydon Mount; another recalls his own reading of Livy with Philip Sidney before the latter departed on his mission to the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolph II. Harvey's copy of the English version of Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre* shows him thrill-

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Smith, *De recta & emendata lingue Anglicæ scriptione, dialogus, Thoma Smitho Equestris ordinis Anglo authore* (Lutetiae [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani Typographi Regij, M.D.LXVIII [1568]). Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *T. Liuui Patauini, Romanæ historiæ principis, Decades tres, cum dimidia; partim Cætii Secundi Curionis industria, partim collatione meliorum codicium iterum diligenter emendata.* Basileæ: Per Ioannem Heruagium, anno M.D.LV. [1555] mense Septembri. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

regē in triūpho ducētū Polybius haudquaē spērñendus autor tradit. Secutus Scipio, nē triūphantē est pīleo captī imposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omnīcē deinde uita, ut di- { gnū erat, libertatis autē coluit. Africānū cognōmē, militaris prius fauor, an popularis aura celebrauerūt sicuti Felicis Syllae, Magnity Pōpejū patrū memoria cōspītū ab al- fūturatione familiari sit, parum compertum habeo. Prīmus certē hic imperator nomine uictor ab eī gentiis et nobilitatibus exēmplo deinde hūis, nequaquam uictoria pares, insignes imaginum titulos, claracē cognomina familiæ secere.

**DECADIS TERTIAE FINIS.**  
Hanc Annibalis decadem, unde hecmodum non regis ruris, quam cuncte, antiquis perterriti sum. Theop. Smith, honoratusissimi Secretarii regi, Thome Smith filio; quippe post fratribus fratremque apicularem (Quare; tunc predeceps) quam animatio, uelut ergo, curreat. Cum ergo etiam Cisternae, et aliquantum de portis, Cetim invenimus, ut si unanomus Consilios, quem decuerint, symmetas post the fortificare, turbatis, aut etiam scientias. Et curia didicimus, nemus nullum uicerit, aut novorum eadeari; et si aliud tempore si quis solidus iustus, ab interno exstincto excaecatur? At si totus, Xenophontesq[ue]z Politicus, et Deinde prius de re militari, posteaq[ue]z Prodigioribus, frumentisq[ue]z multum confidetur. Nec Semper aut Annibali, aut Hannibale, aut Fabio assecurabatur, nisi etiam uult Sibylas.

Bottom of page 518, Gabriel Harvey's copy of Livy, *T. Luui Patauini, Romanæ historiæ principis, Decades tres, cum dimidia . . .* Basileæ: Per Ioannem Heruagium, anno M.D.LV. [1555]. Lent by Lucius Wiltnerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

ing to the Florentine humanist's effort to make a systematic study of Roman methods serve as the basis for a reform of military life and tactics in his own day.<sup>4</sup> His repeated use of the astrological sign for Mars (in one case, line after line for an entire page) vividly reveals his excitement.

What these documents reveal, above all, is Harvey's social and cultural role in the 1570s and 1580s, when he hoped to have a public career. He served as a sort of professional reader for members of the so-called "War Party" like Sidney and the Smiths, helping them find in ancient texts support for their policies of aggressive expansion on the Continent and colonization in Ireland. His own commitment to their plans emerges from many notes — most of all, perhaps, from one in *The Arte of Warre*. Here the text remarks that battle is "the ende, whereunto a Capitayne oughte to go or endeuour himself; For that the foughten field geueth thee the warre wonne or loste." Harvey writes in the margin: "This Ende, allmost at an ende, now a dais" — as crisp an expression as anyone found for the impatience that the policies of Elizabeth and Cecil inspired in the likes of Sidney and Essex.

Harvey's books, then, not only introduce us to a bizarre and fascinating individual, but also shed a powerful new light on the cultural

<sup>4</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre; Written in Italian by Nicholas Machiauel; and set forth in English by Peter Wilhorn, student at Graies Inne: With other like martial feates and experiments; as in a table in the ende of the booke may appeare. Newly imprinted with other additions* ([London: Printed by W. Williamson for J. Wight]), M.D.LXXIII [1573]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

history of Elizabethan England. And, like many other annotated printed books in Firestone Library, they show just how richly rewarding it can be to examine the sparks that texts struck off from early readers. The study of printed books cannot be limited to their printed contents.

## "A Moniment Forever More"

*The Faerie Queene* and British Art, 1770–1950

BY NORMAN K. FARMER, JR.

No one can know better than we, the celebrants at the four-hundredth birthday party for *The Faerie Queene* at Princeton, that the vital signs of Spenser's masterpiece pulse as strongly today as ever before. The fascination with Spenser that began only a decade or two after the poet's death with poetic imitation by George Wither, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and Henry More has continued to evoke commentary, and to stir debate. Now — to judge from "Spenser 400" no less than from "Spenser at Kalamazoo" or the new *Spenser Encyclopedia* — this vast store of commentary promises, in words from *Faerie Queene*, "To be a moniment forever more."<sup>1</sup>

There is a great deal more to this monument, however, than literary criticism commonly allows. Most of us, for example, will have read Thomas Warton's *Observations on The Faerie Queene* (London, 1754), or Bishop Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (London, 1762). From such landmark books we will have won at least a provisional insight into the way literary people of the eighteenth century accommodated Spenser to their taste and their culture. And most of us will know equally well how, three-quarters of a century later, the poetry of Spenser kindled the imagination of John Keats.<sup>2</sup> Few, though, will have seen firsthand how artists, who were contemporaries of Warton and Hurd, or Keats, translated the poetry of Spenser from print to canvas, shifting it from the perspective of the library to the sight-lines of the gallery. Two eighteenth-century portraits and a mid-nineteenth-century "history painting" will demonstrate what I mean.

<sup>1</sup> *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, canto 8, stanza 45.

<sup>2</sup> The title page of *Poems*, by John Keats (London, 1817) bore an epigraph from Spenser's *Muiopotmos* as well as an engraved portrait of Spenser. A piece entitled "Imitation of Spenser" was among the poems which contained, in addition, numerous Spenserian allusions.



Figure 1: Godfrey Kneller, *Baron Somers*. The National Portrait Gallery, London.

When Godfrey Kneller painted his Kit-Cat portrait of Baron Somers (Fig. 1) in 1715,<sup>3</sup> he posed his subject with one hand loosely resting upon a small book, a prop that identified him as a gentleman of letters. This was not just *any* book, however. It was a volume from the Tonson edition of Spenser's *Works* (London, 1715), which had only recently been dedicated to Somers by the editor, John Hughes: "I cannot think," Hughes wrote, "I have acquitted my self of what is necessary towards placing the Writings of our Celebrated SPENSER in the most advantageous Light, til I have address'd them, to Your Lordship, by whom they have always been particularly esteemed." On the assumption that a man is known by what he reads, Somers basked in this visible evidence of his fondness for Spenser. And the painting confirms what Hughes subsequently wrote in his dedication: "You have not confined your great talents to the Cultivation of Literature and the Ornamental parts of Life. Nothing less than a generous Love to Your Country, and a Zeal for the Cause of Liberty, cou'd have overcome in You that natural Taste of Study and Privacy."

Michael Dahl's portrait (Fig. 2) of Matthew Prior at Knole Park offers similar homage to the Spenser of the private library. Here, the 1679 folio of Spenser's *Works* is an even more prominent icon of the poet's importance. Prior, arguably the most popular poet of his day, had recently initiated the vogue for Spenserian imitation when Tonson published his "Ode Humbly Inscrib'd to the Queen." And this portrait offers a visible complement to Prior's gleeful remark to Lord Cholmondeley that Spenser was now on everyone's mind — and on everyone's table: "'tis true, the Wits have sent for the Book; the Fairy Queen is on their Toilette table; and some of our Ducal acquaintance will be deep in that Mythologico-Poetical way of thinking."<sup>4</sup>

It is still the Spenser of the library who appears in Ford Madox Brown's mid-nineteenth-century painting, *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry* (Fig. 3). But a considerable change has occurred. Characterized by the artist in his *Diary* as "a love offering to my favorite poets, to my never-faithless Burns, Byron, Spencer & Shakespear,"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Kit-Cat portraits are discussed and reproduced by J. Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1971). See also Kathleen M. Lynch, *Jacob Tonson, Kit-Cat Publisher* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, eds., *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 896.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: The Tate Gallery and Allen Lane, 1984), p. 53.



Figure 2: Michael Dahl, *Matthew Prior*. Courtesy of Lord Sackville and The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.

this painting visibly rationalizes the entire historical sweep of English poetry in what is obviously an imitation of Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece, generalizing the direct experience of books and giving literature the timeless status of myth as only a gallery painting can do. The central image is of Chaucer, reading aloud to the court of Edward the Black Prince and sowing the seeds that were to germinate in subsequent ages. Spenser, here, is no longer "a book." Instead, he is an

actor. Along with Milton and Shakespeare, and beneath an image of Goldsmith, he appears in the left portion of this triptych as one of the "saints" of English poetry. Indeed, Brown invites his viewer to worship at the altar of poetry under the stimulus of fine art, an attitude of reverence that had grown with the advent of history-painting since the founding of the Royal Academy in 1769.

So, when Warton's *Observations* and Hurd's *Letters* were still in fashion, and when William Duff devoted a major chapter of his *Essay on Original Genius* (London, 1770) to Spenser, artists, too, were beginning to contribute significantly to the Spenser monument. In 1764 William Dawe painted *The Cave of Despair*. In 1769 Henry Fuseli drew the same subject (Fig. 4), though with a heroic, defiant Red Cross Knight who is totally unlike the despairing suicide of Benjamin West's painting in 1772 (Fig. 5), which expresses the "terrible Sublime" along with debts to one of Salvator Rosa's "horrific" paintings of witches. In 1778 John Hamilton Mortimer painted *Artegall and Talus* (Fig. 6) as *banditti* in the Italian campagna, associating Spenser's Knight of



Figure 3: Ford Madox Brown, *The Seeds and Fruits of English Poetry*. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

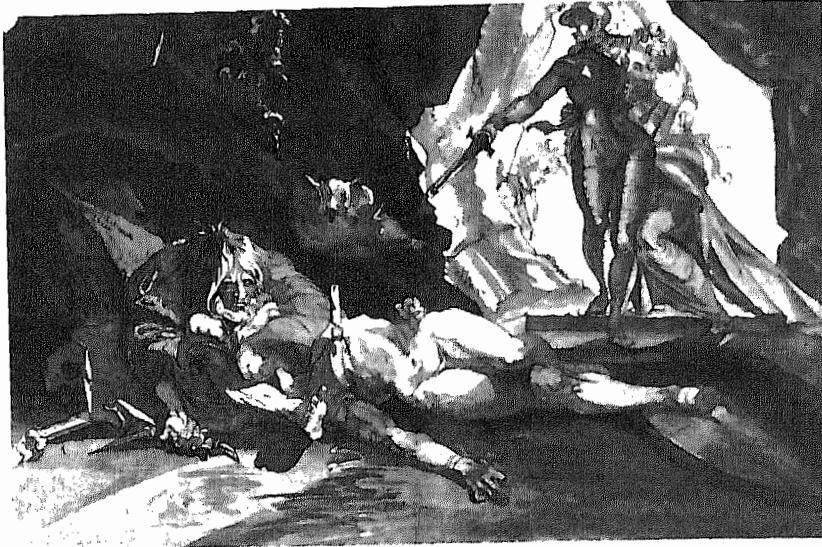


Figure 4: Henry Fuseli, *The Cave of Despayre*. The Art Institute of Chicago. Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection.

Justice with the libertarian ideals of John Wilkes by means of a popular symbol of unfettered liberty.

During the 1770s James Jefferys not only drew an extraordinary image of the *Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Fig. 7), but also depicted himself in an equally extraordinary pair of drawings in the act of composing it. In the first (Fig. 8), he stares intently out through the picture plane from a table cluttered with books, one of them titled "Spenser." Pen in hand, he is before an open sketchbook where the only word on an otherwise blank page is "Spenser." The next drawing (Fig. 9) is rare in self-portraiture: a back view of the subject that hints at others such as Parmigianino's self-portrait in a convex mirror. But it is Jefferys' *thoughts*, not his *face*, that he wished to depict. And I find it fascinating that *Faerie Queene*, Book I, canto 4, should be uppermost in his mind at the time in his life when he had to decide whether or not to become an artist. One of the several scraps of text includes a letter from the artist to a Mr. Brinchley, who was a brewer at Maidstone, declaring "how much the Profession [of art] is disgrac'd by the Folly and Vice of . . . the Professors." But more prominent than the letter is a preliminary drawing of Lucifer and the sins. "Who," Jefferys writes, "can paint *this* character as it ought . . . ?" Who, indeed? The implications of this question, taken quite independently of Jef-



Figure 5: Benjamin West, *The Cave of Despair*. Yale Center for British Art. The Paul Mellon Collection.

fers' reflexive depiction of himself drawing Spenser's seven deadly sins while contemplating his own future, might be asked as well of each of the several hundred extant images that represent Spenserian themes and episodes. While each has its own unique story, each manifests a reading of Spenser grounded in literary intelligence and perception. These images began to appear in 1715, when Jacob Tonson engaged Louis Du Guernier to design engravings, such as the frontispiece (Fig. 10), for his edition of Spenser's poems, which entails a comprehensive "reading" of the entire *Faerie Queene*. They cease on the eve of World War II with Lee Woodward Ziegler's dramatic murals (Fig. 11) in the reading room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore — over 1,800 square feet of canvas, also devoted to a reading of *The Faerie Queene*.

Certainly it is time for us to see the Spenser monument whole, and to grasp the importance of the contributions artists have made over the centuries toward its construction.



Figure 6: John Hamilton Mortimer, *Artgall and Talus*. The Tate Gallery, London.



Figure 7: James Jefferys, *Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins*. The Maidstone Museums and Art Gallery, Kent.

Photo: Ronald White



Figure 8: James Jefferys,  
*Self-Portrait*. Yale Center for  
British Art. The Paul  
Mellon Collection.



Figure 9: James Jefferys,  
*Self-Portrait*. The National  
Portrait Gallery, London.

These images appear in every conceivable medium, each with its own peculiarities of audience and representational intent: in fresco, in oil painting on canvas, in stained-glass windows, watercolor painting, bronze and lead sculpture, etchings, marble sculpture, engravings, Parian-ware, and even a rare photograph composed from nine separate negatives in 1862 by Henry Peach Robinson. To paraphrase Hamlet to Horatio: There is more evidence of *The Faerie Queene* in British popular culture than was ever dreamt of in the narrow confines of our philosophy. If more proof were needed, we would only have to consider the gold five-pound coin (Fig. 12) struck at the Royal Mint in 1839, which identifies the young Queen Victoria as Una with the Lion.

At about the time when William Wyon designed that coin, Leigh Hunt, in an essay in the *New Monthly Magazine*, speculated on what one might see in the ideal Spenser gallery. "We have had Shakespeare galleries and Milton galleries in England, more ambitiously than successfully painted" — a reference to John Boydell's and Henry Fuseli's earlier failures. But "what a thing," he added, "a Spenser gallery would be!" "In every sense [he is] the most pictorial of the

poets" — "the painter of the poets." Then he reversed the phrase: "If you will, the poet for the painters."<sup>6</sup>

Hunt's fanciful Spenser gallery, then, was to be hung with works that Renaissance masters *should* have painted. The Cave of Mammon from *Faerie Queene*, Book II, would be by Rembrandt. Titian would have painted the episode in Book III where Venus comes to Diana's bower in search of Cupid. And Correggio would have painted Una alone in the wood. All fancy aside, such a gallery does in fact exist — in museums from Britain to Australia and from Germany to California. Thanks to what André Malraux once called "the museum without walls," that gallery is readily accessible through the medium of photography.

We shall find one of Washington Allston's two versions of Una alone in the wood (Fig. 13) at the Lowe Museum in Miami, a painting whose key is to be found in the painter's posthumously published *Lectures on Art*.<sup>7</sup> Another view of Una (Fig. 14), seen now through the

<sup>6</sup> Leigh Hunt, "A New Gallery of Pictures," *Literary Criticism*, ed. Lawrence H. and Carolyn W. Houtchens (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 420-421.

<sup>7</sup> Washington Allston, *Lectures on Art and Poems, 1850 and Monaldi, 1841. Facsimile Re-*



Figure 10: Louis DuGuernier, "The Faerie Queene," frontispiece, *The Works of Mr. Edmund Spenser . . . published by Mr. Hughes*. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson . . . 1715. Princeton University Library. The Charles Grosvenor Osgood Collection of Poetry and Prose of the English Renaissance.

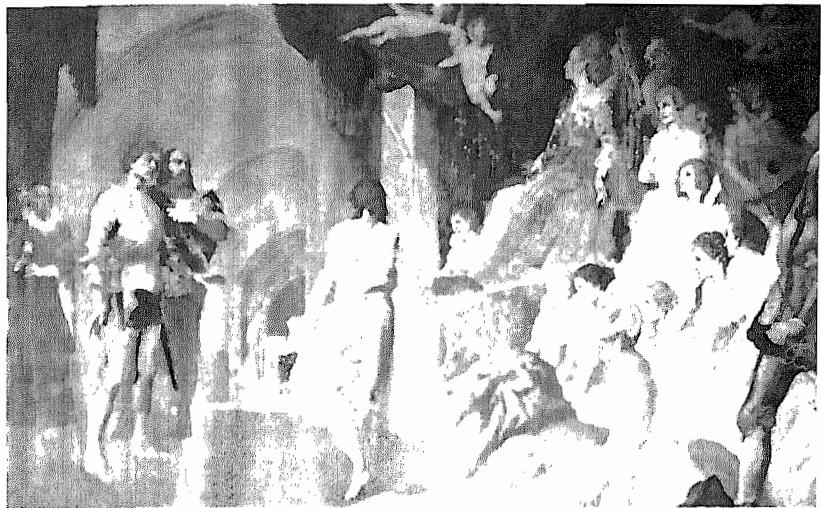


Figure 11: Lee Woodward Ziegler, *The Faerie Queene Murals*. Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland, and of Audrey Ziegler Archer-Shee.

eyes of the Pre-Raphaelite painter William Bell Scott, is to be found at the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh. And instead of a Venus and Diana by Titian, we will find one by William Hilton, whose six-foot by seven-foot Titianesque painting of the episode may in fact have been inspired by Leigh Hunt's article. It was snapped up by Lord Hertford in 1854 and ever since has hung in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House in London.

We are fortunate to have this painting at all. Hilton frequently used encaustic to enhance the color in his paintings, a common practice in the early nineteenth century, and many of his works are now utterly destroyed by acid. In fact, all we have of his *Calepine Rescuing Serena* is a little sketch by Richard Doyle (Fig. 15), where "Dickey" (as he was known) shows himself and a couple of friends viewing that painting at the Spring Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1831.

The National Gallery in Washington, D.C., owns John Singleton Copley's *The Red Cross Knight* (Fig. 16). When it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1793 it commanded space in one of the four central places in the great room. Among those who viewed it was John

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*productions Including Eight Paintings*. Introduction by Nathalia Wright. (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1967).



Figure 12: William Wyon,  
"Una." Five-pound gold coin.  
Courtesy of the Royal Mint.

Quincy Adams, who composed a poem about the experience, which says as much about the future sixth President's regard for Spenser as for Copley.

Copley, whose daughters posed as Fidelia and Speranza and whose son (later Lord Lyndhurst, Chancellor of the Exchequer) posed as Red Cross, was determined to outdo Benjamin West, his rival for the Royal Academy presidency. Shortly before, West had painted *Fidelia and Speranza* (Fig. 17). There the two women are given a mythic aura which identifies them with the otherworldly, spiritual destination of Red Cross' journey into holiness. To judge from the slumped figure on horseback who approaches from the distance, that journey is still very much in progress. Copley, on the other hand, raised Red Cross to great prominence, a masculine figure in armor who strides in from the left and gives a martial, heroic cast to the episode which is totally unlike West's more quiescent reading. There, the emphasis was wholly feminine. Moreover, by representing Fidelia and her sister in flowing robes of no specific style, West lent a flavor of the remote and timeless to his reading of the episode. Copley dressed his female figures in quite contemporary style, which makes for a sharp contrast with the medieval armor of the knight. The women thus belong unambiguously to the present rather than to some indeterminate past, despite the fact that they are identified as the changeless spiritual virtues. In the rapt and eager way they gaze upon Red Cross, the artist

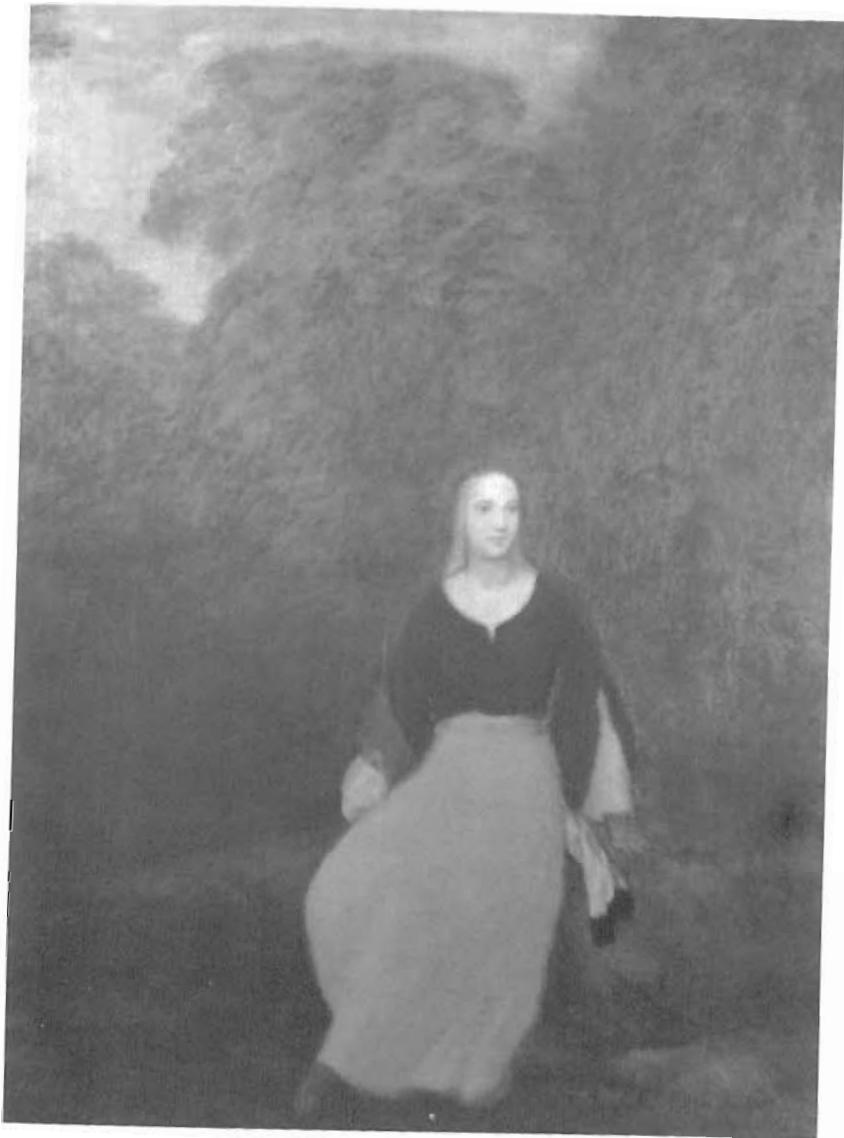


Figure 13: Washington Allston, *Una in a Wood*. The Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami. Washington Allston Trust.

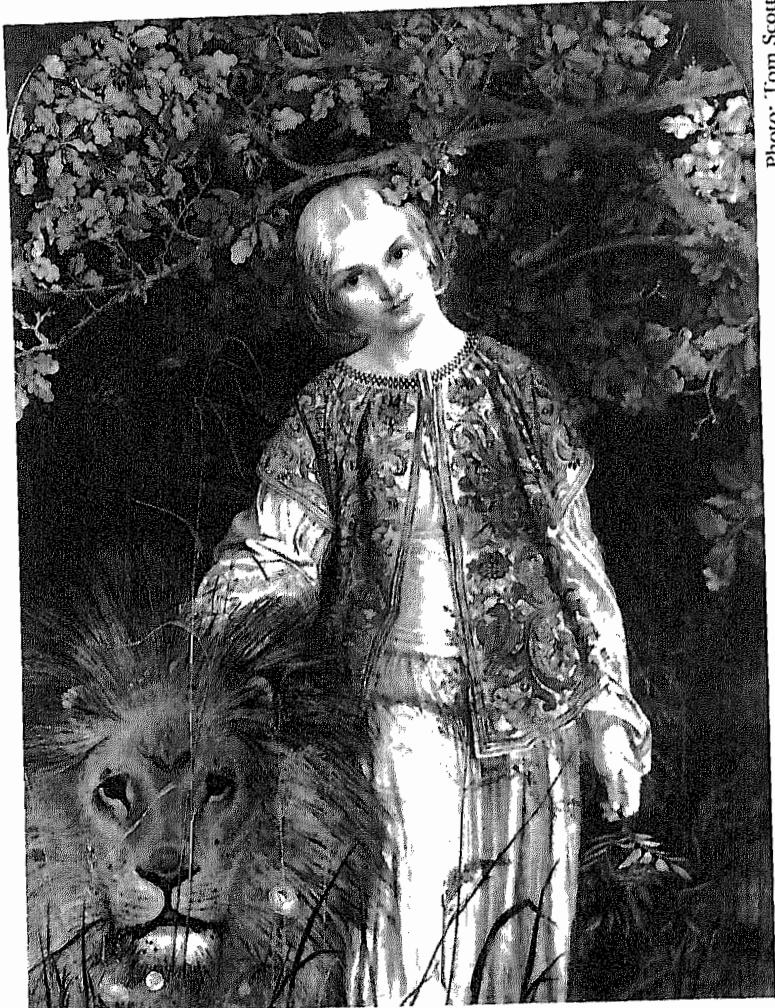
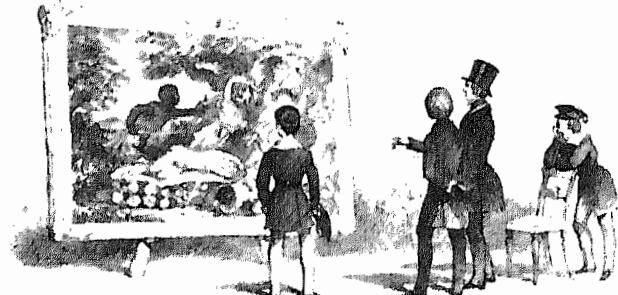


Figure 14: William Bell Scott, *Una and the Lion*. The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Photo: Tom Scott

Thursday. We went to see Sir Calepine's picture today. The subject of which is now known as the drama as lying on the sofa just going to be



winged by a party of soldiers and surrounded by devils. Calpene who attacks upon them and kills every one. The figure of Serena is beautiful tho' painted very sickly, the colouring rich and the figure of the knight himself tho' ugly in it is not like him or anything unpleasing in the look of the knight now. I don't know where it will be hung in the rooms of the National Gallery but as I appear now I can't think the Drawing room or any of the other rooms.

Friday, 23<sup>rd</sup> We may as well go walking yesterday that as to to-day after having previously intended to have our old Shabbie who is coming to back up tomorrow. I went to teach him three new and gained a glorious quantity of weight.



Figure 15: Richard Doyle, "R. D. and Friends Looking at Hilton's 'Sir Calepine Rescuing Serena,'" from Richard Doyle's *Journal*. Courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum.



Figure 16: John Singleton Copley, *The Red Cross Knight*. The National Gallery of Art, Washington. Gift of Mrs. Gordon Dexter.

conveys the suggestion that in this one magic moment, time past and time present have fused in a single discerning image of virtue and heroism for all time.

Near the village of Deal in Kent, Bettleshanger House offers quite different readings of Spenser's representation of time. This nineteenth-century mansion is almost entirely the work of George Devey, and was begun about 1856 for Lord Northbourne. In the 1880s, Thomas Erat Harrison was commissioned to design a set of twelve stained-glass windows depicting the seasons according to Spenser's *Cantos of Mutability*. Here is November (Fig. 18) astride the centaur:

Next was November; he full grosse and fat,  
As fed with lard, and that right well might seeme:  
For he had been a fatting hogs of late,  
That yet his browes with sweat did reek and steem,  
And yet the season was full sharp and bream;



Figure 17: Benjamin West, *Fidelia and Speranza*. The Timken Art Gallery, San Diego.

In planting eeke he took no small delight.  
Whereon he rode, not easie was to deeme;  
For it a dreadfull centaure was in sight,  
The seed of Saturne and faire Nais, Chiron hight.

Next to him is “chill December” (Fig. 19) riding “Upon a shaggy-bearded goat” in a cold and foreboding landscape. May (Fig. 20), “the fayrest mayd on ground,/Deckt all with dainties of her seasons pryd” is borne on the shoulders of Leda’s twins. And “Aprill, full of lustyhed” (Fig. 21) rides grandly upon the bull.

Lord Northbourne was not alone in his taste for windows depicting Spenserian themes. At about the same time, correspondence between William Morris and the Earl of Carlisle indicates that the latter considered installing windows depicting Spenserian themes in the library at Naworth, though to my knowledge the project was never completed. But Dorothea Beale, the great feminist educator, regarded Britomart as the exemplar of perfect English womanhood. About 1880 Beale commissioned Frederic Shields, the Pre-Raphaelite artist, to design a monumental set of windows for the great stairwell at her Cheltenham Ladies’ College. Here, the six principal lights depict Britomart viewing Artegall’s image in Merlin’s magic mirror (Fig. 22), Glauce arming Britomart (Fig. 23), Britomart delivering Red Cross from Gardante, Parlante, and their companions (Fig. 24), Britomart passing through the fire (Fig. 25), her battle with Artegall (Fig. 26), and her farewell to Artegall (Fig. 27).

Two of the six windows (Figs. 23 and 26) show more artistic sophistication than the other four. After Shields composed the design for Britomart’s battle with Artegall, he began work on her vision of the knight in the magic mirror. An engraving subsequently published as the frontispiece to the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* in October 1889 (Fig. 28) shows that his original plan differs in major respects from the completed window. There, the mirror is suspended in the smoke emanating from the mouth of a fire-breathing dragon that spirals upward through festoons of roses, an antique mask, and a star-studded globe. In the engraving — and original plan — a prominent Cupid, blindfolded and nude, has just dispatched an arrow into Britomart’s breast, which she grasps convulsively with her left hand, at the very instant she espies Artegall in the mirror. The “official” story was that Dorothea Beale was offended by the undraped Cupid, and de-

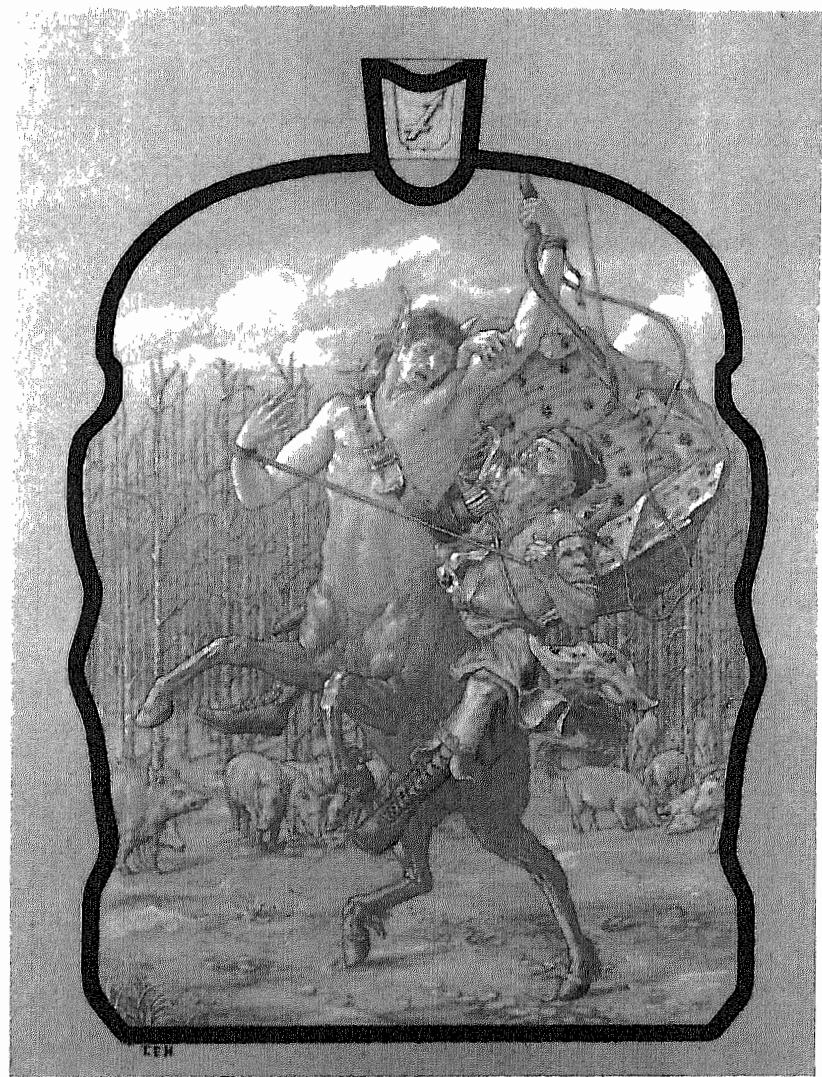


Photo: Kirk Tuck

Figure 18: Thomas Erat Harrison, *November Astride the Centaur*. Drawing for a stained-glass window, Bettleshanger House, Kent. Collection of Norman K. Farmer, Jr.



Photo: Kirk Tuck



Photo: Kirk Tuck

Figure 19: Thomas Erat Harrison, *Chill December Upon a Shaggy-bearded Goat*. Drawing for a stained-glass window, Bettleshanger House, Kent. Collection of Norman K. Farmer, Jr.

Figure 20: Thomas Erat Harrison, *May, the Fayrest Maid on Ground*. Drawing for a stained-glass window, Bettleshanger House, Kent. Collection of Norman K. Farmer, Jr.

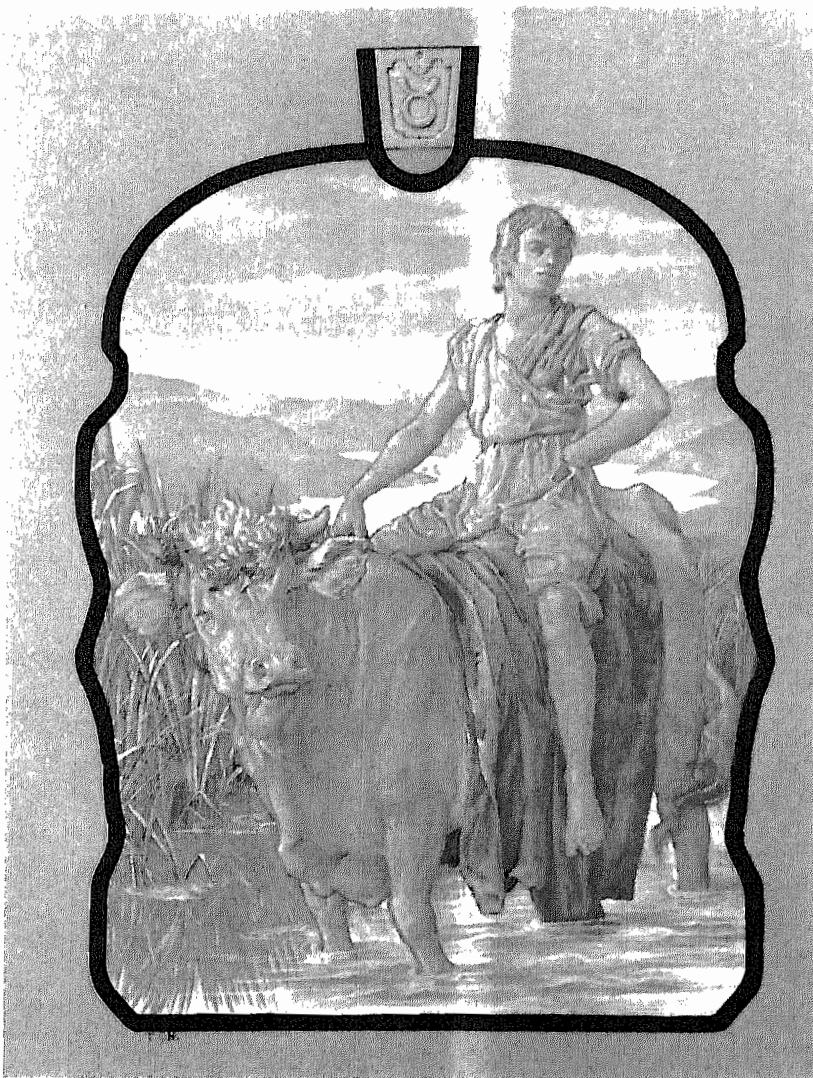


Figure 21: Thomas Erat Harrison, *Aprill, Full of Lustyhed*. Drawing for a stained-glass window, Bettleshanger House, Kent. Collection of Norman K. Farmer, Jr.

manded that Shields compose a more acceptable design. But Shields' engraving demonstrates that far more was at stake than a nude Cupid. In the artist's reading of the episode, printed along with the engraving of the expurgated design, he understood Britomart to be in the convulsive throes of love under the immediate stimulus of Cupid's arrow. This reading was at all points incompatible with Dorothea Beale's sunny characterization of Britomart as a role model for Victorian girls, which may be read in "Spenser's Ideal of Woman, as Set Forth in *Britomart*," an essay she composed for the *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine* in September 1882. Shields revised his design, but he resigned his commission as well. The remaining windows had to be designed by a far less gifted artist, whose name is no longer even known.

Though Spenser had no special priority for Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Holman Hunt, or John Everett Millais, he was a long-standing favorite of Sir Edward Burne-Jones. In 1875 Burne-Jones wrote that "the vision of Britomart . . . life-size" was one of the subjects he wished "to paint above all others."<sup>8</sup> A number of British museums hold tangible evidence of his fascination with the subject. Some dramatic pencil drawings on woodblock are at Birmingham. The National Museum of Wales and the Tate Gallery own other drawings on paper. At one point, Burne-Jones even drew the Masque of Cupid out on canvas, about two-thirds life-size, with the intent of having it woven in a tapestry, but this project was eventually abandoned.<sup>9</sup> Finally, he painted the episode in fresco at Chiswick House in London (Fig. 29), where it remains to this day. To the left of the doorway, Cupid rides his fierce lion just behind Amoret, who is led by Despight and Cruelty, while to the right of the door Fancy, Desire, and Doubt appear alongside Suspicion, Grief, and Fury.

Each of the images discussed here is the tangible result of conclusions reached on the basis of several kinds of choice. Such choices were first of all literary and critical, and the selection of one episode or another — what used to be known as *inventio* — is simply the beginning. After that, the composition of an image demands the translation of a narrated and described event which "occurs" in the mind

<sup>8</sup> Burne-Jones, *The Paintings, Graphic, and Decorative Work of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, 1833–1898* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1975), p. 71.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*



Photo: Irene Peacock

Figure 22: Anonymous, "Britomart Viewing Artegall's Image in Merlin's Magic Mirror," *The Britomart Windows*, Cheltenham Ladies' College.



Photo: Irene Peacock

Figure 23: Frederic Shields, "Glauce Arming Britomart," *The Britomart Windows*, Cheltenham Ladies' College.



Photo: Irene Peacock

Figure 24: Anonymous, "Britomart Defending the Red Cross Knight," *The Britomart Windows*, Cheltenham Ladies' College.



Photo: Irene Peacock

Figure 25: Anonymous, "Britomart Passing Through the Fire," *The Britomart Windows*, Cheltenham Ladies' College.



Photo: Irene Peacock

Figure 26: Frederic Shields, "Britomart's Battle with Artegall," *The Britomart Windows*, Cheltenham Ladies' College.



Photo: Irene Peacock

Figure 27: Anonymous, "Britomart's Farewell to Artegall," *The Britomart Windows*, Cheltenham Ladies' College.



Figure 28: Frederic Shields, "Britomart's Vision of Artegall," frontispiece, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, October 1889.  
Rare Books and Special Collections,  
Princeton University Library.

of a reader into a specific moment in time which retains coherence when seen by a viewer. To bring the cumulative effect of the written word into a single visual moment thus involves critical skill no less than artistic ability, and in many cases artists leave substantial testimony to the way they came to critical grips with Spenser's poems.

Of all the artists who composed visual criticism of Spenser's poetry, none was so comprehensive — and ultimately so controversial — as William Blake. *The Characters in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Fig. 30) is a very fragile and faded tempera painting at Petworth House, West Sussex. Although it bears comparison with Blake's better-known representation of Chaucer's pilgrims, it is thoroughly *unlike* that image in many important respects.<sup>10</sup>

Spenser's characters appear on an altogether different sort of thoroughfare. Led in a right-to-left direction by the haloed Dwarf (the Canterbury pilgrims proceed from left to right), Red Cross and Una are followed in the order of the poem by the Palmer (bearing Rud-dymane), Guyon, Ollyphant, Britomart and Glause, Artegall, Talus, Prince Arthur, and Calidore. Bringing up the rear, however, are Duessa and Archimago, presences from Book I who demonstrate that for Blake the themes of evil announced in the Book of Holiness frame the entire poem. None of the down-to-earth realism of Chaucer's "sondry folk" here!

The painting is composed of three distinct regions. The principal characters occupy the immediate foreground, while a number of secondary characters appear just behind them. The middle distance is predominantly a landscape, but it is dotted with several topographic details such as the Cave of Despair (visible just to the left of Red Cross' horse) and the Cave of Mammon (bisected by Guyon's spear).

<sup>10</sup> See Karl Kiralis, "William Blake as an Intellectual and Spiritual Guide to Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims," *Blake Studies*, Vol. 1 (1969) 139-190. An account of the parallel commission given Thomas Stothard by Robert Cromeck for an engraving of Chaucer's pilgrims may be found in Algernon Charles Swinburne, *William Blake. A Critical Essay* (London: J. C. Hotten, 1868), pp. 45-53. S. Foster Damon, *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake* (New York: Dutton, 1971), pp. 383-385, was the first to offer a description of the Spenser painting. Subsequently, John E. Grant and Robert E. Brown, "Blake's Vision of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*: A Report and an Anatomy," *Blake Newsletter*, Vol. 8 (1974 - 1975) 56-85, corrected some of Damon's identifications in a greatly expanded description, in addition to publishing the first large-scale color print of the painting. The techniques used in this reproduction, the only one suitable for serious study, are described by Morris Eaves, "Reproducing the Characters in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *Blake Newsletter*, Vol. 8 (1974 - 1975) 86-87. Most recently, Robert Gleckner, *Blake and Spenser* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) has devoted the better part of a book to an exhaustive discussion of the painting.

Photo: John Webb

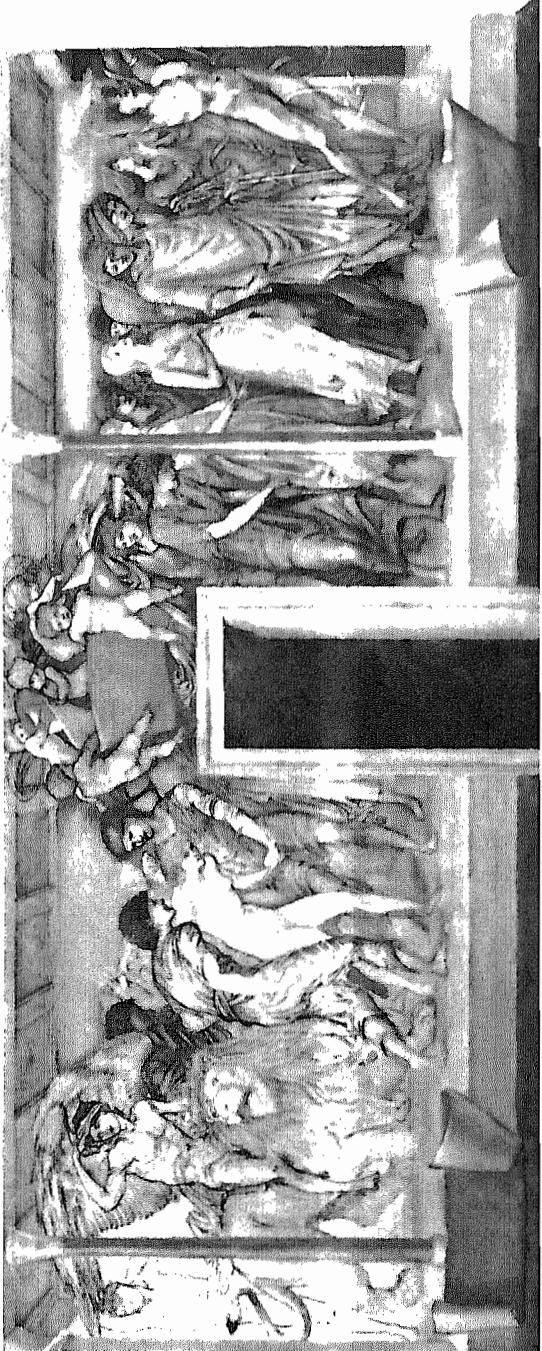


Figure 29: Sir Edward Burne-Jones, *The Mask of Cupid*. Private collection, London.

Photo: Courland Institute of Art

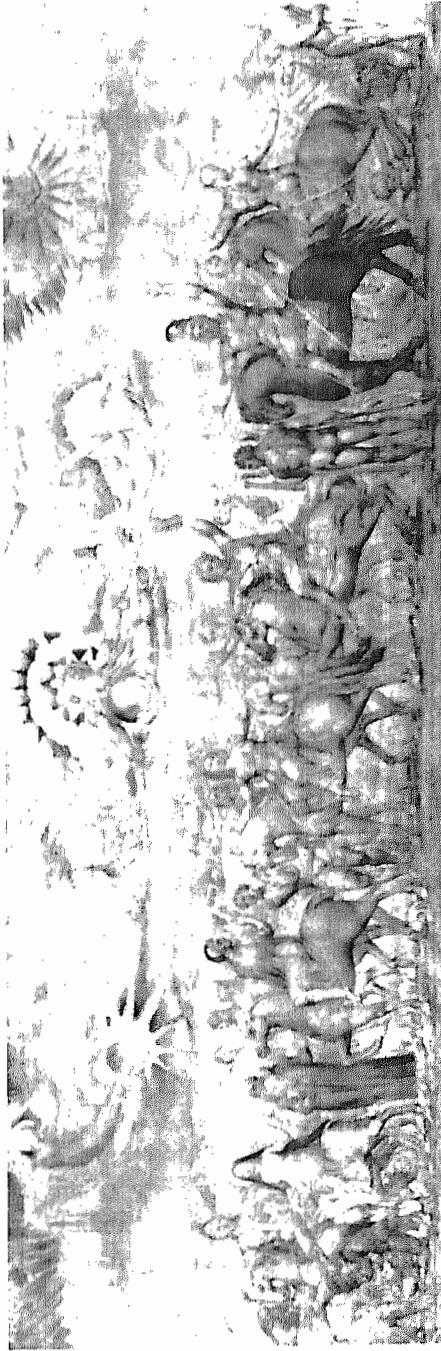


Figure 30: William Blake, *The Characters in Spenser's Faerie Queene*. The National Trust, Petworth.

It includes several buildings as well: a domed sanctuary just above Una's head, a Gothic building just above her upraised hand, Busyrane's palace (guarded by a flame) just above Glause, and a piper (Colin Cloute?) playing before several dancers who are visible just above Britomart's upraised left arm.

Blake's commentary on *The Faerie Queene*, however, occurs chiefly in the uppermost, supernal region, to which he allotted space equal to that given the chief characters in the terrestrial region in the foreground. In this upper realm Blake depicts (from left to right) the New Jerusalem, Cynthia and the new moon, what appears to be St. Paul's Cathedral, God, a poet/artist seated before a book, Astraea, a red sun inhabited by a fiery archer above a cityscape, and Nimrod's Tower. No such visionary region appears in his depiction of Chaucer's pilgrims. But it is in this region above Spenser's characters that Blake placed the symbols of his understanding of *The Faerie Queene*, an understanding that had evolved slowly and systematically over a number of years from an early emblem in *For Children: The Gates of Paradise* to "An Imitation of Spenser" in *Poetical Sketches*, to his designs for Thomas Gray's *The Bard*, and thence to *Jerusalem* in 1804.

"To find form" seems to have been a major preoccupation with Blake, and there can be no denying that form must be regarded as a major factor in the meaning of this painting. Here the powerful horizontal line of the characters parallels another depicting the landscape in the middle distance, while an even more powerful line unfolds in the realm of the supernal. These dominant horizontals are in turn linked to one another at virtually every point along an equally strong vertical axis that subsequently completes the whole. Within these coordinates, Blake both recapitulates and critically analyzes the meaning of Spenser's poem.

A glance is sufficient to show that *The Characters in Spenser's Faerie Queene* depicts neither a true procession nor a true tableau, but something that is ambiguously and intriguingly frozen between motion and stasis. The Dwarf, wearing a halo and striding purposefully, leads the ass bearing Una who rides sidesaddle with an open book in her lap. Red Cross sits astride a ramping horse, while the Lion and the Dragon plod on apace, the benevolent and malevolent beasts of Book I framed and "contained" by the two principals. In the middle distance, to the left of the horse's head, appears the Cave of Despair, the symbol of the Knight's climactic worldly struggle and the den of

a character who in Blake's mythology would be the "Spectre": selfishness and Pride, which falsely appropriate the divine names.<sup>11</sup>

Above the group is the City of Jerusalem, which Blake calls "The Divine Appearance" and the "true Religion" without which "Man is Not." It is thus the supernal emblem for a group that Blake obviously regarded as holy, even at the level of fable. In fact, Una and the Dwarf are the sole characters to whom Blake awards a halo. Still more telling — and dramatic — is the fact that the facial features of Red Cross are identical to those Blake gave the risen Christ in his frontispiece for Robert Blair's *The Grave*. Blake read Red Cross as Spenser's equivalent to his own notion of Jesus!

While nothing in the poem associates Una with a book, Blake's belief that "The Hebrew Bible & the Gospel of Jesus are . . . Eternal Vision or Imagination of all that exists" permits us to surmise that it is Scripture Blake has given Una to read.<sup>12</sup> In *Milton*, Blake makes it plain that the Bible is the whole history of man in this world, and the counterpoint between Una's upraised left hand, palm up, and her right hand, pointing to the page, identifies her as the medium both of Poetic Genius from the realm of the Moon and Beulah above, and of spiritual truth embodied in Scripture. Una, alone among the characters of *The Faerie Queene*, is in Blake's view the guardian of man's history on earth and, in her role as Genius of each individual, the medium of the spiritual truth that orders mundane history from above.<sup>13</sup> In fact her halo suggests affinity with the Holy Ghost which, for Blake, is the divine inspiration in man that ultimately produces individuality. In his annotations to George Berkeley, Blake wrote in about 1820 that Scripture "is fill'd with Imagination and Visions from End to End and not with Moral Virtues . . . [which] are continual accusers of sin & promote Eternal Wars and Dominancy over others."<sup>14</sup> In this painting done some five years previously, it seems to have been Blake's intent to demonstrate that Vision and Imagination are not to be confused with Virtue but may, in fact, provide a perspective from which one may see how destructive Virtue can actually be.

The Palmer is the first of the motionless figures who interrupt the

<sup>11</sup> Consult *Jerusalem* 43:53 and 53:48.

<sup>12</sup> See Blake's "A Vision of the Last Judgment," *The Complete Writings of William Blake; with Variant Readings*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 604-605.

<sup>13</sup> See *Jerusalem* 91:10 in Blake, *Complete Writings*, p. 738.

<sup>14</sup> Blake, *Complete Writings*, p. 774.

forward momentum of the “procession.” Fronting the picture plane and holding Ruddymane before him, the Palmer is the stern guardian of the “luckless babe” whose mortal state in Spenser is Blake’s equivalent to the unimaginative — Urizen and the “Urizenic.” Meanwhile, Guyon’s elegantly gaited horse resumes the right-to-left motion of the processional, though the rider himself has turned so sharply in his saddle that his exaggerated backward gaze seems to counter all forward motion. Guyon, the Palmer, and three additional figures (Timias, Belphoebe, and Sylvanus) appear beneath Cynthia and the Moon, Blake’s symbols of Beulah.<sup>15</sup> It can thus be no accident that Guyon’s spear bisects Mammon’s cave, a region of whatever “becomes Sexual & is Created and Vegetated and Born.”<sup>16</sup> The images in the supernal region thus relate directly to the condition of Ruddymane, who is not only motionless, but who appears *behind* those in the lead, whom Blake associates with Jerusalem. Images of stasis and regression thus introduce a tentative note into Blake’s reading of the characters from *Faerie Queene*, Book II.

The next group falls directly beneath the image of God in the supernal region and, in the realm of the mundane, directly between two of the most dramatically opposed figures in the entire panorama: Ollyphant and Talus. This group includes Britomart and Glause, Marinell and Florimell, Artegall, Amoret, and Scudamore. At its head, Ollyphant leers perversely into the stern admonitory face of Guyon, while apparently restraining the forward motion of Britomart’s horse. Spenser’s epitome of bestial depravity in Book III, Ollyphant gives us our first and startling indication of how drastically Blake’s understanding of Britomart differs from that of Spenser.

Like the Wife of Bath in the Chaucer panorama, Britomart sits sidesaddle and flings wide her arms in a bold unrestrained gesture. In fact, it would be hard to imagine a Britomart so unlike the ideal of British womanhood who looked down upon Dorothea Beale’s students from the windows at Cheltenham Ladies’ College. Since it is commonly accepted that the Wife of Bath figures Blake’s Rahab, the Female Will which seeks dominion through sex, it is evident that Blake understood Britomart as “both whore and virginally cruel Pe-

<sup>15</sup> See *Milton* 11:4, 31:11, and *Jerusalem* 17:27, 36:22, 63:37, 79:7-4, in *Complete Writings*, pp. 491, 638, 663, 698, 721.

<sup>16</sup> See *Jerusalem* 44:21 in *Complete Writings*, p. 674.

trarchan mistress.”<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the triangle composed of Ollyphant’s head, Britomart’s face, and Busyrane’s flame-guarded castle in the far landscape makes for a fine confirmation of the radical reading Blake gave to Book III.

By now it should be obvious that in Blake’s reading of the entire poem each successive book offers evidence of a *regressive* moral development. Hence the ambiguity of progression and stasis in the painting as a whole. In this regard, the depiction of Prince Arthur is particularly instructive.

Arthur’s position to the right of Talus and to the left or “sinister” side of God in the supernal realm above — whose perspective upon the procession is just the opposite of ours and whose emphatically leftward gaze indicates His priorities! — is a mark of still further degeneration and corruption. Arthur is clearly the agent in the mundane world of the Urizenic “God of this world” who reigns above, a God distinctly different from Jerusalem. Blake clearly has no patience with Spenser’s association of Arthur with Magnificence. Instead, Arthur, riding the darkest horse of all, seems to be the visual analogue to the passage in Blake’s *Milton* that reads:

I will put on the Human form & take the Image of God  
Even pity & Humanity, but my clothing shall be Cruelty  
And I will put on Holiness as a breastplate & as a helmet  
And all my ornaments shall be of the gold of broken hearts  
And the precious stones of anxiety & care & desperation &  
death. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Such a figure, in Blake’s theology, is Satan. He is the epitome of the so-called moral virtue figured in Artegall and which Talus is charged with enforcing, and in Blake’s scheme he is the princely monarch who reigns over a total State of Virtue, which is death to the individual and to all energy and imagination. From here, Blake’s conception of *The Faerie Queene* becomes even more grim and uncompromising as we come to Calidore beneath the double emblem of a flaming sun containing the fiery archer and the tower of Nimrod.

In the moral order of Spenser’s fable it was the social virtue of

<sup>17</sup> Gleckner, *Blake and Spenser*, pp. 244-245; Kiralis, “William Blake . . .,” discusses the Wife of Bath as Rahab.

<sup>18</sup> *Milton* 18:19-24, in *Complete Writings*, p. 499.

"Courtesie" that completed the scheme initiated by "Holinesse," that most individual and inner of all virtues. Courtesy, a flower growing for Spenser "on a lowly Stalke," would "branch forth in brave nobilitie,/And spread itself through all civilitie." Blake, of course, could stomach no such view of courtly virtue. As a consequence, his Calidore is anything but Spenser's gentle courtier-shepherd. Instead, he is the sole character both to wield a lance and display a sword. Moreover, his hand-weapon is not the sturdy battle-sword of a European horseman, but the curved scimitar of a cruel pagan warrior. And there is added significance in the fact that he is the *only* figure in the entire procession so armed.

For Spenser, the six books of the poem were thematically incremental. Holiness, the most inward, most theological, and ultimately the most mysterious of the virtues, laid the foundation for Temperance ("mingling in due proportion," which is what *temperare* means). Holiness and Temperance then became the basis for allegories of the two virtues essential to all fruitful human relationships — Chastity and Friendship. Finally, Justice extended the virtues beyond the merely personal to the collective relations among members of a community, while Courtesie — in Spenser's view and that of his contemporaries the chief virtue of social man — emerged as the social complement to Justice.

Blake could share neither that vision nor the assumptions that sustained it. He found in each successive book of the poem an incremental degradation. Calidore clearly represents the Babylonian epitome of that degeneration amid the weaponry and signs of power that Blake consistently associated with Satan and represented so dramatically in *Jerusalem*. Indeed, with *Faerie Queene* Book VI in this painting, Jerusalem has become Babylon, the ultimate polarization of ever-warring opposites. This, it appears, was Blake's ultimate reading of the poem. He saw in Spenser's deployment of "virtues," of Books, and of characters, a *reverse* model of his own reading of the moral condition. In the poem *Milton*, Blake set out to correct errors made by that poet. Instead of writing a poem to correct the errors of Spenser, he painted *The Characters in Spenser's Faerie Queene*.

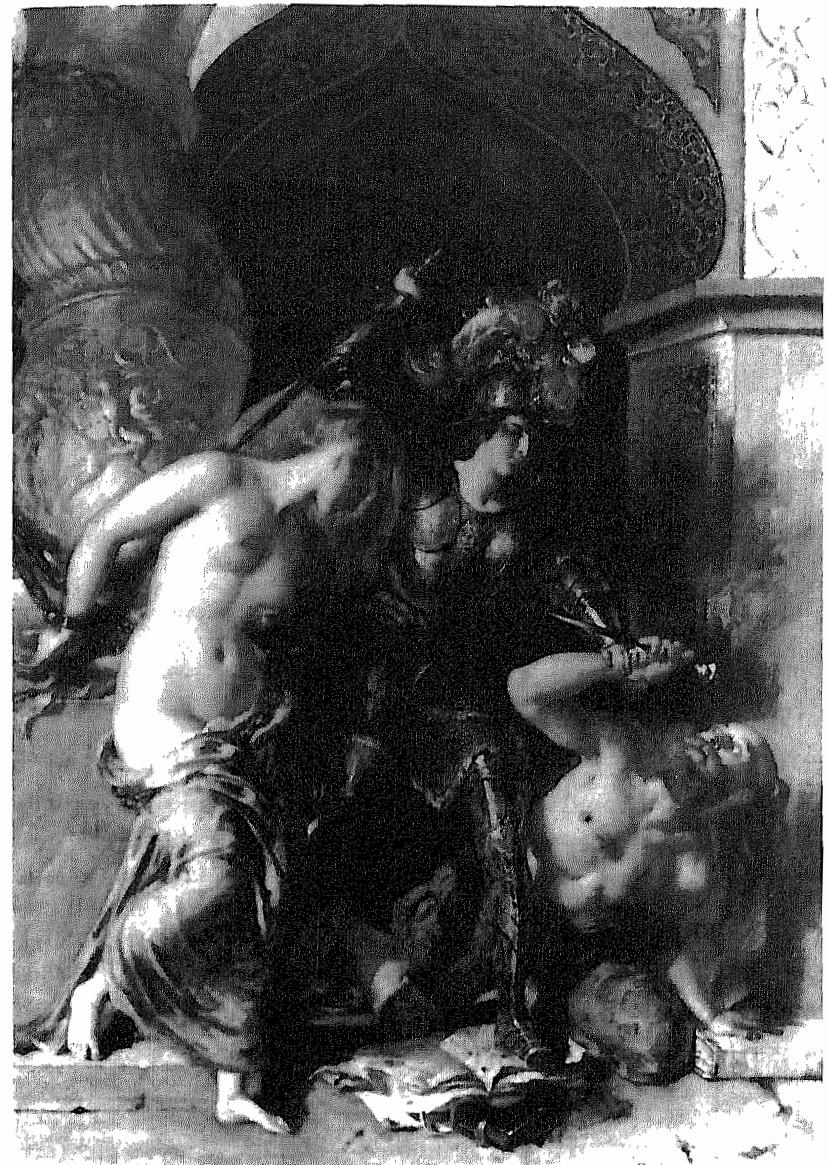


Figure 31: William Etty, *Britomart Redeemes Faire Amoret*. The Tate Gallery, London.



Photo: O. E. Nelson

Figure 32: William Etty, *Phaedria and Cymochles on the Idle Lake*. Forbes Magazine Collection, New York.

Blake once declared that "the nakedness of woman is the work of God." William Etty must have had that remark in mind when he professed that "Finding God's most glorious work to be *woman*, that all human beauty had been concentrated in her, I resolved to dedicate myself to painting—not the Draper's or the Milliner's work—but God's most glorious work, more finely than had been done."<sup>19</sup> Certainly, this is one of his accomplishments in *Phaedria and Cymochles on the Idle Lake* (Fig. 32), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832 and now in the Forbes Magazine Collection; in *Britomart Redevems Faire Amoret* (Fig. 31), exhibited in 1833 and now at the Tate Gallery; and in a second quite differently composed *Phaedria and Cymochles* (Fig. 33), exhibited in 1835 and now in the Art Museum of Princeton University.

Known to his contemporaries as "one of the greatest flesh paint-

<sup>19</sup> Herbert Furst, "'God's Most Glorious Work' and William Etty," *Apollo*, Vol. 38 (October 1943) 92-95.

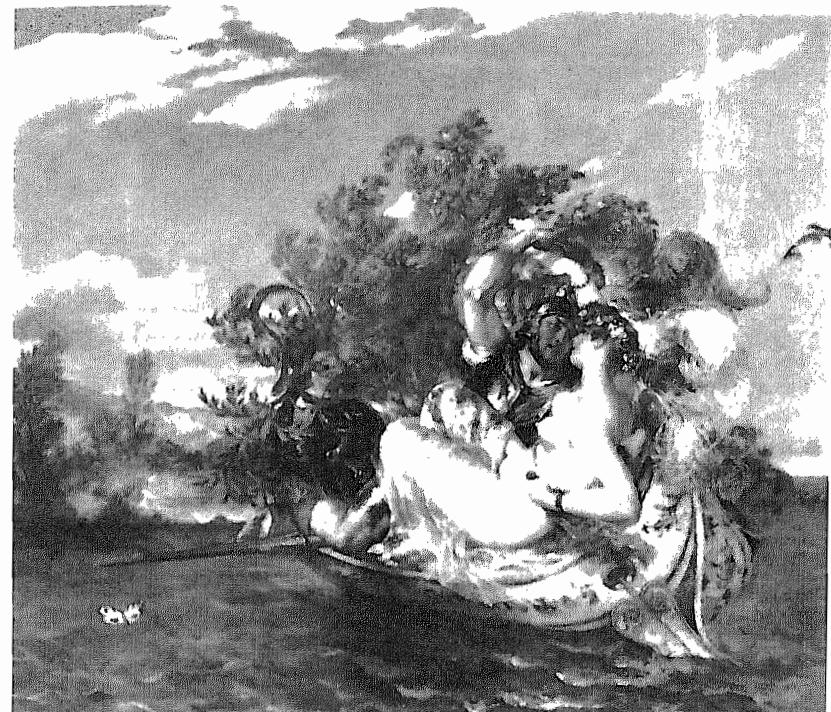


Figure 33: William Etty, *Phaedria and Cymochles*. The Art Museum, Princeton University. Gift of Benjamin Sonnenberg.

ers," Etty painted at a time when "'the nude' might exhibit most of the graces, but was frequently soapy and, almost always, sexually incredible." To say the least, his paintings "created a stir. They were *life* . . . and they convinced." Here "were no impossible, lady-like sylphs from the albums, but *women*, and quite often, women of handsome proportions. Many a heavily bewhiskered gentleman secure in the stuffy privacy of a stupendous double-bed, found Mr. Etty distasteful."<sup>20</sup> So, too, did their wives. In the *Observer* a reviewer reports that in 1835, when the Princeton version of *Phaedria and Cymochles* was exhibited, "several ladies we know were deterred from going into the corner of the room to see Leslie's, Webster's, and other pictures of

<sup>20</sup> F. Gordon Roe, "William Etty and the Nude: Living Beauty in Classic Form," *Connoisseur*, No. 109 (March 1942) 25-34.



Figure 34: G. F. Watt, *Una and the Red Cross Knight*. The Art Gallery of Western Australia.

merit there, to avoid the disgrace and offence Mr. Etty has conferred on that quarter."<sup>41</sup> Here it should be added that Etty was widely known to be a celibate man of scrupulous moral rectitude.

In the Princeton version (Fig. 33), Etty fills the painting with light that radiates luxuriantly out of a pristine blue sky. The little boat, a stylized swan gaily painted with roses and festooned with boughs, floats lightly on the water. To the left, a brilliant butterfly accompanies the voyagers. Above and to the right, however, a bird of prey

<sup>41</sup> *The Observer*, 10 May 1835, cited by Dennis L.A. Farr, *William Etty* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 73. Four years later, William Makepeace Thackeray wrote scornfully in *Fraser's Magazine* (19 May 1839) that Etty's "figures are drawn, and a deuced deal *too much* drawn. A huge curtain of figleaves should be hung over every one of this artist's pictures, and the world should pass on, content to know that there are some glorious colours painted beneath." (p. 745).

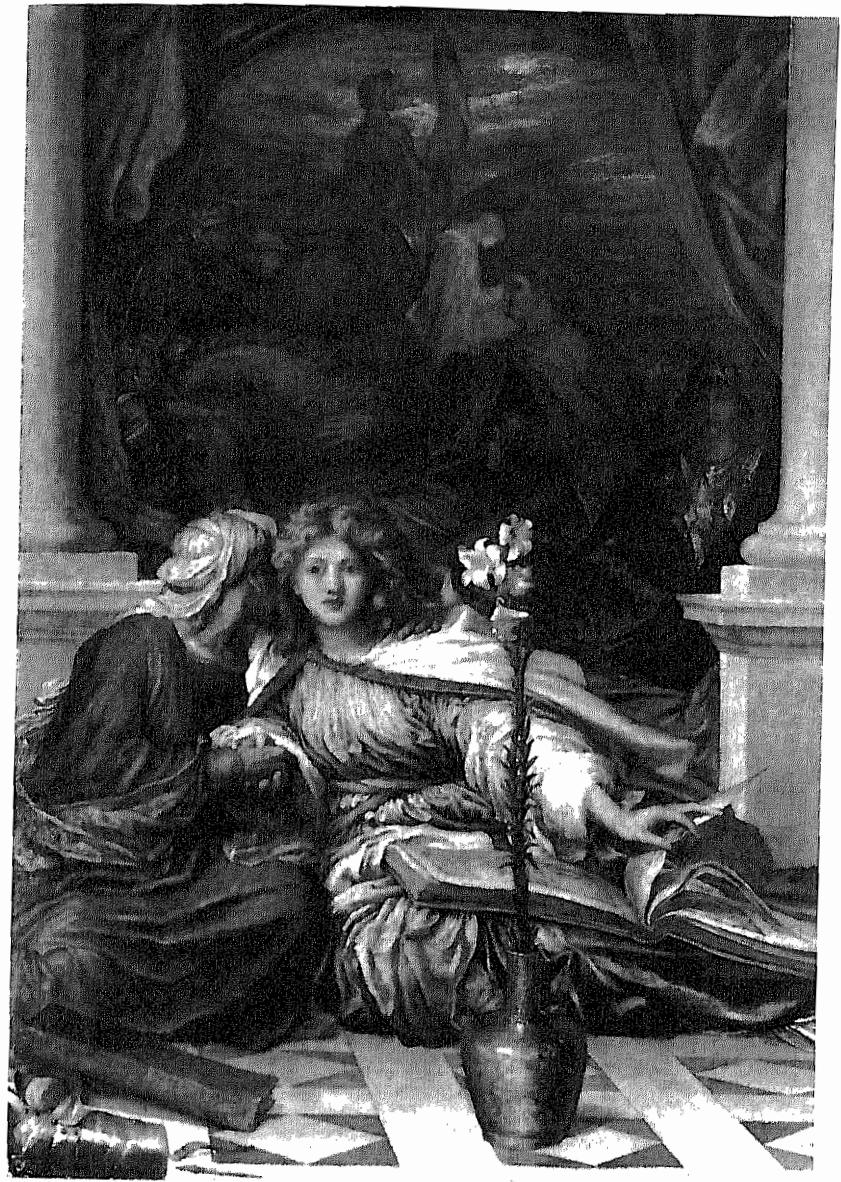


Figure 35: G. F. Watt, *The Vision of Britomart*. City of Birmingham (England) Museum and Art Gallery.

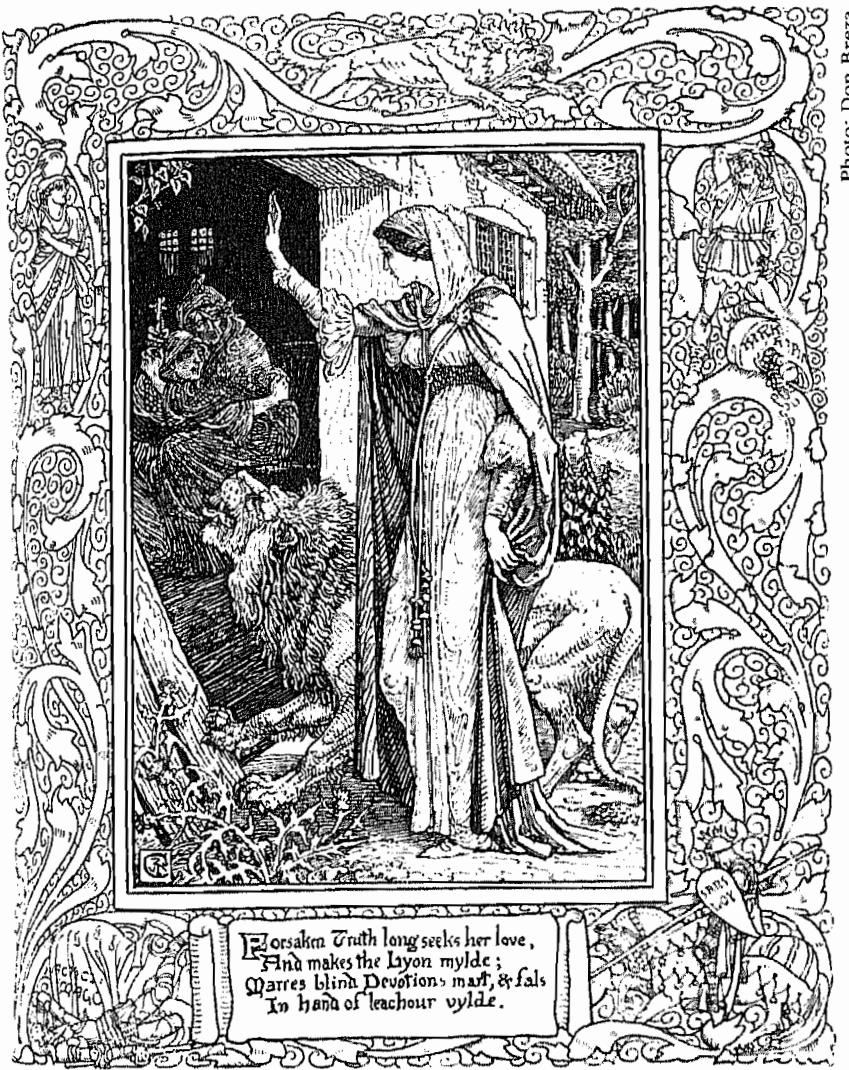


Figure 36: Walter Crane, "Una and the Lion," frontispiece, *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, ed. T. J. Wise (London, 1894 – 1897). Princeton University Library. Gift of Robert H. Taylor, Class of 1930.

Photo: Don Breza

breaks in abruptly from the margin. At first glance one is apt to see the insect and the bird as symbols for the woman and the warrior; however, the diagonal that falls from the bird to the insect passes so emphatically through the head of Phaedria that at once she assimilates the qualities of each: the random, flitting insect and the purposeful, dangerous raptor, whose prey is in her grasp. At once, what first appears to be a purely decorative work metamorphoses into a highly intelligent and perceptive reading of a disturbing text.

Of course there is something inherently improbable, even absurd, in the way two such substantial, weighty figures crowd the tiny, delicate "gondelay." And it is comic that Cymochles should so deliberately hook his right leg over his spear to brace himself, while with his upper body he performs such a graceful *pas de deux* with Phaedria.

The fact is, that even while attending to the technical difficulties of representing "God's most glorious work," Etty found a satirical point in his subject, an attitude supported by Spenser's own presentation. The sexual arousal evident in the knight's face, for example, is foolish, vacant, and indulgent. In fact, it recalls Jacques Louis David's *Cupid and Psyche* (Cleveland Museum), where the God of Love, discovered by Psyche, just sits, naked and awkward, on the side of the bed, grinning idiotically like an adolescent discovered *in flagrante delicto*. Etty is by no means so devastatingly satirical as the cynical David, but he leaves little doubt about his own judgment of Cymochles. By contrast, Phaedria is quite attentive to her tasks. With her left hand she furtively steers the craft toward the floating island; with a beguiling gaze she holds Cymochles' attention; and with the dalliance of her right hand she rhythmically mesmerizes him into submission.

When we take all these features into account, it becomes apparent that Etty ventured into an allegory quite his own. The bird and the butterfly, the overburdened boat and the threat of capsizing, the juxtaposition of masculine armor and female flesh: These features have all been taken as evidence of poetic fancy. But to read them this way alone is to ignore how Etty's composition invokes a negative judgment upon lassitude and eroticism. Two years earlier, in 1833, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, had published *The Lotus-Eaters*. Certainly one might wonder whether Etty's Spenserian painting was a pictorial response to the spirit of indolence about which Tennyson so memorably wrote — in Spenserian stanzas.

When Etty first painted the subject in 1832 (Fig. 32), he was in a



Figure 37: Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Cave of Despair*. The Tate Gallery, London.

more *pictorial* and decorative than satirical mood, "Culling enchanted flowers" as Keats wrote in his sonnet on Leigh Hunt from "Spenser's halls . . . and bowers faire."<sup>22</sup> Here there is no hint of the commentary Etty would paint three years later. Phaedria and Cymochles sit side-by-side in a boat whose proximity to the picture plane crowds out the expanse of sky and water so evident in the second version. The butterfly simply has a colorful companion, and the bird is nowhere to be seen. Phaedria, moreover, makes no effort to steer the boat, and in fact the emphasis on Phaedria is sharply reduced, since her face is averted. Cymochles is the dominant one, but his swarthy face with its hooded, languorous eyes lacks the keen satiric innuendo that would characterize him in 1835. Meanwhile, an utterly shameless *amor* with a provocative finger laid boldly upon its lips, stands nonchalantly on the side of the boat, setting terms for the viewer's response to the event.

The pictorial difference between the two versions is captured in a review of the Princeton work in the *Morning Post* (London) on Tuesday, May 5, 1835:

<sup>22</sup> John Keats, "Written on the Day that Mr. Leigh Hunt Left Prison," *Poems* (London, 1817).

Truly it is said that painting and poetry are twin sisters. None but such a poet as Spenser could conceive of such a scene, none but such an artist as Etty paint up to the conception. Phaedria is sailing on the Idle Lake — so idle, that rude breezes could never have shadowed its surface — in a golden barge, adorned with garlands, accompanied by love; and all that is beautiful in form and rich in colour is gathered into that one small picture. . . . It is all colour, but so cunningly arranged that all is harmony. The greediest eye might feed on it for ever without being satiated, nor would all the praise that could be bestowed upon it do justice to the delight with which it is seen.

Tennyson's *lotophagi* could scarcely have said it better, and Phaedria and Cymochles would surely have agreed. What the painting tells us, however, is that in 1835 Etty took a more critical view of *The Faerie Queene*. Instead of painting the episode as though it would hang in the sort of gallery Leigh Hunt had imagined two years before, he produced a serious commentary on the Spenserian episode.

"Erotic" Spenser, however, had been around for a long time. In fact, the very first Spenserian painting was a fresco depicting Helle-nore and Malbecco, applied by a Venetian painter named Francesco Sletter to the walls of the Temple of Venus at Stowe in about 1735. These frescoes are now completely obliterated, and we can only wonder from descriptions in Benton Seeley's eighteenth-century guide-books at the way they may have looked. Other clues may be found in William Gilpin's *Dialogue upon the Gardens . . . at Stowe*, a guide-book published in 1748. There Polypthon remarks that "this loose story, these luxurious couches, and the embellishments round the Walls, give the Place quite a Cyprian Air, and make it a very proper retreat for its incontinent Inhabitant upon the Roof" — a reference to the figure of Venus painted on the ceiling.

At quite the opposite extreme is George Frederick Watt's idealized and chastely painted *Una and the Red Cross Knight* (Fig. 34), which now hangs in the museum at Perth, Australia. It was painted 130 years after Sletter's Spenserian frescoes at Stowe and at the height of the Victorian chivalric revival. Here the model for Una was Virginia Woolf's aunt, Mary Jackson. Woolf, in her *Diary*, writes gloomily of

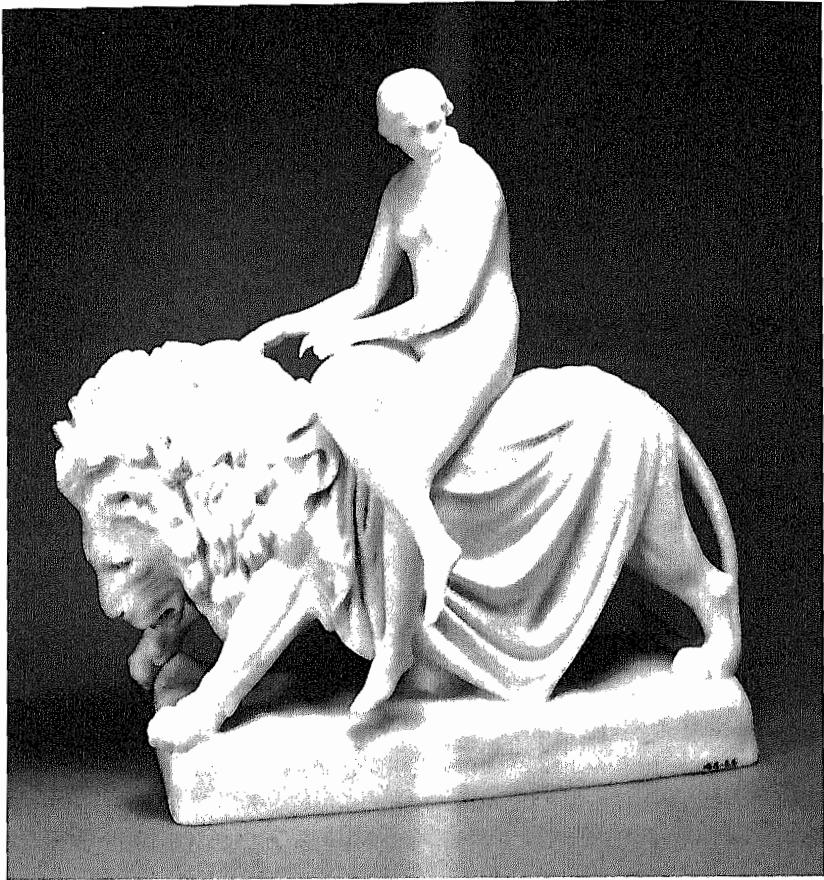


Figure 38: John Bell, *Una and the Lion*. Parian-ware figurine. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

"sitting opposite to Leonard in that brown ugly room with its auto-types of Dutch painters & Aunt Mary on a donkey."<sup>23</sup> Clearly, there was no place for Spenser in Woolf's "Room of One's Own." Watt also painted *The Vision of Britomart* — twice. In the version from the Birmingham Museum (Fig. 35) he gives an added symbolic twist to the episode with the inclusion of a brilliant white lily, the symbol of the Annunciation.

<sup>23</sup> *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, 2 vols., ed. Anne Oliver Bell (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), Vol. 2, pp. 112-113.

Walter Crane, in addition to the eighty-eight full-page illustrations, eighty headpieces, fifty-five tailpieces, and assorted half-titles and title-pages that he drew for Thomas J. Wise's edition of *The Faerie Queene* (Fig. 36) in the 1890s,<sup>24</sup> also painted watercolor designs for costumes to be used in Spenserian *tableaux vivants*. The only other instances I know in which Spenserian episodes were adapted to stage presentation were those at Cheltenham Ladies' College a few years earlier.<sup>25</sup> These and a number of additional watercolors are in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter.

Much could be said about J.M.W. Turner's *The Cave of Despair* (Fig. 37), a painting that yields up its secrets only to the most detailed visual analysis and close comparison with other works by Turner painted at the same time. Even the most original genius of British nineteenth-century art felt the powerful effects of *The Faerie Queene*, and in his *Liber Studiorum* as well as in this painting (now at the Tate Gallery) sought fit means to represent what it was he experienced.

And while Benjamin West's much earlier painting of *The Cave of Despair* (Fig. 5) seems straightforward enough at first glance, its reading of Spenser belongs to a context made up of Jean Jacques Rousseau's famous pair of letters arguing the pros and cons of suicide in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*,<sup>26</sup> of David Hume's chilling essay, "Of Suicide,"<sup>27</sup> of Edward Young's eighth poem in *Night Thoughts*,<sup>28</sup> of Thomas Warton's poem on melancholy,<sup>29</sup> and of the famous suicide of poor Thomas Chatterton two years before. This painting was truly "terrible" and "Sublime," and it had enormous contemporary relevance. I should also think it a good bet that many of its original viewers knew

<sup>24</sup> Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, ed. T. J. Wise (London: George Allen, 1894 – 1897), was issued in 19 parts. Though commercially unsuccessful, it contains some of Crane's best and most mature work. The project is discussed by P. G. Konody, *The Art of Walter Crane* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), p. 71, and at greater length by Frederick Daniel Weinstein, "Walter Crane and the American Book Arts, 1890 – 1915" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1970).

<sup>25</sup> They are described in an unsigned article titled "Britomart" in *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine*, Vol. 30 (August 1894) 283-285.

<sup>26</sup> Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Julie; or, The New Eloise: Letters of Two Lovers, Inhabitants of a Small Town at the Foot of the Alps*, translated and abridged by Judith H. McDowell (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), pp. 263-265.

<sup>27</sup> David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912), Vol. 2, pp. 406-414.

<sup>28</sup> Edward Young, *The Complaint; or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (London, 1743), pp. 64-65.

<sup>29</sup> *The Poetical Works of Thomas Warton*, 2 vols., ed. Richard Mant (Oxford, 1802), Vol. 1, p. 155.



Figure 39: Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Lady Leicester as "Hope."* The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.

Samuel Johnson's *Rambler* essay on despair and suicide<sup>30</sup> and would readily have discerned that West was addressing the same theme through a reading of Spenser that quoted liberally from Salvator Rosa's "horrific" *Streghe e incantissimi*, a painting then well known in London.

\*

From John Bell's Parian-ware figurine (Fig. 38) of *Una and the Lion*, intended for mass production by Summerly's Art Manufacture, one of Henry Cole's numerous ventures, to Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of Lady Leicester as Spenser's Hope (Fig. 39)—still at Tabley House, Chester, and widely believed to be one of the premier portraits of the period—the Spenser Gallery is every bit as important as the critical record on which we have all relied, perhaps too exclusively, in libraries. Each of these several hundred images is also an essay. Each takes a specific position on the meaning of the poem. Until we learn to assimilate the messages from these images with the criticism of Spenser that has been written from Sir Kenelm Digby's little pamphlet on a single stanza in *Faerie Queene*, Book II, to the papers presented at the "Spenser 400" conference, the monument to Spenser's remarkable poetic achievement will remain incomplete.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, 3 vols., ed. W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 237-239.

# THE FAERIE QVEENE.

Disposed into twelue books,

*Fashioning*

XII. Morall vertues.



Title page, *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues.*  
London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1590. Princeton University Library.  
The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

Photo: Don Breza

## Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* Annotated Checklist of the Exhibition

COMPILED BY MARK R. FARRELL, WITH ANNOTATIONS BY  
THOMAS P. ROCHE, JR.

To facilitate reference to editions that might seem too similar to be easily distinguished one from another, those books held in the general Rare Books collections or in the Marquand Library in McCormick Hall are marked with call numbers enclosed in parentheses. Books belonging to the Robert H. Taylor Collection, the Grenville Kane Collection, and the Graphic Arts Collection do not carry call numbers.

### ENGLISH POETRY BEFORE SPENSER

Our conception of literary history is so confined by titles and dates that we do not pay enough attention to, or have the opportunity to observe, how that title looked when it appeared at that date. In this exhibition we have displayed a few titles from the collection to show the vast difference in presentation and format. First and foremost, of course, comes Chaucer both in a manuscript version as he might have known his own works and in the printed version of 1532 as he would not have known them. There is also the elaborate Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*. These are the giants. Then there are the contemporaries, smaller, less elaborate: the 1568 Skelton, the 1563 Barnabe Googe, Gascoigne's *The steele glas* of 1576, and *The Songes and Sonnets* (Tottel's Miscellany) in a later edition of 1585. They form an interesting contrast to the emergence of the New Poete in 1579.

1. CHAUCER, GEOFFREY (d. 1400). *The Canterbury tales*. Manuscript, between 1430 and 1460. Manuscripts (Princeton MS. 100), Princeton University Library. Gift of Robert H. Taylor, Class of 1930, and Christian A. Zabriskie, with assistance from Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Kenneth H. Rockey, Class of 1916, and Ernest C. Savage, Class of 1919.

2. CHAUCER, GEOFFREY. *The works of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes whiche were neuer in print before: as in the table more playnly dothe appere.* Printed at Lōdon: by Thomas Godfray, the yere of our lorde M.D.xxxii. [1532]. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.
3. BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI (1313 – 1375). *The fall of princes.* Translation by John Lydgate (1370? – 1451?) of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*. Manuscript on vellum. England, between 1450 and 1475. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.
4. BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI. *Here begynneth the boke of Johan Bochas, discryving the fall of princes, princesses, and other nobles. Translated into Englysshe by John Lydgate monke of Bury, begynnyng at Adam and Eue, and endyng with kyng Johan of Fraunce, taken prisoner at Poyters by prince Edwardre.* Imprinted at London: in flete strete by Richardle Pynson, printer vnto the kynges moste noble grace, & fynished the xxi. day of Februarie, the yere of our lorde god M.CCCCC.xvii. [1527]. Rare Books (Ex 3123.3284.7), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.
5. SKELTON, JOHN (1460? – 1529). *Pithy pleasant and profitable workes of maister Skelton Poete Laureate. Nowe collected and newly published.* Imprinted at London: by Thomas Marshe, Anno 1568. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.
6. GOOGE, BARNABE (1540 – 1594). *Eglogs, epytaphes, and sonettes. Newly written by Barnabe Googe.* Imprynted at London: by Thomas Colwell, for Raffe Newbery, dwelyng in Fleetstrete a little aboue the Conduit in the late shop of Thomas Bartellet, 1563. 15. Marche. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.
7. GASCOIGNE, GEORGE (1542? – 1577). *The steele glas. A satyre cōpiled by George Gascoigne Esquire. Togither with The complainte of Phylomene, an elegie deuised by the same author.* [London]: Printed [by Henrie Binne man] for Richard Smith, [1576]. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.
8. TOTTEL, RICHARD (d. 1594). *Songes and sonnets, written by the Right honourable Lord Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and others.* Imprinted at London: by Iohn Windet, 1585. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

## EDMUND SPENSER

The Spenser section of the exhibition is organized in the following order: *The Faerie Queene*, the minor poems, commendatory sonnets, and prose works.

## THE FAERIE QUEENE (1590)

9. SPENSER, EDMUND (1552? – 1599). *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues.* London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1590. [STC 23081] Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.
10. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues.* London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1590. [STC 23081a] Rare Books (Ex 3940.332.17), Princeton University Library. Gift of Mrs. Marshall L. Brown.

The initial impact of the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* is hard to imagine today because all modern editions come bound or boxed together with Books IV – VI. There would be the perplexing elucidation of the 24-book structure in the "Letter to Raleigh," appearing at the end of the three books just before the commendatory poems and the dedicatory sonnets. There would be the happy reunion of Scudamour and Amoret after her rescue by Britomart, to be snatched away when Spenser revised this ending to provide new narrative possibilities in Books IV – VI. In fact, the ending of the 1590 appearance of the poem provides us with the only genuinely consummated marriage in the poem, the marriage of Florimell and Marinell in Book V being totally marginalized by the proceedings of the tournament attendant on it.

Beyond this readerly response, your copy might have the dedication to Queen Elizabeth on the verso of the title page, or it might not. The date 1590 on the title page might be widely spaced, or it might not. The Welsh words on page 332 (Merlin's prophecy to Britomart, Book III, canto 3), might be there, or they might not. Your copy might have the original ten dedicatory sonnets that Spenser wrote for pages [Pp6<sup>r</sup>] – [Pp8<sup>r</sup>], or you might have Spenser's attempt to make up for his blunder of omitting Lord Burghley from the dedicatees by introducing seven new sonnets, including one to Burghley, which

With blood of *Henalois*, which therein fell,  
How oft that day did sad *Brunchildis* see  
The greene shield dyde in dolorous vermell?  
That not he mote seeme to bee.

But

His sonne king *Leill* by fathers labour long,  
Enioyd an heritage of lasting peace,  
And built *Cairleill*, and built *Cairleon* strong.  
Next *Huddibras* his realme did not encrease,  
But taught the land from wearie wares to cease.  
Whose footsteps *Bladud* following, in artes  
Exeld at *Athens* all the learned preace,  
From whence he brought them to these saluge parts  
And with sweet science mollifide their stubborne harts.

Ensample of his wondrous faculty,  
Behold the boyling Bathes at *Cairbadon*,  
Which seeth with secret fire eternally,  
And in their entrailles, full of quick Brimston,  
Nourish the flames, which they are warmd vpon,  
That to her people wealth they forth do well,  
And health to every forreyne nation:  
Yet he at last contending to excell  
The reach of men, through flight into fond mischifell,

Next him king *Leyr* in happy peace long raynd,  
But had no issue male him to succeed,  
But three faire daughters, which were well vptraind,  
In all that seemed fitt for kingly seed:  
Mongst whom his realme he equally decreed  
To haue diuided. Tho when feeble age  
Nigh to his vtmost date he saw proceed,  
He cald his daughters; and with speeches sage  
Inquyrd, which of them most did loue her parentage.

The

Photo: Don Breza

With bloud of *Henalois*, which therein fell,  
How oft that day did sad *Brunchildis* see  
The greene shield dyde in dolorous vermell?  
That not *Scuich* guridbit mote seeme to bee,  
But rather *x Scuich* gogb, signe of sad cruelte.

His sonne king *Leill* by fathers labour long,  
Enioyd an heritage of lasting peace,  
And built *Cairleill*, and built *Cairleon* strong.  
Next *Huddibras* his realme did not encrease,  
But taught the land from wearie wares to cease.  
Whose footsteps *Bladud* following, in artes  
Exeld at *Athens* all the learned preace,  
From whence he brought them to these saluge parts  
And with sweet science mollifide their stubborne harts.

Ensample of his wondrous faculty,  
Behold the boyling Bathes at *Cairbadon*,  
Which seeth with secret fire eternally,  
And in their entrails, full of quicke Brimston,  
Nourish the flames, which they are warm'd vpon,  
That to her people wealth they forth do well,  
And health to every forreyne nation:  
Yet he at last contending to excell  
The reach of men, through flight into fond mischifell,

Next him king *Leyr* in happy peace long raynd,  
But had no issue male him to succeed,  
But three faire daughters, which were well vptraind,  
In all that seemed fitt for kingly seed:  
Mongst whom his realme he equally decreed  
To haue diuided. Tho when feeble age  
Nigh to his vtmost date he saw proceed,  
He cald his daughters; and with speeches sage  
Inquyrd, which of them most did loue her parentage.

Photo: Don Breza

were to replace leaves [Pp6] – [Pp7]. The correction did not go through as intended, and Spenser's rearrangement of the sonnets got added as leaves Qq1 – [Qq4]. Therefore your copy might contain the original ten sonnets or the ten sonnets plus the addition, or some permutation of both effected by a later bookseller trying to create a first issue (ten sonnets) by repairing one copy by impairing another.

The most exact bibliographical descriptions of these early issues of the 1590 *Faerie Queene* are to be found in Francis R. Johnson, *A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser Printed Before 1700* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), p. 18: "Although the first edition of the *Faerie Queene* is by no means as rare as the first editions of some of Spenser's minor poems, it has always received special attention from both scholars and collectors because it is the poet's greatest work. Existing copies vary greatly as to size and condition. Also, some apparently perfect copies have been produced through the enterprise of book-sellers, who have taken two imperfect copies to pieces and combined them to make a new copy in which all leaves are present and in good condition. When bound, a copy of this sort can rarely be detected except through a collation of the watermarks."

#### THE FAERIE QUEENE (1596)

11. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue bookeſ, fashioning XII. morall vertues.* London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1596. Rare Books (Ex 3940.332.1596), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

11a. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue bookeſ, fashioning XII. morall vertues.* London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1596. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

This second edition of the first three books of the poem, as Johnson asserts, was printed page-for-page from a copy of 1590, but differs from 1590 significantly in that the wording of the dedication to Queen Elizabeth was changed; a stanza was added at Book I, canto 11, stanza 3; the ending of Book III was revised; the five stanzas of 1590 were reduced to three stanzas; and the "Letter to Raleigh," the commendatory verses and the dedicatory sonnets were omitted ex-

cept for the two sonnets by W[alter] R[alegh] and the poem *To the Learned Shepheard* by Hobynoll (Gabriel Harvey). The woodcut of St. George and the dragon occurs between Books I and II as in 1590 [page M5v]. No attempt seems to have been made in this edition to use the corrections suggested in the "Faults Escaped in the Print" of the 1590. We do not know who made this list, but since some of the corrections go beyond the authority of a printer, we assume that it is either by Spenser or someone very closely acquainted with the poem. Johnson suggests that only one-half or one-third as many copies of this second edition of Books I – III were printed as of the first edition of Books IV – VI, apparently in order to use up the unsold copies of 1590.

There is little to add about the printing of the last three books of the poem, since they follow the pattern of printing used for the first three. Johnson (p. 21) notes that in the copies he examined there is not so great a variety in the lots of paper used to print this section of the poem as he found in his examination of the paper used to print the first three books. In his "The Printing of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* in 1596" (*Studies in Bibliography*, XVIII [1965], 49–67), Frank B. Evans suggests the most plausible account of how these books were printed.

#### THE FAERIE QUEENE (1609)

12. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queen, disposed into XII. bookeſ, fashioning twelue morall vertues.* At London: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, 1609. Rare Books (Ex 3940.332.1609), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

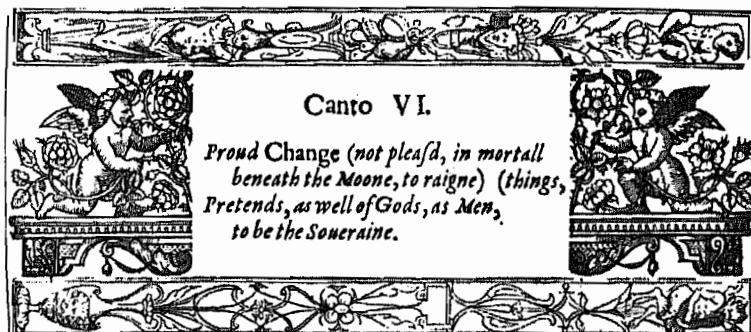
In 1609 Mathew Lownes brought out a folio volume of *The Faerie Queene* in as complete a form as we have it. For the first time the *Mutabilitie Cantos* appear as part of the poem, and for the first time the stanzas are numbered. The double columns of each page are not only economical but also bring Spenser's poem closer to the format used for his Italian predecessors, Ariosto and Tasso.

#### THE FIRST FOLIO (1611–1617)

13. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queene: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew

# TWO CANTOS OF *MUTABILITIE:* Which, both for Forme and Matter, appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the *FAERIE QUEENE*, (..) VNDER THE LEGEND OF *Confancie.*

Neuer before imprinted.



¶ H[er] man that fees the euer-whirling wheel  
Of *Change*, the which all mortall things doth  
But that therby doth find, & plausly feele, (way,  
How *MUTABILITIE* in them doth play  
Her crull spors, to many mens decay,  
Which that to all may better yet appere,  
I will reherse that whylome I heard say,  
How sicke at first herselfe began to rare,  
(bear.  
Gainst althe Gods, and th'empire fought from them to

But first, here falleth fittest to vnfold  
Her antique race and lineage ancient,  
As I have found it registred of old,  
In *Early* Land mongl records permanente:  
She was, to weet, a daughter by descent  
Of those old *Titans*, that did whylome strive  
With *Saturnes* sonne for heauen's regiment,  
Whom, though high *Towre* of kingdome did deprize,  
Yet many of their remenne long after did survive.  
H.l. 4. And

*Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*, from the 1609 first folio of Spenser's *The faerie queene*, disposed into XII. booke, fashioning twelve morall vertues. At London: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, 1609. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

353.  
Photo: Don Breza

Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611. [STC 23083.3] Rare Books (Ex 3940.1611q c.8), Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

14. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queen: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611. [STC 23083.7] Rare Books (Ex 3940.1611q c.7), Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

15. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queen: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611. [STC 23084] Rare Books (Ex 3940.1611q c.5), Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

16. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queen: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611. [STC 23085] Rare Books (Ex 3940.1617 c.2), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

Between 1611 and 1617 Mathew Lownes, probably because of the success of the 1609 folio of *The Faerie Queene*, brought out a compatible edition of all the poems. The format of this folio venture made it possible to sell most of the poems individually and to change or correct any part without altering the entire volume. In fact, these editions were never printed as a unit, but as seven distinct publications, always consisting of the same material within each section: 1) general title page and dedication; 2) *Faerie Queene*, Books I – III; 3) *Faerie Queene*, Books IV – VI and *Mutabilitie Cantos*; 4) "Letter to Raleigh," commendatory poems and dedicatory sonnets; 5) *The Shephearde's Calender*; 6) *Prosopopoeia or Mother Hubberds Tale*; 7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Prothalamion, Amoretti and Epithalamion, Fowre Hymnes, Daphnaida, and Complaints* (always in that order). Johnson suggests that when the stock of one section was exhausted, the entire section was reset and reprinted, thus creating two distinct editions of each of



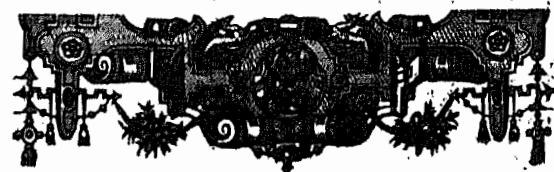
Photo: Don Breza

Title page from the 1611 folio edition of Spenser's *The faerie queene: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.



Photo: Don Breza

TO THE MOST  
HIGH, MIGHTIE,  
AND MAGNIFICENT  
EMPERESSE,  
RENOVNE FOR PIETIE,  
VERTVE, AND ALL GRA-  
CIOVS GOVERNMENT:  
*ELIZABETH,*  
BY THE GRACE OF GOD,  
Queene of *England, France, and Ireland; and of*  
*Virginia: Defender of the Faith,*  
*&c.*  
*Her most humble Seruaunt, Edmund Spenser, doth in all*  
*humilitie dedicate, present, and consecrate these his labours; to live*  
*with the eternitie of her*  
*FAME.*



Dedicatory page from the 1611 folio edition of Spenser's *The faerie queene: The shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poët, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected.* [London]: Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, Anno Dom. 1611. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

these seven sections, as can be observed by comparing the display of Mr. Osgood's numerous copies. For a more complete differentiation of these particular volumes, see the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 29 (1967), p. 99.

#### THE SECOND FOLIO (1679)

17. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The works of that famous English poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser. Viz., The faery queen, The shepherds calendar, The history of Ireland, &c. Whereunto is added an account of his life, with other new additions never before in print.* London: Printed by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin, at the Three Roses in Ludgate-street, 1679. Rare Books (Ex PR2350.1679q), Princeton University Library.

This second folio, both through its typography and its inclusiveness, brings us closer to a historicized Spenser. For the first time we find *A Summary of the Life of Mr. Edmond Spencer*, including excerpts from his correspondence with Gabriel Harvey, never before alluded to in any previous edition of his works. His *View of the Present State of Ireland* is included, as well as the spurious *Brittain's Ida*, now attributed to Phineas Fletcher, and Theodore Bathurst's Latin translation of *The Shephearde's Calender*.

Spenser's life and influence were becoming part of his Work. As with the earlier editions of his poems, we have no idea who was responsible for the editorial work on this volume after his death. We do not know whether the Jonathan Edwin mentioned on the title page of this edition, who added a catalogue of books "printed for and sold by Jonathan Edwin" as an addendum to the edition (an early example of advertising), ever sought out the copyrights to Spenser's poems. A Martha Harrison had done so; she ceded her rights to *The Shephearde's Calender* on 28 April 1660, as recorded in the *Stationers' Register*. She was the widow of John Harrison, son and successor of the John Harrison who published the 1581 and subsequent editions of *The Shephearde's Calender*. Johnson demolishes the further historicizing of Sir Sidney Lee and Professor J. W. Hales, who suggested that Dryden might have been the editor of this edition on the basis of his annotated copy of this same edition now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This is a fine example of the trapeze action of literary historicizing; scholars swing from one poet to another, without benefit of fact or safety net.

Robert White (1645–1703), who made the engraving of Spenser's tomb in Westminster Abbey, reproduces the error of both birth- and death-date chiseled by Nicholas Stone, a master mason who was also responsible for Inigo Jones' Banqueting Hall and the effigy of John Donne in St. Paul's. The monument was erected about 1620 at an expense of £40, not by the Earl of Essex as stated in the *Summary of the Life* (derived no doubt from Camden), but by Ann Clifford, Countess of Dorset, who was the daughter of Margaret Russell and George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Spenser dedicated the *Fowre Hymnes* to Margaret and her sister Anne, who was married to Leicester's brother, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Both ladies are praised in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (11.492–507), and Anne alone in *The Ruines of Time* (11.244–245). Ann Clifford is credited by Judson (*Life of Spenser*, p. 207) for "her passion for restoring castles, churches, and chapels and for erecting monuments" such as the one she erected at Beckington for her former tutor Samuel Daniel. Stone's much decayed monument was replaced in marble in 1788 through the efforts of William Mason, the friend and biographer of Thomas Gray, and like Gray a fellow of Pembroke College. It was at this time that the errors of both birth- and death-date were corrected.

By 1679 Spenser, dead for 80 years, is represented not by a portrait, but by an engraving of his tomb sculpture; in the words of W. H. Auden on Yeats, Spenser "became his admirers."

The words of a dead man  
Are modified in the guts of the living. R.I.P.

#### THEATRE FOR VOLUPTUOUS WORLDLINGS (1569)

18. NOOT, JAN VAN DER. *A theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings, as also the greate ioyes and plesures which the faithfull do enjoy. An argument both profitable and delectable, to all that sincerely loue the word of God. Devised by S. Iohn van der Noodt.* Imprinted at London: by Henry Bynneman, anno Domini 1569. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

19. DU BELLAY, JOACHIM (ca. 1525 – 1560). *Les oeuvres françoises de Joachim Du-Bellay, gentil homme angeuin, & poëte excellent de ce temps. Reueuës, & de nouueau augmentées de plusieurs poesies non encores auparavant imprimées.* A Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Federic Morel, rue S.

Iean de Beauuais, au Franc Meurier, M.D.LXIX. [1569]. Rare Books (Ex 3246.6.1569), Princeton University Library. Gift of Robert H. Taylor, Class of 1930.

Spenser's first publication as a poet was in a Protestant polemic by Jan Van der Noot, a Dutchman whose work had appeared in Dutch and French versions printed by John Day in London in 1568. Spenser's English translation of the poems was published in 1569 by H. Bynneman. It demonstrated the extraordinary precocity, not only of Spenser's genius, but also of those who must have arranged for the young man in his last year at Merchant Taylors' School to be given the assignment. It would be interesting to know if Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of Merchant Taylors' and an eminent humanist scholar, was the "onlie begetter" of Spenser's early efforts. Spenser gets no by-line in Van der Noot's *Theatre*, but we know that he wanted credit for these poems because he refers in his *Complaints* volume of 1591 to verses "previously translated" in relation to his *The Visions of Petrarch*, and the eleven blank verse "sonnets" from the *Theatre* appear as rhymed sonnets in *The Visions of Bellay*.

An even greater conundrum than Spenser's precocious entry into the publishing world is the fact that all the poems are based on Petrarch, *Canzoniere* 323: "Standomi un giorno solo a la fenestra," an allegorical account of Petrarch's vision of his Madonna Laura after her death; in the context of the *Canzoniere* it deals with Petrarch's love of Laura, whatever that love might mean. The poem was translated into French by Clément Marot in 1533 and by Joachim du Bellay in 1568, and somehow it seemed appropriate to use what is essentially a love lyric as a commentary to accompany a Protestant polemic. There seem to be many questions still to be answered, not the least of which is why Van der Noot's *Theatre* is commonly cited as the first emblem book in English.

#### THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER (1579, 1581, 1586, 1591, 1597)

20. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepheardeſ calender, conteyning twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes. Entituled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and cheualrie M. Philip Sidney.* At London: Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne,

and are there to be solde, 1579. Lent by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.

21. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepheardeſ calender, conteining twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes. Entituled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles, both of learning and cheualrie M. Philip Sidney.* Imprinted at London: for Iohn Harison the younger, dwelling in Pater noster Roe, at the signe of the Anker, and are there to be solde, [1581]. Lent by the Newberry Library.

22. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepheardeſ calender, conteining twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes. Entituled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles, both of learning and chivalry, Maister Philip Sidney.* Imprinted at London: by Iohn Wolfe for Iohn Harrison the younger, dwelling in Pater noster Roe, at the signe of the Anker, 1586. Lent by the Harvard University Library.

23. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepheardeſ calender, conteining twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes. Entituled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles, both of learning and chivalry Maister Philip Sidney.* London: Printed by Iohn Windet for Iohn Harrison the younger, dwelling in Pater noster Roe, at the signe of the Anger, 1591. Lent by the Newberry Library.

24. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepheards calender: conteyning twelve aeglogues, proportionable to the twelve moneths. Entituled, to the noble and vertuous gentleman, most worthy of all tytles, both of learning and chivalry, Maister Philip Sidney.* London: Printed by Thomas Creede, for Iohn Harrison the younger, dwelling in Pater noster Row, at the signe of the Anchor, 1597. Rare Books (Ex 3940.38.1597), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

It may be that only those who have read all the lyric poetry in English until 1579 can feel any genuine sense of delight in *The Shepheardeſ Calender*. G. S. Lewis sealed its fate for the twentieth century: "Of the *Shepherd's Calendar* as poetry we must frankly confess that it commits the one sin for which, in literature, no merits can compensate; it is rather dull. It would be interesting to know whether a hundred people (or ten) not officially connected with English studies have read it in the last fifty years. I have never in my life met anyone

## ADDENDUM

- 20a. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepheardes calender, conteyning twelue alegroges proportionable to the twelue monethes. Entituled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and cheualrie M. Philip Sidney.* At London: Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne, and are there to be solde, 1579. Property of The Garden Ltd. Lent by Sotheby's, New York.

# APRILL.



Photo: Don Breza

## *Aegloga quarta.*

"Aprill," from *The Shephearde's Calender*. London: Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne, and are there to be solde, 1579. Lent by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.

who spoke of it in the tones that betray real enjoyment." (*English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama*, p. 363.)

Nonetheless, the New Poete's accomplishment, both technical and cultural, can be compared to Eliot's feat in *The Waste Land*; both gave a voice, a tone, and a stance for other poets to emulate, and no poet in the sixteenth century could, or would, ignore Spenser's triumph. Whether the poem would have achieved such a great success without the elaborate paraphernalia of its publication is another question: the "entitling" of the poem to Sidney on the title page, Immerito's mock-modest "To His Booke," the egregious letter to Gabriel Harvey, "The General Argument of the whole booke," the woodcuts, the Arguments, E.K.'s annotations, E.K. himself (if self he had) — all these elements surrounding Spenser's achievement announce a New Poete. No other poet has ever had such a launching.

The poem was entered on the *Stationers' Register* on 5 December 1579 to the printer Hugh Singleton, who only a month earlier had published *The Gaping Gulf*, by John Stubbes, that second most famous attack on Elizabeth's proposed match with the French heir, Sidney

# OCTOBER.



Photo: Don Breza

## *Aegloga decima.*

"October," from *The Shephearde's Calender*. London: Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne, and are there to be solde, 1579. Lent by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.

was rusticated; Stubbes lost his hand for slandering the Queen. All later editions of *The Shephearde's Calender* were printed for "John Harrison the younger," whose widowed daughter-in-law, Martha Harrison, ceded the rights to the poem to William Lee on 28 April 1660. Each edition seems to have been copied from the preceding one, with the usual canonizing of error, the most flagrant being the omission of stanza twelve from the "June" eclogue in the 1597 edition. Johnson suggests that the compositor overlooked the stanza, which appeared at the bottom of [F4v]. The Pforzheimer catalogue adds that the resemblance between the first lines of stanzas eleven and twelve may have led to the omission. However it came about, stanza twelve was omitted in the editions of 1597, 1611–1617, and 1679, to be restored to its proper place only in the 1715 edition of John Hughes.

25. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepherds calendar, containing twelve æglogues, proportionable to the twelve months. By Edmund Spenser, prince of English poets. Calendarium pastorale, sive æglogæ duodecim, totidem anni mensibus accommodataæ. Anglice olim scriptæ ab Edmundo Spensero Anglorum poe-*

*tarum principe: nunc autem eleganti Latino carmine donatae a Theodoro Bathurst, Aulæ Pembrokianæ apud Cantabrigienses aliquando socio.* London: Printed for M.M.T.C. and Gabriell Bedell, and are to be sold at their shop at the Middle-Temple-gate in Fleetstreet, M.DC.LIII. [1653]. Rare Books (Ex 3940.32.13), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

The enormous *succès d'estime* of Spenser's poem gave it the status of a classic, and at least twice it was translated into Latin. (See Leicester Bradner, "The Latin Translations of Spenser's *Shephearde's Calender*," *Modern Philology*, 33 [1935], 21-26, and *Musae Anglicanae* [New York, 1940], pp. 105, 205.) The first, by John Dove, probably in 1584, was never published and remains today in a unique manuscript in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Dove apparently made the translation to persuade the officials of Christ Church, Oxford, of his literary ability in the hope of being made a fellow. The second translation, of primary interest here, was done somewhat earlier than 1608 by Theodore Bathurst, who was B.A. from Pembroke, Cambridge, in 1608. His translation served the same function as Dove's and with more success, for he was fellow of Pembroke, Spenser's own college, in 1608. The translation exists in four manuscripts, one at Pembroke, two at the British Museum, and one at the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas, the first three on interleaved copies of the 1597 edition of the *Calender*. In 1653 — two years after Bathurst's death — William Dillingham, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and later vice-chancellor of the University, published the translation. It was reprinted in the folio of 1679 and again separately in 1732. Both translations are of interest to Neo-Latinists, for Dove was the first Englishman to invent new Latin stanza forms, and Bathurst developed the tradition even further. Johnson erroneously reports that the elusive stanza twelve was not translated by Bathurst, but Professor Osgood has corrected this error in his copy of Johnson. The Latin translation of the omitted stanza is very plainly in evidence in all three editions.

#### DAPHNAÏDA (1591, 1596)

26. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Daphnaïda. An elegie upon the death of the noble and vertuous Douglas Howard, daughter and heire of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Byndon, and wife of Arthure Gorges Esquier. Dedicated to the Right*

*Honorable the Lady Helena, Marquesse of Northampton. By Ed. Sp.* At London: Printed for William Ponsonby, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head, 1591. Lent by the Boston Public Library.

27. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Daphnaïda. An elegie upon the death of the noble and vertuous Douglas Howard, daughter and heire of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Byndon, and wife of Arthure Gorges Esquier. Dedicated to the Right Honorable the Ladie Helena, Marquesse of Northampton. By Ed. Sp.* At London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1596. With: *Fowre hymnes, made by Edm. Spenser.* London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1596. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

The *Daphnaïda* was brought out by William Ponsonbie in January 1591 (new style), some eighteen weeks after the death of the Lady Douglas Howard, daughter of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Bynon. She was married to Arthur Gorges in her thirteenth year, 14 October 1584, with the consent of, and in the presence of, her mother, the Honorable Frances Meantas. The father brought suit against Gorges for theft of his daughter because she was heir to the Howard fortune. The case became even more embroiled when on 25 December 1588 Douglas gave birth to a daughter, whose legitimacy was to be contested by her great-uncle, Thomas Howard, who wanted to maintain control of the family fortune after the death of his brother in 1590. The child was declared legitimate and had been named Ambrosia by her godparents, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, and Lady Elizabeth Carey. Ambrosia died in 1601.

Arthur Gorges, poet, translator, and gentleman, was distantly related to the Howards in that his paternal great-grandmother was Anne Howard. On his mother's side he was first cousin to Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had close relations throughout their lives. Helena, Marchioness of Northampton, the dedicatee of the poem, was Gorges' aunt by marriage and was celebrated in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (11. 508-509): "Ne lesse praise worthie is *Mansilia*, Best knowne by bearing up great *Cynthiaes* traine." She was the chief mourner at Elizabeth's funeral.

Spenser's closeness to Raleigh at this time is no doubt in part the reason that he chose to write a consolatory elegy for Arthur Gorges.

The poem is closely modeled on Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, a lament for Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, although Spenser's Alcyon is not so perceptive about the consolation as is Chaucer's Black Knight. Spenser also modifies the rhyme-royal stanza of Chaucer (*ababbcc*) to (*ababcbc*). The seven-line stanza is also being used symbolically because Alcyon's lament is numbered in the text as seven sections of seven stanzas each, or forty-nine stanzas. Forty-nine is the number of the Minor Climacteric, the climacteric of the body, and thus is the appropriate number for a lament on the death of a young woman.

There are but three copies of the 1591 edition of the *Daphnaida* recorded, of which this copy is from the Boston Public Library. A second edition, with the *Foure Hymnes*, appeared in 1596.

#### COMPLAINTS (1591)

28. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Complaints. Containing sundrie small poemes of the worlds vanitie. Whereof the next page maketh mention. By Ed. Sp. London: Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head, 1591.* Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

The *Complaints* volume with its "sundrie small Poemes of the Worlds Vanitie" insists both on being regarded as a collection of thematically related poems and on the separateness of the individual poems, with its numerous separate title pages and dedicatees. William Ponsonbie's "The Printer to the Gentle Reader" shows him as the eager editor, collecting the scattered poems, advertising for those items of which he has heard but which he has not found, and hoping to cash in on whatever success his publication of the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* the previous year might bring him.

*The Ruines of Time*, the first poem in the *Complaints*, is dedicated to Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, poet and patron of poets, sister of Sir Philip Sidney (d. 1586) and niece of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (d. 1588). The dedication is most appropriate in that Spenser's poem is a tribute to the memory of Leicester, with whom Spenser had an association in the early stages of his career. This poem, at least in the form in which we have it today, must have been written after the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, Philip Sidney's father-in-law, who died on 6 April 1590.

#### AMORETTI AND EPITHALAMION (1595)

29. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Amoretti and Epithalamion. Written not long since by Edmunde Spenser.* [London]: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1595. Lent by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.

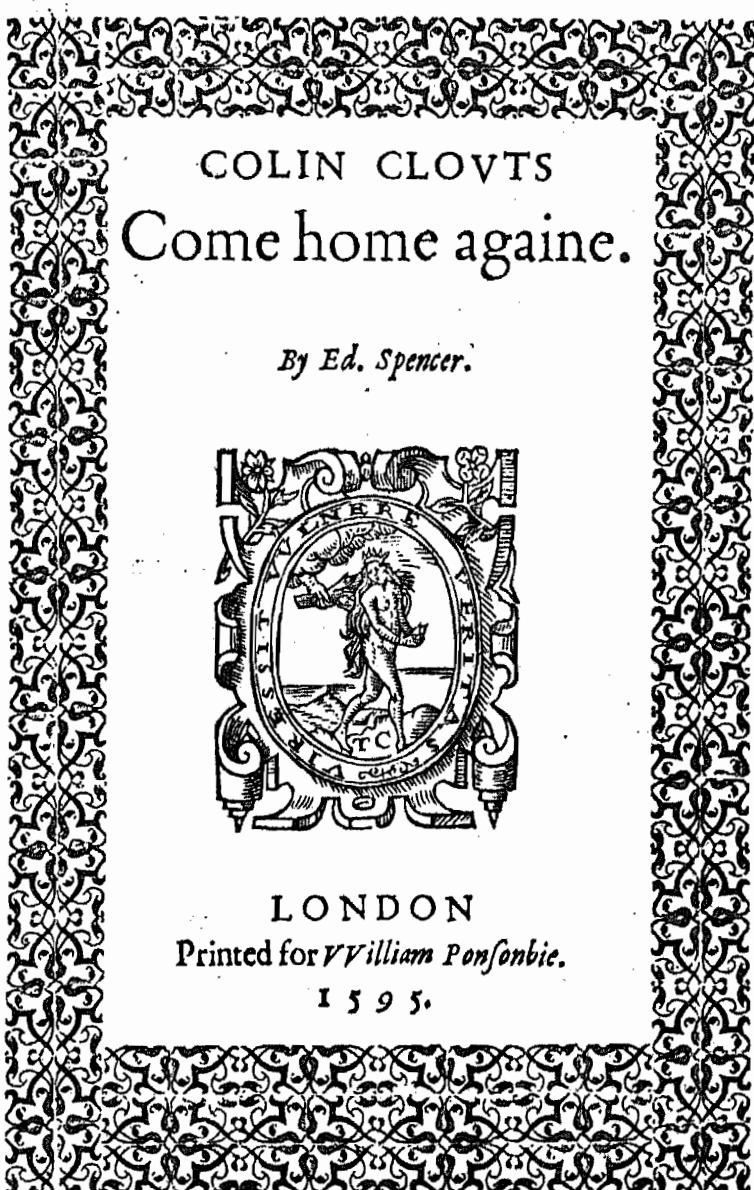
The sonnet sequence and marriage hymn that make up this poem are Spenser's gift to his bride, Elizabeth Boyle, whom he married on St. Barnabas' day, 11 June 1594. That he also shared it with the rest of the world in allowing Ponsonbie to publish it is a tribute to Spenser's sense of what he was doing with the tradition of the sonnet sequence, begun by Petrarch in his *Canzoniere* and endlessly imitated in Europe throughout the sixteenth century. The sonnet sequence is generically the outpouring in the form of sonnets of the love of some poet-lover, who is enamored of an aloof, unavailable, blonde, and dark-eyed beauty who cannot or will not return his love. Most of these male-created vamps are fictional inventions of the poet. Spenser is unique in that we know who the lady was and that he married her. What she thought of the poem we do not know.

Over the past thirty years many studies have revealed to us a language of number symbolism that shows the progress of the courtship in the *Amoretti* to be not the daily experience of the poet-lover in the throes of a stormy courtship, but a carefully integrated scheme linking individual sonnets in the *Amoretti* and all the stanzas of the *Epithalamion* in an over-arching unity that includes the church year of 1594, the years of Spenser's life, and poetically accurate allusions to the day of Spenser's marriage.

#### COLIN CLOUTS COME HOME AGAINE (1595)

30. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Colin Clouts come home againe. By Ed. Spencer.* London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1595. Rare Books (Ex 3940.325.1595 c.3), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

*Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* is Spenser's longest sustained effort at pastoral since his initial effort in *The Shepheardes Calender*, in which he again refers to himself as Colin Clout, as he would yet again in the final cantos of the sixth book of *The Faerie Queene*. Since the poem is



Title page, *Colin Clouts come home againe*. London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, 1595. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

Photo: Don Breza

dated "From my house of Kilcolman, the 27. of December, 1591," it is clear that the poem was written after his journey to London in October, 1589, where he had the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* registered on 1 December and presented at court through the auspices of Sir Walter Ralegh. As William Oram, the poem's latest editor, suggests, it is not clear whether "home" means the court of Elizabeth or the Ireland to which Spenser has returned.

The poem describes, again in a numerically symbolic manner, the lords and ladies of the court; those friendly to Spenser are mentioned under the guise of allegorical and pastoral names. Spenser in the role of Colin Clout may be at home again, but his heart still seems to be at court.

#### *FOWRE HYMNES* (1596)

31. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Fowre hymnes, made by Edm. Spenser*. London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1596. Rare Books (Ex 3940.336.1596), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

The fact that Spenser should write any hymns and publish them as poems should alert us to the fact that Spenser is up to his old trick of catching out his reader by expressing common prejudices to entrap the reader in his own fatuity. He adopted this trick from Ariosto and used it in those incredibly disingenuous stanzas that introduce many of the cantos of *The Faerie Queene*. *Caveat lector*. The symmetry Spenser sets up among these four hymns, two of Love and Beauty, two of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, are a "set-up" for the reader to call into action the putative dichotomy between physical and spiritual love. In fact, he even invents a myth for entrapping his reader by involving the two noble ladies to whom he dedicates his poem. Let us ignore the fact that he has not got right the name of one of these daughters of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, the "right honorable and most vertuous Ladies, the Ladie Margaret Countesse of Cumberland, and the Ladie Marie [Anne] Countesse of Warwick."

Anne was married to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, brother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Spenser's early benefactor. Margaret was married to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and was the mother of Ann Clifford, who was responsible for the monument to Spenser in Westminster Abbey.



# Fowre Hymnes,

MADE BY  
EDM. SPENSER.



LONDON,  
Printed for VVilliam Ponsonby.  
1596.

Title page, *Fowre Hymnes*. London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1596. Rare Books, Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

Photo: Don Breza

There is no evidence of a printed version of the first two hymns, and therefore any objections voiced by either of the two dedicatees must have been to manuscript copies of either early versions of the first two hymns or to those hymns as we have them today. We incline to the latter possibility and tend to discount Spenser's puffery about those lascivious young readers "too vehemently carried with that kind of affection, [who] do rather sucke out poyson to their strong passion, then hony to their honest delight." This is perhaps the first time that the Neoplatonic theory of love and beauty has been charged with producing more heat than light. Furthermore, even if Anne did not mind being called "Marie" in print, would they not both have minded being pointed out as "the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true love and beautie, both in the one and the other kinde . . ."? As to Spenser's "retractions," Mary I. Oates has recently suggested that "reshaping" rather than "recanting" is closer to Spenser's meaning. The *Fowre Hymnes* define the limits of love in a fallen but Grace-filled world.

Mr. Osgood's copy has the "d" supplied in pen by the printer at the time of printing on page 4, line 13: "Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre."

## PROTHALAMION (1596)

32. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Prothalamion; or, A sposall verse made by Edm. Spenser in honour of the double mariage of the two honorable & vertuous ladies, the ladie Elizabeth and the ladie Katherine Somersel, daughters to the Right Honourable the Earle of Worcester and espoused to the two worthie gentlemen M. Henry Gilford, and M. William Peter Esquyers.* At London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1596. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

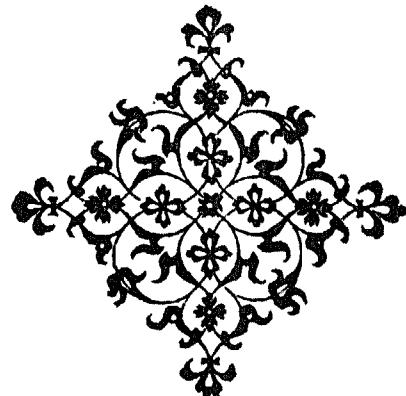
The double marriage celebrated in this last published poem of Spenser's lifetime took place at Essex House in the Strand in London on 8 November 1596. The title, invented by Spenser from the Greek for "before the bridal chamber," indicates that the poem is celebrating a betrothal ceremony put on by the great national hero, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, just returned from his great victory in Spain. It should be recalled that Essex's widowed mother had married Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and that Essex was both

# Prothalamion

*Or*

## A Spousall Verse made by Edm. Spenser.

### IN HONOVR OF THE DOV. ble mariage of the two Honorable & vertuous *Ladies, the Ladie Elizabeth and the Ladie Katherine Somerset, Daughters to the Right Honourable the Earle of Worcester and espoused to the two worthie Gentlemen M. Henry Gilford, and M. William Peter Esquyers.*



AT LONDON.  
Printed for William Ponsonby,  
1596.

Title page, *Prothalamion; or, A Spousall Verse*. London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1596. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

Photo: Don Breza

brother to Penelope Devereux Rich, Sidney's Stella, and husband to Sidney's widow. Essex House had once been Leicester House; the Countess of Essex had once been Lady Sidney. Leicester, once the Queen's favorite, was now dead, and in his place and in his house was Essex, "Great Englands glory" (line 146). Spenser was dead before that glory was extinguished in 1601, barely five years later.

Into this scenario come the two daughters of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester: Elizabeth to be married to Henry Guildford, and Katherine to William Petre, and, although not part of this story, the ancestor of the peer who raped the lock of Mrs. Arabella Fermor. So much has been written lately by way of complaint about Spenser's inclusion of himself in what is essentially a ceremonial masque of celebration that we fragment Spenser the civil servant and Spenser the poet. We believe that there is no "dissociation of sensibility" in this poem. T. S. Eliot was not the first to see a disparity between the world in which he lived and the world in which he believed. "Sweet Themmes runne softly, till I end my Song."

#### COMMENDATORY SONNETS

Spenser did not write many commendatory poems. There is the early sonnet in Gabriel Harvey's *Fowre Letters, and Certaine Sonnets* (1592), part of the Robert Greene-Thomas Nashe-Gabriel Harvey controversy. Spenser's sonnet is dated 18 July 1586, which means that Harvey in his scholarly mode saved the sonnet until he saw fit to publish his diatribe.

The other three sonnets were published between 1595 and 1599. The first appeared in *Nennio; or, A Treatise of Nobility* by John Baptista Nenna of Bari, translated by William Jones (1595). Spenser's poem was accompanied by sonnets of Samuel Daniel, George Chapman, and Angel Day. The second was published in 1596 by Ponsonbie and prefixed to *The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie*. The third was prefixed to Lewes Lewkenor's translation of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1599).

Professor Osgood has a very interesting story of its discovery in the *Variorum Prose Works* (page 508): "Spenserians have taken little or no notice of this gratifying contribution to Spenserian scholarship from Dr. Johnson. Johnson had received a presentation copy of Warton's *Observations* when it was published in 1754. His fine letter of

acknowledgment to Warton is a document in the rise of the study of literary sources which has so usurped the energies of modern scholars. Warton was soon engaged in a more extensive study of Spenser. It was delayed by his academic duties, and Johnson kept urging him on. This became the second enlarged edition of the *Observations* (1762) to which Johnson contributed his discovery of this sonnet, picked up, perhaps, in the course of his reading for the *Dictionary* (1755). Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (1779 – 1781) included no life of Spenser. In 1789 both the King and the publishers of the *Lives* wished him to prepare one, but 'he said Warton had left him little or nothing to do.'

33. NENNA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (16th cent.). *Nennio; or, A treatise of nobility: wherein is discoursed what true nobilitie is, with such qualities as are required in a perfect gentleman. Written in Italian by that famous doctor and worthy knight Sir John Baptista Nenna of Bari. Done into English by William Jones Gent.* [London]: Printed by P. S. for Paule Linley, and Iohn Flasket, and are to be sold at their shop in Paules churchyard, at the signe of the black Beare, 1595. [Published in facsimile by the Israel Universities Press, Jerusalem, 1967]. General Collections (6390.25.671), Princeton University Library.

34. LAVARDIN, JACQUES DE (16th cent.). *The historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie. Containing his famous actes, his noble deeds of armes, and memorable victories against the Turkes, for the faith of Christ. Comprised in twelve bookees. [Translated from the Latin of M. Barlezio] By Iaques de Lavardin . . . Newly translated out of French by Z. Ifones Gentleman.* London: Imprinted for William Ponsonby, 1596. Rare Books (Ex 1688.512.56), Princeton University Library.

35. CONTARINI, GASPARO (1483 – 1542). *The Commonwealth and Gouvernement of Venice. Written by the Cardinall Gasper Contareno, and translated out of Italian into English, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquire.* London: Imprinted by Iohn Windet for Edmund Mattes, and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the Hand and Plow in Fleetstreet, 1599. Rare Books (Ex 7570.01.863.11), Princeton University Library. Funded by the Elizabeth Foundation.

#### THREE PROPER, AND WITTIE, FAMILIAR LETTERS (1580)

36. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters, lately passed betwene two vniuersitie men.* London: Printed for H. Bynneman,

1580. Lent by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.

It is difficult to decide whether these letters should belong to the category of works of Spenser or works of Harvey. The genre of this work has never been identified. It is neither the *epistole* of the classical tradition, nor the *familiares* mode of Petrarch. The letters are clearly intended to be very sophisticated, *au courant*, and addressing an audience that wants to hear about their conversational letters, but this audience has never been identified. In some ways the letters seem a cross between the *New Yorker* "Talk of the Town" (*multum in parvo*) and letters to the editor of the *New York Review of Books*. There is a sense of familiarity with the establishment along with a secrecy of identity only partly concealed: Spenser, hiding himself under his sobriquet of "Immerito" but addressing his first letter from "Leycester House. This .5 of October .1579"; Harvey being addressed only by initials G.H. but with the additional identification of "Fellow of Trinitie Hall in Cambridge." Their most explicit identification of each other is "Vniuersitie men," and their announced topics are "The Earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed Versifying." Earthquakes and classical versification do not find themselves together too often even in sixteenth-century versions of the *New Yorker*, but we should remind ourselves that the earthquake occurred on 6 April 1580, and that the date was in the past associated with the creation and fall of man and was also the date on which Petrarch claims he first saw Laura and the date on which she died. We are suggesting that the *Letters* may be much more sophisticated than we presently think and that they may not be the self-serving uses of publication for Spenser and Harvey that we have been taught to believe.

#### A VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND (1633)

37. SPENSER, EDMUND. *A view of the state of Ireland, written dialogue-wise betweene Eudoxus and Irenæus, by Edmund Spenser Esq. in the yeare 1596.* Dublin: Printed by the Society of Stationers, M.DC.XXXIII. [1633]. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

Spenser's controversial views of the state of Ireland have elicited much attention in recent years. He was soundly chastized by C. S.

Lewis in his role as Ulsterman, and the views expressed in *A View* are used to explain what Lewis and many later critics feel to be the failure of Spenser's treatment of justice in Book V and the general weakness of the conclusion of the poem — with the universal exception of the vision of the Graces on Mount Acidale.

One cannot defend Spenser as a sympathetic friend of the Irish, but then few of us have had our houses destroyed as did Spenser. That he saw the Irish as the enemy to be subdued and brought to a clarity of vision that was his — and England's — is a story that has not been settled even as we write.

The dialogue form of *A View* takes it out of the realm of civil-servant reports. The fact that Mathew Lownes' request in 1598 to print the tract was held up by the Stationers' Company "vpon Condicion that hee gett further auctoritie before yt be pryned" presents possibilities that Spenser's views were either too conservative or too radical. Lownes may not have gotten the further authority, or may not have prosecuted his claim. Johnson informs us that there are many manuscripts of the dialogue. The manuscript that Lownes submitted to the Stationers' Company is now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawlinson B.478). Dr. Christopher Ridgway, Librarian for Castle Howard, has recently discovered another manuscript copy, presented to James I, ca. 1608, and is studying its provenance. The presentation to a reigning monarch of a manuscript by a deceased civil servant ten years after the initial request to the Stationers' Company in the reign of the previous monarch seems to indicate a currency for Spenser's dialogue in the seventeenth century that justifies much more study of what Spenser says in that dialogue and, more importantly, what he means in his strict observance of the Irish Problem.

Only in 1633 was the dialogue printed by Sir James Ware (1594 – 1666) from a manuscript found in the library of Archbishop Ussher, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS. E.3.26). According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Ware was one of the most important collectors of Irish manuscripts and may, in fact, be responsible for much of what we know about ancient Ireland today. He was early encouraged by Ussher to pursue his Irish interests, and in his later life when he was living in London, he became friends with John Selden and Elias Ashmole. His obvious antiquarian interests make it seem highly improbable that *A View* was published in 1633 only in deference to Burghley's son, the Earl of Salisbury, who died

in 1632. Such political decorum does not wash with antiquarianism, especially that which is published in Dublin.

38. WARE, SIR JAMES (1594 – 1666). *The historie of Ireland, collected by three learned authors, viz., Meredith Hanmer, Doctor in Divinitie: Edmund Campion, sometime Fellow of St Johns Colledge in Oxford: and Edmund Spenser, Esq.* Dublin: Printed by the Societie of Stationers, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie, 1633. Rare Books (Ex 1472.956), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland* was published separately or along with one or two other treatises on Ireland as shown in the copies on display. The first was by Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J. and martyr, and the second by Meredith Hanmer, Doctor of Divinity; and the combination of these two authors, along with Spenser, shows an eclecticism, indeed ecumenicism, on the part of Ware, that requires a little story.

Edmund Campion (1540 – 1581) was a poor Londoner of such intellectual talents evident early in his career that the Guild of Grocers sent him to school and thence on to St. John's College, Oxford, where his skill as an orator was so great that he was considered the "second Cicero." Unfortunately for Campion's talents, he also had strong papist leanings at a time when the Elizabethan church was trying to find the *via media* for which it has been so highly praised. Because of the difficulties of his finding preferment within the English church, he went to Ireland in 1569 with the hope that he might find a permanent place in the reinstitution of the University of Dublin, founded in the thirteenth century by Pope John XXI. This attempt, prompted mainly by James Stanihurst and Sir Henry Sidney, father of the poet and predecessor of Lord Grey de Wilton, failed, and Campion found himself hounded back to England and thence to Douai, where he determined to become a priest. He was ordained as a priest by the Archbishop of Prague in 1578. It was decided by the Jesuits that Campion and Father Robert Parsons (1546 – 1610) should be sent back to England on the "English Mission" of confirming the remaining English papists in their faith. Campion's main task was to write a pamphlet expounding his views. *Decem Rationes*, finished about Easter 1581, was sent up to London for the approval of Parsons, who printed it on his

secret press. The book, intended to be ready for the commencement at Oxford in June, was found scattered around the pews of St. Mary's Church on that very occasion. The dissemination of the *Decem Rationes* caused an increased anxiety about the presence of this Jesuit influence in England, and on 17 July 1581 Campion was captured, brought to trial, convicted, and was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn on 1 December 1581. He was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1886.

Meredith Hanmer, D.D. (1543 – 1604), born at Porkington, Shropshire, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and ordained in the Church of England. He was vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from 1581 to 1592, where he became notorious for removing all the brasses from the church and converting them into coin. After a somewhat spotted career he removed to Ireland in 1591 where he took up his main task as a historian, writing the *Chronicle of Ireland*, published by Ware in 1633, as well as translations of the early church historians Eusebius, Socrates, and Evagrius, which went through many editions up to the eighteenth century. For our purposes he was also author of two pamphlets in reply to Campion's *Decem Rationes: The Great Bragge and Challenge of M. Champion [Campion], a Jesuite . . . answered by Meredith Hanmer* (1581), and *The Jesuites Banner . . . With a Confutation of a late Pamphlet . . . entitled A Brief Censure upon two Books written in Answer to M. Champion's Offer of Disputation . . .* (1581).

Ware's combination of both Campion and Hanmer in one volume apparently so irritated Matthew Manwaring, Hanmer's son-in-law, that a new title page was added in which Hanmer took pride of place, as in the copy shown. The question need not be decided merely in terms of religious affiliation. Hanmer's eminence as a historian in the later period of his life and the many editions of his work probably did entitle him to first place. It should be pointed out, however, that Campion's *Historie of Ireland* had already been published as part of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587).

#### AXIOCHUS (1592)

39. PLATO. *Axiochus. A most excellent dialogue, written in Greeke by Plato the Phylosopher: concerning the shortnesse and uncertainty of this life, with the contrary ends of the good and wicked. Translated out of Greeke by Edw. Spenser. Heereto is annexed a sweet speech or oration, spoken at the tryumphre at White-hall before her Maiestie, by the page to the right noble Earle of Ox-*

*enforde.* At London: Printed for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be sold at the middle shop in the Poultry, vnder S. Mildreds Church, Anno 1592. Lent by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.

The most precarious item in the Spenser canon is his translation of the even more precarious Platonic dialogue, *Axiochus*, which first appeared in 1592. The work was printed by Cuthbert Burbie, who also published John Lyly's *Mother Bombie*, Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, and the quartos of *Love's Labours Lost* and *Romeo and Juliet*. The first connection in writing of this "Edw. Spenser" with Edmund Spenser occurs in 1744 in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* of Thomas Osborne. From then on through the nineteenth century there are references to the work, for the most part crediting it to Spenser, but no copy of the work came to light until 1931 when W. Heffer and Sons offered a copy of the 1679 Folio in which the 12mo format of the work had been made up for by having each leaf of the work inlaid to folio size. The work was bought by Frederick Morgan Padelford, one of the editors of the *Spenser Variorum*, who brought out a small edition of the work in 1934.

The substance of this dialogue is particularly appropriate for the man who wrote the *Mutabilitie Cantos*, but sixty years after the discovery of a copy of the *Axiochus* we have no more information to ascertain that Edmund Spenser translated this dialogue in 1592, or why he did it.

#### SIR WALTER RALEGH

Raleigh was as spendthrift of his poetry as he was of his life. In spite of the small size of the corpus, it is astonishing that the first person to collect his poems was Thomas Birch in 1751. His poems are to be sought as commendatory verses in the works of others, in manuscript collections, in miscellanies such as *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), *Englands Helicon* (1600), and *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602). His longest poem, *The Oceans Love to Cynthia*, we know only as fragments of the eleventh and twelfth books, preserved in the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House.

The other items displayed show Raleigh's many talents as a writer of prose. His account of his trip to Guiana, evocative and descriptive entrepreneurship of a very high order, was intended to catch the imaginations and gaming interests of a nation and a queen, but Ra-

legh had to wait until the reign of James before he could open up the possibilities of such imaginative and possibly lucrative ventures.

*The Prerogative of Parlaments in England*, written in his last years in the Tower of London and first published in 1628, is instruction to James from his prisoner, for such seemed Ralegh's métier. His *Instructions to His Son*, of which we show a first edition from 1632, treats son as he treated imprisoning monarch. Ralegh always knows best.

The last exhibit is his monumental *The History of the World* (1614). Like all histories of the world, it was never finished, but it gives us a penetrating view of the intellectual power of this remarkable younger son who achieved more than most of us could begin to conceive.

40. RALEGH, SIR WALTER (1552? – 1618). *The works of Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt., political, commercial, and philosophical, together with his letters and poems. The whole never before collected together, and some never yet printed. To which is prefix'd, a new account of his life by Tho. Birch. M.A.F.R.S.* London: Printed for R. Dodsley, at Tully's Head in Pall-mall, MDCCLI [1751]. Rare Books (Ex PR2334.xA1 1751), Princeton University Library. Gift of Hamilton Cottier, Class of 1922.

41. RALEGH, SIR WALTER. *The discouerie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) and of the prouinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other countries, with their riuers, adioyning. Performed in the yeare 1595. by Sir W. Ralegh Knight, Captaine of Her Maiesties Guard, Lo. Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornwall.* Imprinted at London: by Robert Robinson, 1596. Princeton University Library. The Grenville Kane Collection.

42. RALEGH, SIR WALTER. *The prerogative of parlaments in England: proued in a dialogue (pro & contra) betweene a councellour of state and a justice of peace. Written by the worthy (much lacked and lamented) Sir W. R. Kt. deceased. Dedicated to the Kings Maiesty, and to the House of Parliament now assembled. Preserued to be now happily (in these distracted times) published, and Printed at Hamburg [i.e. London: T. Cotes], 1628.* Rare Books (Ex JN534.1628.xR2), Princeton University Library. Gift of Hamilton Cottier, Class of 1922.

43. RALEGH, SIR WALTER. *Sir Walter Raleighs Instructions to his sonne and to posterity.* London: Printed for Beniamin Fisher, dwelling in Aldersgate-street at the Talbot, 1632. Rare Books (Ex BJ1671.xR33 1632s), Princeton University Library. Gift of Hamilton Cottier, Class of 1922.

44. RALEGH, SIR WALTER. *The history of the world.* At London: Printed for Walter Burre, 1614. Rare Books (Ex 29551.745q c.1), Princeton University Library. Gift of Hamilton Cottier, Class of 1922.

#### THE SIDNEY FAMILY

Although Spenser's earliest recognition of the Sidney family is his dedication of *The Shephearde's Calender* to Sir Philip, there are earlier connections: Sir Henry Sidney had been Governor of Ireland before Lord Grey de Wilton took over the command in 1580, and Spenser is known to have had connections with the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip's uncle. We have learned to distrust the shaky evidence about a group called the Areopagus, in which Sir Philip and Edward Dyer were "members" if we take literally Spenser's remarks in his letter to Harvey. Spenser's genuine acquaintance with Sir Philip has been called into question recently by S. K. Heninger, Jr., and it would be pointless at this stage of our knowledge to suppose a cozy little circle of what we today consider poets confiding wisdoms and fictions to each other. Spenser could have known Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*; the *Arcadia* in the editions of 1590, 1593, and even 1598; and *The Defence of Poesie*, although we have no notion of what he made of Sidney's remarks about *The Shephearde's Calender*. He may even have seen a manuscript copy of Sidney's letter to the queen, advising her against the French marriage. If so, Spenser has left no record.

There can be no question that Sir Philip's literary output places him at the head of the family so far as literary influence on later English literature is concerned. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* makes a significant bow to Sidney's princess from the *Arcadia*, and both the title of Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations* and the names of the young hero and heroine — Pip and Estella — derive from Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet 21:

Your words my friend (right healthful caustics) blame  
My young mind marde, whom *Love* doth windlas so,  
That mine owne writings like bad servants show  
My wits, quicke in vaine thoughts, in vertue lame:  
That *Plato* I read for nought, but if he tame  
Such coltish yeeres, that to my birth I owe  
Nobler desires, least else that friendly foe,  
Great expectation, weare a traine of shame.

The *Arcadia* went through at least fourteen editions, and most of those editions contained also the *Defence* and *Astrophel and Stella*, so that the major works of Sir Philip were available for a very large audience for a very long period of time.

We speak commonly today of the *Old Arcadia* and the *New Arcadia*, which are merely bibliographical shortcut names for the enormously complicated textual history of the various states of Sidney's work. *Old Arcadia* refers to the manuscript Sidney wrote when he went into retirement at Wilton, his sister's house, in consequence of the Queen's displeasure at his *Letter* disparaging the French alliance. This manuscript, much copied, much admired, was not printed until Feuillerat's edition of the complete works was printed in 1912 as the five-book version based on the five-act structure of plays, each of the first four acts being followed by a series of eclogues. Until that time the *Arcadia* was known by the composite texts of 1590 and 1593, which since the Feuillerat edition have been known as the *New Arcadia*. After Sidney completed the *Old Arcadia* he began revising its progressive narrative by interspersing other narratives, reaching midway in the revised third book before his death in 1586. In 1590 William Ponsonbie, who published Spenser's first three books of *The Faerie Queene*, brought out a faulty printing of Sidney's revised text. Tradition has it that the Countess of Pembroke was so offended by the inaccuracies that she and others such as Fulke Greville set about to bring out a folio combining the revised work that Sidney had accomplished before his death together with the last two books of what we now call the *Old Arcadia*, and this composite volume was the *Arcadia* (1593) read until the twentieth century.

The combination of the *Old* and the *New* did not, in fact, make a completed narrative, and this led in subsequent editions of the work to additions by other authors who attempted to bridge the gap between the revised and the old Book III — such as William Alexander, whose addition first appeared in the 1613 edition, and Richard Bellring, who added a sixth book (1628) to the 1627 edition. In 1606 Gervase Markham brought out *The English Arcadia*, which purported to perform the same therapy, but this was never included in any edition of the published editions of Sidney's work.

This was not the case with the works of Sir Philip's sister, Lady Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, nor of his brother Robert, Earl of Leicester, nor of Robert's daughter, Lady Mary Wroth, who are only now coming into prominence as part of the Sidney gal-

axy. The Taylor Collection contains a letter by Sir Henry Sidney, two letters by the Countess of Pembroke, a letter and an indenture of Sir Philip, and one of the few extant copies of Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countesse of Mountgomerie's Urania* (1621).

The *Urania* is Wroth's attempt to rewrite her uncle's *Arcadia* from a woman's perspective. In its printed version it is longer than the *Arcadia* and contains a sonnet sequence, "Pamphilia to Amphilanthus." The Newberry Library, which owns the manuscript of Wroth's long continuation of the *Urania*, is now in the process of publishing it.

45. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP (1554 – 1586). Autograph letter, signed, to William Blount. Frankfurt am Main, March 20, 1573. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

46. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia, written by Sir Philippe Sidnei*. London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, Anno Domini 1590. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

47. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now since the first edition augmented and ended*. London: Printed for William Ponsonbie, Anno Domini 1593. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

48. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same author*. London: Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, Anno Domini 1598. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.122), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Dr. Theodore W. Hunt, Class of 1865.

49. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the fourth time published, with sundry new additions of the same author*. London: Imprinted for Mathew Lownes, Anno Domini 1605. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

50. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the fourth time published, with some new additions*. London: Imprinted by H. L. for Simon Waterson, 1613. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.18), Princeton University Library. Annie Rhodes Gulick and Alexander Reading Gulick Memorial Fund.

51. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the sixth time published, with some new additions*.

*Also a supplement of a defect in the third part of this historie, by Sir W. Alexander.* London: Printed by W. S. for Simon Waterson, 1627. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.123), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Dr. Theodore W. Hunt, Class of 1865.

52. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the seventh time published, with some new additions. With the supplement of a defect in the third part of this history, by Sir W. A. Knight. Whereunto is now added a sixth booke, by R. B. of Lincolnes Inne, Esq.* London: Printed by H. L. and R. Y. and are sold by R. Moore in S. Dunstons Church-yard, 1629. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.121), Princeton University Library.

53. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the eighth time published, with some new additions. With the supplement of a defect in the third part of this history, by Sir W. A. Knight. Whereunto is now added a sixth booke, by R. B. of Lincolnes Inne, Esq.* London: Printed for Simon Waterson and R. Young, Anno 1633. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.19q), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Dr. Theodore W. Hunt, Class of 1865.

54. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the ninth time published, with a twofold supplement of a defect in the third booh: the one by Sr W. A. Knight; the other, by Mr Ja. Johnstoun Scoto-Brit. Dedicated to K. James, and now annexed to this work, for the readers benefit. Whereunto is also added a sixth booke, by R. B. of Lincolnes Inne, Esq.* London: Printed for J. Waterson and R. Young, 1638. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.17), Princeton University Library.

55. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sr Philip Sidney Knight. The tenth edition. With his life and death; a brief table of the principal heads, and som [sic] other new additions.* London: Printed by William Du-Gard, and are to bee sold by George Calvert at the half Moon in the new buildings in Paul's Church-yard, and Thomas Pierrepont at the Sun in Paul's Church-yard, M.DC.LV. [1655]. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.12), Princeton University Library.

56. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sr Philip Sidney Knight. The eleventh edition. With his life and death; a brief table of the principal heads, and som [sic] other new additions.* London: Printed by Henry Lloyd William Du-Gard, and are to bee sold by George Calvert at the half Moon in the new buildings, and Thomas

Pierrepont at the Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCLXII [1662]. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.11), Princeton University Library.

57. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sr Philip Sidney Knight. The thirteenth edition. With his life and death; a brief table of the principal heads, and some other new additions.* London: Printed for George Calvert at the Golden-Ball in Little-Britain, MDCLXXIV [1674]. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.13q c.2), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Cleveland Hoadley Dodge, Class of 1879.

58. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *Arcadia, der Gräfin von Pembroke: vom Herrn Graffen und Rittern Herrn Philippson von Sidney. In englischer Sprach geschrieben, auss derselbigen Frantösisch, vnd auf beyden erstlich teutsch gegeben durch Valentinum Theocritum von Hirschberg: jetzo allenhalben vffs new übersehen vnd gebessert: die Gedichte aber vnd Reymen gantz anderst gemacht vnd übersetzt von dem edlen vnd vesten M. O. V. B.: auch mit schönen Kupfferstücken geziert vnd verlegt von Matthæo Merian.* Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn: in Wolfgang Hoffmans Buchtruckerey, im Jahr nach Christi Geburt M.DC.XXXVIII. [1638]. Rare Books (Ex 3930.9.312.8), Princeton University Library. Goertz von Schlitz Collection.

59. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The defence of poesie.* London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1595. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

60. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. Manuscript indenture signed by Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Henry Sidney, his father, 25 April 1580. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

61. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *A letter written by Sir Philip Sidney, unto Q. Elizabeth, touching her marriage with Mounsieur.* In: *Scrinia Ceciliiana. Mysteries of state & government, in letters of the late famous Lord Burghley, and other grand ministers of state, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James. . . .* London: Printed for G. Bedel and T. Collins, and are to be sold at their shop, at the Middle-Temple-gate in Fleetstreet, 1663. Rare Books (Ex 1443.231.82), Princeton University Library. Gift in memory of Robert Stockton Pyne.

62. SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP. *The Psalms of David translated into divers and sundry kindes of verse, more rare and excellent for the method and varietie than ever yet hath been done in English. Begun by the noble and learned gent.*

*Sir Philip Sidney, Knt., and finished by the Right Honorable the Countess of Pembroke, his sister. Now first printed from a copy of the original manuscript, transcribed by John Davies, of Hereford, in the reign of James the First. [London]: From the Chiswick Press, by C. Whittingham, for Robert Triphook, Old Bond Street, 1823. General Collections (5183.1823), Princeton University Library. Gift of Mrs. George Boker.*

63. MORNAY, PHILIPPE DE (1549 – 1623). *A woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion, written in French: against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels. By Philip of Mornay Lord of Plessie Marlie. Begunne to be translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney Knight, and at his request finished by Arthur Golding.* Imprinted at London: for Thomas Cadman, 1587. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

64. PEMBROKE, MARY SIDNEY HERBERT, COUNTESS OF (1561 – 1621). Autograph letter, signed by both the Countess and the Earl of Pembroke, to the Earl of Essex. 1590s? Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

65. WROTH, LADY MARY (fl. 1621). *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania. Written by the right honorable the Lady Mary Wroath, daughter to the right noble Robert Earle of Leicester, and neece to the ever famous and renowned Sr. Phillips Sidney knight, and to ye most excelēt Lady Mary Countesse of Pembroke late deceased.* London: Printed for Ioh[n] Marriott and John Grismand and are to bee soould at theire shoppes in St. Dunstons Church yard in Fleetstreet and in Poules Ally at ye signe of the Gunn, 1621. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

#### GABRIEL HARVEY

Aside from being a friend of Edmund Spenser, Gabriel Harvey had a rather spectacular life of his own, in which he consistently managed to be on the other side from the winner. After auspicious beginnings, he always lost the election, the appointment, or the public quarrel. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that he had so much time to collect and annotate his own books. Perhaps this also accounts for the picture of Pedantius in Edward Forset's satiric Latin play of 1631, said to have been based on Harvey.

66. WILSON, THOMAS (1525? – 1581). *The arte of rhetorike, for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence, sette foorth in Englishe, by Thomas Wilson,*

1553. And now newlie sette foorth the againe, with a prologue to the reader. Imprinted at London: by Ihon [sic] Kingston, Anno domini 1567. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by the Rosenbach Museum and Library.

67. LIVY. T. LIUII PATAUINI, *Romanæ historiæ principis, Decades tres, cum dimidia; partim Caelii Secundi Curionis industria, partim collatione meliorum codicum iterum diligenter emendatae.* Basileæ: Per Ioannem Heruagium, anno M.D.LV. mense Septembri [1555]. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

68. OLAUS MAGNUS, ARCHBISHOP OF UPPSALA (1490 – 1557). *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus, earumque diuersis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis, ac mineris metallicis, et rebus mirabilibus, nec non vniuersis pené animalibus in Septentrione degentibus, eorumque natura. . . .* Romæ: [s.n.], 1555. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

69. MELANCTHION, PHILIPP (1497 – 1560). *Selectarum declamationum Philippi Melanthonis, quas conscripsit, & partim ipse in schola Vuitebergensi recitauit, partim alijs recitandas exhibuit.* Argentorati [Strasbourg: s.n.], anno M.D.LXIII. [1564]. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

70. MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ (1469 – 1527). *The arte of warre; written in Italian by Nicholas Machiauel; and set foorth in English by Peter Withorne, studēt at Graies Inne: with other like martial feates and experiments; as in a table in the ende of the booke may appeare. Newly imprinted with other additions.* [London: Printed by W. Williamson for J. Wight], M.D.LXXIII. [1573]. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

71. SMITH, SIR THOMAS (1513 – 1577). *De recta & emendata lingua Anglice scriptione, dialogus, Thoma Smitho Equestris ordinis Anglo authore.* Lutetiae [Paris]: Ex officina Roberti Stephani Typographi Regij, M.D.LXVIII. [1568]. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

72. TURLER, JEROME (1550 – 1602). *The trauerler of Jerome Turler, deuided into two bookes. The first conteining a notable discourse of the maner, and order of trauelling ouersea, or into straunge and forrein countreys. The sec-*

ond comprehending an excellent description of the most delicious realme of Naples in Italy. A woorke very pleasaunt for all persons to reade, and right profitable and necessarie unto all such as are minded to traueyll. Imprinted at London: by William How, for Abraham Veale, 1575. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner; presentation copy from Edmund Spenser]. Lent by the Rosenbach Museum and Library.

73. FREIG, JOHANNES THOMAS (1543 – 1583). *Ioan. Thomae Freigii Paratitla, seu, Synopsis pandectarum iuris civilis*. Basileæ: Per Sebastianum Henricpetri, [1583?]. [Gabriel Harvey, former owner]. Lent by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., Class of 1927.

74. HARVEY, GABRIEL (1550? – 1631). *Foure letters and certaine sonnets: especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused: but incidently of diuers excellent persons, and some matters of note. To all courteous mindes, that will vouchsafe the reading*. London: Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, 1592. Lent by the Harvard University Library.

75. NASHE, THOMAS (1567 – 1601). *Have with you to Saffron-walden, or, Gabriell Harueys hunt is vp. Containing a full answere to the eldest sonne of the halter-maker. Or, Nashe his confutation of the sinfull doctor. The mott or posie, instead of Omne tulit punctum: Pacis fiducia nunquam. As much to say, as I sayd I would speake with him*. Printed at London: by Iohn Danter, 1596. Lent by the Harvard University Library.

76. FORSET, EDWARD (1553? – 1630). *Pedantius. Comædia, olim Cantabrig. acta in Coll. Trin. Nunquam antehac typis evulgata*. Londini [London]: Excudebat W. S., impensis Roberti Mylbourne in Cœmeterio Paulino ad insigne canis leporarij, 1631. Rare Books (Ex PR2411.xP43s), Princeton University Library. Edward W. Sheldon, Class of 1879, Memorial Fund.

#### VIRGIL

We have chosen to exhibit only a few of the Virgils in the Morgan Collection, which are cased in the exhibition gallery. There is a late medieval manuscript, and there is the *editio princeps* of 1469, which tells the old story of early printed books trying to look like their manuscript forebears. We also show a typical folio volume with full Renaissance commentary as well as the first illustrated Virgil of 1502, edited by Sebastian Brant, the author of *The Ship of Fools*. The 1542 Antwerp edition of A. Dumaeus is shown because many years ago Henry Gibbon Lotspeich proved that this was the edition of Virgil's

*Culex* that Spenser used for his translation, *Virgil's Gnat*, because only this edition's textual errors will explain the similar errors in Spenser's translation. Although we may call the Dumaeus "Spenser's Virgil," it would be wrong to suppose that his reading of Virgil was confined to this one edition.

77. VIRGIL. *Opera*. Manuscript on vellum. Ferrara, between 1455 and 1470. Manuscripts (Princeton 35), Princeton University Library. Gift of Robert W. Patterson, Class of 1876.

78. VIRGIL. *Opera*. [Rome: Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1469]. Rare Books (VRG 2945.1469q), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Junius S. Morgan, Class of 1888.

79. VIRGIL. *Publij Virgilij marōis opera*. [Strasbourg: Johannes Grieninger, 1502]. Rare Books (VRG 2945.1502.4q c.1), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Junius S. Morgan, Class of 1888.

80. VIRGIL. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera, doctissimis Phil. Melanch. scholiis, & Eobani Hessi annotationib., quinetiam ex Erasmi Chiliad. Adagiis passim adnotatis, illustrata: castigatiusque quam hactenus impressa*. Anuerpiæ [Antwerp]: Antonius Dumæus imprimebat, An. M.D.XLII. [1542]. Rare Books (VRG 2945.1542.2), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Junius S. Morgan, Class of 1888.

81. VIRGIL. *Les eglogues de Virgile, traduites en carme françois, la première par Clement Marot, & les neuf autres par M. Richard le Blâc, dédiés à tres-illustre princesse Ma-Dame Marguerite de Frâce, duchesse de Berri, sœur unique du magnanime roi Héri, deusième de ce nom. A ce est ajoutée par le traducteur une briüe exposition d'aucunes dictions*. A Paris: Par Charles L'Angelier, libraire iuré en l'vniversité de Paris, tenant sa boutique en la grand' salle du Palais au premier pillier, 1555. Rare Books (VRG 2945.325.055 c.1), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Junius S. Morgan, Class of 1888.

#### ARIOSTO AND TASSO

Spenser's immediate predecessors in epic poetry were Ludovico Ariosto (1471 – 1533) and Torquato Tasso (1544 – 1595). Ariosto's great comic poem, *Orlando Furioso*, first appeared in 1516 while Ariosto was in the service of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este at Ferrara. The poem was revised both in 1521 and in 1532. Tasso's epic on Godfrey

of Bouillon's First Crusade victory in freeing Jerusalem, *Gerusalemme liberata*, first appeared in 1581, although a pirated edition called *Il Goffredo* had appeared in 1580.

Both these poems were illustrated lavishly and very early. Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, many of whose books are on exhibit, spent his life tracking down the illustrators and depctors of both these poets. It is of some interest that Sir John Harington's translation of 1591 uses the copper plates from the 1584 edition of Francesco de Franceschi. These copper plates are the work of Girolamo Porro, made to replace the engravings in the Valgrisi editions from 1556 on. How Richard Field acquired these plates we do not know, but the fact that they are from an Italian edition of the poem is demonstrated by the Italian names used to identify the figures in the prints.

82. ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO (1474 – 1533). *Orlando Furioso di M. Lodouico Ariosto. Ornato di nuove figure & allegorie in ciascun canto; aggiuntoui nel fine l'espositione de' luoghi difficili; et emendato secondo l'originale del proprio autore.* In Venetia [Venice]: per Gio. Andrea Valuassori, detto Guadagnino, M.D.LX. [1560]. Rare Books (Ex 3121.368.18), Princeton University Library.

83. ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO. *Orlando Furioso di M. Lodouico Ariosto, tutto ricondotto, et di nuove figure adornato. Con le annotationi, gli auertimenti, & le dichiarationi di Ieronimo Ruscelli. La uita dell'autore descritta dal Signor Giovan Battista Pigna. Gli scontri de' luoghi mutati dall'autore doppo la sua prima impressione. La dichiaratione di tutte le istorie, & fauole toccate nel presente libro, fatta da M. Nicolò Eugenico. Di nuovo aggiuntoui li cinque canti, del medesimo autore. Et una tauola de' principij di tutte le stanze. Con altre cose utili, & necessarie.* In Venetia [Venice]: appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, M.D.LXXXIII. [1573]. Rare Books (Ex 3121.368.11), Princeton University Library. Gift of Alan L. Harris.

84. ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO. *Orlando Furioso di M. Lodouico Ariosto, nuovamente ricondotto; con nuovi argomenti di M. Lodouico Dolce: con la vita dell'autore di M. Simon Fornari: il vocabulario delle voci piu oscure: le imitationi cauate dal Dolce: le nuove allegorie, & annotationi di M. Tomaso Porcacchi: et co' due tauole, una delle cose notabili, et l'altræ de' nomi proprij.* In Venetia [Venice]: appresso Domenico, & Gio. Battista Guerra fratelli, MDLXXVII [1577]. Rare Books (Ex 3121.368.12), Princeton University Library. Funded by the Elizabeth Foundation.

85. ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO. *Orlando Furioso in English heroicall verse, by Iohn Haringtō.* Imprinted at London: by Richard Field dwelling in the Blackfriers by Ludgate, 1591. Rare Books (Ex 3121.368.71), Princeton University Library. Gift of Sinclair Hamilton, Class of 1906.

86. ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO. *Roland furieux, poème héroïque, de l'Arioste. Traduction nouvelle, par M. d'Ussieux.* A Paris: Chez Brunet, Libraire, rue des Écrivains, M.DCC.LXXV.[– M.DCC.LXXXIII.] [1775 – 1783]. Marquand Library (SAX XB86.0002), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, Class of 1920.

87. ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO. *Orlando Furioso, di Lodovico Ariosto.* In Parigi [Paris]: Nella Stamperia di P. Plassan, nella strada del Cimiterio di S. Andrea degli Archi, an IIIe. (1795, v. st.). Marquand Library (SAX XB86.0003 t.2), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, Class of 1920.

88. TASSO, TORQUATO (1544 – 1595). *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or, The re-couerie of Hierusalem. An heroicall poeme written in Italian by Seig. Torquato Tasso, and translated into English by R. C. Esquire: and now the first part containing five cantos, imprinted in both languages.* London: Imprinted by Iohn Windet for Christopher Hunt of Exeter, 1594. Princeton University Library. The Robert H. Taylor Collection.

89. TASSO, TORQUATO. *La Gerusalemme liberata, di Torquato Tasso. Adornata con bellissime figure a ciascun canto.* In Venetia [Venice]: si uende all'insegna della Sapienza, MDCLXXIII [1673]. Marquand Library (SAX XB86.0005), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, Class of 1920.

90. TASSO, TORQUATO. *La Gierusalemme liberata, di Torquato Tasso. Con le figure di Bernardo Castelli. . . .* In Londra [London]: Appresso Giacob Tonson & Giovanni Watts, MDCCXXIV [1724]. Marquand Library (SAX XB86.0004q), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, Class of 1920.

91. TASSO, TORQUATO. *La Gerusalemme liberata, di Torquato Tasso. Con le figure di Giambattista Piazzetta. . . .* In Venezia [Venice]: Stampata da Giambatista Albrizzi q. Girol, MDCCXLV [1745]. Marquand Library (SAX PQ4638.C45f), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, Class of 1920.

92. TASSO, TORQUATO. *La Jérusalem délivrée, traduction nouvelle et en prose, par M. V. Philipon de la Madelaine, augmentée d'une description sur Jérusalem par M. de Lamartine de l'Académie Française; édition illustrée par MM. Baron et C. Nanteuil.* Paris: J. Mallet et Cie., éditeurs, 1844. Marquand Library (SAX XB86.0009), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Rensselaer W. Lee, Class of 1920.

MODERN ILLUSTRATED EDITIONS OF SPENSER

After the amazing artistic fecundity inspired by Ariosto's and Tasso's poems it is something of a disappointment to come to the illustrated editions of Spenser. For a poet who began his career translating poems that accompanied emblematic pictures and who skillfully used crude woodcuts to illustrate his *Shephearde's Calender*, it is surprising that there is only that one woodcut of St. George and the dragon. The later illustrations all seem lacking in vitality or tend to ignore what Spenser's poem tells us. The nineteenth-century illustrations seem to be reading Spenser through the eyes of John Keats, culminating in the luxurious pictures created by Walter Crane. The copy on display was bound by Mrs. Crane.

93. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The works of Mr. Edmund Spenser. In six volumes. With a glossary explaining the old and obscure words. Publish'd by Mr. Hughes.* London: Printed for Jacob Tonson at Shakespear's Head, over against Catherine-street in the Strand, M.DCC.XV. [1715]. Rare Books (Ex 3940.1715), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

94. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shepherd's calendar, containing twelve æglogues, proportionable to the twelve months, by Edmund Spenser, prince of English poets. Entituled to the noble and virtuous gentleman, most worthy of all titles, both of learning and chivalrie, Master Philip Sidney. Calendarium pastorale, sive æglogæ duodecim, totidem anni mensibus accommodatae; Anglice olim scriptæ ab Edmundo Spenser, Anglorum poetarum principe: nunc autem eleganti Latino carmine donatæ a Theodoro Bathurst, Aulæ Pembrochianæ apud Cantabrigienses aliquando socio.* London: Published by John Ball, printed by Will. Bowyer, in the year MDCCXXXII [1732]. Rare Books (Ex 3940.32.12), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

95. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queene. By Edmund Spenser. With an exact collation of the two original editions, published by himself at London in quarto; the former containing the first three books printed in 1590, and the latter the six books in 1596. To which are now added, a new life of the author, and also a glossary. Adorn'd with thirty-two copper-plates, from the original drawings of the late W. Kent, Esq; architect and principal painter to his Majesty.* London: Printed for J. Brindley . . . and S. Wright . . . , M.DCC.LI. [1751]. Rare Books (Ex PR2358.A1 1751q), Princeton University Library. Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.

96. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Spenser's Faerie queene: a poem in six books, with the fragment Mutabilitie.* Edited by Thomas J. Wise. Pictured by Walter Crane. London: Published by George Allen, MDCCXCV – MDCCCXCVII [1895 – 1897]. Rare Books (Ex 3940.332.1895), Princeton University Library. Gift of Robert H. Taylor, Class of 1930.

97. SPENSER, EDMUND. *Prothalamion: Epithalamion. Written by Edmund Spenser.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, MDCCCCII [1902]. Rare Books (Ex 3940.373.11q), Princeton University Library. Gift of Edward Duff Balken, Class of 1897.

98. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The wedding songs of Edmund Spenser: being the Prothalamion & the Epithalamion: printed from the best editions, with wood-cuts by Ethelbert White.* Waltham Saint Lawrence, Berkshire: Golden Cockerel Press, mcmxxij [1923]. Rare Books (Ex 3940.373.1923), Princeton University Library. Bequest of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

99. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The shephearde's calender: conteyning twelve æglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes: entituled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and chevalrie, Maister Philip Sidney.* London: The Cresset Press, Limited, MCMXXX [1930]. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library. Gift of Professor Charles Grosvenor Osgood.

100. SPENSER, EDMUND. *The faerie queene, disposed into twelve bookes fashioning XII morall vertues. With an introduction by John Hayward, decorations drawn by John Austen, and illustrations engraved in wood by Agnes Miller Parker.* Oxford: Printed for the members of the Limited Editions Club at the University Press, 1953. Lent by John Delaney.