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## "STRANGE SIMILES": THE FAERIE OUEENE AND RENAISSANCE NATURAL HISTORY

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“STRANGE SIMILES”:  
THE FAERIE QUEENE AND RENAISSANCE NATURAL HISTORY

(Spine title: The Faerie Queene and Renaissance Natural History)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Sean Gordon Henry

Graduate Programme  
in  
English

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACT AND KEYWORDS

Animals appear in every canto of every book of The Faerie Queene. This dissertation seeks to accentuate the strangeness of Spenser's animals as well as to counter it. By placing Spenser's epic in dialogue with early modern natural history, with which it shares a constant didacticism, I argue that the strangeness of his animals must first be recognized and then remedied by learning what was "meant" by those animals in the culture Spenser inhabited and helped make. Chapter One proposes ways in which Spenser, inhabiting a particular cultural time, place, and position, could have learned natural history as part of his formal education. Chapter Two argues for the centrality of exemplary symbolism in the presiding attitudes towards animals held during Spenser's lifetime and how the practices and products of natural history embody these attitudes. Chapters Three and Four engage directly with two representative animals from Spenser's poem, the lion and the crocodile, showing that animals are not merely imaginative conveniences but instead are complex, culturally encoded signifiers. The thesis also includes an appended compendium of all the animals of The Faerie Queene.

**Keywords:** Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, Amoretti, Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberds Tale, Visions of the Worlds Vanitie, animals in literature, natural history, history of natural history, emblematics, symbolism, animals, Edward Topsell, The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes, The Historie of Serpents, John Maplet, A Greene Forest, Stephen Batman, Batman uppon Bartholome, humanism, education, Renaissance science, lions, crocodiles.

Si promissa facit sapientem barba, quid obstat  
Barbatus possit quin caper esse Plato?

[If a long beard makes a philosopher, what's stopping a bearded  
goat from being a Plato?]

- Sir Thomas More, "Epigram 138" (68)

In that country the animals  
have the faces of people

- Margaret Atwood, "The Animals in that  
Country" (1-2)

For my Dad, Eric Henry, Jr.  
(1942-97)

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For my wife, Kaya Fraser: my thanks. To strike a note both academic and natural historical, in the immortal words of Groucho Marx, as Professor Quincy Adams Wagstaff idling along in a canoe in Horse Feathers (1932),

Take a pair of rabbits who get stuck on each other and begin to woo,  
And pretty soon you'll find a million more rabbits who say I love you!  
When a lion gets feeling frisky and begins to roar,  
There's another lion who knows just what he's roaring for!  
Everything that ever grew--  
The goose and the gander and the gosling too;  
The duck upon the water when he feels that way too says---

You get the idea, Kaya. Although at times the past five years may have been something of a curate's egg--good in parts--I hope you have relished the better parts as much as I.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- FQ Spenser, Edmund. The Faerie Queene. Ed. A. C. Hamilton. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2001.
- HFFB Topsell, Edward. The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes. London, 1607. Facsimile reprint. The English Experience, no. 561. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973.
- HS Topsell, Edward. The Historie of Serpents. London, 1608. Facsimile reprint. The English Experience, no. 562. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973.
- MHT Spenser, Edmund. Prosopopoiia, or Mother Hubberds Tale. The Shorter Poems. Ed. Richard McCabe. London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1999. 233-71.
- Var Spenser, Edmund. The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition. Ed. Edwin Greenlaw et al. 9 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1932-57.

All biblical quotations come from the Geneva version of 1560, with the exception of the Psalms, which are quoted from the Psalter of 1580 derived from the Great Bible (as appointed by the crown during Spenser's lifetime). All Shakespearean quotations come from the 2005 Oxford complete works. Wherever possible, foreign-language sources are quoted in the original with parallel English translations; translations without citations are my own, and I wish to thank Kaya Fraser and Mario Longtin for their assistance with French material. When using texts employing them, I have maintained i/j and u/v printing conventions, but have expanded tildes and abbreviations for "which," "the," and so on (marked with square brackets). I have, however, silently expanded contractions and normalized v/u conventions in some of the Latin quotations. Unless otherwise identified in the thesis, the place of publication for early modern primary texts is London.

## INTRODUCTION

### “Strange Similes”

So huge their numbers, and so numberlesse their nation.  
- Edmund Spenser (FQ 4.12.1.9)

Readers of this dissertation may be surprised that I have drawn part of its title from the works of Philip Sidney, rather than those of Edmund Spenser, the chief subject of my study. The words “strange similes,” which I take as a kind of emblem for the thesis, come from Sonnet 3 of Sidney’s Astrophil and Stella (1591), where the speaker unflatteringly compares the mannered second- or third-hand protestations of love coming from other poets to the direct inspiration he draws from Stella’s face:

Let daintie wits crie on the Sisters nine,  
That bravely maskt, their fancies may be told:  
Or *Pindare’s* Apes, flaunt they in phrases fine,  
Enaml’ing with pied flowers their thoughts of gold:  
Or else let them in statelier glorie shine,  
Ennobling new found Tropes with problemes old:  
Or with strange similes enrich each line,  
Of herbes or beastes, which *Inde* or *Afrike* hold. (3.1-8)

In the context of the poem, the speaker creates a satiric contrast between himself and those poets who must lard their lines with novel phrases or imagery. But in doing so, Sidney also criticizes a poetic practice he saw as common among his contemporaries: the overuse of figures drawn from the natural world. “All herbarists, stories of beasts, fowls and fishes,” Sidney disapprovingly observes in his An Apology for Poetry, “are rifled up...to wait upon our [poetic] conceits” (139). Although Sidney’s comment about “strange similes” was doubtlessly intended as a critique of the rhetorical excesses generated by the fashion for euphuism, the remark also suggests the way in which modern readers should approach the use of animal imagery and figures in The Faerie Queene.

The Faerie Queene is, in part at least, a poem about animals, whether Spenser intended it to be so or not. In his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh appended to the 1590 edition of The Faerie Queene, Spenser attempts to explain to his friend “the whole intention in the course of [the] worke”--what, in short, the poem is about:

The generall end...of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline: Which for that I conceiued

shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historicall fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, then for profite of the ensample. (714-15)

Spenser states that he has chosen the history of King Arthur as the “historicall fiction” with which he has “coloured” the general didactic end of his poem. Spenser invokes this subject in the proem to Book 1: he claims “Knights and Ladies gentle deeds” as his subject matter, and states that “Fierce warres and faithfull loues shall moralize my song” (1 Pr.1.5, 9). The world of his poem, Spenser claims, is the human world. What Spenser does not mention, however, in stating his subject matter or his purpose for the poem is the place of animals within The Faerie Queene and their centrality in helping to “moralize” his “song.”

In spite of this lack of acknowledgement on Spenser’s part, “animals abound” in his poem, as Madeleine Pelner Cosman observes (85). In fact, as James Whaler remarked in 1932, “Spenser’s lavish use of animals...is enough to make them associative of romantic pageantry” (540). Whether in imagery, similes, or metaphors, or as specific creatures with which the human characters of the poem interact, animals appear in every canto of every book of The Faerie Queene. Spenser is not unusual in his heavy use of animal imagery; comparisons between human beings and animals in early modern literature are such a commonplace as to be almost unnoticeable. But this near invisibility is precisely the danger to which Sidney’s remark about “strange similes” should alert modern readers. Rather than disappearing into unnoticeable commonplaces, Spenser’s animals should be acknowledged, and indeed critically rendered, as “strange” to readers who are estranged from the meaning Spenser gives them because of the shift in assumptions, attitudes, and knowledge concerning animals since the sixteenth century. Furthermore, in The Faerie Queene, the variety and number of animals are striking: including such generic terms as “bird” and gendered terms like “panther” and “pardal,” there are some 182 different animals in the poem, from “adder” to “ziffius.”<sup>1</sup> By far the

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<sup>1</sup> This count includes different breeds of dogs, as well as a small number of characters and mythological figures who straddle the human/animal divide (such as Pasiphae and Satyrane). In calculating this number, I have deliberately avoided such taxonomic considerations as species. My justification is in part the difficulty of having no scientific nomenclature for creatures like mermen, the Blatant Beast, or griffins, and in part a sense of the anachronism of applying modern zoological expectations to a group of animals, birds, and fishes assembled by someone in the sixteenth century without this particular systematic understanding of the natural world.

largest number of Spenser's images and figures are drawn from animals, and their sheer numbers attest to the omnipresence of animals in the imaginative life of Edmund Spenser.

The presence of this menagerie in The Faerie Queene demands critical attention in a way that acknowledges what might be called Spenser's cumulative hermeneutics.<sup>2</sup> His use of animals does not depend upon a one-to-one correlation of meaning between one particular animal and one particular signification; lions are not just regal, nor dogs only loyal, for example. Instead, I argue that Spenser allows multiple, sometimes contradictory meanings to accumulate in his animals, forcing a cumulative reading practice upon his readers when interpreting the significance of those animals. The Faerie Queene is an encyclopaedic poem. "Even within its incomplete state," Jon A. Quitslund remarks, the poem

enfolds in its capacious fiction not only the great and varied repertoire of literary materials and ornaments we would expect from the "poet's poet," but symbols and discourse in which lore of all the other arts pertinent to "self-fashioning" is reduced to poetic form. (61)

Quitslund's tally of the arts pertinent to Spenser's general end for his poem must include many areas of early modern inquiry that would now normally be considered "sciences" rather than "arts," including natural history. Spenser's cumulative hermeneutics concerning animals crosses disciplinary bounds, requiring the reader to mediate meaning from a complexity of information.

Modern readers are estranged from Spenser's understanding of animals, though too often the extent of the estrangement goes unrecognized when reading The Faerie Queene and his other verse. So much of the meaning Spenser and his contemporaries attached to animals has been lost through the tectonic shifts that have taken place since the sixteenth century in concepts of what animals are to human beings. This dissertation seeks to accentuate the strangeness of Spenser's animals as well as to counter it. By placing Spenser's epic in dialogue with early modern natural history, I argue that the strangeness of his animals must first be recognized and then remedied by learning what was "meant" by those animals in the culture Spenser inhabited and helped make.

Inasmuch as animals were so often mirrors for human hopes, fears, ambitions, and desires, these "strange similes" offer a glimpse into the real and imagined lives of "the

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<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to James Purkis for this useful term.

strange Elizabethans,” to borrow Virginia Woolf’s evocative phrase, even when other material records of their lives have perished (9).

Although I shall make reference to Spenser’s other poems, as well as the works of other authors of the period, I regard The Faerie Queene as the central concern of my study and the base text to which all else returns. The works of Edward Topsell, John Maplet, and Stephen Batman<sup>3</sup> are my principal sources for natural history. I have chosen to employ natural history in this comparison for three reasons. Practically speaking, the works of the natural historians are a useful concentrated body of Renaissance thought about animals, documenting not only what was known and what was thought to be important or noteworthy about specific animals, but also the larger philosophical and social assumptions behind the compilation of such knowledge. Second, this period saw the development of natural history as a discipline. As an emerging discourse, natural history is as much a product of the cultural context of Spenser’s Europe as The Faerie Queene itself. Natural history was a creation of the humanists and of humanism’s influence upon educational reform from the late fifteenth and through the sixteenth centuries. Of course, before the Renaissance, people studied plants and animals, but only by the middle of the sixteenth century did students of nature come to regard themselves as practitioners of a discipline distinct from medicine or natural philosophy. Third, Spenser’s epic is linked to the works of the natural historians by a shared encyclopaedism, a shared cumulative hermeneutic practice, and a shared sense of moral didacticism.

Natural history emerged out of the cultural context of the sixteenth century; so, also, did The Faerie Queene. Between them, as products of the same cultural milieu, the poem and the works of Renaissance natural historians represent certain early modern assumptions about the natural world. When read in conjunction with early modern natural history, Spenser’s references to animals within his poem reveal some of the significance their numbers suggest. What kind of significance that is approaches a number of fundamental concepts concerning the purpose and efficacy of imagery and figures. Of course, a simile is effective only when the reader pays attention to the comparison being

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<sup>3</sup> He is sometimes referred to as “Bateman” in modern criticism, but both the STC and his own works prefer “Batman.”

made, however long or short the reference may be. Through placing Spenser's references to animals in the context of the natural historical knowledge contemporary to The Faerie Queene, I offer a means to counter the temptation to gloss over such references or to dismiss them as irrelevant mannerism. Rather than simply being ornaments, Spenser's animal similes have a purpose and meaning inherent to the poem. My approach will highlight some of the possible meanings for the animals available to Spenser---meanings obscured either by the rush to gloss over similes, or by the fundamental "strangeness" of the knowledge and perception of animals held by Spenser and his contemporaries to modern readers of his verse.

Spenser's animal references convey more than just commentary on the narrative of his poem. The comparative nature of similes is such that the comparison goes both ways: for example, if two knights fighting, as in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut illustrating a jousting match (Figure 1), are "like unto" two rams butting heads in competition for the charms of a ewe, then the logic of a simile demands that those two rams are themselves like the two knights. Spenser implies this very point when he describes Redcrosse rushing into battle with Sansfoy:

The knight of the Redcrosse when him he spide,  
 Spurring so hote with rage dispiteous,  
 Gan fairely couch his speare, and towards ride:  
 Soone meete they both, both fell and furious,  
 That daunted with their forces hideous,  
 Their steeds do stagger, and amazed stand,  
 And eke themselues too rudely rigorous,  
 Astonied with the stroke of their owne hand,  
 Do backe rebut, and each to other yeeldeth land.

As when two rams stird with ambitious pride,  
 Fight for the rule of the rich fleeced flocke,  
 Their horned fronts so fierce on either side  
 Do meete, that with the terrour of the shocke  
 Astonied both, stand sencelesse as a blocke,  
 Forgetfull of the hanging victory:  
 So stood these twaine, vnmoued as a rocke,  
 Both staring fierce, and holding idely  
 The broken reliques of their former cruelty. (FQ 1.2.15.1-1.2.16.9)

With this simile, Spenser accumulates corresponding details between narrative subject and simile subject. The immediate comparison between the knights and the rams lies first



Figure 1. Albrecht Dürer, *Duel on Horseback (Jousting Match II)*, woodcut from the Freydal series, c. 1516; rpt. Dürer 525.



in the fury of their respective charges, and second in the dazed astonishment of the combatants. But the comparison is not limited to these attributes. Unlike some other instances when Spenser employs an animal simile to describe a battle--dogs and bulls, lions and tigers--here, both combatants are likened to the same creature (Figure 2). Spenser elides the differences between the human characters in the animal image; whatever physical, moral, or spiritual advantages the reader might expect the Knight of Holiness to possess over a knight sporting the allegorical name "Sansfoy" vanish. The knights simply cancel one another out and are left "amazed," epitomizing the danger in which Redcrosse, straying from Una, finds himself.

Moreover, Spenser reminds his readers of the presence of Duessa watching the fight between Redcrosse and Sansfoy through the ram simile: just as rams "stird with ambitious pride, / Fight for the rule of the rich fleeced flocke," so by inference do human knights. Sansfoy, "pricke with pride / And hope to winne his Ladies hearte that day," charges Redcrosse, who rushes to meet him (1.2.14.6-7). Spenser echoes these terms in the ram simile, making the rams fighting a crude version of Renaissance romance chivalry, and the spectacle of two knights in combat a sophisticated version of brute sexual territoriality. The actions of the knights and the rams are made equivalent, and just as the distinctions between Redcrosse and Sansfoy are elided in the simile, so the distinctions between a pair of rams fighting for breeding supremacy over a flock and two knights engaged in combat for a "Ladies hearte" are blurred.

Seen as a whole, the episode and simile become a confused mess of phallic swords and horns. But early modern natural history affirms this association between violence and breeding in rams: Edward Topsell, in his 1607 The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts, remarks of rams and "their rage in ramming time" that "Great is the rage of these beasts at their copulation, for they fight irefully til one of them haue the victory" (L115v). The rage of rams is "their true and naturall strength" (L115v). In explaining why the rams of his simile fight, Spenser also explains why Redcrosse and Sansfoy fight: rage, sexual aggression, and a desire for dominance in the social hierarchy. But because the distinctions between the human social struggle of the narrative and the animal social struggle of the simile are so blurred through these corresponding details, the fight between Redcrosse and Sansfoy over the favours of Duessa itself becomes a simile for

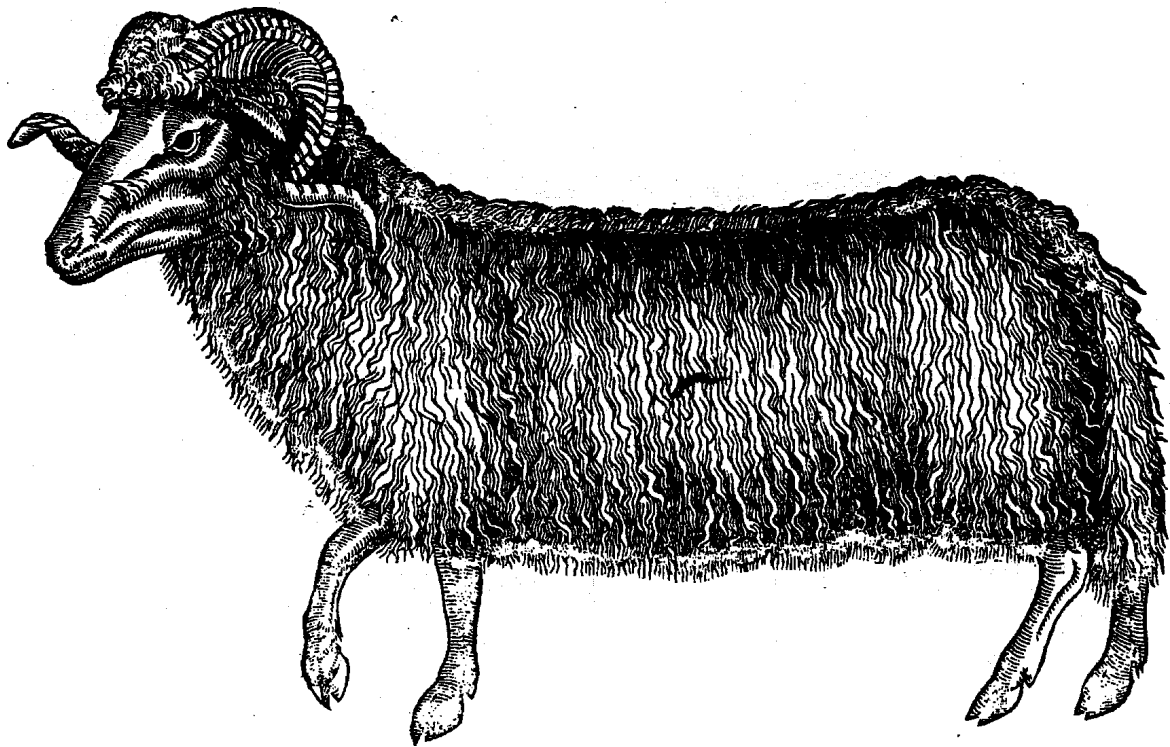


Figure 2. Ram, woodcut from Edward Topsell, The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes (London, 1607) LII4v.



Figure 3. Detail, Albrecht Dürer, Duel on Foot (Jousting Match IV), woodcut from the Freydal series, c. 1516; rpt. Dürer 529.

the combat between the rams, implying not only the bestial nature of the human struggle, but also the presence of a social system and hierarchy among rams and ewes equivalent to the chivalric culture of Faerieland. Spenser's animal similes not only describe the human world in terms of the animal, but also the animal in terms of the human.

Through such similes, Spenser provides textbook examples of Aristotle's definition of metaphoric language in his Poetics as an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars (XXII.17). In the case of Spenser's animal references, as the example of the rams shows, this similarity in dissimilars demonstrates a basic assumption about the possibility of correspondences and congruencies between the animal and human worlds. Spenser is not alone in making such an assumption, of course: in another woodcut illustrating knightly combat, Dürer includes a detail of two birds fighting mid-air, reiterating in the background the human struggle the artist records in the foreground (Figure 3). Authors of poetics take the correspondences between humans and animals for granted. Thomas Wilson, when discussing similitude in The Arte of Rhetorique (1553), singles out the rhetorical function of "brute beastes" as metaphoric figures:

A Similitude is a likenesse when ii thynges, or mo then two, as so co[m]pared and resembled together, that thei bothe in some one propertie seme like. Oftentymes brute beastes, and thynges that haue no life, minister greate matter in this behalfe. Therefore those that delite to proue thynges by similitudes, must learne to knowe the nature of diuerse beastes, of metalles, of stones and al suche, as haue any vertue in them, [and] be applied to mannes life. (Bb4v)

Wilson recommends the study of the natural world for utilitarian and anthropocentric reasons: those who "delite" in the use of similitudes should learn the natures of "diuerse beastes" only so far as the creatures have "vertue" that may "be applied to mannes life." Knowing about animals *per se* does not even occur to Wilson as a possible end. The value of animals depends upon their rhetorical and morally didactic functions for human beings; "Brute beastes minister greate occasion of righte good matter," Wilson muses, "considerynge manye of them haue shewen vnto vs the paternes and ymages of diuers vertues" (Cc2r). In The Arte of English Poesie (1589), George Puttenham observes that just as what he calls a "resemblance by imagerie or pourtrait" (Dd4v) may be drawn from the lessons of human history, "so may it be made by examples of brute beastes, aptly correponding in qualitie or euent" (Ee1v). Human history and natural history both

correspond with present human experience, in other words, by reason of “the paternes and ymages” of conduct such histories illustrate.

The natural historians also possess this sense of congruency between animals and humans. They are products of the same tradition of humanist education as Spenser, often working with similar source materials. During the sixteenth century, natural history was a blend of tradition, exemplarity, and an increasing reliance upon empirical observation. In spite of the growing development of scientific method, a strain of symbolic meaning persisted in attitudes towards the natural world right up until the end of the seventeenth century. In this view, nature is pre-eminently a social construction, perceived to be a mirror of the human world, but in reality defined by the needs of that human world. A whole cultural matrix of mythological, adagial, emblematic, Aesopic, antiquarian, and even hieroglyphic traditions are involved in early modern natural history and the illustrations, both literary and visual, associated with it. Animals are just one aspect of an intricate language of metaphor, allusion, symbol, and emblem, of which the works of the natural historians and The Faerie Queene are representative parts.

This dissertation has two broad parts, each comprised of two chapters. The first chapter concerns the humanist educational programme both Spenser and the natural historians received and argues for the ways in which Spenser likely encountered natural history himself through his education at Merchant Taylors’ School and Cambridge, setting these attitudes into their historical and cultural contexts. Spenser’s education necessarily involves questions of the poet’s cultural identity and biography---which, for the purposes of the present study, are of importance because of the need to place his references to animals into their cultural context, not only to elucidate the references themselves, but also to show how Spenser participated in a particular culture of natural history and attitudes toward animals peculiar to a person of his class, education, and time. The man’s biography forms the foundation of his identity, whether as poet, civil servant, husband, father, Cantabrigian, Londoner, early modern European, or whatever other title one might employ. His biography poses a number of problems, however, that must be initially addressed.

Complementing the first chapter, my second chapter examines the early modern construction of the natural world through the lens of natural history during Spenser’s

lifetime, arguing for the important morally didactic function that world was thought to hold for human beings. Here, I follow Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi in arguing that understanding the generic expectations of natural history as *historia* is necessary in order to understand the practices and perceived purposes of knowing about animals in the Renaissance. The first part of the chapter therefore explores the concept of *historia* in relation to both natural history and Spenser's epic, and then considers what early modern natural history entailed as an emerging discourse: crossing modern disciplinary bounds with abandon, while being encyclopaedic and cumulative in its meaning.

These first two chapters outline a methodology that seeks to understand how animals were understood in Spenser's cultural moment and place. The last two chapters apply this cumulative hermeneutics to two of Spenser's animals, the lion and the crocodile---the former a relatively common creature in Spenser's verse, the latter a comparatively rare one. I cannot agree with Joseph Loewenstein's contention that Spenser "seems to have virtually no affective engagement with fauna," and that animals for the poet are instead "no more than an imaginative convenience for him, like trees or pagans" (244). What Loewenstein calls Spenser's "general unresponsiveness" to animals seems to me to be a misapprehension of how the poet thought about animals (246). The symbolic meanings that Loewenstein sees crisply marking the limits of Spenser's sympathies would have been central to the way anyone in Spenser's position would have comprehended animals: living beings with recognizable traits, carrying symbolic meaning but also part of an overall accumulated structure of significance, however often or rarely they appear in The Faerie Queene.

Critics have glossed specific animal allusions in Spenser's verse--whether camels (Patrick M. Scanlon and L. O. Purdon), deer (Anne Lake Prescott, "Thirsty Deer"), or butterflies (Eric C. Brown)--and the presence of animals in The Faerie Queene has been noted from 1960s, in articles by Cosman in 1963 and Arthur F. Marotti in 1965, to more recent articles by Elizabeth Porges Watson published between 1988 and 2000. However, Spenser's participation in the culture of sixteenth-century natural history has otherwise passed by largely uncommented upon in any systematic way. This has not been the case with other Renaissance authors. In Shakespeare studies, Bruce Boehrer has typified the attitude of Renaissance England to animals as one connected with "early modern

society's understanding of both the *essence* and the *limits* of...humanity" (Shakespeare xi). Critics have examined specific Shakespearean beasts<sup>4</sup> and analyzed Shakespeare's culture of the hunt,<sup>5</sup> while numerous guides to the playwright's beasts have been assembled since the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In Milton studies, Karen Edwards has explored the poet's relationship with the natural world in a book-length study, and has followed this with a series of articles on "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary." Ecocriticism has also opened avenues of inquiry into Renaissance representations of animals.<sup>7</sup> Critics of Spenser have not ignored representations of the natural world in The Faerie Queene, but have tended either to approach them through the pastoral motifs within the poem (as do Donald Cheney and Humphrey Tonkin), or to discuss the philosophical foundations of these representations in Platonism and Neoplatonism (Quitslund and Elizabeth Bieman), rather than as manifestations of a particular historical culture of natural history.

Where critics have looked at animals in Spenser's poetry, with few exceptions, they have tended to offer little context to explain the poet's assumptions about natural history. Of course, context is not everything, particularly in studying a poet with such a multifaceted identity though ghostly biography as Spenser. Many modern critical theories have tended to shift attention away from the author to the whole complex web of social, cultural, economic, and political contexts out of which that author's work emerges. This view has led to an appreciation of the intertextual relationships existing between disparate works within the same culture, rather than the "endlesse worke" (FQ 4.12.1.1) of searching for privileged source texts for particular allusions. Intertextuality offers one way to draw a sketch of Spenser---not a full-length portrait, perhaps, but an outline at least of his imagination and what thoughts, feelings and experiences helped shape it. Spenser lived at a particular moment and had a particular education; as a result, he likely read particular books. Allusive intertexts and externally constructed cultural identity cannot completely solidify the portrait, however. Even with a living author, that author

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<sup>4</sup> For example, Louise G. Clubb on the literary origins of the bear from Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale should be read alongside Barbara Ravelhofer's account of how Philip Henslowe acquired the real bears that quite likely pursued that most famous of stage exits.

<sup>5</sup> See Edward Berry's Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social History.

<sup>6</sup> The compendiums of Emma Phipson (1883) and H. W. Seager (1896) remain useful works, for example.

<sup>7</sup> Recent ecocritical works on early modern literature include Gabriel Egan and Simon C. Estok on Shakespeare, as well as the critics of Ken Hiltner's essay collection on Milton

could lie about his or her reading; all poets may not be liars (*pace* Plato), but all people recreate themselves according to the expectations of self-image, culture, and societal role. With a dead poet whose biography is as scanty as that of Spenser, the difficulties become quests for possibilities rather than probabilities. Apart from offering explanations for how Spenser might have come into contact with particular texts, the tentative contextual portrait of Spenser's education I draw in my first chapter offers a way of discussing and measuring the scope of Spenser's participation in natural history as a member of his society---how much certain assumptions about natural history permeated English, Protestant, university-educated culture during the latter part of the sixteenth century and how they grew out of that culture, creating the "codes of perception" (to borrow de Certeau's phrase) with which Spenser and his contemporaries read their place within the world of nature (de Certeau 170). More importantly, context helps recover some of the meaning of Spenser's animals, making them at once more strange but more familiar to modern readers.

To take two examples concerned with Spenser's use of the same natural history text that both show the need for such a portrait, in "Edmund Spenser's Bestiary in the Amoretti (1595)," Joan Curbet points to the substantial use Spenser made of Pliny the Elder's Historia naturalis in the animal imagery in the sonnet sequence; however, Curbet does not suggest any context for Spenser's exposure to Pliny's work. In a 2005 article, Anthony Miller argues for the influence of Pliny on the proem to Book 2 of The Faerie Queene, but again takes Spenser's familiarity with the natural history just as a matter of course. Spenser's reading and education are large, neglected parts of Spenser's already neglected biography. As C. S. Lewis observed in 1954,

A full account of Spenser's reading would perhaps illuminate his work more than an account of his friendships. But it is not very easy to be sure what he had read....The Bible and the commoner classics we may take for granted; and with them masses of neo-Latin---Pico, Ficino, Palingenius, Erasmus, Natalis Comes, Bodinus, Sannazarus, Buchanan. It is in that direction that his reading most often goes beyond ours. (355-56)

What Lewis appears to seek but does not articulate in like terms is precisely the sort of Spenser sought by Richard Rambuss and others, set in context by what the poet may have read.

Unlike those of the libraries of John Dee, Sir John Harrington, Ben Jonson, or Gabriel Harvey, the bounds of Spenser's library cannot be determined because so few books survive.<sup>8</sup> Nothing so conclusive as a copy of *Historia naturalis* annotated in Spenser's hand has come to light since his death in 1599 to suggest the circumstances of how Spenser knew Pliny's work well enough to borrow from it in his sonnets, let alone where Spenser learned the animal lore he employs throughout *The Faerie Queene*. In thinking about Spenser's reading, "it is wise to concede how much we cannot know about the directions of Spenser's thinking," Prescott justly cautions; we must also "resist an impulse to make our narratives about him, whatever they might be, too neat" ("Spenser" 131). Moreover, as John M. Steadman observes, "During [Spenser's] busy life in Ireland, his access to books would have been very limited" (587). How many crates of books Spenser brought with him to Kilcolman likely will never be known; even how important those books might have been is perhaps also unknowable, given what has come to be known about the place of commonplace books in the reading habits taught by humanist educational practice. We have few of his papers and none of his drafts or notebooks. In the face of these difficulties, cultural context offers a way forward: by examining the place of natural history in Spenser's education--and if not his specifically, then at least the sort of education a student of his school and university would have received during Spenser's lifetime--we learn what there was to read in natural history and how it was read during Spenser's lifetime, even if "a full account of Spenser's reading" remains impossible. More importantly, we see more fully what use Spenser made of animals in his poetry by discovering the meanings attached to the creatures in early modern natural history.

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<sup>8</sup> For Dee's library, see William H. Sherman's magisterial *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*, which has been established as one of the definitive critical studies of books and reading in early modern England. Several of Dee's own booklists have survived; see M. R. James's *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee*, or the more recent account by Julian Roberts and Andrew G. Watson. Two lists of Harrington's books survive bound together as British Museum Add. MS. 27 632; see the brief discussion of the authenticity of these lists by A. N. L. Munby. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson list over 200 books known to have belonged to Jonson in vols. 1 and 11 of their edition of Jonson's works. For two accounts of Jonson's reading habits, see Robert C. Evans and James A. Riddell. For Harvey, see Virginia F. Stern.



**CHAPTER ONE**  
**Natural History and Humanist Education**

Plinni sheweth all  
In his *Story Naturall*.  
- John Skelton, "Phyllyp Sparowe" (536-37)

**I**  
**"Euery secret worke of natures wayes"**

In the December eclogue of The Shepheardes Calendar (1579), Colin Clout bids farewell to the pastoral world in his despair and through an incipient sense of unfulfilled age. He reflects upon the contrast between his "haruest hope" and the "weedye crop of care" he has instead reaped in his latter years (121-22), lamenting that "My spring is spent, my sommer burnt vp quite: / My harueste hasts to stirre vp winter sterne" (128-29). Colin Clout elegizes his lost youth, and describes how in his spring, "Like Swallow swift I wandred here and there" (20), exploring the woods, gathering nuts, chasing deer and hares, and dislodging ravens from their nests---all-in-all, an evocative portrait of an active Tudor childhood. He describes how he later came under the care of "a goode olde shepheard, *Wrenock* was his name," who tutored Colin in the art of song and made him "by arte more cunning in the same" (41-42). He mentions his friend Hobbinol, and comments that as his age "passed yougthly pryme," he then "To thinges of ryper reason selfe applyed" (75-76), listing the arts he learned in his summer years: cote-building and cage-making, the weaving of baskets to catch fish and beasts, practical astronomy and weather-lore, and an understanding of "greater thinges" (85) such as the tides and "the soothe of byrds by beating of their wings, / The power of herbs, both which can hurt and ease" (87-88). Armed with such knowledge, Colin enters into the midst of his life, only to find disappointment.

In Colin's description of his upbringing, Spenser presents much about his own life and education in the guise of pastoral conventionalities. "Wrenock" likely represents Spenser's old headmaster at Merchant Taylors' School, Richard Mulcaster, under whose tutelage Spenser learned "song and musicks mirth" (40), a metonym for poetry and all the rigours of an early modern humanist education---the shepherd's name punning upon "wren" as a songbird, in addition to being an anagram (as "Mast. Wrenoc") of "Mowncaster," a variant spelling of Mulcaster's name, as G. C. Moore Smith observes

(368).<sup>9</sup> From Merchant Taylors', Spenser proceeded to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Colin's mention of Hobbinol (Spenser's friend, Gabriel Harvey, who became a Fellow of Pembroke in Spenser's second year in college) following that of Wrenock encapsulates the poet's own educational career, with each shepherd mentor symbolizing the different steps in Spenser's humanist training. The pastoral arts and crafts Colin lists as part of the education necessary for a shepherd-poet represent the skills and learning thought requisite for a socially-rising, university-educated Christian gentleman, as Spenser aspired to be. Colin's apprenticeship is by necessity concerned with country pursuits, as befits the shepherd of an eclogue (one must know how to gather acorns before one can eat them, whatever the Arcadia), but the last pieces of knowledge he mentions concerning "the soothe of byrds" and "the power of herbs" show the common ground between pastoral conceit and humanist pedagogical ideal.

Colin's education in "the power of herbs, both which can hurt and ease" seems appropriate to one called upon to treat his flock and himself, and suggests a kind of sympathetic harmony between the shepherd and his environment, but "the soothe of byrds" is more puzzling. The OED cites this line (and this line only) in defining "soothe" as "soothsaying, prognostication" ("Sooth, *n.*," def. 7), and thereby accepts E. K.'s gloss of the line as a reference to augury. The word calls for a broader definition than that suggested by either E. K. or the OED, however, particularly given Spenser's archaisms in The Shepheardes Calendar and the presence of an article in "the soothe." The dictionary defines "soothe" with an article or pronoun as "the truth; the real or actual facts, circumstances, etc.," observing that it was a common use "from c 1300 to c 1560," nineteen years before the publication of Spenser's eclogues: a slight archaism, but only just so, in Spenser's English, and a usage more familiar, perhaps, to his parents' generation ("Sooth, *n.*," def. 5). Both meanings blend together in the sense that soothsaying is truth telling. Colin's reference to knowing "the soothe of byrds" specifically "by beating of their wings" could be taken as a reference to the practices of augury, but just as the shepherd's knowledge of the uses of herbs depends upon knowing the specific properties of those herbs, so I contend that knowing "the soothe"--the truth,

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<sup>9</sup> The graduate's schoolmasterly title of "Master" in "Mast. Wrenoc" adds further credibility to Smith's identification by anagram.

the facts, and the actual circumstances--of birds depends just as much upon knowing about the specific habits and nature of the creatures (the "beating of their wings") as it does upon mystical interpretation. In other words, knowing the truth about birds means having to know natural history.

Spenser uses knowledge of plant and animal life (and the wisdom derived from such knowledge) as a byword for depth of learning in The Faerie Queene. Canacee, whom the narrator describes as "the learnedst Ladie in her dayes" (4.2.35.2), is

Well seene in euerie science that mote bee,  
And euerie secret worke of natures wayes,  
In wittie riddles, and in wise soothsayes,  
In power of herbes, and tunes of beasts and burds. (4.2.35.3-6)

Like that of Colin Clout, Canacee's learning specifically includes knowledge of natural history---plants, birds, and animals. With both Canacee and Colin Clout, their knowledge about birds and animals has a purpose; knowing the "soothe" of birds and the "tunes of beasts and burds" is a way of understanding "euery secret worke of natures wayes." Spenser here demonstrates the assumption that there is a kind of knowledge to be derived from the natural world beyond descriptive zoological, ornithological, or botanical facts---or, rather, a kind of hidden knowledge associated with those facts that transcends them, equivalent to "wittie riddles" and "wise soothsayes," and depending upon the ability to interpret that knowledge in natural signs. In other words, the natural world possesses meaning, and knowledge of that meaning is accessible to those who know how to interpret it correctly, with the proper training.

For Canacee and Colin Clout, knowledge of natural history is a central part of their respective identities as "the learnedst Ladie in her dayes" and the *beau ideal* of the shepherd-poet. Knowledge of the natural world is not just pastoral convention limited to a character in an eclogue. Because of the autobiographical aspects of Colin, this knowledge represents other accomplishments under a pastoral veil: Spenser's own humanist education at Merchant Taylors' School and Cambridge, as well as the accomplishments of the ideal poet for which Colin is a type. "The soothe of byrds" and "the power of herbs" are necessary to the education of Colin Clout as shepherd-poet; the learning such knowledge symbolizes is necessary to the education for the figure Colin represents and Spenser strives to be. Moreover, with Canacee, Spenser shows that natural history has a

value beyond the pastoral and symbolic functions it has in The Shepheardes Calendar: natural history is chief among the reasons that make the narrator of The Faerie Queene judge Canacee “the learnedst Ladie in her dayes.”

Just as natural history is central to the identities of Colin Clout and Canacee, I argue that natural history is central to the identity of “Master Spenser of Merchant Taylors’ School and Pembroke College, Cambridge” for precisely the same reason: knowledge of the natural world was regarded as a requisite part of the humanist-educated, socially-mobile Englishman’s identity and intellectual universe in the late sixteenth century. As a shepherd, Colin needs to know about animals, birds, and plants; as “the learnedst Ladie in her dayes,” Canacee must have this knowledge as well (indeed, such knowledge is the reason she is “the learnedst”---a term that speaks volumes about the perceived value of knowing about the natural world). Knowledge of natural history came to Spenser as a matter of course through his education; the knowledge he gained through that education in turn informed the animal imagery in his verse. In order for one to understand Spenser’s animals, therefore, one needs to examine the type of education he received.

This chapter has three broad sections. The first part defines the critical problems involved in talking about Spenser’s education. In brief, as Alastair Fowler bluntly remarks, “Not much is known about Spenser’s life” (7). As I shall argue, the paucity of information about Edmund Spenser necessarily directs the critical gaze towards Spenser’s cultural identity rather than his personal biography: at once a frustrating and a liberating situation. The two remaining sections of this chapter then build upon the poet’s cultural identity. The second section follows Spenser to Merchant Taylors’ School, and argues for the moralistic aims of the humanist programme for education he encountered there. Here, I place my discussion in the context of research done into the history of reading that has shown how interactive and pragmatic early modern reading practices were. This section then explains how natural history was a common tool in teaching Latin and Greek, the other purpose of a sixteenth-century grammar school, through the use of authors like Aesop and Pliny the Elder. Grammar and morality were irretrievably linked in the theories of educational reformers like Erasmus, Richard Mulcaster, and Thomas Elyot, as well as in the practices of schools like Merchant Taylors’ and St. Paul’s that were

informed by their principles. Natural history was an important tool in teaching both disciplines, as an examination of the theories and practices of humanist pedagogy demonstrates.

The third part of the chapter examines the place of natural history at Cambridge in humanist educational practices, in cosmography, and in the interests of individual students and dons. At both his school and his university, Spenser would have encountered natural history, though not as a separate discipline. Spenser studied natural history as an inherent component of the education he received, to judge from the authors and texts Spenser would have read according to university statutes. Students with a specialized interest beyond the bounds of the Cambridge curriculum could seek tutelage under dons with similar interests, creating what Lisa Jardine calls “influence groups” of “like-minded intellectuals” concerned with interests beyond the arts curriculum (“Cambridge” 131). These “influence groups” were an important way those with a shared interest in natural history interacted both in and out of the academy. The last part of this chapter also argues how such “influence groups” could have encouraged an interested student in the study of natural history at Cambridge, in spite of the lack of any formal place for natural history in the guidelines laid down by the statutes governing the university curriculum.

Natural history entered the both the grammar school and university classrooms through three interrelated humanist teaching practices: language instruction, the teaching of morality, and what might be called the cosmographic or encyclopaedic interpretation of classical texts. This latter process involved the minute annotation of all details of a given text by lecturers and tutors, tracing stray allusions to particular plants or animals, and drawing out all possible natural, moral, or historical significance from them. As Anthony Grafton observes, in the humanist programme of education, “The rich coating of materials with which the teacher overlaid his text turned every course into a small encyclopaedia” (“Libraries and Lecture Halls” 242). In this cosmographic impulse, we see the early modern interest in the all-encompassing encyclopaedism of *historia*---vital to understanding the natural history of the period (as I shall argue in the second chapter). Quite apart from this pedagogical technique, cosmography--encompassing natural history--was part of the Cambridge curriculum and one of the subjects for the lectures set by the university statutes. As a subject, it held a place of particular importance for

educational theorists because the knowledge derived from its study was never pursued for its own sake, but like the humanist ideal, always for pleasure and in a spirit of useful practical and moral instruction.

## II *Apologia pro vita sua*

The problem of knowing Spenser's education is a subset of the larger problem of knowing about Spenser's life. Colin Burrow observes that most of the meagre evidence for Spenser's life falls into two categories. The first of these encompasses the statements the poet makes about his own life in his poetry and prose; the second consists of official documents relating to Spenser's career, property, and legal relations. Burrow justly cautions that "both [categories] need to be treated with some care," since the former represents how Spenser would have wanted to be thought of--the self-fashioned Colin Clout--while the latter represents only the legal or financial Spenser, and "no one looks attractive if one considers only his or her bank statements" (*Edmund* 2). As a result, the study of Spenser continues to suffer from the lack of a biography of the poet that properly synthesizes his literary and historical lives. Critics at least since the middle 1990s have decried the problem of what Judith H. Anderson calls (in an unwitting pun?) "Spenser's elusive life" (xiv). For Willy Maley, the biography is "a major gap...in Spenser studies" (xiii); for Andrew Hadfield and Maley in their dialogical essay "A View of the Present State of Spenser Studies: Dialogue-Wise," published in 2000 but conducted in 1996, the "lack of a proper, factually-based, integrated biography" remains one of the ongoing problems in the study of Spenser (188). Few new biographical details have been added to the record of Spenser's life since Alexander C. Judson's 1945 biography---which, for all of the changes in interpretative contexts wrought since its publication, remains the standard modern life of the poet (Rambuss 34; Anderson ix).

Judson's biography is undeniably a landmark in Spenser scholarship. Judson prepared it to be uniform with the *Variorum Spenser* (1932-57), and clearly intended it to become an equally standard work. However, as a result of Judson's decision to emphasize Spenser's literary identity, the biography offers very little in the way of analysis of Spenser's participation in his cultural context. Judson does not offer the

“proper, factually-based, integrated biography” wished for by Maley. Such a biography would of necessity contextualize Spenser as not just a “poet,” but also as an Englishman born in the 1550s of a particular class, educated according to a humanist programme at a particular public school and at a particular university, and therefore possessed of a particular position in the society in which he lived. His choice to write an epic poem was one made partly by Spenser the individual poet, and partly by the poet whose assumptions about generic merit were formed by his culture. His use of literary and visual antecedents, sometimes filtered through other intermediary classical, mediaeval or Renaissance models (such as the catalogue of trees at FQ 1.1.8-9) suggests Spenser’s education, his habits of reading formed by that education, and perhaps even his reading taste. In a similar way, a received body of early modern knowledge and assumptions about animals is embedded in Spenser’s animal references. Although Spenser’s knowledge of animals and his attitude towards them are central to my study, they are themselves only fragments of his overall culturally contextualized identity, which continues to be reconstructed.

The 1996 essay collection Spenser’s Life and the Subject of Biography, edited by Judith H. Anderson, Donald Cheney, and David A. Richardson, has proven to be an important step in taking Spenser’s biography beyond Judson, balancing the portrait of the “poet’s poet” with something of the material context of the poet’s life. The editors did not propose to replace Judson’s work, for all of the scope of the collection’s title; no essay deals directly with Spenser’s education, for example. Instead, the collection functions as a call to examine the idea of “Spenser,” in the same way that “Shakespeare” has been examined: teasing out the accumulated history of Spenser’s reputation and role in Anglophone culture, and in turn recovering (or even, discovering) a “Spenser” on his own terms--his contextualized identity, in other words, of which his knowledge and attitude concerning animals are a part. The very poverty of biographical evidence in relation to the relative fame of Spenser affords what Anderson calls “a situation in which we confront with unusual clarity the issues that the death of an author presents” (ix). In the first essay of the collection, Richard Rambuss claims that the clichés of Spenser criticism (such as Spenser as the poet’s poet, as the representative new voice of his age, as the formulator of a new idea of authorship) “are as likely to occur in seminal new-

historicist accounts of Spenser's poetic career as they are in positivistic, 'old-historicist' accounts of his biography" (2), particularly when new-historicist criticism "situates Spenser's careerism within a master context of his aspiration for poetic laureateship" (11), as in Richard Helgerson's influential Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System (1983), or in Stephen J. Greenblatt's chapter on Spenser in Renaissance Self-Fashioning (1980).

Greenblatt, who famously discusses Spenser in relation to the English colonial enterprise in Ireland, propagates the cultural construction of "Spenser" by framing his argument with a claim that Spenser was among "a small number of men to conceive of literature as their primary activity" (161). In a similar way, Helgerson argues that Spenser

publicly abandon[ed] all social identity except that conferred by his elected vocation. He ceased to be Master Edmund Spenser of Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College, Cambridge, and became Immerito, Colin Clout, the New Poet. (63)

This statement seems to suggest that Spenser chose to write his verse in a cultural vacuum, without any context; as William A. Oram remarks, "In emphasizing how revolutionary the idea of the poet's laureate status is, Helgerson [draws] an unrealistic line between the work of poetry and the work of government" ("Spenser's Audiences" 515). In contrast, Rambuss argues that Spenser's works and biography cannot be discussed adequately outside of the context of Spenser's "career of dual humanist service" as poet and civil servant (1). This dual career must be treated with care, as Burrow observes, to avoid an over-emphasis on either of Spenser's two roles within it. As either a poet or as a civil servant, or as both, Spenser must be discussed within his cultural context: Spenser as "an early modern anglophone poet," with the gifts, training, and prejudices of one of his class, sex, and nation. What needs to be recovered is precisely that which Helgerson claims Spenser eschewed: "Master Edmund Spenser of Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College, Cambridge" and all that those titles represent of his cultural identity, both as civil servant and poet.

Rambuss proposes "decanonizing" the "transcendent Spenser" or "poet's poet" (15) in hopes of producing "a new set of terms, new frameworks both historical and contemporary, in which we would continue to read (and to teach) him" (17). One of these frameworks is obviously that within which I shall address Spenser in this study: early



modern natural history. For his part, Rambuss hopes that contextualizing Spenser will allow him to be seen in new ways:

a colonial Spenser, or as a Renaissance figure of cultural hybridity, or as an author who produces literature in English from a position in the Empire outside England: Spenser, an early modern anglophone poet. (17)

This proposal has been answered in numerous ways since Rambuss wrote it in 1996, most notably by those following Greenblatt's initial interest in Spenser's Irish experience, who have pursued post-colonial approaches that have made A View of the Present State of Ireland central to Spenser studies in a way it never has been before, in many ways dividing Spenser studies. Critics shifted away from seeing Spenser as the poet making a sublime Vergilian ascent of the genres, to seeing Spenser as the civil servant scrambling to climb the greasy pole of Elizabethan colonial administration, almost to the exclusion of any other "Spensers." Genocide deposed genre, and Spenser the war criminal supplanted Spenser the arch-poet. To paraphrase Wordsworth, critics called Spenser from Faery-land and forced him to account for the dark ways of his involvement with the English colonial enterprise in Ireland (cf. Wordsworth 10-11).

This critical trend appears to be waning, however. At a roundtable discussion at the conclusion of the fourth international conference of the International Spenser Society in May, 2006, Roland Greene declared that the View is exhausted, and Lauren Silberman observed that the subject of Spenser and Ireland appears to be going into hiatus, to judge by the papers proposed and presented at the conference, as well as by recent publications in Spenser studies more generally. For some, the emphasis on Spenser and Ireland has been Talus-like in the scope of its iconoclasm,<sup>10</sup> but this emphasis has been a necessary step in the process of "decanonizing" the "transcendent," "dreaming," or "sweet" Spenser of criticism that has seen only the literary life without the balance of that of the civil servant. Lauren Silberman, at the same roundtable discussion, commented that in the wake of this emphasis on Ireland, critics can discuss Spenser in "a celebratory tone without being overly idealizing," which must lead to a fuller, more balanced approach than one ignoring the multiple "Spensers" observed by Anderson et al. One important

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<sup>10</sup> An example of the semiotics associated with this iconoclasm is the cover of Spenser and Ireland: An Interdisciplinary Perspective, ed. Patricia Coughlan, which features a reproduction of Albrecht Dürer's Four Horsemen woodcut in his Apocalypse series of 1498 beneath the book's title; hardly "sweet" Spenser.

inheritance of the emphasis on Spenser and Ireland surely has been the way the poet has been recast as a liminal figure writing far from the perceived centre of his world, the court. What is noteworthy in this type of literary criticism is the importance of the practices of social history---whether in examining the position held by Spenser in the tradition of English studies, in his place in post-colonial approaches to Anglo-Irish relations, or in discussing Spenser as “a Renaissance figure of cultural hybridity,” or, indeed as in this present study, in examining Spenser’s assumptions about animals and the context that formed these assumptions.

The critical moment seems right to recover “Master Edmund Spenser,” warts and all: another “Spenser” beyond the canonized or the genocidal ones, but one that is rather a synthesis of the others, firmly grounded in the cultural identity of his education and assumptions. Part of his cultural identity is Spenser’s view of the animal world, as evidenced by The Faerie Queene. Spenser was not a natural historian, in that he did not (as far as we know) devote his time to studying plants and animals. He was, however, a participant in a particular culture of natural history that flourished during the sixteenth century because of his biographical identity as an educated English humanist, holding the views of the animal world that would have been held by “an early modern anglophone poet.” In this sense, Spenser was a “natural historian” to the same extent as a non-scientist today who happens to own a Peterson Field Guide: not a specialist, but nevertheless possessing the attitudes and interests in the animal world common to that person’s time, place, education, and class

Spenser himself offers few direct comments on formal education in general or the education of poets in particular in his works; his The English Poete, if it existed, is lost. Canacee and Colin are the closest Spenser comes to commenting directly in his works on the place of natural history in education, though the characters provide suggestive evidence for the value their creator gave to knowledge of the natural world both as a metaphor and as an end of learning itself. More can be deduced from the way in which his animal imagery so often works in emblematic ways. Commenting that there is no hard evidence that Spenser knew any emblem books, Mason Tung remarks that Spenser’s animal images are “only coincidentally ‘emblematic,’” and that their real source is the same source employed by the emblem makers: natural history (187). Spenser and the

emblem-makers derived their animal lore directly from the same source in a learned tradition of natural history that was a part of educational practices Europe-wide. Although not explicitly a separate formal component of the education Spenser received, natural history was part of the curricula he encountered at both his grammar school and university through specific texts and through the humanist pedagogical theories and practices that directed his schooling.

My claims for the place of natural history in early modern education should in no way be understood to be assertions that Spenser must have encountered such learning; the paucity of biographical details make such assertions circumstantial at best. Spenser's social position and the few facts about his education that have come down to us do prove, however, that he participated in the learned humanist discourse that included natural history. Spenser's works show him engaging with contemporary ideas and assumptions about natural history. Thinking about Spenser's education offers a means of examining how the educated non-specialist like Spenser entered into the discourse of natural history and how that engagement with the early modern natural sciences directed Spenser's use of animals in his poetry.

### III

#### **Merchant Taylors' School: The Ends of Learning**

Spenser had his first formal encounter with the humanist educational programme at Merchant Taylors' School in London. The members of The Merchant Taylors' Company formed their school in 1561, under the founding headmaster, Richard Mulcaster, Colin's "Wrenock." Spenser may have been one of the initial 250 students, although his name does not appear in the school's "well-maintained" register (W. Barker 468). His name, however, appears on a list of "carteyn poor schollers of the scholls aboute London," along with five other "schollers of the M'chante Taylers Schole," who were given a shilling and a gown to wear at the funeral of one Robert Nowell in 1569 (Grosart 28). The curriculum Spenser encountered at Merchant Taylors' appears to have been an adaptation of that of John Colet at St. Paul's School, itself built upon Erasmian theories and texts---particularly Erasmus's De duplici copia verborum ac rerum comentarii duo (De Copia) and De ratione studii (Baldwin 1: 395; Draper 24). The

Erasmian approach was that school or tutelage should (in the words of James McConica) “be an education in virtue as well as knowledge, and [that] the conduct of the child was to be as much a part of discipline as the languages it would learn” (“Fate” 41). Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine agree with McConica that these were the unstated assumptions of the Erasmian programme: that it was “self-evidently part of a systematic programme of spiritual development,” of which grammatical and rhetorical development were tools (Grafton and Jardine 139). Baldwin rightly observes that in spite of the headmaster Richard Mulcaster’s theories of the importance of training in English, Merchant Taylors’ had “the conventional curriculum” of humanist educational reformers “from the beginning” and throughout Spenser’s time at the school (1: 419). Latin and Greek were emphasized, with the addition of Hebrew for the senior boys.

As Grafton summarizes it, under this conventional curriculum, “The ideal classroom...[was] designed and equipped as systematically as one of Henry Ford’s factories to produce one sort of product: an educated Christian gentleman,” and all that title implied for the sixteenth century (“Libraries and Lecture Halls” 238). This product (to extend Grafton’s simile) was expected to be devout, morally responsible, civic-minded, and educated in the classics. Though obviously a means of participating in these more spiritual and literate ends of Erasmian humanism, learning classical languages also had more pragmatic reasons, Mulcaster grumbles in The first part of the Elementary (1582):

There be two speciall considerations, which kepe the Latin, & other learned tungs, tho chefelie the Latin, in great countenance among us, the one thereof is the knowledge, which is registred in them, the other is the conference, which the learned of Europe, do commonlie use by them, both in speaking and writing. (253-54)

Though acquiring it is “a meruellous bondage,” according to Mulcaster, knowledge of Latin and Greek in particular, as well as Hebrew, is necessary in order to participate in the *societas litteraria* of educated Europeans, as well the requisite means to access the works written in those languages. Mulcaster is not ignorant of this cachet: in the peroration to The first part of the Elementary, he observes that had he not worried about

that inconueuience which commonlie enseweth, where two speak in an vnknown tung, and the third standing by thinks himself despised, because he vnderstands not, I wold haue sollicited my request in the latin tung,

bycause the kinde of people, which I reuerence most, and whose frindlie opinion I do couet most, both desireth and deliteth to be dealt with in that tung, as being learned themselues. (230)

J. W. Binns demonstrates that, for all of the efforts of educators and authors like Mulcaster to place English in a more central position in the intellectual culture of sixteenth-century England, the practices of that intellectual culture largely continued to be conducted in Latin. In the discourse of natural history, Latin was the Europe-wide *lingua franca*, as it was in theology, medicine, and other learned disciplines. The practical concerns of providing students with the linguistic tools with which to claim a share in the high cultural capital assigned to having “Latin, & other learned tungs,” and the works written in them, are just as important as the implicit assumptions about the spiritual worth of the sort of “contagious and epidemic” classical education (in Arthur F. Kinney’s phrase) advocated by the humanists (200). A liberal education in the sixteenth century was a matter of both spiritual and worldly pragmatism, and had nothing of the sort of Arnoldian ideals associated with it now: “In Erasmus’ and Vives’ framework of reading authors...grammar is always seen as a means to an end,” as Joan Simon states (109-10).

Science *qua* science was not one of these ends. In any specialized modern sense of the term, science was ignored at the Merchant Taylors’ School (as at all Tudor schools), a fact which seems to exclude his grammar school education from the possible ways in which Spenser was exposed to natural historical knowledge. Certain elements of the curriculum, however, show that students could not be wholly ignorant of elements of natural history, albeit obliquely. The framers of the humanist educational reforms themselves could not be wholly ignorant of natural history, as Rebecca W. Bushnell observes (73ff). Gardening and horticultural metaphors were favourites among pedagogical authors, as even a cursory glance at the titles recorded in the Short Title Catalogue or on Early English Books Online shows.<sup>11</sup> Where natural history appears beyond similes and metaphors, however, it is just as bound up with the pragmatic

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<sup>11</sup> Spenser himself invokes such gardening metaphors when he refers to the “many learned impes” of Oxford (FQ 4.11.26.5) and the “learned Impes that wont to shoote vp still” at the university (The Teares of the Muses 75), “impes” being grafted plants or branches, just as students are grafted into the company of learning through matriculation. In the Proem to FQ 6, he asks the muse to reveal “the sacred nourserie / Of vertue” to him, to take another example (6.Pr.3.1-2).

humanist ends of the spiritual and social development of the student as the study of grammar and rhetoric, and the presence of natural history shows how learning of all kinds was subordinated to these ends: “to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline,” in Spenser’s phrase (FQ 714).

#### IV

#### Merchant Taylors’ School: Texts of Natural History

In the general humanist sense of learning, political or practical pragmatic wisdom is just as important as moral wisdom; the students of schools like Merchant Taylors’ were being trained how to succeed in this world, as well as how to work towards the next. Knowledge of natural history provided a useful tool in both pursuits, according to sixteenth-century pedagogical theory and practice. The texts used to teach grammar and conduct often concerned the natural world. Aesop’s Fables, for example, was almost universally the subject of instruction in the second form in grammar schools of the period, Baldwin notes (1: 607), or even as the earliest classical text introduced to students, whether in Greek or in a Latin translation (A. Patterson 52; Silberman 9). Whatever the case, grammar school boys would encounter the fables during the earliest part of their education. Sir Thomas Elyot recommended the use of Aesop as the first step in learning Greek in The booke named the gouernour. According to Elyot, Aesop is an author particularly well-suited for this role, since the collection of fables attributed to him,

in which argument childe[n] moche do delite...is a moche pleasant lesson & also profitable as well for that it is elega[n]t & brefe (& nat withstanding it hath moche varietie in wordes and therwith moche helpeth to the vnderstandinge of greke) as also in those fables is included moche morall and politike wisdom. (30v)

Elyot’s emphasis on Aesop’s suitability, both as a source of grammar and vocabulary, as well as of “morall and politike wisdom,” explains why the fables were commonly used in school curricula: they were useful pedagogical tools. As Sidney puts it, Aesop’s “pretty allegories...make many, more beastly than beasts, begin to hear the sound of virtue from these dumb speakers” (Apology 109). Aesop would be attractive to students as well as masters. Lauren Silberman suggests a reason why sixteenth-century children “moche [did] delite” in the fables:

For the first seven years of his life, an Elizabethan boy would be brought up largely by women. He would then be taken from the company of women to be taught Latin by schoolmasters, but the first Latin texts would likely be versions of the beast-fable genre associated with the early childhood he had just left behind. (9)

Apart from maintaining some sense of continuity between two stages of an Elizabethan childhood, the use of Aesop in curricula built upon a familiarity with the genre, if not the tales themselves, in the students. The popularity of fables flourished during the Middle Ages, and continued into the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Where bestiaries offer metaphysical and moral truths, fables accent ethical choices, as Joyce E. Salisbury comments (111). Fables were therefore regarded as intelligible vehicles for the early instruction of children (and other persons of perceived undeveloped sensibilities) in social morality, as well as useful tools for teaching Greek and Latin grammar.<sup>13</sup>

In Greek education, the reorganized statutes of the Merchant Taylors' School from 1607 show Aesop being used as a kind of *dicté* for students in the sixth form:

The schoolemaister having opened, on the sodayne, the Greeke Testament, Esop's Fables, in Greeke, or some other very easie Greeke author, shall read some short sentences, without nameing letters, accent, spirit, or point, or telling them any athing that may help their understanding thereof; and the schollers shall write, word by word, after the schoolemaister, and presently translate the same into proper and plaine English. (qtd. in H. Wilson 167)

Though later than Spenser's time at the school, the statutes give a sense of the place of Aesop as a schoolbook during the period. Having started Greek in the fourth form, the student would be expected to be able to construe a passage drawn from a "very easie Greeke author" by the sixth, particularly a passage drawn from an author already made familiar to the students, rather than one "sight unseen." Aesop would therefore likely be a text used throughout the six years of a full education at Merchant Taylors' School.

Notice the emphasis on Aesop "in Greeke" in the statute, which suggests a familiarity

<sup>12</sup> For an account of the use of Aesop in mediaeval pedagogy, see Wheatley 52-96.

<sup>13</sup> Renaissance interest in Aesop was kindled by the arrival of the Greek codices of the fables in Italy in the early fifteenth century, and was accelerated by the development of printing. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine comment on the place of Aesop in the development of Greek studies during the sixteenth century in *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986), noting that "The student often began with the Greek New Testament. Then he might read Aesop; then simple prose passages from the *Moralia* of Plutarch, the dialogues of Lucian, the speeches of Demosthenes and Isocrates, or simple verse from Homer, Hesiod, or Theognis" (110). All these works are notably ones of "morall and politike wisdom."

with a Latin or English version (to say nothing of the dramatic way the schoolmaster is instructed to open the book “on the sodayne”).

The spread of printing also put natural history texts into the hands of students. Grafton and Jardine emphasize the material importance of accessible texts for students: affordable small-format Latin-Greek editions of short engaging works, like those produced by the Aldine press. Such texts “were the staple of university Greek printers from [the fifteenth-century Milanese printer] Bonus Accursius--who pioneered in this field with a bilingual Aesop--onwards” (111).<sup>14</sup> From 1572, the printer Thomas Marshe held a monopoly on the printing of a number of common schoolbooks in England; the patent explicitly lists Aesop’s Fables among those “dyuers and sondrye schole books” of which Marshe had the exclusive privilege “to prynte and sett forthe to sale” (qtd. in Baldwin 1.500). The evidence of such a patent suggests something of the demand for copies of Aesop, as well as the profitability of answering such a demand. Aesop became a standard part of humanist learning, and many Latin translations and original fables in an Aesopian manner were made throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> To what extent Spenser mastered Greek is unknown; but whether he read the fables as part of his education in Greek or in Latin, he certainly read Aesop.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Aesopus. Milan, 1478, containing the Greek collection of Maximus Planudes and the Latin translation of Rinucius Aretinus, edited by Bonus Accursius.

<sup>15</sup> See David Marsh’s “Aesop and the Humanist Apologue” and “Alberti as Satirist” for a survey of the influence of Aesop on humanist fabulist works from Leon Battista Alberti’s Centum apologi (1437) to Gabriele Faerno’s Fabulae (1562). See also Marsh’s edition of humanist Aesopian fables, Renaissance Fables: Aesopic Prose by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci, Bernardino Baldi, which includes a useful introductory essay on the place of Aesop in the Italian Renaissance.

<sup>16</sup> Ludowick Bryskett introduces Spenser in his dialogue A Discourse of the Civill Life (1606) as one “not onley perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in Philosophie, both morall and naturall” (21). C. S. Lewis discounts this remark--“A man is not on his oath in an Erasmian colloquy” (355)--and Douglas Bush is skeptical of Spenser’s command of Greek when discussing the poet’s knowledge of Plato: “Doubtless, like most men of his time, he read Ficino, and similar authors, and slighted the Greek” (92). Bryskett doubtlessly exaggerates to honour the memory of his friend and fellow Cantabrigian. The attribution to Spenser of the 1592 English translation of the short Platonic or pseudo-Platonic dialogue Axiochus (by “Edw. Spenser,” according to the title-page) remains quietly contentious: questioned by Hamilton and Maley, among others, and defended by Harold L. Weatherby. The attribution was first made in the eighteenth century, and is a hopeful thing depending mainly upon a misplaced “m.” The translation is included in vol. 10 of the variorum edition of Spenser’s works. A bet Spenser had with Harvey, which Harvey records in the marginalia of one of his surviving books, might shed further light on the question of the poet’s knowledge of Greek: the forfeit in the bet was to be Harvey’s copy of Lucian, and Virginia F. Stern has proposed Opera quae quidem extant omnia, graece & latine in quatuor tomos divisa quorum elenchos post aliquot pagines reperies, una cum Gilberti Cognati & Johannis Sambucci annotationibus utilissimis (Basel, 1563) as the likeliest edition for Harvey’s Lucian, which has been lost. This is a bilingual edition, offering a tempting Loeb-like “crib” of the Greek in Latin; see Stern 226.



Aesop, however, could only very loosely be called a natural historian, although his fables were themselves component parts of the practice of early modern natural history, as I show in chapter three. Students taught according to the educational theories behind Merchant Taylors' School also read Pliny the Elder, undeniably one of the classical pioneers of natural history. Erasmus emphasized the need for masters to be acquainted with the styles of numerous authors, including Pliny, and to be familiar with Pliny's cosmography as part of their general expertise. Erasmus showed enough interest in Pliny in his own scholarship for notes made by him to be included in an edition of the Natural History published in Paris, 1516. He also joined Beatus Rhenanus in editing an edition of Pliny published in Basel in 1525, for which he wrote a prefatory letter to Stanislaus Turzo, Bishop of Olmütz in Moravia (Epistle 1544 in Allen's edition), praising the work of Pliny and exhorting rulers to look to his works for guidance:

Mundum docet Plinius. Quid autem absurdius quam imperare mundo et nescire quid sit mundus? Nec est quod excusent publica negocia. Talibus negociis districtus haec ex tot librorum milibus scripsit Plinius. (Opus epistolarum 6: 19)

Pliny's subject is the world. Could you imagine anything more absurd than to rule the world and not know what it is? Nor can one excuse oneself by pleading the pressure of public business; for Pliny was occupied with just such business when he compiled this work from a reading of thousands of volumes. (Correspondence 11: 29)

Erasmus addresses not only monarchs, but also all of his readers, for the rule he refers to could equally refer to self rule and self knowledge through the common early modern trope of the body as kingdom--"a little world made cunningly," as Donne calls it ("Holy Sonnet 5" 1)--as well as to the dominion over the created world entrusted to Adam and Eve and their heirs by God, in Judeo-Christian tradition. Pliny, then, is more than a repository of knowledge useful for princes; according to Erasmus, Pliny is a manual for living. In commenting on the thousands of books employed by Pliny in compiling his work, Erasmus perhaps unconsciously ascribes the roots of humanist scientific inquiry (based on philology and authoritative authors) to one of the central authorities of natural history inherited from the ancient world. Furthermore, he seems to prove Elizabeth Spiller's point that modern readers should see both Renaissance literature and science beginning in "aesthetic acts---forms of 'making' that are congruent with Sidney's

definition of the poet as a ‘maker,’” where both the creative poet and the scientific inquirer employ inherited matter and intuitive judgment, rather than observational experimentation (3).

Students were encouraged to be familiar with Pliny as a source of moral as well as grammatical illustrations.<sup>17</sup> For grammar school students, Pliny was regarded as a source of “moral tidbits,” drawn out in exercises in which animals were moralized (Baldwin 1: 327). Erasmus advised that readers keep a commonplace book, organized by general topic, in which they might record information, tags, phrases, or passages that might be useful in the future (De Copia 635ff). “This method,” Colin Burrow remarks, “was both a way of reading and a means of converting that reading into writing” (“Shakespeare” 18). Such a commonplace book likely is the true “source” of many of the classical allusions in Spenser’s works, including those derived from Pliny.

Unlike Aesop, where the moral point is found in the fable, Pliny’s animals carry their moral lessons in their natural attributes, giving students the chance to ascend “the ladder and scale of creatures,” as Sir Thomas Browne styles it in Religio Medici (32), to the same “morall and politike wisdom” observed by Elyot in Aesop. Again, this pairing is important. As William H. Sherman comments,

Among humanistically trained readers, reading itself was always a means to an end...whether that end was textual (as in the efforts of editors and philologists to improve the transmission of inherited texts) or political (as in the efforts of civically minded scholars to apply their reading to the advancement of the commonwealth). (60)

To this list might be added the efforts of those seeking to apply their reading to the advancement of their own careers (such as Gabriel Harvey or Spenser himself), and those pursuing more generally the spiritual development that McConica argues lies behind humanist education. Early modern readers read with pen in hand, whether to annotate the text or to record passages for use later---but all was done with a mind to its *usefulness*.

Recording information in a commonplace book about natural history derived from

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<sup>17</sup> For example, the fifteenth-century Italian humanist Battista Guarino advocated that in addition to the texts of the set curriculum laid out in his De ordine docendi et discendi (1459), the advanced student should independently read Aulus Gellius, Macrobius’s Saturnalia, Augustine’s De civitate Dei, and Pliny’s Historia naturalis, keeping a commonplace book of memorable sentences; see Grendler 203-04. For Guarino, Pliny’s work “is indeed as wide as Nature itself,” “quae non minus varia est quam ipsa natura” (Guarino 294). Knowledge of the natural world rapidly became enough of a cliché to be one of the areas of learning Gargantua recommends to his son Pantagruel when studying in Paris; see Rabelais 205-06.

classical authors allowed the humanistically-educated reader the ability to access the moral lessons inherent in the attributes of those animals. Indeed, natural history and medicine themselves were particularly practices of excerpting and anthologizing other texts, as Pomata and Siraisi point out (21).

## V

### **Cambridge: The State of Learning**

From Merchant Taylors' School, Spenser proceeded to Cambridge in 1569 (Venn and Venn 132). When Spenser matriculated at Pembroke Hall as a sizar, Cambridge was, in Lisa Jardine's words, "something of a backwater by international standards" ("Cambridge" 130). Moreover, nothing like the interest in natural history shown at continental universities like Montpellier or Basel, as documented by Reeds (Botany) and Ogilvie (Science), developed at Cambridge during the sixteenth century, mainly because the university had been subject to a series of drastic reforms and reverses through the first half of the sixteenth century that stunted its development relative to other universities. Nonetheless, natural history was inherent in the sort of education Spenser received while completing his B.A. and M.A., as the authors and texts prescribed by university statutes show.

Victor Morgan rightly suggests, however, that "we cannot seek the arts syllabus or the range of disciplines studied at Cambridge in the statutes of 1570," under which Spenser was educated. "Rather," he continues, "they were deliberately drawn up to avoid putting tutors and students in the kinds of straitjackets which afflict their modern successors" (437). As Mordechai Feingold and Lesley B. Cormack have demonstrated concerning mathematical and geographical studies respectively, the bounds of the Cambridge curriculum were elastic and depended on the individual interests of students and dons---Lisa Jardine's "influence groups" of "like-minded intellectuals" ("Cambridge" 131). During this period, every educated man, including Edmund Spenser, "received instruction in the entire arts and science curriculum...and was deemed capable of contributing to any part of its constituents," which was one of the overarching assumptions of the humanist programme of education (Feingold 16). This view of the educated person as a polymath generalist is in stark contrast with the specialization at the

core of twenty-first century educational practice. Robert S. Westman observes the difficulties inherent in evaluating the roles variously assumed by knowledge practitioners:

It is useful to regard the practitioner of any discipline as engaged, consecutively or concurrently, in several roles concerned with the acquisition and imparting of knowledge. The ways in which such roles are linked and weighted, however, change over time. As a result, past role-complexes often look peculiar from the perspective of the present and the language appropriate to our present role configuration fits uncomfortably onto older expectations about behavior. (83)

As Westman goes on to suggest, most modern terms like “scientist” are anachronistic “unless we clearly articulate what roles were available at that time, how they were linked and how they were evaluated” (83). Feingold has shown that, apart from the mathematical practitioners or instrument-makers of London, most of those interested in science in England were “practising divines, physicians, lawyers, antiquarians or orientalisists” (17). Every educated person received a grounding in language, dialectic, and literature, and from there could pursue more specialized knowledge in any field; but a specialized term such as “scientist” was unknown (and did not exist in English as a word until the nineteenth century).<sup>18</sup> Instead, Steven Shapin contends, “Early modern scientific work...was pursued within a range of traditionally established social roles,” leading inevitably to overlapping assumptions and practice (180). Elizabeth Spiller is correct when she insists that the modern distinction made between C. P. Snow’s “two cultures” of science and the arts is inapplicable to the Renaissance---in part because of the common training their practitioners received, but also because of their common practices.

Spiller’s views hinge upon the epistemological difference between “made” and “found” knowledge. Modern science insists on its special relationship with reality because its knowledge is based upon finding (discovery, experimentation, patient scrutiny) instead of making (creativity, imagination, intuition)---synonyms for the divided two cultures of science and art, or the divergent views of the history of natural history. Spiller, however, “reconnect[s] early modern science to its origin in various kinds of art” (7), and argues that Renaissance philosophy and science were understood by

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<sup>18</sup> For an illuminating history of the development and use of the word “scientist,” see Sydney Ross, “Scientist: The Story of a Word.” Ross dates the word to 1834, six years before the OED’s earliest citation.

their own practitioners as forms of making. The experimental method of “the New Science” is an artificial construction and leads to a central paradox about modern science’s claim for its preeminence in the study of reality: science gains an autonomy from any sense of production or fabrication and can report exclusively on what has been found precisely because experiments have been artificially made. But, she warns, “to claim that in the early modern period science and imaginative fiction ‘make’ knowledge is not to suggest that their knowledge is ‘made up,’” just as the results of a reputable scientific experiment are not “made up” (6). Spiller links this process of making “fact” or “truth” to the interests of Sidney in the poet as maker and Spenser’s avowed purpose to fashion his readers in virtue through The Faerie Queene. She convincingly argues for the shared origins of the early modern arts and sciences in creative “making.” Neither Sidney nor Spenser would call their “made” knowledge “made up” just because it is conveyed through a “dark conceit” like allegory, nor would natural historians like Edward Topsell or Conrad Gesner call the moral didacticism contained in their works “made up” simply because they collected it from authorities like Pliny or the Bible.

Spiller’s comments show the need to treat Renaissance science and literature on the same terms as texts coming out of the same cultural matrix, with the same interests and assumptions, and employing the same symbolic vocabulary and method, as fostered by the curricula and methods of places like Cambridge. The arts course that men like Spenser would have encountered was envisioned as a general study of selection procedures and various methods of argumentation, leaving the graduate prepared for more professional training (Jardine, “Place of Dialectic Teaching” 60). As Gillian Lewis puts it,

Just as university men at this time prided themselves upon the breadth of their humane learning, so cultivated clergymen and laymen, and masters of arts who had no thought of becoming doctors of physic included in their reading the better-known passages from the standard texts of classical medicine. (214)

These remarks by Spiller, Jardine, and Lewis also show the truth of Westman’s warning about the dangers of applying anachronistic titles to the role-complexes practised during the sixteenth century: one could be both a bishop and an astronomer like Lancelot Andrewes, or a physician and a philologist like Thomas Linacre--or a poet and a civil

servant like Edmund Spenser, for that matter--all at the same time because of the perceived permeability of disciplinary or professional divisions.

The statutes do provide a concrete beginning from which to examine the education Spenser received at Pembroke, at least in theory. In particular, the statutes and the prevailing state of the university show ways in which a student could encounter natural historical knowledge at Cambridge. Spenser's Cambridge was emerging from a period of chaos. Between Henry VIII's statute for the governing of Cambridge in 1535 and the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, Cambridge had lost four out of five successive chancellors by decapitation, and the fifth by imprisonment (Oates, Cambridge 71). Cambridge had suffered a period of decline after Henry VIII's assertion of supremacy over the Church of England. The history of the University Library at Cambridge offers a microcosmic history of the vicissitudes of the whole university. Unlike Oxford, Cambridge suffered no official purges, and yet the records of books held by the University Library offer eloquent testimony of the changes wrought at the university by the Reformation: "In 1424, the University Library at Cambridge possessed 122 books; fifty years later the number had risen to 330, and by 1530 to between 500 and 600" (Oates, "Libraries" 213). But in the surviving 1557 catalogue compiled for the scrutiny of Marian commissioners, J. C. T. Oates coolly adds, only 175 volumes remained (Cambridge 70). The great discrepancy was the product of what Victor Morgan calls "the unsettled 1530s and 1540s...[when] the very survival of the university--or at least, of the colleges--was in question" (1). Oates explains the depletion of the collection in three ways: through the deliberate but limited destruction or defacement of suspect books by zealous Reformers; through the removal into "safe keeping" of valuable books by members of the university with access to the library; and most commonly, through a general neglect of those books regarded as no longer useful under the new curriculum.

These startling numbers about the University Library collection are also reflected in the history of the University Press. Between 1522 and 1584, no books are known to have been printed by the press (Barnes 8). In part, the lack of publications was a result of what Nicholas Barker calls "the bond between government censorship and the London printers' determination to suppress competition"---a determination that extended into the reign of Elizabeth, when a party was sent by the Stationers' Company to break up the

press in 1583 (6). But this near monopoly on publishing only partly explains the inability of the University Press to produce a single book over a period of 62 years; some explanation must rest in Cambridge. With the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, the history of the University Library entered what Oates refers to as “the stagnant years” (Oates, Cambridge v). The chaplaincy in charge of the library was abolished and, according to the library audit-book, a mere £1/6/8 was spent on cleaning and repair, along with 12d paid in 1562-63 to one “Hillary” for sweeping and dusting (87). Between 1558 and 1573, “the history of the Library is...virtually a blank” (87). The same can be said for the University Press. Between 1522 and 1583, the post of University Printer was vacant (Barnes 7). No books were printed on the University Press during Spenser’s time at Cambridge, and as for the library, Oates conveys the impression of a neglected, disorganized collection---the confused product of thirty years of chaos, and itself a mirror of the university.

Elizabeth’s accession also brought the restoration of her brother’s 1549 statutes for governing the university, which defined the requirements of the curriculum more precisely than Henry’s injunction. These were superseded in 1570 by Elizabeth’s own statutes for Cambridge, although they were closely modeled upon the Edwardian laws; these would have been the statutes governing Cambridge during the majority of Spenser’s time at the university. The Elizabethan statutes list the authors the university lecturers were required to teach, and suggest the scope of the public lectures offered at Cambridge during Spenser’s time at Pembroke. Beyond the texts required to be covered by the lecturers in theology and law, the statutes state that

the lecturer in philosophy shall teach publicly the problems, ethics, or politics of Aristotle, Pliny, or Plato. The lecturer in medicine shall teach Hippocrates or Galen. The professor of mathematics, if he is teaching cosmography, shall expound Mela, Pliny, or Strabo, or Plato; if arithmetic, Tonstall or Cardan, &c.; if geometry, Euclid; if astronomy, Ptolemy.  
(Statutes 5)

In their emphasis on breadth, the statutes find their inspiration in the influence of Erasmus. The statutes also note that “No scholar, of whatever degree and name he may be...shall omit any public lecture in the profession to which he is destined” (5). In Spenser’s case, he would have been obliged to attend all the arts lectures, covering the whole range of subjects from mathematics and rhetoric to cosmography and astronomy.

## VI Cambridge: Cosmography, Pedagogy, and “Influence Groups”

Within the Elizabethan statutes, knowledge of animals falls partly under the general categories of philosophy (particularly natural philosophy), medicine (out of which natural history as a discipline in part developed and would continue to develop into the seventeenth century), and cosmography. This last subject in particular is worth noting as a means of teaching natural history because it demonstrates the central place of such learning at Cambridge and, moreover, what was the perceived purpose of such knowledge---quite unlike that of (for example) modern zoology or botany. Klaus A. Vogel links cosmography directly to the development of geography as a discipline, but this development saw a narrowing of its field of inquiry. Cosmography was a fashionable science in the sixteenth century: part geometry, part astronomy, part navigation, part physical and human geography, and part natural history, all mingled together to offer, as Thomas Blundeville defines the term in *M. Blundeville, His Exercises* (1594), “the description of the whole world, that is to say, of heauen and earth, and all that is contained therein” (134). For Francis Bacon, in *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623),

Mixta etiam est Historia Cosmographica, idque multipliciter. Habet enim ex Historia Naturali, regiones ipsas, atque earum situs et fructus; ex Historia Civili, urbes, imperia, mores; ex Mathematicis, climata et configurationes caeli, quibus tractus mundi subjacent. (514)

Cosmography is mixed of many things; of Natural History, in respect to the regions themselves, their sites and products; of History Civil, in respect of the habitations, governments, and manners of the people; and of Mathematics, in respect of the climates and configurations of the heavens, beneath which the regions of the world lie. (*Translations* 311)

Although Bacon represents a new trend in scientific thought, his definition nonetheless represents the assumptions held by the compilers of the statute about cosmography as an all-encompassing holistic subject.

Early modern pedagogues regarded the subject as general, however, not only in its scope, but also in its necessity and appeal to all educated minds (hence the prohibition on students missing any of the set-subject public lectures, including those on cosmography, in the Cambridge statutes of Elizabeth). Earlier in the century, Thomas Elyot described



cosmography as “bothe pleasant and necessary” (37v), remarking that “there is none so good lernynge as the demonstration of cosmographie by materiall figures and instrumentes havynge a good instructour” (37r-v). Elyot emphasizes both the pleasure and usefulness (*dulce et utile*) of the subject, the two requisites of worthwhile learning for the humanist educational reformers. Natural history, alongside geography and early anthropology, is at the core of Elyot’s explanation for the pleasure to be derived from the study of cosmography:

What pleasure is it in one houre to beholde those realmes, cities, sees, ryvers, and mountaynes, that uneth in an olde mannes life can nat be iournaide and pursued; what incredible dilite is taken in beholding the diversities of people, beastis, foules, fisshes, trees, frutes, and herbes: to know the sondry manners & conditions of people, and the variety of their natures, and that in a warme study or perler, without perill of the see or daunger of longe and paynfull iournayes: I can nat tell what more pleasure shulde happen to a gentil witte, than to beholde in his owne house every thyng that with in all the worlde is contained. (37v)

Elyot’s justification for cosmography consists of pleasure and pragmatism: why risk one’s life in difficult travel--if, indeed, one is capable of such travel--when one can enjoy the same “incredible dilite” derived from journeys in one’s own “warme study or perler”? The pleasure derived from the study of the world in this way is one that Elyot ascribes particularly to those of “a gentil witte,” a term with great cultural cachet in sixteenth-century England, implying a kind of sophistication and sensitivity (and, moreover, a certain class) to which someone in Spenser’s position, seeking social advancement through learning, might aspire. Central to the “good lernynge” and “delite” Elyot describes is “beholding the diversities of people, beastis, foules, fisshes, trees, frutes, and herbes.” Elyot’s syntax could make it unclear what the would-be gentle-witted student of cosmography is supposed to do in beholding such diversity; on a first reading, the “beastis, foules, fisshes, trees, frutes, and herbes” seem to vanish, in favour of knowing “the sondry manners & conditions of people, and the variety of their natures,” where the phrase “their natures” refers only to the “people” whose “sondry manners & conditions” are given privileged attention. The colon offers the key to Elyot’s rhetoric: he creates a parallel between “the diversities of people, beastis, foules, fisshes, trees, frutes, and herbes” and “[knowing] the sondry manners & conditions of people, and the variety of their natures,” where “the sondry manners & conditions of people” refers back to “the

diversities of people,” and “the variety of their natures” to the fauna and flora of the earlier clause. According to Elyot, then, the point of learning about animals is to know “the variety of their natures”---their natural histories, in other words. Knowing about animals is knowing the nature of animals.

Elyot’s remarks confirm Ogilvie’s assertion that early modern natural history saw worth in a “literal knowledge [of] the natural world” (“Natural History” 83). Elyot does not explain precisely what benefits come from such “good lernynge,” but in The Compleat Gentleman (1622), Henry Peacham takes up Elyot’s argument and makes clear why natural history, as a part of cosmography, is “a second Ariadne...come to your delivery” (Compleat I2r). Like Elyot, Peacham emphasizes the social necessity of cosmological knowledge, including it among those things “fashioning...the most necessary and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentleman” (Compleat Title page). Again, the benefits invoked are ones of the mind as well as those of pure pragmatism: gentleness involves having high thoughts at the same time as one reaches for the right fork to eat the fish course. Peacham emphasizes not only the pleasure and usefulness of the subject, but also the stature and wisdom of those who pursue it. Cosmography is

a science at once both feeding the eye and minde with such incredible varietie, and profitable pleasure, that euen the greatest kings and Philosophers, haue not onely bestowed the best part of their time in the contemplation hereof at home, but to their infinite charge and perill of their persons, haue themselues trauailed to vnderstand the Scituation of farre countries, bounds of Seas, qualities of Regions, manners of people and the like. (Compleat I2v)

Not only is knowledge of cosmography “required in a Noble Gentleman,” but Peacham follows Erasmus in implying the social and cultural capital to be gained in following the examples of “the greatest kings and Philosophers” in their interests. He defends it as necessary to understanding history and points to the dangers in formulating state policies without knowledge of geography, civil history, and natural history. For Peacham (making explicit what Elyot implies), cosmography is useful because of its social value, and because it offers guidelines for policy-making. Knowing about the natural world aids judgment in both worldly and spiritual affairs. “In euery Countrey,” Peacham advises, “know the Latitude, then the Longitude of the place, the temperature of the Climate, the

goodnesse or barrennesse of the ground, the limits of the Countrey,” and other geographical facts. To this, Peacham urges his readers to add a knowledge of “what commodities it affordeth, as what Mines, Woods or Forrests; what Beasts, Fowles, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Plants; what Mountains, Riuers, Fountaines and Cities,” as well as “what notable matter of wonder or Antiquitie; the manners, shape, and attire of the people; their building, what Ports and Hauens; what Rockes, Sands, and such like places of danger, are about the place; and last of all, the Religion and Gouernment of the Inhabitants” (Compleat K2v). Only in possessing this detailed knowledge--including a detailed knowledge of animal life--can the wise judge what action to take in any given situation---not only because of the usefulness of having full and reliable information about people and places when dealing with them, but also because of an inherent exemplary benefit to be had from the knowledge itself, as both Peacham and Elyot suggest.

Spenser demonstrates the importance of cosmographic learning and shows its purpose as a part of decision-making and judgment in The Faerie Queene: In Book 2, Alma shows Arthur and Guyon over her castle, ending the tour by visiting her three advisors living in the turret, each living in a separate room decorated to reflect the advisor’s function and allegorical persona as one of the three higher faculties of the mind. Between Phantastes, representing imagination, and Eumnestes, representing memory, Alma introduces her visitors to a second, unnamed figure dwelling in a room

whose wals  
 Were painted faire with memorable gestes,  
 Of famous Wisards, and with picturals  
 Of Magistrates, of courts, of tribunals,  
 Of commen wealthes, of states, of pollicy,  
 Of lawes, of iudgements, and of decretals;  
 All artes, all science, all Philosophy,  
 And all that in the world was aye thought wittily. (2.9.53.2-9)

“All artes, all science, all Philosophy” and all that was “aye thought wittily” by the world would include natural history, if Elyot’s statements about the worth of knowing about “beastis, foules, fisses, trees, frutes, and herbes” to “a gentil witte” are any guide (37v). The room is festooned with cosmography, and in the midst of this display of knowledge “sate a man of ripe and perfect age, / Who did them meditate all his life long,” and as a

result had “growne right wise, and wondrous sage” (FQ 2.9.54.2-5). This man had grown so wise, in fact, from contemplating “all artes, all science, all Philosophy,” and the “memorable gestes” of human achievement that the two visiting knights want to set aside their quests (and the rest of Alma’s tour), and sit at his feet as his disciples. Where Phantastes considers imaginative possibilities, and Eumnestes the memory of what has been, this second figure contemplates present action, employing the tools of both memory and imagination. As such, his tools are the same recommended by Elyot and Peacham: the knowledge offered by cosmography, for judicial actions based upon such knowledge require the imaginative application of facts recorded by memory. Discrimination, as David Lee Miller notes, is the sole purview of the second advisor, and does not exist in either fantasy or memory (185). Like the “gentil witte” of Elyot’s justification for cosmography who has “[beheld] in his owne house every thyng that with in all the worlde is contained” (37v), Alma’s second advisor has all natural, civil, and moral knowledge before him, thanks to his two colleagues. His function, as Spenser states, is to meditate (which his medial position among the counselors puns upon) and to offer counsel in a way that neither Phantastes nor Eumnestes is able to do. Spenser emphasizes the appeal of what he represents through Arthur and Guyon’s reaction to him, and through the description of his person. Where he is “a man of ripe and perfect age” whose “goodly reason, and graue personage” give the two visitors “great pleasure...to see” (FQ 2.9.54.2-7), Phantastes seems to all appearances to be one “borne with ill disposed skyes” (2.9.52.8), while Eumnestes is “an old oldman, halfe blind, / And all decrepit in his feeble corse” (2.9.55.5-6). In his idealized, healthy state, the second counselor represents a humanist ideal of applied knowledge: *mens sana in corpore sano*.

Natural history forms a part of the cosmographic body of learning that itself forms the basis of this counselor’s judgment. In showing the temperate mind in action in the Castle of Alma, Spenser provides a vivid example of the justifications for such learning offered by Elyot and Peacham in action. “Judgment,” here, acts very much as Pliny the Elder did in compiling his Natural History, according to Erasmus, by applying a well-informed critical acumen to a mass of material to create a useful synthesis. Canacee’s command of “euerie science that mote bee, / And euerie secret worke of natures wayes” irresistibly recalls this unnamed sage’s breadth and depth of learning; the parallel

suggests that part of Canacee's being the most learned woman of her time is the ability to sort through and apply that knowledge in a discriminating manner (FQ 4.2.35.3-4). Knowledge without discrimination, Spenser seems to say, is useless. The body of knowledge available to the discriminating mind must be of sufficient variety (a word used by both Peacham and Elyot) to provide enough context, information, and exemplary lessons for right-founded judgment to be made. Here, I find it useful to extend Spiller's concept of "made" knowledge to Spenser's allegorized demonstration of how he conceived the well-ordered mind and body at work: knowledge and action are created not by experimentation, but by discernment---by sorting through a foundational body of information, comparing present circumstances to examples derived from that mass of knowledge, and deciding upon the right course, just as early modern readers read books. Spenser, Elyot, and Peacham emphasize the diversity and general scope of such foundational learning, as well as its desirability. Indeed, part of the pleasure to be had for such learning appears to be (in Peacham's words) its "incredible varietie" (Compleat I2v) and (to use Elyot's term) the "diversities" of subjects (37v).<sup>19</sup>

Baldwin and James McConica (1986) provide a parallel to the Cambridge statutes at Oxford that suggests another facet of humanist attitudes towards natural history and knowledge of the world in general: that all learned people should possess this broad body of knowledge. In the provisions made for public lectures in Greek, Latin, and Divinity at Corpus Christi College by Bishop Richard Fox in 1517, the subjects for the lectures are set according to the days of the week, and include Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Horace, and others (the list might serve as C. S. Lewis's "commoner classics"). Fox notes in the statutes, if the auditors make sufficient progress through the authors set for Mondays and Wednesdays, thereby demonstrating "that they wish and are able to mount to higher things...then we permit Pliny, that luminary in natural history," Quintilian, and a number of works by Cicero otherwise not covered to be given to the students (qtd. in Baldwin 1: 104). Pliny was a reward for advanced work. In short, Fox's lecturers "proclaimed the curriculum of the humanist reformers" (McConica, "Rise" 21). What should be remembered is that these lectures were the task of "the sower and planter of the

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<sup>19</sup> For a recent account of the place and significance of cosmography in sixteenth century Europe, see Matthew McLean.

Latin tongue...to be called the Reader or Professor of the Arts of Humanity” and not a natural historian *per se*, suggesting how much such knowledge was thought to be a common necessity in a humanist education (Baldwin 1: 103).

The Elizabethan statutes for Cambridge and Fox’s provisions demonstrate in turn institutional reactions to the same assumptions shown by Spenser, Elyot, and Peacham about the need for the well-educated humanist to possess knowledge of the natural world, as well as the didactic pleasure to be had from such study. This knowledge was not only thought to be a necessary part of general learning, but as Grafton remarks, was also fundamental to pedagogical practice in the humanist classroom:

Bookish though the classroom was, it offered students a surprising amount of information about the natural, as well as the historical and moral, world. Courses on a number of classical authors--not only Pliny, whose encyclopaedia played a central role in early modern understanding of the natural world, but poets such as Ovid, Lucretius, and Manilius--turned naturally into lessons on natural history and cosmology. (“Libraries and Lecture Halls” 242)

During the typical course of meticulous, word-by-word study of classical texts, lecturers would use allusions to the natural world as opportunities to expound upon the natural, historical, and moral associations of a given plant or animal. Any competent scholar educated under this system would be expected to be able to identify in precise terms what plants, animals, birds, or fishes were mentioned by a classical author. Moreover, like the inveterate annotators of the period (such as Dee or Harvey) or the polymath “Reader or Professor of the Arts of Humanity” envisioned by Fox at Corpus Christi, a student would ideally be able to gloss not just the grammatical or taxonomic attributes of such an allusion, but also the cultural significance of any plants and creatures mentioned in a text under scrutiny.<sup>20</sup>

Natural history, then, was a part of the larger subjects of each of the four years of a B.A., as laid out by the statutes, seemingly at both Cambridge and Oxford, as well as a part of university pedagogical practice. According to Lisa Jardine, students pursuing a bachelor’s degree at Spenser’s Cambridge followed a four-year course

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<sup>20</sup> For an example nearly contemporary to Spenser of the Europe-wide humanist practice of the encyclopedic annotation of classical texts, see Kristine Haugen’s “A French Jesuit’s Lectures on Vergil, 1582-1583: Jacques Sirmond between Literature, History, and Myth.”

focused on elementary dialectic (the humanist version of logic or formal ratiocination) and advanced rhetoric...they progressed through a programme of reading in the major classical authors...to natural philosophy (elementary science). To this was added some mathematics...geometry (basic Euclid), and Greek, starting with the New Testament. ("Cambridge" 130-01)

The first year was devoted to rhetoric, the second and third to logic, and the fourth to philosophy (Statutes 6). Jardine has definitively argued for the dialectical nature of the Cambridge B.A. programme. As she observes, between Henry's reforms and Elizabeth's statutes, the training offered to baccalaureate students was "modified from a general survey of available knowledge," organized around the trivium and quadrivium, "to become an introductory training of the mind, in preparation for more arduous academic enterprises" ("Place" 43). This dialectical characteristic appears even in the formal requirements for advancement: those pursuing a B.A. participated in a series of debates, both against a master of arts and against a member of their own class, and were then asked to declaim publicly---a form of examination modeled on the declamations introduced by Philip Melanchthon to Wittenberg in 1523 (Statutes 7; McConica, "Fate" 43).

To refine Jardine's characterization of Cambridge, the shift towards dialectic--most notably spurred on by the controversial influence of Ramism--did not entirely displace the older "general survey" model, as the continued presence of such general and generalizing subjects as cosmography attests. In fact, if anything, dialectal teaching revived the vigour of the sort of encyclopaedic commentary Grafton notes was the typical practice of the humanist don (and student, learning the habit of reading). Texts were assumed to have a dialectal core, from which students could learn the habits of argument. This core could only be reached by studying the rhetorical devices employed by the author, including precisely the metaphors, similes, and allusions that were subject to such detailed commentary. Like Alma's well-informed discerning counsellor, the student trained in dialectic was thought to need to have access to all possible tools with which to construct an argument. The "general survey of available knowledge" became part of teaching dialectic, showing again how pragmatic the humanist attitude towards knowledge really was.

Students with an interest in a specialist discipline for its own sake could occasionally be taken up by fellows with those interests for extra tutoring; while a student in the 1540s, John Dee studied Greek mathematics privately with John Cheke, and Spenser's friendship with Harvey could also be described as a similar small group of (in Jardine's words) "like-minded intellectuals discussing specialist problems, corresponding, and exchanging books" ("Cambridge" 131). Because formal studies in law, medicine, and natural science at both Cambridge and Oxford had failed to keep pace with continental Europe during this period, those interested in these areas often completed their educations in places like Padua, Montpellier, or Bologna ("Cambridge" 131; Pelling and Webster 165). Indeed, Craig R. Thompson notes that among prospective physicians, "it became customary to go abroad...for professional training" (14). English students of medicine and the natural sciences had what Jonathan Woolfson calls "a central importance" in international humanist learning, particularly in medical humanism (73). The international scope of medical education indicates the survival of humanist cosmopolitanism through medical humanism, in spite of the divisions wrought in Europe through the Reformation: on one side of this watershed, Thomas Linacre took his M.D. at Padua in 1496, and on the other side, Thomas Browne could still train at Montpellier and Padua, and take his M.D. at Leiden in 1633.<sup>21</sup>

Much depended on the student and his tutor, and the "influence groups" of which they were a part. The latter part of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century at Cambridge were characterized by an "intimacy and intensity of the relationship between tutors and students" matched only by that of the late nineteenth century (V. Morgan 314). The best tutors were "instrumental in providing a range of learning experiences within their rooms" (then as now), and because of the broadening spectrum of students attending Cambridge through the period, tutors were able "to indulge their own interests beyond the bounds of the formal curriculum" (327). Larger numbers of aristocratic students entered the university, and "much of the 'extra-curricula

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<sup>21</sup> See George Clark 40-41, and R. H. Robbins's entry on Browne in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography for brief accounts of the training of these two physicians. Woolfson's Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603 is of central importance to anyone interested in English humanist training abroad; see pp. 73-102 for medicine and natural philosophy. Woolfson's account includes an invaluable biographical register of English visitors and students at Padua covering the late fifteenth and all of the sixteenth centuries. See also Peter Murray Jones and the magisterial two-part survey of Tudor and Stuart medical practitioners by R. S. Roberts.



curriculum' which developed in Cambridge during the late sixteenth century was intended to meet the diverse needs" of this new student body (327-28). Rather than being uniform, the instruction offered to a Cambridge undergraduate was tailored by the individual tutor to the individual student's needs and capacities.

Alas, the identity of Spenser's tutor is lost, but F. J. Levy refers to the sort of education Spenser would have had from any Cambridge educator at this time as "the peculiarly English version of Italian civic humanism" (66). Although men like Spenser and Sidney "metaphorically shared the same school bench" (66), they could not, because of the socioeconomic distinctions between them, share the same ambitions, as Levy observes. The nature of the Ciceronian, dialectic education Spenser and others like him received at places like Merchant Taylors' and Cambridge encouraged them to seek an active life of service to the state. Those of sufficient social standing, like Sidney, could choose from a number of career options, but Spenser was born without these advantages, and was therefore obliged to pursue a career based on his learning. His own social background (he was born into a middling mercantile London family, but was poor enough to receive payments from the Nowell bequest and to attend Pembroke as a sizar) limited Spenser to attempting to live the "myth of social mobility, of a career open to talents, with 'learning' as the ladder by which heights might be attained," created and expounded by Elizabethan educators and educational theorists like Mulcaster and Ascham (Levy 68).

Although the university was perceived as a religious institution, "parents, tutors, and students all sought, in the main, a balanced diet of divine and secular learning" (V. Morgan 329).<sup>22</sup> Hugh Kearney observes that sixteenth-century tutorial supervision was "a form of intellectual and moral discipline," rather than a process of cultivating a critical mind in the student (22). In fact, as Anthony Grafton and Lawrence Stone comment, this cherished present-day objective of a liberal education "was the last thing desired by pedagogues or parents, church or state" (107). The aim instead of this type of tutelage was "to produce intellectuals and gentlemen who could be relied upon in a world

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<sup>22</sup> Victor Morgan quotes from contemporary letters and notebooks to show how widely and late (into the mid-eighteenth century) the assumption was held that one function of the tutor and the university more widely was to provide a basic induction into Christianity (328-29). Morgan's dates should be extended into the nineteenth century, as the educational theories of the Tractarians attest.

constantly threatened, it was thought, by revolution” (Kearney 22). Moral philosophy remained at the core of undergraduate learning, but (in Levy’s words) “increasingly...the universities were filling up with young men who had no intention of becoming theologians” or clergymen (67-68). “The general learning Cicero had considered appropriate for an orator,” as Levy correctly observes, “had been transformed into a prerequisite for advancement in the hierarchy of Elizabethan civil society” (68). In other words, the general education advocated by educational theorists and apparently practised at places like Cambridge prepared students of all classes to take up roles in that hierarchy (and by implication, to take up roles in maintaining that hierarchy, as Kearney would have it), but the depth of tutelage offered in any one area (beyond dialectic and rhetoric) probably depended on individual interests, Victor Morgan suggests, as well as on class origins. As Feingold notes of mathematical instruction, “at university, the upper classes received some instruction in the mathematical sciences, as did all undergraduates,” but such aristocratic students were often warned not to overindulge in such pursuits (190-91). The numerous letters of advice Feingold cites advise their noble student readers that attention should be paid to those aspects of mathematics relevant to practical pursuits like navigation, mapmaking, accounting, and surveying; ironic advice, given the usual disdain paid to “trade” by later members of the upper classes.

## VII

### **Cambridge: Natural History and Pembroke**

Little seems to be known (or is knowable?) about the presence of natural history in Cambridge tutelage, beyond the statutory cosmography lectures and the general practice of making all texts encyclopaedic. Victor Morgan is right to warn against an over-reliance on the statutes as a guide to actual practice. Feingold, for example, argues for the importance of scientifically-minded heads of colleges and halls in fostering inquiry and instruction, and drawing together like-minded fellows. Much does seem to have depended upon the interests of individual scholars, and it would be useful to be able to reconstruct a sense of the intellectual atmosphere of Pembroke in order to gauge what role the study of natural history had in that college during Spenser’s time there, particularly since so much of a student’s university life in this period centred on his own

college. While Spenser was a student at Pembroke, the Master was John Young, Bishop of Rochester after 1578 and the employer of Spenser as secretary, likely until July, 1579 (Maley 9). One of the fellows of Pembroke during Young's mastership was Lancelot Brown, university mathematical lecturer from 1568-70. Brown left Cambridge for London in 1584 in order to practice medicine, eventually becoming physician to Elizabeth I and James I in turn. Gabriel Harvey succeeded to Brown's fellowship, and it was Brown who advised Harvey to pursue medicine as a profession (Feingold 50); Brown himself had come to Pembroke to study medicine (Attwater 44). Here, again, we see the permeability of role-functions.

The college had in succession two masters interested in science after Young: William Fulke, from 1578-89, and Lancelot Andrewes (a contemporary of Spenser at both Merchant Taylors' and Pembroke), from 1589 until his elevation to the episcopacy in 1605 (Attwater 57-58). Andrewes, later a famous and influential Bishop of Winchester, had an interest in mathematics and astronomy and appears to have attempted to foster similar interests among the students of Pembroke; the college's copy of Copernicus, for example, was donated by Andrewes in 1589 (Feingold 58). Fulke, who seems to have been a notable iconoclastic Puritan "character" of late sixteenth-century Cambridge, when he was still a fellow of St. John's College, was accused of keeping "in his chamber conies, dogs, rats, birds, virginals: and useth to go a birding with his boys" (qtd. in Porter 128). This anecdotal evidence suggests that in addition to the mathematical, astronomical, and astrological interests he possessed, Fulke was likely something of a naturalist, and demonstrates the range of interests of a Cambridge don (ostensibly a theologian) of this period, and the range of possible "interest groups" available to a student seeking specialized training beyond the curriculum.

As for the opportunities for Pembroke men to pursue studies abroad, Jonathan Woolfson shows that Pembroke had a fairly active tradition of scholars traveling to Padua for specialized training in medicine and natural history by the time Spenser was a member of the college. Thomas Bill (M.A., 1530), for example, took his M.D. at Padua, and became physician to both Henry VIII and Edward VI, and attended the then-Princess Elizabeth (213); Thomas Lupset (who was at Pembroke early in the sixteenth century), who was a friend of Linacre and Erasmus, studied at Padua in the 1520s, and knew both

the French naturalist Guillaume Budé and the English natural historian and physician Edward Wotton (253); and William Turner--physician, priest, herbalist, and author of an important early ornithological text, Avium praecipuarum (1544)--was a student at Pembroke in the 1530s and studied in Italy during the 1540s (Woolfson 278). This learned traffic did not end with the Reformation: a Pembroke man almost certainly known to Spenser, one Henry Farr (B.A., '69; elected a Fellow of Pembroke, '70; M.A., '73), traveled to study at Padua in 1596, Woolfson records (233).

Such a tradition might suggest an atmosphere at Pembroke encouraging to those wishing to study natural history, but the poverty of natural history texts in the college library shows that it was instead a tradition born of necessity. Taking the works of a few leading natural historians of the period as a kind of litmus test, Pembroke does not come off as a place especially interested in natural history, according to H. M. Adams's catalogue of sixteenth-century books printed on the Continent held in Cambridge libraries. Although Adams does not record acquisition dates for specific volumes, his catalogue does create a useful sketch of the kinds of books held by Spenser's college during his time there. Of the classical natural historians, Pembroke does have a copy of the edition of Pliny edited by Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus (Adams's number 1561), which may have been in college during Spenser's time, as well as two other later sixteenth-century editions (from 1582 and 1599 respectively). The college possesses three complete editions of Aristotle, two of which were printed before Spenser was at Pembroke (number 1731, edited by Erasmus, and number 1743), but no separate editions of Aristotle's works on animals, nor Aelian on birds. Contemporary natural history is scanty: Pembroke has the third volume of a 1558 edition of Gesner's Historiae (number 538), but no copy of any of the works of his English colleagues John Caius and Edward Wotton. Early modern college loyalty apparently had its limits, because even the ornithological text of William Turner, late student and fellow of Pembroke, is absent from the college holdings. There are, however, two copies of Aesop's works from the 1540s (numbers 281 and 286).

What this slightly dispiriting information about book holdings suggests is that Pembroke was likely an old-fashioned place during Spenser's time there, as regards inquiries into natural history---a fitting fact, considering how often his natural history errs

on the side of tradition in his poetry. Library holdings must be balanced with what is known about the scholars at Pembroke, and what is known about the state of Cambridge more generally during Spenser's time there. Early modern natural history texts were being read, as the Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories for the sixteenth century demonstrate; it all depended on the college and the scholar. As Elizabeth Leedham-Green observes, it is worth recalling that college libraries did not seem to have taken it upon themselves to supply texts to the junior members of college, and that the responsibility for providing texts was taken up by many tutors (1: xx). For example, Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely, as well as the Master of Peterhouse from 1554 until 1589 and Vice-Chancellor of the university during part of Spenser's student years, owned copies of the natural history works of Gesner, Wotton, Fuchs, and Pliny---alongside the perhaps more usual Bibles, grammars, civic histories, and theological commentaries (1: 419ff).<sup>23</sup> Natural history was part of everyone's cultural vocabulary, but specialized inquiry into the subject was limited to a few interested individuals.

Colin Clout's education in natural history came about as a necessity of his life as a shepherd. Because of the semi-autobiographical aura surrounding him, his knowledge of plants, birds, and animals stands not only just for itself (natural history *qua* natural history), but also represents the whole body of learning Spenser himself sought to acquire in his formation as a poet. The animal lore possessed by Canacee forms part of her identity as the most learned woman of her time---and of her poem. When read in conjunction with the justifications for cosmographic learning offered by Elyot and Peacham, and with the portrait of the well-ordered mind in the Castle of Alma, Canacee's natural history emerges as a vital part of what makes her "learnedst": the discrimination derived from meditating upon a knowledge of natural, civic, and moral history. In portraying the function of natural history in this way, Spenser reflects the pragmatic practice of humanist educators, who saw it as part of the body of useful learning to which all educated people should have access, in all of its variety, from the earliest stages of their education. Humanist teaching practices trained the minds of students to read texts in an encyclopaedic way, always with an eye to what might be of use, and natural history provided rich fodder for this system of interactive reading. This sense of "usefulness"

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<sup>23</sup> For Perne's library, see also David McKitterick's "Andrew Perne and his Books."

directed not only teaching, reading, and learning, but also the very practices of early modern natural history itself, as I shall now argue in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Renaissance *Historia* of Nature

Nature is what we know  
 But have no art to say,  
 So impotent our wisdom is  
 To her simplicity.  
 - Emily Dickinson (43)

#### I

#### “Obviously not pure biologists”

As I have shown in the previous chapter, broadly natural historical authors like Aesop and Pliny the Elder were parts of the education Spenser and men in his social and cultural position received, although anything explicitly like modern zoology, botany, or biology was not. Indeed, early modern natural history itself seems at times strikingly unlike the modern disciplines that succeeded it. What that natural history was and how it interacted with other developments in Renaissance culture are the subjects of the second part of this chapter. As F. David Hoeniger asserts, men like Conrad Gesner and William Turner, the practitioners of the discourse called natural history that emerged during the sixteenth century, do deserve “to be called the fathers of modern botany and zoology” because they engaged in “large-scale systematic surveys of natural history based on (as far as they were able) direct observation” and “anticipate[d] some of the scientific concerns with the fundamental nature and order of life that characterizes the work of leading investigators centuries later” (145). But, for all this, Hoeniger continues, “they were obviously not pure biologists in the modern sense” (145). How was their science different, and why?

Early modern natural history is marked by what to a modern reader appears to be “the lack of a clear-cut boundary between the study of nature and the study of culture” (Pomata and Siraisi 5). Two interrelated cultural characteristics were central to the practice of natural history for about a hundred years after its rise as a discourse in the early sixteenth century and mark the principal differences between the modern and Renaissance study of animals: a revitalized interest in natural *exempla* and an assumption that the created world serves as a means of understanding God and God’s soteriological plan for Creation. This chapter explores the influence of these two characteristics on early modern natural history through the adoption of *historia* as organizing generic model for the study of the natural world.

## II Genre and Expectations

Nicholas Jardine and Emma Spary argue that since the 1960s, historians of natural history have increasingly employed the practices of social and cultural history to reconstruct the meanings of past approaches to the natural world. Jardine and Spary assert that

By tracking the local and day-to-day routines of past inquirers, such a history can convey aspects of their lived experience. By studying the means by which they sought to resolve questions, it can reconstruct the ranges of questions real for them, their 'scenes' of inquiry...and by charting the production, distribution and reception of knowledge claims, it can reveal the ways in which the social and natural worlds give rise to their representations and are transformed by those representations. (9-10)

In pragmatic terms, The Faerie Queene and the works of the natural historians are part of a cultural system concerned with "the production, distribution, and reception of knowledge claims" made about animals during the sixteenth century. Both the poem and the natural histories give shape to a peculiarly early modern experience of the relationship between humans and animals. As Brian W. Ogilvie observes, sixteenth-century natural history is "not a taxonomic science," and to look for modern zoology or botany in it is a fruitless anachronistic quest ("Many Books" 30).

But, for many years, this is precisely what historians sought to do, and for too long, the history of natural history was treated "as a kind of blind groping toward self-evident principles of binomial nomenclature" ("Many Books" 29-30). A large share of the credit for the shift away from this kind of historical inquiry must be given to Michel Foucault, who, in The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, influentially characterized the Renaissance as an age of similitude, suggesting that the search for resemblances and correspondences was the guiding principle for all of early modern thought. For Foucault, natural history was "the inextricable and completely unitary fabric of all that was visible of things and of the signs that had been discovered or lodged in them" (129). Foucault's emphasis is on unity: the search for similitude provided a system of thought for all inquiry. His influence has been widespread and significant, though it has not been received uncritically; it has, however, allowed for



Renaissance natural history to be taken seriously on its own terms, rather than just as a quaint black-letter aberration in disciplinary development.

In the study of historical natural history, this contextualizing view marks a significant break with the past. However, as recently as 1990, William B. Ashworth could assert that he “believe[s] that our assumptions and conclusions concerning the nature of natural history are seriously flawed” because they continue to follow the lead of earlier historians who were “looking for the origins of biology, and, if not that, then at least for the roots of modern zoology and botany” in sixteenth-century natural history (“Natural history” 304). Because those roots are not always obvious, however, early modern natural history has too often been dismissed as “medieval.” One need not look far in otherwise reputable scholarship to find the great encyclopedic texts of Renaissance naturalists called “bestiaries.” The roots of this misinterpretation go back at least as far as the latter half of the seventeenth century. In an ornithological text of 1678, for example, the great Restoration naturalist John Ray defines his work by contrasting it with what has been come before:

Having acquainted the Reader with our principal aim in this Work, which was to give certain Characteristic notes of the several kinds, accurately to describe each *Species*, and to reduce all to their proper *Classes* or *Genera*: We shall further add, that we have wholly omitted what we find in other Authors concerning *Homonymous* and *Synonymous* words, or the divers names of Birds, *Hieroglyphics*, *Emblems*, *Morals*, *Fables*, *Presages*, or ought else appertaining to *Divinity*, *Ethics*, *Grammar*, or any sort of Humane Learning: And present him only with what properly relates to their Natural History. (A4r)

Ray’s concept of “what properly relates to” natural history has shifted away from that held during Spenser’s lifetime, but the contrast Ray makes speaks volumes about what information *had* been held to constitute the study, as I shall show later in this chapter. John Aubrey, himself an interested student of natural history, was far less courteous than Ray: he dismissed the learning of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as “pædantry,” claiming that “criticall learning, Mathematics & experimentall philosophy was [*sic*] not known” at the time. According to Aubrey, “the conversation and habitts of those times viz. Q[ueen] Eliz[abeth] & K[ing] James [were] accordingly stiffe & starch’t as their bands & square beards” (qtd. in Hunter 41). In the nineteenth century, Jacob Burckhardt unwittingly directed the development of the study of the Renaissance as well

as the history of science when he observed that “Humanism...attracted to itself the best strength of the nation, and thereby, no doubt, did injury to the inductive investigation of nature” (2.286). This Whiggish view has steered scholarly interest away from a moralizing Renaissance natural history, seeing it as a dead-end in scientific knowledge.

Ashworth is right in suggesting that history of natural history has been distorted because “we have not been asking ourselves the right questions” (“Natural history” 305). The truth is that “natural history in the Renaissance was an area of study that bore little resemblance to our modern notions of the discipline” (“Emblematic” 17). Context needs to be recovered; as Martin Kemp demanded from the pages of *Nature* in 2006, “The ‘history’” needs to be put “back into natural history” (7086). F. David Hoeniger’s question of *how* plants and animals were studied in the mid-sixteenth century is a useful and necessary one. But by accepting the natural history on its own terms, rather than asking who in the sixteenth century furthered the course toward Linnaean classification, Ashworth states that the question “we should be asking...[is] why did Renaissance scholars gather and publish information about the natural world?” (“Natural history” 305).

Andrew Maunsell’s Catalogue of English printed Bookes, published in two parts in 1595, offers a salutary insight into how the Elizabethans grouped knowledge categories, including natural history, and a sense of what was thought of as the purpose or use of different kinds of knowledge. Maunsell conceived of the catalogue in three parts: the first section lists works of divinity, the second concerns works of what might loosely be called science, while a projected third though unfinished part would list works of “Humanity,” as Maunsell states in one of the prefatory letters to the second part (¶v). Maunsell groups natural history texts in the second part with works “which concerneth the Sciences *Mathematicall*, as *Arith- | metick, Geometrie, Astronomie, Astrologie, Musick, the Arte of | VVarre, and Nauigation: |* And also, of *Phisick and Surgerie*,” as the titlepage announces. Important Tudor natural histories like John Maplet’s A Greene Forest (1567) and Stephen Batman’s Batman uppon Bartholome (1582) jostle alongside settings of the Psalms by William Byrd, a cosmography by Thomas Blundeville, guides to meteors, rutters, cookery books, books of secrets, treatments for the pox, and translations of Thomas Linacre’s medical texts---all books, as Maunsell conceives of the

category, “published to the | glorie of God, and the benefit of the Common- | weale of England” (titlepage). What links these works is a sense of their immediate and practical use.

The immediate and practical use of natural history for its early modern practitioners and readers included the symbolism attached to animals, which had a didactic ethical and moral usefulness. Although ancient and medieval natural history often had such an ethical component, as Pomata and Siraisi note, the Renaissance discipline was “set off from earlier forms of moralizing about nature (for example, medieval bestiaries) by a new insistence on accurate description of natural particulars” derived from the generic expectations of *historia* (13). For Pomata and Siraisi, “the early modern *historia* seriously challenges our assumptions about nature and culture as separate fields of inquiry”(6). Pomata and Siraisi have also commented on “the ubiquity of *historia* in early modern learning” (1), but caution against overlooking the differences between the Renaissance *historia* and the modern “history” as epistemological categories:

In striking contrast to the modern use of the term “history,” the early modern *historia* straddled the distinction between human and natural subjects, embracing accounts of objects in the natural world as well as the record of human action. (1-2)

*Historia*--or the usual English translation, “history,” without its modern disciplinary overtones--is a term employed by both Spenser of his epic poem and by the natural historians of their works. The common use of *historia* as a designation for the intellectual practices common to the human and natural sciences suggests how interrelated these endeavors were during the Renaissance: “Early modern *natura* and *historia* were not antithetical terms, nor were the boundaries between them drawn as we draw them now” (6). Though differing in intellectual objectives, such practices placed an emphasis on “the knowledge and description of particulars” key to the concept of *historia* (3). Human and natural history also share methodologies, including procedures of proof, drawing upon authorities (printed or anecdotal) or upon direct empirical observation. Arno Seifert, in *Cognitio historica: die Geschichte als Namengeberin der frühneuzeitlichen Empirie*, which, according to Pomata and Siraisi, “remains the most significant contribution to the history of *historia*” (5), argues that until almost the beginning of the eighteenth century, *historia* signified the general field of “prescientific empirical knowledge”

(“vorwissenschaftliche Empirie”), built upon the humanist rediscovery of the word as meaning knowledge in general: descriptive *vera narratio* (Seifert 10). *Historia* became the concept to which all empirical knowledge was reduced by Renaissance thinkers, with no clear boundary between the study of nature and the study of culture. As Anthony Grafton summarizes, “The *ars historica* formed an organic part of a massive early modern effort to capture and use the whole world of particulars” (What 28).

Herschel Baker contends that most Renaissance discussions of historiography rest upon two basic commonplaces: “One is that the historian, unlike other writers, has a special obligation to ascertain and state the truth of things”---prescientific empiricism (to borrow Seifert’s term) reflected in an emphasis on particularities. The other commonplace is the assumption “that such truths are exemplary” (16). Human history was regarded as a pragmatic and didactic discipline teaching ethics: as Sidney defines it, where the philosopher “teacheth virtue by certain abstract considerations,” the historian “bid[s] you follow the footing of them that have gone before you” in virtue (Apology 105). “The end of all Histories ought be to mooue men vnto vertue, and discourage them from vice,” Thomas Bedingfield remarks in his 1595 translation of Macchiavelli’s history of Florence (A2r). I do not know whether Bedingfield would extend his remark to include natural history, but as Ogilvie notes,

This moral function of *historia*, restricted initially to human history, came to be taken on by natural history as well; though anthropomorphizing *exempla* from the animal world had been the stock in trade of medieval bestiaries and preaching manuals, humanist naturalists insisted, instead, on the moral benefits of literal knowledge of the natural world. (“Natural History” 82-83)

From this emphasis on “the moral benefits of literal knowledge of the natural world” came two results. The first was a didactic natural history that flourished and failed over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the second was the development and refinement of natural theology, particularly in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Ashworth describes this moralizing natural history as the emblematic world view: according to this didactic or emblematic natural history, in order to know an animal, one must know not just its anatomy or physiology, but also its affinities, associations, similitudes, and sympathies with the rest of the created universe---its all-embracing *historia*, in other words. By applying the generic expectations of history

to the study of animals, humanist naturalists affirm and sharpen Pliny the Elder's statement that this sort of study is one of "natura, hoc est vita" (pref. 13). If nature is indeed life, then natural history must be regarded as another humanist application of the Socratic dictum that an unexamined life is not worth living; the study of nature is therefore of great pragmatic value to those participating in the pursuit of spiritual development behind so much humanist thought and educational practice.

Although early modern natural history was *historia*, what was The Faerie Queene? Early modern dictionaries show the range of meaning attached to *historia* and "history" as terms for a generic approach concerned with both real and imagined knowledge. In his Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae of 1587, Thomas Thomas defines *historia* as "an historie, the declaration of true things in order set forth: a tale" (Dd1v); John Florio, in Queen Anna's new world of words (1611), defines the Italian *historia* as "an historie, a storie, a declaration of true things in others, set downe vnto posteritie" (229). Truth need not be factual to be exemplary, but merely something worth recording. A useful term related to *historia* is *casus*, used in late sixteenth-century medical literature for the description of a particular individual's *historia*. The meaning of the term was not limited to works that would fall under the modern category of "case history," however, and encompassed such imagined individual *historiae* as Marlowe's The tragicall history of D. Faustus (1604), and, according to its Q1 title, Shakespeare's The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke (1603).

Spenser, who admits he chose to "colour" The Faerie Queene with "an historical fiction," addresses the difficulties of such a blurring of lines between *historia* as *casus* and imagined *historia* in his letter to Raleigh:

The Methode of a Poet historical is not such as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly as they were donne, accounting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the middest, euen where it most concerneth him, and there recouring to the thinges forepaste, and diuining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all. (716-17)

In this statement, Spenser makes his own "defence of poesy" by summarizing the commonly-held distinctions between poetry and history: where the historian is limited to the record of things as they are or have occurred, the poet can use the imagination to shape events into "a pleasing Analysis" or more affecting and effective arrangement of

the narrative. The historian's analysis of events must be shaped "as they were donne," but the poet reshapes narrative in order to emphasize those things that are most important and "most concerneth him." Spenser implies a distance from the material in the historian's method compared to that of the poet through the verbs he uses: where the historian staidly "discourseth" upon affairs, the poet dynamically "thrusteth into the middest" of the narrative and "maketh" something of the material (suggesting the common Renaissance etymology of "poet" as "maker"<sup>24</sup>). In spite of these dissimilarities, what Spenser does insist upon is the "historical" nature of the tasks of both the "Poet historical" and the "Historiographer." The difference is one of "Methode," not matter. Both are concerned with "affayres," and the difference between them is in the ordering of those "affayres," not in the omission of them.

Even though Spenser directly refers to The Faerie Queene as "history" in three places, he prefers a different term in the titles of each of the books of the poem: legend. The term makes sense for Redcrosse as St. George, but Spenser surely found a model for a secular legendary in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, if only for his titles. Michael Drayton examines the term in a letter to his readers prefacing the 1619 edition of his The Legends of Robert, Duke of Normandie. Matilda the Faire. Pierce Gaveston, Earle of Cornwall. Thomas Cromwell, Earle of Essex, citing Spenser as defining precedent:

*The word LEGEND, so called of the Latine Gerund, Legendum, and signifying, by the Figure Hexoche, things specially worthy to be read, was anciently used in an Ecclesiasticall sense, and restrained therein to things written in Prose, touching the Liues of Saints. Master EDMUND SPENSER was the very first among vs, who transferred the vse of the word, LEGEND, from Prose to Verse: nor that vnfortunately; the Argument of his Bookes being of a kind of sacred Nature, as comprehending in them things as well Diuine as Humane. And surely, that excellent Master, knowing the weight and vse of Words, did competently answer the Decorum of a LEGEND, in the qualitie of his Matter, and meant to giue it a kind of Consecration in the Title. (382)*

The "bookes" Drayton refers to are most likely the books of The Faerie Queene, although one of Spenser's lost works was called Legends (though this work may have been parts

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<sup>24</sup> See, for example, E. K.'s note in the April eclogue of The Shepheardes Calendar: "To make] to rime and versifye. For in this word making, our olde Englishe Poetes were wont to comprehend all the skil of Poetrye, according to the Greeke woorde ποιειν, to make, whence commeth the name of Poetes" (66).

of the epic under another name).<sup>25</sup> Drayton overestimates the originality and importance of Spenser's choice to write in verse; he is right, however, to remind readers of the "Ecclesiasticall sense" of legend as saintly case history. The poem is a series of *historiae*: case histories, designed to teach and fashion by example, drawn by Spenser from the didactic book of Creation.

In adopting the term *historia*, sixteenth-century natural historians also accepted a tradition of exemplary history derived from ancient and medieval historiography---the same tradition Spenser evokes through his "historicall fiction," The Faerie Queene. These exemplary traditions define more clearly what Hoeniger calls the "peculiar philosophy characteristic of the later part of the Renaissance" (145). The meaning of *historia* was responsible for the close connection between descriptive natural inquiry, ethics, and theology that is one of the chief characteristics of the natural history of this period and one which defines it in contrast to modern scientific disciplines. "Natural history reinvigorated a tradition of moral *exempla* drawn from nature," Ogilvie observes, and although "bestiaries, lapidaries, and the like had all but disappeared from learned European culture by the sixteenth century...the moral force of natural examples returned, for a time, in Renaissance natural history" ("Natural History" 75). Moreover, because of the exemplary tradition of *historia*, "some naturalists and historians urged that natural history was an important step on the ladder to divine history: that is, to understanding the nature and attributes of God" through God's Creation (75). In other words, as a genre, natural history was preeminently a social, cultural endeavour.

### III A "Social" Science

"The Scientific Revolution," Gordon L. Miller remarks in a vast historiographic understatement, "is not what it used to be" (57). Early modern natural history, which for many years was neglected by the history of science in favour of astronomy and mathematics (the more glamorous and hotly contested battlegrounds of the Scientific

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<sup>25</sup> Legends is something of an enigma, however. William Webbe in 1586 urged "Master Sp...or hys freendes" to see that Legends "come abroad" (245-46). Ernest A. Strathmann contends that some of Spenser's contemporaries (including William Ponsonby, Spenser's publisher, who really should have known) thought Legends to be obtainable in about 1600; see Strathmann 498-501.

Revolution), has lately experienced a scholarly reevaluation recognizing the importance that the study of flora and fauna had as a cultural practice. Paula Findlen (1994), Brian W. Ogilvie (2006), and most recently Deborah E. Harkness (2007) have all argued for the importance of natural history as a cultural practice and its social (rather than necessarily scientific) significance. Indeed, although Elizabethan science in general was responsible for comparatively few breakthroughs, its importance to the history of science lies in the ways the practitioners of the period laid the social foundation for the developments of the Scientific Revolution in England later in the seventeenth century, as Harkness argues (10). A series of interconnected factors came together to form the shape of early modern natural history. These factors were some of those that shaped the movement in European culture which we for convenience call the Renaissance, but they combined in a particular way over the sixteenth century to produce what Hoeniger calls “a special climate for the study of nature” (145). Renaissance natural inquiry evolved as part of Renaissance culture, and the development of attitudes towards the investigation of the natural world during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries paralleled “the general ideological determination of authority in other important areas” of Renaissance culture (Pumfrey 49). The development and influence of humanism, for example, which would include the rise of textual studies and the desire to correct and improve texts by identifying flora and fauna more precisely in authorities, led to a revived interest in classical natural historians such as Pliny the Elder. Out of humanist attitudes toward the community of scholars came the emergence of new forms of scientific relationships and organization, bringing with them the culture of curiosity and collecting manifested not only in curiosity cabinets or museums but also in the magnificent natural history texts of the period.

As I argued in the previous chapter, humanist pedagogical theorists saw the study of natural history as a necessary part of the intellectual equipment of any educated person. However, the influence of humanism and its concerns in directing the discourse of Renaissance natural history went deeper than educational theory. Natural history as a discipline came directly from the humanist textual project, the very roots of the whole humanist movement. Ogilvie typifies this textual project as it relates to natural history as an intense contemporary interest in facts and empiricism engendered by an interest in



improved editions and translation, as well as a developing trend associated with the rise of experimental science and direct knowledge (rather than one based upon authoritative authors). The early development of natural history was closely related to textual scholarship, as the careful development of humanist scholarship surrounding the text of Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* suggests: "Humanist inquiries and debates over...texts turned philologists' and physicians' eyes not only to texts themselves but also to the natural objects they described" in their efforts to reconcile not only variant readings, but also texts with objects, as Ogilvie observes (*Science* 121).

"No text," Anthony Grafton remarks, "fascinated the humanists more" than that of Pliny the Elder ("The New Science" 214). Pliny's encyclopaedic scope provided an all-inclusive generic model for humanist inquiry into nature. His "nature" included everything natural as well as artificial, and his sense of "history" emphasized the importance of description in interpreting the world, rather than any specific sense of an historical past in the modern sense (Findlen, "Natural History" 437). Spenser's sense of what constituted natural history (and history in general) is much closer to that of Pliny than that of twenty-first century historiography, particularly in its cumulative encyclopaedism, as his use of animals in his verse shows. For both men, the natural world was as much an example of ingenious artifice as any painting or sculpture; in Thomas Browne's echo of this Plinian breadth, "All things are artificial; for nature is the art of God" (80). As the comments made by Erasmus in the Basel Pliny of 1525 also demonstrate, scientific humanism drew much of its method and assumptions about the natural world and human beings from Pliny's work, including this descriptive method. In Charles G. Nauert's view, "To a group of literary and linguistic scholars like the humanists, probably the most valuable material available in [Pliny] and neglected by the Middle Ages was literary and linguistic" ("Humanists" 75). Pliny provided a vocabulary of scientific words not available in any other ancient Latin author; as the humanists during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century began the task of translating the body of Greek scientific works into Latin, they drew their language from Pliny. The Roman author also served as a guide to recovered classical texts. For example, William Harrison Woodward notes that, when the Dutch-German humanist Rudolph Agricola was engaged

upon his work on editing Aristotle through the 1470s at Ferrara, he read the natural historical works in parallel with the Historia (89).

The Historia was printed early (*editio princeps* 1469 in Venice) and often: fifteen incunable Latin editions, three incunable Italian translations, and “scores of sixteenth-century editions in Latin and in several vernaculars” (Nauert, “Humanists” 76), though no English editions were made of the Latin text of the elder Pliny during this period (Binns 194).<sup>26</sup> Pliny’s presence in the 1570 Cambridge curriculum is emblematic of the shift in interests and values between medieval and humanist scholarship. This shift in focus, which Nauert proposes “constituted the real nature of Renaissance cultural change,” shows itself in the attitudes surrounding the elder Pliny as a classical author who never had to be recovered but instead was subject to a flowering of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions and commentaries (“Humanists” 73). Nauert claims that these improved texts and accompanying commentaries demonstrate that the early humanists placed principally (perhaps surprisingly) a literary emphasis on Pliny’s work. Nauert is partly correct: these readers did not read Pliny for any primarily scientific reason, as a modern reader might read a zoology text for the scientific information first and for any literary reason secondarily. But, at the same time, a reader like Erasmus clearly saw some worth in reading Pliny’s work beyond its literary merits or just as a source for Latin vocabulary. Pliny’s certainty that nature was above all provident to human beings fits syncretically with received understanding of the Christian’s place in the universe and helped shape the moralizing cast to early modern natural history. Pliny’s assumptions about nature also corresponded with humanist concepts of a plenitudinous universe (Findlen, “Jokes” 297). Beyond showing where the general generic shape and many of the underlying assumptions of natural history were derived, the Renaissance study of Pliny provides a useful example of how natural history developed. For Nauert, the blossoming of commentaries through the sixteenth century suggests how far natural science was regarded as “a process of textual investigation rather than as a process of scientific experimentation,” only to change very gradually over the course of the period (“Caius

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<sup>26</sup> See Lilian Armstrong’s “The Illustrations of Pliny’s Historia Naturalis in Venetian Manuscripts and Early Printed Books” and “The Illustration of Pliny’s Historia Naturalis: Manuscripts Before 1430” for a discussion of the influence of manuscript traditions on early editions of Pliny and the illustrations of later natural historians.

Plinius Secundus” 312). Through the process of textual investigation (collating manuscripts, commenting on texts, and most importantly, correcting errors made by Pliny), scholars were forced to consider Pliny’s subject matter, and not simply his text. In part, this consideration led to more textual scholarship (examining Pliny’s sources), but it also led scholars to examine the whole range of natural objects and species discussed by Pliny.

The acquisition of first-hand knowledge of the natural world may have begun as a means of supplementing and correcting ancient authorities, but it soon became a fashionable trend among the learned or would-be learned; here are the roots of the culture of curiosity that would dominate seventeenth-century concepts of knowledge. Collectors used their curiosities as a means of social advancement and self-fashioning. This culture of curiosity and the vogue for collecting which it inspired influenced early modern natural history in two interrelated ways. First of all, in supplementing classical authorities like Pliny, naturalists were again looking at the natural world directly, creating what Ogilvie terms “a science of describing” (*Science* 7): a descriptive natural history, preferably based upon fully corroborated evidence “in the form of plants they could grow themselves or *naturalia* they could display in their cabinets” (271). The irony is that in turning to the natural world, the collecting impulse forced the practitioners of natural history and their readers into a position of experiencing nature from one step removed; the “field” naturalist of the sixteenth century is more likely to have studied desiccated or preserved specimens in a scholarly, urban setting, rather than experiencing the natural world directly.

Second, the acquisition of specimens was for both material and cultural gain. Findlen argues that the rise of natural history during the sixteenth century had materialist origins; nature was a commodity, however much those who professed a scorn of commercial gain from the study of nature might protest (“Inventing” 301). For centuries, the commerce in natural objects and specimens had been associated with their medicinal applications; health, whether physical or spiritual, would continue to drive the trade in nature and the study of natural history in general. But as Stephen Pumfrey and Frances Dawbarn have argued, over the sixteenth century, natural history was increasingly employed as part of a cultural competition they refer to as “ostentatious science,” where

“truth was not paramount...[but] pleasing edification was” (141). Such edification would, of course, include moral exemplarity. Natural historical collections displayed what flora and fauna the patron possessed, but were not especially concerned with any utilitarian power to exploit them. In this view, natural history is an inventory of possessions rather than a study of the flora or fauna themselves; the benefits from its practice are related to prestige, reputation, and aesthetic and moral experience, rather than anything of direct utilitarian application.

In classifying natural history as an “ostentatious science,” however, Pumfrey and Dawbarn fail to account for the statements made by natural historians themselves about the natural world and the utilitarian applications of their work concerning that world. For example, to the medical humanists, nature and knowledge of the natural world were gifts from God to assist in the treatment of disease, if applied properly.<sup>27</sup> Yes, natural history could only function effectively as a cultural commodity if it could be displayed in collections or in monumental encyclopaedic tomes. To judge from the prefatory letters, introductions, or in bodies of such volumes, however, the practitioners of natural history were just as concerned with deriving practical benefit from nature as a source of moral health as those who were involved with contemporary advances in navigational surveying and industrial technologies (research areas that were of particular interest to Tudor England, both in and out of the university scholarly milieu, as Mordechai Feingold has proven).

I do agree with Pumfrey and Dawbarn that natural history was a cultural commodity; however, I contend that their interpretation of the discipline not only ignores its utilitarian value but also offers too narrow a sense of the cultural and moral benefits the study of nature was thought to confer. Two other less tangible benefits, beyond those which Pumfrey and Dawbarn argue came from display, become immediately identifiable when one examines natural history texts and practices: community-building and moral

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<sup>27</sup> To take only four examples from sixteenth-century medical texts, Andreas Bertholdus refers to the “godly and blessed giftes of God” found in the natural world (B3r); Conrad Gesner praises God “who of his exceeding liberality hath provided so many su[n]dry helps, & varieties of things to mans frailtie” out of the created world (*The newe iewell* Ff2v); William Bullein, in his 1562 *Bulleins bulwarke of defence against all sicknesse*, states that “GOD ordayned by his dyuine prouidence, that euery Creature sensible, and insensible, should serue hys best Creature, Mankynde” (¶2r); and while discussing the geographical origins of the pox and its possible cures, Nicolás Monardes assures his readers that “Our Lord God would from whence the euill of the Poxe came, from thence shoulde come the remedy for them” (C3v).

health. Neither of these things would have been conceived of by Renaissance natural historians as anything but practical and utilitarian purposes for their work, however. Recent trends in scholarship have identified the importance of natural history in “[forging] intellectual alliances that transcended linguistic and national boundaries” among those engaged in its study, as Harkness describes it (21). Humanist natural historians engaged in an exchange of letters and specimens in the same collegial way in which other self-proclaimed citizens of the humanist Republic of Letters pursued their endeavours.

Much of this sense of community has been lost. Letters, family connections, and friendships have proven too ephemeral to survive as records. At first glance, for example, English contributions to the growth of natural history were meagre in comparison to those on the continent. Only sixteen works on natural history (both of plants and animals, including purely medicinal herbals) were published in England between the first English incunabular edition of *Bartholomaeus Anglicus* in c.1495 and the publication of Edward Topsell’s two volumes *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts* and *The Historie of Serpents* between 1607-1608 (Freeman 385). Oxford and Cambridge were slow to embrace the study of natural history as an end in itself; the Oxford Botanic Garden, the first of its kind in Britain, was only established in 1621, some eighty years after those at Padua and Pisa were founded (Pavord 253). From these records, one could easily say that only by the time of John Ray, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, could any English natural historian be compared on equal terms with the best of Flanders, Germany, and Switzerland (Miall 77).

But such a conclusion ignores the participation in “influence groups” (to borrow Lisa Jardine’s phrase again concerning specialized research at Cambridge) by English naturalists and foreign naturalists resident in England, most of whom worked outside the immediate sphere of the universities. Private gardens, such as that of Edward, Duke of Somerset, at Syon in Middlesex in the 1540s or the garden at Kew maintained by the herbalist William Turner, were devoted to the study and cultivation of medicinal herbs and botanical specimens, and sixteenth-century England saw an increased interest in agricultural theory, animal husbandry, and the industrial applications of herbs as dyes (Henrey 72-73). William Harrison, in his description of England included in the 1587

edition of Raphael Holinshed's The first and second volumes of Chronicles, wonders at the explosion of plant varieties in England:

If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how woonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures...but also with rare and medicinable hearbes sought vp in the land within these fortie yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laistowes to such as did possesse them. (T2r)

Elizabeth L. Eisenstein notes that the ancient authorities employed by natural historians at the beginning of the sixteenth century described some 600 different plants; by the beginning of the seventeenth, European naturalists had described 6000 (487). In part, the growth in varieties came about because of expanding international trade and European colonialism. Spanish and Portuguese expansion across the globe in particular generated new works of natural history, again most often outside of the scope of university or court patronage (Pimentel 21). Works like Ioyfull nevvies out of the newe founde worlde (1577), an English translation of the pharmacopoeia by Spanish physician Nicolás Monardes, breathlessly reported on the “rare and singuler vertues of diuerse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plantes, and stones” of the Americas, promising the reading public an Eldorado of medical remedies “as maie seme altogether incredible” (Titlepage). One need only think of Belphoebe’s use of a herb, “whether it diuine Tobacco were, / Or Panachæa, or Polygony,” to heal Timias of his wounds to see the influence of these New World medical marvels in Spenser (FQ 3.5.32.6-7). Natural history texts were the primary source of information about the world beyond Europe for most of early modern England; the exotic specimens brought back from new lands stood for those unknown lands in a synecdochal manner (Egmond and Mason 4). But the growth in the number of varieties was also because of the community structure that was central to the practice of early modern natural history. Those in England who were interested in natural history most commonly made contact with those of similar interests during a humanistically-driven scientific or medical education on the Continent, creating networks of correspondents with similar interests. The members of these networks exchanged information, manuscripts, books, and specimens; they also fostered the kind of civility and friendship so highly valued by humanist ideals. For example, John Caius trained as a physician at Padua, as Linacre did fifty years previously, and met Conrad Gesner on his

way back from Italy in 1544. The two men continued an active correspondence until Gesner's death in 1565, in spite of differing religious positions (Nutton 96). Like William Turner before him, Caius shared his research and illustrations with Gesner, and originally intended the content of De canibus Britannicis (1570; translated by Abraham Fleming<sup>28</sup> as Of English Dogges in 1576 and dedicated to Andrew Perne, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge) to form a part of Gesner's four-volume Historia animalium (Zürich, 1551-58). Other material intended for Gesner before his death in 1565 appeared in Caius's De rariorum animalium (1570), which includes first-hand descriptions of native British birds and fishes, as well as observations made by Caius of more exotic animals (such as the leopard, lynx, Barbary ape, and chameleon) held in the royal menagerie in the Tower of London. Caius described and drew these animals, and several of the records are the first made by any European (Hoeniger and Hoeniger 36).

For another example of this kind of community building, Harkness has brought scholarly attention to a group of naturalists "who were in their time the heart of the study of plants and animals in England" (55), centred on Lime Street, one of the wards in the City of London. "Lime Street," Harkness argues, "was the English outpost of a Europe-wide network of students of nature---including plant hunters, gardeners, rock and fossil collectors, and scholars interested in animals and insects" (21). Many of the Lime Street naturalists were "strangers," to use the Elizabethan term: foreign residents, and in some cases, Protestant refugees from the Continent. The case of these students of nature epitomizes the case of Elizabethan participation in natural history. The Lime Street naturalists were part of an interconnected network of friends, family, and European-wide correspondents, but because most of their activities relied upon face-to-face interactions and the exchange of manuscripts rather than upon print, these natural historians have been largely excised from the historical record. In a sense, they were victims of the very vitality that drove their community.

#### IV Reading the Universal Manuscript of Nature

The cultural capital created by natural history extended beyond ostentatious display to foster communities of humanist researchers. The practices of natural history

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<sup>28</sup> For Abraham Fleming, see Elizabeth Story Donno and William Edward Miller.

were governed by social structures derived from humanist ideals of civility, magnanimity, and friendship. In Findlen's terms, "Civility, the primary rubric under which all forms of gentlemanly behaviour were subsumed, shaped the conventions by which collections were arranged and the conditions under which naturalists gained access to them" (Possessing 16). Natural history collections were "designed to facilitate social interaction," and more social benefits thought to be derived from natural history itself "remind us of the extent to which scientific culture was shaped by the early modern 'civilizing process'" (16). Part of that civilizing process was the community-building associated with natural history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one of the two less tangible cultural (yet to the natural historians, utterly utilitarian) benefits Pumfrey and Dawbarn do not include in their analysis of the discipline as an "ostentatious" science. The other benefit that natural history was thought to confer was moral health, through the lessons held to be implicit in the natural world itself.

That the natural world has lessons to teach presupposes that the created world has meaning, and in order to argue for the central place held by moral didacticism in early modern natural history, I must first address what Ogilvie calls "the vexed question of the Renaissance 'world view'" and the place of meaning in that view of the world (Science 11). However, in describing such broad concepts as early modern attitudes towards nature, "we must...be wary of affixing labels---or, at any rate, of allowing our thinking to be confined by them," as Humphrey Tonkin wisely notes concerning historical cosmological models (182). In general, however, the long established and widely held view, encouraged by Christian cosmologies, was that the natural world was created by God for the sake of human beings as part of a divine plan for salvation. The "end for which all things were created," Calvin states, was "that none of the conveniences and necessities of life might be wanting to men" (96); therefore, in Alfonso Ingegno's useful phrase, "Nature appeared as an intelligent activity," rather than an indiscriminate, random extrusion by instinct (245). Calvin's voice is but one of many in early modern Europe reiterating the same anthropocentric and soteriological view of nature. As Keith Thomas observes, this view "underlay the actions of that vast majority of men who never paused to reflect upon the matter," and for those who did pause to consider the relationship between humanity and the natural world, the Bible, Church Fathers, and classical authors



all provided ample justification for such a view (17). The natural world was created by God for the support of a rising hierarchy of created beings: the earth supporting plant life, plant life supporting animal life, lesser animals supporting higher animals, and finally, plant and animal life supporting human beings.<sup>29</sup>

This support was perceived to be not merely physical, but also spiritual, as aids to the Christian's spiritual development. Every plant and animal was "intended to serve some human purpose, if not practical, then moral or aesthetic" (K. Thomas 19). This view is the same professed by an ancient natural historian like Pliny, but in the sixteenth century was given a decisive divine *imprimatur* through scriptural evidence, drawn from Genesis and elsewhere. Human beings and the natural world were considered to be bound together through their joint creation in God; so, also, were their ultimate fates. Just as the natural world fell with Adam and Eve, so nature would also have a share in the redemption of human beings, as Paul suggests:

The creature also shall be deliuered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious libertie of [the] sonnes of God. For wee know that euey creature groneth with vs also, and trauaileth in paine together vnto this present. And not onely *the creature*, but wee also which haue the first frutes of the Spirit, euen wee doe sigh in our selues, waiting for the adopcion, *euen* the redemption of our bodie. (Romans 8.21-23)

Similitudes, then, were thought to exist between human beings and the natural world not only in details, but also on the scale of the overall plan of redemption bound up with human destiny: "For since by man *came* death, by man *came* also the resurrection" (1 Corinthians 15.21).

The subordination of the world to human needs included not only use of its tangible resources (the harvesting or employment of plants, animals, and minerals to fulfill human needs as varied as food, sport, and subjugated labour), but also the application of the moral benefits associated with knowledge of the world. As I argue in the survey of Spenser's educational background, humanism, in the most basic sense, insisted upon the pragmatic value of knowledge: "The very concept of truth for its own sake would have been meaningless to them, however much they were interested in

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<sup>29</sup> One could argue that this sense of hierarchy extends to human history. William Turner's remarks in his A new herball (1551) on the divine gifts "almighty God the autor of all goodnes hath gyue[n] vnto vs by the handes of the Hethen" suggest a hierarchy in human history as well, based upon religious belief (A2r).

gathering facts,” Hoeniger observes (135). For the humanistically-educated natural historians of the sixteenth century, “science meant applied science, applied for man’s better understanding of a divine universe in which, with his special faculties, he can behold and study living creation---a universe moreover intended to be in many ways beneficial to man” (135-36). Inasmuch as science meant applied science, the ethics to be drawn from such investigations meant applied ethics. No line would have been drawn between the “practical” or “moral” applications of natural history; for early modern students of the natural world, the moral applications *were* practical. In short, Ogilvie summarizes, “humanist naturalists insisted...on the moral benefits of literal knowledge of the natural world” (“Natural History” 82-83).

The most common metaphor for expressing the intelligibility of the natural world in the Renaissance is that of the Book of Nature (or Book of Creation; the terms seem interchangeable). In his classic study European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, Ernst Robert Curtius traces the metaphor to the Latin Middle Ages, where it originated among homilists and was adopted by philosophers and cosmologists (319ff). The ubiquity of the metaphor in Renaissance literature makes it almost unnecessary to describe at length. But dismissing it as just a familiar commonplace denies the pervasiveness and complexity of the metaphor, and ignores the differing ways the book was thought to be read. Peter Harrison remarks that the metaphor of nature as a volume that could be read and interpreted brought to mind the authority of the other book, Scripture (“Book” 4). The authority of the one book lent legitimacy to the study of the other. Thomas Browne in Religio Medici (1642, 1643) provides what is perhaps the most famous formulation of the metaphor. The doctor describes how he learns his religion from the study of two texts:

Thus there are two bookes from whence I collect my Divinity; besides that written one of God, another of his servant Nature, that universall and publik Manuscript, that lies expans’d unto the eyes of all; those that never saw him in the one, have discovered him in the other: This was the Scripture and Theology of the Heathens. (78-79)

For Browne, the twinned books of Christian Scripture and “that universall and publik Manuscript,” the natural world, reveal God because they both carry the signature of their creator---the one through divine inspiration, the other through creative *fiat*. The books

were to be read in conjunction with one another; as significant a Christian thinker as St. Augustine stated that the believer must know natural history for the simple reason that Scripture so often employs the characteristics of animals and plants as similitudes (2.29). Clarence J. Glacken notes that cosmography, as a vehicle for the study of natural history, was thought to open up “the hidden secrets of Holy Writ” and to reveal “the forces of a wise and judicious Nature” (375). The one book illumines the other. Another passage that shows the implicit connection between the Book of Nature and the Book of Scripture is the exiled Duke’s encomium to the natural world in As You Like It:

And this our life exempt from public haunt  
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones and good in every thing. (2.1.15-17)

These lines, which George Bernard Shaw with acerbity dismissed as the Duke’s “mixed diet of pious twaddle and venison” (268), link the elements of the natural world with those of religiosity, showing that the Books of Nature and Scripture are bound together. The lines also imply that one can access the matter of either from the other, whatever one’s circumstances. Browne remarks on the power of natural theology: those who have never encountered the Book of Scripture have been able to deduce the existence of the divine from the Book of Nature. Hence, the natural world was “the Scripture and Theology of the Heathens,” and Browne thereby implicitly explains the presence of all that is godly (godly to a Renaissance Christian Englishman, at least) in the civilizations of people without the benefit of Christian revelation. However, where finally does the difference lie between the two volumes of Scripture and Nature for people like Browne or Spenser, who have access to both?

Natural history appealed to Renaissance thinkers for the same reason that William Eamon argues was the reason for the widespread production of and interest in books of “secrets” and hieroglyphics during the period: the natural world was another “text” to be examined in the search for “a *prisca theologica*, an original wisdom rooted in revelation, as an alternative to what they regarded as a bankrupt scholastic tradition” (4). As such, the study of natural history could circumvent the dangers of translation, misapprehension, and misguided tradition to offer “access to [the] lost Adamic heritage, and with it, access to the saving *verbum Dei*,” as James J. Bono puts it (183). According to this view, “nature’s infinite book of secrecy,” as the soothsayer calls the natural world in Antony

and *Cleopatra* (1.2.8), is a clean copy text (to extend the metaphor) of God's intentions, unmarred by the confusion of languages or the interference of fallen human beings. One school of thought argued that the skills needed to read the Book of Nature were different from those traditionally applied to reading Scripture. Josuah Sylvester, translating Du Bartas, includes the book metaphor in a series of figures expressing the didactic value of the world:

The World's a Book in *Folio*, printed all  
 With God's great Workes in Letters Capitall:  
 Each Creature, is a Page, and each Effect,  
 A faire Character, void of all defect. (1: 1.1.173-76)

Sylvester in his translation stresses the universal accessibility of the world text, in terms that carry a significantly Protestant emphasis on faith and its revelatory power:

To read this Booke, we neede not understand  
 Each Strangers gibbrish; neither take in hand  
*Turkes* Characters, nor *Hebrue* Points to seeke,  
*Nyle's Hieroglyphikes*, nor the Notes of *Greeke*.  
 The wandring *Tartars*, the *Antartikes* wilde,  
 Th'*Alarbies* fierce, the *Scithians* fell, the Childe  
 Scarce seav'n yeare old, the bleared aged eye,  
 Though void of Arte, read here indifferently.  
 But he that weares the spectacles of *Faith*,  
 Sees through the Spheares above their highest heighth:  
 He comprehends th'Arch-moover of all Motions,  
 And reades (though running) all these needful Notions. (1: 1.1.185-96)

Even though they lack "Arte," both "the Childe / Scarce seav'n yeare old" (an almost Wordsworthian touch) and "the bleared aged eye" can read the Book of the World, alongside a collection of peoples who are types of barbarity. Whatever the case, they "read here indifferently" without the need to learn foreign languages or to tackle the mysteries of languages with different scripts. Animals are "sacred *Pandects*" through which one may "God the better... behold" (1: 1.1.198-99) when examined with faith. The allusion to Habakkuk 2.2, "And the Lord answered me, & said, Write the vision, and make it plaine vpon tables, that he may runne that readeth it," conveys the sense that the Book of Nature is a prophetic revelation and, moreover, specifically a *written* record of that divine revelation; again, the twin Books of Nature and Scripture serve to support each other, even in the governing book metaphor.

The emphasis on faith as an interpretive tool comes close to anti-intellectualism. Indeed, faith is preferred before learning in reading the Book of Nature, as the scornful tone dismissing such “gibbrish” suggests. This approach clearly finds its origins in the *sola scriptura* interpretations of the Reformers: the Book of Nature, like that of Scripture, should be interpreted according to itself as the Spirit guides the individual reader, and not in relation to any accumulated tradition. Later in the seventeenth century under the Commonwealth, Ralph Austen, the radical Protestant author of The spirituall use of an orchard, or garden of fruit-trees (1656), would take this egalitarian principle to its logical conclusion, declaring the natural world to be a book that even the illiterate could read and be able to access for the spiritual education it contains: “They who cannot read a line in any Printed Book, may read many good lessons in the Book of the Creatures,” even without the aid of Austen’s book, one assumes (†2v). The Book of Nature has a true text legible to all. Rather than being an esoteric text written in a language known only to a select circle of savants, the Book of Nature is one open to all readers, like the Gregorian idea of art as *libri idiotarum*, the books of the illiterate. But according to this approach to nature, readers can read the book only through faith. Faith is the leveler in interpretation; anything else is a hindrance to the direct revelation contained in God’s works.

The natural world here becomes an immutable language. Foucault seizes upon this idea that each character, both as a letter (“character”) and as the idea represented by that letter or word, is “void of all defect” in the Book of Nature. He sees the metaphor as one that seeks to place meaning beyond the disorders of language:

The great metaphor of the book that opens, that one pores over and reads in order to know nature, is merely the reverse and visible side of another transference, and a much deeper one, which forces language to reside in the world, among the plants, the herbs, the stones, and the animals. (35)

Foucault reveals his modernity in stating that the metaphor “forces” language to reside in the natural world. No Elizabethan would ever say that language was *forced* into the plants, herbs, stones, and animals of the world. For the natural historians (and others) of the period, language and meaning were always-already implicit in the created world, as the Word was its vehicle of creation. Meaning awaits those who are willing and able to read the natural world. The idea that the natural world has a pristine language to itself not only makes it possible for Sylvester or Austen to argue that the meaning of that language

is open to all, but it also opens the way for the changes in scientific outlook that would largely banish symbolism from the study of the natural world---or, at least, submerge such symbolic concerns to the point that they could be more or less ignored.

Sylvester and Austen represent one approach to reading the Book of Nature; their emphasis on faith as the key to interpreting nature might loosely be called the egalitarian or “Protestant” approach (inasmuch as it gives primacy to direct revelation). Spenser also believes in a revelatory reading of the natural world, but places more emphasis on tradition, erudition, and moral learning as tools for interpreting that reading. Tonkin and Quitslund have justly described Spenser’s sense of the natural world as essentially conservative and Neoplatonic in its concern with analogies and providential design. Spenser presents his vision of a divine pattern immanent in the created world in the Fowre Hymnes (1596), combining Christian and Neoplatonic theories of signatures and similitudes. “That wondrous Paterne wheresoere it bee,” Spenser says in An Hymne in Honour of Beautie,

Whether in earth layd vp in secret store,  
Or else in heauen, that no man may it see  
With sinfull eyes, for fear it to deflore,  
Is perfect Beautie, which all men adore. (36-40)

The design of the universe reflects the attributes of its maker. In An Hymne in Honour of Heavenly Beautie, Spenser sees the same divine design repeated in “the endlesse kinds of creatures” inhabiting the universe,

which by name  
Thou canst not count, much lesse their natures aime:  
All which are made with wondrous wide respect,  
And all with admirable beautie deckt. (30-35)

Spenser is again and again awestruck by the variety and plenitude of the natural world. However vast the numbers of creatures that fill the universe, or however many pages are printed in the Book of Nature, Spenser sees in each the hand that made them.

Although he warns that one cannot number all “the endlesse kinds of creatures,” nor yet know all their natures, Spenser does not say that one should not try to number and know them. As I observed in the previous chapter, Spenser in his works offers few direct comments on education or pedagogical theory, let alone on the practices of humanist natural history, beyond such poetic models as Colin and Canacee. In these models,

Spenser places particular value on “Arte” (to use Sylvester’s term) as a means of accessing the wisdom and resources of the natural world. Spenser’s friend and mentor Gabriel Harvey, however, comments on what makes a poet in one of the many annotations he made in his books, revealing also the basic assumptions of the learned tradition of natural history:

Other[s] commend Chawcer, & Lidgate for their witt, pleasant veine, varietie of poetical discourse, & all humanitie: I specially note their Astronomie, philosophie, & other parts of profound or cunning art. Wherein few of their time were more exactly learned. It is not sufficient for poets to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite artists, & curious vniuersal schollers. (Marginalia 160-61)

Whether Harvey judged his friend Spenser an “exquisite artist” and “curious vniuersal scholler,” or merely a “superficial humanist,” according to the standard set by the medieval authors, can only be inferred, but elsewhere in another annotation the elder man seems willing to grant the poet his due, particularly concerning Spenser’s interest in astronomy (161). For Harvey, the merit of Chaucer and Lydgate as poets comes not just from their poetic artistry or expertise in “all humanitie” (*literae humaniores* rather than humane feeling), but also from their “curious vniuersal” scholarship in other fields of knowledge, particularly those of “profound or cunning art” or those concerned with interpreting the signs of nature (natural “philosophie”). According to this model, poets must be like Spenser’s Canacee: “curious vniuersal schollers” concerned with “euery secret worke of natures wayes” (FQ 4.2.35.4).

The terms Harvey employs are noteworthy. Spenser’s use of “cunning” tends to be understood in its more usual modern meaning: crafty or suspiciously artful, as with “that cunning Architect of cancred guile,” Archimago (2.1.1.1). In contrast, Harvey uses it here to denote a commendable depth of learning (“Cunning, *a.*,” def. 1b). Moreover, like “curious” and “secret,” the word can also refer to knowledge or skill that goes beyond common bounds: magical or esoteric knowledge, like that promised by the books of secrets, or precisely the sort of wisdom to be derived from the accrued study of the natural world. Unlike Sylvester or Austen, Harvey emphasizes the need for “Arte.” The road to wisdom and success for Harvey, as for Spenser in The Faerie Queene, is one paved by learning.

However, poets are not the only ones who must be “curious vniuersal schollers.” In order to read the Book of Nature, at least in its encyclopaedic form revived from antiquity, natural historians felt they needed to be familiar with a dizzying variety of knowledge. This approach would seem to stand at odds with that espoused by Sylvester and Austen, who place faith before and even to the exclusion of all other interpretive tools. Not that those practicing learned natural history were without faith or did not stress the godliness of their studies; but in contrast, as Bono summarizes, they “simultaneously utilize both symbols purportedly found within nature and texts drawn from a wide variety of traditions to decipher, through a kind of exegetical practice, the meanings embedded by God in His Book of Nature” (174). Natural history demanded this exegetical approach because it was just that: history, or more precisely, *historia*. Animals, as a constituent part of the natural world, were characters in its larger narrative, but also had stories themselves. These individual stories served as types for the lessons contained in the larger narrative, the unity of creation, from which the pious investigator might seek the meaning of nature for the microcosm at the centre of the created world, human beings.

The illustration on the title page of George Hartgill’s Generall Calenders or, Most easie Astronomicall Tables (1594) presents a useful portrait of the exemplary *Christianus Philosophus*, the Christian Philosopher, who looks to both the Bible and the natural world for guidance (Figure 4). The image is of a well-dressed, scholarly-looking Elizabethan man, clearly meant as a flattering portrait of Hartgill’s ideal reader. The man holds in his right hand a book labeled “VERBVM DEI,” representing the Book of Scripture, and in his left holds an armillary sphere, representing the Book of Nature. As he announces in a speech balloon trailing out of his mouth, “Verbum & Opera Iehouæ Meditabor,” “I shall contemplate the Word and works of God.” He stands at the centre of a landscape that reiterates the scope of the Christian Philosopher’s interests: animals (beasts and birds at least, represented by an elephant and a swan respectively), plants, the heavens, and the records of human achievement (symbolized by the city rising up on the hills in the background of the scene). This student of nature comes armed with both faith and exegesis; although faith does not necessarily require the use of scientific instruments like





Figure 4. Christianus philosophus (the Christian philosopher), woodcut from George Hartgill, *Generall Calenders or, Most easie Astronomicall Tables* (London, 1594) titlepage.

the philosopher's armillary sphere to be effective, learned "arte" needs faith to be able to read the moral lessons contained in the Book of Nature.<sup>30</sup>

Peter Harrison observes that "The elucidation of the natural world in this tradition calls for an interpretive, rather than a classificatory or mathematical, science" (Bible 2); small wonder, then, that Hartgill's Christian philosopher arms himself with books and instruments as well as his beliefs. The Book of Nature was thought to have been written in an intelligible language, but that language still had to be learned by anyone seeking to read the book, and it was a language quite unlike that of present day zoology or botany. Early modern natural history encompassed literature, theology, archaeology, medicine, and a vast number of other subjects because it was (as Harrison asserts) "preoccupied neither with questions of how animals came into being nor with direct causes of their various operations but rather with the question of why they existed at all" ("Virtues" 463-64). Animals existed to glorify God and to be a benefit to human beings, but in doing so, animals were then part of the whole interconnected fabric of the world: walking, almost sacramental, signs of divine will. William B. Ashworth calls this the "emblematic world view," where animals are "just one aspect of an intricate language of metaphor, symbols, and emblems" ("Natural History" 305). Learning to read animals therefore meant learning all the allusions, associations, and properties of those animals, according to this exegetical approach to reading the Book of Nature.

Ogilvie cautions against taking too far the claims (particularly by Foucault and Ashworth) that Renaissance thinkers took the metaphoric correspondences between the microcosm and the macrocosm literally. He is joined by Laurent Pinon in seeking to limit the breadth of Ashworth's use of the term "emblematic natural history" to describe all aspects of the natural history of this period. Gesner, for example, was at pains to distinguish between the accounts of animals he provides, and what he called "philology," which included moral *exempla* drawn from history, proverbial lore, and emblems associated with the animal in question.<sup>31</sup> Such a distinction does not vitiate the claims of symbolism and morality in Renaissance natural history, however; it merely insists upon a distinction the naturalists themselves maintained and allows for a literal "truth" in

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<sup>30</sup> Hartgill was an Anglican clergyman who was contemporary with Spenser. He possessed a private library of respectable size and breadth; see Paul Morgan.

<sup>31</sup> See Ogilvie, Science 16ff, 277 for the distinctions made by Gesner between types of knowledge.

descriptions of the attributes of animals and plants. As Bono puts it, the gaze of the early modern natural historian is “fixed at once on things themselves and also on the record of verbal and visual allusion that promised to unlock a pristine core of lost knowledge” (178). They were not mutually exclusive things; rather, they both served to define the complete “meaning” of any given animal.

The natural world was certainly seen as a coherent system prepared by God, as part of a providential plan. This is the natural history of Friar Laurence, who muses

O, mickle is the powerful grace that lies  
 In herbs, plants, stones, and their true qualities:  
 For nought so vile that on the earth doth live  
 But to the earth some special good doth give,  
 Nor aught so good but strain'd from that fair use  
 Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse. (*Romeo and Juliet* 2.3.15-20)

Plants, herbs, and stones have “true qualities”---a true reality beyond being merely vegetables and minerals, as well as a pure essence (being “true” rather than adulterated). These “true qualities” are the spiritually and physically medicinal benefits to be had from them, placed by God in his wisdom according to the same “wondrous Paterne” admired by Spenser in the created world. As the English naturalist and physician William Turner wrote in part one of his *A new herball* (1551),

There be many noble and excellent artes & sciences...that almyghty God the autor of all goodnes hath gyue[n] vnto vs by the handes of the Hethen, as necessary vnto the vse of Mankynd: yet is there none among them all, whych is so openly co[m]mended by the verdit of any holy mater in the Bible, as is [the] knowlege of plantes, herbes, and trees, and of Phisick. (A2r)

God’s providence is not limited to the gifts of nature, but extends to the survival and recovery of classical medical texts. For Turner, the other arts and sciences have their places in the scheme of knowledge, “but Phisick standeth in doying & workinge, and is occupyed about mannys body,” and because “mannis body is more precious then all other creatures: so is Phisick more noble and more worthy to be set by, then all other sciences” (A2v). Turner’s views here are not merely a self-justifying encomium for his book. Instead, Turner’s praise of “phisick,” because its subject is “mannys body,” shows a deeply humanist concern with the dignity of the human person, and as such, his book is a physician’s guide to using plants to maintain that person. Moreover, Turner’s statements

demonstrate the truth of Keith Thomas's claims about the central dominating position of human beings within the created universe.

For a medical humanist like Turner, "man, the last to be created, was the quintessence of all that went before and contained the virtues of every previous creation," Pagel observes (382). "We admire the little body of a man...because he beareth the most glorious ymage of all thinges in his proportion," as Topsell translates Gesner's pronouncement (HFFB ¶3r). Even Bacon, although he scorned "the ancient opinion that man was *microcosmus*...[which] hath been fantastically strained...as if there were to be found in man's body certain correspondences and parallels," could state that "Thus much is evidently true, that of all substances which nature hath produced, man's body is the most extremely compounded" (Advancement 118); in other words, the summation of all other substances. This justification for the dignity of human beings lies behind the interest in similitudes in *Batman* and throughout the natural historical writings of this period, as well as being a humanist commonplace.

If human beings are the summary of created life, then the reverse should also be true: human beings should be able to seek aspects of themselves in the natural world. As "the most glorious ymage of all thinges," human beings can only see themselves reflected fully in other human beings; in any given part of the created world, human beings only glimpse a part of themselves, as in the shard of a mirror. Just as Renaissance readers could hope to find exemplars in the record of human history, so they could also find in natural history a textbook of exemplarity, albeit in a fragmentary form. Spenser employs this same fragmentary exemplarity in the allegory of The Faerie Queene, even down to the localized implications of similes and metaphors.

Stephen Batman's Batman uppon Bartholome (1582) (an edition of the thirteenth-century encyclopaedia of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De Proprietatibus Rerum) offers an excellent parallel example of this sense of partial similitude between human beings and the natural world. Batman calls the book "Profitable for all estates, as well for the benefite of the mind as the bodie" (Title page) and, as the Latin title suggests, sets out "the order and the distinction of the properties of things" (¶1r). Although Batman is careful to acknowledge and claim to have consulted the work done by natural historians since Bartholomaeus, his book is more a translation of a medieval text than a

representative example of early modern natural history. His assumptions are not dissimilar, however, and the book was a popular guide in both Batman's translation and the Latin original.<sup>32</sup> In the section "How wee ought to seeke out and make tryall of the vertues of things, by a way taken of a similitude," Batman argues that

If...we wil work for any propertie of vertue, let vs seeke for liuing creatures or other things, in [that] which such a property is more excellently, and of them let vs take the part, in [that] which such property or vertue hath most force. (Gg5v)

For example, "if at any time we will prouoke loue, let vs seek for some liuing creature, which most of al loueth, as are [the] Doue, the Turtle, the Swallow, and the Wagtaile," and use those parts of the animal "in the which the venereal appetite haue the most force" in the making of medicines, love philters, and aphrodisiacs (Gg5v). What is important is the "similitude" between a human attribute and one in nature. In Batman's view of nature, these similitudes extend into the very bodies of creatures, and the attendant parts of those bodies, holding anthropomorphic virtues or vices---a view still held by those who attribute aphrodisiacal powers to such things as oysters or rhinoceros horns.

Batman's version of *De Proprietatibus Rerum* shows the continuing influence of earlier models of natural history. D. C. Greetham has demonstrated the encyclopaedia's popular readership through the works of Shakespeare into the seventeenth century. In Antonia McLean's view, its popularity confirms that the view of the natural world held by most Elizabethans remained "that of the Middle Ages," comparatively untouched by contemporary scientific developments (211). Here, McLean and Hoeniger are at odds; but where the former comments on what might be called the popular view of the natural world, the latter remarks on more learned developments. John Maplet summarized much of Bartholomaeus's book in his *A Greene Forest* (1567). Maplet divides his book into three parts consisting of brief black-letter entries explaining "the most sufferaigne vertues" of minerals, plants, and animals, "entending hereby [that] God might especially be glorified: and the people furered" (Titlepage). His entries are short and, like his primary source, are interested mainly in the medicinal qualities of his subjects rather than the moral associations of a given stone, plant, or animal. Maplet shows no interest in accurately describing the physical attributes of his subjects either. Maplet and Batman

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<sup>32</sup> For a brief sketch of the early printed editions of the text, see M. C. Seymour et al. 262-63.

represent an earlier stage the development of natural history during the Renaissance, but their works are contemporary with those of Turner, Caius, and Gesner, who augment the emphasis on the physical benefits to be had from animals with an interest in the moral benefits. What remains constant is a sense of the usefulness of the study.

Humanist attitudes towards knowledge, as well as the assumption that the natural world was created for the use of human beings, explain the emphasis placed upon the usefulness of the natural world by natural historians. For example, John Caius, in Of English Dogges, divides dogs into three categories: the “gentle” kind, including hunters and lapdogs; the “homely” kind, such as sheepdogs and others “apt for sundry necessary uses”; and the “currishe” kind, used in turnspits or in other menial tasks (B1v). Caius classifies dogs not by breed, but by their usefulness to human beings; this habit would survive certainly as late as the works of Linnaeus in the eighteenth century (K. Thomas 56). As with Pliny, animals are seen primarily in relation to human beings and human needs.

More striking than these concepts of practical usefulness, however, are the categories themselves into which Caius divides dogs. Caius projects a rigid and conservative class system upon the canine world, reproduced in his natural history from the class system of his human England, where “gentle” dogs pursue aristocratic hunting or leisured relaxation, “homely” dogs fulfill the middling “necessary” functions of a sturdy yeoman and peasant class, and the curs are left to beg for menial scraps. Caius uses heavily value-laden terms. “Gentle” and “homely” are words with human associations, and their use in describing dogs shows Caius aligning certain types of animals with certain types of people. In contrast, just how far Caius’s term “currishe” should be taken figuratively is unclear. Like that other doggish word “bitch,” “cur” had almost inseparable literal canine and figurative human meanings in early modern English (as in modern English, for that matter), suggesting a sense of the permeable boundaries between animals and people other than those who are “gentle” or “homely” (or perhaps even male, in the case of “bitch”). One need only think of how Coriolanus witheringly dismisses popular opinion as the “common cry of curs” (Coriolanus 3.3.124). All animals may well be equal, but some animals are repeatedly shown to be more equal than others, depending on the ideological assumptions of the human commentator.

Whatever else the case, the animal world was a favourite source of illustrative models for medieval and early modern political theorists (as it had been since antiquity), particularly for those invoking traditional models of cosmic order and degree, Anthony G. Petti asserts (69). Through fables and parables, from that of King Log, through John Heywood's *The spider and the flie* (1556), to Spenser's own *Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591), authors sought to set political commentary and criticism in animal terms in order to amuse, to satirize, or to set in the illustrative sharp relief of otherness. Most of these uses of animals as political models are frankly anthropomorphic; but Jan M. Ziolkowski offers a useful reminder of how flexible the concept of anthropomorphism really is (22). It comes in many grades and is often employed in nearly unconscious ways. A fabulist translates human relationships into animal terms to make a particular point, but what of those like Caius who recast animals into human moulds? Caius obviously does not think of his description of the types of dogs as anthropomorphic; his "gentle" hunting dogs do not ride horses when pursuing foxes, for example. But the class structure of his English canine world reflects that of his England because they both represent what Caius consciously or unconsciously sees as the natural order.<sup>33</sup>

Knowing about animals, then, was useful not only for discovering ways of fulfilling physical human needs or desires, but also because the behaviour and nature of animals and humans were thought of as manifestations of the same divinely sanctioned order. This concept of a natural order shared by humans, animals, plants, and the entire created universe gave sanction to the study of the natural world for moral matter. The association of exemplarity with *historia* rekindled "the moral force of natural examples," as Ogilvie notes ("Natural History" 75). But the moral force of such examples also depended upon this basic concept of similitude. Unlike bestiaries or fables (whether classical or humanist imitations of the genre), moralizing natural history did not

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<sup>33</sup> Human/canine relations have been the subject of much fruitful work in literary, historical, and animal studies. See, for example, Cummins (12-31), Yamamoto (115-23), and Berry for the place of dogs in medieval and early modern hunting culture, and Susan McHugh's *Dog* for a general cultural history of dogs. See also Erica Fudge's witty and insightful analysis of Crab the dog, "The dog is himself": Humans, Animals, and Self-Control in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*." The constructed canine caste system typified by Caius remains in modern western attitudes towards dogs, much more than the humanist sense of usefulness. The aristocratic preoccupation with genealogy continues to be paralleled in the breeding of two sorts of animals long associated with the upper classes, dogs and racehorses. The terms used in discussing such creatures inevitably emphasize breeding and genealogy: "Secretariat, sired by Bold Ruler out of Somethingroyal," and so on, to say nothing of the class and race overtones of "pure bred" and "mongrel."

anthropomorphize its subjects, in the sense of having its subject animals talk or wear clothes. Instead, the anthropomorphism is on a deep structural discursive level, so pervasive that the natural historians would not recognize it as such. Moral lessons came from the attributes and associations of the animal, the subject of increasingly empirical study, and the final justification for such study came from appealing to natural theology, the basis of the similitude in the universe. This appeal was made to what might be called “applied” natural theology, drawing the readers of such natural histories to the contemplation of God and godly virtues---fashioning, to borrow Spenser’s phrase, readers in virtuous and gentle discipline.

## V

### ***Historia* in Action: Gesner and Topsell**

Moral lessons, whether found in *exempla* drawn from nature, or in direct appeals to natural theology, show the close connection in perceived purpose between sixteenth-century “emblematic” or “moralizing” natural history and Spenser’s consciously didactic epic. Natural history was a cultural form, giving meaning to the experiences of a group of early modern Europeans with a certain part of the natural world. Part of that meaning was a sense of the practical and moral purpose of those experiences, as the natural historians themselves claim. This sense of purpose was grounded in their educations and in an understanding of the world that insisted upon its having meaning through an order that was manifested in the similitudes between the various parts of the world. These factors suggest why the naturalists of the period readily accepted the expectations of the *historia* in their studies, since the natural historians make very clear the purposeful intentions of their work. Conrad Gesner, in his *Historia animalium* (Zürich, 1551-58), and his English follower Edward Topsell, in his three-fold natural history, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts* (1607), *The Historie of Serpents* (1608), and the unpublished manuscript *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes* (c.1613-14), show repeatedly a sense of the moral purpose of their works and the “necessity” of knowledge of the natural world. In this final section, I will argue that the moralizing elements gave the works of these two natural historians their sense of purpose and most clearly define the differences (on the one hand) between early modern natural history and its modern descendant disciplines, and (on the



other hand) the emerging shape of emblematic natural history and the works that represent earlier stages of its development, like those of Batman and Maplet. Gesner and Topsell are often grouped together because much of Topsell's work is a modified translation of Gesner. Topsell is significant, however, and his works should not be completely dismissed as science "inferior...relative to others of their period," as Hoeniger and Hoeniger do (2). Such criticism stems from misjudging Topsell's purpose; his significance lies in the renewed emphasis he places on the exemplary qualities of his descriptions of the natural world, rather than in any advance made toward modern zoological ends.

The biographies of Gesner and Topsell perhaps most clearly show how much natural history in its practices and concerns is a manifestation of Renaissance culture more generally. Gesner is justifiably hailed by Hoeniger and Hoeniger as "the greatest of the humanistic encyclopaedists of zoology" (36), and by L. C. Miall as "the most learned naturalist of the sixteenth-century" (29). Gesner wrote on botany, fossils, philology, and bibliography, and was at one time professor of Greek at Lausanne. He wrote on medicine and the preparation of drugs, published in English as The newe Jewell of Health (1576). In addition to his natural historical work, he produced a bibliographical survey of all known writers in Latin, Greek and Hebrew--the Bibliotheca Universalis--which, Miall observes, "even the Congregation of the Index had recourse to [use] for information concerning heretical authors, though they ungratefully put him into the list along with the rest" (30). Gesner was an ardent Zürich Protestant, and in addition to his associations with English natural historians like Turner and Wotton, he participated in the emerging scientific community through a correspondence with many like-minded Englishmen before and after the flight of the Marian exiles.<sup>34</sup> Religion was not the only motive for Gesner's friendships, however; John Caius, for example, was far from being a Protestant and instead maintained an Erasmian position concerning church reform throughout his

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<sup>34</sup> These correspondents included John Parkhurst, the Reformer Bishop of Norwich and a student of natural history, John Hooper, the Bishop of Gloucester and Protestant martyr, and from whom Gesner received gifts of natural curiosities and books written in Welsh (Hoeniger and Hoeniger 36; Miall 29; Nutton 96). Concerning the nature of such exchanged gifts, Pomata and Siraisi justly highlight the important challenges that have been made to the conventional compartmentalization of the histories of antiquarianism and natural history by scholars of the culture of collecting; more work needs to be done on the interrelation between natural history and antiquarianism in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however.

life. Nutton is right in maintaining that “Gesner’s relationship with the English naturalists...is but one example of the co-operation that could exist between scholars in different parts of Renaissance Europe,” shaped, but not limited, by religious affiliation, and instead bound together through shared humanist literary, theological, and scientific interests (97).

Gesner’s method in *Historia animalium* is the same as that of any humanist scholar: reading. As with any other humanist, his primary tools were literary and linguistic. He supplemented his native German with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, and English; he was also busy learning Arabic at the time of his death (Hays 69). Such erudition stands in stark contrast to a faith-only interpretation of the natural world. Gesner did not limit his researches to classical natural historical authorities, but rather encompassed the whole breadth of books available to him. In addition, Gesner supplemented his reading through his network of correspondents and through personal interviews with those who would be familiar with animals in their natural habitats, as he comments in a prefatory epistle to his work, translated here by Topsell:

I haue done that which I could, and haue got also some friendes vnto me out of diuers regions or parts of Europe, with whom after I communicated my purposes, they returned vnto me sundry discriptions of strange beasts, and the moderne names of vulgar beasts in many languages, with their pictures and the true formes. In meane time I did not only sit still and turne ouer books, but gaue my selfe diligently to enquire of euery Country-man or trauailer, a perticular and exact obseruation of the nature of euery beast. (¶1v)

This account shows the emphasis Gesner placed on verifiable facts: a “procedure of proof,” in Laurent Pinon’s phrase, inherited from the practices of *historia* (241). Friends like Caius supplied the Swiss naturalist with information about animals with which he might otherwise never have direct contact, and by cross-examining any “trauailer” or rural laborer he encountered, Gesner could learn about the specific habits and range of animals closer to home from those who would have the most chance to encounter them in the wild.

In his essay “Emblematic Natural History of the Renaissance” (1996), William Ashworth uses Gesner’s account of the fox as a typical example of how a humanistically-trained natural historian like Gesner practised natural history. Ashworth notes that there

are over eighty different authorities cited in the entry on the fox alone. Gesner begins with the equivalent names for the fox in a large number of ancient and modern languages, then goes on to describe the habits of the fox, its relationships with other animals, and its suitability as a source of food or medical products. “Diuers Medicines arise out of euery part of euery beast almost,” as Topsell translates Gesner (HFFB ¶2r). Thus far, his method is not unlike that of Turner or even of Bartholomaeus Anglicus: the emphasis is on the immediate usefulness of the animal for human beings. But what marks Gesner as part of the movement in natural history emphasizing the moral elements of *historia* is his decision to include folktales and myths associated with the fox, concluding the entry with a list of the ways in which the animal and its attributes have entered into human language, literature, and art, emphasizing the moral benefits to be had from knowledge of the fox.

When Gesner professes the utility of his book, “he never evokes explanations or causal interpretation of the collected facts,” Pinon notes (247). Instead, the heterogeneous collections of information assembled by Gesner in each entry are themselves of immediate utility. The “Diuers Medicines” to be derived from the creature are not limited to simples but include the exemplary lessons derived from learning the beast’s habits and relations with other animals. Even in listing the names of the fox (which might initially seem simply to be synonymia worthy of a pedant schoolmaster on the Renaissance stage), Gesner hopes to offer his reader as many tools in hopes of “recovering the original meaning of language and the attendant overarching unity of knowledge that was lost in the confusion of tongues following the fall of Babel” (Bono 183). Much of this information, Ashworth observes, “resembles a vast exercise in philology, linguistics, literary criticism, and biblical exegesis that has little to do with the study of nature” (“Emblematic” 21); Miguel de Asúa and Roger French describe Gesner’s work as “a jungle of words” (190). Nevertheless, Ashworth asks,

If Gesner saw fit to devote six of his sixteen fox pages to epithets, icons, proverbs, and emblems, should we not allow for the possibility that, in the mid-sixteenth century, knowledge of animal symbolism was considered an essential aspect of natural history? (“Emblematic” 21)

These six pages show the difference between Gesner’s natural history and that practiced by naturalists like John Maplet and Batman, who were working with the text of the

medieval Bartholomaeus Anglicus: the emphasis on symbolic meaning shifts the interest of natural history from mere simples and human physical health in general to mental or spiritual well-being in particular. Ashworth's question goes to the heart of the difficulties of understanding the function of natural history during the sixteenth century: how much is it "scientific" in its concerns (like a modern discipline such as zoology), and how much is it a literary genre whose function was to instruct and to delight in ways more commonly associated with poetry, the devices of poetry, and a specifically didactic poem like The Faerie Queene?

The extent to which natural history was at least in part a morally didactic genre is evident in the works of Gesner's primary English follower, Edward Topsell, whose texts The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts and The Historie of Serpents are modified translations of Gesner's Historia animalium. In the dedicatory epistle to The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts, Topsell states, "I have followed D[r] Gesner as neer as I could, and do professe him my Author in most of my stories," but is not afraid to supplement Gesner where he felt necessary (A6r). Topsell's intended additions to Gesner included a planned ornithological text, The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes, surviving as an incomplete unique manuscript in the Henry E. Huntington Library.<sup>35</sup> Like Gesner, Topsell includes as much possible information as he can gather, including differing versions of illustrations. His illustrations are almost entirely reproductions or close copies of those of Gesner, and he follows Gesner's method and plan in each individual entry. For example, Topsell reproduces an illustration made by Caius for Gesner of a lynx held in the Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London, labeling it as "The picture of a Linx, once in the Tower of London, which was first described by Doctor Cay." What is noteworthy is the closely observed naturalism of Caius's illustration, which is a testament to Caius's skills as a naturalist, particularly when compared with the other two images of lynxes Topsell includes: one has a decidedly anthropomorphic face and looks less like a lynx and more like a dyspeptic werewolf, while the other illustration, drawn from Olaus Magnus, shows a stylized heraldic beast (HFFB Tt4v, Tt5r). Topsell includes all three, rather than sifting out the information available and choosing the best; as with Gesner's

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<sup>35</sup> El. 1142.

natural history, the utility of Topsell's work rests in the immediate details rather than a synthesized interpretation.

Like so many early modern natural historians, Topsell was a priest, and this may be a clue to why he continued to emphasize moral instruction in what might be expected ostensibly to be a work of scientific method. But in his emphasis on the symbolic meaning of animals, Topsell demonstrates his belief in knowledge of the natural world as a path to divine knowledge, actively fostered in his readers through virtuous conduct. The full title of The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts points to Topsell's end:

THE | HISTORIE | OF | FOVRE-FOOTED | BEASTES. | Describing the true and lively figure of every Beast, with a discourse | *of their severall Names, Conditions, Kindes, Vertues (both naturall and | medicinall)* Countries of their breed, their love and hate to Mankinde, and the | wonderfull worke of God in their Creation, Preservation, | and Destruction. | *Necessary for all Divines and Students, because the story of every Beast is amplified with Narrations out of Scrip- | tures, Fathers, Phylosophers, Physitians, and Poets: wherein are declared divers Hyeroglyphicks, Emblems, Epigrams, | and other good Histories, Collected out of all the Volumes of CONRADVS GESNER, and all | other Writers to this present day.*

Topsell's extended title exemplifies Ashworth's view that six developments in sixteenth-century thought shaped the cultural matrix of the emblematic elements in natural history: "The hieroglyphic, antiquarian, Aesopic, mythological, adagial, and emblematic traditions" ("Natural History" 307). For this kind of natural history, the world remains a cryptogram. Topsell regards the study of Nature as something "Necessary for all Divines and Students" because in "the Names, Conditions, Kindes, Vertues (both naturall and medicinall) Countries of their breed, their love and hate to Mankinde," can be seen "the wonderfull worke of God." The world is charged with meaning for those able to read it, and in this emblematic view of Nature, the meaning can be read through the aid of "Narrations out of Scriptures, Fathers, Phylosophers, Physitians, and Poets: wherein are declared divers Hyeroglyphicks, Emblems, Epigrams, and other good Histories."

Topsell argues that a history of animals is preferable to a human chronicle as a guide to virtue because the natural world is a

Chronicle which was made by God himselfe, every living beast being a word, every kind being a sentence, and al of them together a large history,

containing admirable knowledge [and] learning, which was, which is, which shall continue, (if not forever) yet to the worlds end (HFFB A5v).

This natural world is a mirror for human education because it is a theological text (or, more precisely, a text of natural theology), and as such, Topsell sees his work as being something to profit and delight his reader, suitable for reading on Sundays (though “not omitting prayer and the publicke service of God,” he quickly adds), since natural history provides material for “heavenly meditations upon earthly creatures” (A6r). “For the knowledge of man,” he states, “many and most excellent rules for publicke and private affaires, both for preserving a good conscience and avoiding an evill daunger, are gathered from Beastes” (A5r).

The act of reading natural history is not just one of acquiring scientific knowledge about animals; for Topsell, reading the natural world through an *historia* such as his is an education in virtue. “Who is so unnaturall and unthankfull to his parents,” he asks,

but by reading how the young Storckes and Wood-peckers do in their parents olde age feed and nourish them, will not repent, amend his folly, and bee more naturall? What man is so void of compassion, that hearing the bounty of the Bone-Breaker Birde to the young Eagles, will not become more liberall? Where is there such a sluggard and drone, that considereth the labours, paines, and trauels of the Emmet, Little bee, Field-mouse, Squirrell, and such other that will not learne for shame to be more industrious, and set his fingers to worke? (A5r)

Topsell challenges his readers to dare to be “so unnaturall and unthankfull” as to be unmoved by the examples of the natural world: if animals can do it, he seems to ask, why can human beings not do likewise? Topsell assumes that the very act of reading about the habits and attributes of animals will have a moral effect upon his readers: reading about storks inspires them to care for their own parents, to honour the fifth of the Ten Commandments, and to “bee more naturall” (that is, to be closer to a prelapsarian unity with God); learning about the habits of “the Bone-Breaker Birde,” the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), draws out the Aristotelian virtue of liberality in Topsell’s readers; and contemplating the natural habits of mice, bees, and other small animals drives out the sin of sloth. Topsell defends the necessity of human interest even in such small creatures: “For Almighty God,” he states, “which hath made them al, hath disseminated in euery kind both of great and smal beasts, seeds of his wisdom, maiesty, and glory” (Vv6r). Topsell continues his *consummatio*:

How great is the loue and faithfulness of Dogges, the meeknesse of Elephants, the modesty or shamefastnesse of the adulterous Lyonesse, the neatnesse and politure of the Cat and Peacocke, the iustice of the Bee which gathereth from all flowers that which serueth their turne, and yet destroyeth not the flower. The care of the Nightingale to make her voice plesant, the chastity of the Turtle, the Canonicall uoice and watchfulness of a Cocke, and to conlude the vtility of a Sheepe: All these and ten thousand more I could recite, to shew what the knowledge of the nature of brutish creatures doth worke or teach the minds of men. (A5r)

Each animal has a lesson in virtue for those who have the wisdom to learn the language in which it is expressed: namely, the order of nature. But in presenting the arguments for the study of nature, Topsell makes clear that his interest, as well as the interest he seeks to enflame in his readers, lies principally in the usefulness of animals, rather than in the animals necessarily themselves. Moreover, unlike Maplet, Topsell sees this usefulness existing primarily in offering exemplary moral guidance, as the pairing of different animals with different virtuous traits suggests. Topsell includes information on the medical benefits derived from his various subjects, but the vast majority of each entry is devoted to what “knowledge of the nature of brutish creatures doth worke or teach the minds of men.” As Topsell states to his readers in the epilogue to The Historie of Foure-Footed Beasts, “all these rowes and ranks of liuing Foure-footed Beasts are as letters & Mid-wiues to saue the reuerence which is due to the highest (that made them) from perishing within you” (Yyyy2r). Topsell regards such knowledge as being every bit as beneficial as the medical uses he lists, demonstrating again that to humanist natural historians, as to a poet like Spenser, the moral benefits were just as practical as the more tangible ones.

In order to show how common this natural historical belief in the moral “legibility” of the natural world was, let me cite John Donne’s 1630 Whitsunday sermon. Donne refers to this natural order as God’s “book of creatures,” which the “inconsiderate man...may run and reade; that is, he may go forward in his vocation, and yet see that every creature calls him to a consideration of God” (Sermon Cc6r). Like Topsell, Donne assumes that it is possible to turn to animals and natural objects for lessons in human spiritual health:

Every Ant that [the inconsiderate man] sees, and askes him, Where had I this providence, and industry? Every flowere that he sees, and asks him,

Where had I this beauty, this fragrancy, this medicinall vertue in me?  
Every creature calls him to consider, what great things God hath done in  
little subjects. (Cc6r)

For Donne, the lessons derived from contemplating plants and animals come not merely from their divine creation, but also because of their correspondence with higher human attributes:

Here God opens another book to him, his manuall, his bosome, his pocket book, his *Vade Mecum*, the Abridgement of all Nature, and all Law, his owne heart, and conscience. (Cc6r)

If the human heart and conscience is the “Abridgement of all Nature,” then “all Nature” should be the human heart in full, uncondensed. Moreover, because of the deliberate ambiguity Donne imposes upon the pronoun “his,” the “manuall” or “pocket book” of nature that is the human heart becomes a projection of divine will: God’s “manuall,” “bosome,” and “all Law” written on both nature and the heart.

These passages, drawn from texts with seemingly quite different generic expectations, illustrate the widespread belief that nature has an inherent meaning, and is not a collection of objects with arbitrary signification through this emblematic interpretation. As Peter Daly says, “The information and knowledge utilized by people in any period of time derives its validity ultimately from their world-view” (59). If the world-view of the emblem writers--and, I believe, Spenser and these early modern natural historians--was one of correspondences and analogies, then (Daly concludes)

the interpretation of reality--the meanings read out of individual objects--is not capricious and accidental; it is not an invention of the poet, but a recognition of an inherent meaning. (57-58)

Daly and Ashworth make the same point: this “recognition of an inherent meaning” (or making of knowledge, as Spiller might put it) explains why “knowledge of animal symbolism was considered an essential aspect of natural history” (Ashworth, “Emblematic” 21). As an interpretation of nature, natural history is, as Peter Hess rightly observes, “perennially intertwined in complex ways with the theological assumptions of the cultures in which it developed” (437). Topsell makes the point succinctly: “Euery beast...is a natural vision...for the more cleare apprehension of the inuisible Maiesty of God” (HFFB A4v). Put another way, “By using animals to fully understand themselves...humans constructed animals as meaningful,” Erica Fudge states (Brutal



109). Moreover, the stated purposes of the emblematic natural historians and Spenser in The Faerie Queene are startlingly similar, and remain the same as that of Pliny some fifteen centuries earlier: to educate the reader “for everyday life, by the examination of all aspects of the world around them,” as Mary Beagon describes Pliny’s purpose (13). The goal of such study, in other words, is to “fashion” the reader “in virtuous and gentle discipline,” to repeat Spenser’s stated purpose for his poem in the letter to Raleigh (FQ 714). The Faerie Queene, because of its preponderance of animal imagery, but moreover because of its approach to the natural world, inhabits an area of interest intersecting with the natural historians’ “‘scenes’ of inquiry” (N. Jardine 9) and shares in their project of representing the animal world in a particular historically contextualized manner of emblematic, didactic meaning.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Lion

I was very glad that Mr. Attlee described my speeches in the war as expressing the will not only of Parliament but of the whole nation. Their will was resolute and remorseless and, as it proved, unconquerable. It fell to me to express it...It was a nation and race dwelling all round the globe that had the lion heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar.

-Winston S. Churchill (8608-09)

#### I

#### Seeing the Lions

Lions figure prominently in The Faerie Queene. Spenser mentions lions or lionesses 63 times in the poem. The lion clearly was a potent symbol for Spenser and his contemporaries because of its close associations with England, particularly through heraldry (Laurence Andrew's lions in Figure 5 have very prominent heraldic tongues, for example). Indeed, of all the non-native animals known to early modern England, the lion was probably the most familiar, not only through heraldry, but also through representations in literature, the Bible, and the visual arts, though actual lions were not unknown. Lions had been part of the collection of the Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London since at least the fourteenth century; archeological digs at the Tower over 1936-37 uncovered two lion skulls, the earliest of which has recently been radiocarbon dated to between 1280-1385 (O'Regan, Turner, and Sabin 386).<sup>36</sup> During Spenser's lifetime, the lion quarters consisted of a yard with a hemicycle of dens for the lions, all of which were rebuilt in 1605 (Colvin, Ransome, and Summerson 272-73). The Tower menagerie had by Elizabeth's reign become a public attraction (P. Thomas 32). For example, Paul Hentzner, a German traveler to London in 1598, notes in his memoirs that among the animals he saw when visiting the Royal Menagerie were three lionesses and "one Lion of great size, called Edward VI, from his having been born in that reign" (27).<sup>37</sup> Londoners must have joined foreign visitors in going to see the menagerie at the Tower, though there are no anecdotal records of such visits until the time of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn

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<sup>36</sup> These dates notably make this lion the earliest known in England since the European lion became extinct at about the end of the last Ice Age.

<sup>37</sup> Philip Drennon Thomas mistakenly calls this lion "Edward IV." Had Edward the lion been born during Edward IV's reign (which ended in 1483), the creature would have been well past his century and improbably ancient by any leonine standard, which is more in the range of 20 years. As it is, the lion must have been pretty elderly even if he had been born in Elizabeth's brother's reign (1547-53), unless Hentzner misunderstood the explanation for the animal's name.



Figure 5. Lion (Lyon), woodcut from Laurence Andrew, The noble lyfe a[nd] natures of man Of bestes, serpentys, fowles a[nd] fisses [that] be moste knowen (Antwerp, c.1527) F4r.



Figure 6. Lion, woodcut from Edward Topsell, The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes (London, 1607) Rr1r.

(Hahn 111); enough people must have gone for the phrase “to see the lions” to become proverbial by the 1590s for seeing the sights in general (Tilley L322). The symbolic function of lions inherited by Spenser from antiquity was significant, whether from biblical or classical literature. Classicists like Michael Clarke, Jonathan Gottschall, Steven H. Lonsdale, and Annie Schnapp-Gourgeillon have argued for the central importance of lion imagery in Homer, where the animals “play a major part in Homer’s portrayal of the ethical and psychological problems of heroism” (Clarke 138). Lonsdale goes so far as to call the lion in classical literature “the animal simile *par excellence*: the king of beasts and the king of similes” (1). However, as my examination of Spenser’s lions shall show, meaning was not completely derived from either the Bible or classics, but rather a synthesis of a wide variety of sources.

Spenser employs a hermeneutic practice of accumulation in defining the meaning of the animals in The Faerie Queene. This practice, like that of early modern natural history, crosses disciplinary bounds in the material it employs; however, as also with natural history, the significance of the information it presents does not necessarily dovetail together to create a single symbolic meaning at any given point in Spenser’s text. In thinking about the natural history of Spenser’s lions, we must also think about the disciplines that natural history itself draws upon to construct the meaning of the lion for Spenser and his contemporaries: anatomy, astrology, history, geography, heraldry, and many more knowledge areas. In the previous chapters, I argue for the central importance of moral didacticism to the practice of natural history, a practice built upon assumptions concerning the legibility of the natural world, as well as a sense of the exemplary function of history. I also posit some ways in which Spenser, as a representative of his particular culture and moment, likely interacted with the Renaissance discourse about animals throughout his education. Those chapters address the question of why and how knowledge of natural history was assembled and disseminated. *What* that knowledge was, when applied to Spenser’s animals, depends upon the reader’s mediation, as I shall show. The following chapter first locates in Topsell’s entry on the lion certain characteristics of the animal, and then applies these characteristics to a number of Spenser’s lions in Sonnet 20 of Amoretti, in Daphnaïda, and especially in The Faerie Queene, culminating in an analysis of Spenser’s use of the lion to define Redcrosse Knight throughout Book 1.

## II Topsell's Method

Examining Topsell's lion reveals five particular traits of the beast that are key to interpreting Spenser's lions: the lion's kingship, sexuality, haughty complexion, clemency, and cruelty. Topsell has been often criticized for his limitations as a natural historian. He is, according to Charles E. Raven, "a man of very little originality, who reproduced what his authorities gave to him" (218). His work is a loose paraphrase of Gesner's natural history; Topsell claims his book is a translation, but admits that "if at any time [Gesner] seemed obscure...[Topsell] turned to the Bookes which [he] had at hande to guess" Gesner's meaning (HFFB A5v). Raven describes the relationship between the books more fully: "The actual text of Gesner is treated with freedom, paraphrased, re-arranged, condensed, expanded in a way only possible in an age when plagiarism was universal and copyright unknown" (221). Hoeniger and Hoeniger are less forgiving: "He had barely enough Latin to translate Gesner," they note, adding that Topsell "was anything but a pioneer" (38). Yet it is this want of originality that makes Topsell and his works so valuable for the modern reader interested in the sixteenth-century discourse of animals. Although he cannot be counted one of the natural historians who influenced the modern shape of zoology or botany, he did popularize the study of the natural world and represents a kind of epitome of the practices of the Renaissance discipline. Coming as they do in the early years of the seventeenth century, Topsell's works have the benefit of being able to draw upon all of the developments in the discourse of natural history that came over the sixteenth century. Topsell's entry on the lion also suggests the close links between natural history and human history as interrelated forms of *historia*, with shared methodologies and expectations of utility; Topsell stresses that "many and most excellent rules for publicke and private affaires" may be had from the individual histories of animals (HFFB A5r). Much of that sense of utility depends upon a belief in a social hierarchy in the animal world shared by Spenser and Topsell.

At first glance, Spenser invokes only two basic ideas about lions in The Faerie Queene, both of which are also recorded in Topsell: their sovereignty over other beasts

and their dangerous nature. My cumulative reading shows that Spenser's lions are by no means limited to these two significations. The epithets Spenser applies to lions emphasize these two basic assumptions, however: "The Lyon Lord of euerie beast in field" (FQ 1.3.7.1) is "kingly" (1.3.8.4; 1.3.41.1) and "lordly" (1.3.19.9; 5.1.20.5), and possesses both a "Lordly hart" (1.3.42.8) and "imperiall powre" (2.5.10.1), while also being "fierce" (1.1.17.2), "dread" (1.3.11.5), "ravenous" (3.12.22.2), "grim" (4.3.39.2), and "fell" (6.6.22.4)---as, one supposes, are all monarchs, potentially. Topsell's attitude toward lions reflects these assumptions about the lion's sovereignty and danger; indeed, his attitude is one of frank deference to the creature "iustly stiled by all writers the King of beastes" (HFFB Qq6v). He begins his entry "Of the Lyon" by recounting an Aesopian fable about a lion, an ass, and a fox, all joined together in friendship in the quest for "conuenient booties" (Qq6v). When the ass was commanded by the lion to divide up what they found, "the silly Asse regarded nothing but societie and friendship, and not honor and dignitie," and divided the booty into equal portions; the lion, "disdaining...because hee had made him equall vnto the residue," fell upon the ass and tore him in pieces (Qq6v). For his part, the fox wisely learned from the fate of the ass, and ceded by far the larger share of the booty (the proverbial "lion's share") to the lion. As Topsell glosses the fable,

I would be loath to be so simple, in sharing out the discourse of the Lyon, as to make it equall with the treatise of the beasts lately handled, but rather according to the dignitie thereof, to expresse the whole nature, in a large and copious tractate. For such is the rage of illiterate or else enuious men, that they would censure me with as great seueritie, if I should herein like an Asse forget my self (if I were in their power) as the Lyon did his colleague for one foolish partition. (Qq6v)

The fable Topsell cites demonstrates both the royal dignity of the lion and the creature's dangerousness. Moreover, the fable suggests that the dangerousness is itself a function of the dignity: a potential for violence born out of a sense of *noblesse oblige*. Topsell also employs natural history here as an act of self-fashioning, defining himself and his responsibilities as an author in relation to the reputed "dignitie" of the lion and the presumption of the "silly" Ass. Topsell tells the tale as a way of sidestepping the very problem he introduces---namely, the charge of treating the "King of beastes" as if it were just another animal, and therefore devoting to the lion an entry of comparable length to

those of any other creature in Topsell's book. Such protests seem more like the carefully couched language of dedications than what one might expect from a natural history. From the point of view of modern zoology, the lion *is* just like any other animal, and so Topsell's choice to treat the lion the same way he treats any other animal might appear to be a fleeting presentiment of an approach to zoology that does not see any kind of social hierarchy among animals. Topsell makes an ambiguous choice of words, however, in the simile: in comparing the lion of the fable to those "illiterate or else envious men" who might criticize his apparently presumptuous treatment of the lion, Topsell seems to suggest that those who believe the lion has a special dignity are "illiterate or else envious." But the adjectives are unclear. Topsell might also be suggesting that his would-be critics are illiterate in not understanding his purpose, or are envious of his skills and learning in natural history--or even of the reflected dignity which writing about the lion gives to Topsell.

Given the general character of Topsell's natural history, and his stated purposes for assembling his work, any criticism of the assumption that the animal world is built upon a social hierarchy to be found in this passage is likely either unconscious on Topsell's part, or an over-reading based upon modern assumptions in the reader. What is certain is that in prefacing his entry on the lion with this fable, Topsell affirms that what he intends to do is different from the expectations his readers might have about writing about lions. His intention is to treat the lion as he does any other animal in providing information and description, thereby marking Topsell's distinctly early modern natural history apart from that practised during the Middle Ages. Most bestiaries within the Latin and Old French traditions began with a description of the lion because of its assumed kingship over other beasts (McCulloch 137; see also T. White 7 for an example). The kingship of the lion was said to be rooted in the name of the beast: Isidore of Seville in his Etymologies notes that Latin *leo* is derived from Greek, "leo autem Graece, Latine rex interpretatur, eo quod princeps sit omnium bestiarum," "but the Greek word 'leo' is translated as 'king' in Latin, for he is the ruler of all the beasts" (12.1.2.3). Although he shares with Isidore and the mediaeval encyclopaedists a belief that etymology and philology are key tools to understanding the natural world, Topsell is also clearly conscious of the humanist scholarly habit of alphabetization as an innovation, compared

to the mediaeval tradition of arrangement by social importance. Topsell does not deny the social position of the lion, however, as his fable demonstrates; rather, the use of the fable affirms his sense of the social system he sees in the natural world--and, moreover, the congruency between the social system of animals and that of human beings (why else would “illiterate or else envious men” chastise Topsell for giving short shrift to the king of beasts?). As Keith Thomas remarks, “The whole natural world...was conventionally assumed to be ordered in a hierarchal scale, moving up from man to the angels and descending from him in what were regarded as diminishing degrees of perfection” (60). Within this overall hierarchal system, each order of being was ordered according to a hierarchal scale reflecting the overall system; within each order, the hierarchal social scale was repeated in microcosm, as in Caius’s account of English dogs discussed in the previous chapter. The social hierarchy that Spenser, Topsell, and Caius all take for granted in the animal world was monarchical, culminating in the kingship of the lion, just as human society was conventionally assumed to be by nature monarchical. All of these microcosmic monarchies were themselves thought to be but reflections of the kingship of God, according to orthodox Christian belief of the period. This sense of the system of nature is perhaps the most important basic assumption about the practices of early modern natural history in Topsell, particularly since he sees his own work as something prefatory to the contemplation of the overall system of God.

The actual content and organization of Topsell’s entry give a sense of the range of information he felt was necessary and useful to provide about the lion. Like his master Gesner, Topsell provides much more beyond what might be expected from zoology. He divides the entry into a series of topics:

1. The names of the lion in a number of ancient and modern languages.
2. The varieties and geographical distribution of lions.
3. A description of the basic morphology and physiology of the lion.
4. The epithets associated with lions.
5. A description of the behaviour and habits of lions.
6. The character, ingenuity, virtues, vices, sympathies, and antipathies of lions.
7. The utility of lions to human beings, including comments on the means of hunting lions and on the place of lions in human culture.
8. A final separate section on medical uses derived from lions.
9. In the case of the lion, the whole entry is accompanied by a page-sized woodcut illustration of a lion resting on a bank (Figure 6).



Unlike Gesner, who employs a more formal system of letters marking each section in every entry, Topsell marks each section with a marginal note marking its contents; the delineation by subject is Gesnerian, however. Some of the information Topsell provides seems out of place according to the standards of modern zoological practice, but to dismiss Topsell's work therefore as a result of such a comparison is to mistake his purpose and method. As with Gesner's natural history, Topsell's work is more than a simple study of nature: it is (as Pinon says of Gesner's work) "an inventory of every element of natural knowledge since antiquity" (250). The real basis of such a zoological discourse is "not the animals themselves but the animal's names, to which the zoological knowledge is related" (250-51). This "real basis," the emphasis on the animal's names, to which more overtly zoological information is related, is reflected in Topsell's method of providing short illustrative anecdotes or stories, from which he draws information about the lion.

Even when providing direct information about lions, Topsell relates the information in human terms or with reference to human culture, behaviour, or needs. For example, in the section describing the morphology of the lion, Topsell observes that "a Lyon hath a most valiant and strong head." But instead of limiting himself to these more-or-less factual remarks, as a modern zoological author might, Topsell expands upon them:

A Lyon hath a most valiant and strong head, and for this occasion, when the Nymphes were terrified by the Lyons and fled into *Carystus*, the promontory wherein they dwelled was called *Co leon*, that is the Lyons-head, where afterwards was built a goodly Citty. It fortun'd as *Themistocles* went thether to manage the affaires of the Graecians, *Epiries* the *Persian*, president of *Phrygia* intended his destruction, and therefore committed the busines vnto one *Pisis*, with charge that he shold behead *Themistocles*, who came thither to execute that murder, but it happened as *Themistocles* slept at the noone day, hee heard a voice crying out vnto him, *O Themistocles effuge leonum caput ne ipse in leonem incurras*: that is to say, *O Themistocles* get thee out of the Lyons head, least thou fall into the Lyons teeth: whereupon he arose and saued his life. (HFFB Rr2r)

To a reader trained in the expectations of modern scientific writing, all of this information appears to be secondary to the fact that "a Lyon hath a most valiant and strong head"; the information seems superfluous at best, and irrelevant and distracting at worst. In its inclusiveness and style, Topsell's natural history has more in common with

the antiquarian writings of the period than modern natural history, reflecting the importance of the *historia* as a knowledge system. All of this information demonstrates his method and generic assumptions, however. Of Gesner's work, Pinon comments that "While Gesner's zoology could exist in a world without animals, it is not conceivable in a world without books" (251). The ironic truth of this remark extends to Topsell: the toponymical and historical information he provides from Plutarch's life of Themistocles suggests a way of deducing the nature of lions. The zoological fact that "a Lyon hath a most valiant and strong head" is almost secondary to the assembling and arrangement of zoological knowledge reflecting this fact. What are important are the reflections of these facts in human culture: the *historia* of knowledge about animals demonstrated in philology, archaeology, and literature, so to speak, rather than the animals themselves. Topsell presents the reader with all possible information, leaving the reader to discern the connections and similitudes between leonine anatomy and Greek geography and history.

### III Hot and Bothered

In the entry on the lion, Topsell tries to negotiate the tensions between the literal four-footed beast and the figurative knowledge accumulated around it in human culture. For example, Topsell's word "valiant," used to describe the head of the lion, suggests strength and courageous worth (both meanings available in Topsell's English). Topsell's attempt to account for the lion's nature according to elemental psychology shows how integrated the animal appears to have been in different early modern epistemological and metaphysical discourses. However, to modern readers, his treatment of the lioness demonstrates the tension between the figurative and literal in the sharpest of terms.

For Topsell, "There is no beast more desirous of copulation then a lionesse," and for this reason, "sometimes eight, ten, or twelue males follow one lionesse like so many dogges one fault bitch" (HFFB Rr5r). The social behaviour of real lions is quite the opposite: prides conventionally consist of groups of females, with perhaps one or two males, rather than Topsell's image of leonine *femmes fatales* pursued by swooning troops

of lions.<sup>38</sup> Although he grudgingly adds that because of the heat of their constitution, “at all times of the yeare both sexes desire copulation,” Topsell goes on to reflect in some detail on “the adultery of lionesses” (Rr5r), drawing upon Pliny the Elder for an explanation for the similarities between different species, though Pliny does not refer to “adultery” (8.17.42ff). Topsell, however, reasons that the passions of the female must be too much for the male of the species; he asserts that as a result of this imbalance of libido, the lioness “committeth adultery” with a grotesque variety of other creatures, including hyenas, dogs, and leopards---themselves, like panthers, animals also “begotten by the adultery of the lyonesse” (HFFB Rr1v). For these acts of “adultery,” the lioness “is punished by her male if she wash not her selfe before she come at him” (Rr5r); Topsell does not make it clear whether the lioness’s offense is not washing herself or the act itself revealed by some post-coital uncleanness. Although Topsell’s remarks about the sexual proclivities of the lioness are immediately followed by an encomium praising the lioness as a caring mother, his choice of the word “adultery” is a charged one, carrying with it overtones of moral judgment, as does the punishment meted out by the male to the unwashed female. The word suggests a system of morality and ethics among animals similar to that existing in the human world. Interbreeding between different species might occur to someone seeking to explain the resemblances between the great cats and the lion, but Topsell invokes a whole discourse of misogyny in ascribing these resemblances solely to the breeding behaviour of the lioness and not the lion.

To modern eyes, the sexuality of the lion shows Topsell most obviously constructing the idea of the lion from the materials of human culture. Human beings will never know whether the great cats have a moral system of their own; the danger will always be that animal behaviour will be interpreted, to a greater or lesser extent, according to human norms---here, according to early modern English gender politics. Topsell’s account of leonine sexuality is a mirror of the preoccupations and theories of his culture, which would include whatever titillated though scandalized fascination his readers would have in encountering the lascivious lioness. For Topsell, the creature’s sexuality is according to its natural order. In claiming that the lion’s “naturall constitution

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<sup>38</sup> For a recent zoological account of leonine pride behaviour, see Haas, Hayssen, and Krausman. Judith A. Rudnai offers behavioral evidence drawn from several different specific prides in Nairobi National Park, Kenya; see Rudnai 12-15. .

is so hotte,” Topsell makes the species subject to the traditions of astrology and elemental physiology and psychology, like any human being (Rr5r). Topsell uses the vocabulary of these systems without comment: in describing the antipathies of lions, Topsell observes that

They are...afraid of fire...For as they are inwardly filled with naturall fire (for which cause by the Egyptians they were dedicated to *Vulcan*) so are they the more afraide of all outward fire. (Rr5r)

Topsell slips between the figurative fire of the lion’s temperament and the literal fire of the creature’s fears, explaining the literal through the figurative. Elsewhere, Topsell uses the lion’s choleric temperament to explain diet: young lions “cannot longe bee fed with Milke, because they are whot and dry,” and therefore soon require flesh (Rr3v). Leo is a “fire” sign, associated with choler (Richardson 7). The association between lions and the choleric humour is a widespread commonplace in Renaissance works. For example, the revised 1570 edition of The kalender of shepardes (a book that is something like a cross between a sacerdotal handbook, a home medicine guide, and The Farmer’s Almanac) includes an illustration of the four temperaments matched by emblematic animals; a lion represents choler (Figure 7).<sup>39</sup> Topsell draws upon theories of astrology and humours that associate the lion with certain physical and psychological traits, and just as he conflates the figurative inner fire of temperament with the literal fire of the lion’s fears, so Topsell conflates the lion with Leo---or, more accurately, does not make a clear distinction between empirical knowledge of the lion and the knowledge expressed by astrology as an epistemological system.

Astrology associates Leo the lion with the Sun, as sixteenth-century practitioners confirm: John Maplet, in his 1581 astrological text, The diall of destiny, states that the Sun’s “house or mansion is onely in Leo” (D1v). In the section of his A prognostication everlastinge (1576) concerned with medical astrology, the mathematician Leonard Digges notes that Leo governs the heart among the parts of the human body (F1v)---the seat of passions like the courage and the valour Topsell ascribes to the lion, again

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<sup>39</sup> Many other instances exist in and out of medical and astrological texts, but to take only two further examples, Henry Peacham’s emblem “Cholera” in his 1612 Minerua Britanna (T2r) and Levinus Lemnius in The touchstone of complexions of 1576 (M8v-N1r) both link lions with the choleric temperament.



Figure 7. The Four Humours, woodcut from The kalender of shepardes (London, 1570)  
L6r.

blurring the distinctions between knowledge systems. Indeed, as Topsell solemnly records, “As the Eagle is fained to feede vpon the heart of *Prometheus*, so also is the lion the ruler of the heart of man” (HFFB Rr3). For Maplet, explicitly both a natural historian and an astrologer, the distinction between knowledge systems is unthinkable. Among the creatures he lists in his astrology text that are under the influence of the Sun are

all such as be of bigge stature, and of hawty stomacke: likewyse such as are desierous of superiority, and haue naturally a pryde in themselues: Of which sorte is the Lyon. (The diall E5r)

Like Topsell, Maplet conflates the zodiacal sign Leo (and the celestial body most closely linked to it) with the real animal used to represent the sign. Maplet’s delineation of the attributes associated with those governed by the Sun reads very much like Topsell’s description of the lion; where Topsell emphasizes the lordliness, the sense of dignity, and the danger in lions, Maplet describes the natural pride and desire for superiority over others in those ruled by the Sun.

Moreover, people governed by the Sun are also, according to Maplet, “hawty stomacked” and are “aduanced often to great honours and dignities...and are giuen much to procure the profit of their country” (E4v). Unlike animals, which astrological tradition assigns according to temperament or physiology to the rule of a certain heavenly patron, human beings are born under a specific set of influences that reputedly form their temperaments and physiological forms. But astrology is something of a chicken and egg system of interpreting natural history, as the situation of the lion suggests: is the lion ruled by the Sun because it is kingly and “hawty stomacked,” or is the lion thought to be “hawty stomacked” and kingly because of the attributes associated with those born under the influence of Leo and the Sun (and is therefore itself subject to the same influences)? Topsell, however, does not engage with the questions behind his less scientific assumptions about the lion; his lion is just as “hawty stomacked” and regal as that of Maplet and as those men and women ruled by Leo. Rather, Topsell notes that lions are “ful of stomacke” (HFFB Rr3) and

can endure nothing which is vnsweete, stale, or stinking; but in my opinion they do it through the pride of their natures, resembling in al things a Princely maiesty, and therefore scorne to haue one dish twice presented to their own table. (Rr4r)

Topsell's explanation rests entirely upon temperament: "the pride of their natures" dictates the lion's diet. Just as the idea of species interbreeding might occur to someone looking for a way to explain resemblances between those species, so a delicacy born of pride might explain why lions might eat some things and not others; both theories have a certain simple logic to them. But again, as with the supposed adulterousness of lionesses, Topsell interprets his explanations according to the expectations of early modern human social systems rather than animal behaviour. Topsell's rhetoric is circular: if the reason why lions eat only certain things is because of "the pride of their natures," then lions therefore resemble "in all things a Princely maiesty" (because of the delicacy of princely palates), which itself therefore "scorne[s] to haue one dish twice presented." Shakespeare makes a similar remark about the diet and nature of lions in *As You Like It*, when Oliver explains why the lioness observing him sleeping did not attack:

For 'tis  
The royal disposition of that beast  
To prey on nothing that doth seem as dead. (4.3.118-20)<sup>40</sup>

For Topsell, Maplet, and Shakespeare, diet is dictated by disposition. But upon analysis, at least in Topsell's natural history, the interpretation of disposition is dictated by diet, whether he acknowledges it or not: if it eats like a prince, then it must *be* like a prince.

#### IV "Clemencie in that fierce and angry nature"

From the beginning of his entry on the lion, Topsell makes the tradition of the beast's regal nature central to his description of the species. As his discussion of diet shows, however, Topsell is not always successful in maintaining a distinction between literal and figurative knowledge, interpreting the animal according to the norms of sixteenth-century human social systems like monarchies and marriages. The difficulty for the modern reader is trying to puzzle out which form of knowledge has priority---or whether, indeed, either would have had priority to an early modern reader or writer. The answer to the latter is obvious: the literal and the figurative coexist as necessary parts of what a lion was for Topsell or Spenser. However, even in acknowledging the place of the

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<sup>40</sup> Given the lion's association with cholera, however, it is entirely appropriate that the beast, as an emblem of choleric rage, does not overcome Oliver, thereby matching the change in his temperament from the beginning of the play.

figurative, modern readers face interpretive problems similar to those which Peter M. Daly observes in understanding emblems: the confusion caused by meeting one image “with many different, at times contradictory, meanings” (103). Topsell does not seem bothered by contradictions; he happily records whatever information he has concerning lions. As with all of his natural history, his entry on the lion serves as an anthology of knowledge about lions, where the contradictory parts seem to have little interaction. Topsell provides information, but leaves it to the reader’s pious contemplation to draw meaning from what he gives.

The lion itself is a paradox, according to Renaissance natural history. The beast is both clement and cruel by nature, and at the most extreme symbolic poles, the creature represents both Christ (e.g., Genesis 49:9 and Revelation 5:5) and the devil (e.g., 1 Peter 5:8). The interpretive challenge posed by the lion becomes more politically contested given the monarchical associations of the animal. In the mediaeval tradition, Margaret Haist argues, the lion had particular importance because “the bestiary lion entry addressed ideas of immediate concern to readers, who, if not themselves monarchs, were certainly living under monarchical rule” (3). The same could be said of Spenser’s Tudor and Topsell’s early Stuart lions. In discussing the paradoxical behaviour of lions (at once violent and dangerous, and at the same time a valiant creature of “honor and dignitie,” as in the Aesopian fable of the lion’s share), Topsell’s language could come from an exemplary civil history or a conduct manual for princes. Just as lions “excell in strength and courage,” Topsell observes,

so also they doe in crueltie, deuouring both men and beastes, setting vpon troupes of horsemen, depopulating the flockes, and heards of cattell, carrying some aliue to their yoonge ones. (HFFB Rr4v)

Elsewhere, echoing Pliny (8.19.48), Topsell comments that

Their clemencie in that fierce and angry nature is also worthy commendation, and to be wondered at in such beastes, for if one prostrate himselfe vnto them as it were in petition for his life, they often spare except in extremitie of famine; and likewise they seldome destroy women or children: and if they see women, children, and men together, they take the men which are strongest and refuse the other as weaklings and vnworthie their honor. (HFFB Rr6r)

Topsell ascribes a kind of chivalry to the lion in its attitude towards women and children, as well as “weaklings” and those “vnworthie their honor.” The behaviour Topsell



describes could just as easily be that of monarchs as that of lions. Both are expected to be conversant with the arts of peace and war: zealous in the prosecution of violence when necessary, but also open to the claims of mercy and clemency.

The political overtones of the lion were central to the early modern definition of the creature. Queen Elizabeth herself employed the connection between the behaviour of lions and human monarchs for pointed purposes. According to George Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie (1589), “a noble Prince,” like a lion, is

not to be passionate for small detriments, nor to be a reuenger of them, but in cases of great iniurie and specially of dishonors: and therein to be the very sterne and vindicatiue, for that sauours of Princely magnanimitie: nor to seeke reuenge vpon base and obscure persons, ouer whom the conquest is not glorious, nor the victorie honourable. (Kk3)

Puttenham goes on to recount an anecdote concerning Elizabeth I illustrating her own sense of “Princely magnanimitie” that equates the human sovereign with the king of beasts:

Our soueraign Lady (keeping alwaies the decorum of a Princely person) at her first comming to the crowne, when a knight of this Realme, who had very insolently behaued himselfe toward her when she was Lady *Elizabeth*, fell vpon his knee to her, and besought her pardon: suspecting (as there was good cause) that he should haue bene sent to the Tower, she said vnto him most mildly: do you not know that we are descended of the Lion, whose nature is not to harme or pray vpon the mouse, or any other such small vermin? (Kk3)

Elizabeth’s witty and characteristic response shows the queen’s willingness to propound a correspondence between a human kingdom and that of the animals, even if only as a devastating retort to a “vermin” timeserver. Her choice of an animal figure suggests the providential design of her accession; it must have seemed so to Elizabeth, given the tribulations of her life, though doubtlessly the queen also would have wished the suggestion embraced as fact. Elizabeth Tudor is the proper ruler of England just as the lion is the proper ruler of animals, both set in their places by divine order---and like the lion, the human monarch should have standards of conduct concerning the weak, the defenseless, or those merely beneath contempt.

Elizabeth seems to have been fond of the lion figure, for she compared herself to the king of beasts a number of times throughout her reign; others followed suit. I take but three further instances as illustration. The Calendar of State Papers for May 8, 1572

records the flattering overtures of some Scottish diplomats, who called Elizabeth “a princess of honour and great courage, and in that point to resemble the noble nature of the lion, that the more they bow themselves and yield to her, the better speed they shall come” (102). Two years later, the French ambassador to Elizabeth’s court reported in a dispatch of July 23, 1574 on a conversation he had with the queen:

Qu’encor qu’elle ne soit *lyonne*, elle ne layssoit d’estre yssue et tenir beaucoup de la complexion du *lyon*, et que, sellon que le Roy la traictera doucement, il la trouvera doucle et traictable, aultant qu’il le scauroit desirer; et s’il luy est rude, elle mettra peyne de luy estre le plus rude et nuysible qu’elle pourra. (Fénélon 191)

Although she is not a lioness, she is nonetheless descended from the lion and displays much of its nature---which is to say that, if the king treats her gently, he will find her as gentle and accommodating as he would desire; similarly if he is ill mannered, she will go to great pain to be as curt and malevolent as she can.

Finally, almost at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, the recusant loyalist Anthony Copley, in an anti-Jesuit diatribe of 1602 seeking toleration for English Roman Catholics, mused that “our Soueraigne is truly a Lionesse that knowes her strength and how to vse it aswell as euer any her predecessor-Kings of this Realme did” (C1r). From her accession almost until her death, Elizabeth was linked to lions, though her own insistence when using the analogy that she was descended from a lion rather than being a lion herself seems like a concession to the uneasy comparisons made between the queen and her father, Henry VIII, a man leonine in his passions and appetites.

Analogies depend upon similitude. The lions seen by Hentzner in the Tower named for ruling monarchs attest to the totemic links felt to exist between human and animal crowned heads in England, just as this repeated analogy supposes points of similarity between the queen and lions. Elizabeth is England just as the lion is England in heraldry. Moreover, Elizabeth is a lion or a lion’s cub inasmuch as she shows mercy to suppliants. With the lion, that mercy depends upon the creature’s sense of what is due to its station both as a dangerous predator and as king of beasts (though those roles are almost inseparable). The lion analogy acknowledges the queen’s rule and power, but also hints at the potentially bestial ardour of that power when reacting to slights against “the

decorum of a Princely person,” in Puttenham’s phrase. Threat and criticism coexist in the analogy, whoever employs it.

## V

### “But she more cruell and more saluage wylde”

Spenser certainly employs the analogy in Mother Hubberds Tale; he could not have gotten into as much trouble as he apparently did (enough trouble to have the poem called in) over the perceived topical satire of his Ape and Fox without his readers identifying the Lion in charge of his animal kingdom as the queen. The structure of the satire relies upon the monarchical structure common to the realms of both the lion and Elizabeth Tudor. Spenser evokes the same leonine clemency to suppliants in the queen’s analogy when writing about another Elizabeth: Elizabeth Boyle, the queen of the sonneteer’s kingdom of love in Amoretti (1595). In Sonnet 20, the speaker complains about his beloved’s lack of pity for his love by unfavourably comparing her behaviour to that of the lion:

In vaine I seeke and sew to her for grace,  
and doe myne humbled hart before her poure:  
the whiles her foot she in my necke doth place,  
and tread my life downe in the lowly floure.  
And yet the Lyon that is Lord of power,  
and reigneth ouer euery beast in field:  
in his most pride disdeigneth to deuoure  
the silly lambe that to his might doth yield.  
But she more cruell and more saluage wylde,  
then either Lyon or the Lyonesse:  
shames not to be with guiltlesse bloud defylde,  
but taketh glory in her cruelnesse.  
Fayrer then fayrest let none euer say,  
that ye were blooded in a yeelded pray.

The extended simile depends upon the same lion traits as the analogy applied to Queen Elizabeth. Most obviously, the conceit contrasts the proverbial natural magnanimity of the lion with the cruelty of the beloved (C. Smith 172). William C. Johnson (105-06), Donna Gibbs (72), James Fleming (155), Joan Curbet (46-47), and Kenneth J. Larsen in the annotations to his edition of the Amoretti (150) all take the comparison at face value--as the speaker asking his lady how even the most fierce of beasts can be merciful when she cannot--but leave it more or less at that in Sonnet 20. The comparison has a number

of other implications. The natural kingship of the lion suggests the corresponding reign of the beloved over the speaker's world and implies that, at least from the speaker's point of view, the beloved's reign is just as much according to natural, divinely sanctioned order as that of the lion. To the speaker, she is "the souerayne beauty which I doo admyre" (*Amoretti* 3.1), from whom he seeks to "sew...for grace," as any courtier would from a monarch (20.1).

Spenser surely must have been aware of the lion analogy attached to Queen Elizabeth, which could not have been far from his mind in writing about another Elizabeth and a lion; he shows his consciousness of the parallels between the different Elizabeths framing his life in Sonnet 74. Moreover, Sonnet 19 introduces monarchical order to this point in the sequence, but also suggests that the beloved is a rebel against such order. Curbet argues that the contrast between the conduct of the lion and that of the beloved "stresses the unnatural quality of her attitude," placing her "outside the rules of the natural world" (47). Cruelty beyond that of a lion does not alone set the beloved beyond the pale of what is natural, however. Curbet does not account for the beloved's abrogation of magnanimity as a ruler, which is as much a crime against natural order as her being more bestial (and beastly) than an animal "blooded in a yeilded pray" (*Amoretti* 20.9).

Then again, part of the irony Spenser plays with in the Petrarchan pose adopted by the speaker is that whatever greatness there may be had from ruling his heart has been thrust upon the beloved; she is an unwilling queen of hearts. Spenser employs natural history on the one hand to set the beloved on a throne corresponding to that of the king of beasts, and on the other hand, to tear down that throne, making the beloved neither human nor animal but an unnatural, predatory monster, even as the abject speaker complains of being ground into the "floure"---possibly "floor," but more likely "flower" because of the "field" two lines later; a deliberate touch of bathos either way, determined by rhyme scheme but emphasized by not being the "dust" readers might expect. The tone and imagery playfully threaten to topple over into exaggeration; indeed, Louis L. Martz includes *Amoretti* 20 among those sonnets he sees "frequently touched with an element that we might call humour, parody, or comedy; it is a light touch, but it is...sovereign" (129). The speaker praises and chastises; the speaker has himself torn apart, leaving the

lady with “guiltlesse bloud defylde.” Even if the poem were limited to the single conceit of the beloved being more cruel than a lion, could any lover hope to woo and win, were such a comparison made in all seriousness?

Spenser introduces further elements of humour (teasing the beloved and leveling self-mockery against himself and his sonneteer persona, all the while quietly interrogating the conventions of his sonnets) that hinge upon what pieces of information about lions the reader prioritizes when considering the simile. First, in a sense, the lady is too little a lion, inasmuch as she does not accept the position in the hierarchy of the speaker’s world that corresponds with that of the lion in the animal world. She goes beyond the lion in cruelty and savagery, though presumably her violence is metaphorical and akin to the conventional cruelty of the Petrarchan beloved. The lion signifies something more sexual, however, given the creature’s reputation for rapacious and capacious desires. In vain the speaker seeks for grace from the lady, but she is “more cruell and more saluage wylde” in her appetites than even a lioness, in that her graces are directed elsewhere, like those of the wandering adulteress Topsell portrays. Yet the simile throughout the poem depends upon the beloved *not* being like a lion, and so what initially seems like slander becomes irony and nearly a compliment. Spenser takes advantage of the inconsistencies of meaning. For the speaker, whether his beloved’s refusal to be lion-like is something lamentable or laudable is contingent upon what piece of the lion’s symbolic vocabulary governs the comparison. For the reader, her refusal can be both.

Second, the speaker implicitly identifies himself with the lamb that the lion “disdeigneth to deuoure” when it “to his might doth yield” (*Amoretti* 20.7-8). The pairing of lion and lamb recalls Isaiah 11:6, where the prophet describes the return of idyllic harmony to the natural world that accompanies the arrival of the Messiah: “The wolfe also shal dwell with the la[m]be, and the leoparde shal lye with the kid, and the calfe, and the lyon, and the fat beast together, and a litle childe shal lead them.” By Spenser’s lifetime, the pairing had also become a conventional symbol of the “antique age yet in the infancie / Of time... then like an innocent, / In simple truth and blamelesse chastitie,” when “loyall loue had royall regiment” or rule (*FQ* 4.8.30.1-7). At that time,

The Lyon there did with the Lambe consort,  
And eke the Doue sate by the Faulcons side,  
Ne each of other feared fraud or tort,

But did in safe securitie abide,  
Withouten perill of the stronger pride. (4.8.31.1-5)

Spenser's description of the prelapsarian realm of love (whether *γάπη*, Cupid, or both at once wrapped up in union with God) resembles that of the Garden of Adonis, his vision of generative love, where

Without fell rancor, or fond gealositie...  
Franckly each paramour his leman knowes,  
Each bird his mate, ne any does enuie  
Their goodly meriment, and gay felicitie. (3.6.41.6-9)

The inhabitants of that garden "their true loues without suspition tell abroad" in perfect candour and trust (4.6.42.9), quite in contrast with the conventional wrangling of the sonnet sequence, nor yet with any "perill of the stronger pride," as in the antique age---the last so assuring and especially important when considering a sonnet sequence that so often addresses fears about desire in terms of bondage, violence, and suffering.

The lion and lamb pairing represents the unfallen "royall regiment" of love and the Messianic restoration of concord; the woeful speaker in Sonnet 20 and his beloved stand in marked contrast with both the prelapsarian beginning and the salvific conclusion to the narrative. The Geneva gloss on Isaiah 6:11 proposes an interpretation of the prophecy that puts the symbolic significance of the animals first:

Me[n] because of their wicked affections are named by the names of beasts, wherein the like affections reigne: but Christ by his Spirit shall reforme the[m], & worke in them suche mutual charitie that they shall be like lambes, fauoryng and louing one another, and cast of all their cruel affections.

The speaker identifies himself with the lamb and therefore one in conformity with Christ, but the beloved is "more cruell and more saluage wylde, / then either Lyon or the Lyonesse" (*Amoretti* 20.9-10). Like the psalmist in Psalm 57, one of the possible psalms associated with Sonnet 20 in the calendrical scheme around which Spenser wrote *Amoretti*, the speaker finds himself among lions, pleading for rescue.<sup>41</sup> In her

<sup>41</sup> Larsen notes that the proper psalms from *The Book of Common Prayer* for February 11, 1594 (the date ascribed to Sonnet 20) are Ps. 62, 63, 64 at Matins and Ps. 65, 66, 67 at Evensong (266). However, some degree of confusion exists in the tables of psalms and lectionaries of different editions of the Elizabethan Prayer Book: some assign the psalms Larsen cites to February 11, while others assign Ps. 56, 57, 58 to Matins and Ps. 59, 60, 61 to Evensong of the same date. The confusion appears to stem from whether one takes "day" in the tables and lectionary to refer to the day of the month or to the day in a cycle of psalms; the psalms Larsen cites are those for Day 12 of a cycle, while the other selection seems to be for the

recalcitrance, the speaker therefore suggests, the lady stands in opposition to divine will. Birds do it, bees do it, even lions and lambs do it: so why, the speaker asks his lady, can we not have “suche mutual charitie” as God would have of us? The logic seems almost Donnean; so does the wry smile. The Second Coming *should* be something for which all Christians should make themselves as ready as possible; the lion *should* lie down with the lamb. Moreover, because the union the speaker seeks is a type for the perfected union of everlasting life, where lion, leopard, wolf, and all “shal be like lambes, fauoryng and louing one another,” as the Geneva gloss puts it, the lion need not fear any unexpected cruelty from the lamb, but shall “in safe securitie abide, / Withouten perill of the stronger pride,” as in the lost innocent antique age (4.8.31.5). The couplet then turns about on itself to become an understanding reassurance of mutual charity and respect: blooded she may end up being, but not as yielded prey.

Sonnet 20 explores the complex ways in which the lady is and is not a lion--or is a lion in quite different ways--as well as the speaker's ambivalence over what animal he would have his love emulate. By Sonnet 21, she finds at least some balance in the speaker's eyes between “pride and meeknesse mixt by equall part” (21.3). Her final transformation into a fellow lamb with the speaker only comes in the final consummation of Epithalamion, rich in echoes of the great marriage feast of the Lamb. I have argued, however, that the lion simile also brings to mind the analogies attached to the queen. The relationship between the Elizabeth Boyle of the sonnets and Elizabeth the queen comes

eleventh day of a given month. Prayer Book editions following the Day 12 assignment include those of 1559 (STC 16292, 37), 1566 (STC 16297, ¶2v), 1581 (STC 16309.3, ¶2v), 1586 (STC 16311.4, ¶2v), and 1594 (STC 16318, D2v), as well as The New Calendar of 1561 bound into copies of the Prayer Book (445). I have, however, found two editions of the Prayer Book following the 11<sup>th</sup> day assignment: those of 1582 (STC 16309.5, ¶2v) and 1589 (STC 16314, ¶2r). I am inclined to suspect, though only from Sonnet 20, that Spenser had the day of the month arrangement of psalms in mind. Larsen cites Ps. 63 and its foxes seeking their portions of the psalmist's soul as inspiration for Spenser in Sonnet 20. To me, though, Psalm 57 seems simply closer in imagery and theme to Sonnet 20---plus it has the advantage of actually having lions in it:

God shall sende forth his mercie and truth: my soule is among lions.

And I lie euen among the children of men that are set on fire: whose teeth are speares and  
arrows, and their tongue a sharpe sword.

Set vp thy selfe O God, aboue the heavens: and thy glorie aboue all the earth.

They haue laid a net for my feete, and pressed downe my soule. (Ps. 57.4-7)

The sonnet speaker's soul is among those who are like lions, and he does lie down among those who are set on fire, in the ranks of lovers, if one interprets that fire through Petrarchan conventions. Line 7 of the psalm could also suggest the sonneteer's life “tread...downe in the lowly floure” (Amoretti 20.4). I cannot make a definite assertion without examining the whole sonnet sequence with the day of the month arrangement of psalms before me; however, either the 1582 or 1589 Prayer Book could have been known to Spenser and perhaps acquired on his trip back to England with Raleigh in late 1589.

across as fraught; as James Fleming says of the violence in the sonnet sequence, “When Amoretti’s discourse of slaughter and blame slanders the lady, it slanders the queen” (161). Spenser’s interrogation of lion symbolism in Sonnet 20 might plausibly reflect back on the self-proclaimed descendant of the lion. How far does the lion’s ample libido intrude upon the queen’s analogy? Yet again, the lady of the sonnet is not a lion; her fate is not (the speaker hopes) perpetual though magnanimous virginity, though the exigencies of this world sometimes dictate that others may never in life experience the mutual charity of lambs.

## VI The Riddle of the Lioness

The lion imagery of Sonnet 20 shows Spenser taking advantage of the complex, even contradictory meanings attached to the lion in a single lyric. In the following sections, I argue that Spenser is never content to employ the symbolic meaning of an animal derived from just one discourse, even in his longer poems where a greater degree of consistency might be expected. The first simile of The Faerie Queene involves a lion, and the first book of the poem (perhaps the book with which most readers are most familiar, thanks to a century of university English survey courses) includes a lion as Una’s companion. The simile compares Redcrosse Knight to a lion. When her battle with the knight starts going wrong for her, the monster Error attempts to flee back into her den,

Which when the valiant Elfe perceiu’d, he left  
As Lyon fierce vpon the flying pray,  
And with his trenchand blade her boldly kept  
From turning backe, and forced her to stay. (FQ 1.1.17.1-4)

Spenser reiterates Redcrosse Knight’s valiance through the lion simile, invoking the positive aspects of the lion’s fierce nature, as well as the lion’s reputation for justice. Moreover, the lion simile foreshadows the revelation later in the book that Redcrosse is “Saint George of mery England, the signe of victoree” (1.10.61.9). Redcrosse’s eponymous shield, marked with “a bloodie Crosse” (1.1.2.1), is bound to the leonine simile through the cross of St. George on the flag of England and the heraldic English



lion. Later, a real lion briefly replaces Redcrosse as Una's companion when the knight goes astray.

I shall take up these lions, as well as the implications of the lion simile in the two sections following this one; what I wish to examine here is how Spenser's animal imagery is in general more complicated than might initially appear, even when it at first would seem to have a clear and direct significance like heraldry, as in the initial simile of the epic poem. Heraldry is just one of several discourses Spenser employs in the significance of his animals. Elizabeth Porges Watson remarks that in The Faerie Queene, "a high proportion of the animal imagery...serves a function that is effectively heraldic in that it is deployed so as to give precise knowledge of a given character; of his or her identity, essential nature, mood or moral awareness" ("Chivalric" 161). Whether in Elizabethan or modern heraldry, the names of people are "related totemically to the natural world, especially to animals," as Lee Patterson defines it (192). Heraldry is a science of similes, and for Watson, in Spenser's epic, "the force of such similes is generally heightened...by precise, repetitive consistency of moral register, consolidating the characteristics of any given creature as these might be familiar to an educated reader of the time" ("Chivalric" 164). In calling Spenser's animal similes "heraldic," Watson adheres to Elizabethan theories about the method and purpose of heraldry. Sir John Ferne, for example, in his 1586 heraldic handbook, The Blazon of Gentry, states that "Armes [allude] to the quality of the bearer, [and] are expressed by some fowl, fish, beast, serpent, or other charge in the coate, that best expresseth his merite, worthines, or estate" (M1v-M2r). Heraldry, according to Ferne, relies upon knowledge of the natural histories of the birds, fish, and animals employed as symbols, as do Spenser's similes. The meaning of Spenser's animal similes also requires heraldic knowledge (as in the associations between Redcrosse's lion and the lion of England), so Watson's term, "heraldic," is doubly perceptive.

The force of the similes does call upon knowledge of animal characteristics, as in Sonnet 20 of Amoretti, yet Watson is incorrect in her insistence upon the "precise, repetitive consistency of moral register" of the knowledge Spenser employs in such similes. The similes have "immediate and overall structural" effects, Watson perceptively notes, and "each can interact with the others, often playing on the reader's memory so as

to resonate over wide tracts of the poem as a whole” (“Chivalric” 164). But many of these immediate and overall structural effects depend precisely upon the inconsistency of moral register in the animal knowledge inherent in Spenser’s repeated similes, such as that of the lion. In this complexity and variableness in moral register concerning the recognized characteristics of a creature like the lion, Spenser employs the same variegated pattern of moral implication as the natural historians.

Spenser relies upon the heraldic significance of lions elsewhere in his poetry, even as he complicates it. In *Daphnaïda* (1591), the speaker encounters a man dressed all in black, the literary descendant of the Black Knight encountered by the narrator of Chaucer’s *The Book of the Duchess*. Spenser’s man proves to be Alcyon, a brother shepherd-poet in extravagant mourning over the loss of a white lioness, “borne an auncient Lions haire” (122) and once the tame companion of Alcyon, but now felled by “a cruell *Satyre* with his murderous dart” (156). When the speaker presses Alcyon over “the riddle of thy loued Lionesse” (177), the shepherd confesses that he actually weeps for the death of Daphne, his beloved. Spenser wrote the elegy for Douglas Howard, the late wife of his friend Arthur Gorges and a scion of the Howard family, dukes of Norfolk, whose arms include a white lion as a supporter. Douglas Howard, then, appears under two guises in the poem: first as Alcyon’s white lioness, offspring of the Howard lion, and then as Daphne, alluding to the name employed by Gorges in his own verse to refer to his wife. While Spenser nods towards Chaucer’s poem again in making the lioness white (the Black Knight of the earlier work mourns the death of a woman named White, a punning allusion to Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, the subject of Chaucer’s elegy), Spenser also bluntly reminds his readers in a prefatory letter to the elegy of the “due honour done to the white Lyon,” the Howard family, through *Daphnaïda* (324). The meaning behind “the riddle” of the white lioness draws primarily (even, perhaps, heavy-handedly) upon heraldry---though not exclusively.

Alcyon’s white lioness represents more than her familial heraldic significance. To modern eyes, as an allegorical representation of married love, Alcyon’s fable of subduing the lioness presents an uncomfortable emblem of marital obedience. The taming of the beast finds its root in the common topos of the love-hunt, and also alludes back to the theme of “hert-huntyng” that runs throughout Spenser’s Chaucerian model (*The Book of*

the Duchess 1313).<sup>42</sup> Alcyon describes how, when he first saw the lioness, she was full of “youthfull sports and kindlie wantonnesse,” both suggestive of nubile exuberance (though not necessarily of the kind of insatiable sexuality Topsell remarks upon in lionesses; the whiteness of the lioness conveys purity as well as heraldry, yet the poet’s cumulative hermeneutics problematizes such purity) (Daphnaïda 111). Alcyon then “gan to cast, how [he] her compasse might, / And bring to hand, that yet had neuer beene” (115-16). In time, “with mildness and with paine,” Alcyon captures the lioness (117), and as Alcyon reports to the speaker,

That though by kind shee stout and saluage were,  
For being borne an auncient Lions haire,  
And of the race, that all wild beasts do feare;  
Yet I her fram’d and wan so to my bent,  
That shee became so meeke and milde of cheare,  
As the least lamb in all my flock that went. (121-26)

Alcyon’s claim to have tamed the Howard lioness, a creature “of the race, that all wild beasts do feare,” comes across as mildly self-congratulatory. Marrying a Howard would have been a social victory for Gorges, but within the world of Alcyon’s fable, taming a lion would also be a coup for any shepherd. A similar taming occurs in The Faerie Queene, when “a ramping Lyon” becomes tame at the sight of Una (1.3.5.2). Unlike Una, though, who overcomes her beast through no effort of her own, this shepherd-poet has to work to win his lioness to tameness, for all his boasting.

Alcyon makes an important distinction, however, in his boast: wild beasts fear the lioness, but he does not and can therefore tame her. First, this distinction affirms human preeminence over animals. Once tamed, the lioness thereafter followed Alcyon day and night, tending his sheep in a kind of layered Edenic and Messianic (e.g., Isaiah 11:6 and 45:25, as in Amoretti 20) harmony when he wanted to rest or play (Daphnaïda 127ff). Alcyon’s *locus amoenus* is in the same tradition as the *parc de l’Agneau* in Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun’s Le roman de la rose (19931ff). Spenser may well have had the timeless park of the white lamb in mind when creating the park of the white lioness, given the close biblical association of the two animals. In the company of the white lioness, Alcyon experiences a fleeting moment of prelapsarian human dominion over the natural world, until he suffers his own version of the Fall when the animal is killed. The

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<sup>42</sup> For the love-hunt, see Thiébaux and Cummins.

riddle of the lioness expresses not just Douglas Howard's identity in heraldic terms, but also conveys an impression of the devastating effect of Daphne/Howard's death upon Alcyon/Gorges: her death is another Fall from Paradise. Alcyon's grief is cosmic in scale, redefining the shepherd-poet's conception of the world itself in terms of mutability. He admits to the narrator that before taming the lioness,

Nought carde I then for worldly change or chaunce,  
For all my ioy was on my gentle sheepe,  
And to my pype to caroll and to daunce. (Daphnaïda 103-5)

Alcyon's life with the lioness perfects this pastoral stability: "Long thus I ioyed in my happinesse, / And well did hope my ioy would haue no end," he confesses (148-49). With the death of the lioness, however, Alcyon can only lament the sharp lesson he has been taught by Dame Mutabilitie:

But oh fond man, that in worlds ficklenesse  
Reposedst hope, or weenedst her thy frend,  
That glories most in mortall miseries. (150-52)

The "f" sounds of "fond," "ficklenesse," and "frend" bring "fool" to mind, Alcyon's judgment on those (like himself) who trust the world. Even before the introduction of Alcyon, the setting of the poem reflects this fall, as Glenn Steinberg has observed (131). The disconsolate narrator walks out "in gloomie euening" into a shadowy wasteland, when "the wearie Sun" has set and the horses of his chariot "now hauing ouer run / The compast skie, gan water in the west," evoking a lowering, drizzly dusk through a mythological image (Daphnaïda 22-25). The speaker takes a muddy tramp through "open fields, whose flowring pride opprest / With early frosts, had lost their beautie faire" (27-28). Steinberg and William A. Oram both misread the setting, describing it as "wintry" and "spring" respectively (Steinberg 131; Oram, "Daphnaïda" 142). Spenser's point is that an *early* frost has killed the "flowring pride" and "beautie faire" of the fields; the setting is neither winter nor spring but the unlooked-for arrival of the first frosts of autumn, a moment laden with loss. The setting's mood is therefore one of fruitless displacement and untimeliness matching Alcyon's sense of loss, without any of the comfort to be derived from the changing but predicable course of the seasons.

The death of the lioness ends the harmonious pastoral fable, symbolizing the end of Alcyon's life with Daphne and casting him into a world where he seems incapable of

anything except “outrageous passion” (Daphnaïda 555). Oram takes the poem as a warning against grieving too much, calling Alcyon “an impatient and excessive mourner” (“Daphnaïda” 150). Oram’s interpretation of the poem has been persuasive, but I argue that the warning Spenser offers extends to the symbolic nuances of the lioness. With the disappearance of the lioness, thanks to the murderous dart of a satyr, Alcyon has lost not just the symbol of his Daphne in the fable, but also an embodiment of tamed passions---whether stoutness and savagery (Daphnaïda 121) or those associated with “youthfull sports and kindlie wantonnesse” (111). Alcyon’s claim to have accomplished what no wild beast could do in taming the lioness demonstrates Spenser’s belief in the need for a tempered and rational order in the self. “Spenser imagines the self as a fragile and unstable edifice,” Michael Schoenfeldt remarks, “eternally under construction, and assailed on all sides (including the inside) by insurgent passions” (“Construction” 242). For Spenser, a fulfilled human identity is one predicated upon the “imposition of rational order on energies that tend naturally to the twin poles of tyranny and anarchy,” represented here in the elegy by the twin leonine attributes of savagery and wantonness (242). In these terms, Alcyon’s lion-taming fable is an emblem of the tempered self, where reason rules over raging passion, recalling the unfallen world and making “the savageness of life...not only tame but actively protective,” as A. Leigh Deneef puts it (45). The energies represented by the untamed lioness are not banished but are set to directed ends---here, assisting the shepherd in his tasks, thereby recreating the pleasures of Paradise. With the death of the lioness, Alcyon is cast into a despairing, stormy world, a “wight forlorne” carried about by every changing wind of passion, transformed into something very nearly inhuman (Daphnaïda 45). In a sense, Alcyon becomes an untamed lion himself, and like the lion whose proverbial extremities of mourning Topsell records, “wandred vp and downe the mountaine making great moane and sorrow” (HFFB Rr6r). Spenser thereby transcends but does not negate the initial heraldic significance of the white lioness to make a far more important comment on identity and the place of the passions in that identity.

## VII Una's Lions

Daphnaïda and Sonnet 20 of Amoretti show Spenser employing the emblematic natural history of the lion on a small, fairly self-contained scale. Even in a lyric, however, the meaning and implications of Spenser's lions are complex, allusive, and even elusive. In The Faerie Queene, the lions accrue significance. The most familiar lion of the poem is that tamed by Una in 1.3, but this is not the only lion connected to Una. As with Alcyon's lioness, the lions associated with Una in Book 1 show how Spenser does not maintain a "precise, repetitive consistency of moral register" of their meaning, contrary to Watson's arguments. The animals' moral register is often contradictory; their meaning is cumulative and derives not just from one attribute, anecdote, or discourse associated with lions in The Faerie Queene or in Spenser's culture.

Earlier, I cited Una and her lion as a parallel with Alcyon and his lioness; a better parallel with Alcyon from The Faerie Queene concerning lion taming is Satyrane, the half-human, half-satyr knight who was "noursled vp in life and manners wilde, / Emongst wild beastes and woods, from lawes of men exilde" (FQ 1.6.23.8-9). Moreover, he is one of a group of characters I am calling Una's lions. Like Alcyon, Satyrane represents the Spenserian struggle for a disciplined identity; the leonine imagery associated with him reflects this struggle. He is a child of the wilds, born of a kidnapped human mother and a satyr father. In telling the tale of Satyrane's begetting, however, Spenser suggests little difference between the knight's human and satyr bloodlines. In Spenser's mythology, satyrs are consummately creatures of "nature without nurture" (Nohnberg 221). Harry Berger, Jr. remarks that they represent "human nature tending toward its lower origins" (Revisionary 71), epitomized by the satyrs' goatish "backward bent knees" that seem to hobble away from higher thoughts or actions (FQ 1.6.11.9). For all of their bestial qualities, they do possess the potential in an instinctive way to recognize and admire supernatural virtue, seen in their treatment of Una in 1.6.7ff---matched, however, by the potential to surrender completely and amorally to their (also instinctive) appetites, amply demonstrated in the spirited and extended welcome they give Hellenore at 3.10.36ff. Spenser intertwines two different conventional representations of satyrs in his epic. The first and more familiar image of the creatures is that formed by classical literature:

carousing, ithyphallic rogues who are both comedic and perilous (the twinned sides of Bacchanalian frenzy). They represent unchecked human desires. The second image is one that emerged at the turn of the sixteenth century as a result of the conflation of traditions concerning wild men with those of the satyr. This image is of a creature Lynn Frier Kaufmann calls the “noble satyr, a late intruder among ruffians,” capable of improvement, just as nominally civilized human beings were capable of degeneration (xx). Spenser enacts such degeneration elsewhere (notably in the fate of Malbecco), but also hints at the peril in describing the satyr-knight’s other familial background. In fact, Satyrane’s human heritage does not seem that much different from his satyr inheritance. As H. M. Percival glosses the passage in the *Variorum*, Satyrane’s mother’s name, Thyamis, from Greek θυμός, means “passion.” The name of the knight’s human grandfather, Labryde, comes from λάβρος, “turbulent, greedy,” and even the name of his mother’s erstwhile human husband, Therion, θηρίον, means “wild beast” (Var 1.245). Whichever side of his family the knight takes after, Satyrane seems destined to struggle against a genetic inclination or predetermined tendency towards lawlessness.

In this struggle, Satyrane embodies the strengths and limitations of natural virtue. Although the satyrs, in John N. King’s words, “live in a world without revelation” (205), they and Satyrane are not without a degree of virtue. Ronald A. Horton notes that “since childhood [the knight] has been at war with his bestial affinities,” in a struggle to rise above the limitations of his heritage (628). Satyrane enacts these inner struggles during childhood and adolescence through his battles with a variety of wild creatures of the forest, including bears, bulls, roebucks, leopards, panthers, pardals, boars, tigers, antelopes, and wolves---but particularly lions. His satyr father taught him “to banish cowardize and bastard feare” by seizing hold of lions (FQ 1.6.24.2), and in time, “he would learne / The Lyon stoup to him in lowly wise” (1.6.25.6-7). Such an act, the narrator notes, was “a lesson hard,” though whether it was hard for the lion or for Satyrane--or both--the context does not make clear; most likely, the lesson was hard for the lion as king of beasts, being made to bow down in such a lowly manner. The narrator also reports that Satyrane made off with the whelps of a lioness before leaving the forest to become a knight. The theft is daring, considering that (as Topsell notes) “there is no creature that loueth her young ones better then the lionesse...death it selfe were nothing

vnto her, so that her yonge ones might neuer be taken out of her den” (HFFB Rr5v).<sup>43</sup> These acts of establishing mastery over beasts symbolize Satyrane’s struggle with his own bestial or semi-bestial nature, taming passions represented by the lions and other animals, just as Alcyon tames the exuberant lioness to a kind of pastoral usefulness.

This type of lion-taming is at once a physical challenge for the human seeking dominion over the natural world and also a symbolic fight to gain control over bestial impulses. The classical precedent for such educative fights is the training received by Achilles at the hand of Chiron the centaur in Statius’ *Achilleid*, though battles with beasts also form a typical part of the training of the hero in mediaeval romance.<sup>44</sup> Spenser employs this Tarzan-like trope elsewhere in *The Faerie Queene*, as in the pastoral struggles of Calepine with a bear (FQ 6.4.17ff), or in the story of Artegall, who “in iustice was vpbrought...by faire *Astræa*” (5.1.5.1-4), first learning how to establish equity by meting out justice to animals:

[Astræa] him taught to weigh both right and wrong  
 In equall balance with due recompence,  
 And equitie to measure out along,  
 According to the line of conscience,  
 When so it needs with rigour to dispence.  
 Of all the which, for want there of mankind,  
 She caused him to make experience  
 Vpon wyld beasts, which she in woods did find,  
 With wrongfull power oppressing others of their kind. (5.1.7)

The justice Artegall learns here, R. S. White proposes, is all human law that is in accordance with natural law (61); the animal struggles provide a training ground for Artegall in that justice. Moreover, Spenser here shows that justice needs to recognize and incorporate the bestial (or, more properly, the seemingly inhuman) into the human. In A.

<sup>43</sup> Topsell reports this alongside his observations on the lioness’s “adultery,” without comment, as I have already noted.

<sup>44</sup> Although the text of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* was unknown to Spenser, that romance provides a useful example of a hero testing his mettle in fights with animals, almost as a place-holding formula. The narrator notes during the time before his assignation at the Green Chapel, Gawain

Sumwhyle wyth wormez he werrez, and with wolues als,  
 Sumwhyle wyth wodwos, þat woned in þe knarrez,  
 Boþe wyth bullez and berez, and borez operquyle,  
 And etayneþ, þat hym aneledede of þe he3e felle. (720-23)

The Gawain poet augments the animals (dragons, wolves, bulls, bears, and boars) with bestial semi-humans like *wodwos* (variously “satyrs,” “trolls of the forest,” or “wild woodmen”) and giants. For the Spenserian forest and its inhabitants as testing ground for heroic virtue, see Saunders 187ff.



Bartlett Giamatti's terms, "Justice, the power that shapes others for civil ends, must itself incorporate primitive energies in order to be effective" ("Primitivism" 75). Finally, even though the animals used in Artegall's training act as surrogate humans "for want there of mankind," the narrator's qualification that the animals are specifically those "with wrongfull power oppressing others of their kind" nevertheless suggests a need for Artegall's jurisprudence and implies a role for human beings even in the hierarchy of the animal kingdom, thereby fulfilling the divine and prelapsarian charge of dominion over the created world. He is, in other words, Artegall, lord of the jungle.

Artegall's training with animals contrasts with that of Satyrane, however. Both Satyrane and Artegall come to be feared by all beasts (FQ 1.6.24.9; 5.1.8.4), but where the animals fear Artegall for his judgment, the lions and other creatures of the satyrs' forest fear Satyrane because of his violence. Does Satyrane go too far? Whatever else they are, Spenser's satyrs are comic figures, whether mistakenly worshipping Una's ass or busy having their Matins bells rung by Hellenore. In contrast, setting aside the symbolic implications of the young knight's actions, Satyrane's oppression of beasts comes perilously close to cruelty: the warped spitefulness of a maladjusted youth, unable to come to grips with his own identity. True, the animals he fights are, in the main, "wyld" (1.6.24.6), "angry" (1.6.25.5), "cruell" (1.6.25.4), and "both fierce and fell" (1.6.26.5). But Spenser takes pains to introduce elements of uncertainty concerning Satyrane's domination over the beasts of the forest. In bald, non-allegorical terms, the animals doubtlessly would be a threat to the satyr community; the poem, however, gives no indication that Satyrane's sport serves any other purpose other than his own amusement, once he has mastered his fear. Casual violence against animals was a common entertainment in the early modern world (cf. Boehrer, "Introduction" 23ff), and then--as now--such acts were often "merely a prologue to violence against man," as Thomas F. Arnold remarks of the Renaissance culture of violence (466). But even the Renaissance had limits, Keith Thomas points out: although human beings were "fully entitled to domesticate animals and to kill them for food and clothing," men and women were "not to tyrannize or to cause unnecessary suffering" (153). Among the animals, Satyrane's will comes to be "tyrans law," with all the potential for arbitrariness and cruelty that term implies (FQ 1.6.26.9). The cruelty, anger, and wildness of the animals

become ironic symbols of the violence Satyrane employs; in fighting against his own bestial passions, Satyrane gives rein to those passions.

The satyr-knight's parents both note the trouble. Satyrane's human mother comments on how ambivalent--if not actually perilous--such "dreadfull play" is to the physical, emotional, and moral health of her son and of those around him (1.6.28.7). His father the satyr "would him aduise, / The angry beastes not rashly to despise, / Nor too much to prouoke," only to find himself becoming fearful of his son's boldness and violence (1.7.25.4-6). Donald Cheney sees the satyr-father's fear of his son as a mark of how Satyrane has "learned to overcome all that the forest can offer" (63); such a view denies the symbolic meaning of the animals, however. Rather than just showing the limitations of the satyr, the warning about the beasts illustrates Spenser's awareness of the need to incorporate the passions the creatures represent into even the most civilized of identities. By reason of being a satyr, the father cannot master "the angry beastes"--the forest predators themselves, as well as the ungovernable passions they represent--but Satyrane can do both because of his human capacity for rationality. Passion and desire are not banished, nor yet destroyed (the usual misreading of Guyon's destruction of the Bower of Bliss), but brought into "vertuous and gentle discipline," as Spenser states it in the letter to Raleigh (714). Other authors similarly recognized the need for a bit of bestial grit in human nature: Machiavelli, for example, remarks that a prince must make use of both his humanity and the beast within himself, learning lessons in statecraft from the fox and the lion (*Il principe* 56-57); Alciati echoes the sentiment in his emblem "Consiliarii Principum" (complete with an image of the half-human, half-animal centaur Chiron), advising that those who would counsel princes should teach them to be part human and part beast (160). As Dorothy Yamamoto remarks, "Knights need an infusion of wild-man blood to launch them into battle"---to say nothing of the creative and procreative drives that depend upon the bestial edge in human nature (187).

Satyrane goes too far in suppressing bestial passions because he has ironically not yet been able to act human enough. His asceticism becomes unruly passion itself; hence the necessity that the satyr-knight seek his fortune in the human world outside the forest. The bestial passions with which satyrs are most commonly associated are, of course, sexual, and so Satyrane's excesses in his battles with animals (and especially lions) can

be taken as his attempts to reject or control those particular passions. Spenser introduces Satyrane in a section of the poem repeatedly concerned with threats or perceived threats to Una's chastity, linked together by the lion imagery that follows Una through the first book of the poem. Canto 6 opens with Una held captive by Sansloy, who killed her lion protector and seized her as booty. Sansloy "vildly entertaines" Una (1.3.43.7),<sup>45</sup> she increasingly becomes the subject of the knight's desire until he attempts to rape her. Providence steps in, and the knight is interrupted by the arrival of a troop of satyrs who had heard Una's cries for help; Sansloy flees from the strange rabble and Una is left with the satyrs. The narrator reflects on the turn of events, marveling how providence "a wondrous way it for this Lady wrought, / From Lyons clawes to pluck the gryped pray" (1.6.7.3-4).

Spenser jars his readers by calling Sansloy a lion, since the last lion associated with Una was her protective lion. Una, in fact, encounters a series of lions in her adventures. The first is Redcrosse, whom she identifies as a lion when she pauses to consider the second lion she meets, the literal one tamed by her truth and beauty:

The Lyon Lord of euerie beast in field,  
 Quoth she, his princely puissance doth abate,  
 And mightie proud to humble weake does yield,  
 Forgetfull of the hungry rage, which late  
 Him prickt, in pittie of my sad estate:  
 But he my Lyon, and my noble Lord,  
 How does he find in cruell hart to hate  
 Her that him lou'd, and euer most adord,  
 As the God of my life? why hath he me abhord? (1.3.7)

In a sense, the title "Una's lion" does not refer exclusively to the literal lion that accompanies her in canto 3. Spenser has Una neatly echo the first simile of the poem, comparing Redcrosse to a lion, and makes it the knight's identity, here transferred to the actual lion Una has met. But where the literal lion of canto 3 finds "his bloody rage aswaged with remorse, / And with the sight amazed, forgat his furious forse" in the face of Una's beauty (1.3.5.8-9), Sansloy as the "lyon" of 1.6.7.4 finds his wrath turned to lust. Una's beauty does not tame him, but instead "burnt his beastly hart t'efforce her

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<sup>45</sup> Spenser's word choice in this ominous phrase deserves notice. Although "vildly" is an acceptable, though dialectal, variation on "vile" in Spenser's English, the word also carries a punning connotation of both "vile" and "wild," suggesting much about the nature of Sansloy's treatment of Una.

chastitye” (1.6.4.9). Sansloy is leonine not just in his wrath but also in his fieriness and lustfulness. He has the same hot constitution associated with lions, whether expressed in his “wrathfull fyre” or “lustfull heat” (1.6.3.3), and his actions make it clear how “desirous of copulation” he is (HFFB Rr5r), without let or hindrance (entirely *sans loy*).

Una’s rescue by the satyrs initially seems like merely a new threat to her chastity, however, given the classic reputation of satyrs. Spenser expresses her concern in a figure that transfers the lion image to the next presumed foe:

She more amaz’d, in double dread doth dwell;  
 And euery tender part for feare does shake:  
 As when a greedie Wolfe through hunger fell  
 A seely Lambe farre from the flocke does take,  
 Of whom he meanes his bloudie feast to make,  
 A Lyon spyes fast running towards him,  
 The innocent pray in hast he does forsake,  
 Which quit from death yet quakes in euery lim  
 With change of feare, to see the Lyon looke so grim. (FQ 1.6.10)

Here, Spenser again changes the signification of the lion. Three stanzas earlier, Sansloy was the lion; now, Sansloy is the wolf and the satyrs are the lion. Redcrosse, the literal lion of canto 3, Sansloy, and the satyrs are all in turn “Una’s lion” when serving as her protector, however much that role is abused, as with Sansloy. The leonine image or title comes with the responsibility of protecting Una. In one sense, Sansloy vitiates his claim to the title of lion when he stops protecting Una and instead becomes her immediate foe. His actions go against normal leonine behaviour according to Topsell, who notes that lions “seldome destroy women,” and “if one prostrate himselfe vnto [lions] as it were in petition for his life, they often spare” that suppliant (Rr6r). With Sansloy, in contrast, Una’s pleas seem a further incitement to the knight in his attempted rape but otherwise fall on deaf ears. Sansloy completely lacks that clemency for which Topsell repeatedly commends lions, but displays other leonine characteristics similar to those against which Satyrane battles.

In another sense, however, Sansloy embraces his lion identity precisely when he attempts to violate Una. He is undeniably the lion from whose claws providential design rescues Una. Sansloy’s sexuality is leonine (the point of Spenser’s metaphor at 1.6.7.3-4) and aggressive to the point of wrathfulness; his wrath turns to lust, afterall. Spenser notably includes another lion during the *entrelacement* between the appearances of Una’s

literal lion in canto 3 and the lion in the metaphor describing her escape from Sansloy's attempted rape in canto 6: the lion upon which Wrath rides in the parade of deadly sins at the House of Pride (1.4.33ff). Not that his lions are not without pride,<sup>46</sup> but Spenser emblematically associates wrathfulness as well as pride with the creatures, and then suggests a development in passionate energy between wrath and lust. John M. Crossett and Donald V. Stump suggest that Spenser's ordering of the sins leading Lucifera's coach depends upon whether the sin is one of deficiency or excess. Spenser groups Wrath and Lechery, along with Gluttony, on one side of the wagon beam, linking them in his personified schema by their extroversion, lawlessness, and hot temperaments (214). Sansloy rings the changes between wrath and lust in his dealings with Una. Later, he demonstrates his gluttony during the feasts at the Castle of Medina where he is quite literally a lover of excess, as "fitt mate" (FQ 2.2.37.2) to Perissa (from the Greek *περισσός*, "excessive, extravagant").

Wrath need not necessarily lead to lust or gluttony, as with the literal lion of canto 3, who first rushes at Una only to find his "bloody rage aswaged with remorse" (1.3.5.8). But even this lion's initial wrathfulness has sexualized overtones. The lion seeks "to haue attonce deuour'd [Una's] tender corse" (1.3.5.6); as with that of the "salvage nation" of brigands (6.8.35.2), whose version of the sonneteer's blazon when examining Serena serves as a menu to whet both their erotic and cannibalistic appetites (6.8.42), the lion's hunger evokes the theme of consumption so common in Spenser's portrayal of sexual desire. Moreover, as the narrator states, the beast leaps "ramping" (if not erect) out of "the thickest wood... hunting fully greedy after saluage blood (1.3.5.1-3); such thick forest growth also covers the hill at the centre of the Garden of Adonis. The "yielded pryde and proud submission" the lion offers Una (1.3.6.6) suggest tempered passion, particularly given the common sixteenth-century meaning of "pride" as sexual drive or desire ("Pride, *n. I.*," def. 11). Una unconsciously alludes to the sexual overtones of the lion's hunger when she pauses to consider how

mightie proud to humble weake does yield,

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<sup>46</sup> I should note that according to the *OED*, the collective term for a group of lions, "pride," was one revived from fifteenth-century use during the late nineteenth century; see "Pride, *n. I.*," def. 9a. However, William Gryndall includes "A pride of Lions" among "the proper tearmes and names of companies of Beasts and Foules, with others" (G2r-v) listed in his *Havyking, Hunting, Fouling, and Fishing, with the true measures of blowing* (1596), so the term clearly had some currency during Spenser's lifetime.

Forgetfull of the hungry rage, which late  
Him prickt. (FQ 1.3.7.3-5)

The pun seems irresistible, but also recalls Una's "Lyon, and...noble Lord" (1.3.7.6) and his "pricking on the plaine" at the beginning of the poem (1.1.1.1).

What is important in this reading is that the priapic lion is not made impotent, but rather is brought to "proud submission." As Paul J. Alpers remarks of this phrase, "a proud submission is a knowing one" (309); it acknowledges the dignity and strength of the lion, while at the same time suggesting the greater strength and dignity of the beast's willing service. The scene stands as an emblem of the Pauline vision of matrimony, where at least in theory both parties have a dignity and distinct role while at the same time submit themselves "one to another in the feare of God" (Eph. 5:21). Una matches the lion's "proud submission" with "great compassion" and "pure affection" (1.3.6.8-9); if one role in the matrimonial emblem is the willing submission of desirous pride, then Spenser seems to say that the complementary role is one of compassion for that pride. Sexual desire becomes something, as the 1559 Book of Common Prayer puts it, "for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other" (291), quite utterly unlike the willful desire of Sansloy. Such "proud submission" by the lion to Una is a manifestation of what Anne Lake Prescott calls "the theme, apparently of great emotional significance to Spenser, of binding and loosing, of constraint that is liberating because freely choosen," that finds its ultimate meaning in the willing submission of Christ ("The Thirsty Deer" 61). The association between the lion and Una as Christ and the Church also suggests this matrimonial reading (cf. Walls 17ff).

Una bases her lament at 1.3.7 on the disparity between the lion's behaviour and that of Redcrosse, Una's would-be spouse. The knight obviously has troubles with sexual desire. When he rejects the advances of the false Una conjured by Archimago in the enchanter's initial effort to tempt the knight, Redcrosse finds himself torn between priggish conceit and fantasy, first bewildered "to thinke that gentle Dame so light / For whose defence he was to shed his blood" (FQ 1.1.55.2-3), and then troubled with dreams of "bowres, and beds, and Ladies deare delight" (1.1.55.7). Redcrosse succumbs to the second of Archimago's conjured visions, however: a squire "full closely ment / In wanton lust and leud embracement" with the false Una (1.2.5.4-5). Redcrosse flees from

Archimago's hermitage burning with "gealous fire" (1.2.5.6) and full of "bitter anguish of his guilty sight" (1.2.6.2)---the guilty sight he has seen, but also the guiltiness of his own desires that go a long way in tainting his preconceptions about Una. In Donald Cheney's estimation, Redcrosse is "too little the lion: he possesses the proud rage but lacks the intuitive capacity to recognize and pay homage to virginity" (45). Put another way, Redcrosse has the lion's pride but not the creature's humility.

### VIII The First Lion

The various lions Una encounters all hearken back to Redcrosse, the first lion of the epic. The literal lion, Sansloy, the satyrs, and Satyrane each represents different or alternate versions of what it is to be a lion---and, therefore, different versions of Redcrosse, thanks to the initial simile of The Faerie Queene comparing the knight to a "Lyon fierce" leaping "vpon the flying pray" Error (FQ 1.1.17.2). The simile expresses far more than the valour of Redcrosse. Indeed, as Elizabeth Porges Watson observes, Spenser habitually employs "[an] encounter with an animal, peaceful or otherwise" in The Faerie Queene "to express crisis or developing awareness in the character concerned" ("Chivalric" 166). Watson's observation holds true, at least in the initial lion simile. Spenser prepares the way for the comparison three stanzas earlier, and only resolves its culminating implications by the end of the first book (if even then). Spenser sets up the simile when he describes Redcrosse's entry into Error's den:

Vnto the darksom hole he went,  
And looked in: his glistring armor made  
A litle glooming light, much like a shade,  
By which he saw the vgly monster plaine. (1.1.14.3-6)

Error looks about, sees the knight, and

sought backe to turne againe;  
For light she hated as the deadly bale,  
Ay wont in desert darknes to remaine,  
Where plain none might her see, nor she see any plaine. (1.1.16.6-9)

On a simple narrative level, this "litle glooming light" is sunlight reflecting off of Redcrosse's armor. The brief narrative chain (light shining into cave, showing the monster that then seeks to hide from the light) acts as a summary of Redcrosse's battle

with Error: the light of truth revealing false error in all its ugliness. Spenser links the stanzas through the repeated word “plain,” invoking several possible meanings for it as a noun, an adverb, and an adjective, creating an emblem of Redcrosse’s moral state in the first canto.

First of all, the word immediately recalls the first line of the poem proper, “A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine” (1.1.1.1). Quite apart from introducing the action of the poem *in medias res*, the line hints at Redcrosse’s limitations in the earliest stages of his quest for holiness. Spenser here doubtlessly intends the primary meaning of “plaine” in the line to be the geographical one, describing how a gentle knight was riding along a piece of level open ground (“Plain, *n. l.*,” def. 1a). By taking the word in an adverbial sense, however, the line could then suggest the simple and uncomplicated manner in which Redcrosse faces his adventures, particularly if “pricking” represents by synecdoche all the actions of the knight’s life (such “pricking” is the *raison d’être* of the romance hero, after all). The plainness in such a reading is something at once praiseworthy, comical, and perilous. Living “on the plaine” implies an admirable simplicity, as if Redcrosse were fulfilling Christ’s call to the Apostles to be as “innocent as doves” (Matt. 10:16).<sup>47</sup> The plainness could also imply that Redcrosse has yet to become the corollary “wise as serpentes,” though he is about to be offered a lesson in wisdom from his battle with the serpent Error. For all the “mightie armes and siluer shielde” he now carries (FQ 1.1.1.2), the untried Redcrosse continues to be the same “tall clownishe younge man” who presented himself to Gloriana’s court seeking an adventure, according to Spenser’s letter to Raleigh (717). In the description of Redcrosse, Spenser signals to the reader the importance of the differences between appearances and reality that are to be a constant theme of Book 1. The action of first canto shows the peril of taking too plain--whether too innocent or too naïve--an approach to the world.

When Spenser writes that Redcrosse “saw the vgly monster plaine” in the light reflected from the knight’s armour, the poet of course means that the knight saw the monster clearly and distinctly (“Plain, *adv. l.*,” def. 1), but moreover that the knight saw Error “with clarity of expression; without circumlocution or ambiguity, clearly,

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<sup>47</sup> For an account of the role of plainness as a spiritual ideal through the history of Christian rhetoric, particularly during the Reformation, see Peter Auksi’s [Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal](#).



intelligibly,” and without her usual trickeries and allurements (Def. 3). Error is a creature of words as well as deeds, as her bookish vomit suggests, and so anyone seeking to defeat Error must be able to see past her rhetorical subtleties and falsehoods to see her “plaine.” The light shows Error in her entirety so Redcrosse can see her “completely [and] fully” (“Plain, *adv.2*”). Redcrosse sees her, serpentine tail and all, and not just the more alluring human parts she might prefer to show, just as he later sees Duessa “plaine” and (as Fradubio puts it) “in her proper hew” (1.2.40.6). Although the dictionary dates the earliest adjectival use of “plain” as an euphuism for homely to 1613, Spenser’s use of “vgly” primes the reader to interpret “plaine” in this way, particularly considering the adverbial “completely [and] fully.”<sup>48</sup> Error serves as a type for Duessa (a type from whom Redcrosse takes few lessons, however) and prefigures the dragon Redcrosse must defeat at the end of the book. For her part, Error prefers the darkness where none can see her clearly; without the cover of circumlocution or ambiguity, she flees. Because she is an allegorical figure, Error not only represents error but also is in error herself, and so cannot see anyone “plaine” either, but only through layers of obfuscation.

The light also suggests several biblical passages, most of which are concerned with revealing hidden things or bringing things to light (itself an idiom heavy with biblical resonances). Error’s preference for darkness, particularly when faced with light, recalls John 3:19-20: “And this is the condemnation, that the light came into the world, and men loued darknesse rather then the light, because their deedes were euill. For euery man that euill doeth, hateth the light, neither commeth to the light, lest his deedes should be reprooued.” Here, as in most New Testament imagery, light is synonymous with Christ, who states outright “I am come a light into the worlde” (John 12:46). Redcrosse enacts a version of the Incarnation as “vnto the darksom hole he went” in pursuit of Error (FQ 1.1.14.3). Like the evil-doer, Error hates (the) light. The armour, of course, alludes to the armour of light St Paul enjoins the Romans to wear in preference to the “workes of darkenes” (Romans 13:12). “Armour of light” puns upon the Christological title (as a Christian, Redcrosse has “put on” Christ, “the newe” man of Col. 3:10), and although Redcrosse’s armour reflects light into Error’s den, it also seems to shine itself “much like a shade” (FQ 1.1.14.5). In other words, the armour glows like a ghost; but the comparison

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<sup>48</sup> See “Plain, *n.2*,” however, for a more contemporaneous extended sense of “plain” as ugly.

may also allude to the Holy Ghost, whose Pentecostal fire of grace flickers across Redcrosse's armaments. "Shade" also puns upon the darkness of the cave into which the armour casts light: Error does not have, nor does she desire, even enough light to cast Platonic shadows; she prefers full "desert darknes" (1.1.16.8).<sup>49</sup> The biblical rhetoric of light is concerned with making things manifest, particularly through the agency of Christ, and such plainness is antithetical to Error.

Spenser then introduces the lion simile in the next stanza, where Redcrosse, seeing Error trying to return to her darkness,

lept  
 As Lyon fierce vpon the flying pray,  
 And with his trenchand blade her boldly kept  
 From turning backe, and forced her to stay. (1.1.17.1-4)

Topsell, alluding to Genesis 49:9 and Revelation 5:5, remarks that "In holy Scripture, we finde that our Sauour Christ is called the Lion of the tribe of *Judah*; for as hee is a lambe in his innocency, so is he a Lion in his fortitude" (HFFB Tt2r). If Una represents Christian truth embodied in the Church, then this identification explains in part why she calls Redcrosse "my Lyon" (1.3.7.6), and why (in spite of the sexualized threat they pose) the satyrs that save Una/the Church from Sansloy should be likened to a lion. At his most resolute in the battle with Error, Redcrosse appears to be a Christ figure: the light-filled lion of Judah come to illumine "things that are hid in darkenes" (1 Cor. 4:5), making them "plaine," to use Spenser's word. In addition to these biblical resonances, the simile also has related classical and astrological meanings. The lion is Leo, associated with the sun, piercing through Error's darkness. Redcrosse's challenge at the centre of the Wandering Wood is also an Apollonian and Herculean one, as befits a figure associated with light and the sun: Apollo's first enemy was the eponymous Python and the infant Hercules strangled a serpent in his cradle, just as the first foe Redcrosse faces is the serpentine Error. With these biblical, classical, and cosmological associations, Spenser's lion simile seems fairly straightforward; what creature would be a better foe to an enemy of light and Christian truth than one closely associated with the sun/Son?

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<sup>49</sup> "Shade," moreover, acts as a kind of proleptic anti-pun: just as Redcrosse enters the "darksom hole" marked "much like a shade," so he will be led out of the darkness of Orgoglio's dungeon "pale and wan" (1.8.42.3), stumbling along as "pined corse," and altogether "a ruefull spectacle of death and ghastly dreere" (1.8.40.8-9).

A number of critics, however, have argued that Redcrosse is not a Christological type in his battle with Error, particularly in the way in which he finally defeats the monster by strangling her. John N. King notes that, when Una exhorts the knight to “Add faith vnto [his] force” (1.1.19.3), Redcrosse relies on brute force rather than the sword symbolic of Scripture to defeat theological error (197). Indeed, in Oram’s fine turn of phrase, Redcrosse does not add faith unto his force, but rather “force unto his force” (“Spenserian” 53). King’s argument becomes somewhat tenuous, however, when one remembers that strangling Error is precisely what Una urges Redcrosse to do when she sees him in distress:

His Lady sad to see his sore constraint,  
 Cride out, Now now Sir knight, shew what ye bee,  
 Add faith vnto your force, and be not faint:  
 Strangle her, else she sure will strangle thee.  
 That when he heard, in great perplexitie,  
 His gall did grate for grieffe and high disdain,  
 And knitting all his force got one hand free,  
 Wherewith he grypt her gorge with so great paine,  
 That soone to loose her wicked bands did her constraîne. (1.1.19)

Whatever the allegorical significance, the mechanics of the fight would make it nearly impossible for Redcrosse to free his sword arm and weapon. The reversal (namely, the strangler becoming the strangled) has more drama, irony and narrative symmetry than would immediately lopping off the monster’s head. Moreover, if Spenser does have classical precedent partly in mind in this first battle, then Redcrosse should strangle Error, as the infant Hercules did the serpent. A. C. Hamilton, Carol V. Kaske, and Thomas P. Roche, Jr., in their respective annotations to this passage, note that the “force” which Redcrosse musters to free his hand is his virtue or fortitude, rather than his brute strength. Instead of being a rejection of faith, Redcrosse’s act of strangling Error becomes an inspired gesture, according to this interpretation. Redcrosse does not actually *kill* Error when he strangles her; he chokes her until she releases him, and then he uses his sword finally to dispatch the monster. In explaining what seems like an inconsistency in his argument, King remarks that though Redcrosse does conquer Error in the end, he first errs when doing so by using the wrong weapon (197).

I have lingered over this question of whether Redcrosse is a Christological type in this passage because it illustrates the contradictory nature of the imagery and language

Spenser employs concerning the knight at this early stage of Redcrosse's development, particularly in the lion simile. King's attempt to use Redcrosse's initial strangling of Error to show his lack of faith does not satisfactorily account for the knight's swordplay at the end of the fight (nor yet the superhuman effort he shows in freeing his arm in the first place), but the reservations King has about Redcrosse are nevertheless well-founded. Spenser's repeated and many-meaning "plaine" complicates the reader's understanding of Redcrosse's actual state of being during this first test of his knightly and Christian fibre. The knight shows a cavalier disregard for danger that verges on self-conceit. Una's warning to Redcrosse at the entrance to Error's cave is similar to that given Satyrane by his father concerning the "angry beastes" of the forest (1.7.25.5):

Be well aware, quoth then that Ladie milde,  
Least suddaine mischief ye too rash prouoke:  
The danger hid, the place vnknowne and wilde,  
Breedes dreadfull doubts: Oft fire is without smoke,  
And perill without show: therefore your stroke  
Sir knight with-hold, till further triall made.

The knight's bravado in response has a touch of patronizing smugness to it:

Ah Ladie (said he) shame were to reuoke  
The forward footing for an hidden shade:  
Vertue giues her selfe light, through darknesse for to wade. (1.1.12.1-9)

Redcrosse does not specify what the source of that "vertue" might be, though the word etymologically suggests his own manly prowess (along with his virility). Both Una and the satyr seek to caution those who would "prouoke" danger (1.1.12.2; 1.7.25.5) by treating it too lightly. Satyrane's violence against animals symbolizes his own imperfect struggle with the passions they represent; his response to leonine passion is to suppress it. Redcrosse's battle with Error demonstrates his need for grace; he seeks to model himself upon the Lion of Judah but has at this point only the outward marks of that lionhood in the cross he wears and in the lion-like valour he shows.

Spenser echoes the opening lion simile of The Faerie Queene in Book 6, when Arthur, waking to find that the plan of "the traytour Turpin" (6.7.25.2) to murder him in his sleep had only narrowly been averted,

started vp, and snatching neare his syde  
His trustie sword, the seruant of his might,  
Like a fell Lyon leaped to him light,

And his left hand vpon his collar layd. (6.7.25.3-6)

Although other characters in the poem are compared to lions or lionesses (as Radigund is to a lioness in her fight with the Terpine of Book 5, for example), this simile and the one involving Redcrosse and his fight with Error are linked through the repetition of such motifs as leaping, the mention of the hero's sword, and the act of stopping an enemy in flight. The two situations are not particularly analogous--although one might argue that in his shameful discourtesy, Turpine represents a kind of erring courtesy--and therefore the repeated simile suggests not so much a parallel between the two battles as a parallel between Redcrosse and Arthur.

Such a parallel would be in keeping with what Spenser states in the letter to Raleigh to be his intentions for the character of Arthur. In explaining the structure of the overall poem (examining a different virtue in each book in the person of a representative knight), Spenser comments that

In the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth magnificence in particular, which vertue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke. (716)

Taking Spenser for the moment at his word in what he lays out in the letter, The Faerie Queene is, then, a fragment of a much longer and much more ambitious duodecimal whole; no "Legend of Magnificence" can offer insight into the relationship between Arthur as "the perfection" of all the other virtues of the other books and the knights representing each of those virtues, if indeed this structure were Spenser's plan for his epic, at least in 1590. In his appearances in the poem as it exists, Arthur does nothing to sow doubt that Spenser was sincere in his initial intentions. In fact, as James Nohrnberg remarks, Arthur's "resemblance to the other knights turns up often," and in its "multiple unity," The Faerie Queene has Arthur for its emblem (36). This "multiple unity" appears in such things as resemblances between names (Arthur/Artegall) and in similarities in arms (the helmets of Arthur and Redcrosse, the glitter of their respective suits of armour), as well as in repeated similes such as that of the lion. But this unity through Arthur appears most importantly in the way in which the prince intervenes in the quests of the other titular virtue knights (though he does seem just as ineffective as any other male

knight in Britomart's Legend of Chastity). Arthur's interventions come typically in moments of crisis for the other knights (such as his rescue of Redcrosse from Orgoglio's dungeons in 1.8, or his defense of the unconscious Guyon in 2.8), and demonstrate the limitations of virtue in each of the other knights, as James Nohrnberg observes (37). Gordon Teskey extends this observation, however, to include the interactive nature of these interventions: in being rescued by Arthur, "the knights are not incorporated into the torso of Arthur but are assisted by him to become more fully what each represents, even as he is perfected through them" (71). Arthur does represent the virtue that is the summation and perfection of all the virtues represented by the other knights, and as such, the weaknesses and frailties of those individual knights are made clear in contrast. But in rescuing the other knights from their respective follies, Arthur also gives them the opportunity to grow in virtue.<sup>50</sup>

These interventions also show Arthur enacting the individual virtues of the knights he assists. Spenser seems to suggest that Arthur's own virtue is made perfect in two ways: in a symbolic sense through the perfecting of each knight's virtue in the duodecimal magnificence Arthur represents, as well as in an on-going way through the actions the prince takes in his own projected twelve-book quest for virtue. Again, as Spenser states in the letter to Raleigh, in each of Arthur's interventions, "I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke" (716). If the reader is invited to identify with the central knight of each book in his or her struggles toward a particular virtue, then the reader surely is asked to see in Arthur a figure working to grow in all the virtues represented by the other knights. Arthur is at once an emblem of the multiple unity of the poem, the summation of all that has come before, as well as just another work in progress, like Redcrosse or the reader.

The repeated lion simile sits, Janus-like, between these two interpretations of Arthur. The simile of *FQ* 6.7.25.3-6 recalls that of 1.1.17.1-4, suggesting Arthur's incorporation of Redcrosse and what he represents, but also suggesting something analogous between the struggles toward virtue in the knights at both given moments, in

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<sup>50</sup> Spenser's sense of the relationship between Arthur, as the perfection of all virtues, and the individual knights struggling to become the people they are supposed to be is clearly modeled on the Christian's relationship with Christ through the Church: each knight represents a branch incorporated into the larger vine that is Arthur; part of the whole, yet an individual growing in the model of that whole.

spite of the apparent dissimilarity of the fights the similes describe. Just as Arthur intervenes in Redcrosse's adventures, so the repeated simile then becomes Redcrosse's opportunity to intervene in Arthur's educative quest. Arthur being compared to a lion leaping after its prey is meant to recall Redcrosse and his lion---simile recalling simile, but also recalling the knight and the animal. Coming so early in the poem and at the most immature point in Redcrosse's holiness (at the first trial of the holiness he should personify, in fact), the first simile carries with it into the second not only the significance of the comparison (the similitude between knight and lion), but also the nature of those things compared in and of themselves. In other words, the second simile involving Arthur and the lion recalls Redcrosse and the lion as a rhetorical pairing, as well as Redcrosse *and* the lion as separate beings. Readers have encountered Arthur many times by the time Spenser presents them with the simile at 6.7.25.3-6, but with this lion simile, Spenser returns his readers to the beginning of the poem and to the beginning of Redcrosse's journey. Spenser invites his readers to see in Arthur the same traits they saw in Redcrosse, when they last encountered this simile: lion-like courage, yes, but also an over-confident and passionate foolhardiness soon to find itself "wrapt in *Errours* endless traine" (1.1.18.9).

In both similes, Spenser introduces the lion to associate a number of interrelated ideas about the animal with the two warriors. First and most obviously, Spenser invokes the valiance of the lion as a mirror to that of Redcrosse and Arthur. Second, he invokes the magnanimity of the beast and its royalty, as in Sonnet 20 of *Amoretti*. With Arthur, Spenser draws upon a symbol of noble monarchical rule to delineate a character who is himself presented as an idealized type of such rule in *The Faerie Queene* and in the Arthurian material the poet draws upon; with Redcrosse, Spenser implies Redcrosse's royalty as a Christian believer: a member of "a chosen generation, a royall Priesthood, an holy nation, a people set at libertie," as St. Peter puts it (1 Peter 2:9). Moreover, both knights are linked to Spenser's England through the heraldic associations of the lion. As I have remarked, Redcrosse's lion prefigures the revelation that he is not an Elf, but an Englishman--*the* Englishman, St. George the patron of England--through the arms of the Kingdom of England, *Gules three Lions passant guardant Or* (three golden lions, each

standing on three feet with one forefoot raised, on a red background), quartered in Elizabeth's day with those of France in the royal arms, with another lion as a supporter.

For his part, Arthur is not English but specifically British, the descendant (at least in power, if not in blood) of Brutus, as recorded in the "auncient booke, hight *Briton monuments*" (FQ 2.9.59.6) that Arthur reads in 2.10. R. W. Church, in commenting on the shield of Britomart (another descendant of Brutus), notes that the arms of Brutus were commonly held in the Renaissance to have been *Or a Lion passant gules* (a golden lion standing with one forefoot raised, on a red field), only slightly different from the lion on a golden field carried by Britomart (Var 3.203). As Roy C. Strong and Frances A. Yates have charted, Arthur and the supposedly Trojan origins (through Brutus) of the House of Tudor became increasingly important as means of validating and celebrating Elizabeth's reign and the imperial aspirations of her England. Through heraldry, natural history, and antiquarian mythic history, the lions join the "British" Tudor line with the English throne, coming together in the person of late Tudor England, Elizabeth--- herself not above comparing herself to a lion or claiming descent from one, as I have shown. Indeed, by emphasizing the royalty of the lion, Spenser creates another shadowy image of the queen in his poem in those lions.

Yet Topsell's entry on the lion demonstrates that lions are not just courageous, magnanimous, and royal in early modern natural history. They are also dangerous; they excel in cruelty; they possess fierce and angry natures; they are capable of committing acts based upon pride, wrath, and lust---acts that would be sins were they committed by human beings. In comparing Redcrosse to a lion, Spenser alludes not merely to the knight's valour or courage, but also to the pride that pricks Redcrosse on to fight, with all the punning meaning that phrase encompasses, in spite of Una's careful and the dwarf's more frantic warnings about "the danger hid, the place vnknowne and wilde" (1.1.12.3). Like a lion, Redcrosse is "full of fire and greedy hardiment," and "could not for ought be staide" in his approach to Error's den (1.1.14.1-2). Spenser explores the implications of Redcrosse as a lion through the various other lions Una encounters--the literal lion of canto 3, Sansloy, the satyrs, and Satyrane--and demonstrates the dilemma Redcrosse faces in finding some balance between the seemingly dichotomous lion traits of magnanimous clemency and a sexuality that is irrational and wrathful in its drive.



Redcrosse is compared to a lion one last time in Book 1, when he undergoes a purgative treatment at the hands of Penance, Remorse, and Repentance in the House of Holiness, during which

his torment often was so great,  
That like a Lyon he would cry and rore,  
And rend his flesh, and his owne synewes eat. (1.10.28.1-3)

Hamilton in his gloss on the passage hears an echo of 1 Peter 5:8, where the apostle compares the devil to “roaring lyon,” suggesting that Redcrosse’s regimen is like casting out an evil spirit. But inasmuch as the lion could represent the devil, so it could also represent Christ: the suffering Redcrosse experiences for the sake of his own sinfulness is part of the knight’s participation in the suffering of “his dying Lord,” who is both lion and suffering servant (1.1.2.2). Like the real lion Una encounters, Redcrosse must learn to set aside his hungry rage and yield himself to Una on the one hand (thereby setting aside his erotic and theological adventures with Fidessa/Duessa and returning to the truth), and to God on the other. The repeated lion simile suggests that Spenser intended some comment on Arthur’s character through Redcrosse’s story; the fragmentary state of the poem makes it impossible to know how Spenser meant to resolve the implications in the epic’s overall hero, however.

In the first third of this chapter, I have shown that Topsell’s account of the lion not only demonstrates the encyclopaedic method he employed, but also the complicated and contradictory associations held by the lion in early modern English culture. I have examined in the remainder of the chapter some key instances of Spenser’s use of lions in his poetry, arguing that Spenser expects his readers to interpret the meaning of the animals in a cumulative manner rather than in a direct one-to-one symbolic correlation. Even in something as short as a sonnet, Spenser complicates the meaning of lions through the use of different discourses such as astrology and heraldry. With the lions of The Faerie Queene, Spenser uses their contradictory associations to explicate the stages of Redcrosse’s quest for holiness---which is to say, for his identity. Lions are numerous in Spenser’s epic, so in contrast the next chapter examines how Spenser uses a creature that is rare in his verse, the crocodile.

## CHAPTER FOUR The Crocodile

How doth the little crocodile  
Improve his shining tail,  
And pour the waters of the Nile  
On every golden scale!  
- Lewis Carroll (18)

### I The Charisma of Crocodiles

From Spenser's lions, I now turn to his crocodiles (Figures 8 and 9). The crocodile is a good example of a rule of thumb in Spenser's use of animals: frequency of appearance does not necessarily mean greater or more complicated significance. Horses, for example, appear everywhere in Spenser's epic, yet their signification is in general very matter of fact.<sup>51</sup> In contrast, just two crocodiles appear in The Faerie Queene (one of which only in a simile), along with a handful of others in the rest of Spenser's verse. However limited their distribution, these few reptiles carry a range of symbolic meaning far greater and more complicated than many of Spenser's more numerous or less exotic animals. As with his lions, interpreting Spenser's crocodiles requires thinking about information drawn from a variety of seemingly unrelated areas of knowledge. Moreover, the discursive economy surrounding crocodiles includes a number of other creatures indissolubly linked with the animal, such as the ichneumon, trochilus bird, dolphin, cockatrice, and siren; in order to define the early modern crocodile, one must also consider such crocodilian associates, foes, and derivatives.

Crocodiles have for centuries been potent symbols in western European culture, in spite of their comparatively infrequent physical presence. In Victorian literary and visual culture, as Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa SurrIDGE have shown, the crocodile served as an important trope of quintessential otherness---a complex manifestation of the dangers and delights of empire and empire-building for people who might be expected to have far greater first-hand experience with the creatures than their sixteenth-century

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<sup>51</sup> For the culture of early modern horses, see Joan Thirsk, but especially Anthony Dent, and The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World, ed. Karen L. Raber and Treva J. Tucker. Though dealing with horses in the mid-seventeenth century, Raber's "'Reasonable Creatures': William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage" says much about the place of horses in defining "a gentleman."



Figure 8. Crocodile, woodcut from Laurence Andrew, The noble lyfe a[nd] natures of man Of bestes, serpentys, fowles a[nd] fisshes [that] be moste knowen (Antwerp, c.1527) D4v.

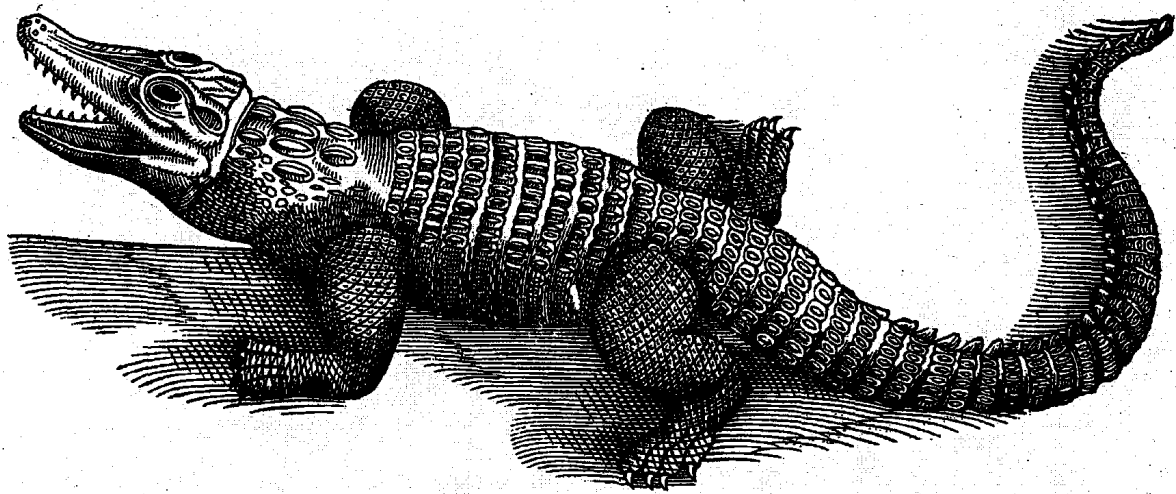


Figure 9. Crocodile, woodcut from Edward Topsell, The Historie of Serpents (London, 1608) M4r.

ancestors. Beryl Rowland observes that polarities in the symbolism of the crocodile have existed since antiquity (55). The creatures clearly held a fascination for the Renaissance, a fact indicated by their privileged position in the collections of early modern cabinets of curiosities.<sup>52</sup> The often-reproduced frontispiece to Ferrante Imperato's *Dell'istoria naturale* (Naples, 1599) shows a stuffed crocodile holding pride of place in a natural history collection (Figure 10); in the eighteen cabinets and menageries located across Europe included by Wilma George in her survey of early seventeenth-century zoological holdings, "nearly every collection had crocodile skins or skeletons" (181). Imaginative works also reflect the presence of crocodiles and crocodilians in such collections. Amongst the paraphernalia of the poor apothecary's shop in *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo remembers seeing

a tortoise hung,  
An alligator stuff'd, and other skins  
Of ill-shaped fishes. (5.1.42-44)

For Shakespeare and his audience, a stuffed crocodile was apparently common enough to be taken as part of the standard set dressing of an off-stage apothecary's shop (even one belonging to an apothecary whose poverty Romeo stresses almost as a byword). Its presence here suggests the ubiquity of such crocodiles in the popular image of natural history collections and demonstrates in a direct way the roots of natural history in medicinal theory and practice. Crocodiles are surprisingly frequent images in early modern literature outside of the apothecary's shop, so to speak; B. B. Ashcom traces the numerous examples of crocodiles in Spanish, Portuguese, and French literatures from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Moreover, as Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park have shown, throughout the course of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, the practice of suspending natural items in churches became more common, particularly on the continent, "when ostrich eggs and whale ribs were joined by meteorites and, most notably, crocodiles" (86). Displaying such creatures was a way of invoking what Daston

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<sup>52</sup> I acknowledge the blurring of terms between "crocodile" and "alligator" common in Early Modern English (a blurring still common in colloquial Present Day English), though in this chapter I prefer "crocodile" as a general name for the members of the crocodile family. "Alligator" entered English as a result of Spanish encounters with New World saurian reptiles (Spanish *el lagarto*, "the lizard") and was used interchangeably as a near synonym with "crocodile" for these animals in English texts; see "Alligator, 2," *OED*.

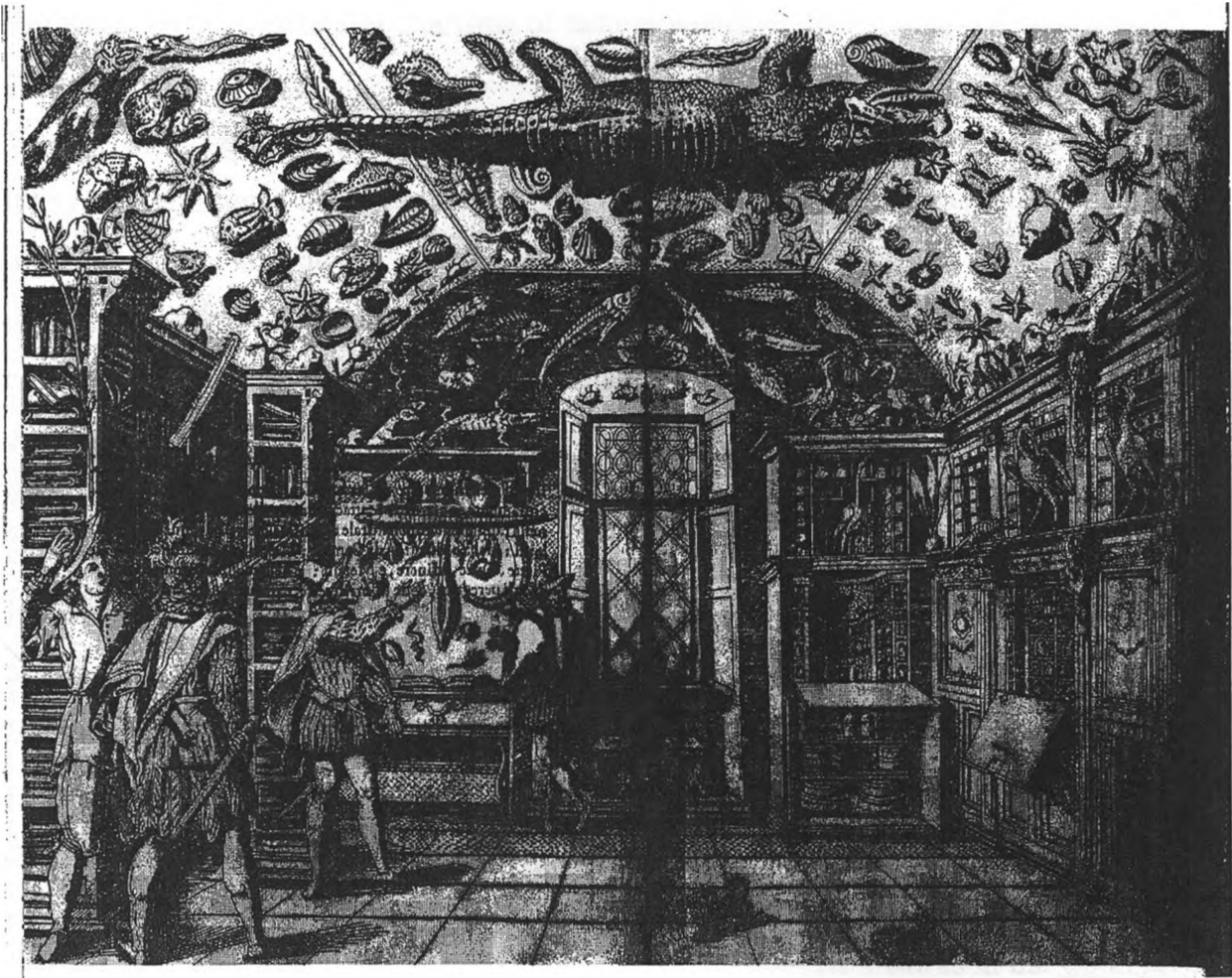


Figure 10. Natural history collection, woodcut from Ferrante Imperato, Dell'istoria naturale (Naples, 1599) frontispiece; rpt. Daston and Park 152.

and Park call “the particular charisma of natural wonders” as epitomes of divine wisdom (88).

This chapter concerns the “particular charisma” of Spenser’s crocodiles. Because it has been examined at length by others elsewhere,<sup>53</sup> I ignore the crocodile in the Temple of Isis in Book 5 of The Faerie Queene and instead concentrate on the only other representative crocodilian in the poem, in a single simile linking the weeping Duessa to a crocodile in Book 1. I argue that Spenser links this image to other, seemingly unrelated episodes in the epic (Placidus’s flight from Corflambo in Book 4 and Redcrosse’s battle with Error at the beginning of Book 1) through the particular traits possessed by the crocodile. As I shall show, early modern natural historians emphasized three basic and intertwined attributes when discussing the creature: its amphibiousness, its close association with Egypt (and otherness in general), and its reputation for deceitfulness. Spenser employs all three traits in his crocodilian imagery, as well as two widely repeated anecdotes concerning the natural enemies of the crocodile; his crocodiles possess complex layers of signification through the cultural connotations the poet invokes, which include the creature’s natural history. I preface my discussion of The Faerie Queene by examining the crocodiles in two of Spenser’s works in the Complaints volume, the satiric beast fable Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberds Tale and the short sonnet sequence Visions of the Worlds Vanitie.

The crocodile of Mother Hubberds Tale provides the basic question that frames this chapter: what did a crocodile mean to Spenser? Spenser includes a brief, puzzling list of animals late in Mother Hubberds Tale. The Ape, having performed as ingenious an act of taxidermic legerdemain as ever recorded in verse (namely, making off with a lion’s skin without waking the creature), disputes with the Fox over which of them should claim the usurped rule of the animal kingdom. In the end, the Ape takes upon himself the Lion’s “royal ornaments” of skin, sceptre, and crown; the Fox, as the disguised Ape’s chief minister, then perfects the disguise through a show of two of the Lion’s chief responsibilities as monarch--the granting of largesse and the dispensation of justice--while the Ape discreetly maintains a dignified distance from the unwitting animal

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<sup>53</sup> E.g., Jane Aptekar’s learned exploration of the iconography of the Isis crocodile is practically definitive (87-107).

subjects (MHT 998). The first of the enormities wrought by the Ape and the Fox, once they have seized the animal throne, involves the hiring of mercenary “forreine beasts” (1119) as a kind of Praetorian Guard to protect their new power:

The Ape thus seized of the Regall throne,  
 Eftsones by counsell of the Foxe alone,  
 Gan to prouide for all things in assurance,  
 That so his rule might lenger haue endurance.  
 First to his Gate he pointed a strong gard,  
 That none might enter but with issue hard:  
 Then for the safegard of his personage,  
 He did appoint a warlike equipage  
 Of forreine beasts not in the forest bred,  
 But part by land, and part by water fed;  
 For tyrannie is with strange ayde supported.  
 Then vnto him all monstrous beasts resorted  
 Bred of two kindes, as Griffons, Minotaures,  
 Crocodiles, Dragons, Beauers, and Centaures:  
 With those himselfe he strengthned mightelie,  
 That feare he neede no force of enemie.  
 Then gan he rule and tyrannize at will. (1111-27)

Notice the legalistic “pointed” and “appoint” used by Mother Hubbard to describe the Ape’s decrees: until their power is secure, the Ape and the Fox must be seen to legislate by correct procedure. Mercenaries free the duo from fear of force or law, but Mother Hubberd implies that this kind of purchased loyalty is the only means the pair has to ensure that they can continue to have “all things in assurance.” The Ape and the Fox obviously do not want to find themselves in the same tight spot as that other usurper Claudius, vainly calling for his Switzers when faced with trouble at home (Hamlet 4.5.95). The Ape promulgates his warrant for “a warlike equipage / Of forreine beasts,” and “then vnto him all monstrous beasts resorted” (MHT 1118-22).

With these particular hirelings, however, Spenser emphasizes that the fear they engender derives not only from the rapacious behaviour usually ascribed to mercenaries, but also from their foreign origins; they were “not in the forest bred, / But part by land, and part by water fed” (1119-20), and are “all monstrous beasts...bred of two kindes” (1122-23). Setting aside any possible topical satirical meaning to these animals for the

moment,<sup>54</sup> I want to address especially the significance of Spenser's choice to include a crocodile amongst the members of the usurpers' guard. The revulsion Spenser expects his readers to feel at the Ape's act of hiring foreign mercenaries is amplified by the way the poet translates the animals' foreign origins into terms of natural history--terms in keeping with the zoomorphic world Mother Hubbard describes in her tale--and by the complex, charged discourse concerning crocodiles available to Spenser when Complaints appeared off William Ponsonby's press in 1591.

Spenser alludes to one of the typical attributes of the crocodile in Mother Hubbard's statement that each of the animals hired by the Ape is of "two kindes"---that is, inhabiting two different elements (and not just the forest, which is taken as the norm for the tale), and/or being themselves hybrids of two different creatures. Thus, crocodiles and beavers live between land and water; griffins and dragons live in the air and on the earth; and minotaurs and centaurs blur the lines between the human and the animal in their hybridity.<sup>55</sup> But this duality blends with the crocodile's two other attributes--deceitfulness and otherness--to become an emblem of the creature's moral symbolism that Spenser employs to address questions of Elizabethan geopolitics, gender, and sexuality.

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<sup>54</sup> The fable invites many topical interpretations. For example, the mercenaries might refer to recent events in France at the time of MHT's publication in 1591---in particular the use by the Guise faction and the Holy League of Spanish troops to attempt to sort out the French succession after the assassination of Henri III in August, 1589. The sleeping lion of the tale would then stand for Henri of Navarre, Spenser's Bourbon, whom Anne Lake Prescott demonstrates had a reputation in English propaganda texts for being able to deal handily with threatening monsters like crocodiles. The ambiguity of the mercenary beasts might also be a comment on the court of the late Henri III and the king's reputed sexual preferences. If we are to take Spenser at his word that the poem was composed earlier, then possible connection between the amphibious mercenaries and France may strengthen the case for reading the fable as a comment on the negotiations for match between Elizabeth and the then Duke of Anjou, the future Henri III, starting in the late autumn of 1570, but coming to a dramatic conclusion in January, 1571 when Anjou declared he had no desire to marry the English queen; the French ambassador and negotiator was Paul de Foix (an easily anglicized pun). The poem may refer to the other more famous attempt at a "French match" for Elizabeth, that with the Duke of Alençon, which began shortly after Anjou's rejection of the courtship. This interpretation is supported by such familiar evidence as the name of the chief French envoy, Simier, nicknamed by Elizabeth "the monkey," and the identification of Lord Burghley as the fox. If the poem refers to Scottish politics, as Thomas Herron suggests, then reading the amphibious reptiles as a comment on sexual taste could just as easily apply to the court of James VI. For the French interpretations, see Anne Lake Prescott, "Foreign Policy" and Mack P. Holt, The French Wars of Religion, as well as Holt, The Duke of Anjou.

<sup>55</sup> I use this term in a physiological sense, relatively shorn of its meaning in (for example) post-colonial theory.



## II 1588 and all that: Leviathan and the Armada

Spenser's use of crocodiles is in part influenced by the events surrounding the abortive invasion of England by the Spanish Armada; he is not alone in marking the connection between the events of 1588 and the crocodile. In The birth, purpose, and mortall vvound of the Romish holie League (1589), the author (one I. L.) describes the Spanish Armada as a fleet of "huge and mightie shippes, readie to ioynе with the bloodie *Guise*, and also to vnite them to the Prince of *Parma*, that in a moment they might swallow vp little *England*, as the rauenous Crocodile dooth the smallest fish in the seauen mouthd Riuer *Nilus*" (A3r). The simile takes the three basic attributes of the crocodile for granted. Like the crocodile, the forces arrayed against England are amphibious--though they never get to bask on English shores--and necessarily deceitful, employing such allies as "that caitiffe Cardinall, and English Arch-traitor," William Allen, to force their cause (A3r). For the Egyptian connection, although "seauen mouthd" is a usual epithet for the Nile, the term also irresistibly recalls the seven-headed beast of the Book of Revelations and the seven-hilled city of Rome. The Nile, as James Nohrnberg remarks, is often employed as a symbolic double for the Tiber (204), and I. L. does not stray far from the familiar and bitter anti-Catholic interpretations of the Church of Rome as "that purple Whore sitting on the Beast with seauen heads, or rather (as the Angell interpreteth in the Reuelation) on the Citie with seauen hills" (A2r). The Apocalypse and its attendant diabolic beast were thought by many to be coming upon a decaying world in the fateful year 1588. Prophetic works such as John Securis's A Newe Almanacke and Prognostication (1569) and Thomas Rogers's translation of Shelto à Geveren's Of the End of this Worlde, and second comming of Christ (1577), building upon the prophecies made by Regiomontanus almost a century earlier, confidently announced that the Day of Judgement would come in 1588, but as Frank Ardolino observes, the victory over the Armada "gave England assurance that it was the divinely favoured nation in the struggle with Babylon/Spain and the Antichrist" (Apocalypse 125).<sup>56</sup> In this pattern of thought, the crocodile easily stands as a type of the Beast of the Apocalypse, itself the summation

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<sup>56</sup> Ardolino's work offers an excellent overview of the influence of the *annus mirabilis* in a broad sweep of English authors. See also in particular Richard Mallette 143-68 for more on the Armada year, as well as Kenneth Borris and Florence Sandler for more on Spenser's apocalyptic thought in general.

of the serpent of Eden and to whom the dragon gave his power and throne---“that is, the devil,” as the Geneva commentary on Revelation 13.2 states.

A remarkable example of the pervasiveness of this association in English minds among the Armada, crocodiles, serpents, and other allied draconic beasts is found in the Bratoft Armada painting, in the parish church of SS Peter and Paul, Bratoft, Lincolnshire (Figure 11). The painting was executed on a piece of ship’s board, and was either painted or presented by one Robert Stephenson, likely in about 1610 (to judge from the reference to Great Britain rather than England in the inscription). The painting portrays the Armada in its famous crescent formation as a dragon encircling a fleet of English fire ships, just at the moment the creature is attempting to swallow them.<sup>57</sup> England, France, Ireland, and Scotland are shown in the four corners; Spanish ships are shown being lost on the Irish coast, while a figure carrying a prominent flag of St. George and supported by a troop of soldiers, complete with a drummer, observes the allegory from the English shore. The inscription below the image reads:

Spaines proud Armado with great strength & power  
Great Britains state came gapeing to devour  
This Dragon’s guts like Pharoas scattered hoast  
Lay splitt and drown’d upon the Irish coast,  
For of eight score save too ships sent from Spaine  
But twenty five scarce sound return’d again.  
Non nobis Domine

St. George has again defeated his dragon. The fire ships represent the “hoatt welcome” that Gabriel Harvey boasts was given to “the terrible Spanishe Armada to the coast of Inglande that came in glory, and went in dishonour” (Pierces Supererogation 2: 96-97). I. L.’s crocodile and the Bratoft dragon both court indigestion in seeking to “swallow vp little *England*”---a metonymic England represented by the fire ships, too hot indeed to swallow as events proved.

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<sup>57</sup> For an informative illustrated discussion of the crescent-shaped formation of the Armada, see Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker 15ff. Garrett Mattingly’s elegant and provocative book on the Armada remains requisite reading. In the Lincolnshire volume of the Buildings of England series, Nikolaus Pevsner remarks with his perennially refreshing bluntness that the painting is “signed absurdly prominently *Robert Stephenson*”; see Pevsner and John Harris 196. However, Robert Stephenson’s identity was the subject of a brief flutter of correspondence just before the First World War in Notes and Queries 11.9 (1914): 470; 515-16. The correspondents assume that Stephenson presented the painting to the parish as a thanksgiving offering, having reportedly lead eighty men into the field against the expected Spanish invasion in 1588. The painting appeared as part of the exhibition at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich organized to mark the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armada; see M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado et al. 16.30.

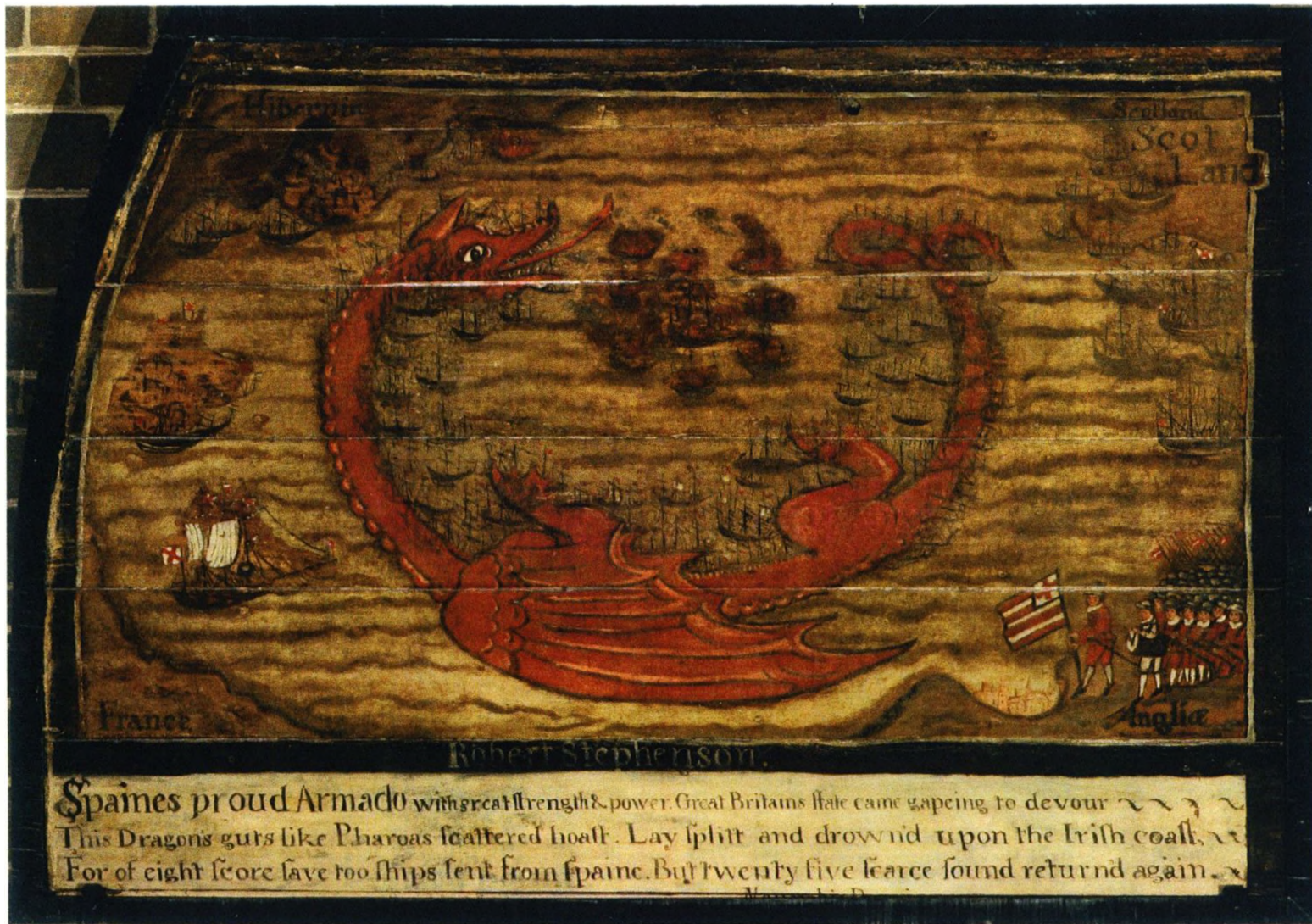


Figure 11: Robert Stephenson (?), Armada painting, Church of SS Peter and Paul, Bratof, Lincolnshire.  
Image copyright ©2003 by c b newham. Used with permission.

What might be less obvious is how both these crocodilian Armada images depend upon the first of my two anecdotes drawn from natural history---specifically, a story concerning the crocodile's enemies. Both the painting and I. L.'s image stress the hungry, gaping mouth of the creature, ready to swallow up England like a little fish, and herein lies the key to the crocodile image. Pliny the Elder offers the influential anecdote in his Historia Naturalis:

Hunc saturum cibo piscium et semper esculento ore in litore somno datum parva avis, quae trochilos ibi vocatur, rex avium in Italia, invitat ad hiandum pabuli sui gratia, os primum eius adsultim repurgans, mox dentes et intus fauces quoque ad hanc scabendi dulcedinem quam maxime hiantes, in qua voluptate somno pressum conspicatus ichneumon per easdem fauces ut telum aliquod inmissus erodit alvom.

This creature when sated with a meal of fish and sunk in sleep on the shore with its mouth always full of food, is tempted by a small bird (called there the trochilus, but in Italy the king-bird) to open its mouth wide to enable the bird to feed; and first it hops in and cleans out the mouth, and then the teeth and inner throat also, which yawns as wide as possible for the pleasure of this scratching; and the ichneumon watches for it to be overcome by sleep in the middle of this gratification and darts like a javelin through the throat so opened and gnaws out the belly. (Natural History 8.37.90)

Solinus, a third-century follower of Pliny, unwittingly introduced a long-standing confusion over the identity of the gnawing enemy of the crocodile: in an attempt to be more specific about the name of the creature, he applied "enhydrus" to this particular ichneumon—a term derived from the Greek ἔνυδρος, "otter," but also, alas, "water snake." Thereafter, in Laurence A. Breiner's words,

Everything else shimmers...the crocodile is dependable, but neither the motivation nor the nature of the small creature is fixed. Hostile or friendly, he may be mammal, reptile, fish, or bird. He may be identified as ichneumon, enhydros, hydrus, trochilos, even Hydra. (33)<sup>58</sup>

The linguistic confusion over the crocodile also led to the creation of the cockatrice sometime in the early thirteenth century, though it is unclear whether the beast sprang from confusion over terms for the crocodile or over those for the creature that gnaws out

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<sup>58</sup> To add to the confusion, the identity of the trochilus is not certain from the classical authorities: perhaps the Egyptian plover (*Pluvianus aegyptius*), perhaps the spur-winged plover (*Hoplopterus spinosus*), or perhaps even some other daring bird. See D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson 288-89 for this example of the continuing challenge of identifying creatures mentioned by the ancients.

the crocodile from within; as the OED confesses, “The sense-history of this word is exceedingly curious,” and too involved to be explored here at any length (“Cockatrice,” etymology). In English, “cockatrice” became equated with the creature known in Latin as *basiliscus* and *regulus*---the enmity between the cockatrice and the weasel becoming analogous to that between the crocodile and the weasel-like ichneumon.<sup>59</sup> I shall return to the connection between the crocodile and the cockatrice in the next part of this chapter.

Not surprisingly, the tale of the crocodile and its little gnawing foe was widely interpreted in the bestiary traditions as representing the Incarnation and the Descent into Hell---and, by extension, the Harrowing of Hell. George C. Druce identifies the hell mouth of many manuscript illustrations and ecclesiastic sculptures in England as a crocodile’s mouth (a tradition also employed by Spenser, as shall be seen).<sup>60</sup> The story appears with slight variations in John Maplet’s A Greene Forest, Stephen Batman’s Batman uppon Bartholome, and Edward Topsell’s The Historie of Serpents. Ignoring Pliny, for example, Batman cuts out the middle-man, and has the bird, rather than an ichneumon, attack the crocodile from within. Once inside,

this bird claweth him first with clawes softly, and maketh him haue a manner lyking in clawing, and falleth anone asleepe, and when this bird *Cuschillos* knoweth and perceiuet that this Beast sleepeth, anone hee descendeth into his wombe, and foorthwith sticketh him as it wer with a dart, and biteth him full grieuouslye and full sore. (Batman Ppp5r)

Laurence Andrew has an illustration of these small birds in the midst of feeding from a crocodile’s open maw, though he does not identify them as trochilus birds or otherwise (Figure 12); Andrew also shows the ichneumon or “enidros” in its otter-like guise (Figure 13). For his part, Maplet agrees with Batman concerning the bird, stating that, once the bird has lulled the crocodile to sleep, it “goeth further to his heart, and pecketh at it with hir bill, and at the last gnaweth it out, and so feedeth hir selfe full and escapeth away.” Maplet preserves the ichneumon under another name (and species) as a separate foe of the crocodile, adding to the bird story that “The like thing is read of *Enidros* the Serpent, which creepeth in the grasse of *Nilus* who being eaten downe quicke of the *Crocodile*, gnaweth his heart out in sunder within, and so killeth him” (Greene L6v). Topsell reverts

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<sup>59</sup> See Breiner 30-36 for a detailed account of the mingled linguistic destinies of the crocodile and the cockatrice. For the classical background of the basilisk/cockatrice, see R. M. Alexander.

<sup>60</sup> For an example of the crocodile in the allegorizing bestiary tradition, see Barber 61-63.



Figure 12. Crocodile, woodcut from Laurence Andrew, The noble lyfe a[nd] natures of man Of bestes, serpentys, fowles a[nd] fisshes [that] be moste knowen (Antwerp, c.1527)

R2r.



Figure 13. Ichneumon (Enidros), woodcut from Laurence Andrew, The noble lyfe a[nd] natures of man Of bestes, serpentys, fowles a[nd] fisshes [that] be moste knowen

(Antwerp, c.1527) L2r.

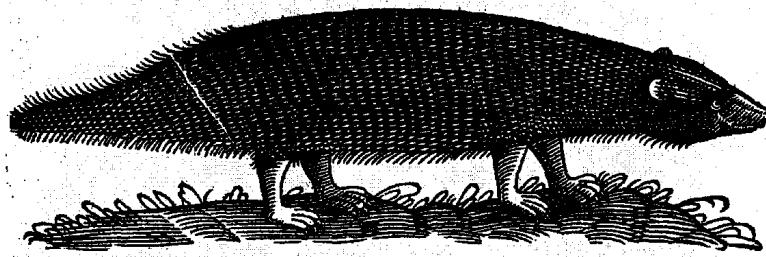
to Pliny's pattern of the trochilus and ichneumon's having distinct functions, but adds the detail that "when all is censed, the ingatefull Crocodile endeouureth suddainely to shut his chappes together vppon the Bird, and to deuoure his friend" (HS N2r-v). The trochilus, however, possesses sharp thorns on its head, with which it persuades the crocodile to open its mouth again, allowing the ichneumon to requite the crocodile's treachery (Figure 14).

Spenser uses this trope of the trochilus and the crocodile in Sonnet 3 of Visions of the Worlds Vanitie in order to comment on the dynamics of power. The speaker sets the scene:

Beside the fruitfull shore of muddie *Nile*,  
 Upon a sunnie banke outstretched lay  
 In monstrous length, a mightie Crocodile,  
 That cram'd with guiltless blood, and greedie pray  
 Of wretched people travailing that way,  
 Thought all things lesse than his disdainfull pride.  
 I saw a little Bird, cal'd *Tedula*,  
 The least of thousands which on earth abide,  
 That forst this hideous beast to open wide  
 The greisly gates of his devouring hell,  
 And let him feede, as Nature doth provide,  
 Upon his jawes, that with blacke venime swell.  
 Why then should greatest things the least disdaine,  
 Sith that so small so mightie can constraine?

Here, Spenser recalls the allegorizing traditions of the bestiaries, describing the crocodile's mouth as "the greisly gates of his devouring hell," but does not offer a clue to his readers about how far to take the emblem, beyond the somewhat pat final couplet. The "guiltless blood" does have a Christological resonance, however. A notable late addition to the various *noms de guerre* for the creature that goes into the crocodile would, of course, be Spenser's "Tedula." Thomas P. Harrison, Jr. suggests that Spenser saw a connection between the habits of the trochilus (the more usual name for the crocodile-bird) and the jackdaw, *monedula*, and blended them to create the portmanteau "tedula," utterly of his own coining (235).<sup>61</sup> Spenser's poem lacks the inevitable conclusion to this little river-side scene, the destruction of the crocodile from within by the bird or some other small creature, but any alert reader familiar with the traditions of natural history

<sup>61</sup> As an incidental note, the word "tedula" does not appear in the OED---which is a measure of the word's limited currency rather than necessarily marking an oversight on the part of the editors.



*The second picture taken out of Oppianus poems, as it was found in an old manuscript.*

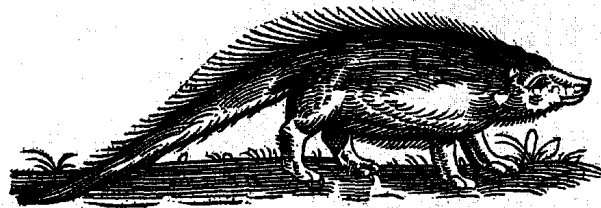


Figure 14. Ichneumon, woodcut from Edward Topsell, The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes (London, 1607) Qq3r.



Figure 15. Cockatrice (Regulus), woodcut from Laurence Andrew, The noble lyfe a[nd] natures of man Of bestes, serpentys, fowles a[nd] fisses [that] be moste knowen (Antwerp, c.1527) H4r.



from which Spenser draws his emblem would know just how much further the small can (and will?) constrain the mighty. *Tedula* and crocodile have exchanged places, and now the crocodile is the one in grave peril.

Spenser echoes the trope in Sonnet 6, where a spider poisons “an hideous Dragon” (71). Once it has been introduced into the dragon through its water supply by “the subtill vermin” (77), the spider’s venom

through his entrailes spredding diuersly,  
Made him to swell, that nigh his bowells burst,  
And him enforst to yeeld the victorie. (79-81)

As in the *tedula* sonnet, Spenser stops short of including the gory destruction of the crocodilian dragon. A spider and a dragon may seem perhaps too removed a pairing to represent the crocodile and its various small foes, but the author of *The Lamentable Tragedy of Loocrine* (1595), part of the Shakespearean apocrypha, clearly saw enough of a parallel between the action of Sonnet 6 and the natural history anecdote to include a dumb show portraying a crocodile falling prey to an adder’s poison, swelling, and then bursting asunder on the banks of the Nile, that derives its imagery and specific wording directly from the sonnet (3.1.1-17). By replacing the spider with an adder, the playwright brings the matter of the sonnet back to a version of the anecdote similar to that in *Maplet*, where “*Enidros* the Serpent” defeats the crocodile (Greene L6v). Sonnet 6, then, seems to be simply a variation on the same theme of Sonnet 3.

A crocodile also lurks in Sonnet 5 of *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*. Here, the speaker sees “the fish (if fish I may it cleepe)” Leviathan, who lords over the sea like a bully in a playground, “making his sport, that manie makes to weep” (58-63). A “swordfish small” then attacks the beast “in his throat him pricking softly under,” forcing Leviathan “his wide Abyesse...forth to spewe,” like *Error*, another spewing monster (64-66). The Geneva commentary identifies Leviathan as a whale (see Job 40.20), and as W.L. Renwick observes, “The combats of the swordfish and the whale are, curiously enough, authentic” (qtd. in Var. 8: 407). But Spenser may have another combat in mind: that between the crocodile and the dolphin, the second of my two anecdotes about the crocodile’s enemies.

Pliny gives the classic version of the tale (8.38.91), which the bestiaries take up, and which *Batman* and *Topsell* repeat. Pliny reports that the crocodile is too great a

plague for Nature to allow it to have only one enemy, the ichneumon, and so (according to Topsell) “Fishes also in their kinde are enemies to Crocodiles, the first place whereof belongeth to the most noble Dolphin,” taking fish in the broadest sense to include sea mammals. Two kinds of dolphin are “professed enemies” to the crocodile: one native to the Nile, and one coming into the river from the sea, both armed with “sharp thorny prickles or finnes, as sharp as any speares poynt.” The dolphin will “allure and draw out the Crocodile from his denne or lodging place, into the depth of the Riuer, and there fight with him hand to hand,” and just as the dolphin “knoweth his owne armour and defence...so doth it knowe the weakest parts of his aduersary, and where his aduantage of wounding lyeth,” and therefore aims its attacks at the soft underbelly of the crocodile. “The belly of the Crocodile is weake, hauing but a thinne skin, and penetrable with small force,” Topsell assures his readers,

wherefore when the Dolphin hath the Crocodile in the midst of the deepe waters, like one afrayd of the fight, vnderneath him he goeth, & with his sharp finnes or prickles on his backe, giueth his weake and tender belly mortall wounds, whereby his vitall spirits, with his guts & entralls, are quickly euacuated. (HS N3r)

Spenser gives his Leviathan the same thin skin as the crocodile in the convoluted phrase “in his throat him pricking softly under”---for, if the creature had a harder hide beneath, then surely it would not react as it does to being pricked there. Other sixteenth-century poets were aware of the enmity between crocodiles and dolphins; Maurice Scève, for example, puns upon the trope in his elegiac eclogue on the death of François the Dauphin, Arion. Eclogue sur le trespas du feu Monsieur le Daulphin (1536), where for once, the crocodile has gotten the best of the dolphin/Dauphin.<sup>62</sup>

I think it very likely that Spenser means to invoke this detail of early modern natural history in Sonnet 5, particularly given the close biblical association between Leviathan, Egypt, and crocodiles. In the book of Ezekiel, God instructs the prophet concerning the coming punishment of Pharaoh and proposes a fate not unlike the conclusion of the conflict between the crocodile and the dolphin:

Thus saith the Lord God, Beholde, I *come* agai[n]st thee, Pharoah King of Egypt, ye great drago[n], that lieth in the middes of his riuers, [which]

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<sup>62</sup> Scève’s poem was first published in the collection Recueil de vers latins et vulgaires, de plusieurs Poëtes françoys, composés sur le trespas de feu Monsieur le Dauphin (Lyon, 1536); see also Hélène Naïs 364-65.

hath said, The riuer is mine, & I haue made it for my self. But I wil put hokes in thy chawes, & I wil cause [the] fish of thy riuers to sticke vnto thy scales, & I wil drawe thee out of the middes of thy riuers, & all the fish of thy riuers shal sticke vnto thy scales. And I wil leaue thee in [the] wildernes, *bothe* thee & all the fish of thy riuers: [you] shalt fall vpon the open field: [you] shalt not be broght together, nor gathered: *for* I haue giuen thee for meat to [the] beastes of the field, and to the foules of the heauen. (Ezek. 29.3-5)

Like the crocodile Topsell describes, this great dragon ends up pierced by fish, doubtless with his “guts & entralls” similarly “euacuated.” One can also only assume that, should the tedula of Sonnet 3 do as the trochilus or ichneumon does, then this particular crocodile will also end up as bird food like Pharaoh. The prophetic image, in other words, depends entirely upon the metonymous links between the crocodile and Egypt, and between Egypt and the Nile; indeed, as the Geneva commentary remarks, “He compareth Pharaoh to a dragon [which] hideth him self in the riuer Nilus.” In Job, God speaks of Leviathan in similar terms, asking

Canst thou draw out Liuiathan with an hooke, and with a line which thou shalt cast downe vnto his tongue? Canst thou cast an hooke into his nose? canst thou perce his iawes with an angle? (Job 40.20-21)

Leviathan shares the same end as the river dragon of Ezekiel, right down to being served up as meat in the wilderness. As the psalmist sings to God, “Thou smotest the heades of Leuiathan in peeces: and gauest him to be meate for the people in the wilderness” (Ps. 74.14). The Geneva commentary on the line defines Leviathan as “a great mo[n]stre of the sea, or whale, meani[n]g Pharaoh.” Whale or not, Leviathan is linked to Egypt and the Nile as a representation of Pharaoh, and what emerges from this series of biblical images is some sort of evil water monster, sometimes river-based, sometimes ocean-borne, that is going to get its comeuppance at the hands of God.

Spenser’s Sonnet 5 represents this confusion of images in miniature. In his tentative identification of Leviathan as a “fish (if fish I may it cleepe),” Spenser suggests the blurring between species (whale--or “fish”--and crocodile) that he found in the Bible. Even his tentativeness seems to echo that of the Geneva gloss of Psalm 74: “a great mo[n]stre of the sea, or whale, meani[n]g Pharaoh.” The sporting beast is monster, whale,

Pharaoh, crocodile---or all at once.<sup>63</sup> Spenser introduces a crocodile in Sonnet 3, and in Sonnet 5 expects his readers to recall the creature under the guise of Leviathan and all of his Egyptian associations, as well as the enmity between dolphins and crocodiles found in Pliny and his followers. Spenser links the Egyptian imagery of Sonnets 3 and 5 through the intervening sonnet, derived from the Erasmian adage “*Scarabeus aquilam querit*” (3.7.1), concerning an eagle running afoul of “the simple Scarabee,” the scarab or dung-beetle: another creature closely (though admittedly not exclusively) associated with Egypt, and one charged with emblematic significance for the Renaissance about the rivalry between the great and small, as Yves Cambefort has traced.<sup>64</sup>

Richard Schell comments that Sonnet 3 and Sonnet 5 carry overtones of the Egyptian tyrant (linked, I would add, by Sonnet 4 and by the allusion in Sonnet 5 to the battles between crocodiles and dolphins), which in biblical symbolism is a type for all tyrants, whether those of Egypt, Babylon, or Rome (431). With the Bratofft Armada painting and I. L.’s “rauenous Crocodile” trying to “swallow vp little *England*” in The birth, purpose, and mortall vvound of the Romish holie League, we see that the biblical symbolism of the tyrannical crocodile gains another layer of meaning through the Anglo-Spanish conflicts of the 1580s and ‘90s. A new (and New World) Leviathan makes his sport, making many weep in the process; the monster dares to try to swallow up little England, only to find itself bursting asunder, its “guts like Pharoas scattered hoast / Lay splitt and drown’d upon the Irish coast,” as the inscription on the Bratofft painting interprets Ezekiel 29. England plays the role of the trochilus, ichneumon, and dolphin to the Spanish crocodile in this construction. This animal animosity had been used in a similar way in 1537, when Pope Paul III had a special medal struck showing a dolphin defeating a crocodile to commemorate Christian resistance on Corfu against the Turks (Setton 3: 432). Spenser, I. L., and the artist of the Bratofft painting would not in all probability have known the Corfu medal, but nevertheless it also shows how natural history was applied to political ends---and, moreover, how the same symbolism could be co-opted by seemingly antithetical parties for the same basic purpose.

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<sup>63</sup> The fact that Leviathan has a tongue, while the crocodile of early modern natural history derived from Pliny most notably does not, should not be a difficulty, since the creatures represent parallel strands of animal lore that did not influence one another until late antiquity.

<sup>64</sup> See Cambefort’s “A Sacred Insect on the Margins: Emblematic Beetles in the Renaissance.”

To use Mother Hubbard's term, the crocodile is "forreine" (MHT 1119), both as an exotic animal and as a representative of the non-native "other," and the reader or viewer is expected to identify with the more familiar or more sympathetic underdog in the conflict. Egypt fell to Ottoman conquest in 1517, making the crocodile an appropriate geographic symbol for the Corfu medal, quite beyond the creature's resonances in natural history and the Bible. Spenser uses the Ottoman Empire itself as another type for Spain in The Faerie Queene, particularly in the person of the Souldan of Book 5. As René Graziani remarks, under the guise of the Souldan, "Philip represents a threat to 'true' Christianity of the same magnitude as did the infidel against whom Philip has assumed the role of Christendom's champion" (324). Spenser joins modern and Biblical tyrannies with natural history; thus, I do not think it too much to claim that, whenever they were written, in 1591 the sonnets of Visions of the Worlds Vanitie are "Armada poems" thanks to the ways in which Spenser employs his crocodile imagery. Sonnets 3 and 5 have a far more triumphant tone to them than any of the other poems in the group. In the other poems, with the exception of the dragon of Sonnet 6, the greater protagonists generally have positive or relatively neutral associations: a bull, an eagle, a cedar, an elephant, a ship, a lion, and the grandeur that was Rome.<sup>65</sup> In contrast, the smaller antagonists of Sonnets 3 and 5 attack creatures heavily loaded with negative associations. In other words, in Sonnets 3 and 5, the heroic underdogs win, and whatever lesson about the vanity of the world that might be derived from them is a lesson most pointedly for the presumptuous mighty.

The enmity between the crocodile and the dolphin, and between the crocodile and the tedula, trochilus, or ichneumon always depends upon the three basic attributes of the crocodile, as I have suggested, and it is these three traits (being Egyptian, amphibious, and deceitful) that come most readily to early modern authors when describing the crocodile. Topsell, for example, in his account of the animal's distribution, notes they are "especially [of] Egypt, for the Crocodiles of Nilus are Amphibii, & liue in both elements: they are not only in the riuer Nilus, but also in all the pooles neere adioyning" (HS M4v). For Josuah Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, the crocodile is

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<sup>65</sup> Frank Ardolino does, however, argue for the apocalyptic and Armada symbolism of the other sonnets, particularly the bull, dragon, and Rome sonnets in addition to the crocodile and Leviathan poems; see his "The Effect of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada on Spenser's Complaints."

Nile's fell Rover...  
 Who runs, and rowes, warring by Land and Water  
 'Gainst men and Fishes subject to his slaughter. (1: 1.6.166-68)

Sylvester sees this ease in water and on land as an especially fearsome attribute of the creature, allowing it to wage a kind of total war on those beings that inhabit either element. Something of Sylvester's discomfort with this trait can be seen in Topsell's statement that "the Crocodiles of Nilus are Amphibii." In "amphibii," we have, of course, the root of our modern zoological meaning--animals living between water and land--and the OED gives the earliest use of this meaning with the cluster of words derived from "amphibian" as 1609, from Jonson's Epicoene.<sup>66</sup> But the dictionary also records early seventeenth-century uses of the word to mean "having two modes of existence" and, figuratively, "of [a] doubtful nature" ("Amphibian," *a.*, def. 1).<sup>67</sup> Milton would also emphasize this ambiguity of proper environment or state in Paradise Lost, when the archangel Raphael refers to "the river horse and scaly crocodile" (7.474) as "ambiguous between sea and land" (7.473), punning upon the taxonomic and figurative meanings of the crocodile's amphibiousness.

Spenser takes the association between Egypt and crocodiles for granted in The Faerie Queene, as well as the crocodile's amphibiousness and falsehood. For the moment, because it has been examined at length by others elsewhere, I want to ignore the Temple of Isis in Book 5 and concentrate on the 1590 Faerie Queene, already published when Mother Hubberds Tale appeared. Only one crocodile directly appears in the first three books of the poem (and the only one outside of the Temple of Isis, in fact): in Book 1, Spenser combines all three of the crocodile's special attributes in a single simile linking the weeping Duessa to a crocodile. In this simile, a hapless traveller

By muddy shore of broad seven-mouthed Nile,  
 Vnweeting of the perillous wandring wayes,  
 Doth meet a cruell craftie Crocodile,

<sup>66</sup> See "Amphibious," *a.* def. 1, which cites as its earliest example of usage an exchange between La Foole and Dauphine on the amphibiously-named Captain Otter in Jonson's Epicoene (1.4.24-26):

LA FOOLE. Captain Otter, sir; he is a kind of gamester, but he has had command both by sea and land.

DAUPHINE. O, then he is *animal amphibium*?

"Otter," of course, carries with it the story of the ichneumon, ἔχιδνα.

<sup>67</sup> The word appears to lose its doubtful overtones through the seventeenth century. For example, Andrew Marvell refers to the salmon-fishers of "Upon Appleton House" as "rational amphibii" (774) without any sense of ambiguity surrounding their characters.

Which in false grieffe hyding his harmefull guile,  
 Doth weepe full sore, and sheddeth tender teares:  
 The foolish man, that pitties all this while  
 His mournefull plight, is swallowd vp vnwares,  
 Forgetfull of his owne, that mindes anothers cares.  
 So wept *Duessa* vntill euentide. (1.5.18.2-1.5.19.1)

Like the crocodile, *Duessa* is a hybrid being, bred in her case of more than two kinds (human, fox, eagle, and bear) and trading under different names (*Duessa*, *Fidessa*). Moreover, like the crocodile, she glides between different realms---between the human and the bestial, and between the mortal realm of the poem and certain infernal regions. In the simile, “the muddy shore” marks the liminal zone between earth and water inhabited by the crocodile: the ambiguous realm between two elements Spenser here associates with danger and duplicity, emblemized by the crocodile’s tears. In his essay attacking self-centredness, “Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe,” Bacon remarks with irony that “it is the *Wisdome of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would deuoure” (98). Topsell glosses this proverbial (Tilley C831) attribute:

The common prouerbe also, *Crocodili lachrimæ*, the crocodiles teares, iustifieth the treacherous nature of this beast, for there are not many bruite beasts that can weepe, but such is the nature of the Crocodile, that to get a man within his danger, he will sob, sigh, & weepe, as though he were in extremitie, but suddenly he destroyeth him. (HS N2r)

Like Bacon, Topsell sees crocodile tears as an emblem of deception, both that practised upon others as well as self-deceit. For Topsell, crocodile tears “noteth the wretched nature of hypocriticall harts, which before-hand will with fayned teares endeuour to do mischief, or els,” Topsell continues, offering his *coup de grâce*, “after they haue done it[,] be outwardly sorry, as *Iudas* was for betraying of Christ, before he went and hanged himselfe” (N2r). Whatever ambiguity Topsell records of the crocodile’s preferred environment, he has no doubt about the character of the beast: the crocodile is “fearfull, ravening, malitious, and trecherous in getting of his prey, the subiltie of whose spirit, is by some attributed to the thinnesse of his blood” (M6r).

### III If Looks Could Kill: Crocodile and Cockatrice

In his statement about the thinness of the crocodile's blood, Topsell ascribes the character of the creature to its bodily nature in an act of elemental psychology; in other words, crocodiles are treacherous because they are just made that way. In Duessa's simile, the extent to which the general association between deceptiveness and the crocodile depends upon Duessa's nature (rather than whatever choices she makes) is unclear in the text, but suggests a further and thoroughly misogynist aspect to Renaissance crocodile lore. Does the comparison rely upon Duessa's being a woman, as well as her guile? Other early modern authors seem to suggest so, aligning crocodilian hypocrisy with that supposedly possessed by women. Alphus, a typical woman-hating shepherd in Mantuan's fourth eclogue, claims that women are (in Turberville's translation) "as ruthfull...as *Crocodile*, / or beast *Hyena* hight," and complains that "the viler mischief they pretende" comes when

They deawe their cheekes [with] trickling teares,  
and vse their sweetest call:  
Then they conspire thy cruell death  
(fell Monsters) most of all.  
O Shephierd shun the Womans looke  
and flie hir fleering face:  
For harling nets and hurtfull ginnes  
are pight in beauties place. (4.535-46)

The other slur, "hyena," adds a smack of irony to the nature of the beast that the witch sets upon Florimel's trail in *The Faerie Queene*, which the narrator states "likest...to an *Hyena* was, / That feeds on wemens flesh, as others feede on gras" (3.7.22.8-9). In annotating the witch's beast, A. C. Hamilton points to the Geneva gloss on Ecclesiasticus 13.19 that defines the hyena as "a wilde beast [that] counterfaiteth the voyce of men, and so entiseth the[m] out of their houses and deuoureth them," just as the crocodile lures the hapless traveller closer with tears.

To John Florio, in *Florios Second Frvtes* (1591), women

are like Cocodrills,  
They weepe to winne, and wonne they cause to dye,  
Follow men flying and men following flye. (Z4r)



John Derricke, in The image of Irelande (1581), adds a further political dimension to the simile when he compares the dangers the English face in consorting too trustingly with foreign Irish nymphs to those of taking a crocodile to one's bed: an image of deceptive otherness. The simile suggests the kind of fraternization that especially concerns Derricke (C1v). Drayton also employs the crocodile during a lover's tirade in Ideas Mirrour (1594) that deserves quoting in full:

Three sorts of serpents doe resemble thee;  
That dangerous eye-killing Cockatrice,  
Th'enchanted Syren, which doth so entice,  
The weeping Crocodile; these vile pernicious three.  
The Basiliske his nature takes from thee,  
Who for my life in secret wait do'st lye,  
And to my heart send'st poyson from thine eye:  
Thus do I feele the paine, the cause yet cannot see.  
Faire-mayd no more, but Mayr-maid be thy name,  
Who with thy sweet aluring harmony  
Hast playd the thiefe, and stolne my hart from me,  
And, like a Tyrant, mak'st my griefe thy game.  
The Crocodile, who when thou has me slaine,  
Lament'st my death with teares of thy disdain. (1: 113)

Each of the “three sorts of serpents” the speaker uses here in *Amour* 30 as points of comparison with Idea's perceived cruelty is assumed to be, by nature, vile and pernicious. Each is also associated with the traits the lover laments in Idea: the killing glance, the voice drawing the lover to destruction, and the hypocritical tears. Drayton includes a zoological doublet in the crocodile and basilisk or cockatrice, and thereby indirectly evokes a reproachful slang term of the period for prostitutes, “cockatrices” (“Cockatrice,” def. 3). I presume the term refers to the deceit of the crocodile, the hellish gaping mouth of the beast (“hell” has many such gendered overtones), and the perils of the basilisk, which can kill with both its glance and its diseased breath (Figures 15 and 16). Moreover, Idea is not unlike Duessa in being “faire-mayd no more, but Mayr-maid” or siren: a hybrid creature transgressing boundaries of being, notably thought by Drayton to be a serpent along with the crocodile and basilisk. Batman admits that some call sirens serpents (Batman Ttt2r). The tag also reveals Idea's sexual history, at least in the vitriolic mind of the speaker: like “cockatrice,” “mermaid” (“Mayr-maid”) was sixteenth- and seventeenth-century slang for a prostitute (“Mermaid,” def. 3a). The word also



Figure 16. Cockatrice (Basiliscus), woodcut from Laurence Andrew, The noble lyfe a[n]d natures of man Of bestes, serpentys, fowles a[n]d fisshes [that] be moste knowen (Antwerp, c.1527) L2r.

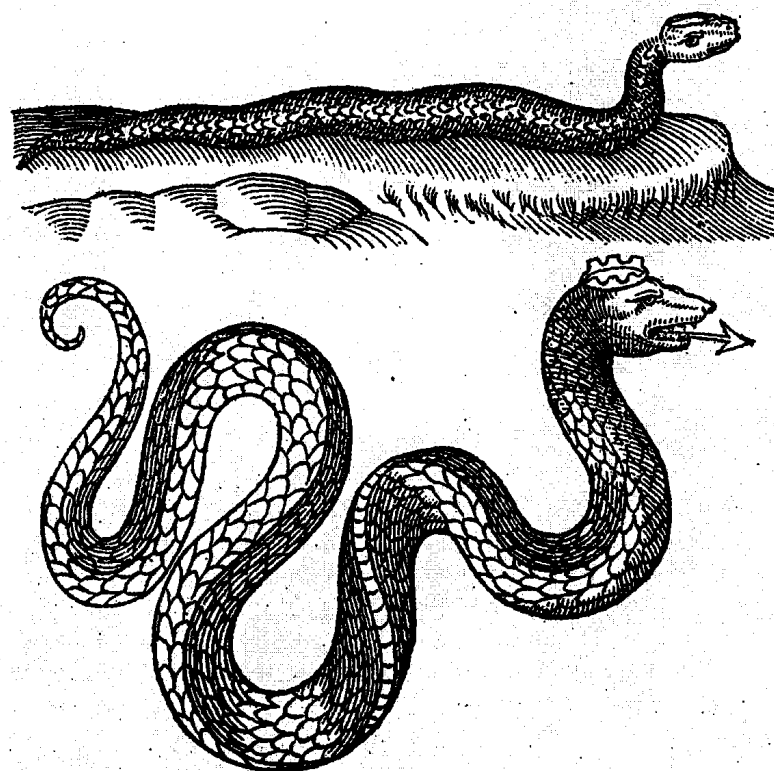


Figure 17. Cockatrice, woodcut from Edward Topsell, The Historie of Serpents (London, 1608) L6r.

carries a weak secondary pun, suggested by Drayton's parallel structure of "faire-mayd" and "Mayr-maid," where the reader expects a descriptive term attached to the second "maid," as with the first. In this pun, Idea is maid no more, but "marred maid," which thoroughly dismays the would-be lover. The unspoken finale of the crocodile trope, the beast weeping while it eats its human victim, offers a disturbing cannibalistic postscript to the poem, and suggests another bitter and hybrid name for Idea: harpy. For Mantuan, Florio, Derricke, and Drayton in these poems, the characteristic point of similarity between women and crocodiles is hypocrisy. Of course, as with the supposed sexual excesses of the lioness, misogyny has nothing to do with the real animal but is instead a symptom of early modern natural history's practice of remaking of animals in a human image: not anthropomorphized, but instead placed within a recognizably human system of values. The habits, conduct, and nature of the crocodile are interpreted according to human cultural and social constructs---here, a tradition of misogynist rhetoric about hypocrisy and love.<sup>68</sup>

Drayton groups the crocodile, cockatrice, and siren together as a kind of trinity of feminine guile, where the dangers of the first two clearly depend upon the creatures' eyes--the tears of the one and the gaze of the other--while the danger posed by the siren usually derives from her song. The three are common derogatory terms for hypocritical women in writing of the period; "All histories are full of these Basiliskes," Robert Burton clucks with regret (3: 49). As such, Spenser's crocodile tears simile would then seem to be just another comment on Duessa's duplicity particularly as a woman, with a sidelong glance at her dubious sexual morality through the crocodile's connections with the

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<sup>68</sup> "Crocodile tears" remain a byword for deceitfulness, and not just in English. But for the record, and in the crocodile's defence, although the creatures do weep, they do so only under the most guileless of circumstances. Clifford B. Moore, observing crocodilians in the Forest Park Museum of Springfield, Massachusetts during the early 1950s, remarks that "crocodile tears" are a purely involuntary reaction in struggling to swallow oversized morsels of food: in spite of having a formidable collection of teeth, crocodilians "can do little in the way of tearing their food into smaller portions," and in straining to swallow "an especially oversized fish or frog," the creatures Moore observed would shed tears whilst choking down their prey (228). The same tears have been known to fall on human cheeks, hypocritical or otherwise. Moreover, the lachrymal ducts and salivary glands in the crocodile are situated so closely together that the action of the one involves the secretion of the other, even when tackling more manageable portions of food. Among humans, such weeping in parallel with salivation occurs most often as a result of nerve damage through facial paralysis. The Russian neurologist F. A. Bogorad published the first full description of the phenomenon in 1928, and the condition is variously known as Bogorad's syndrome, the gusto-lachrymal reflex, and crocodile tears (Bogorad's own term for it). Bogorad's paper first appeared in Russian in *Vrachebnoe delo* 11 (1928): 1328-30. The most readily-accessible English language version of the paper is that introduced and translated by Austin Seckersen.

cockatrice. But, interestingly, the crocodile of Spenser's simile is male; the tears are a cover for "*his harmefull guile*" (my emphasis). What is more, Drayton is not alone in his associating the crocodile, cockatrice, and mermaid with one another---though notably not always as slurs against women. Spenser's description of Duessa *déshabillé*, shorn of both clothes and human good looks, recalls Dante's dream of the similarly deformed siren in Purgatorio 19. Gloucester intends to wet his cheeks with crocodilian artificial tears and includes the siren and the basilisk among the animals and classical exemplars whose cunning and villainy he vows to surpass in 3 Henry 6 (3.2.184ff). In The second part of the anatomie of abuses (1583), Philip Stubbes groups all three creatures together when Theodorus the Idumean muses upon the dangers of flattery:

The sweeter the Syren singeth, the dangerouser is it to lend hir our eares:  
the Cocatrice neuer meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth vpon  
thee, and weepeth, then take heed, for he meaneth to sucke thy bloud.  
(B6v)

Stubbes, perhaps conscious of the linguistic connections between the animals, elides crocodile and cockatrice to create a weeping (male) basilisk with vampiric tastes. On the other hand, the Puritan clergyman William Burton (in one of his printed sermons of 1602) combines the creatures in different proportions to describe how sin "poysoneth like the Crocodile with his very sight and countenance" (M2r). What emerges from all these examples is a sense of how permeable the identities of crocodiles and cockatrices were with one another, and how often sirens or mermaids are associated with either or both.<sup>69</sup> "Crocodile" and "cockatrice," in particular, become very nearly synonymous.

Spenser, however, complicates and transcends the gendered associations of crocodile and cockatrice/basilisk through his cumulative hermeneutics. If indeed crocodilian derivatives like the cockatrice cannot be dissociated from the crocodile, then the crocodile continues to be evoked alongside the cockatrice, even when the amphibious reptile does not obviously appear in Spenser's verse. Spenser mentions only one basilisk in The Faerie Queene, and then in association with a male character in the poem. Placidus, bearing a dwarf with him, suddenly rides in upon Arthur and his party at 4.8,

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<sup>69</sup> See Katherine Duncan-Jones for an intriguing discussion of the possible connections between the tears of sirens and crocodiles in Shakespeare's Sonnet 119 and the spread of infectious disease. More study along these lines needs to be done on the sonnet.

crying out for aid. Placidus loves Poena, the daughter of Corflambo, who enters the canto in swift pursuit of his daughter's lover. The narrator describes Corflambo as

a mightie man...  
 Ryding vpon a Dromedare on hie,  
 Of stature huge, and horrible of hew,  
 That would haue maz'd a man his dreadfull face to vew. (4.8.38.6-9)

Corflambo's power to "maze" those who look upon him comes chiefly from his gaze:

For from his fearefull eyes two fierie beames,  
 More sharpe then points of needles did proceede,  
 Shooting forth farre away two flaming streames,  
 Full of sad powre, that poysonous bale did breede  
 To all, that on him lookt without good heed,  
 And secretly his enemies did slay:  
 Like as the Basiliske of serpents seede,  
 From powrefull eyes close venim doth conuay  
 Into the lookers hart, and killeth farre away. (4.8.39)

Corflambo represents lust, as his name suggests: in the usual gloss, Latin *cor*, "heart," combines with French *flambeau*, "torch," to create a name that also describes his method of attack, "shooting forth farre away two flaming streames...into the lookers hart," like the glance of the basilisk. Although Naseeb Shaheen (inexplicably) suggests a parallel between them and the eyes of the Word of God that "were as a flame of fyre" at Revelation 19.12 (133), Corflambo's "flaming streames" shooting into the viewer's heart more properly owe their existence to that theory of optics perhaps most familiar from the intimately twisted eyebeams of Donne's "The Extasie" (7-8). Spenser illustrates the theory in his description of the "two goodly Beacons, set in watches stead," which burn at the Castle of Alma and are the subject of the narrator's admiration (FQ 2.9.46.3). Here, in contrast, the light emanating from Corflambo's eyes brings only death.

Spenser derives his basilisk simile from "The Parson's Tale" in The Canterbury Tales. Spenser shares with Chaucer an interest in the function of sight as a tool of desire. As the Parson warns,

The firste fynger [of the Devil] is the fool lookynge of the fool womman  
 and of the fool man; that sleeth, right as the basilicok sleeth folk by the  
 venym of his sighte, for the coveitise of eyen folweth the coveitise of the  
 herte. (853)

In Chaucer's "basilicok," the augmentative "-ok" irresistibly recalls "cock," showing the blurring on a philological level between "basilisk," "cockatrice," and "crocodile" (or

“cocodrill,” as in Florio) that is both cause and symptom of the creatures’ confused cultural identities. The danger inherent in the eyes is the common theme. Spenser also follows Chaucer in insisting that desirous looks are secretive looks, as projections of the secret desires of the heart (cf. Matthew 15.19). Spenser groups several motifs around Corflambo and the basilisk that he employs elsewhere in the poem, particularly the burning heart and the dangers of sight, especially secretive sight. The image of the burning heart already appeared in the description of Lechery, who

in his hand a burning hart he bare,  
Full of vaine follies, and new fanglennesse:  
For he was false, and fraught with ficklennesse,  
And learned had to loue with secret lookes. (FQ 1.4.25.3-6)

Corflambo, like most of Spenser’s allegorical personifications of sin, suffers from the very threat he poses to other characters; like Lechery, he is “corflambo” not only in name, but also in nature. The narrator remarks of Corflambo that

For most of strength and beautie his desire  
Was spoyle to make, and wast them vnto nought,  
By casting secret flakes of lustfull fire  
From his false eyes, into their harts and parts entire. (4.8.48.6-9)

Where else do these “secret flakes of lustfull fire” come from, except from Corflambo’s own flaming heart and “parts entire”? The flaming heart represents in physical terms the lust Corflambo and Lechery personify, translating the metaphoric cliché of “burning” with passion into an emblem. Notice, too, the emphasis Spenser places on secretiveness: it is with “secret flakes” of fire that Corflambo “secretly his enemies did slay,” and it is with “secret lookes” that Lechery had learned to fuel his desires.

Because it implies transgression (moral or social or both), secrecy and what may be done in secret through the inspiration of furtive glances therefore befits the lecherous desire Corflambo represents (to say nothing of the “secret parts” so vital to such desire). “A secret loue or two I must confesse,” says the wife in a song by Thomas Campion, where “secret” clearly means adulterous (M2v). Spenser shares St. Paul’s discomfort with secret deeds--what the Apostle calls “workes of darkenes”--because they are done in secret and because of their association with evil. Paul specifically contrasts walking honestly in the light with the secret acts of “chambering and wantonnes” (Romans 13.12-13). These acts are the sort of “sad louers nightly theeueryes” Britomart sees woven into

the tapestries displayed at the House of Busirane (FQ 3.11.45.9). The secrecy, however, implies desire perhaps even more than action: lust in thought and word, as well as deed. On Guyon's "sparkling face," for example, "the secrete signes of kindled lust appeare" while he ogles the two naked women frolicking in the fountain on his way to the Bower of Bliss (2.12.68.5-6). Guyon commits adultery in his heart, as Jimmy Carter famously confessed, without actually wading in to join the bathers.

Moreover, the secret dangers of the gaze are not limited to lustfulness, nor are they merely moral. Theresa M. Krier points out that in Spenser's works, "the display of feminine beauty is understood as an instrument of control over victims who respond with reflexes only, like animals, to visual stimuli" (206). With this construction of beauty as a peril, Spenser participates in a tradition that poets for centuries have employed imagery involving the eyes as weapons or vulnerabilities alternately in love poetry as a means of addressing the power relations between lover and beloved. Petrarch's Sonnet 3 serves as an epitome of the tradition:

Trovommi Amor del tutto disarmato  
et aperta la via per gli occhi al core  
che di lagrime son fatti uscio e varco. (9-11)

Love found me completely disarmed  
and the way to my heart open through my eyes,  
which are now the door and passage of tears.

Love captures the speaker, entering in through the postern door of his eyes and seizing his heart. Love accomplishes this invasion, however, only by means of Laura's own beautiful eyes, which the speaker identifies with Love's arrows. Where her eyes here are Love's weaponry piercing his defences, his eyes are a vulnerable orifice or chink in his armour---first a weakness and then a wound, where the flowing tears (like oozing blood) represent inner harm. According to the influential theories propagated by the Italian Neoplatonists, however, basic attraction has perils that are manifestly physical, beyond the symbolic wound of love's melancholy. Love enters through the eyes, cast like a beam from the eyes of the beloved, with spirit seeking out spirit. But this light carries a secret taint when projected with the wrong intentions or when received with an impure spirit. Spenser makes a distinction between kinds of love, which may broadly be called "love" and "lust." For example, Spenser remarks in Sonnet 8 of his Amoretti that, unlike in some

romances where Cupid employs the beloved's "bright beames...[to] shoot out his darts to base affections wound," in his love, "Angels come to lead fraile mindes to rest / in chaste desires on heauenly beauty bound" (8.5-8). Angels lead frail minds to rest in/on chaste desires; angels also rest or quell "inchaste" desires, binding them instead to heavenly beauty ("Inchaste, a."). Love's arrows, carried by Beauty's beams through the eye, lodge in the heart. In the base-minded, such wounds fester into lust; in the higher-minded, Love leads those so wounded to an ennobling contemplation, as Chaucer in "The Parson's Tale" specifies that it is the "the fool woman" and "the fool man" rather than the wise who are in danger from the lascivious gaze (853).

Marsilio Ficino, in his important mid-1470s commentary on Plato's Symposium, describes how the light sent out from the eyes draws with it a spiritual vapour derived from the blood:

Quid mirum si patefactus oculus, et intentus in aliquem, radiorum suorum aculeos in adstantis oculos iaculatur; atque etiam cum aculeis istis, qui spirituum vehicula sunt, sanguinem vaporem illum, quem spiritum nuncupamus, intendit? Hinc virulentus aculeus transverberat oculos; cumque a corde percutientis mittatur, hominis percussi praecordia, quasi regionem propriam repetit; cor vulnerat, inque eius duriori dorso hebescit, reditque in sanguinem. Peregrinus hic sanguis a saucii hominis natura quoddammodo alienus, sanguinem eius proprium inficit, infectus sanguis aegrotat. (De Amore 1358)

What wonder is it if the eye, wide open and fixed upon someone, shoots the darts of its own rays into the eyes of the bystander, and along with those darts, which are the vehicles of the spirits, aims that sanguine vapour which we call spirit? Hence the poisoned dart pierces through the eyes, and since it is shot from the heart of the shooter, it seeks again the heart of the man being shot, as its proper home; it wounds the heart, but in the heart's hard back wall it is blunted and turns back into blood. This foreign blood, being somewhat foreign to the nature of the wounded man, infects his blood. The infected blood becomes sick. (Commentary 160)

The corruption spread through sight is how Ficino not only explains why love is a kind of bewitchment or *furor*, but also how contagious diseases are spread; one need only think of the particular threat posed by "the evil eye" of folklore, which acts as a kind of trap for anyone caught in its gaze. The contagion begins in one heart, but spreads to others through the unwitting sharing of sanguine vapour. This theory justifies a fallacious but typical argument that places the blame for lustful thoughts on the object of desire, just as



the basilisk is the poisonous source of the viewer's fate. Agency is given entirely to the beloved, who then holds the lover in thrall through the fascination of a deadly gaze, infecting the lover with the secret wound of love, lust, and alien bodily fluids. The beloved dazzles the lover, thereby debasing the viewer, just as Corflambo "mazes" those who catch or are caught in his eye, killing them. This vaporous gaze also explains the poison Drayton's speaker complains Idea sends from her eye.

From the beginning of his description of the frolic in the fountain witnessed by Guyon and the Palmer, Spenser emphasizes the deliberation with which the naked women "th'amarous sweet spoiles to greedy eyes reuele" (EQ 2.12.64.9). Their exhibitionism becomes a kind of gaze projected out for the eye of any unwitting viewer. Moreover, the women both "stood / Gazing a while" (2.12.66.1-2) at Guyon as he observes them with his "wandring eyes" (2.12.69.2), showing him "many sights, that courage cold could reare" in the process (2.12.68.9). Guyon's resolve falters but does not fail, thanks to the Palmer. But the hesitating moment of voyeurism and exhibitionism serves as a type for the central debasing threat of Book 2, Acrasia, who is discovered (in a deliberate echo of the earlier passage) with "her snowy brest...bare to readie spoyle / Of hungrie eies" (2.12.78.1-2). The fate of Gryll and Acrasia's other former lovers demonstrates Krier's point about Spenser's interest in the dehumanizing effect of beauty upon the susceptible, "according to their mindes like monstrous" (2.12.85.5).

In describing Acrasia herself, Spenser again emphasizes the danger of the gaze--both that of Acrasia, and that of those who look upon her--but also suggests a crocodilian hypocrisy in the sorceress, as well as a siren-like seductiveness. Guyon and the Palmer find Acrasia entwined with the knight Verdant,

right ouer him she hong,  
 With her false eyes fast fixed in his sight,  
 As seeking medicine, whence she was stong,  
 Or greedily depasturing delight:  
 And oft inclining downe with kisses light,  
 For feare of waking him, his lips bedewd,  
 And through his humid eyes did sucke his spright,  
 Quite molten into lust and pleasure lewd;  
 Wherewith she sighed soft, as if his case she rewd. (2.12.73)

At the beginning of the stanza, the gaze appears to be shared: Acrasia hangs over her lover, looking into his face, while Verdant has her eyes "fast fixed in his sight," in a

moment of mutual post-coital bliss. The rest of the stanza, however, reveals the ambiguity of Spenser's initial diction and the potential for eroticism, horror, and pathos in the vaporous gaze. Rather than the knight's having the lady's eyes in his gaze, it is Acrasia who has "fast fixed" her eyes in his sight, seemingly seeking medicine or pasture from the source of love's sting (though whatever sting Verdant may have once possessed has long since been drawn). The term also echoes the idea of a snake bite: serpentine basilisk, serpentine crocodile, and the serpent offering the temptation that spoils Eden. Spenser ends the stanza with a suggestion of Acrasia's crocodilian hypocrisy, sighing "as if" she rued Verdant's predicament. One wonders whether the sirens also sang songs of mourning as their victims' ships were wrecked.

A. Bartlett Giamatti calls Acrasia "vampirish" in her actions, and the word rings true, even though she drains spirit through her fixed gaze rather than through teeth fixed in Verdant's carotid artery (Earthly 279). She is like the cockatrice Stubbes describes, and Spenser may well have had that basilisk in mind or thought along similar lines as Stubbes in describing Acrasia. Though Verdant's eyes are closed, either in sleep or in the unconsciousness of a fascinated trance, Acrasia can still "sucke his spright" through his eyelids---a discomfiting interpretation of the exchange of bodily fluids that marks both the amorous gaze and the sexual union it both prefigures and represents. Sheila T. Cavanagh pursues Giamatti's term and, taking her cue from the fellatory terms with which Spenser describes Acrasia's actions, sees the roots of the enchantress's spright-sucking tendencies in traditional stories about succubi collecting human semen for their own nefarious purposes. She also reminds modern readers that to early modern physiological theory, blood and semen were considered interrelated substances central to (male) life-force (49-53). Cavanagh and Giamatti rightly direct readers to the horror of Acrasia's gaze and its psychocultural folkloric resonances, but such an interpretation must be set in the context of the theories of amorous optics exemplified by Ficino.

I argue that Spenser invites his readers to reread Acrasia and the Bower through this portrayal of desire by repeating memorable words from the epic in An Hymne in Honour of Love, the first of the Fowre Hymnes (1596). Here, Spenser details Cupid's war-making in terms of amorous optics that immediately recall the lavish attentions

Acrasia pays to Verdant. Cupid, “that imperious boy,” observing the emotional extremes to which “Beauties glorious beame” drives human beings,

Doth therwith tip his sharp empoised darts;  
Which glancing through the eyes with countenance coy,  
Rest not, till they haue pierst the trembling harts,  
And kindled flame in all their inner parts,  
Which suckes the blood, and drinketh vp the lyfe  
Of carefull wretches with consuming grieffe. (116-26)

Spenser startles the reader in his depiction of deleterious love. Cupid’s arrows burrow like parasites into the hearts of unfortunate lovers, sucking up the blood and drinking up the life of such “carefull wretches,” all the while like Corflambo setting fire to their inner parts. Like Acrasia’s gaze, the “empoised darts” symbolize the tainted eye beams of Neoplatonic theories of love. “Suck” and its derivatives do not in general have positive overtones in Spenser’s lexicon. Of the seventeen instances of the word in Spenser’s poetic corpus, six relate to mothers of various sorts giving suck to children, while the other eleven have life-draining overtones, as here and in the Bower of Bliss. In the hymn, Spenser makes a distinction between those who use earthly desire as a step towards heavenly love, and those content with “dunghill thoughts” and “no higher dare aspyre” (183-84) than “the reach of loathly sinfull lust” (179). The “dunghill thoughts” recall the Palmer’s judgement on Gryll: “The donghill kinde / Delightes in filth and fowle incontinence” (FQ 2.12.87.6-7). Spenser spreads the responsibility: however dangerous Acrasia, Corflambo, or Cupid’s arsenal undoubtedly are, the lover or “victim” bears responsibility for what gets done with desire.

As the presiding figure at the centre of the Bower of Bliss, Acrasia would be expected to be the personification of desire and desirability, and as such a personification, her gaze should then appear (as Krier puts it) “to imply the mutual enkindling of the souls of beloved and awed lover” of Renaissance Neoplatonism (110). But as her name suggests, Acrasia represents an excessive, intemperate extreme in love: an exaggerated version of Stella, Idea, Delia, or even the poetic fiction who is Elizabeth Boyle in *Amoretti*, the “fayre cruell” whose “imperious eyes...kill with looks, as Cockatrices doo” (49.6-10). Acrasia’s gaze, bringing about a debasing metamorphosis from man to beast in her lovers, stands as a concentrated, almost parodic summary of those Petrarchan conceits emphasizing male vulnerability to the female gaze and the dangers of an untempered

reaction to desire. Spenser critiques the trope through Acrasia's gaze in three ways. First, Spenser makes it clear that those among her lovers who have been transformed into animals now merely match their outer persons with their inward selves, suggesting ambivalence in the usual balance of power between disdainful beloved and abject lover; Gryll was a pig already, long before he was caught in the fast fixed gaze of the enchantress.

Second, like Corflambo, Acrasia suffers from what she represents, "desire as an enervating drive," as Krier puts it (110). Spenser again and again describes desirous looks as greedy or hungry---the bathing women display their nudity for the benefit of "greedy eyes" (FQ 2.12.65.9); Acrasia's breast is bare to "hungrie eies" (2.12.78.2); and the sight of Florimel is the "secret sting of greedy lust" for the fisherman in his boat (3.8.25.2); to name but a few of many instances. It is not by chance that one of the perils Guyon and the Palmer must face on their way to Bower of Bliss is the Gulf of Greediness. Spenser portrays lust (to give this intemperate desire its proper name) as something never satisfied, and herein lies the pathos of the amorous gaze. Acrasia's own eyes, the narrator reports, "moistened their fierie beames, with which she thrild / Fraile harts, yet quenched not" (2.12.78.7-8). The moistening suggests the sanguine vapours carried by the eye beams, but hints at crocodile-like tears ("as if his case she rewd") or the moistened lips (on her face or elsewhere) with which she kisses and sucks her lovers. The greed with which she does so marks the ardour of her desires and the fierceness of her own eyes' fiery basilisk beams; greed also is a crocodilian trait. In one of his adages, "Crocodili lachrymae," Erasmus states that once a crocodile has lured a man to his death and eaten everything except his head, the creature then weeps to soften up the head to make it more palatable (2.4.60). Tears serve as a marinade for the Erasmian crocodile, just as they serve as sauce for Acrasia's purposes; having finished off Verdant's body, she now concentrates on his head.

"Quenched" suggests the usual Elizabethan puns on death, though it is unclear whether this means that the desire enflamed by Acrasia is never brought to a climactic head or that such desire remains unsated, whatever the physical means taken (a commonplace of amatory verse from the Catullan *da mi basia mille* onwards). Like the secret flames fanned by Corflambo, this desire may remain just that: desire. What is clear

is that moistening does not dampen them. When Acrasia's transformed lovers meet Guyon and the Palmer, they are "gaping full greedily," enacting their unsatisfied desire, "as if that hungers point, or Venus sting / Had them enraged with fell surquedry" (FQ 2.12.39.3-7). In spite of their interactions with Acrasia, the beast-lovers are still hungry. But so also is Acrasia, found "greedily depasturing delight" from Verdant, as if she were seeking medicine (2.12.73.4). "Even for the demonic enchantress," Krier notes, not without sympathy, "eros is a compulsive hunger, a wound requiring healing" (111). Her heart is as frail as that of any of her admirers, and this susceptibility seems part of her allegorical nature.

The third and final way Spenser critiques the trope of male vulnerability to the female gaze is by not limiting the dangers of the gaze just to men before female sight. Sergei Lobanov-Rostovsky argues for the particular association of the basilisk's gaze with threatening female beauty, desirability, and desire in early modern literature, but Spenser expands the paradigm to include all desirous looks, whatever the sex of those who look or are looked upon. For Spenser, men and women are subject to the same dangers in lust, "the shame of men, and plague of womankind" (FQ 4.7.18.5). Spenser reiterates this truth about susceptibility through the personifications of lustful desire in The Faerie Queene, matching such lustful female figures as Malecasta, Duessa, and false Florimel with male ones like Lechery, Corflambo, and Lust, the "wilde and saluage man" (4.7.5.1) who kidnaps Amoret. The description of Lust puts his sex front and centre, complete with a "huge great nose... / Full dreadfully empurpled all with bloud" and scrotum-like elephantine ears (4.7.6.5-6). William A. Oram makes the thought-provoking suggestion that Lust is actually bisexual ("Elizabethan Fact" 42), and cites Lust's "neather lip [that] was not like man nor beast, / But like a wide deep poke, downe hanging low" as something with decidedly female overtones (FQ 4.7.6.1-2). If Lust does possess attributes reminiscent of both female and male genitalia, then the description would emphasize that sexual desire, temperate or otherwise, is something shared by both sexes. Oram remarks that Lust's bisexuality marks him as "a demonic parallel to the bisexual Venus" of 4.10, who stands (in a typically Spenserian pairing) for the proper application of sexual desire ("Elizabethan Fact" 42). Again, Spenser makes a distinction between the ends to which desires are applied.

Beyond the sex of these personifications of intemperate desire, Spenser also makes women as well as men vulnerable to the dangers of the gaze. Britomart falls victim to the male gaze, thereby reversing the Petrarchan commonplace. Gardante, the personification of the first step on the *gradus amoris* (looking at the object of desire), is the only one of Malecasta's knights able to wound Britomart during her escape from Castle Joyous. He does so by shooting her with an "arrow keene": Cupid's weapon of choice, but also the deadly ray of sight made solid (FQ 3.1.65.2). The phallic imagery of such a shot should be obvious enough. Gardante's shot makes literal the figurative wound Britomart gained from Cupid's bow upon first seeing the image of Artegall in her father's magic looking-glass. The figurative wound remains a secret until made physical by Gardante and only then is explained by Britomart to Redcrosse and the reader a canto later. Even in this figurative wounding, Spenser emphasizes the secrecy of love's bowshot and the dubious trustworthiness of such archers: Cupid, "the false Archer," hits Britomart with his arrow "so slyly, that she did not feele the wound." Cupid comes off (as in *An Hymne in Honour of Love*) as a smug villain who "did smyle full smoothly at her weetlesse wofull stound" (FQ 3.2.26.7-9).

Returning then to Corflambo as a male personification of the dangerous amorous gaze: Spenserian scholarship has left Corflambo curiously unremarked upon, yet Spenser creates him from the same set of allegorical structures and assumptions as he did the emblematic Lechery of Book 1 and the much more nuanced Acrasia of Book 2. Whatever the order in which Spenser wrote the books of *The Faerie Queene*, readers encounter Lechery, Acrasia, and Corflambo in turn, creating a sense of deliberate continuity in Spenser's portraits of lustfulness.<sup>70</sup> Because looking and lusting are inexorably linked for Spenser, it is small wonder that the dangers of desire should be represented by the crocodile and cockatrice/basilisk, creatures whose perilousness depends upon their eyes. As with so many other allegorical figures in the poem (particularly those in pursuit of other characters), Corflambo personifies a trait in the characters with whom he interacts--as, by extension, does the basilisk because of the initial simile. In pursuing Placidias,

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<sup>70</sup> Spenser parodies the dangers of the amorous gaze in Book 3 with Malbecco, whose impaired one-eyed gaze clearly cannot set fire to Hellenore's heart (or any other part of her, for that matter), and moreover gets cast in entirely the wrong suspicious direction at dinner. In an act that does more than echo the Troy story, Hellenore demonstrates where Malbecco's own heart truly is by setting his treasure on fire (cf. Matt. 6:21).

Corflambo is more than an overly protective father. He represents the dangers that the knight faces in his desire for Poena, and functions less as an independent figure than as the shadow Placidus cannot escape simply because it is part of himself. Spenser employs one of his famously ambiguous pronouns to acknowledge this mirroring of characters. The narrator describes Corflambo (in a passage I have quoted before) as

a mightie man...  
 Ryding vpon a Dromedare on hie,  
 Of stature huge, and horrible of hew,  
 That would haue maz'd a man his dreadfull face to vew. (4.8.38.6-9)

I take “his dreadfull face” to mean Corflambo’s dreadful face, assuming that “stature huge” and “horrible of hew” refer back to the “mightie man” rather than his dromedary, the second potential possessor of the “dreadfull face.” But Spenser introduces a possible third subject in line 9, “a man,” so that it would have “maz’d” a man to view his own dreadful face, particularly if the lustfulness Corflambo represents is just a facet of that man. Corflambo’s deadly stare and burning heart belong to Placidus; the poison of the basilisk’s gaze comes from within as well as from without.

For his part, Topsell explains how the cockatrice’s “hot and venomous poison” (HS M2r) works upon its victims, relying upon the same Neoplatonic model of optics as that employed by Ficino to explain the amorous gaze. Topsell and Ficino use the same medical anecdote from the classics in order to explain how sanguine vapours can be carried by a look. Ficino cites Aristotle (*De insomniis* 459.b.30), who explains that when women are menstruating, vaporous blood carried by their gaze often condenses on mirrors (1357). Topsell repeats the story of the mirror in describing how the basilisk kills with a glance:

Among all liuing creatures, there is none that perrisheth sooner then dooth a man by the poyson of a Cockatrice, for with his sight he killeth him, because the beames of the Cockatrices eyes, doe corrupt the visible spirit of a man, which visible spirit corrupted, all the other spirits coming from the braine and life of the hart, are thereby corrupted, & so the man dyeth: euen as women in their monthly courses doe vitiat their looking glasses.  
 (HS M3r)

By invoking Aristotle on menstruation, Ficino and Topsell connect the dangers of the gaze (the amorous gaze, the female gaze, and the gaze of the basilisk) with a medical tradition derived from antiquity that acknowledges that although menstrual blood is a

sign of fertility, it is at the same time “a polluting blood, a feature of the imperfect female body whose imperfections mirror the perfections of the male body,” as Peggy McCracken remarks (5).<sup>71</sup> Along with the gender issue, what is also important here is the idea of a pollution that comes from within and is linked to blood. Once “the visible spirit of a man” becomes corrupt, whether from intemperate love or from what Spenser calls the cockatrice’s “close venim,” then all else follows.

Spenser represents this medical domino theory through the burning heart of lust, which itself makes the threat more gender neutral. As I have observed, the usual onomastic gloss on “Corflambo” (and the one offered by A. C. Hamilton and Dorothy Stephens in their respective annotated editions) derives the name from Latin *cor*, “heart” and French *flambeau*, “torch.” This bilingual explanation ignores several punning alternate meanings that Spenser embeds in the name, however, including ones that deepen and extend the similitude between the basilisk and Corflambo. The monolingual French derivation Thomas P. Roche, Jr. proposes in his edition of the poem, *Coeur-flambeau* (heart enflamed), fulfills the same function as the Latin-French hybrid and shows the way in which I suggest Spenser intended the name to be interpreted. By extending a French-only gloss to include homonyms, “Corflambo” then encompasses not only the primary meaning *Coeur-flambeau* (heart enflamed), but also *Corps-flambeau* (body enflamed) and *Cor-flambeau* (horn enflamed). The last hints at an element of cuckoldry in the torturous desire kindled by Corflambo: fire consumes itself, just as Malbecco gnaws out his own innards forevermore as Gealosie, lately crowned with a pair of cuckold’s horns like the “bunch on the toppe of the head” of the cockatrice (Topsell, HS M2r; see Figure 17). *Corps-flambeau* seems a more probable pun, however: Corflambo’s “secret flakes of lustfull fire” travel from his eyes through the eyes of his victims and “into their harts and parts entire,” spreading like the poison of the cockatrice or the tainted blood of Neoplatonic optics (FQ 4.8.48.8-9). Like Acrasia, Corflambo personifies desire and (perhaps more importantly) the mechanics of desire: desire begins with *Coeur-flambeau*, and as the “poysonous bale” spreads, becomes *Corps-flambeau*,

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<sup>71</sup> Marion A. Wells plausibly suggests that Aristotle’s anecdote also informs Spenser’s treatment of Britomart’s “wounding” in the mirror, leading to the character’s self-confessed “bleeding bowels,” associated by many critics with both love pangs and the onset of Britomart’s menstruation (3.2.39.2); see Wells 232.



thereby spoiling strength and beauty, secretly killing from within (4.8.39.4). Spenser's vocabulary of intemperate desire is one of poison. The basilisk simile depends on more than a shared gaze; the similitude extends to tropes of contamination and infection.

As Colin Milburn has argued, these tropes of contamination in The Faerie Queene resonate with the descriptions of pox infection by early modern medical authors. "Pox" and "clap" were used indiscriminately as terms for syphilis and gonorrhea, reflecting confusion between these diseases prevalent in the medical literature of the period passed on to general society (Fabricius 255). The most common example of this confusion between the two diseases is the metaphor of burning, shared by both lay and medical writers,<sup>72</sup> which extends to include fiery terms for those who carry the pox: "devils," "demons," and even "angels." In Corflambo, Spenser shows his concern with what Michael C. Schoenfeldt calls the "relationship between physiology and morality, between matters of the body and conditions of the spirit" (Bodies 40-41). By setting fire to hearts and bodies from the torch that is his own body, Corflambo represents not just a moral threat, nor yet just a theoretical Neoplatonic peril; he represents an immediate physical danger of infection by sexually transmitted disease.

Corflambo's specifically *basilisk* gaze aligns him with the pox. The corruption introduced by Corflambo's gaze matches the corruption of the blood commonly thought to be the source of the pox. The German humanist and medical writer Ulrich von Hutten (in Thomas Paynell's translation of the 1530s) remarks that "this infirmitie cometh of corrupt, burnt, and enfect blod," adding that "this sicknes is no other thinge, but a postumation & rotting of vnpure blod" (A4r). Moreover, the natural historians always call the basilisk a serpent, like the crocodile. Two of the earliest important authors concerned with syphilis, Girolamo Fracastoro and Diaz de Ysla, typify the disease in serpentine terms. For Fracastoro, in his three-book Latin poem that gave the disease its name, Syphilidis, sive morbi gallici (Verona, 1530), it is "serpentem tacite...labem," "a silently snaking sickness" (2.75), and "serpentem...pestem," "the serpent plague" (2.244). Diaz de Ysla calls it "the serpentine disease" in his 1539 account of syphilis, Tractado contra el mal serpentino, the first medical text exclusively devoted to the study of that disease

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<sup>72</sup> It is difficult, for example, not to read Pyrochles's cry of "I burne, I burne, I burne...O how I burne with implacable fire" as a plaintive (if anachronistic) cry for penicillin (FQ 2.6.44.1-2).

(de Ricon-Ferraz 222ff). English authors took up the metaphor. Thomas Dekker, for example, laments that “so dangerous a Serpent shootes his ranckling stinges into...our bosomes” as the pox (59). These terms recall the stings of Cupid’s arrows, as well as Acrasia’s state of being “stong” (FQ 2.12.73.3). Corflambo’s basilisk gaze marks him as serpentine, but he is also poxy in the infectious “poysonous bale” and “secret flakes of lustfull fire” he introduces into his victims’ bodies, destroying those bodies in ways similar to syphilis and gonorrhea. The “flakes of lustfull fire” are specifically “secret” not just because of the clandestine nature of lust, but also because of the shameful nature of poxed infection. Corflambo also has a French name (taking only the monolingual gloss), and as Paul G. Brewster remarks, “Allusions to a supposed French origin [for the pox] are endless” in texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (484). The disease is frankly “the French pockes” to von Hutten and “the French disease,” *morbus gallicus*, to Fracastoro in the very titles of their works: a “self-exculpatory nomenclature,” in Wallace Shugg’s perceptive phrase (311), and grist to traditional English xenophobic mills.<sup>73</sup>

Serpentine, infectious, and French (at least in name), Corflambo chases love-struck Placidus, stalking him as the embodiment of the dangers bound up in desire. But in comparing Corflambo to a basilisk, Spenser also compares him to a cockatrice (given the interchangeable nature of the terms), and so, to revert to Drayton’s poem and the slang meaning of at least two (if not all three) of the sorts of serpent in the sonnet, Spenser here deliberately recalls prostitution and the dangers of infection associated with prostitutes. The numerous Elizabethan tracts railing against promiscuity and the dangers of loose city life employ the same serpentine terms and figures of sanguine corruption as Spenser does in describing Corflambo. To take one example: in Henry Chettle’s Kind-harts dreame (1593), the ghost of Anthony Now appears to Kindhart the tooth-drawer, asleep in a Finsbury taphouse, and presents a diatribe against prostitution that depends upon both the slang and contemporary zoological significance of the basilisk. The spectre begins with an aphoristic statement from natural history:

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<sup>73</sup> The modern critical writings dealing with syphilis, gonorrhea, “the pox,” and their impression on Renaissance culture are legion. Beyond the works cited here, I would add Greg W. Bentley, and especially Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and Roger French’s comprehensive The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe, which is, to date, the standard historical work on the idea of the pox (rather than a history of the disease). Self-exculpatory nomenclature still exists, of course, at least in popular interpretations of the names of diseases, where blame gets shuffled off according to geography (German measles, Spanish influenza) or even species (Avian ‘flu).

The Basiliske woundeth a man by the eie, whose light first failing the body of force descends to darknes. These Basilisks, these bad minded monsters, brought forth like vipers by their mothers bane, with such lasciuious lewdnes haue first infected London the eie of England, the head of other Cities, as what is so lewd that hath not there contrary to order beene printed, and in euery streete abusiuely chanted. (C1v)

Chettle imagines England as a body, with London as an eye vulnerable to the basilisk---vulnerable to the poisonous gaze of the basilisk of natural history, as well as the dangers of gazing with desire upon the cockatrices of the street (as with Ficino, placing the blame for lechery upon the object of desire), along with whatever serpentine diseases such “bad minded monsters” carry to the harm of Chettle’s imagined audience of “gentlemen readers” (so identified in his dedicatory epistle) who tangle with them. Again, the figure seems at once to exculpate the possessor of the eye from blame and place all the guilt on the eye as the entryway for sin and disease. Spenser’s Corflambo may not be precisely the same kind of basilisk as those of Chettle’s tract, nor yet the same as Drayton’s poem, but he must be their brother. Though London’s cockatrices are female, Spenser reminds his readers that the moral and physical dangers they so often represent in Elizabethan discourse are not limited to one sex. The basilisk of Spenser’s Corflambo simile has simultaneous psychological, moral, and physical meanings that cut across lines of gender representation.

#### IV Error and the Nile

Spenser’s crocodile tears simile for Duessa is one of two references to the Nile in Book 1 of The Faerie Queene. The first, and perhaps most famous, occurs when Redcrosse Knight chokes Error in the first canto:

Therewith she spewd out of her filthy maw  
A floud of poyson horrible and blacke,  
Full of great lumpes of flesh and gobbets raw,  
Which stunck so vildly, that it forst him slacke  
His grasping hold, and from her turne him backe:  
Her vomit full of bookes and papers was,  
With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke,  
And creeping sought way in the weedy gras:  
Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has.

As when old father Nilus gins to swell  
 With timely pride aboue the Aegyptian vale,  
 His fattie waues do fertile slime outwell,  
 And ouerflow each plaine and lowly dale:  
 But when his later spring gins to auale,  
 Huge heapes of mudd he leaues, wherein there breed  
 Ten thousand kindes of creatures, partly male  
 And partly female of his fruitfull seed;  
 Such vgly monstrous shapes elsewhere may no man reed. (FQ 1.1.20-21)

How are we to take this simile? Spenser is unequivocal about the horror of Error's vomit; as the tenor of the simile, the "floud of poyson horrible," threatens to overwhelm the vehicle. What may be called an unusual but natural process for early modern natural history, the abiogenesis or spontaneous generation engendered by the flooding of the Nile, becomes a grotesque spectacle, and the fruits of that spontaneous generation's "vgly monstrous shapes" are worth being the point of comparison with Error's "filthy parbreake." Spenser follows tradition by singling out the Nile as a place particularly prone to abiogenesis.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, in observing that the "Ten thousand kindes of creatures" engendered by the Nile in that dual element mud are "partly male / And partly female," Spenser seems to suggest not just that some of the creatures are female and some are male, but also that "such vgly monstrous shapes" are themselves hybrid animals of both sexes.

But we must not overlook the fact that the Nile brings us back to the crocodile. In spite of the reports of crocodiles (or, more accurately, alligators) in the New World brought back to England, the crocodile was pre-eminently a creature of the Nile. These New World reports are noteworthy, not necessarily for their strictly zoological value, but for what they show concerning how far Old World crocodile lore became calqued onto the alligators of the Americas; natural history clearly is portable knowledge. Sir John Hawkins, for example, describes in what by now are familiar terms the "Crocodils of sundry bignesses" he saw in the Caribbean:

His nature is ever when hee would have his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this proverbe that is applied unto women when they weep, *Lacrymae Crocodili*. (33)

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<sup>74</sup> In fact, every mention of the Nile by name in both the 1590 and 1596 versions of *The Faerie Queene* relates to abiogenesis, apart from that in Duessa's crocodile simile.

Another interesting report comes from Ulrich Schmidl (or Schmidel), a German conquistador who spent twenty years in South America in the service of Charles V. He comments upon what is known about the creature he calls a crocodile in his 1567 memoirs (here in Joël Lefebvre's French translation of Schmidl's German):

On dit aussi qu'on le trouve dans les sources, où il nait spontanément, et que le seul moyen de le tuer est de lui présenter un miroir pour qu'il s'y voie et qu'alors l'horreur de sa propre image le fait mourir sur-le-champ. Mais tout ce qu'on dit de ce poisson n'est que fable et néant. Car si cela était vrai, je serais mort cent fois, car j'en ai pris et mangé plus de trois mille. (qtd. Lefebvre 104)

It is also said that it is found in springs, where it is born spontaneously, and that the only method of killing it is to show it a mirror so that it sees itself, and the horror of its own image kills it on the spot. But everything said of this fish is but empty fable; for if it were true, I would have died a hundred times, since I have caught and eaten more than three thousand of them.

Schmidl's remarks show the application of Old World knowledge and assumptions about animals to New World wild life. His remarks demonstrate the continued confusion between the crocodile and the cockatrice, and the familiar ghost of the Nile's generative powers haunting waters far from Egypt.<sup>75</sup> Both Schmidl and Hawkins also show the tendency for animal lore to be grouped together: confronted with a crocodile-like creature on the other side of the Atlantic, early modern Europeans presume the beast has all the same attributes as its more familiar cousin, including the nature of its environment. If the alligator looks like a crocodile, then the river it lives in must also be like the Nile, so close is the association between animal and habitat. Topsell describes how the Egyptians know when the flooding of the Nile is about to take place, for crocodiles through some special knowledge lay their eggs beyond the reach of the flood just before it happens.

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<sup>75</sup> Schmidl's work reached a wider European readership when it was published in a Latin translation, *Vera historia admirandae nauigationis, quam Huldericus Schmidel, 1534-1554 in Americam iuxta Brasiliam & Rio della Plata, confecit* (Straubingen, 1599). H. M. Adams notes that there are five copies of this edition among the Cambridge college and university libraries, though none of the 1567 German edition (2: 192). The Hakluyt Society published an English translation of Schmidl's work by Luis L. Dominguez in 1891. Dominguez's translation is unsatisfactory, however, probably because it is a translation itself of his Spanish version of the text. But at times, it is positively strange: for the passage on abiogenesis in the crocodile, Dominguez renders it "Further it is said that if such a fish is found in a well, there is no other means to kill it than to show it a mirror..." (43). For this reason, I quote the version provided in Joël Lefebvre's essay. For a succinct discussion of the relations between Schmidl's 1567 printed German text, the manuscript of his memoirs, and the translation history of the book, see Marion Lois Huffines.

Indeed, the crocodile's intrinsic intelligence regarding the rise of the Nile becomes the subject of Geoffrey Whitney's emblem "Providentia," representing foreknowledge and the wisdom of studying the natural world for useful signs (3).

For all the pains shown on the part of the natural historians, however, the lines between the natural habits of the crocodile and the supposed generative habits of the Nile blur, at least in literature. As that poor dolt Lepidus remarks to Antony in Antony and Cleopatra,

Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by the operation of your sun; so is your crocodile. (2.7.26-27)<sup>76</sup>

I suppose this blurring happens because of the close association between crocodiles and their most famous native river, as well as the association between crocodilian procreation and the Nile's flood. The egg-laying crocodiles are, of course, females of the species, but Spenser may consciously or not be suggesting a kind of procreative union between the creatures and the Nile, now explicitly made paternal as "old Father *Nilus*" in The Faerie Queene who (in loaded punning sexual imagery) "gins to swell / With timely pride," making ready once again to "outwell" and to "ouerflow" with his "fertile slime" (FQ 1.1.21.1-4). Such is the fertility of the river that at the Marriage of the Thames and Medway, it is introduced simply as "The fertile Nile, which creatures new doth frame" (4.11.20.3). Gordon Braden remarks on the hermaphroditic quality of this passage, which I believe Spenser mirrors in Error's epicene offspring, and later in the strangely hermaphroditic crocodile of the Temple of Isis---who, like Father Nilus, is "swolne with pride of his owne peerelesse power" (5.7.15.7).

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<sup>76</sup> In the exchange between Antony and Lepidus about crocodiles, Antony offers a better description of the animal than he is usually given credit:

LEPIDUS: What colour is it of?

ANTONY: Of it own colour too.

LEPIDUS: 'Tis a strange serpent.

ANTONY: 'Tis so, and the tears of it are wet. (2.7.45-48)

Antony's response, "Of it own colour too," comes across as dismissive of the drunken Lepidus, but is nevertheless accurate according to received early modern philological wisdom derived from Isidore of Seville about the origin of the word "crocodile." Maplet states that "the *Crocodile* is called yelow Snake for that he is in colour most Saffron like" (Greene L6r). Topsell agrees that "the name *Crocodilus* commeth of *Croceus color*, the colour of Saffron, because such is the colour of the Crocodile," and adds that "this seemeth to be more reasonable" than other etymological explanations because he himself had seen "a Crocodile in England brought out of Egypt dead, and killed vvith a Musket, the colour whereof was like to Saffron growing vpon the stalkes in fieldes" (HS M4v). A rare moment of field work for Topsell, but one suggesting the accuracy of Antony's answer---inasmuch as "crocodile" carries its own colour in its etymology, as the dismissive tone perhaps suggests Lepidus should already know.

Whatever the case, in the Error episode Spenser interweaves associations of crocodiles, deceit, the Nile, and abiogenesis to create a sense of potentially diabolical strangeness. Spenser invokes the similarity between the Nile's flood and Error's vomit, and as I have suggested, crocodiles and the Nile are almost synonymous. At the same time, Error herself is serpentine and deceitful as a crocodile (all serpents are suspect in a post-Edenic world). The crocodile is an unspoken presence in the canto. As Error vomits forth monsters, so it seems her offspring pour forth from her womb, transforming the snake-like and by extension, river-shaped, Error into the Nile herself, ambiguously caught between the characteristics of female crocodile and the river Spenser calls male. Like any simile, the one Spenser uses concerning the flooding of the Nile to illustrate the act of Error vomiting suggests a similitude that allows tenor and vehicle to be reversed. The flood of the Nile is like a monster pouring forth---a comparison with which Ezekiel seems perfectly familiar. As Northrop Frye interprets Ezekiel's prophecy on Leviathan, "As the Nile is the source of the life of Egypt, [so] the catching of the leviathan will be followed by the fertilizing of the desert he is thrown into" (189). Life comes out of death; life overflows death, as death is shattered and made fruitful.

Spenser's flood has much to it. Error's vomit is a rich and complicated brew, full of epichenes, biblical allusions (e.g., Rev. 16.13), and the fruits of the polemical presses. The wordiness of the substance, "full of bookes and papers," all held together by an inky black poison, befits the sophistry that Error represents, but also hints at another type of crocodile: one of rhetorical trickery. Thomas Cooper cites "Ambiguitates crocodilinae" in his Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae (1565), defining it as "Sophistical arguments" and referring the reader to Quintilian (Gg2v). Quintilian refers in passing to the crocodile's syllogism or fallacy in his Institutio oratoria (1.10.5), and much later it is one of the dialectical subtleties Erasmus has Folly state she will not use in Moriae encomium to argue her role in the pursuit of pleasure (96). The syllogism is a bloodthirsty paradox: a crocodile promises a mother to return her child if she correctly guesses what he will do with it. If she says he will return the child, he will eat it to prove her wrong; if she says he will not return the child, the mother will be wrong unless the crocodile eats her child. Thomas Wilson includes the crocodile's syllogism among those he calls "trappynge Argumentes, because few that answere vnto them, can auoide

daunger” (The rule of Reason V6v)---in other words, precisely the sort of argument with which Redcrosse finds himself wrestling when wrapped in Error’s endless train.<sup>77</sup>

Finally, when Redcrosse beheads Error, the monster becomes a parodic version of the self-sacrificing pelican:

Her scatted brood, soone as their Parent deare  
They saw so rudely falling to the ground,  
Groning full deadly, all with troublous feare,  
Gathred themselues about her body round,  
Weening their wonted entrance to haue found  
At her wide mouth: but being there withstood  
They flocked all about her bleeding wound,  
And sucked vp their dying mothers blood,  
Making her death their life, and eke her hurt their good. (FQ 1.1.25)

But Error’s offspring clearly have not read Book 2, and intemperately devour their mother until “Their bellies swolne...with fulnesse burst, / And bowels gushing forth,” more or less exploding through the excess of their meal (1.1.26.5-6). In his annotation to these lines, Hamilton sees Error’s offspring as a type for Judas, who also “brast a sondre in the middes, and all his bowels gushed out” (Acts 1.18). Topsell remarks on the Judas-like behaviour of those with “hypocriticall harts” weeping crocodile tears (HS N2r), and later, Francis Quarles would take up this connection between Judas and the crocodile in “Fraus Mundi,” one of the poems of his Pentelogia (1620), where the world, the flesh, and the Devil

flatter, fawne, and (like the *Crocodile*)  
*Kill* where they laugh, and *murther* where they smile:  
They daily dip within thy *Dish*, and cry,  
*Who hath betraid thee? Master, Is it I?* (13-16)

Robert A. Bryan has argued that the death of Error’s offspring recalls that of Arius, the fourth-century author of the Arian heresy, but this death itself was modeled on the death of Judas. I am tempted to draw a connection between Error’s offspring as a type of Judas and Topsell’s remarks about the Judas-like behaviour of those with “hypocriticall harts” weeping crocodile tears, since this appears to be the point of connection between

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<sup>77</sup> Andrew Zurcher proposes that Error has legal associations in the endlessness of her train and in the bookish nature of her vomit, very much in keeping with the *ambiguitates crocodilinæ* to which I argue Spenser alludes. Quite apart from her theological significance, then, Error becomes a kind of Fairyland Jarndyce and Jarndyce in this interpretation: a legalistic Gordian knot, cut only by Redcrosse’s “Protestant, humanist push through hermeneutical paralysis to performance” (48).



crocodiles and Iscariot, but instead, I will turn to John Maplet's comments on the crocodile in A Greene Forest. According to Maplet, the crocodile "is a most glotonous serpent, and a verie rauener, who when he is farced full, lyeth all long by the Banckes side belching and panting as though he woulde burst" (Greene L6v). Whatever the theological significance, through Error's offspring, Spenser enacts the end results of this gassy and colicky crocodilian excess, even without the aid of his *tedula*.

This, then, is the nature of the "strange ayde" (MHT 1121) with which the tyranny of the Ape is in part supported in Mother Hubberds Tale: an ambiguous, amphibious creature with a thoroughly bad reputation in the discourse of early modern natural history, appearing elsewhere in the same Complaints collection with such charged political and apocalyptic overtones. But even in this ambiguity there is ambiguity, so to speak. In ignoring the crocodile in the Temple of Isis, I have largely ignored anything positive in the crocodile's hybrid nature. The hybrid Egyptian crocodile clearly is another one of those elements Spenser employs with both good and bad associations---a concept repeated *in bono et in malo*, as Carol V. Kaske suggests in Spenser and Biblical Poetics of certain repeated images within The Faerie Queene. To paraphrase a parallel observation by Giamatti, each version of the crocodile's monstrosity sums up and enriches the previous one (Play 69), and so the justice crocodile tamed by Isis that fathers a lion with her carries with it the memory of old Father Nilus and Error, of a Leviathan spread out to feed the land, and even of the apocalyptic vision of broken Spanish ships, which unfolds again a canto later in the careening crash of the Souldan's chariot. These "halfway beasts," as Grace Tiffany calls them (76), can be symbols of erotic union, as in the hermaphrodite image at the end of the 1590 Book 3, or in Iago's much more crude "beast with two backs" (Othello 1.1.117)---or, indeed, the union between Isis and Osiris in Book 5. Even the Nile's mud, "wherein there breed / Ten thousand kindes of creatures" (FQ 1.1.21.6-7) is the same "*Ægyptian* slime" (2.9.21.5) from which that architectural body the Castle of Alma is built; it is "an energized substance, an active reality that supplies us with all that we have---indeed, is what we are made of," Gordon Braden observes (42). Frye calls the Leviathan crocodile "the element of chaos within creation: that is...creation as we see it now, the world of time and space that extends away from us indefinitely, the limitless expanse that is the most secure and impregnable

of all prisons” (190), namely the flesh made up from that Egyptian slime and the decay to which it is subject, from which there is but one escape, as the bestial crocodile taught and all of Spenser’s spewing and spilling beings seem to suggest. But in concentrating here upon how this particular rapacious crocodile of Mother Hubberds Tale “neatly spreads his claws, / And welcomes little fishes in” (to return to the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter), I fear that any final improvement of the creature must be another tale---and one, as Spenser would have it, only found in Sabaoth’s sight.

## CONCLUSION

### *Marooned on l'isola umana*

Spenser's animals repeatedly pose questions about interpretation. However, as I have argued in this study, in posing questions about interpretation, Spenser's animals also present solutions to their meaning through the cumulative hermeneutics the poet employs. Just as early modern natural historians gathered and presented heterogeneous collections of information about animals without offering causal interpretations for the assembled "facts," so Spenser also allows information about his poetic animals to accrue. Yet Spenser intends the meaning of localized representations of animals in *The Faerie Queene* to come through the accumulation of information derived from the Elizabethan understanding of what those animals meant and interpreted through other representations of the creatures in Spenser's verse, leaving the reader to mediate meaning. Spenser's animals become riddles with many possible answers, and ultimately, meaning comes from the accumulation of answers: lions are clement *and* cruel, godly *and* devilish, naturally respectful of chastity *and* just as naturally lustful. Spenser expects his readers to decide on what specific aspect of an animal he evokes at any given moment, while at the same time holding in mind the whole complex and contradictory body of signification attached to that animal by Spenser. In his animal similes, Spenser applies this indeterminacy of meaning to make subtle points about the similitudes between the nature of his characters and the nature of animals.

In Chapter One, I have shown the ways in which Spenser, as a representative member of his class, nation, sex, and time, would have learned natural history as part of the education he received. Spenser's education requires further study, however much the paucity of biographical details of Spenser's life hampers the inquiry. Thinking about how and what Spenser might have read helps map out his imagination, making his works both strange and familiar. Spenser's education is key to this mapping: examining how Spenser learned about the natural world allows modern readers a chance to recover some part of the "codes of perception" with which he interpreted that world and the human place within it (de Certeau 170). For humanist pedagogy, knowledge of the natural world was a useful tool for teaching private and public virtues, as well as the linguistic tools necessary for students to take up their places in late sixteenth-century Anglophone culture. The

usefulness of natural history as a pedagogical tool presupposed a certain understanding of the natural world as a mirror for human experience, as Chapter Two argues. Nature was regarded as a text from which didactic lesson could be learned because of the system of similitude inherent in the created universe. Growing out of these assumptions, the practices of natural history were guided by the encyclopaedic expectations of *historia*. Early modern natural historians consistently regarded animals as immediately useful for human beings---whether as food, companions, sources of medicine and labour, or as a means of contemplating God through natural theology. What natural historians like Edward Topsell produced were cultural portraits of animals, demonstrating all that was thought to be significant about the animals known to Renaissance Europe.

The first two chapters argue for an interpretative methodology of accumulation that the last two chapters apply to a pair of Spenser's animals, the lion and the crocodile. Rather than simply glossing individual appearances by these creatures in Spenser's verse, Chapters Three and Four demonstrate the need for a critical interpretation that acknowledges and embraces Spenser's cumulative hermeneutics. I contend that Spenser's animals deserve notice for three interrelated reasons. First, they deserve attention for what they reveal about Spenser's understanding of what animals mean in his culture as beings with recognizable traits and significations. Second, the animals require greater critical attention for what they reveal about Spenser's sense of what it means to be human. Whether one calls them a governing episteme, a world picture, or a latterly discarded image of the universe, the similitudes which Spenser and his contemporaries believed to exist between human experience and the natural world require that any examination of Spenser's animals must ultimately be an examination of human beings. Spenser employs his menagerie in order to define the nature of his characters---and, by extension, the nature of the morally informed readers (the morally informed *human* readers, of course) whom he hopes to fashion. Finally, as part of Spenser's educative purpose, his animals deserve greater attention for what they show of Spenser's method of cumulative hermeneutics, which would expand upon Kaske's work on Spenser's repeated biblical imagery.

I have analyzed only two examples of Spenser's animals as a necessary limiting tactic. The cumulative reading I advocate with the lion and the crocodile is not meant to

be exhaustive but exemplary. My study proposes a methodology with which other scholars can explore Spenser's epic menagerie, catalogued in the appendix to this dissertation. How Spenser groups his animals, for example, needs further analysis.<sup>78</sup> Animals are, of course, only one part of natural history. Although Spenser's plant life has received some critical attention,<sup>79</sup> I admit that plants do not interest me for precisely the same reasons why M. M. Mahood limits her study of poets and Nature's two major kingdoms just to flora:

The distance between the plant and the animal world gives definition and a measure of detachment to our experience of the former. However complex our perception of a plant may be, it is clear-cut in contrast with our perception of an animal, apt as that is to be mixed up with the hope (or fear) of a response and with a readiness to anthropomorphize such response if it is made. (2)

The complexity and absence of detachment in human experiences with animals have doubtlessly been constants throughout human history. In the lack of clear-cut early modern perceptions of animals, we also find a measure of early modern attitudes towards being human, just as the economy of the simile demands mutual congruency. They reveal attitudes towards class, gender, and race, most often defined in terms of moral fitness. In such attitudes, Erica Fudge sees instability in the period's sense of what it is to be human. Approved social traits (such as Puritan religious practice or the humanist emphasis on right reading, writing, and speaking) are aligned with the human, and disapproved traits with brute animals, as Sidney implies when speaking of those "more beastly than beasts" (Apology 109), or when Spenser comments on the hoggish Grill and others of "donghill kind" who choose "with vile difference, / To be a beast, and lacke intelligence" (FQ 2.12.87.6; 2.12.87.4-5), or is inherent in Mark Antony's cry, "O judgment! Thou art fled to brutish beasts, / And men have lost their reason" (Julius Caesar 3.2.109-10). For Fudge, the figure of the animal most often represents the human failure to be human; "Reading about animals," she asserts, "is always reading about humans...reading about humans is reading through animals" (Perceiving Animals 3). Although perhaps

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<sup>78</sup> On the anthropomorphic elements in some of Spenser's animals outside of The Faerie Queene, see Amanda Rogers Jones.

<sup>79</sup> See Mahood 12-13 and Arber for the evidence of Spenser's knowledge of early modern plant sciences.

overstated, Fudge's pronouncement certainly applies to reading Spenser's animals, themselves mirrors for human readers to glimpse themselves in.

Animal studies in part concerns itself with the question of animals as metaphors for humans.<sup>80</sup> Following the lead of social anthropologist John Berger's essays on animals, critics in a variety of disciplines have opened a field that examines the human social construction of animals.<sup>81</sup> The growth of animal studies, both as an academic and popular discipline, has been rapid and prodigious. For example, Reaktion Books, based in London, has since 2003 published a series of animal studies, where each book examines the role of a different animal in cultures around the world, as a kind of biography of the creature in the human imagination. Moreover, the first eight years of this century have seen the appearance of not one but two books about Jumbo, the famous nineteenth-century elephant.<sup>82</sup> Human interest in animals remains high, even as those of us who live in the urban west lead lives with decreasing contact with a variety of real, living animals. As cultural artifacts, animals often straddle both of Claude Lévi-Strauss's famous categories of animals as "bonnes à manger" and "bonnes à penser" (128); Paul Yachnin's examination of Renaissance sheep, creatures of both metaphor and table, Aleksander Pluskowski on medieval wolves, as well as Vicki Ellen Szabo's account of whales in the economic and cultural life of the north Atlantic world, serve as disparate examples of this cultural phenomenon. My own interests lie more with the symbolic meaning of animals, however---the creatures which "were scrupulously and fancifully preserved in the minds of humans long before anyone thought of keeping them in zoological gardens," as Werner Gundersheimer puts it ("Foreword"). Although my exemplary studies concern two animals neither of which would have generally appeared at an Elizabethan meal (whatever Ulrich Schmidl's experiences in the New World), further study of the material

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<sup>80</sup> N. C. W. Spence argues that the figurative application of animal names to human beings continues to be a consistent element in the major languages of western Europe and has been throughout their histories. Animals serve as metaphors for things other than human beings, but human beings always create the metaphors based upon human concepts of what animals are. For example, in physics, J. J. Thomson, the discoverer of the electron, described the duality of waves and particles as a struggle "between a tiger and a shark...each is supreme in his own element but helpless in that of the other" (15). The metaphor would be meaningless if divorced from a particular concept of "tiger" and "shark."

<sup>81</sup> For a useful survey of the debates of animal studies, see Richard Tapper.

<sup>82</sup> The books in question are Les Harding's Elephant Story: Jumbo and P.T. Barnum Under the Big Top and Paul Chambers's Jumbo: This Being the True Story of the Greatest Elephant in the World, which one newspaper reviewer described as "a tell-all biography" (Kehe 16).

history of Spenser's animals could be accomplished. In analyzing Spenser's lions and crocodiles, I have instead taken as my model Doris Adler's witty and intelligent synthesis of the early modern English significance of toads, though my focus is on elucidating Spenser's texts rather than on writing the cultural history of the animal itself.<sup>83</sup>

Spenser's menagerie is large and undeservedly unacknowledged. Literary animals such as those of The Faerie Queene are obviously products of the human mind; however, so too are any human definitions of what an animal is. In one of his essays, "Romanzi dettati dai grilli" (1985), Primo Levi remarks

È un'antica osservazione, antica già al tempo di Esopo (che queste cose le doveva pure conoscere bene), che negli animali si trovano tutti gli estremi. Ci sono animali enormi e minuscoli, estremamente forti ed estremamente deboli, audaci e fuggitivi, veloci e lenti, astuti e sciocchi, splendidi e orrendi: lo scrittore non ha che da scegliere, non ha da curarsi delle verità degli scienziati, gli basta attingere a piene mani in questo universo di metafore. Proprio uscendo dall'isola umana, troverà ogni qualità umana moltiplicata per cento, una selva di iperboli prefabbricate. ("Romanzi" 65)

It is an ancient observation, ancient already at the time of Aesop (who must have known a lot about animals), that all extremes are found in animals. There are enormous and tiny animals, extremely strong and extremely weak, bold and skittish, fast and slow, cunning and foolish, splendid and horrendous: the writer has only to choose, he does not have to take into account the truths of the scientist, it is enough for him to scoop up with both hands examples from this universe of metaphors. Precisely by coming out of the human island he will find every human quality multiplied a hundredfold, a vast thicket of prefabricated hyperbole. ("Novels" 159-60)

Primo Levi calls the world of animals a "universe of metaphors" (*universo di metafore*), but I prefer to call it a *menagerie* of metaphors. I use the term deliberately---not merely for its slightly self-conscious alliteration, but also for its precision. However much modern zoos attempt to emulate natural habitats in presenting animals to human scrutiny, menageries are by their nature unnatural constructions. They are places where visitors can stroll from climatic zone to climatic zone in a matter of moments, according to human convenience, viewing members of individual species in isolation, and where even the "native habitats" of the animals on display are human reinterpretations of those

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<sup>83</sup> Adler's essay on the English perspective should now be read in conjunction with Michael Randall's work on the significance of toads in early modern French culture.

habitats. Animals are defined in such displays according to human needs. So also are the animals of The Faerie Queene---or, indeed, the animals of The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes, as well as any other early modern natural history. For all of the multifaceted meanings attached to them, Spenser's animals are defined according to a sense of control, confinement, and reinvention as sure as that evoked by the sight of a butterfly pinned to a board. In the end, Levi is wrong to promise the would-be writer that escape from the human island reveals all extremes of attributes in the natural world, because escape does not seem possible. We remain marooned on the human island. So much of the island remains uncharted, however, particularly in those thickets where the strange animals abide. In reading about animals, we must therefore become naturalists of our own imaginations.



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## APPENDIX

### The Animals of The Faerie Queene

#### **Adder**

**(description of Cerberus) 1.5.34.1-9** Before the threshold dreadfull Cerberus / His three deformed heads did lay along, / Curled with thousand adders venomous, / And lilled forth his bloudie flaming tong: / At them he gan to reare his bristles strong, / And felly gnarre, vntill dayes enemy / Did him appease; then downe his taile he hong/ And suffered them to passen quietly: / For she in hell and heauen had power equally.

**(Cymochles feigns sleep in Acrasia's bower) 2.5.34.1-9** He, like an Adder, lurking in the weeds, / His wandring thought in deepe desire does steepe, / And his fraile eye with spoyle of beautie feedes; / Sometimes he falsely faines himselfe to sleepe, / Whiles through their lids his wanton eies do peepe, / To steale a snatch of amorous conceipt, / Whereby close fire into his heart does creepe: / So, he them deceiues, deceiu'd in his decept, / Made drunke with drugs of deare voluptuous receipt;

see serpent/snake

#### **Antelope**

**(Satyrane shows power) 1.6.26.1-9** And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equall teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborne harts to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;

#### **Ape**

**(idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber) 2.9.50.8-9** Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions, Ægles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;

**(enemies of Smell) 2.11.11.1-9** Likewise that same third Fort, that is the Smell / Of that third troupe was cruelly assayd: / Whose hideous shapes were like to feends of hell, / Some like to hounds, some like to Apes, dismayd, / Some like to Puttockes, all in plumes arayd: / All shap't according their conditions, / For by those vgly formes weren pourtrayd, / Foolish delights and fond abusions, / Which do that sence besiege with light illusions;

**(Malbecco out-maneuvered) 3.9.31.8-9** Thus was the ape / By their faire handling, put into Malbeccoes cape;

#### **Arachne**

**(Mammon's treasures) 2.7.28.7-9** And ouer them Arachne high did lift/ Her cunning web, and spred her subtile net, / Enwrapped in fowle smoke and clouds more blacke then let;

see spider

#### **Argus**

**(Juno's peacocks) 1.4.17.9** And full of Argus eyes their tailes dispredden wide;

**3.9.7.2-3** For who wotes not, that womans subtiltyes / Can guilen Argus;

see peacock

#### **Asp**

**(Cleopatra) 1.5.50.7-8** High minded Cleopatra, that with stroke / Of Aspes sting her selfe did stoutly kill;

**(Sclaunder's words) 4.8.26.8-9** For like the stings of Aspes, that kill with smart, / Her spightfull words did pricke, and wound the inner part;

**(Detraction) 5.12.36.3-6** Her cursed tongue full sharpe and short / Appear'd like Aspis sting, that closely kills, / Or cruelly does wound, whom so she wils;

see serpent/snake

#### **Ass**

**(Una) 1.1.4.1-3** A louely Ladie rode him faire beside, / Vpon a lowly Asse more white then snow, / Yet she much whiter;

**(Una dismounts ass) 1.3.4.2** From her vnastie beast she did alight;

**(mount of Idleness) 1.4.18.7** Upon a slouthfull Asse he chose to ryde;

**(Una restrains satyrs) 1.6.19.8-9** But when their bootlesse zeale she did restraine / From her own worship, they her Asse would worship fayn;

**(Mirabella) 6.7.27.7-9** But turme we now backe to that Ladie free, / Whom late we left ryding vpon an Asse, / Led by a Carle and foole, which by her side did passe;

**Basilisk**

**(Corflambo) 4.8.39.1-9** For from his fearefull eyes two fierie beames, / More sharpe then points of needles did  
proceede, / Shooting forth farre away two flaming streames, / Full of sad powre, that poysonous bale did breede / To all,  
that on him lookt without good heed, / And secretly his enemies did slay: / Like as the Basiliske of serpents seede, /  
From powrefull eyes close venim doth conuay / Into the lookers hart, and killeth farre away;  
see serpent/snake

**Bat (as bird)**

**(birds of ill-omen harry Guyon and Palmer) 2.12.36.1-9** Euen all the nation of vnfortunate / And fatal birds about  
them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate, / The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere, / The  
hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull dreere, / The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy, / The ruefull Strich, still waiting on  
the bere, / The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy, / The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny;

**Bear**

**(Ursa Major) 1.2.1.2** His sevenfold teme behind the stedfast starre;  
**(Satyrane can defeat) 1.6.24.4** Upon the Lyon and the rugged Beare;  
**(she-bear and whelps) 1.6.24.5** And from the she Beares teats her whelps to teare;  
**(Duessa) 1.8.48.3-9** But at her rompe she growing had behind / A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight; / And eke her  
feete most monstrous were in sight; / For one of them was like an Eagles claw, / With griping talaunts armd to greedy  
fight, / The other like a Beares vneuen paw: / More vgly shape yet neuer liuing creature saw;  
**(Archimago bound) 1.12.35.6-9** Who seeming sorely chauffed at his band, / As chained Beare, whom cruell dogs do  
bait, / With idle force did faine them to withstand, / And often semblaunce made to scape out of their hand;  
**(Huddibras and Sansloy turn on Guyon) 2.2.22.5-9** As when a Beare and Tygre being met / In cruell fight on lybicke  
Ocean wide, / Espye a traueiler with feet surbet, / Whom they in equall pray hope to deuide, / They stint their strife, and  
him assaile on euery side;  
**(baiting) 2.11.33.3** And as a Beare whom angry cures have touzd;  
**(vs tiger, but turn on 3<sup>rd</sup> party) 2.2.22.5** As when a Beare and Tygre being met / In cruell fight on lybicke Ocean  
wide;  
**(Arthur breaks bonds) 2.11.33.3-6** And as a Beare whom angry cures haue touzd, / Hauing off-shakt them, and  
escapt their hands, / Becomes more fell, and all that him withstands / Treads downe and ouerthrowes;  
**(common encounters) 3.1.14.8-9** Yet tract of living creatures none they found, / Save Beares, Lions, and Bulls, which  
romed them around;  
**(baiting and honey) 3.10.53.4** like as a Beare / That creeping close, amongst the hives to reare;  
**(Danger wears skin) 3.12.11.2** Made of Beares skin, that him more dreadfull made;  
**(Malbecco's flight) 3.10.53.4-9** Like as a Beare / That creeping close, amongst the hiues to reare / An hony combe, the  
wakefull dogs espy, / And him assayling, sore his carkasse teare, / That hardly he with life away does fly, / Ne staves,  
till safe himselfe he see from ieopardy;  
**(Amoret) 4.7.2.6-8** In deserts wide, / With Beares and Tygers taking heaueie part, / Withouten comfort, and withouten  
guide;  
**(Belphebe hunts) 4.7.23.7** Was hunting then the Libbards and the Beares;  
**(song of turtledove) 4.8.4.9** That could have perst the hearts of Tigres and of Beares;  
**(Belphebe hunting) 4.7.23.7** Was hunting then the Libbards and the Beares;  
**(Terpin at Radigund's mercy) 5.4.40.6-9** As when a Beare hath seiz'd her cruell claws / Vppon the carkasse of some  
beast too weake, / Proudly stands ouer, and a while doth pause, / To heare the piteous beast pleading her plaintiffe  
cause;  
**(Radigund fights Artegall) 5.5.9.7** And like a greedie Beare vnto her pray, / With her sharpe Cemitare at him she flew;  
(though warlike, Radigund not born of) 5.5.40.5-6 Was not borne / Of Beares and Tygres, nor so salvage mynded;  
**(Tristram) 6.2.6.6-9** And in his left he held a sharpe borespeare, / With which he wont to launch the saluage hart / Of  
many a Lyon, and of many a Beare / That first vnto his hand in chase did happen neare;  
**(Calepine rescues infant from) 6.4.Arg.3-4** And whylest an Infant from a Beare / he saues, his loue doth misse;  
**(Calepine spots) 6.4.17.8-9** A cruell Beare, the which an infant bore / Betwixt his bloodie iawes, besprinckled all with  
gore;  
**(Calepine pursues) 6.4.20.1-2** So well he sped him, that the wearie Beare / Ere long he ouertooke, and forst to stay;  
**(Matilde's tale, punning on bear) 6.4.29.3-6** I am th'vnfortunate Matilde by name, / The wife of bold Sir Bruin, who  
is Lord / Of all this land, late conquer'd by his sword / From a great Gyant, called Cormoraunt;  
**(punning on bear) 6.4.33.6** The good Sir Bruin;  
**(Calidore raging in despair) 6.11.25.8-9** And fared like a furious wyld Beare, / Whose whelps are stolne away, she  
being otherwhere;  
**(tongues and voice of Blatant Beast) 6.12.27.1-6.12.28.9** And therein were a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry  
kinds, and sundry quality, / Some were of dogs, that barked day and night, / And some of cats, that wrawling still did  
cry, / And some of Beares, that groynd continually, / And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren, / And snar at all, that

euer passed by: / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor when. / And them amongst were mingled here and there, / The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings, / That spat out poyson and gore bloody gere / At all, that came within his rauenings, / And spake licentious words, and hatefull things / Of good and bad alike, of low and hie; / Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings, / But either blotted them with infamie, / Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury;

## Beast

**(Una pursues Redcrosse) 1.2.8.1-4** And after him she rode with so much speede / As her slow beast could make; but all in vaine: / For him so far had borne his light-foot steede, / Pricked with wrath and fiery fierce disdain;

**(Duessa seen by Fradubio) 1.2.41.1-7** Her neather partes misshapen, monstrous, / Were hidd in water, that I could not see, / But they did seeme more foule and hideous, / Then womans shape man would beleue to bee. / Thens forth from her most bestly companie / I gan refraine, in minde to slip away, / Soone as appeared safe oportunitie;

**(Una dismounts ass) 1.3.4.2** From her vnastie beast she did alight;

**(Lion calmed) 1.3.8.4-5** The kingly beast vpon her gazing stood; / With pittie calmd, downe fell his angry mood;

**(Lion kills Kirkrapine) 1.3.19.3-9** The Lyon frayed them, him in to let: / He would no longer stay him to aduize, / But open breakes the dore in furious wize, / And entring is; when that disdainfull beast / Encountring fierce, him suddaine doth surprize, / And seizing cruell clawes on trembling brest, / Vnder his Lordly foot him proudly hath suppress;

**(Lamb follows when Una abducted by Sansloy) 1.3.44.6-9** Her seruile beast yet would not leaue her so, / But followes her farre off, ne ought he feares, / To be partaker of her wandring woe, / More mild in bestly kind, then that her bestly foe;

**(Lucifera's coach) 1.4.18.1-4** But this was drawne of six vnequall beasts, / On which her six sage Counsellours did ryde, / Taught to obay their bestiall beheasts, / With like conditions to their kinds applyde;

**(Gluttony) 1.4.21.8-9** Most like a brutish beast, / He spued up his gorge;

**(fate of conquerors and city-builders) 1.5.49.1-2** All these together in one heape were throwne, / Like carkases of beasts in butchers stall;

**(Sansloy desires Una) 1.6.3.4** With bestly sin thought her to haue defilde;

**(Sansloy desires Una) 1.6.4.9** And burnt his bestly hart t'efforce her chastitye;

**(Satyrane pursues) 1.6.21.8** And chase the saluage beast with busie payne;

**(Satyrane's father co-opts Thyamis) 1.6.22.9** And made her person thrall vnto his bestly kind;

**(Satyrane raised wild) 1.6.23.8-9** He noursled vp in life and manners wilde, / Emongst wild beasts and woods, from lawes of men exile;

**(Satyrane advised not to hate) 1.6.25.2-9** His owne sire and maister of his guise / Did often tremble at his horrid vew, / And oft for dread of hurt would him aduise, / The angry beasts not rashly to despise, / Nor too much to prouoke; for he would learne / The Lyon stoup to him in lowly wise, / (A lesson hard) and make the Libbard sterne / Leauing roaring, when in rage he for reuenge did earne;

**(Satyrane boasts of power by taking captives) 1.6.26.2** Wyld beasts in yron he would compell;

**(Satyrane's neighbours) 1.6.29.3-5** Whilst any beast of name / Walkt in that forest, whom he had not taught / To feare his force;

**(Duessa's beast) 1.7.16.8** A monstrous beast ybred in filthy fen;

**(Orgoglio sets Duessa) 1.7.18.8-9** Vpon this dreadfull Beast with seuenfold head / He set the false Duessa, for more aw and dread;

**(Arthur's feats) 1.8.Arg.3** Slays the Gyant, wounds the beast;

**(Duessa) 1.8.6.2-5** High mounted on her manyheaded beast, / And euery head with fyrie tongue did flame, / And euery head was crowned on his creast, / And bloudie mouthed with late cruell feast;

**(Orgoglio wounded) 1.8.11.3-9** He loudly brayd with bestly yelling sound, / That all the fields rebellowed againe; / As great a noyse, as when in Cymbrian plaine / An heard of Bulles, whom kindly rage doth sting, / Do for the milkie mothers want complaine, / And fill the fields with troublous bellowing, / The neighbour woods around with hollow murmur ring;

**(Duessa rides to Orgoglio's aid) 1.8.12.3-5** Vnto his aide she hastily did draw / Her dreadfull beast, who swolne with blood of late / Came ramping forth with proud presumptuous gate;

**(Duessa) 1.8.13.3** Enforst her purple beast with all her might;

**(Timias falls, but Arthur aids) 1.8.15.1-9** So downe he fell before the cruell beast, / Who on his necke his bloudie clawes did seize, / That life nigh crusht out of his panting brest: / No powre he had to stirre, nor will to rize. / That when the carefull knight gan well auise, / He lightly left the foe, with whom he fought, / And to the beast gan turne his enterprise; / For wondrous anguish in his hart it wrought, / To see his loued Squire into such thraldome brought;

**(Duessa's beast blinded) 1.8.20.1-4** And eke the fruitfull-headed beast, amaz'd / At flashing beames of that sunshiny shield, / Became starke blind, and all his senses daz'd, / That downe he tumbled on the durtie field;

**(human face work of God) 1.10.42.7-8** Whose face he made, all beasts to feare, and gawe / All in his hand, euen dead we honour should;

**(description of dragon) 1.11.8.1-9** By this the dreadfull Beast drew nigh to hand, / Halfe flying, and halfe footing in his hast, / That with his largenesse measured much land, / And made wide shadow vnder his huge wast; / As mountaine

doth the valley ouercast. / Approching nigh, he reared high afore / His body monstrous, horrible, and vast, / Which to increase his wondrous greatnesse more, / Was swolne with wrath, and poyson, and with bloody gore;

**(battle with dragon) 1.11.16.7** The wrathfull beast about him turned light;

**(battle with dragon) 1.11.17.5** Exceeding rage enflam'd the furious beast;

**(dragon) 1.11.25.6** The beast impatient of his smarting wound;

**(dragon roars) 1.11.40.1-3** Hart cannot thinke, what outrage, and what cryes, / With foule enfouldred smoake and flashing fire, / The hell-bred beast threw forth vnto the skyes;

**(balm) 1.11.49.1-2** For nigh thereto the euer damned beast / Durst not approach;

**(news of dragon's death) 1.12.2.6-9** The watchman on the castle wall; / Who thereby dead that balefull Beast did deeme, / And to his Lord and Ladie lowd gan call, / To tell, how he had seene the Dragons fatall fall;

**(people celebrate) 1.12.4.8-9** Reioycing at the fall of that great beast, / From whose eternall bondage now they were releast;

**(Redcrosse's oath) 1.12.41.6-8** He nought forgot, how he whilome had sworne, / In case he could that monstrous beast destroy, / Vnto his Farie Queene backe to returne;

**(pastimes of Belpheobe) 2.3.29.3-4** She queld / The saluage beastes in her victorious play;

**(Braggadocchio flatters Belpheobe) 2.3.39.9** The wood is fit for beasts, the court is fit for thee;

**(Furor attacks Guyon) 2.4.6.7** With beastly brutish rage gan him assay;

**(Pyrochles thrown from beheaded horse) 2.5.4.9** The truncked beast fast bleeding, did him fowly dight;

**(Pyrochles chastises Guyon) 2.5.5.3-4** Disleall knight, whose coward courage chose / To wreake it selfe on beast all innocent;

**(Cymochles) 2.5.26.4-9** Full many doughtie knights he in his dayes / Had doen to death, subdewde in equall frayes, / Whose carcasses, for terrour of his name, / Of fowles and beastes he made the piteous prayes, / And hong their conquered armes for more defame / On gallow trees, in honour of his dearest Dame;

**(Acrasia turns men into) 2.5.27.6-7** Whom then she does transforme to monstrous hewes / And horribly misshapes with ugly sightes;

**(Atin reviles Guyon) 2.6.39.4-5** As shepherds curre, that in darke euenings shade / Hath tracted forth some saluage beastes trade;

**(order of God) 2.8.1.1-9** And is there care in heauen? and is there loue / In heauenly spirits to these creatures bace, / That may compassion of their euils moue? / There is: else much more wretched were the cace / Of men, then beasts. But O th'exceeding grace / Of highest God, that loues his creatures so, / And all his workes with mercy doth embrace, / That blessed Angels, he sends to and fro, / To serue to wicked man, to serue his wicked foe;

**(Maleger's host) 2.9.16.1-9** As when a swarme of Gnats at euentide / Out of the fennes of Allan do arise, / Their murmuring small trompets sounden wide, / Whiles in the aire their clustring army flies, / That as a cloud doth seeme to dim the skies; / Ne man nor beast may rest, or take repast, / For their sharpe wounds, and noyous iniuries, / Till the fierce Northerne wind with blustering blast / Doth blow them quite away, and in the Ocean cast;

**(ancient inland Albion) 2.10.7.1-9** But farre in land a saluage nation dwelt, / Of hideous Giants, and halfe beastly men, / That neuer tasted grace, nor goodnesse felt, / But like wild beasts lurking in loathsome den, / And flying fast as Roebucke through the fen, / All naked without shame, or care of cold, / By hunting and by spoiling liued then; / Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold, / That sonnes of men amazd their sternnesse to behold;

**(iniquities of Albion's giants) 2.10.9.1-5** They held this land, and with their filthinesse / Polluted this same gentle soyle long time: / That their owne mother loathd their beastlinesse, / And gan abhorre her broods vnkindly crime, / All were they borne of her owne natie slime;

**(origins of first elf) 2.10.70.5-9** It told, how first Prometheus did create / A man, of many partes from beasts deriued, / And then stole fire from heauen, to animate / His worke, for which he was by loue deprived / Of life him selfe, and hart-strings of an Ægle riued;

**(Maleger rides) 2.11.24.3** His Beast he felly prickt on either syde;

**(Maleger avoids Arthur) 2.11.25.5-6** Turning quicke aside / His light-foot beast, fled fast away for feare;

**(Palmer subdues) 2.12.39.1-2.12.40.9** Ere long they heard an hideous bellowing / Of many beasts, that roard outrageously, / As if that hungers point, or Venus sting / Had them enraged with fell surquedry; / Yet nought they feard, but past on hardily, / Vntill they came in vew of those wild beasts: / Who all atonce, gaping full greedily, / And rearing fiercely their vpstarting crests, / Ran towards, to deuoure those vnexpected guests. / But soone as they approcht with deadly threat, / The Palmer ouer them his staffe vpheld, / His mighty staffe, that could all charmes defeat: / Eftsoones their stubborne courages were queld, / And high aduanced crests down meekely feld, / In stead of fraying, they them selues did feare, / And trembled, as them passing they beheld: / Such wondrous powre did in that staffe appeare, / All monsters to subdew to him, that did it beare;

**(Acrasia turns men into) 2.12.84.5-2.12.85.6** Charm'd those wild-beasts, that rag'd with furie / Which now awaking, fierce at them gan fly, / As in their mistresse reskew, whom they lad; / But them the Palmer soone did pacify. / They Guyon askt, what meant those beastes, which there did ly. / Said he, These seeming beasts are men indeed, / Whom this Enchantresse hath transformed thus, / Whylome her louers, which her lusts did feed, / Now turned into figures hideous, / According to their mides like monstrous. / Sad end (quoth he) of life intemperate;

**(Palmer restores men from) 2.12.86.2-5** And streight of beasts they comely men became; / Yet being men they did vnmanly looke, / And stared ghastly, some for inward shame, / And some for wrath, to see their captiue Dame;

(Grill) 2.12.86.6-2.12.87.9 But one about the rest in special, / That had an hog beene late, hight Grille by name, / Repined greatly, and did him miscall, / That had from hoggish forme him brought to naturall. / Said Guyon, See the mind of beastly man, / That hath so soone forgot the excellence / Of his creation, when he life began, / That now he chooseth, with vile difference, / To be a beast, and lacke intelligence. / To whom the Palmer thus, The donghill kind / Delights in filth and foule incontinence: / Let Grill be Grill, and haue his hoggish mind, / But let vs hence depart, whilest whether serues and wind;

(Forester chases Florimell) 3.1.17.2-7 Lo where a griesly Foster forth did rush, / Breathing out beastly lust her to defile: / His tyreling iade he fiercely forth did push, / Through thicke and thin, both ouer banke and bush / In hope her to attaine by hooke or crooke, / That from his gorie sides the bloud did gush;

(Redcrosse at bay) 3.1.22.1-5 Like dastard Curres, that hauing at a bay / The saluage beast embost in wearie chace, / Dare not aduventure on the stubborne pray, / Ne byte before, but rome from place to place, / To get a snatch, when turned is his face;

(Venus and Adonis in tapestry) 3.1.37.3-7 But for she saw him bent to cruell play, / To hunt the saluage beast in forrest wyde, / Dreadfull of daunger, that mote him betyde, / She oft and oft aduiz'd him to refraine / From chase of greater beasts;

(the night) 3.2.32.1-2 The time, that mortall men their weary cares / Do lay away, and all wilde beastes do rest;

(Glauce argues for rightness of right love) 3.2.41.5-8 Yet playd Pasiphaë a more monstrous part, / That lou'd a Bull, and leard a beast to bee; / Such shamefull lusts who loaths not, which depart / From course of nature and of modestie;

(Florimell fears Arthur) 3.4.51.3-4 Fast she from him fled, no lesse affrayd, / Then of wilde beastes if she had chased beene;

(forester) 3.5.14.1-3 The villen sped himselfe so well, / Whether through swiftnesse of his speedy beast, / Or knowledge of those woods;

(Belpheobe) 3.5.28.1-2 She pursued the chace / Of some wild beast;

(Venus speaks to Diana) 3.6.22.1-2 You in woods and wanton wilderness / Your glory set, to chace the saluage beasts;

(the business of the Garden of Adonis) 3.6.35.1-9 Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred, / And vncouth formes, which none yet euer knew, / And euery sort is in a sundry bed / Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew: / Some fit for reasonable soules t'indew, / Some made for beasts, some made for birds to weare, / And all the fruitfull spawne of fishes hew / In endlesse rancks along enraunged were, / That seem'd the Ocean could not containe them there;

(plants of Garden of Adonis) 3.6.43.5 Nor wicked beasts their tender buds did crop;

(Florimell's situation melts hearts) 3.7.9.5-7 None so bestiall, / Nor saluage hart, but ruth of her sad plight / Would make to melt, or pitteously appall;

(old woman's son views Florimell) 3.7.15.9 No loue, but brutish lust, that was so beastly tind;

(witch summons) 3.7.22.1-9 Eftsoones out of her hidden caue she cald / An hideous beast, of horrible aspect, / That could the stoutest courage haue appald; / Monstrous mishapt, and all his backe was spect / With thousand spots of colours queint elect, / Thereto so swift, that it all beasts did pas: / Like neuer yet did liuing eye detect; / But likest it to an Hyena was, / That feeds on womens flesh, as others feede on gras;

(Satyrane attacks monster) 3.7.33.6-7 He lightly lept / Vpon the beast;

(Satyrane uses Florimell's girdle to bind monster) 3.7.36.1-9 The golden ribband, which that virgin wore / About her sclender wast, he tooke in hand, / And with it bound the beast, that lowd did rore / For great despight of that vnwonted band, / Yet dared not his victour to withstand, / But trembled like a lambe, fled from the pray, / And all the way him followd on the strand, / As he had long bene learned to obay; / Yet neuer learned he such seruice, till that day;

(Satyrane) 3.7.37.1 Thus as he led the Beast along the way;

(Satyrane sees Argante) 3.7.38.1-2 Which whenas Satyrane beheld, in hast / He left his captiue Beast at liberty;

(Argante's iniquities) 3.7.49.7 And suffred beasts her body to deflowre;

(Satyrane finds monster gone) 3.7.61.6-7 Where late he left the Beast, he ouercame, / He found him not; for he had broke his band;

(monster returns to witch) 3.8.2.5-7 The Beast, which by her wicked art / Late forth she sent, she backe returning spyde, / Tyde with her broken girdle;

(scales fill Florimell's clothes during attack) 3.8.26.8-9 Beastly he threw her downe, ne car'd to spill / Her garments gay with scales of fish, that all did fill;

(Malbecco's ostensible concerns for Hellenore) 3.10.39.8 Least saluage beastes her person haue despoild;

(bedtime) 3.10.46.1-9 Tho vp they gan their merry pypes to trusse, / And all their goodly heards did gather round, / But euery Satyre first did giue a busse / To Hellenore: so busses did abound. / Now gan the humid vapour shed the ground / With perly deaw, and th'Earthes gloomy shade / Did dim the brightnesse of the welkin round, / That euery bird and beast awarned made, / To shrowd themselues, whiles sleepe their senses did inuade;

(Ollyphant's iniquities) 3.11.4.3-4 So he surpassed his sex masculine, / In beastly vse that I did euer find;

(Britomart's view of valour) 3.11.23.1-2 Daunger without discretion to attempt, / Inglorious and beastlike is;

(Shame) 3.12.24.5 Shame most ill fauourd, bestiall, and blind;

(Scudamour) 4.1.49.7-9 As when in chace / The Parthian strikes a stag with shiuering dart, / The beast astonisht stands in midst of his smart;



**(Canacee and her learning) 4.2.35.1-9** Cambelloes sister was fayre Canacee, / That was the learnedst Ladie in her dayes, / Well seene in euerie science that mote bee, / And euery secret worke of natures wayes, / In wittie riddles, and in wise soothsayes, / In power of herbes, and tunes of beasts and burds; / And, that augmented all her other prayse, / She modest was in all her deedes and words, / And wondrous chaste of life, yet lou'd of Knights and Lords;

**(Diamond fights Cambel) 4.3.16.1-9** As when two Tygers prickt with hungers rage, / Haued by good fortune found some beasts fresh spoyle, / On which they weene their famine to asswage, / And gaine a feastfull guerdon of their toyle, / Both falling out doe stirre vp strifefull broyle, / And cruell battell twixt themselues doe make, / Whiles neither lets the other touch the soyle, / But either sdeignes with other to partake: / So cruelly these Knights stroue for that Ladies sake;

**(Britomart's largesse) 4.4.47.1-9** Like as in sommers day when raging heat / Doth burne the earth, and boyled riuers drie, / That all brute beasts forst to refraine fro meat, / Doe hunt for shade, where shrowded they may lie, / And missing it, faine from themselues to flie; / All traouellers tormented are with paine: / A watry cloud doth ouercast the skie, / And poureth forth a sudden shoure of raine, / That all the wretched world recomforteth againe;

**(savage man) 4.7.5.1-9** It was to weet a wilde and saluage man, / Yet was no man, but onely like in shape, / And eke in stature higher by a span, / All ouergrowne with haire, that could awhape / An hardy hart, and his wide mouth did gape / With huge great teeth, like to a tusked Bore: / For he liu'd all on rauin and on rape / Of men and beasts; and fed on fleshly gore, / The signe whereof yet stain'd his bloody lips afore;

**(savage man) 4.7.6.1-9** His neather lip was not like man nor beast, / But like a wide deepe poke, downe hanging low, / In which he wont the relickes of his feast, / And cruell spoyle, which he had spard, to stow: / And ouer it his huge great nose did grow, / Full dreadfully empurpled all with blood; / And downe both sides two wide long eares did glow, / And raught downe to his waste, when vp he stood, / More great then th' eares of Elephants by Indus flood;

**(savage man) 4.7.7.7-9** Of what wombe ybore, / Of beasts, or of the earth, I haue not red: / But certes was with milke of Wolues and Tygres fed;

**(old woman preserves Æmylia's honour from savage man) 4.7.19.8-9** For euer when he burnt in lustfull fire, / She in my stead supplide his bestiall desire;

**(Æmylia and Amoret with Arthur) 4.8.22.8** And on his warlike beast them both did beare;

**(beauty has since become) 4.8.32.4** The baite of bestiall delight;

**(Arthur places Corflambo's body on mount) 4.9.4.7-8** And hauing ympt the head to it agayne, / Vpon his vsuall beast it firmly bound;

**(Arthur devises a means of entry) 4.9.5.1-4** Then did he take that chaced Squire, and layd / Before the ryder, as he captiue were, / And made his Dwarfe, though with vnwilling ayd, / To guide the beast, that did his maister beare;

**(Britomart goes unheard) 4.9.31.5-9** As when an eager mastiffe once doth proue / The tast of blood of some engored beast, / No words may rate, nor rigour him remoue / From greedy hold of that his bloody feast: / So litle did they hearken to her sweet behest;

**(invocation of Venus) 4.10.46.1-6** Then doe the saluage beasts begin to play / Their pleasant friskes, and loath their wonted food; / The Lyons rore, the Tygres loudly bray, / The raging Bulls rebellow through the wood, / And breaking forth, dare tempt the deepest flood, / To come where thou doest draw them with desire;

**(peace of Saturn) 5 Pr 9.6** Peace vniuersall rayn'd mongst men and beasts;

**(Astraea trains Artegall through hunting) 5.1.7.8** Vpon wyld beasts, which she in woods did find;

**(awe of Artegall) 5.1.8.4-5** That euen wilde beasts did feare his awfull sight, / And men admyr'd his ouerruling might;

**(Sanglier bound) 5.1.22.6** Bound like a beast appointed to the stall;

**(Terpin at Radigund's mercy) 5.4.40.6-9** As when a Beare hath seiz'd her cruell claws / Vpon the carkasse of some beast too weake, / Proudly stands ouer, and a while doth pause, / To heare the piteous beast pleading her plaintiffe cause;

**(dawn calls forth) 5.5.1.3-4** And earely calling forth both man and beast, / Cammaunded them their daily workes renew;

**(Britomart's horse) 5.6.39.2** But putting spures vnto her fiery beast;

**(Britomart's dream in Temple of Isis) 5.7.15.1-5.7.16.7** With that the Crocodile, which sleeping lay / Vnder the Idols feete in fearelesse bowre, / Seem'd to awake in horrible dismay, / As being troubled with that stormy stowre; / And gaping greedy wide, did streight deuoure / Both flames and tempest: with which growen great, / And swolne with pride of his owne peerlesse powre, / He gan to threaten her likewise to eat; / But that the Goddesses with her rod him backe did beat. / Tho turning all his pride to humblesse meeke, / Him selfe before her feete he lowly threw, / And gan for grace and loue of her to seeke: Which she accepting, he so neare her drew, / That of his game she soone enwombed grew, / And forth did bring a Lion of great might; / That shortly did all other beasts subdew;

**(Britomart fights Radigund) 5.7.30.1-9** As when a Tygre and Lionesse / Are met at spoyling of some hungry pray, / Both challenge it with equall greedinesse: / But first the Tygre claws thereon did lay; / And therefore loth to loose her right away, / Doth in defence thereof full stoutly stond: / To which the Lion strongly doth gainsay, / That she to hunt the beast first tooke in hond; And therefore ought it haue, where euer she it fond;

**(Souldan's chariot) 5.8.28.6-9** Drawne of cruell steedes, which he had fed / With flesh of men, whom through fell tyranny / He slaughtred had, and ere they were halfe ded, / Their bodies to his beasts for prouender did spred;

**(Adicia) 5.8.49.1-5** As a mad bytch, when as the franticke fit / Her burning tongue with rage inflamed hath, / Doth runne at randon, and with furious bit / Snatching at euery thing, doth wreake her wrath / On man and beast, that commeth in her path;

**(injustice and savagery marks of servants of Adicia) 5.9.1.1-9** What Tygre, or what other saluage wight / Is so exceeding furious and fell, / As wrong, when it hath arm'd it selfe with might? / Not fit mongst men, that doe with reason mell, / But mongst wyld beasts and saluage woods to dwell; / Where still the stronger doth the weake deuoure, / And they that most in boldnesse doe excell, / Are dredded most, and feared for their powre: / Fit for Adicia, there to build her wicked bowre;

**(Adicia in exile) 5.9.2.4-5** Where none may be with her lewd parts defyled, / Nor none but beasts may be of her despoyled;

**(Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.23.1-5.11.24.9** An huge great Beast it was, when it in length / Was stretched forth, that nigh filld all the place, / And seem'd to be of infinite great strength; / Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race, / Borne of the brooding of Echidna base, / Or other like infernall furies kinde: / For of a Mayd she had the outward face, / To hide the horror, which did lurke behinde, / The better to beguile, whom she so fond did finde. / Thereto the body of a dog she had, / Full of fell rauin and fierce greedinesse; / A Lions clawes, with powre and rigour clad, / To rend and teare, what so she can oppresse; / A Dragons taile, whose sting without redresse / Full deadly wounds, where so it is empight; / And Eagles wings, for scope and speedinesse, / That nothing may escape her reaching might, / Whereto she euer list to make her hardy flight;

**(Artegall and Burbon forced back by mob) 5.11.58.7-9** As when the wrathfull Boreas doth bluster, / Nought may abide the tempest of his yre, / Both man and beast doe fly, and succour doe inquire;

**(no limits on ambition) 5.12.1.3-6** Whom neither dread of God, that deuils bindes, / Nor lawes of men, that common weales containe, / Nor bands of nature, that wilde beastes restraine, / Can keepe from outrage, and from doing wrong;

**(Blatant Beast) 5.12.37.7-8** A monster, which the Blatant beast men call, / A dreadfull feend of gods and men ydrad;

**(Artegall has seen Blatant Beast) 6.1.9.2** Sayd Artgall, I such a Beast did see;

**(Calidore agrees) 6.1.10.1** That surely is that Beast (saide Calidore);

**(Blatant Beast flees with Serena) 6.3.25.1-2** The Beast with their pursuit incited more, / Into the wood was bearing her apace;

**(Salvage Man's home) 6.4.13.8-9** There foot of liuing creature neuer trode, / Ne scarce wyld beasts durst come, there was this wights abode;

**(Salvage Man's welcome and diet) 6.4.14.1-9** Thether he brought these vnaacquainted guests; / To whom faire semblance, as he could, he shewed / By signes, by lookes, and all his other gests. / But the bare ground, with hoarie mosse bestowed, / Must be their bed, their pillow was vnsowed, / And the frutes of the forrest was their feast: / For their bad Stuard neither plough'd nor sowed, / Ne fed on flesh, ne euer of wyld beast / Did taste the bloud, obaying natures first beheast;

**(Bear turns on Calepine) 6.4.20.5** Wherewith the beast enrag'd to loose his pray;

**(Displeasure and Pleasure) 3.12.18.7-8** An angry Waspe th'one in a viall had, / Th'other in hers an hony-lady Bee;

**(citizens of Radegone, punning on bees) 5.4.36.7-9** And like a sort of Bees in clusters swarmed: / Ere long their Queene her selfe, halfe like a man / Came forth into the rout, and them t'array began;

**Bird**

- (Redcrosse and Una)** 1.1.8.1-4 And fourth they passe, with pleasure forward led, / Ioying to heare the birdes sweete harmony, / Which therein shrouded from the tempest dred, / Seemd in their song to scorne the cruell sky;
- (fauns and satyrs joy in Una)** 1.6.13.5-6 They all as glad, as birdes of ioyous Prime, / Thence lead her forth, about her dauncing round;
- (song for Redcrosse)** 1.7.3.4-5 Wherein the cherefull birds of sundry kind / Do chaunt sweet musick, to delight his mind;
- (Acrasia's bower)** 2.5.31.6-9 Therein the mery birds of euery sort / Chaunted alowd their chearefull harmonie: / And made amongst them selues a sweet consort, / That quickned the dull spright with musicall comfort;
- (seductive song on Phaedria's island)** 2.6.13.1-6 No tree, whose braunches did not bravely spring; / No branch, whereon a fine bird did not sit; / No song but did containe a lovely dit: / Trees, braunches, birds, and songs were framed fit, / For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease;
- (song as mark of Phaedria/Merth's fruitfulness)** 2.6.24.6-2.6.25.1 The fields did laugh, the flowres did freshly spring, / The trees did bud, and earely blossomes bore, / And all the quire of birds did sweetly sing, / And told that gardins pleasures in their caroling. / And she more sweet, then any bird on bough;
- (Arthur surprised by Maleger's revival)** 2.11.43.1-5 As when Ioues harnesse-bearing Bird from hie / Stoupes at a flying heron with proud disdaine, / The stone-dead quarry fals so forcible, / That it rebounds against the lowly plaine, / A second fall redoubling backe againe;
- (ill-omened birds flock)** 2.12.36.1-3 Even all the nation of unfortunate / And fatall birds about them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate;
- (birdsong in Bowre of Blisse)** 2.12.70.7-2.12.71.2 For all that pleasing is to living care, / Was there consorted in one harmonee, / Birdes, voyces, instruments, windes, waters, all agree. / The joyous birdes shrouded in chearefull shade, / Their notes unto the voyce attempred sweet;
- (birds seem to approve song)** 2.12.76.1-3 Then gan all the quire of birdes / Their diuerse notes t'attune vnto his lay, / As in approuance of his pleasing words;
- (song incentive to lust in Castle Joyeous)** 3.1.40.3-6 And all the while sweet birdes thereto applied / Their daintie layes and dulcet melody, / Ay caroling of love and jollity, / That wonder was to heare their trim consort;
- (axiomatic remark about Britomart)** 3.1.54.8-9 The bird, that knowes not the false fowlers call, / Into his hidden net full easily doth fall;
- (Belpheobe's pavilion)** 3.5.40.3-4 In which the birds song many a louely lay / Of gods high prayse, and of their Ioues sweet teene;
- (the business of the Garden of Adonis)** 3.6.35.1-9 Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred, / And vncouth formes, which none yet euer knew, / And euery sort is in a sundry bed / Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew: / Some fit for reasonable soules t'indew, / Some made for beasts, some made for birds to weare, / And all the fruitfull spawne of fishes hew / In endlesse rancks along enraunged were, / That seem'd the Ocean could not containe them there;
- (without Time)** 3.6.41.7-9 Franckly each paramour his leman knowes, / Each bird his mate, ne any does enuie / Their goodly meriment, and gay felicitie;
- (in the Garden of Adonis)** 3.6.42.7-8 The whiles the ioyous birdes make their pastime / Emongst the shadie leaues, their sweet abode;
- (Florimell)** 3.7.10.9 As glad of that small rest, as Bird of tempest gon;
- (trained to sing for Florimell)** 3.7.17.3-4 And oft young birds, which he had taught to sing / His mistresse prayses, sweetly caroled;
- (bedtime)** 3.10.46.1-9 Tho vp they gan their merry pypes to trusse, / And all their goodly heards did gather round, / But euery Satyre first did giue a busse / To Hellenore: so busses did abound. / Now gan the humid vapour shed the ground / With perly dew, and th'Earthes gloomy shade / Did dim the brightnesse of the welkin round, / That euery bird and beast awarned made, / To shrowd themselues, whiles sleepe their senses did inuade;
- (Jupiter in tapestry)** 3.11.32.1-9 Then was he turnd into a snowy Swan, / To win faire Leda to his louely trade: / O wondrous skill, and sweet wit of the man, / That her in daffadillies sleeping made, / From scorching heat her daintie limbes to shade: / Whiles the proud Bird ruffing his fethers wyde, / And brushing his faire brest, did her inuade; / She slept, yet twixt her eyelids closely spyde, / How towards her he rusht, and smiled at his pryde;
- (Canacee and her learning)** 4.2.35.1-9 Cambelloes sister was fayre Canacee, / That was the learnedst Ladie in her dayes, / Well seene in euerie science that mote bee, / And euery secret worke of natures wayes, / In wittie riddles, and in wise soothsayes, / In power of herbes, and tunes of beasts and burds; / And, that augmented all her other prayse, / She modest was in all her deedes and words, / And wondrous chaste of life, yet lou'd of Knights and Lords;
- (turtledove sings for Timias)** 4.8.5.1 Thus long this gentle bird to him did use;
- (Timias adorns turtledove)** 4.8.7.1-9 The same he tooke, and with a riband new, / In which his Ladies colours were, did bind / About the turtles necke, that with the vew / Did greatly solace his engrieued mind. / All vnawares the bird, when she did find / Her selfe so deckt, her nimble wings displaid, / And flew away, as lightly as the wind: / Which sodaine accident him much dismaid, / And looking after long, did marke which way she straid;
- (travels to Belpheobe)** 4.8.8.7-9 But that sweet bird departing, flew forth right / Through the wide region of the wastfull aire, / Vntill she came where wonned his Belphebe faire;
- (avoids Belpheobe's hand)** 4.8.10.7 But the swift bird obeyd not her behest;

(*invocation of Venus*) 4.10.45.6-8 First doe the merry birds, thy prety pages / Priuily pricked with thy lustfull powres, / Chirpe loud to thee out of their leauy cages;

(*Braggadocchio disguised, from Aesop*) 5.3.20.7 That hast with borrowed plumes thy selfe endewed;

(*warns of dawn and denial of Peter*) 5.6.27.1-4 What time the natiue Belman of the night, / The bird, that warned Peter of his fall, / First rings his siluer Bell t'each sleepy wight, / That should their mindes vp to deuotion call;

(*Malengin's skillful trickery*) 5.9.13.1-9 Like as the fouler on his guilefull pype / Charmes to the birds full many a pleasant lay, / That they the whiles may take lesse heedie keepe, / How he his nets doth for their ruine lay: / So did the villaine to her prate and play, / And many pleasant trickes before her show, / To turne her eyes from his intent away: / For he in slights and iugling feates did flow, / And of legierdemayne the mysteries did know;

(*Malengin/Guyle transforms into*) 5.9.17.1-9 Into a Foxe himselfe he first did tourne; / But he him hunted like a Foxe full fast: / Then to a bush himselfe he did transforme, / But he the bush did beat, till that at last / Into a bird it chaung'd, and from him past, / Flying from tree to tree, from wand to wand: / But he then stoness at it so long did cast, / That like a stone it fell vpon the land, / But he then tooke it vp, and held fast in his hand;

(*Hermit*) 6.6.4.9 In which he liu'd alone, like carelesse bird in cage;

(*Night bird-like*) 6.8.44.4-6 And now the Euentyde / His brode black wings had through the heauens wyde / By this dispred;

(*Calidore caught in Cupid's hands*) 6.9.11.9 Caught like the bird, which gazing still on others stands;

(*Melibœe praises pastoral life*) 6.9.23.1-9 Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;

(*trees of Acidale*) 6.10.6.6-9 Spreddeing pauillions for the birds to bowre, / Which in their lower braunches sung aloud; / And in their tops the soring hauke did towre, / Sitting like King of fowles in maiesty and powre;

see bat, bittern, cockerel, crane, duck, eagle, falcon, fowl, goshawk, hawk, jay, kestrel, lark, puttock, thrush, whistler

## Bitch

see dog

## Bittern

(*Pyrochles at Arthur's mercy*) 2.8.50.2-6 For as a Bittur in the Eagles claw, / That may not hope by flight to scape aliue, / Still waites for death with dread and trembling aw; / So he now subject to the victours law, / Did not once moue, nor vpward cast his eye;

## Blatant Beast

(*Blatant Beast*) 5.12.37.7-8 A monster, which the Blatant beast men call, / A dreadfull feend of gods and men ydrad;

(*Blatant Beast urged on against Artegall by Envy and Detraction*) 5.12.41.1-3 Thereto the Blatant beast by them set on / At him began aloud to barke and bay, / With bitter rage and fell contention;

(*Calidore's quest*) 6.1.7.1 The Blattant Beast (quoth he) I doe pursew;

(*Artegall questions, Calidore describes*) 6.1.7.6-6.1.8.9 What is that Blattant Beast? (then he replide) / It is a Monster bred of hellishe race, / (Then answerd he) which often hath annoyd / Good Knights and Ladies true, and many else destroyd. / Of Cerberus whilome he was begot, / And fell Chimæra in her darkesome den, / Through fowle commixture of his filthy blot; / Where he was fostred long in Stygian fen, / Till he to perfect ripenesse grew, and then / Into this wicked world he forth was sent, / To be the plague and scourge of wretched men: / Whom with vile tongue and venemous intent / He sore doth wound, and bite, and cruelly torment;

(*Calidore pursues*) 6.3.Arg.1-2 Calidore brings Priscilla home, / Pursues the Blatant Beast;

(*Serena captured*) 6.3.24.1-4 All sodainely out of the forrest nere / The Blatant Beast forth rushing vnaware, / Caught her thus loosely wandring here and there, / And in his wide great mouth away her bare;

(*secret weapon of Despetto, Decetto, and Defetto*) 6.5.14.8 The Blatant Beast the fittest meanes they found;

(*Despetto, Decetto, and Defetto attempt to lure Timias*) 6.5.15.3-8 They sent that Blatant Beast to be a baite, / To draw him from his deare beloued dame, / Vnwares into the daunger of defame. / For well they wist, that Squire to be so bold, / That no one beast in forrest wylde or tame, / Met him in chase, but he it challenge would;

(*Serena and Timias's wounds*) 6.5.39-6-9 But faire Serene all night could take no rest, / Ne yet that gentle Squire, for griuous paine / Of their late woundes, the which the Blatant Beast / Had giuen them, whose grieffe through suffraunce sore increast;

(*poison of*) 6.6.1.1-6.6.2.2 No wound, which warlike hand of enemy / Inflicts with dint of sword, so sore doth light, / As doth the poysnous sting, which infamy / Infixeth in the name of noble wight: / For by no art, nor any leaches might / It euer can recured be againe; / Ne all the skill, which that immortal spright / Of Podalyrius did in it retaine, / Can remedy such hurts; such hurts are hellish paine. / Such were the wounds, the which that Blatant Beast / Made in the bodies of that Squire and Dame;

(*teeth*) 6.6.9.1-9 For that beastes teeth, which wounded you tofore, / Are so exceeding venemous and keene, / Made all of rusty yron, ranckling sore, / That where they bite, it booteth not to weene / With salue, or antidote, or other mene / It

euer to amend: ne maruaile ought; / For that same beast was bred of hellish strene, / And long in darksome Stygian den  
vpbrought, / Begot of foule Echidna, as in bookes is taught;

**(Blatant Beast's mother) 6.6.10.1-6.6.11.6** Echidna is a Monster direfull dred, / Whom Gods doe hate, and heauens  
abhor to see; / So hideous is her shape, so huge her hed, / That euen the hellish fiends affrighted bee / At sight thereof,  
and from her presence flee: / Yet did her face and former parts professe / A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee; /  
But all her hinder parts did plaine expresse / A monstrous Dragon, full of fearefull vglinesse. / To her the Gods, for her  
so dreadfull face, / In fearefull darknesse, furthest from the skie, / And from the earth, appointed haue her place, /  
Mongst rocks and caues, where she enrold doth lie / In hideous horror and obscurity, / Wasting the strength of her  
immortall age.

**(Blatant Beast) 6.6.12.2-4** This hellish Dog, that hight the Blatant Beast; / A wicked Monster, that his tongue doth  
whet / Gainst all, both good and bad, both most and least;

**(healing of Serena and Timias) 6.6.15.5** And eke the biting of that harmefull Beast;

**(Calidore pursues) 6.9.2.3** Sewing the Blatant beast;

**(Calidore pursues) 6.9.3.1-2** So sharply he the Monster did pursew, / That day nor night he suffred him to rest;

**(whilst Calidore plays shepherd, narrator asks) 6.10.1.1** Who now does follow the foule Blatant Beast;

**(canto 12) 6.12.Arg.3-4** Calidore doth the Blatant beast / subdew, and bynd in bands;

**(narrator) 6.12.2.6-7** I come into my course againe, / To his atchieuement of the Blatant beast;

**(Calidore leaves love with Claribell) 6.12.13.4** Whylest he that monster sought;

**(the quest for the Blatant Beast) 6.12.22.6-7** Calidore, who seeking all this while / That monstrous Beast by finall  
force to quell;

**(Blatant Beast attacks monastery) 6.12.24.6-9** Yet that foule Beast / Nought sparing them, the more did tosse and  
teare, / And ransacke all their dennes from most to least, / Regarding nought religion, nor their holy heast;

**(open mouth) 6.12.26.4-9** Ran at him amaine / With open mouth, that seemed to containe / A full good pecke within  
the vtmost brim, / All set with yron teeth in raunges twaine, / That terrifide his foes, and armed him, / Appearing like  
the mouth of Orcus griesly grim;

**(tongues and voice of Blatant Beast) 6.12.27.1-6.12.28.9** And therein were a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry  
kinds, and sundry quality, / Some were of dogs, that barked day and night, / And some of cats, that wrawling still did  
cry, / And some of Beares, that groynd continually, / And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren, / And snar at all, that  
euer passed by: / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor  
when. / And them amongst were mingled here and there, / The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings, / That spat  
out poyson and gore bloody gere / At all, that came within his rauenings, / And spake licentious words, and hatefull  
things / Of good and bad alike, of low and hie; / Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings, / But either blotted them with  
infamie, / Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury;

**(Calidore fights Blatant Beast) 6.12.30.6-9** His shield he on him threw, and fast downe held, / Like as a bullocke, that  
in bloody stall / Of butchers balefull hand to ground is feld, / Is forcibly kept downe, till he be thoroughly queld;

**(Blatant Beast pinned) 6.12.31.1-2** Full cruelly the Beast did rage and rore, / To be downe held;

**(Blatant Beast pinned) 6.12.31.7-6.12.32.6** That made him almost mad for fell despight. / He grind, hee bit, he  
scratcht, he venim threw, / And fared like a feend, right horrible in hew. / Or like the hell-borne Hydra, which they  
faine / That great Alcides whilome ouerthrew, / After that he had labourd long in vaine, / To crop his thousand heads,  
the which still new / Forth budded, and in greater number grew. / Such was the fury of this hellish Beast;

**(Blatant Beast changes tactics) 6.12.33.1-3** When the Beast saw, he mote nought auaille, / By force, he gan his  
hundred tongues apply, / And sharpely at him to reuile and raile;

**(muzzled Blatant Beast) 6.12.35.1-6.12.36.2** Like as whylome that strong Tirynthian swaine, / Brought forth with him  
the dreadfull dog of hell, / Against his will fast bound in yron chaine, / And roring horribly, did him compell / To see  
the hatefull sunne, that he might tell / To griesly Pluto, what on earth was donne, / And to the other damned ghosts,  
which dwell / For aye in darknesse, which day light doth shonne. / So led this Knight his captiue with like conquest  
wonne. / Yet greatly did the Beast repine at those / Straunge bands, whose like till then he neuer bore;

**(Calidore leads Blatant Beast) 6.12.37.3-9** All the people where so he did go, / Out of their townes did round about  
him throng, / To see him leade that Beast in bondage strong, / And seeing it, much wondred at the sight; / And all such  
persons, as he earst did wrong, / Reioyced much to see his captiue plight, / And much admyr'd the Beast, but more  
admyr'd the Knight;

**(Calidore triumphant) 6.12.38.1-2** Thus was this Monster by the maystring might / Of doughty Calidore, supprest and  
tamed;

**(alas, Blatant Beast free again) 6.12.40.1-5** So now he raungeth through the world againe, / And rageth sore in each  
degree and state; / Ne any is, that may him now restraine, / He growen is so great and strong of late, / Barking and  
biting all that him doe bate;

## Boar

**(Hippolytus) 1.5.37.1-2** Hippolytus a iolly huntsman was, / That wont in charet chace the foming Bore;

**(Satyrane shows power) 1.6.26.1-9** And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would  
compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and

Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equall teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborne harts to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;  
**(Satyrane and Sansloy) 1.6.44.4-9** As when two Bores with rancling malice met, / Their gory sides fresh bleeding fiercely fret, / Til breathlesse both them selues aside retire, / Where foming wrath, their cruell tuskes they whet, / And trample th'earth, the whiles they may respire; / Then backe to fight againe, new breathed and entire;  
**(dragon's crest) 1.11.15.5-7** Eftsoones he gan aduance his haughtie crest, / As chauffed Bore his bristles doth vpreare, / And shoke his scales to battell readie drest;  
**(enemies of Hearing) 2.11.10.1-9** The second Bulwarke was the Hearing sence, / Gainst which the second troupe dessignment makes; / Deformed creatures, in straunge difference, / Some hauing heads like Harts, some like to Snakes, / Some like wild Bores late rouzd out of the brakes; / Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies, / Leasings, backbyttings, and vaine-glorious crakes, / Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries. / All those against that fort did bend their batteries;  
**(Adonis in tapestry) 3.1.38.2** Deadly engored of a great wild Bore;  
**(forester) 3.5.20.1** The foster with his long bore-speare;  
**(Venus, Adonis, and the boar) 3.6.48.5-6** For that wilde Bore, the which him once annoyd, / She firmly hath emprisoned for ay;  
**(Satyrane and Cambell) 4.4.29.8-9** As two wild Boares together grapling go, / Chaufing and foming cholere each against his fo;  
**(savage man) 4.7.5.1-9** It was to weete a wilde and saluage man, / Yet was no man, but onely like in shape, / And eke in stature higher by a span, / All ouergrowne with haire, that could awchape / An hardy hart, and his wide mouth did gape / With huge great teeth, like to a tusked Bore: / For he liu'd all on rauin and on rape / Of men and beasts; and fed on fleshly gore, / The signe whereof yet stain'd his bloody lips afore;  
**(Tristram) 6.2.6.6-9** And in his left he held a sharpe borespeare, / With which he wont to launch the saluage hart / Of many a Lyon, and of many a Beare / That first vnto his hand in chase did happen neare;  
**(Sommer hunts) 7.7.29.8** Had hunted late the Libbard or the Bore;  
see Sanglier

## Bruin

see Bear

## Buck

**(Saluage Man pursues Turpine) 6.4.8.1-6** But after him the wyld man ran apace, / And him pursewed with importune speed, / (For he was swift as any Bucke in chace) / And had he not in his extreamest need, / Bene helped through the swiftnesse of his steed, / He had him ouertaken in his flight;

## Bull

**(Satyrane can defeat) 1.6.24.6-7** And eke wyld roring Buls he would make / To tame, and ryde their backes not made to beare;  
**(Orgoglio wounded) 1.8.11.3-9** He loudly brayd with beastly yelling sound, / That all the fields rebellowed againe; / As great a noyse, as when in Cymbrian plaine / An heard of Bulles, whom kindly rage doth sting, / Do for the milkie mothers want complaine, / And fill the fields with troublous bellowing, / The neighbour woods around with hollow murmur ring;  
**(Furor's randomness in attack) 2.4.7.8-9** But as a blindfold Bull at randon fares, / And where he hits, nought knowes, and whom he hurts, nought cares;  
**(Arthur fights Cymochles and Pyrochles) 2.8.42.1-9** As saluage Bull, whom two fierce mastiues bayt, / When rancour doth with rage him once engore, / Forgets with warie ward them to awayt, / But with his dreadfull hornes them driues afore, / Or flings aloft, or treads downe in the flore, / Breathing out wrath, and bellowing disdaine, / That all the forrest quakes to heare him rore: / So rag'd Prince Arthur twixt his foemen twaine, / That neither could his mightie puissance sustaine;  
**(common encounters) 3.1.14.8-9** Yet tract of living creatures none they found, / Save Beares, Lions, and Buls, which romed them around;  
**(Glauce argues for rightness of right love) 3.2.41.5-8** Yet playd Pasiphaë a more monstrous part, / That lou'd a Bull, and leard a beast to bee; / Such shamefull lusts who loaths not, which depart / From course of nature and of modestie;  
**(Jupiter in tapestry) 3.11.30.5-6** Now like a Ram, faire Helle to peruart, / Now like a Bull, Europa to withdraw;  
**(Satyrane and Bruncheval) 4.4.18.3-6** As two fierce Buls, that striue the rule to get / Of all the heard, meete with so hideous maine, / That both rebutted, tumble on the plaine: / So these two champions to the ground were feld;  
**(invocation of Venus) 4.10.46.1-6** Then doe the saluage beasts begin to play / Their pleasant friskes, and loath their wonted food; / The Lyons rore, the Tygres loudly bray, / The raging Buls rebellow through the wood, / And breaking forth, dare tempt the deepest flood, / To come where thou doest draw them with desire;  
**(constellation Taurus) 5 Pr 5.9** And shouldred hath the Bull, which fayre Europa bore;  
**(Taurus in zodiac series) 5 Pr 6.1-4** And eke the Bull hath with his bow-bent horne / So hardly butted those two twinnes of Ioue, / That they haue crusht the Crab, and quite him borne / Into the great Nemaean lions groue;

**(Timias fights three foes) 6.5.19.1-9** Like a wyld Bull, that being at a bay, / Is bayted of a mastiffe, and a hound, / And a curre-dog; that doe him sharpe assay / On euery side, and beat about him round; / But most that curre barking with bitter sownd, / And creeping still behinde, doth him incomber, / That in his chauffe he digs the trampled ground, / And threats his horns, and bellowes like the thonder, / So did that Squire his foes disperse, and driue asonder;

**(Arthur fights Turpine) 6.6.27.4-9** Like a fierce Bull, that being busie bent / To fight with many foes about him ment, / Feeling some curre behinde his heeles to bite, / Turnes him about with fell auengement; / So likewise turnde the Prince vpon the Knight, / And layd at him amaine with all his will and might;

**(Timias fights Disdain) 6.7.44.1-9** Like as a Mastiffe hauing at a bay / A saluage Bull, whose cruell hornes doe threat / Desperate daunger, if he them assay, / Traceth his ground, and round about doth beat, / To spy where he may some aduantage get; / The whiles the beast doth rage and loudly rore: / So did the Squire, the whiles the Carle did fret, / And fume in his disdainefull mynd the more, / And oftentimes by Turmagant and Mahound swore;

**(April rides Taurus) 7.7.33.3-4** Upon a Bull he rode, the same which led / Europa floting through th'Argolick fluds;  
see cattle, steer, bullock

## Bullock

**(Calidore fights Blatant Beast) 6.12.30.6-9** His shield he on him threw, and fast downe held, / Like as a bullocke, that in bloody stall / Of butchers balefull hand to ground is feld, / Is forcibly kept downe, till he be throughly queld;  
see bull, cattle, steer

## Caduceus

**(Palmer's staff) 2.12.41.1-9** Of that same wood it fram'd was cunningly, / Of which Caduceus whilome was made, / Caduceus the rod of Mercury, / With which he wonts the Stygian realmes inuade, / Through ghastly horror, and eternall shade; / Th'inferrall feends with it he can asswage, / And Orcus tame, whom nothing can perswade, / And rule the Furies, when they most do rage: / Such vertue in his staffe had eke this Palmer sage;

**(Cambina bears caduceus) 4.3.42.1-7** In her right hand a rod of peace shee bore, / About the which two Serpents weren wound, / Entrayled mutually in louely lore, / And by the tailes together firmly bound, / And both were with one oliue garland crownd, / Like to the rod which Maias sonne doth wield, / Wherewith the hellish fiends he doth confound;  
see beast; serpent/snake

## Camel

**(mount of Avarice) 1.4.27.2** Upon a Camel loaden all with gold;  
see dromedary

## Canker(-worm)

**(Anamnestes's chamber) 2.9.57.6-9** His chamber all was hangd about with rolles, / And old records from auncient times deriu'd, / Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolles, / That were all worme-eaten, and full of canker holes;

**(narrator laments ravages of time) 4.2.33.6-9** O cursed Eld the cankerworme of writs, / How may these rimes, so rude as doth appeare, / Hope to endure, sith workes of heauenly wits / Are quite deuour'd, and brought to nought by little bits;

## Capon

**(Braggadocchio frightened) 3.8.15.5-7** Did nigh affray / That Capons courage: yet he looked grim, / And fain'd to cheare his Ladie in dismay;

## Cat

**(tongues and voice of Blatant Beast) 6.12.27.1-6.12.28.9** And therein were a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry kindes, and sundry quality, / Some were of dogs, that barked day and night, / And some of cats, that wrawling still did cry, / And some of Beares, that groynd continually, / And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren, / And snar at all, that euer passed by: / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor when. / And them amongst were mingled here and there, / The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings, / That spat out poyson and gore bloody gere / At all, that came within his rauenings, / And spake licentious words, and hatefull things / Of good and bad alike, of low and hie; / Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings, / But either blotted them with infamie, / Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury;

## Cattle

**(Apollo in tapestry) 3.11.39.1-2** He loued Isse for his dearest Dame, / And for her sake her cattell fed a while;

**(Satyrane and Bruncheval) 4.4.18.3-6** As two fierce Bulls, that striue the rule to get / Of all the heard, meete with so hideous maine, / That both rebutted, tumble on the plaine: / So these two champions to the ground were feld;

**(Triamond and Cambell) 4.4.35.6-9** As when two greedy Wolues doe breake by force / Into an heard, farre from the husband farme, / They spoile and rauine without all remorse, / So did these two through all the field their foes enforce;

(**kine kept by Euyrtion**) 5.10.9.8-9 To his kyne for food assynd; / The fayrest kyne alive, but of the fiercest kynd;  
 (**Salvage nation**) 6.8.35.4-9 Ne did giue / Them selues to any trade, as for to driue / The painefull plough, or catell for  
 to breed, / Or by aduentrous marchandize to thriue; / But on the labours of poore men to feed, / And serue their owne  
 necessities with others need;

(**Calidore pursues Blatant Beast**) 6.9.4.1-4 From thence into the open fields he fled, / Whereas the Heardes were  
 keeping of their neat, / And shepheards singing to their flockes, that fed, / Layes of sweete loue and youthes delightfull  
 heat;

### **Celeno (harpy)**

(**ouer Mammon's realm**) 2.7.23.1-9 And ouer them sad Horroure with grim hew, / Did alwayes sore, beating his yron  
 wings; / And after him Owles and Night-rauens flew, / The hatefull messengers of heauy things, / Of death and dolour  
 telling sad tidings; / Whiles sad Celeno, sitting on a clift, / A song of bale and bitter sorrow sings, / That hart of flint a  
 sunder could haue rift: / Which hauing ended, after him she flyeth swift;

### **Centaur**

(**Hercules**) 1.11.27.5-6 When him the poysoned garment did enchaunt / With Centaures bloud;

(**idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber**) 2.9.50.8-9 Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions,  
 Ægles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;

(**Proteus**) 3.8.41.1-3 To dreadfull shapes he did himselfe transforme, / Now like a Gyant, now like to a feend, / Then  
 like a Centaure, then like to a storme;

(**Saturn in tapestry**) 3.11.43.5 That to a Centaure did him selfe transmoue;

(**image of**) 4.1.23.3-4 The bloodie feast, which sent away / So many Centaures drunken soules to hell;

(**description of dance of the Graces**) 6.10.13.4-5 When the bold Centaures made that bloody fray / With the fierce  
 Lapithes;

(**November rides Sagittarius**) 7.7.40.8 For it a dreadfull Centaure was in sight;  
 see Proteus, Saturn

### **Cerberus**

(**description**) 1.5.34.1-9 Before the threshold dreadfull Cerberus / His three deformed heads did lay along, / Curled  
 with thousand adders venemous, / And lilled forth his bloudie flaming tong; / At them he gan to reare his bristles strong,  
 / And felly gnarre, vntill dayes enemy / Did him appease; then downe his taile he hong / And suffered them to passen  
 quietly: / For she in hell and heauen had power equally.

(**dragon grips shield**) 1.11.41.4-5 Nor harder was from Cerberus greedie iaw / To plucke a bone, then from his cruell  
 claw;

(**Orpheus charms**) 4.10.58.1-5 No lesse did Daunger threaten me with dread, / When as he saw me, maugre all his  
 powre, / That glorious spoyle of beautie with me lead, / Then Cerberus, when Orpheus did recourse / His Lemman from  
 the Stygian Princes boure;

(**Artegall questions, Calidore describes**) 6.1.7.6-6.1.8.9 What is that Blattant Beast? (then he replide) / It is a Monster  
 bred of hellishe race, / (Then answerd he) which often hath annoyd / Good Knights and Ladies true, and many else  
 destroyd. / Of Cerberus whilome he was begot, / And fell Chimæra in her darkesome den, / Through fowle commixture  
 of his filthy blot; / Where he was fostred long in Stygian fen, / Till he to perfect ripenesse grew, and then / Into this  
 wicked world he forth was sent, / To be the plague and scourge of wretched men: / Whom with vile tongue and  
 venemous intent / He sore doth wound, and bite, and cruelly torment;

(**muzzled Blatant Beast**) 6.12.35.1-6.12.36.2 Like as whylome that strong Tirynthian swaine, / Brought forth with him  
 the dreadfull dog of hell, / Against his will fast bound in yron chaine, / And roing horribly, did him compel / To see  
 the hatefull sunne, that he might tell / To griesly Pluto, what on earth was donne, / And to the other damned ghosts,  
 which dwell / For aye in darkenesse, which day light doth shonne. / So led this Knight his captiue with like conquest  
 wonne. / Yet greatly did the Beast repine at those / Straunge bands, whose like till then he neuer bore;

### **Chameleon**

(**Duessa**) 4.1.18.3-5 She could d'on so manie shapes in sight, / As euer could Cameleon colours new; / So could she  
 forge all colours, saue the trew;

### **Chicken**

(**Palmer rejoices over Guyon still living**) 2.8.9.8-9 He much reioyst, and courd it tenderly, / As chicken newly hatcht,  
 from dreaded destiny;

(**Danes as**) 3.3.46.7 And bid his faithlesse chickens overronne;  
 see raven

### **Chimera**

(**Artegall questions, Calidore describes**) 6.1.7.6-6.1.8.9 What is that Blattant Beast? (then he replide) / It is a Monster



bred of hellishe race, / (Then answerd he) which often hath annoyd / Good Knights and Ladies true, and many else  
destroyd. / Of Cerberus whilome he was begot, / And fell Chimæra in her darkesome den, / Through fowle commixture  
of his filthy blot; / Where he was fostred long in Stygian fen, / Till he to perfect ripenesse grew, and then / Into this  
wicked world he forth was sent, / To be the plague and scourge of wretched men: / Whom with vile tongue and  
venemous intent / He sore doth wound, and bite, and cruelly torment;

### Cockerel

(**Scudamour's uneasy sleep at Care's workshop**) 4.5.41.6-9 And all the night the dogs did barke and howle / About  
the house, at sent of stranger guest: / And now the crowing Cocke, and now the Owle / Lowde shriking him afflicted to  
the very sowle;

(**warns of dawn and denial of Peter**) 5.6.27.1-4 What time the natiue Belman of the night, / The bird, that warned  
Peter of his fall, / First rings his siluer Bell t'each sleepy wight, / That should their mindes vp to deuotion call;  
see bird

### Colt

(**genetics of gentleness**) 6.3.1.6-9 For seldome seene, a trotting Stalion get / An ambling Colt, that is his proper owne: /  
So seldome seene, that one in basenesse set / Doth noble courage shew, with curteous manners met;  
see horse, stallion

### Cormorant

(**Rock of Reproach**) 2.12.8.3-7 To which nor fish nor fowle did once approach, / But yelling Meawes, with Seagulles  
hoarse and bace, / And Cormoyrants, with birds of rauenous race, / Which still sate waiting on that wastfull clift, / For  
spoyle of wretches;

(**Matilde's tale**) 6.4.29.3-6 I am th'vnfortunate Matilde by name, / The wife of bold Sir Bruin, who is Lord / Of all this  
land, late conquer'd by his sword / From a great Gyant, called Cormoraunt;

### Courser

see horse

### Cow

(**Adicia**) 5.8.46.1-4 Streight downe she ranne, like an enraged cow, / That is berobbed of her youngling dere, / With  
knife in hand, and fatally did vow, / To wreake her on that mayden messengere;

### Crab

(**Cancer in zodiac series**) 5 Pr 6.1-4 And eke the Bull hath with his bow-bent home / So hardly butted those two  
twinnes of loue, / That they haue crusht the Crab, and quite him borne / Into the great Nemaean lions groue;

(**June rides Cancer**) 7.7.35.5-6 Upon a Crab he rode, that him did beare / With crooked crawling steps an uncouth  
pase;

### Crake

(**enemies of Hearing**) 2.11.10.1-9 The second Bulwarke was the Hearing sence, / Gainst which the second troupe  
dessignment makes; / Deformed creatures, in straunge difference, / Some hauing heads like Harts, some like to Snakes,  
/ Some like wild Bores late rouzd out of the brakes; / Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies, / Leasings,  
backbytings, and vaine-glorious crakes, / Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries. / All those against that fort did  
bend their batteries;

also northern dialectal "raven" and sound of crake  
see raven

### Crane

(**Gluttony's neck**) 1.4.21.5 And like a Crane his necke was long and fyne;

(**Disdain**) 6.7.42.5-9 And stalking stately like a Crane, did stryde / At euery step vpon the tiptoes hie, / And all the  
way he went, on euery side / He gaz'd about, and stared horriblie, / As if he with his lookes would all men terrifie;

see bird

### Creature

(**Error's maw seemingly engendering beasts**) 1.1.21.1-9 As when old father Nilus gins to swell / With timely pride  
about the Aegyptian vale, / His fattie waues do fertile slime outwell, / And ouerflow each plaine and lowly dale: / But  
when his later spring gins to auale, / Huge heapes of mudd he leaues, wherein there breed / Ten thousand kinds of  
creatures, partly male / And partly female of his fruitfull seed; / Such vgly monstrous shapes elsewhere may no man reed;  
(**false Una trained**) 1.1.46.6-8 And that new creature borne without her dew, / Full of the makers guile, with vsage sly  
/ He taught to imitate that Lady trew;

**(heat of the day)** 1.2.29.3-6 For golden Phœbus now ymounted hie, / From fiery wheelles of his faire chariot / Hurl'd his beame so scorching cruell hot, / That liuing creature mote it not abide;

**(Lion defends Una)** 1.3.15.2-4 When euery creature shrowded is in sleepe; / Sad Vna downe her laies in wearie plight, / And at her feet the Lyon watch doth keepe;

**(Sansjoy's scorn)** 1.5.4.3-4 Who not a pin / Does care for looke of liuing creatures eye;

**(punishments of Pluto's realm)** 1.5.33.8-9 Ten thousand sorts of punishment / The cursed creatures doe eternally torment;

**(Una's spotlessness)** 1.6.2.5 Yet crime in her could neuer creature find;

**(Arthur in Orgoglio's castle)** 1.8.29.5 Where liuing creature none he did espye;

**(Duessa)** 1.8.48.3-9 But at her rompe she growing had behind / A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight; / And eke her feete most monstrous were in sight; / For one of them was like an Eagles claw, / With griping talaunts armd to greedy fight, / The other like a Beares vneuen paw: / More vgly shape yet neuer liuing creature saw;

**(Una's father considers)** 1.12.29.4 Ne word to creature spake;

**(angelic music)** 1.12.39.6-7 Yet wist no creature, whence that heauenly sweet / Proceeded;

**(Mammon's foundry-workers)** 2.7.35.6-9 By euery fornace many feends did bide, / Deformed creatures, horrible in sight, / And euery feend his busie paines applide, / To melt the golden metall, ready to be tride;

**(Mammon's workers stare at Guyon)** 2.7.37.5-7 They neuer creature saw, that came that way. / Their staring eyes sparkling with feruent fire, / And vgly shapes did nigh the man dismay;

**(Disdayne's height)** 2.7.41.7-9 That made him scorne all creatures great and small, / And with his pride all others powre deface: / More fit amongst blacke fiendes, then men to haue his place;

**(Guyon sees Tantalus)** 2.7.57.8 One cursed creature, he by chance espide;

**(Tantalus calls himself)** 2.7.59.4 Most cursed of all creatures vnder skye;

**(order of God)** 2.8.1.1-9 And is there care in heauen? and is there loue / In heauenly spirits to these creatures bace, / That may compassion of their euils moue? / There is: else much more wretched were the cace / Of men, then beasts. But O th'exceeding grace / Of highest God, that loues his creatures so, / And all his workes with mercy doth embrace, / That blessed Angels, he sends to and fro, / To serue to wicked man, to serue his wicked foe;

**(first elf finds fay)** 2.10.71.4-7 Did in the gardins of Adonis find / A goodly creature, whom he deemd in mind / To be no earthly wight, but either Spright, / Or Angell, th'authour of all woman kind;

**(enemies of Hearing)** 2.11.10.1-9 The second Bulwarke was the Hearing sence, / Gainst which the second troupe dessignment makes; / Deformed creatures, in straunge difference, / Some hauing heads like Harts, some like to Snakes, / Some like wild Bores late rouzd out of the brakes; / Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies, / Leasings, backbyttings, and vaine-glorious crakes, / Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries. / All those against that fort did bend their batteries;

**(sea monsters)** 2.12.25.1-9 All these, and thousand thousands many more, / And more deformed Monsters thousand fold, / With dreadfull noise, and hollow rombling rore, / Came rushing in the fomy waues enrold, / Which seem'd to fly for feare, them to behold: / Ne wonder, if these did the knight appall; / For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold, / Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall, / Compared to the creatures in the seas entrall;

**(abiogenesis)** 3.6.8.1-9 Miraculous may seeme to him, that reades / So straunge ensample of conception; / But reason teacheth that the fruitfull seades / Of all things liuing, through impression / Of the sunbeames in moyst complexion, / Doe life conceiue and quickned are by kynd: / So after Nilus invndation, / Infinite shapes of creatures men do fynd, / Informed in the mud, on which the Sunne hath shynd;

**(fate of Florimell at fisherman's hands)** 3.8.28.8-9 But if Sir Calidore could it presage, / No liuing creature could his cruelty asswage;

**(Malbecco's cave)** 3.10.56.5 That liuing creature it would terrify;

**(Scudamour's view of Amoret)** 3.11.10.3-4 More bounteous creature neuer far'd / On foot;

**(Britomart in House of Busirane)** 3.11.55.2 Yet liuing creature none she saw appeare;

**(Ate hates God)** 4.1.30.3-5 Because to man so mercifull he was, / And vnto all his creatures so benigne, / Sith she her selfe was of his grace indigne;

**(mother of Priamond, Diamond, Triamond)** 4.2.44.4 And to her seruice bind each liuing creature;

**(Priamond, Diamond, Triamond)** 4.3.2.4-7 Yet whilest they liued none did euer see / More happie creatures, then they seem'd to bee, / Nor more ennobled for their courtesie, / That made them dearely lou'd of each degree;

**(false Florimell)** 4.5.14.6 And weend no mortall creature she should bee;

**(Scudamour's struggles)** 4.5.43.3-4 Fleshly weaknesse, which no creature may / Long time resist;

**(Britomart in distress)** 4.6.17.1-2 What yron courage euer could endure, / To worke such outrage on so faire a creature;

**(savage man captures Amoret)** 4.7.8.1 This vgly creature in his armes her snatcht;

**(the savage man's den)** 4.7.33.3-4 Ne creature saw, but hearkned now and then / Some litle whispering, and soft groning sound;

**(old woman fit companion for savage man)** 4.7.34.4 A foule and lothsome creature did appeare;

**(Sclaunder)** 4.8.24.1 A foule and loathly creature sure in sight;

**(Amyas and Placidus)** 4.8.55.9 For neuer two so like did liuing creature see;

**(attribute of the Nile)** 4.11.20.3 The fertile Nile, which creatures new doth frame;

(Isis) 4.11.24.8 Full weake and crooked creature seemed shee;  
 (Marinell's mother Cymoent worries less) 4.12.27.1-3 Now lesse she feared that same fatall read, / That warned him of womens loue beware: / Which being ment of mortall creatures sead;  
 (Florimell) 4.12.33.5 For she all liuing creatures did excell;  
 (Malengin) 5.9.12.2 So vgly creature;  
 (Salvage Man's home) 6.4.13.8-9 There foot of liuing creature neuer trode, / Ne scarce wyld beasts durst come, there was this wights abode;  
 (Mutability seeks power) 7.6.4.8-9 That not men onely (whom she soone subdewed) / But eke all other creatures, her bad dooings rewed;  
 (all life comes to Arlo Hill) 7.7.4.1-9 And thither also came all other creatures, / What-euer life or motion doe retaine, / According to their sundry kinds of features; / That Arlo scarsly could them all containe; / So full they filled euery hill and Plaine: / And had not Natures Sergeant (that is Order) / Them well disposed by his busie paine, / And raunged farre abroad in euery border, / They would haue caused much confusion and disorder;  
 (Nature) 7.7.5.5-7 Yet certes by her face and physnomy, / Whether she man or woman inly were, / That could not any creature well descry;  
 (Nature) 7.7.13.1-2 This great Grandmother of all creatures bred / Great Nature, euer young yet full of eld;  
 (Mutability appeals to Nature) 7.7.14.4-6 Who Right to all dost deale indifferently, / Damning all Wrong and tortious Iniurie, / Which any of thy creatures doe to other;  
 (air) 7.7.22.4 All creatures to maintaine;  
 (air and weather, according to Mutability) 7.7.23.2 Which to her creatures euery minute chauce;  
 (fire) 7.7.24.6-7 Ne any liuing creatures doth he breed: / But all, that are of others bredd, doth slay;  
 (joy over arrival of May) 7.7.34.7-8 Lord! how all creatures laught, when her they spide, / And leapt and daunc't as they had rausht beene;  
 (awaiting judgement of Nature) 7.7.57.4-6 Meane while, all creatures, looking in her face, / Expecting th'end of this so doubtfull case, / Did hang in long suspence what would ensew;

### Crocodile

(Duessa weeps) 1.5.18.1-1.5.19.1 As when a wearie traeller that strays / By muddy shore of broad seuen-mouthed Nile, / Vnweeting of the perillous wandring wayes, / Doth meet a cruell craftie Crocodile, / Which in false grieffe hyding his harmefull guile, / Doth weepe full sore, and sheddeth tender teares: / The foolish man, that pitties all this while / His mournefull plight, is swallowd vp vnwares, / Forgetfull of his owne, that mindes anothers cares. / So wept Duessa vntill euentide;  
 (at feet of Isis) 5.7.6.8-5.7.7.4 And at her feete a Crocodile was rold, / That with her wreathed taile her middle did enfold. / One foote was set vpon the Crocodile, / And on the gorund the other fast did stand, / So meaning to suppress both forged guile, / And open force;  
 (Britomart's dream in Temple of Isis) 5.7.15.1-5.7.16.7 With that the Crocodile, which sleeping lay / Vnder the Idols feete in fearelesse bowre, / Seem'd to awake in horrible dismay, / As being troubled with that stormy stowre; / And gaping greedy wide, did streight deuoure / Both flames and tempest: with which growen great, / And swolne with pride of his owne peerlesse powre, / He gan to threaten her likewise to eat; / But that the Goddess with her rod him backe did beat. / Tho turning all his pride to humblesse meeke, / Him selfe before her feete he lowly threw, / And gan for grace and loue of her to seeke: Which she accepting, he so neare her drew, / That of his game she soone enwombd grew, / And forth did bring a Lion of great might; / That shortly did all other beasts subdew;  
 (represents Artegall) 5.7.22.3-9 For that same Crocodile doth represent / The righteous Knight, that is thy faithfull louer, / Like to Osyris in all iust endeuer. / For that same Crocodile Osyris is, / That vnder Isis feete doth sleep for euer: / To shew that clemence oft in things amis, / Restraines those sterne behests, and cruell doomes of his;

### Culver

see dove

### Cur dog

(Arthur breaks bonds) 2.11.33.3-6 And as a Beare whom angry cures haue touzd, / Hauing off-shakt them, and escapt their hands, / Becomes more fell, and all that him withstands / Treads downe and ouerthrowes;  
 (Redcrosse at bay) 3.1.22.1-5 Like dastard Cures, that hauing at a bay / The saluage beast embost in wearie chace, / Dare not aduenture on the stubborne pray, / Ne byte before, but rome from place to place, / To get a snatch, when turned is his face;  
 (Sclaunder keeps shouting) 4.8.36.5-9 Like as a curre doth felly bite and teare / The stone, which passed straunger at him threw; / So she them seeing past the reach of eare, / Against the stones and trees did rayle anew, / Till she had duld the sting, which in her tongs end grew;  
 (Timias fights three foes) 6.5.19.1-9 Like a wyld Bull, that being at a bay, / Is bayted of a mastiffe, and a hound, / And a curre-dog; that doe him sharpe assay / On euery side, and beat about him round; / But most that curre barking with bitter sownd, / And creeping still behinde, doth him incomber, / That in his chauffe he digs the trampled ground, / And threats his horns, and bellows like the thonder, / So did that Squire his foes disperse, and driue asonder;

**(Arthur fights Turpine) 6.6.27.4-9** Like a fierce Bull, that being busie bent / To fight with many foes about him ment,  
/ Feeling some curre behinde his heeles to bite, / Turnes him about with fell auengement; / So likewise turnde the  
Prince vpon the Knight, / And layd at him amaine with all his will and might;

see dog

## Deer

**(Fury's wildness) 3.12.17.8-9** As a dismayed Deare in chace embost, / Forgetfull of his safety, hath his right way lost;  
**(Scudamour) 3.12.44.7-9 [1590]** Like as a Deare, that greedily embayes/ In the coole soile, after long thirstinesse, /  
Which he in chace endured hath, now nigh breathlesse;

**(Calidore fights the brigands) 6.11.49.1-4** Like as a Lion mongst an heard of dere, / Disperseth them to catch his  
choycest pray; / So did he fly amongst them here and there, / And all that nere him came, did hew and slay;

**(nymphs argue for punishment of Faunus) 7.6.50.8-9** Him in Deares skin to clad; and in that plight, / To hunt him  
with their hounds;

**(Faunus in flight) 7.6.52.2-5** With a Deeres-skin they couered, and then chast / With all their hounds that after him did  
speed; / But he more speedy, from them fled more fast / Then any Deere: so sore him dread aghast;

see buck, doe, fawn, hart, hind, roebuck, stag

## Doe

**(Melibœe praises pastoral life) 6.9.23.1-9** Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him  
dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another  
while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay /  
My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;

## Dog

**(guard the doors of Morpheus) 1.1.40.4-6** And wakefull dogges before them farre do lye, / Watching to banish Care  
their enemy, / Who oft is wont to trouble gentle Sleepe;

**(animals uneasy in presence of Night) 1.5.30.1-9** And all the while she stood vpon the ground, / The wakefull dogs  
did neuer cease to bay, / As giuing warning of th'vnwonted sound, / With which her yron wheeles did them affray, /  
And her darke griesly looke them much dismay; / The messenger of death, the ghastly Owle / With drearie shriekes did  
also her bewray; / And hungry Wolues continually did howle, / At her abhorred face, so filthy and so fowle;

**(Archimago bound) 1.12.35.6-9** Who seeming sorely chauffed at his band, / As chained Beare, whom cruell dogs do  
bait, / With idle force did faine them to withstand, / And often semblaunce made to scape out of their hand;

**(Braggadocchio's invective) 2.3.7.6** Why liuest thou, dead dog, a lenger day;

**(Pyrochles on Guyon) 2.8.15.9** For why should a dead dog be deckt in armour bright;

**(enemies of Sight) 2.11.8.1-9** The first troupe was a monstrous rabblement / Of fowle misshapen wights, of which  
some were / Headed like Owles, with beckes vncomely bent, / Others like Dogs, others like Gryphons dreare, / And  
some had wings, and some had clawes to teare, / And euery one of them had Lynces eyes, / And euery one did bow and  
arrowes beare: / All those were lawlesse lustes, corrupt enuies, / And couetous aspectes, all cruell enimies;

**(enemies of Smell) 2.11.11.1-9** Likewise that same third Fort, that is the Smell / Of that third troupe was cruelly assayd:  
/ Whose hideous shapes were like to feends of hell, / Some like to hounds, some like to Apes, dismayd, / Some like to  
Puttockes, all in plumes arayd: / All shap't according their conditions, / For by those vgly formes weren pourtrayd, /  
Foolish delights and fond abusions, / Which do that sence besiege with light illusions;

**(Impotence and Impatience) 2.11.47.2** Like two mad dogs they ran about the lands;

**(Florimel) 3.8.33.3ff** Like as a fearefull Partidge, that is fled / From the sharpe Hauke, which her attached neare, / and  
fals to ground, to seeke for succour there, / Whereas the hungry Spaniels she does spy;

**(reactions to Malbecco's discourtesy) 3.9.14.7-9** As if he did a dogge to kenell rate, / That durst not barke; and rather  
had he dy, / Then when he was defide, in coward corner ly;

**(Malbecco's flight) 3.10.53.4-9** Like as a Beare / That creeping close, amongst the hiues to reare / An hony combe, the  
wakefull dogs espy, / And him assayling, sore his carkasse teare, / That hardly he with life away does fly, / Ne staves,  
till safe himselfe he see from ieopardy;

**(Scudamour's uneasy sleep at Care's workshop) 4.5.41.6-9** And all the night the dogs did barke and howle / About  
the house, at sent of stranger guest: / And now the crowing Cocke, and now the Owle / Lowde shriking him afflicted to  
the very sowle;

**(Samient maltreated by Adicia) 5.8.22.7** Me like a dog she out of dores did thrust;

**(Adicia) 5.8.49.1-5** As a mad bytch, when as the franticke fit / Her burning tongue with rage inflamed hath, / Doth  
runne at randon, and with furious bit / Snatching at euery thing, doth wreake her wrath / On man and beast, that  
commeth in her path;

**(Eurytion's beast) 5.10.10.6-8** His two headed dogge, that Orthrus hight; / Orthrus begotten by great Typhaon, / And  
foule Echidna, in the house of night;

**(Belge forced to live in the wild wastes) 5.10.23.6-9** Onely these marishes, and myrie bogs, / In which the fearefull ewfites do build their bowres, / Yeeld me an hostry mongst the croking frogs, / And harbour here in safety from those ravenous dogs;

**(Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.23.1-5.11.24.9** An huge great Beast it was, when it in length / Was stretched forth, that nigh fild all the place, / And seem'd to be of infinite great strength; / Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race, / Borne of the brooding of Echidna base, / Or other like infernall furies kinde: / For of a Mayd she had the outward face, / To hide the horreur, which did lurke behinde, / The better to beguile, whom she so fond did finde. / Thereto the body of a dog she had, / Full of fell rauin and fierce greedinesse; / A Lions clawes, with powre and rigour clad, / To rend and teare, what so she can oppresse; / A Dragons taile, whose sting without redresse / Full deadly wounds, where so it is empight; / And Eagles wings, for scope and speedinesse, / That nothing may escape her reaching might, / Whereto she euer list to make her hardy flight;

**(baits bull) 6.5.19.1-3** Like a wylde Bull, that being at a bay, / Is bayted of a mastiffe, and a hound, / And a curre-dog;

**(Blatant Beast) 6.6.12.2-4** This hellish Dog, that hight the Blatant Beast; / A wicked Monster, that his tongue doth whet / Gainst all, both good and bad, both most and least;

**(Arthur condemns Turpine) 6.6.33.4** Vile cowheard dogge;

**(Timias in bondage) 6.8.5.1-6** The Squire him selfe when as he saw his Lord, / The wisse of his wretchednesse, in place, / Was much asham'd, that with an hempen cord / He like a dog was led in captiue case, / And did his head for bashfulnesse abase, / As loth to see, or to be seene at all;

**(brigands fight among themselves) 6.11.17.1-9** Like as a sort of hungry dogs ymet / About some carcase by the common way, / Doe fall together, stryuing each to get / The greatest portion of the greedie pray; / All on confused heapes themselues assay, / And snatch, and byte, and rend, and tug, and teare; / That who them sees, would wonder at their fray, / And who sees not, would be affrayd to heare. / Such was the conflict of those cruell Brigants there;

**(tongues and voice of Blatant Beast) 6.12.27.1-6.12.28.9** And therein were a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry Kindes, and sundry quality, / Some were of dogs, that barked day and night, / And some of cats, that wrawling still did cry, / And some of Beares, that groynd continually, / And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren, / And snar at all, that euer passed by: / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor when. / And them amongst were mingled here and there, / The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings, / That spat out poyson and gore bloody gere / At all, that came within his rauening, / And spake licentious words, and hatefull things / Of good and bad alike, of low and hie; / Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings, / But either blotted them with infamie, / Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury;

**(muzzled Blatant Beast) 6.12.35.1-6.12.36.2** Like as whylome that strong Tiryinthian swaine, / Brought forth with him the dreadfull dog of hell, / Against his will fast bound in yron chaine, / And roring horribly, did him compel / To see the hatefull sunne, that he might tell / To griesly Pluto, what on earth was donne, / And to the other damned ghosts, which dwell / For aye in darkenesse, which day light doth shonne. / So led this Knight his captiue with like conquest wonne. / Yet greatly did the Beast repine at those / Straunge bands, whose like till then he neuer bore;

see cur dog; hound; mastiff; spaniel

## Dolphin

**(as guileful fighter) 2.15.1-9** As when a Dolphin and a Sele are met, / In the wide champion of the Oceane plaine: / With cruell chaufe their courages they whet, / The maysterdome of each by force to gaine, / And dreadfull battaile twixt them do darraine: / They snuf, they snort, they bounce, they rage, they rore, / That all the sea disturbed with their traine, / Doth frie with fome above the surges hore. / Such was betwixt these two the troublesome upore;

**(Marinell rescue mission) 3.4.33.1-9** A teme of Dolphins raunged in aray, / Drew the smooth charet of sad Cymoent; / They were all taught by Triton, to obay / To the long raynes, at her commaundement: / As swift as swallowes, on the waues they went, / That their broad flaggie finnes no fome did reare, / Ne bubbling roundell they behind them sent; / The rest of other fishes drawn weare, / Which with their finny oars the swelling sea did sheare;

**(Arion provides music) 4.11.23.3-9** That was Arion crownd; / Who playing on his harpe, vnto him drew / The eares and hearts of all that goodly crew, / That euen yet the Dolphin, which him bore / Through the Ægæan seas from Pirates vew, / Stood still by him astonisht at his lore, / And all the raging seas for ioy forgot to rore;

## Dove

**(Mammon's fiend thwarted) 2.7.34.1-6** Thereat the feend his gnashing teeth did grate, / And grieu'd, so long to lacke his greedy pray; / For well he weened, that so glorious bayte / Would tempt his guest, to take thereof assay: / Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away, / More light then Culuer in the Faulcons fist;

**(Florimell in flight) 3.4.49.4-9** Like as a fearefull Doue, which through the raine, / Of the wide aire her way does cut amaine, / Haung farre off espyde a Tassell gent, / Which after her his nimble wings doth straine, / Doubleth her haste for feare to be for-hent, / And with her pineons cleaues the liquid firmament;

**(Cupid escapes from Venus) 3.6.11.4** As flit as ayerie Doue;

**(Argante prepares for battle) 3.6.39.1-7** Like as a Goshauke, that in foote doth beare / A trembling Culuer, haung spide on hight / An Egle, that with plumy wings doth sheare / The subtile ayre, stouping with all his might, / The quarry throwes to ground with fell despight, / And to the battell doth her selfe prepare: / So ran the Geautesse vnto the fight;

**(Timias's sorrow) 4.8.3.2-4.8.4.9** His doole he made, there chaunst a turtle Doue / To come, where he his dolours did deuse, / That likewise late had lost her dearest loue, / Which losse her made like passion also proue. / Who seeing his sad plight, her tender heart / With deare compassion deeply did emmoue, / That she gan mone his vnderdeserued smart, / And with her dolefull accent beare with him a part. / Shee sitting by him as on ground he lay, / Her mournfull notes full piteously did frame, / And thereof made a lamentable lay, / So sensibly compyld, that in the same / Him seemed oft he heard his owne right name. / With that he forth would poure so plenteous teares, / And beat his breast vnworthy of such blame, / And knocke his head, and rend his rugged heares, / That could haue perst the hearts of Tigres and of Beares;

**(stays near Belpheobe) 4.8.11.1-2** And euer when she nigh approacht, the Doue / Would flit a litle forward, and then stay;

**(innocence of the past) 4.8.31.1-4** The Lyon there did with the Lambe consort, / And eke the Doue sate by the Faulcons side, / Ne each of other feared fraud or tort, / But did in safe securitie abide;

**(Talus drives off mob) 5.12.5.9** And made to fly, like doues, whom the Eagle doth affray;

**(Salvage nation flees before Calepine) 6.8.49.9** Fly like a flocke of doves before a Faulcons vew;

## Dragon

**(Redcrosse's questing foe) 1.1.3.9** Vpon his foe, a Dragon horrible and stearne;

**(Redcrosse's questing foe) 1.1.5.7** Till that infernall feend with foule vprore;

**(at Lucifera's feet) 1.4.10.5** A dreadfull Dragon with an hideous trayne;

**(Archimago's magic) 1.2.10.3-8** As many formes and shapes in seeming wise, / As euer Proteus to himselfe could make: / Sometime a fowle, sometime a fish in lake, / Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell, / That of himselfe he oft for feare would quake, / And oft would flie away;

**(at feet of Lucifera) 1.4.10.5** A dreadfull Dragon with an hideous trayne;

**(Recrosse and Sansjoy) 1.5.8.1-1.5.8.1** So th'one for wrong, the other striues for right: / As when a Gryfon seized of his pray, / A Dragon fiers encountreth in his flight, / Through widest ayre making his ydle way, / That would his rightfull rauine rend away: / With hideous horreur both together smight, / And souce so sore, that they the heauens affray: / The wise Southsayer seeing so sad sight, / Th'amazed vulgar tels of warres and mortall fight. / So th'one for wrong, the other striues for right;

**(helmet of Arthur) 1.7.31.1-9** His haughtie helmet, horrid all with gold, / Both glorious brightnesse, and great terour bred; / For all the crest a Dragon did enfold / With greedie pawes, and ouer all did spred / His golden wings: his dreadfull hideous hed / Close couched on the beuer, seem'd to throw / From flaming mouth bright sparkles fierie red, / That suddeine horror to faint harts did show; / And scaly tayle was stretcht adowne his backe full low;

**(Una's tale) 1.7.44.1-9** Till that their cruell cursed enemy, / An huge great Dragon horrible in sight, / Bred in the loathly lakes of Tartary, / With murdrous rauine, and deuouring might / Their kingdome spoild, and cuntry wasted quight: / Themselues, for feare into his iawes to fall, / He forst to castle strong to take their flight, / Where fast embard in mightie brasen wall, / He has them now foure yeres besiegd to make them thrall;

**(many have tried) 1.7.45.1-2** Full many knights aduenturous and stout / Haue enterprizd that Monster to subdew;

**(Una argues Redcrosse out of despair) 1.9.52.8-9** Is this the battell, which thou vauntst to fight / With that fire-mouthed Dragon, horrible and bright;

**(canto 11) 1.11.Arg.1** The knight with that old Dragon fights;

**(the dragon sighted) 1.11.4.4** Eftsoones that dreadfull Dragon they espide;

**(description) 1.11.8.1-9** By this the dreadfull Beast drew nigh to hand, / Halfe flying, and halfe footing in his hast, / That with his largenesse measured much land, / And made wide shadow vnder his huge wast; / As mountaine doth the valley ouercast. / Approching nigh, he reared high afore / His body monstrous, horrible, and vast, / Which to increase his wondrous greatnesse more, / Was swolne with wrath, and poyson, and with bloody gore;

**(dragon rouses self) 1.11.9.5-9** Which as an Eagle, seeing pray appeare, / His aery plumes doth rouze, full rudely dight, / So shaked he, that horreur was to heare, / For as the clashing of an Armour bright, / Such noyse his rouzed scales did send vnto the knight;

**(description) 1.11.10.1-1.11.12.9** His flaggy wings when forth he did display, / Were like two sayles, in which the hollow wynd / Is gathered full, and worketh speedy way: / And eke the pennes, that did his pineons bynd, / Were like mayne-yards, with flying canuas lynd, / With which whenas him list the ayre to beat, / And there by force vnwonted passage find, / The cloudes before him fled for terour great, / And all the heauens stood still amazed with his threat. / His huge long tayle wound vp in hundred foldes, / Does ouerspred his long bras-scaly backe, / Whose wreathed boughts when euer he vnfoldes, / And thicke entangled knots adowne does slacke, / Bespotted as with shields of red and blacke, / It sweepeth all the land behind him farre, / And of three furlongs does but litle lacke; / And at the point two stings in-fixed arre, / Both deadly sharpe, that sharpest steele exceeden farre. / But stings and sharpest steele did far exceed / The sharpnesse of his cruell rending clawes; / Dead was it sure, as sure as death in deed, / What euer thing does touch his rauinous pawes, / Or what within his reach he euer drawes. / But his most hideous head my tounge to tell, / Does tremble: for his deepe deuouring iawes / Wide gaped, like the griesly mouth of hell, / Through which into his darke abisse all rauin fell;

**(mouth) 1.11.13.1-9** In either iaw / Three ranckes of yron teeth enraunged were, / In which yet trickling bloud and gobbets raw / Of late deuoured bodies did appeare, / That sight thereof bred cold congealed feare: / Which to increase,

and all atonce to kill, / A cloud of smothering smoke and sulphur seare / Out of his stinking gorge forth steemed still, / That all the ayre about with smoke and stench did fill;

**(eyes)** 1.11.14.3 As two broad Beacons, set in open fields;

**(dragon's crest)** 1.11.15.5-7 Eftsoones he gan aduance his haughtie crest, / As chauffed Bore his bristles doth vpreare, / And shoke his scales to battell readie drest;

**(battle with dragon)** 1.11.16.7 The wrathfull beast about him turned light;

**(battle with dragon)** 1.11.17.5 Exceeding rage enflam'd the furious beast;

**(dragon snatches up Redcrosse)** 1.11.18.9 Snatcht vp both horse and man, to beare them quite away;

**(dragon wounded)** 1.11.20.9 That with the vncouth smart the Monster lowdly cryde;

**(dragon's tail)** 1.11.23.2-3 And therewith all enwrapt the nimble thyes / Of his froth-fomy steed;

**(dragon)** 1.11.25.6 The beast impatient of his smarting wound;

**(before the dragon)** 1.11.29.6-9 Before that cursed Dragon got / That happie land, and all with innocent blood / Defyld those sacred waues, it rightly hot / The well of life, ne yet his vertues had forgot;

**(dragon)** 1.11.31.5 That infernall Monster;

**(dragon)** 1.11.35.1 The damned feend;

**(dragon wounded)** 1.11.37.1-4 The cruell wound enraged him so sore, / That loud he yelded for exceeding paine; / As hundred ramping Lyons seem'd to rore, / Whom rauenous hunger did thereto constraine;

**(dragon roars)** 1.11.40.1-3 Hart cannot thinke, what outrage, and what cries, / With foule enfouldred smoake and flashing fire, / The hell-bred beast threw forth vnto the skyes;

**(Tree of Life)** 1.11.47.1-9 In all the world like was not to be found, / Saue in that soile, where all good things did grow, / And freely sprong out of the fruitfull ground, / As incorrupted Nature did them sow, / Till that dread Dragon all did ouerthrow. / Another like faire tree eke grew thereby, / Whereof who so did eat, eftsoones did know / Both good and ill: O mornefull memory: / That tree through one mans fault hath doen vs all to dy;

**(balm)** 1.11.49.1-2 For nigh thereto the euer damned beast / Durst not approch;

**(dragon thrust back)** 1.11.53.4-5 As hauke in flight, / Perforce rebutted backe;

**(dragon)** 1.11.55.5 The direfull feend;

**(news of dragon's death)** 1.12.2.6-9 The watchman on the castle wall; / Who thereby dead that balefull Beast did deeme, / And to his Lord and Ladie lowd gan call, / To tell, how he had seene the Dragons fatall fall;

**(people celebrate)** 1.12.4.8-9 Reioycing at the fall of that great beast, / From whose eternall bondage now they were releast;

**(viewing the body)** 1.12.9.6-9 When they came, where that dead Dragon lay, / Stretcht on the ground in monstrous large extent, / The sight with idle feare did them dismay, / Ne durst approch him nigh, to touch, or once assay;

**(fear of life remaining)** 1.12.10.1-9 Some feard, and fled; some feard and well it faynd; / One that would wiser seeme, then all the rest, / Warnd him not touch, for yet perhaps remaynd / Some lingring life within his hollow brest, / Or in his wombe might lurke some hidden nest / Of many Dragonets, his fruitfull seed; / Another said, that in his eyes did rest / Yet sparkling fire, and bad thereof take heed; / Another said, he saw him moue his eyes indeed;

**(reward for killing dragon)** 1.12.3.5 Who so kild that monster most deforme, / And him in hardy battaile ouercame, / Should haue mine onely daughter to his Dame;

**(Redcrosse's oath)** 1.12.41.6-8 He nought forgot, how he whilome had sworne, / In case he could that monstrous beast destroy, / Vnto his Farie Queene backe to returne;

**(dangers of wilderness told to Malbecco)** 3.10.40.3-7 That yonder in that wastefull wilderness / Huge monsters haunt, and many dangers dwell; / Dragons, and Minotaurs, and feendes of hell, / and many wilde woodmen, which robbe and rend / All travellers;

**(statue of Cupid)** 3.11.48.6-7 A wounded Dragon vnder him did ly, / Whose hideous taylor his left foot did enfold;

**(Gerione's monster)** 5.11.23.1-5.11.24.9 An huge great Beast it was, when it in length / Was stretched forth, that nigh fild all the place, / And seem'd to be of infinite great strength; / Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race, / Borne of the brooding of Echidna base, / Or other like infernall furies kinde: / For of a Mayd she had the outward face, / To hide the horrour, which did lurke behinde, / The better to beguile, whom she so fond did finde. / Thereto the body of a dog she had, / Full of fell rauin and fierce greedinesse; / A Lions clawes, with powre and rigour clad, / To rend and teare, what so she can oppresse; / A Dragons taile, whose sting without redresse / Full deadly wounds, where so it is empight; / And Eagles wings, for scope and speedinesse, / That nothing may escape her reaching might, / Whereto she euer list to make her hardy flight;

**(Blatant Beast's mother)** 6.6.10.1-6.6.11.6 Echidna is a Monster direfull dred, / Whom Gods doe hate, and heauens abhor to see; / So hideous is her shape, so huge her hed, / That euen the hellish fiends affrighted bee / At sight thereof, and from her presence flee: / Yet did her face and former parts professe / A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee; / But all her hinder parts did plaine expresse / A monstrous Dragon, full of fearefull vglinesse. / To her the Gods, for her so dreadfull face, / In fearefull darkenesse, furthest from the skie, / And from the earth, appointed haue her place, / Mongst rocks and caues, where she enrold doth lie / In hideous horrour and obscurity, / Wasting the strength of her immortall age;

## Dragonet

**(fear of life remaining)** 1.12.10.1-9 Some feard, and fled; some feard and well it faynd; / One that would wiser seeme,

then all the rest, / Warnd him not touch, for yet perhaps remaynd / Some lingring life within his hollow brest, / Or in his wombe might lurke some hidden nest / Of many Dragonets, his fruitfull seed; / Another said, that in his eyes did rest / Yet sparckling fire, and bad thereof take heed; / Another said, he saw him moue his eyes indeed;  
see dragon

### **Dromedary**

(**Corflambo pursues squire**) 4.8.38.6-9 Whom after did a mightie man pursew, / Ryding vpon a Dromedare on hie, / Of stature huge, and horrible of hew, / That would haue maz'd a man his dreadfull face to vew;  
(**Arthur places Corflambo's body on mount**) 4.9.4.7-8 And hauing ympt the head to it agayne, / Vpon his vsuall beast it firmly bound;  
(**Arthur devises a means of entry**) 4.9.5.1-4 Then did he take that chaced Squire, and layd / Before the ryder, as he captiue were, / And made his Dwarfe, though with vnwilling ayd, / To guide the beast, that did his maister beare;  
see camel

### **Duck**

(**lawless multitude flee before Talus**) 5.2.54.1-6 As when a Faulcon hath with nimble flight / Flowne at a flush of Ducks, foreby the brooke, / The trembling foule dismayd with dreadfull sight / Of death, the which them almost ouertooke, / Doe hide themselues from her astonying looke, / Amongst the flags and couert round about;  
see Bird

### **Duessa's beast**

(**worse than hydra**) 1.7.17.1-9 Such one it was, as that renowned Snake / Which great Alcides in Stremona slew, / Long fostred in the filth of Lerna lake, / Whose many heads out budding euer new, / Did breed him endlesse labour to subdew: / But this same Monster much more vgly was; / For seuen great heads out of his body grew, / An yron brest, and backe of scaly bras, / And all embrewd in bloud, his eyes did shine as glas;  
(**tail, drawing down stars/iconoclast?**) 1.7.18.1-5 His tayle was stretched out in wondrous length, / That to the house of heavenly gods it raught, / And with extorted powre, and borrow'd strength, / The even-burning lamps from thence it brought, / And proudly threw to ground, as things of nought;  
(**Orgoglio sets Duessa**) 1.7.18.8-9 Vpon this dreadfull Beast with seuenfold head / He set the false Duessa, for more aw and dread;  
(**Arthur's feats**) 1.8.Arg.3 Slayes the Gyant, wounds the beast;  
(**Duessa**) 1.8.6.2-5 High mounted on her manyheaded beast, / And euery head with fyrie tongue did flame, / And euery head was crowned on his creast, / And bloudie mouthed with late cruell feast;  
(**Duessa rides to Orgoglio's aid**) 1.8.12.3-5 Vnto his aide she hastily did draw / Her dreadfull beast, who swolne with bloud of late / Came ramping forth with proud presumptuous gate;  
(**Duessa**) 1.8.13.3 Enforst her purple beast with all her might;  
(**Timias falls, but Arthur aids**) 1.8.15.1-9 So downe he fell before the cruell beast, / Who on his necke his bloudie clawes did seize, / That life nigh crusht out of his panting brest: / No powre he had to stirre, nor will to rize. / That when the carefull knight gan well auise, / He lightly left the foe, with whom he fought, / And to the beast gan turne his enterprise; / For wondrous anguish in his hart it wrought, / To see his loued Squire into such thraldome brought;  
(**wounded, would throw Duessa**) 1.8.17.4-6 Through great impatience of his griued hed / His gorgeous ryder from her loftie sted / Would haue cast downe, and trod in durtie myre;  
(**blinded**) 1.8.20.1-4 And eke the fruitfull-headed beast, amaz'd / At flashing beames of that sunshiny shield, / Became starke blind, and all his senses daz'd, / That downe he tumbled on the durtie field;

### **Eagle**

(**Duessa**) 1.8.48.3-9 But at her rompe she growing had behind / A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight; / And eke her feete most monstrous were in sight; / For one of them was like an Eagles claw, / With griping talaunts armd to greedy fight, / The other like a Beares vneuen paw: / More vgly shape yet neuer liuing creature saw;  
(**Contemplation's piercing sight**) 1.10.47.6 As Eagles eye, that can behold the Sunne;  
(**dragon rouses self**) 1.11.9.5-9 Which as an Eagle, seeing pray appeare, / His aery plumes doth rouze, full rudely dight, / So shaked he, that horroure was to heare, / For as the clashing of an Armour bright, / Such noyse his rouzed scales did send vnto the knight;  
(**Redcrosse rises from Well of Life**) 1.11.34.3-9 As Eagle fresh out of the Ocean waue, / Where he hath left his plumes all hoary gray, / And deckt himselfe with feathers youthly gay, / Like Eyas hauke vp mounts vnto the skies, / His newly budded pineons to assay, / And marueiles at himselfe, still as he flies: / So new this new-borne knight to battell new did rise;  
(**Pyrochles at Arthur's mercy**) 2.8.50.2-6 For as a Bittur in the Eagles claw, / That may not hope by flight to scape aliue, / Still waites for death with dread and trembling aw; / So he now subject to the victours law, / Did not once moue, nor vpward cast his eye;



**(idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber) 2.9.50.8-9** Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions, Ægles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;

**(origins of first elf) 2.10.70.5-9** It told, how first Prometheus did create / A man, of many partes from beasts deriued, / And then stole fire from heauen, to animate / His worke, for which he was by loue deprived / Of life him selfe, and hart-strings of an Ægle riued;

**(Arthur surprised by Maleger's revival) 2.11.43.1-5** As when loues harnesse-bearing Bird from hie / Stoupes at a flying heron with proud disdaine, / The stone-dead quarry fals so forcible, / That it rebounds against the lowly plaine, / A second fall redoubling backe againe;

**(Argante prepares for battle) 3.6.39.1-7** Like as a Goshauke, that in foote doth beare / A trembling Culuer, hauing spide on hight / An Egle, that with plummy wings doth sheare / The subtil ayre, stouping with all his might, / The quarry throwes to ground with fell despight, / And to the battell doth her selfe prepare: / So ran the Geautesse vnto the fight;

**(Jupiter in tapestry) 3.11.34.1** Twise was he seene in soaring Eagles shape;

**(Æmylia captive of savage man) 4.7.18.6-9** Who trussing me, as Eagle doth his pray, / Me hether brought with him, as swift as wind, / Where yet vntouched till this present day, / I rest his wretched thrall, the sad Æmylia;

**(Artgall fights Radigund to save Terpin) 5.4.42.1-9** Like to an Eagle in his kingly pride, / Soring through his wide Empire of the aire, / To weather his brode sailes, by chance hath spide / A Goshauke, which hath seized for her share / Vppon some fowle, that should her feast prepare, / With dreadfull force he flies at her byliue, / That with his souce, which none endure dare, / Her from the quarry he away doth driue, / And from her griping pounce the greedy prey doth riue;

**(Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.23.1-5.11.24.9** An huge great Beast it was, when it in length / Was stretched forth, that nigh filld all the place, / And seem'd to be of infinite great strength; / Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race, / Borne of the brooding of Echidna base, / Or other like infernall furies kinde: / For of a Mayd she had the outward face, / To hide the horreur, which did lurke behinde, / The better to beguile, whom she so fond did finde. / Thereto the body of a dog she had, / Full of fell rauin and fierce greedinesse; / A Lions clawes, with powre and rigour clad, / To rend and teare, what so she can oppresse; / A Dragons taile, whose sting without redresse / Full deadly wounds, where so it is empight; / And Eagles wings, for scope and speedinesse, / That nothing may escape her reaching might, / Whereto she euer list to make her hardy flight;

**(Talus drives off mob) 5.12.5.9** And made to fly, like doues, whom the Eagle doth affray;

## Echidna

**(Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.23.1-5.11.24.9** An huge great Beast it was, when it in length / Was stretched forth, that nigh filld all the place, / And seem'd to be of infinite great strength; / Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race, / Borne of the brooding of Echidna base, / Or other like infernall furies kinde: / For of a Mayd she had the outward face, / To hide the horreur, which did lurke behinde, / The better to beguile, whom she so fond did finde. / Thereto the body of a dog she had, / Full of fell rauin and fierce greedinesse; / A Lions clawes, with powre and rigour clad, / To rend and teare, what so she can oppresse; / A Dragons taile, whose sting without redresse / Full deadly wounds, where so it is empight; / And Eagles wings, for scope and speedinesse, / That nothing may escape her reaching might, / Whereto she euer list to make her hardy flight;

**(Blatant Beast's mother) 6.6.10.1-6.6.11.6** Echidna is a Monster direfull dred, / Whom Gods doe hate, and heauens abhor to see; / So hideous is her shape, so huge her hed, / That euen the hellish fiends affrighted bee / At sight thereof, and from her presence flee: / Yet did her face and former parts professe / A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee; / But all her hinder parts did plaine expresse / A monstrous Dragon, full of fearefull vglinesse. / To her the Gods, for her so dreadfull face, / In fearefull darkenesse, furthest from the skie, / And from the earth, appointed haue her place, / Mongst rocks and caues, where she enroid doth lie / In hideous horreur and obscurity, / Wasting the strength of her immortall age;

## Eft (small lizard, newt)

**(Belge forced to live in the wild wastes) 5.10.23.6-9** Onely these marishes, and myrie bogs, / In which the fearefull ewfites do build their bowres, / Yeeld me an hostry mongst the croking frogs, / And harbour here in safety from those ravenous dogs;

## Elephant

**(savage man) 4.7.6.1-9** His neather lip was not like man nor beast, / But like a wide deepe poke, downe hanging low, / In which he wont the relickes of his feast, / And cruell spoyle, which he had spard, to stow: / And ouer it his huge great nose did grow, / Full dreadfully empurpled all with blood; / And downe both sides two wide long eares did glow, / And raught downe to his waste, when vp he stood, / More great then th'eares of Elephants by Indus flood;

**(brother of Argante) 3.7.48.2** To weet the mighty Ollyphant;

**(canto 11) 3.11.Arg.1** Britomart chaceth Ollyphant;

**(giant sighted) 3.11.3.6** It was that Ollyphant;

**(Ollyphant's iniquities) 3.11.4.3-4** So he surpassed his sex masculine, / In beastly vse that I did euer find;

**Ermine**

**(Artegall's shield) 3.2.25.8-9** He bore a crowned litle Ermilin, / That deckt the azure field with her faire pouldred skin;

**Error**

**(canto 1) 1.1.Arg.1-2** The Patron of true Holinesse, / Foule Error doth defeate;

**(Una warns) 1.1.13.6-7** This is the wandring wood, this Errours den, / A monster vile, whom God and man does hate;

**(in den) 1.1.14.6-9** By which he saw the vgly monster plaine, / Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide, / But th'other halfe did womans shape retaine, / Most lothsom, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdaine;

**(Error in den with brood) 1.1.15.1-9** And as she lay vpon the durtie ground, / Her huge long taile her den all ouerspred, / Yet was in knots and many boughtes vpwound, / Pointed with mortall sting. Of her there bred / A thousand yong ones, which she dayly fed, / Sucking vpon her poisonous dugs, eachone / Of sundry shapes, yet all ill fauored: / Soone as that vncouth light vpon them shone, / Into her mouth they crept, and suddain all were gone;

**(Error attacks) 1.1.18.3-9** And all attonce her beastly body raizd / With doubled forces high about the ground: / Tho wrapping vp her wrethed sterne arownd, / Lept fierce vpon his shield, and her huge traine / All suddenly about his body wound, / That hand or foot to stirre he stroue in vaine: / God helpe the man so wrapt in Errours endlesse traine;

**(Error's maw) 1.1.20.1-9** Therewith she spewd out of her filthy maw / A floud of poyson horrible and blacke, / Full of great lumpes of flesh and gobbets raw, / Which stunck so vildly, that it forst him slacke / His grasping hold, and from her turme him backe: / Her vomit full of bookes and papers was, / With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke, / And creeping sought way in the weedy gras: / Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has;

**(Error's offspring) 1.1.25.7-9** They flocked all about her bleeding wound, / And sucked vp their dying mothers blood, / Making her death their life, and eke her hurt their good;

**(Error's offspring) 1.1.26.4-7** Hauing all satisfide their bloody thirst, / Their bellies swolne he saw with fulnesse burst, / And bowels gushing forth: well worthy end / Of such as drunke her life, the which them nurst;

**Ewfte**

see Eft

**Falcon**

**(Mammon's fiend thwarted) 2.7.34.1-6** Thereat the feend his gnashing teeth did grate, / And grieu'd, so long to lacke his greedy pray; / For well he weened, that so glorious bayte / Would tempt his guest, to take thereof assay: / Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away, / More light then Culuer in the Faulcons fist;

**(Arthur fights Maleger) 2.11.36.5-9** But ground he gaue, and lightly leapt areare: / Eft fierce returning, as a Faulcon faire / That once hath failed of her souse full neare, / Remounts againe into the open aire, / And vnto better fortune doth her selfe prepare;

**(Florimell in flight) 3.4.49.4-9** Like as a fearefull Doue, which through the raine, / Of the wide aire her way does cut amaine, / Hauing farre off espyde a Tassell gent, / Which after her his nimble wings doth straine, / Doubleth her haste for feare to be for-hent, / And with her pineons cleaues the liquid firmament;

**(Apollo in tapestry) 3.11.39.7-8** Now like a Lyon, hunting after spoile, / Now like a Stag, now like a faulcon flit;

**(innocence of the past) 4.8.31.1-4** The Lyon there did with the Lambe consort, / And eke the Doue sate by the Faulcons side, / Ne each of other feared fraud or tort, / But did in safe securitie abide;

**(lawless multitude flee before Talus) 5.2.54.1-6** As when a Faulcon hath with nimble flight / Flowne at a flush of Ducks, foreby the brooke, / The trembling foule dismayd with dreadfull sight / Of death, the which them almost ouertooke, / Doe hide themselues from her astonying looke, / Amongst the flags and couert round about;

**(Radigund fights Artegall) 5.5.15.1-9** Like as a Puttocke hauing spyde in sight / A gentle Faulcon on an hill, / Whose other wind, now made vnmeete for flight, / Was lately broken by some fortune ill; / The foolish Kyte, led with licentious will, / Doth beat vpon the gentle bird in vaine, / With many idel stoups her troubling still: / Euen so did Radigund with bootlesse paine / Annoy this noble Knight, and sorely him constraine;

**(Arthur fights Enias and companion) 6.7.9.1-9** As when a cast of Faulcons make their flight / At an Herneshaw, that lyes aloft on wing, / The whyles they strike at him with heedlesse might, / The warie foule his bill doth backward wring; / On which the first, whose force her first doth bring, / Her selfe quite through the bodie doth engore, / And falleth downe to ground like senselesse thing, / But th'other not so swift, as she before, / Fayles of her souse, and passing by doth hurt no more;

**(Salvage nation flees before Calepine) 6.8.49.9** Fly like a flocke of doves before a Faulcons vew;

see bird

**Faun and satyr**

**(Una's deliverers) 1.6.7.7-8** A troupe of Faunes and Satyres far away / Within the wood were dauncing in a rownd;

**(Sansloy driven away) 1.6.8.6-9** Whom when the raging Sarazin espide, / A rude, misshapen, monstrous rablement, / Whose like he neuer saw, he durst not bide, / But got his ready steed, and fast away gan ride;

- (attend Una)** 1.6.11.5-9 Their frowning forheads with rough hornes yclad, / And rusticke horror all a side doe lay, / And gently grenning, shew a semblance glad / To comfort her, and feare to put away, / Their backward bent knees teach her humbly to obay;
- (joy in Una)** 1.6.13.5-6 They all as glad, as birdes of ioyous Prime, / Thence lead her forth, about her dauncing round;
- (Una restrains satyrs)** 1.6.19.8-9 But when their bootlesse zeale she did restraine / From her own worship, they her Asse would worship fayn;
- (Satyrane)** 1.6.21.1 A Satyres sonne yborne in forrest wyld;
- (Satyrane pursues)** 1.6.21.8 And chase the saluage beast with busie payne;
- (Satyrane's father co-opts Thyamis)** 1.6.22.9 And made her person thrall vnto his beastly kind;
- (Satyrane raised wild)** 1.6.23.8-9 He nounsled vp in life and manners wilde, / Emongst wild beasts and woods, from lawes of men exile;
- (Satyrane's prey)** 1.6.24.3-9 His trembling hand he would him force to put / Vpon the Lyon and the rugged Beare, / And from the she Beares teats her whelps to teare; / And eke wyld roring Bulls he would him make / To tame, and ryde their backes not made to beare; / And the Robuckes in flight to ouertake, / That euery beast for feare of him did fly and quake;
- (Satyrane advised not to hate)** 1.6.25.2-9 His owne sire and maister of his guise / Did often tremble at his horrid vew, / And oft for dread of hurt would him aduise, / The angry beasts not rashly to despise, / Nor too much to prouoke; for he would learne / The Lyon stoup to him in lowly wise, / (A lesson hard) and make the Libbard sterne / Leauing roaring, when in rage he for reuenge did earne;
- (Satyrane shows power)** 1.6.26.1-9 And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equall teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborn hartes to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;
- (Satyrane's neighbours)** 1.6.29.3-5 Whilst any beast of name / Walkt in that forest, whom he had not taught / To feare his force;
- (Una)** 1.6.30.8 Teaching the Satyres, which her sat around;
- (Una and Satyrane depart)** 1.6.33.1-6 So on a day when Satyres all were gone, / To do their seruice to Syluanus old, / The gentle virgin left behind alone / He led away with courage stout and bold. / Too late it was, to Satyres to be told, / Or euer hope recouer her againe;
- (book 3, canto 7)** 3.7.Arg.3 Satyrane saues the Squire of Dames;
- (Satyrane)** 3.7.30.1-9 It was to weete the good Sir Satyrane, / That raungd abroad to seeke aduentures wilde, / As was his wont in forrest, and in plaine; / He was all armd in rugged steele vnfiled, / As in the smoky forge it was compilde, / And in his Scutchin bore a Satyres hed: / He comming present, where the Monster wilde / Vpon that milke-white Palfreyes carkas fed, / Vnto his reskew ran, and greedily him sped;
- (Satyrane)** 3.7.31.1-3 There well perceiu'd he, that it was the horse, / Whereon faire Florimell was wont to ride, / That of that feend was rent without remorse;
- (Satyrane captured by Argante)** 3.7.43.4 Laying thwart her horse;
- (Satyrane recovers)** 3.7.45.1 The good Sir Satyrane gan wake;
- (if only he knew)** 3.8.28.1 But if that thou, Sir Satyran, didst weete;
- (Satyrane as peacemaker)** 3.9.17.1-2 But Satyrane forth stepping, did them stay / And with faire treatie pacifide their ire;
- (Jupiter in tapestry)** 3.11.35.1 In Satyres shape Antiopa he snatcht;
- (Satyrane and the girdle)** 4.2.25.6-9 It lately so befell, / That Satyran a girdle did vptake, / Well knowne to appertaine to Florimell, / Which for her sake he wore, as him beseemed well;
- (Satyrane attacks monster)** 3.7.32.2 Fiercely he flew vpon that wicked feend;
- (Satyrane attacks monster)** 3.7.33.6-7 He lightly lept / Vpon the beast;
- (Satyrane uses Florimell's girdle to bind monster)** 3.7.36.1-9 The golden ribband, which that virgin wore / About her sclender wast, he tooke in hand, / And with it bound the beast, that lowd did rore / For great despight of that vnwonted band, / Yet dared not his victour to withstand, / But trembled like a lambe, fled from the pray, / And all the way him followd on the strand, / As he had long bene learned to obay; / Yet neuer learned he such seruice, till that day;
- (Satyrane)** 3.7.37.1 Thus as he led the Beast along the way;
- (Satyrane sees Argante)** 3.7.38.1-2 Which whenas Satyrane beheld, in hast / He left his captiue Beast at liberty;
- (Satyrane approves of Palladine)** 3.7.53.1 Her well beseemes that Quest (quoth Satyrane);
- (Satyrane and the Squire's tale)** 3.7.58.5 Thereat full hartely laughed Satyrane;
- (Satyrane's view)** 3.7.61.1-2 Perdy, (said Satyrane) thou Squire of Dames, / Great labour fondly hast thou hent in hand;
- (Satyrane finds monster gone)** 3.7.61.6-7 Where late he left the Beast, he ouercame, / He found him not; for he had broke his band;
- (narrator returns to)** 3.8.43.9 To tell of Satyrane, where I him left of late;
- (Satyrane)** 3.8.44.4 Finding not th'Hyena to be slaine;
- (addresses Paridell)** 3.8.45.1 Sir Satyrane him towards did addresse;
- (speaks to Paridell)** 3.8.47.1 Said then Sir Satyrane;
- (Satyrane tells tale)** 3.8.49.1-2 When as a monstrous beast / The Palfrey, whereon she did trauell, slew;

(**Satyrane joins quest**) 3.8.50.7 Ne long shall Satyrane behind you stay;  
 (**why**) 3.9.3.2-4 The cause, why Satyrane and Paridell / Mote not be entertaynd, as seemed meet, / Into that Castle;  
 (**Satyrane amused**) 3.9.6.6 Sir Satyrane gan smile;  
 (**counsels reason**) 3.9.9.1-2 Nay let vs first (said Satyrane) entreat / The man by gentle meanes;  
 (**canto 10: Hellenore**) 3.10.Arg.2-4 Malbecco her pursewes:/ Fines emongst Satyres, whence with him / To turne she doth refuse;  
 (**Hellenore meets satyrs**) 3.10.36.4-9 Till on a day the Satyres her espied / Straying alone withouten groome or guide; / Her vp they tooke, and with them home her led, / With them as housewife euer to abide, / To milk their gotes, and make them cheese and bred, / And euery one as commune good her handeled;  
 (**dancing**) 3.10.44.3 The iolly Satyres full of fresh delight;  
 (**dancing**) 3.10.45.7-9 And with their horned feet the greene grasse wore, / The whiles their Gotes vpon the brouzes fed, / Till drouping Phœbus gan to hide his golden hed;  
 (**bedtime**) 3.10.46.1-9 Tho vp they gan their merry pypes to trusse, / And all their goodly heards did gather round, / But euery Satyre first did giue a busse / To Hellenore: so busses did abound. / Now gan the humid vapour shed the ground / With perly deaw, and th'Earthes gloomy shade / Did dim the brightnesse of the welkin round, / That euery bird and beast awarned made, / To shrowd themselues, whiles sleepe their senses did inuade;  
 (**Malbecco enters camp**) 3.10.47.8-9 So home he marcht emongst the horned heard, / That none of all the Satyres him espyde or heard;  
 (**Malbecco observes Hellenore in communal living**) 3.10.48.1-4 He vewd, / Whereas his louely wife emongst them lay, / Embraced of a Satyre rough and rude, / Who all the night did minde his ioyous play;  
 (**Hellenore wants to raise alarm**) 3.10.50.6 And would haue wakt the Satyre by her syde;  
 (**Hellenore prefers country matters**) 3.10.51.9 But chose emongst the iolly Satyres still to wonne;  
 (**Britomart rides**) 3.11.3.1-2 Who with Sir Satyrane, as earst ye red, / Forth ryding from Malbeccoes hostlesse hous;  
 (**Satyrane joins Britomart**) 3.11.5.1 Ne was Sir Satyrane her far behinde;  
 (**Satyrane**) 4.4.Arg.1-2 Satyrane makes a Turneyment / For loue of Florimell;  
 (**bearing Florimell's girdle**) 4.4.15.1-2 First of all forth came Sir Satyrane, / Bearing that precious relicke in an arke;  
 (**Satyrane faces all comers**) 4.4.17.1-2 Then tooke the bold Sir Satyrane in hand / An huge great speare;  
 (**grand mêlée**) 4.4.19.1-9 Which when the noble Ferramont espide, / He pricked forth in ayd of Satyran; / And him against Sir Blandamour did ride / With all the strength and stifnesse that he can. / But the more strong and stiffely that he ran, / So much more sorely to the ground he fell, / That on an heape were tumbled horse and man. / Vnto whose rescue forth rode Paridell; / But him likewise with that same speare he eke did quell;  
 (**Satyrane recovers himself**) 4.4.22.1-2 Sir Satyrane abraid, / Out of the swowne;  
 (**Satyrane**) 4.4.23.3 His steed he ready found;  
 (**Satyrane victorious**) 4.4.25.9 So Satyrane that day was iudg'd to beare the bell;  
 (**Satyrane**) 4.4.26.2 The hardy Satyrane;  
 (**Cambell finds**) 4.4.28.1 There Satyrane Lord of the field he found;  
 (**Satyrane and Cambell**) 4.4.30.2-9 It chaunst Sir Satyrane his steed at last, / Whether through foundring or through sodein feare / To stumble, that his rider nigh he cast; / Which vantage Cambell did pursue so fast, / That ere him selfe he had recouered well, / So sore he sowst him on the compast creast, / That forced him to leaue his loftie sell, / And rudely tumbling downe vnder his horse feete fell;  
 (**army attacks Cambell**) 4.4.31.7 To rescue Satyrane out of his pray;  
 (**Satyrane's worth**) 4.4.37.4-5 But Satyrane boue all the other crew, / His wondrous worth declared in all mens view;  
 (**Artegall**) 4.4.43.1-3 Thus was Sir Satyrane with all his band / By his sole manhood and atchieuement stout / Dismayd;  
 (**false Florimell**) 4.5.22.1 Tho vnto Satyran she was adiudged;  
 (**Paridel challenges judgement**) 4.5.22.7-8 Thought t'appeale from that, which was decreed, / To single combat with Sir Satyrane;  
 (**Braggadocchio's claims**) 4.5.24.1-2 Thereat exceeding wroth was Satyran; / And wroth with Satyran was Blandamour;  
 (**Satyrane the peacemaker**) 4.5.25.1-2 Which troublous stirre when Satyrane auiz'd, / He gan to cast how to appease the same;  
 (**Faunus**) 7.6.46.6 A foolish Faune indeed;  
 (**Faunus**) 7.6.49.5 And by his goatish beard some did him haile;  
 (**nymphs argue for punishment of Faunus**) 7.6.50.8-9 Him in Deares skin to clad; and in that plight, / To hunt him with their hounds;  
 (**Faunus in flight**) 7.6.52.2-5 With a Deeres-skin they couered, and then chast / With all their hounds that after him did speed; / But he more speedy, from them fled more fast/ Then any Deere: so sore him dread aghast;

## Fawn

(**Melibœe praises pastoral life**) 6.9.23.1-9 Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;

## Fiend

- (Una's parents expelled)** 1.1.5.6-8 And all the world in their subiection held; / Till that infernall feend with foule vprore / Forwasted all their land, and them expeld;
- (Pluto's realm)** 1.5.32.7-8 All the hellish brood / Of feends infernall flockt on euery side;
- (dragon)** 1.11.35.1 The damned feend;
- (dragon)** 1.11.55.5 The direfull feend;
- (Cymochles leaps into action)** 2.5.37.6-8 As one affright / With hellish feends, or Furies mad vprore, / He then vprose;
- (Pyrochles's lament)** 2.6.50.1-2 That cursed man, that cruell feend of hell, / Furor, oh Furor hath me thus bedight;
- (follows Guyon in Mammon's realm)** 2.7.26.7-9 An vgly feend, more fowle then dismall day, / The which with monstrous stalke behind him stept, / And euer as he went, dew watch vpon him kept;
- (Mammon's fiend thwarted)** 2.7.34.1-6 Thereat the feend his gnashing teeth did grate, / And grieu'd, so long to lacke his greedy pray; / For well he weened, that so glorious bayte / Would tempt his guest, to take thereof assay: / Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away, / More light then Culuer in the Faulcons fist;
- (Mammon's foundry-workers)** 2.7.35.6-9 By euery fornace many feends did bide, / Deformed creatures, horrible in sight, / And euery feend his busie paines applide, / To melt the golden metall, ready to be tride;
- (Disdayne's height)** 2.7.41.7-9 That made him scorne all creatures great and small, / And with his pride all others powre deface: / More fit amongst blacke fiendes, then men to haue his place;
- (angels)** 2.8.2.3-5 How oft do they with golden pineons, cleaue / The fitting skyes, like flying Pursuiuant, / Against foule feends to aide vs militant;
- (Pyrochles witnesses Cymochles's death)** 2.8.46.4-5 But as a man, whom hellish feends haue frayd, / Long trembling still he stood;
- (idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber)** 2.9.50.8-9 Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions, Ægles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;
- (origins of Albion's giants)** 2.10.8.3-9 That monstrous error, which doth some assot, / That Diocesians fiftie daughters shene / Into this land by chaunce haue driuen bene, / Where companing with feends and filthy Sprights, / Through vaine illusion of their lust vnclene, / They brought forth Giants and such dreadfull wights, / As farre exceeded men in their immeasurd might;
- (enemies of Smell)** 2.11.11.1-9 Likewise that same third Fort, that is the Smell / Of that third troupe was cruelly assayd: / Whose hideous shapes were like to feends of hell, / Some like to hounds, some like to Apes, dismayd, / Some like to Puttockes, all in plumes arayd: / All shap't according their conditions, / For by those vgly formes weren pourtrayd, / Foolish delights and fond abusions, / Which do that sence besiege with light illusions;
- (Arthur wonders what Maleger is)** 2.11.39.9 Or hellish feend raysd vp through diuelish science;
- (Palmer's staff)** 2.12.41.1-9 Of that same wood it fram'd was cunningly, / Of which Caduceus whilome was made, / Caduceus the rod of Mercury, / With which he wons the Stygian realmes inuade, / Through ghastly horror, and eternall shade; / Th'infernall feends with it he can asswage, / And Orcus tame, whom nothing can perswade, / And rule the Furies, when they most do rage: / Such vertue in his staffe had eke this Palmer sage;
- (Britomart wakens in the night)** 3.2.29.7 As one with vew of ghastly feends affright;
- (reason not to visit Merlin's bower)** 3.3.8.9 For feare the cruell Feends should thee vnwares deuowre;
- (though Merlin is gone, his fiends work on)** 3.3.11.4-5 Nath'lesse those feends may not their worke forbear, / So greatly his commaundement they feare;
- (Merlin)** 3.3.14.8-9 Writing strange characters in the ground, / With which the stubborn feends he to his seruice bound;
- (Timias pursues forester and Florimell)** 3.4.47.8-9 That Damozell / Was fled afore, affraid of him, as feend of hell;
- (Satyrane)** 3.7.31.1-3 There well perceiu'd he, that it was the horse, / Whereon faire Florimell was wont to ride, / That of that feend was rent without remorse;
- (Satyrane attacks monster)** 3.7.32.2 Fiercely he flew vpon that wicked feend;
- (Busirane sets guard over Amoret)** 3.11.16.9 And many dreadfull feends hath pointed to her gard;
- (music of David)** 4.2.2.1-4 Or such as that celestiall Psalmist was, / That when the wicked feend his Lord tormented, / With heauenly notes, that did all other pas, / The outrage of his furious fit relented;
- (Duessa and Ate)** 4.2.3.9 The one a feend, the other an incarnate deuill;
- (Cambina bears caduceus)** 4.3.42.1-7 In her right hand a rod of peace shee bore, / About the which two Serpents weren wound, / Entrayled mutually in louely lore, / And by the tailes together firmly bound, / And both were with one oliue garland crownd, / Like to the rod which Maias sonne doth wield, / Wherewith the hellish fiends he doth confound;
- (Britomart and Artegall fight)** 4.6.17.6-7 Certes some hellish furie, or some feend / This mischief framd;
- (Duessa and Ate sow strife)** 4.9.25.5 Yet neither would their fiendlike fury slacke;
- (Gerioneo's monster)** 5.11.22.4-7 From vnder th'Altars smooke, / A dreadfull feend, with fowle deformed looke, / That stretcht it selfe, as it had long lyen still; / And her long taile and fethers strongly shooke;
- (Gerioneo's monster fights Arthur)** 5.11.27.2 She flew at him, like to an hellish feend;
- (Gerioneo's monster at bay)** 5.11.30.5-6 But then the feend her selfe more fiercely reard / Vppon her wide great wings;
- (Blatant Beast)** 5.12.37.7-8 A monster, which the Blatant beast men call, / A dreadfull feend of gods and men ydrad;

**(Blatant Beast's mother) 6.6.10.1-6.6.11.6** Echidna is a Monster direfull dred, / Whom Gods doe hate, and heuens abhor to see; / So hideous is her shape, so huge her hed, / That euen the hellish fiends affrighted bee / At sight thereof, and from her presence flee: / Yet did her face and former parts professe / A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee; / But all her hinder parts did plaine expresse / A monstrous Dragon, full of fearefull vglinesse. / To her the Gods, for her so dreadfull face, / In fearefull darkenesse, furthest from the skie, / And from the earth, appointed haue her place, / Mongst rocks and caues, where she enrold doth lie / In hideous horroure and obscurity, / Wasting the strength of her immortall age;

**(Salvage priest killed by Calepine) 6.8.49.3-4** He him preuenting, layes on earth along, / And sacrificeth to th'infernall feends;

**(shepherds answer Calidore) 6.9.6.1-3** They answer'd him, that no such beast they saw, / Nor any wicked feend, that mote offend / Their happie flockes, nor daunger to them draw;

**(Blatant Beast pinned) 6.12.31.7-6.12.32.6** That made him almost mad for fell despight. / He grind, hee bit, he scratcht, he venim threw, / And fared like a feend, right horrible in hew. / Or like the hell-borne Hydra, which they faine / That great Alcides whilome ouerthrew, / After that he had labourd long in vaine, / To crop his thousand heads, the which still new / Forth budded, and in greater number grew. / Such was the fury of this hellish Beast;

**(Mercury's staff) 7.6.18.2-3** His snaky-wreathed Mace, whose awfull power / Doth make both Gods and hellish fiends affraid;

## Fish

**(Archimago's magic) 1.2.10.3-8** As many formes and shapes in seeming wise, / As euer Proteus to himselfe could make: / Sometime a fowle, sometime a fish in lake, / Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell, / That of himselfe he oft for feare would quake, / And oft would flie away;

**(Rock of Reproach) 2.12.8.3-7** To which nor fish nor fowle did once approach, / But yelling Meawes, with Seagulles hoarse and bace, / And Cormoyrants, with birds of rauinous race, / Which still sate waiting on that wastfull clift, / For spoyle of wretches;

**(sea monsters) 2.12.23.1-9** Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects, / Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see, / Or shame, that euer should so fowle defects / From her most cunning hand escaped bee; / All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee: / Spring-headed Hydraes, and sea-shouldring Whales, / Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee, / Bright Scolopendraes, arm'd with siluer scales, / Mighty Monoceros, with immeasured tayles;

**(sea monsters) 2.12.24.1-9** The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name / Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew, / The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game / The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew, / The horrible Sea-satyre, that doth shew / His fearefull face in time of greatest storme, / Huge Ziffius, whom Mariners eschew / No lesse, then rockes, (as trauellers informe,) / And greedy Rosmarines with visages deforme;

**(origin of mermaids/sirens) 2.12.31.3-6** Of whom they ouer-comen, were depriu'd / Of their proud beautie, and th'one moyity / Transform'd to fish, for their bold surquedry, / But th'vpper halfe their hew retained still;

**(Marinell rescue mission) 3.4.33.1-9** A teme of Dolphins raunged in aray, / Drew the smooth charet of sad Cymoent; / They were all taught by Triton, to obey / To the long raynes, at her commaundement: / As swift as swallowes, on the waues they went, / That their broad flaggie finnes no fome did reare, / Ne bubbling roundell they behind them sent; / The rest of other fishes drawn weare, / Which with their finny oars the swelling sea did sheare;

**(chariots left near shore) 3.4.34.3-6** And let their temed fishes softly swim / Along the margent of the fomy shore, / Least they their finnes should bruze, and surbate sore / Their tender feet vpon the stony ground;

**(the business of the Garden of Adonis) 3.6.35.1-9** Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred, / And vncouth formes, which none yet euer knew, / And euery sort is in a sundry bed / Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew: / Some fit for reasonable soules t'indew, / Some made for beasts, some made for birds to weare, / And all the fruitfull spawnne of fishes hew / In endlesse rancks along enraunged were, / That seem'd the Ocean could not containe them there;

**(scales fill Florimel's clothes during attack) 3.8.26.8-9** Beastly he threw her downe, ne car'd to spill / Her garments gay with scales of fish, that all did fill;

**(Proteus shepherds Neptune's herd) 3.8.30.9** Along the fomy waues driuing his finny droue;

**(attribute of the Darent) 4.11.29.8-9** And the still Darent, in whose waters cleane / Ten thousand fishes play, and decke his pleasant streame;

**(river Trent) 4.11.35.8-9** And bounteous Trent, that in him selfe enseames / Both thirty sorts of fish, and thirty sundry streames;

**(the river Ban) 4.11.41.4** The fishy fruitfull Ban;

**(Pollente in river) 5.2.13.8-9** And eke the courser, whereuppon he rad. / Could swim like to a fish, whiles he his backe bestrad;

**(Melibœe praises pastoral life) 6.9.23.1-9** Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;

**(Mutability on water) 7.7.21.4-9** The fish, still floting, doe at randon range, / And neuer rest; but euermore exchange / Their dwelling places, as the streames them carrie: / Ne haue the watry foules a certaine grange, / Wherein to rest, ne in one stead do tarry; / But flitting still doe flie, and still their places vary;

(February) 7.7.43.1-3 Came cold February, sitting / In an old wagon, for he could not ride; / Drawne of two fishes for the season fitting;

### **Fisher, Fishing**

(sailors find Albion fit for) 2.10.6.8 Finding in it fit ports for fishers trade;

(Florimell) 3.8.21.1-3 For being fled into the fishers bote, / For refuge from the Monsters crueltie, / Long so she on the mightie maine did flote;

(but the boat's owner sleeps) 3.8.21.9 But all the while the fisher did securely sleepe;

(old fisherman knows no manners) 3.8.26.3 Hard is to teach an old horse amble trew;

(scales fill Florimel's clothes during attack) 3.8.26.8-9 Beastly he threw her downe, ne car'd to spill / Her garments gay with scales of fish, that all did fill;

(Malengin fishes) 5.9.116-8 Als at his backe a great wyde net he bore, / With which he seldome fished at the brooke, / But vsd to fish for fooles on the dry shore;

### **Fleece**

(Golden) 2.12.44.6; 4.1.23.9

### **Flock (n. and v.)**

(Redcrosse fights Error's offspring) 1.1.23.1-9 As gentle Shepheard in sweete euen-tide, / When ruddy Phœbus gins to welke in west, / High on an hill, his flocke to vewen wide, / Markes which do byte their hasty supper best; / A cloud of combrous gnattes do him molest, / All striuing to infixe their feeble stings, / That from their noyance he no where can rest, / But with his clownish hands their tender wings / He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings;

(Error's offspring) 1.1.25.7-9 They flocked all about her bleeding wound, / And sucked vp their dying mothers blood, / Making her death their life, and eke her hurt their good;

(Redcrosse and Sansfoy) 1.2.16.1-9 As when two rams stird with ambitious pride, / Fight for the rule of the rich fleeced flocke, / Their horned fronts so fierce on either side / Do meete, that with the terrour of the shocke / Astonied both, stand sencelesse as a blocke, / Forgetfull of the hanging victory: / So stood these twaine, vnmoued as a rocke, / Both staring fierce, and holding idely / The broken reliques of their former cruelty;

(Pluto's realm) 1.5.32.7-8 All the hellish brood / Of feends infernall flockt on euery side;

(damsels) 2.5.32.4 A flocke of Damzels fresh and gay;

(Mammon describes his daughter, Ambition) 2.7.48.4-6 That goodly one, / Whom all that folke with such contention, / Do flocke about, my deare, my daughter is;

(Arthur disperses Maleger's host) 2.11.19.2 And with his sword disperst the raskall flockes;

(Venus inquires after Cupid) 3.6.15.6-9 The gentle shepheard swaynes, which sat / Keeping their fleecie flockes, as they were hyred, / She sweetly heard complaine, both how and what / Her sonne had to them doen; yet she did smile thereat;

(Masque of Cupid) 3.12.25.1-2 A rude confused rout / Of persons flockt;

(attendants upon Venus) 4.10.42.1-3 And all about her necke and shoulders flew / A flocke of litle loues, and sports, and ioyes, / With nimble wings of gold and purple hew;

(Envy and Detraction cry out upon seeing Artegall) 5.12.38.5-6 As it had bene two shepherds cures, had scryde / A rauenus Wolfe amongst the scattered flockes;

(Serena and Salvage nation) 6.8.40.1-3 The Damzell wakes, then all attonce vpstart, / And round about her flocke, like many flies, / Whooping, and hallowing on euery part;

(Calidore pursues Blatant Beast) 6.9.4.1-4 From thence into the open fields he fled, / Whereas the Heardes were keeping of their neat, / And shepherds singing to their flockes, that fed, / Layes of sweete loue and youthes delightfull heat;

(shepherds answer Calidore) 6.9.6.1-3 They answer'd him, that no such beast they saw, / Nor any wicked feend, that mote offend / Their happie flockes, nor daunger to them draw;

(night rains) 6.9.13.3-4 That warn'd the shepherds to their homes to hast / Their tender flocks, now being fully fed;

(Melibœe bids Pastorella to her flock) 6.9.15.1-9 She at his bidding meekely did arise, / And streight vnto her litle flocke did fare: / Then all the rest about her rose likewise, / And each his sundrie sheepe with seuerall care / Gathered together, and them homeward bare: / Whylest euerie one with helping hands did striue / Amongst themselues, and did their labours share, / To helpe faire Pastorella, home to driue / Her fleecie flocke; but Coridon most helpe did giue;

(Pastorella comes home) 6.9.17.6 After her flocke she in their fold had tyde;

(Melibœe praises pastoral life) 6.9.20.8 The fields my food, my flocke my rayment breed;

(Melibœe praises pastoral life) 6.9.21.7-9 My lambes doe euery yeare increase their score, / And my flockes father daily doth amend it. / What haue I, but to praise th' Almighty, that doth send it;

(shepherds meet to dance) 6.9.41.4 The whiles their flockes in shadowes shrouded bee;

(brigands attack) 6.10.39.9 Droue away their flocks, with other much disorder;

(Calidore surveys damage wrought by brigands) 6.11.26.8-9 Where wont the shepherds oft their pypes resound, / And feed an hundred flocks, there now not one he found;

**(Calidore spots in distance) 6.11.36.7** Some flockes of sheepe and shepherds to espy;  
**(Calidore and Coridon) 6.11.37.1-9** There did they find, that which they did not feare, / The selfe same flockes, the  
 which those theeues had reft / From Melibœ and from themselues whyleare, / And certaine of the theeues there by them  
 left, / The which for want of heards themselues then kept. / Right well knew Coridon his owne late sheepe, / And  
 seeing them, for tender pittie wept: / But when he saw the theeues, which did them keepe, / His hart gan fayle, albe he  
 saw them all asleepe;  
**(Calidore and Coridon fool the brigands) 6.11.40.1-7** Whereof right glad they seem'd, and offer made / To hyre  
 them well, if they their flockes would keepe: / For they themselues were euill groomes, they sayd, / Vnwont with  
 heards to watch, or pasture sheepe, / But to forray the land, or scoure the deepe. / Thereto they soone agreed, and  
 earnest tooke, / To keepe their flockes for litle hyre and chepe;  
**(Calidore recovers spoils) 6.11.51.6-7** And also all those flockes, which they before / Had reft from Melibœ and from  
 his make;  
**(helpful foster-father shepherd) 6.12.9.1-2** At length a Shepheard, which there by did keepe / His fleecie flocke vpon  
 the playnes around;

see ram

## Fly

**(Phantastes's chamber) 2.9.51.1-9** And all the chamber filled was with flyes, / Which buzzed all about, and made  
 such sound, / That they encombred all mens eares and eyes, / Like many swarmes of Bees assembled round, / After  
 their huius with honny do abound: / All those were idle thoughts and fantasies, / Deuices, dreames, opinions vnsound, /  
 Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies; / And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies;  
**(those freed from the Egalitarian giant) 5.2.33.1-3** Therefore the vulgar did about him flocke, / And cluster thicke  
 vnto his leasing vaine, / Like foolish flies about an hony crocke;  
**(Talus defeats the mob) 5.2.53.6** He like a swarme of flyes them ouerthrew;  
**(Artegall and Burbon surrounded) 5.11.58.1-3** Who flocking round about them, as a swarme / Of flyes vpon a  
 birchen bough doth cluster, / Did them assault with terrible allarme;  
**(Serena and Salvage nation) 6.8.40.1-3** The Damzell wakes, then all attonce vpstart, / And round about her flocke,  
 like many flies, / Whooping, and hallowing on euery part;  
**(Calidore fights brigands) 6.11.48.1-7** How many flyes in whottest sommers day / Do seize vpon some beast, whose  
 flesh is bare, / That all the place with swarmes do ouerlay, / And with their litle stings right felly fare; / So many  
 theeues about him swarming are, / All which do him assayle on euery side, / And sore oppresse, ne any him doth spare;

## Fowl

**(Archimago's magic) 1.2.10.3-8** As many formes and shapes in seeming wise, / As euer Proteus to himselfe could  
 make: / Sometime a fowle, sometime a fish in lake, / Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell, / That of himselfe he oft  
 for feare would quake, / And oft would flie away;  
**(Sansfoy in death) 1.5.23.3** And now the pray of fowles in field he lyes;  
**(Despair's den) 1.9.33.6-9** On top whereof aye dwelt the ghastly Owle, / Shrieking his balefull note, which euer draue/  
 Farre from that haunt all other chearefull fowle; / And all about it wandring ghostes did waile and howle;  
**(Dragon's battle strategies) 1.11.19.5-8** As hagarde hauke presuming to contend / With hardie fowle, about his hable  
 might, / His wearie pounces all in vaine doth spend, / To trusse the pray too heauie for his flight;  
**(Braggadoccio comes out of hiding) 2.3.36.1-9** As fearefull fowle, that long in secret caue / For dread of soaring  
 hauke her selfe hath hid, / Not caring how, her silly life to saue, / She her gay painted plumes disorderid, / Seeing at last  
 her selfe from daunger rid, / Peepes forth, and soone renewes her natiue pride; / She gins her feathers foule disfigured  
 / Proudly to prune, and set on euery side, / So shakes off shame, ne thinks how erst she did her hide;  
**(Cymochles) 2.5.26.4-9** Full many doughtie knights he in his dayes / Had doen to death, subdewde in equall frayes, /  
 Whose carkases, for terrour of his name, / Of fowles and beastes he made the piteous prayes, / And hong their  
 conquered armes for more defame / On gallow trees, in honour of his dearest Dame;  
**(Cymochles threatens Guyon) 2.6.28.7-9** Loe, loe alreadie, how the fowles in aire / Doe flocke, awaiting shortly to  
 obtaine / Thy carcasse for their pray;  
**(Palmer watches angel's flight) 2.8.9.4** Gaz'd after him, as fowle escapt by flight;  
**(Rock of Reproach) 2.12.8.3** To which nor fish nor fowle did once approach;  
**(Guyon and Palmer becalmed and attacked) 2.12.35.6-9** Suddenly an innumerable flight / Of harmefull fowles  
 about them fluttering, cride, / And with their wicked wings them oft did smight, / And sore annoyed, groping in that  
 griesly night;  
**(Cambell and Diamond fight) 4.3.19.1-9** As when a Vulture greedie of his pray, / Through hunger long, that hart to  
 him doth lend, / Strikes at an Heron with all his bodies sway, / That from his force seemes nought may it defend; / The  
 warie fowle that spies him toward bend / His dreadfull souse, auoydes it shunning light, / And maketh him his wing in  
 vaine to spend; / That with the weight of his owne weeldlesse might, / He falleth nigh to ground, and scarce recouereth  
 flight;



**(lawless multitude flee before Talus) 5.2.54.1-6** As when a Faulcon hath with nimble flight / Flowne at a flush of Ducks, foreby the brooke, / The trémbling foule dismayd with dreadfull sight / Of death, the which them almost ouertooke, / Doe hide themselues from her astonying looke, / Amongst the flags and couert round about;

**(Artegall fights Radigund to save Terpin) 5.4.42.1-9** Like to an Eagle in his kingly pride, / Soring through his wide Empire of the aire, / To weather his brode sailes, by chaunce hath spide / A Goshauke, which hath seized for her share / Vppon some fowle, that should her feast prepare; / With dreadfull force he flies at her byliue, / That with his souce, which none endure dare, / Her from the quarry he away doth driue, / And from her griping pounce the greedy prey doth riue;

**(Samient's flight) 5.8.4.6-7** Fled she fast, and both them farre outwent, / Carried with wings of feare, like fowle aghast; **(Malengin/Guyle's corpse) 5.9.19.8-9** There they him left a carrion outcast; / For beasts and foules to feede vpon for their repast;

**(Arthur fights Enias and companion) 6.7.9.1-9** As when a cast of Faulcons make their flight / At an Herneshaw, that lyes aloft on wing, / The whyles they strike at him with heedlesse might, / The warie foule his bill doth backward wring; / On which the first, whose force her first doth bring, / Her selfe quite through the bodie doth engore, / And falleth downe to ground like senselesse thing, / But th'other not so swift, as she before, / Fayles of her souce, and passing by doth hurt no more;

**(king of birds) 6.10.6.8-9** the soring hauk did towre, / Sitting like King of fowles in maiesty and powre;

**(even Chaucer in Parliament of Fowls did not dare describe Nature's clothes) 7.7.9.5** In his Foules parley durst not with it mel;

**(Mutability on fish and waterfowl) 7.7.21.1-9** So likewise are all watry liuing wights / Still tost, and turned, with continuall change, / Neuer abyding in their stedfast plights. / The fish, still floting, doe at randon range, / And neuer rest; but euermore exchange / Their dwelling places, as the streames them carrie: / Ne haue the watry foules a certaine grange, / Wherein to rest, ne in one stead do tarry; / But flitting still doe flie, and still their places vary;

## Fowler

**(Malengin's skillful trickery) 5.9.13.1-9** Like as the fouler on his guilefull pype / Charmes to the birds full many a pleasant lay, / That they the whiles may take lesse heedie keepe, / How he his nets doth for their ruine lay: / So did the villaine to her prate and play, / And many pleasant trickes before her show, / To turne her eyes from his intent away: / For he in slights and iugling feates did flow, / And of legierdemayne the mysteries did know;

## Fox

**(Archimago's magic) 1.2.10.3-8** As many formes and shapes in seeming wise, / As euer Proteus to himselfe could make: / Sometime a fowle, sometime a fish in lake, / Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell, / That of himselfe he oft for feare would quake, / And oft would flie away;

**(Duessa) 1.8.48.3-9** But at her rompe she growing had behind / A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight; / And eke her feete most monstrous were in sight; / For one of them was like an Eagles claw, / With griping talaunts armd to greedy fight, / The other like a Beares vneuen paw: / More vgly shape yet neuer liuing creature saw;

**(Malengin/Guyle transforms into) 5.9.17.1-9** Into a Foxe himselfe he first did tourne; / But he him hunted like a Foxe full fast: / Then to a bush himselfe he did transforme, / But he the bush did beat, till that at last / Into a bird it chaung'd, and from him past, / Flying from tree to tree, from wand to wand: / But he then stones at it so long did cast, / That like a stone it fell vpon the land, / But he then tooke it vp, and held fast in his hand;

**(Melibœe praises pastoral life) 6.9.23.1-9** Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;

## Frog

**(Error's vomit) 1.1.20.6-9** Her vomit full of bookes and papers was, / With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke, / And creeping sought way in the weedy gras: / Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has;

**(Malbecco's diet) 3.10.59.1-9** Ne euer is he wont on ought to feed, / But toades and frogs, his pasture poysonous, / Which in his cold complexion do breed / A filthy bloud, or humour rancorous, / Matter of doubt and dread suspitious, / That doth with curelesse care consume the hart, / Corrupts the stomacke with gall vitious, / Croscuts the liuer with internall smart, / And doth transfixe the soule with deathes eternall dart;

**(Belge forced to live in the wild wastes) 5.10.23.6-9** Onely these marishes, and myrie bogs, / In which the fearefull ewfites do build their bowres, / Yeeld me an hostry mongst the croking frogs, / And harbour here in safety from those ravenous dogs;

## Gnat

**(Redcrosse fights Error's offspring) 1.1.23.1-9** As gentle Shepheard in sweete euen-tide, / When ruddy Phœbus gins to welke in west, / High on an hill, his flocke to vewen wide, / Markes which do byte their hasty supper best; / A cloud of combrous gnattes do him molest, / All striuing to infixe their feeble stings, / That from their noyance he no where

can rest, / But with his clownish hands their tender wings / He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings;  
**(Maleger's host) 2.9.16.1-9** As when a swarme of Gnats at euentide / Out of the fennes of Allan do arise, / Their murmuring small trompets sounden wide, / Whiles in the aire their clustring army flies, / That as a cloud doth seeme to dim the skies; / Ne man nor beast may rest, or take repast, / For their sharpe wounds, and noyouis iniuries, / Till the fierce Northerne wind with blustring blast / Doth blow them quite away, and in the Ocean cast;

### Goat

**(mount of Lecherie) 1.4.24.2-4** Upon a bearded Goat, whose rugged haire, / And whally eyes (the signes of gelosy,) / Was like the person selfe, whom he did beare;  
**(Hellenore meets satyrs) 3.10.36.4-9** Till on a day the Satyres her espied / Straying alone withouten groome or guide; / Her vp they tooke, and with them home her led, / With them as housewife euer to abide, / To milk their gotes, and make them cheese and bred, / And euery one as commune good her handeled;  
**(satyrs dancing) 3.10.45.7-9** And with their horned feet the greene grasse wore, / The whiles their Gotes vpon the brouzes fed, / Till drouping Phœbus gan to hide his golden hed;  
**(bedtime) 3.10.46.1-9** Tho vp they gan their merry pypes to trusse, / And all their goodly heards did gather round, / But euery Satyre first did giue a busse / To Hellenore: so busses did abound. / Now gan the humid vapour shed the ground / With perly deaw, and th'Earthes gloomy shade / Did dim the brightnesse of the welkin round, / That euery bird and beast awarned made, / To shrowd themselues, whiles sleepe their senses did inuade;  
**(Malbecco) 3.10.47.3** And like a Gote emongst the Gotes did rush;  
**(Malbecco enters camp) 3.10.47.8-9** So home he marcht emongst the horned heard, / That none of all the Satyres him espyde or heard;  
**(Malbecco among goats) 3.10.52.2-5** But all in vaine: and then turnd to the heard, / Who butted him with hornes on euery syde, / And trode downe in the durt, where his hore beard / Was fowly dight, and he of death afeard;  
**(satyrs' goats) 3.10.52.8** The heardees out of their foldes were loosed quight;  
**(followers of Souldan) 5.8.50.7-8** And like wyld Goates them chaced all about, / Flying from place to place with cowheard shame;  
**(Malengin's escape) 5.9.15.3-5** Vp to the rocke he ran, and thereon flew / Like a wyld Gote, leaping from hill to hill, / And dauncing on the craggy cliffes at will;  
**(Calepine pursued by Turpine) 6.3.49.1-4** Yet he him still pursew'd from place to place, / With full intent him cruelly to kill, / And like a wilde goate round about did chace, / Flying the fury of his bloody will;  
**(Melibœe praises pastoral life) 6.9.23.1-9** Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;  
**(Faunus) 7.6.49.5** And by his goatish beard some did him haile;  
**(December rides Capricorn) 7.7.41.5** Upon a shaggy-bearded Goat he rode;

### Gorgon

**(Minerva) 3.9.22.7-8** Hath loosd her helmet from her lofty hed, / And her Gorgonian shield gins to vntyte;

### Goshawk

**(Argante prepares for battle) 3.6.39.1-7** Like as a Goshauke, that in foote doth beare / A trembling Culuer, hauing spide on hight / An Egle, that with plummy wings doth sheare / The subtile ayre, stouping with all his might, / The quarry throwes to ground with fell despight, / And to the battell doth her selfe prepare: / So ran the Geauntesse vnto the fight;  
**(Artegall fights Radigund to save Terpin) 5.4.42.1-9** Like to an Eagle in his kingly pride, / Soring through his wide Empire of the aire, / To weather his brode sailes, by chaunce hath spide / A Goshauke, which hath seized for her share / Vppon some fowle, that should her feast prepare; / With dreadfull force he flies at her byliue, / That with his souce, which none endure dare, / Her from the quarry he away doth driue, / And from her griping pounce the greedy prey doth riue;

### Griffin

**(Recrosse and Sansjoy) 1.5.8.1-1.5.8.1** So th'one for wrong, the other striues for right: / As when a Gryfon seized of his pray, / A Dragon fiers encountreth in his flight, / Through widest ayre making his ydle way, / That would his rightfull rauine rend away: / With hideous horrou both together smight, / And souce so sore, that they the heauens affray: / The wise Southsayer seeing so sad sight, / Th'amazed vulgar tels of warres and mortall fight. / So th'one for wrong, the other striues for right;  
**(enemies of Sight) 2.11.8.1-9** The first troupe was a monstrous rabblement / Of fowle misshapen wights, of which some were / Headed like Owles, with beckes vncomely bent, / Others like Dogs, others like Gryphons dreare, / And some had wings, and some had clawes to teare, / And euery one of them had Lynces eyes, / And euery one did bow and arrowes beare: / All those were lawlesse lustes, corrupt enuies, / And couetous aspectes, all cruell enimies;

**Hart**

**(enemies of Hearing) 2.11.10.1-9** The second Bulwarke was the Hearing sence, / Gainst which the second troupe dessignment makes; / Deformed creatures, in straunge difference, / Some hauing heads like Harts, some like to Snakes, / Some like wild Bores late rouzd out of the brakes; / Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies, / Leasings, backbytings, and vaine-glorious crakes, / Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries. / All those against that fort did bend their batteries;

**Harpy**

**(Celeno in Mammon's realm) 2.7.23.1-9** And ouer them sad Horrour with grim hew, / Did alwayes sore, beating his yron wings; / And after him Owles and Night-rauens flew, / The hatefull messengers of heauy things, / Of death and dolour telling sad tidings; / Whiles sad Celeno, sitting on a clift, / A song of bale and bitter sorrow sings, / That hart of flint a sunder could haue rift: / Which hauing ended, after him she flyeth swift;

**(birds of ill-omen harry Guyon and Palmer) 2.12.36.1-9** Euen all the nation of vnfortunate / And fatall birds about them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate, / The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere, / The hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull drere, / The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy, / The ruefull Strich, still waiting on the bere, / The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy, / The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny;

**Hawk**

**(Dragon's strategies thwarted) 1.11.19.5-8** As hagar'd hauke presuming to contend / With hardie fowle, aboue his hable might, / His wearie pounces all in vaine doth spend, / To trusse the pray too heauie for his flight;

**(Redcrosse rises from Well of Life) 1.11.34.3-9** As Eagle fresh out of the Ocean waue, / Where he hath left his plumes all hoary gray, / And deckt himselfe with feathers youthly gay, / Like Eyas hauke vp mounts vnto the skies, / His newly budded pineons to assay, / And marueiles at himselfe, still as he flies: / So new this new-borne knight to battell new did rise;

**(dragon thrust back) 1.11.53.4-5** As hauke in flight, / Perforce rebutted backe;

**(Braggadoccio comes out of hiding) 2.3.36.1-9** As fearefull fowle, that long in secret caue / For dread of soaring hauke her selfe hath hid, / Not caring how, her silly life to saue, / She her gay painted plumes disorderid, / Seeing at last her selfe from daunger rid, / Peepes foorth, and soone renewes her natiue pride; / She gins her feathers foule disfigured / Proudly to prune, and set on euery side, / So shakes off shame, ne thinks how erst she did her hide;

**(Florimel) 3.8.33.3-9** Like as a fearefull Partridge, that is fled / From the sharpe Hauke, which her attached neare, / And fals to ground, to seeke for succour theare, / Whereas the hungry Spaniels she does spy, / With greedy iawes her readie for to teare; / In such distresse and sad perplexity / Was Florimell, when Proteus she did see thereby;

**(Tristram's knowledge) 6.2.32.1-3** Ne is there hauke, which mantleth her on perch, / Whether high trowing, or accoasting low, / But I the measure of her flight doe search;

**(Calepine unarmed pursues bear) 6.4.19.7-9** That like an Hauke, which feeling herselfe freed / From bels and iesses, which did let her flight / Him seem'd his feet did fly;

**(trees of Acidale) 6.10.6.6-9** Spredding pauillions for the birds to bowre, / Which in their lower braunches sung aloud; / And in their tops the soring hauke did towre, / Sitting like King of fowles in maiesty and powre;

**Herd**

see cattle

**Hedgehog**

**(Malengin/Guyle transforms from stone into) 5.9.18.5-6** Into a Hedgehogge all vnwares it went, / And prickt him so, that he away it threw;

see urchin

**Heron, heronsew, hernshaw**

**(Arthur surprised by Maleger's revival) 2.11.43.1-5** As when Ioues harness-bearing Bird from hie / Stoupes at a flying heron with proud disdaine, / The stone-dead quarry fals so forcible, / That it rebounds against the lowly plaine, / A second fall redoubling backe againe;

**(Cambell and Diamond fight) 4.3.19.1-9** As when a Vulture greedie of his pray, / Through hunger long, that hart to him doth lend, / Strikes at an Heron with all his bodies sway, / That from his force seemes nought may it defend; / The warie fowle that spies him toward bend / His dreadfull souse, auoydes it shunning light, / And maketh him his wing in vaine to spend; / That with the weight of his owne weeldlesse might, / He falleth nigh to ground, and scarce recouereth flight;

**(Arthur fights Enias and companion) 6.7.9.1-9** As when a cast of Faulcons make their flight / At an Hernshaw, that lyes aloft on wing, / The whyles they strike at him with heedlesse might, / The warie foule his bill doth backward wring; / On which the first, whose force her first doth bring, / Her selfe quite through the bodie doth engore, / And falleth downe to ground like senselesse thing, / But th'other not so swift, as she before, / Fayles of her souse, and passing by doth hurt no more;

**Hind**

**(Silvanus and Cyparissus)** 1.6.17.5-7 How he slew with glauncing dart amisse / A gentle Hynd, the which the louely boy / Did loue as life, aboue all worldly blisse;  
**(Amavia's death)** 2.1.38.6-9 As gentle Hynd, whose sides with cruell steele / Through launched, forth her bleeding life does raine, / Whiles the sad pang approching she does feele, / Brayes out her latest breath, and vp her eyes doth seele;  
**(tale of fountain's origins)** 2.2.7.4-9 The hartlesse Hind and Robucke to dismay, / Dan Faunus chaunst to meet her by the way, / And kindling fire at her faire burning eye, / Inflamed was to follow beauties pray, / And chaced her, that fast from him did fly; / As Hind from her, so she fled from her enemy;  
**(Belphoebe questions Trompart)** 2.3.32.7-8 Hayle Groome; didst not thou see a bleeding Hind, / Whose right haunch earst my stedfast arrow strake;  
**(Florimell's flight)** 3.7.1.1-6 Like as an Hynd forth singled from the heard, / That hath escaped from a rauenous beast, / Yet flies away of her owne feet affeard, / And euery leafe, that shaketh with the least / Murmure of winde, her terror hath encreast; / So fled faire Florimell from her vaine feare;  
**(Artegall attacks Britomart)** 4.6.12.2-5 And snatching forth his direfull deadly blade, / Did leape to her, as doth an eger hound / Thrust to an Hynd within some couert glade, / Whom without perill he cannot inuade;  
**(Amoret and Scudamour united, warily)** 4.10.55.6-9 But I which all that while / The pledge of faith, her hand engaged held, / Like warie Hynd within the weedie soyle, / For no intreatie would forgoe so glorious spoyle;  
**(Marinell mourns missed chances)** 4.12.17.6-9 Like as an Hynde whose calfe is falne vnwares / Into some pit, where she him heares complaine, / An hundred times about the pit side fares, / Right sorrowfully mourning her bereaued cares;

**Hippodame**

see hippopotamus (Hamilton suggests)

**Hippopotamus**

**(idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber)** 2.9.50.8-9 Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions, Ægles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;

**Hog**

**(Grill)** 2.12.86.6-2.12.87.9 But one aboue the rest in speciall, / That had an hog beene late, hight Grille by name, / Repined greatly, and did him miscall, / That had from hoggish forme him brought to naturall. / Said Guyon, See the mind of beastly man, / That hath so soone forgot the excellence / Of his creation, when he life began, / That now he chooseth, with vile difference, / To be a beast, and lacke intelligence. / To whom the Palmer thus, The donghill kind / Delights in filth and foule incontinence: / Let Grill be Grill, and haue his hoggish mind, / But let vs hence depart, whilst whether serues and wind;  
**(tasks of November)** 7.7.40.3 For, he had been a fattening hogs of late;  
 see swine

**Horse, team**

**(Redcrosse's steed)** 1.1.1.6-7 His angry steede did chide his foming bitt, / As much disdayning to the curbe to yield;  
**(Redcrosse)** 1.1.11.8 Eftsoones dismounted from his courser braue;  
**(Redcrosse)** 1.1.28.1 Then mounted he vpon his Steede againe;  
**(the Sun)** 1.1.32.8-9 The Sunne that measures heauen all day long, / At night doth baite his steedes the Ocean waues emong;  
**(Redcrosse flees)** 1.2.6.9 The Dwarfe him brought his steed: so both away do fly;  
**(Una pursues Redcrosse)** 1.2.8.1-4 And after him she rode with so much speede / As her slow beast could make; but all in vaine: / For him so far had borne his light-foot steede, / Pricked with wrath and fiery fierce disdain;  
**(Archimago in disguise)** 1.2.11.8-9 And when he sate vpon his courser free, / Saint George himself ye would haue deemed him to be;  
**(Sansfoy)** 1.2.14.8-9 Forth spurred fast: adowne his coursers side / The red blood trickling staine the way, as he did ride;  
**(Recrosse and Sansfoy in battle)** 1.2.15.6 Their steeds do stagger, and amazed stand;  
**(Duessa and Redcrosse)** 1.2.45.9 He set her on her steede, and forward forth did beare;  
**(Sansloy)** 1.3.33.3 Full strongly armd, and on a courser free;  
**(Archimago saved by Sansloy's horse)** 1.3.35.4-5 And had his staggering steede not shrunke for feare, / Through shield and bodie eke he should him beare;  
**(Sansloy)** 1.3.36.1 Dismounting lightly from his loftie steed;  
**(Sansloy abducts Una)** 1.3.43.8 Beares her away vpon his courser light;  
**(Lucifera compared with Phaeton)** 1.4.9.1-4 Exceeding shone, like Phœbus fairest childe, / That did presume his fathers firie wayne, / And flaming mouthes of steedes vnwonted wilde / Through highest heauen with weaker hand to rayne;

- (**Lucifera's coachman**) 1.4.36.1-3 And after all, vpon the wagon beame / Rode Sathan, with a smarting whip in hand, / With which he forward lasht the laesie teme;
- (**Night**) 1.5.20.6-9 Before the dore her yron charet stood, / Alreadie harnessed for journey new; / And coleblacke steedes yborne of hellish brood, / That on their rustie bits did champ, as they were wood;
- (**Night**) 1.5.28.4-9 Her twyfold Teme, of which two blacke as pitch, / And two were browne, yet each to each vnlich, / Did softly swim away, ne euer stampe, / Vnlesse she chaunst their stubborne mouths to twitch; / Then foming tarre, their bridles they would champe, / And trampling the fine element, would fiercely rampe;
- (**fate of Hippolytus**) 1.5.38.3-4 From surging gulf two monsters straight were brought, / With dread whereof his chasing steedes aghast;
- (**Sansloy driven away by fauns and satyrs**) 1.6.8.6-9 Whom when the raging Sarazin espide, / A rude, misshapen, monstrous rablement, / Whose like he neuer saw, he durst not bide, / But got his ready steed, and fast away gan ride;
- (**Redcrosse rests**) 1.7.2.9 And by his side his steed the grassy forage ate;
- (**dwarf minds Redcrosse's horse**) 1.7.19.2 Whiles he had keeping of his grasing steed;
- (**Timias**) 1.7.37.5-9 A goodly person, and could menage faire / His stubborne steed with curbed canon bit, / Who vnder him did trample as the aire, / And chaufft, that any on his backe should sit; / The yron rowels into frothy fome he bit;
- (**Arthur**) 1.9.12.7 Raunging the forest wide on courser free;
- (**Arthur**) 1.9.13.1-2 I did alight / From loftie steed, and downe to sleepe me layd;
- (**Trevisan in fear of Despair**) 1.9.21.7-9 Als flew his steed, as he his bands had brast, / And with his winged heeles did tread the wind, / As he had been a fole of Pegasus his kind;
- (**battle with dragon**) 1.11.17.1 Both horse and man vp lightly rose againe;
- (**dragon snatches up Redcrosse**) 1.11.18.9 Snatcht vp both horse and man, to beare them quite away;
- (**dragon's tail**) 1.11.23.2-3 And therewith all enwrapt the nimble thyes / Of his froth-fomy steed;
- (**early in the morning**) 1.12.2.1-2 Scarsely had Phœbus in the glooming East / Yet harnessed his firie-footed teeme;
- (**Guyon's temperance**) 2.1.7.9 Who taught his trampling steed with equall steps to tread;
- (**Duessa describe's Redcrosse's horse**) 2.1.18.6-7 But vnder him a gray steede did he wield, / Whose sides with dapled circles weren dight;
- (**Guyon rushes to Amavia**) 2.1.39.1-2 Which when that warriour heard, dismounting straict / From his tall steed, he rusht into the thicke;
- (**summary**) 2.3.Arg.1-3 Vaine Braggadocchio getting Guyons / horse is made the scorne / Of knighthood trew;
- (**Guyon on foot**) 2.3.3.1-2 So forth he far'd, as now befell, on foot, / Sith his good steed is lately from him gone;
- (**Braggadocchio steals Guyon's horse**) 2.3.4.8-9 He that braue steed there finding ready dight, / Purloynd both steed and speare, and ran away full light;
- (**Braggadocchio attacks**) 2.3.6.2-4 To whom auaunting in great brauery, / As Peacocke, that his painted plumes doth prancke, / He smote his courser in the trembling flancke;
- (**Braggadocchio mounts Guyon's horse**) 2.3.46.3-9 So to his steed he got, and gan to ride, / As one vnfit therefore, that all might see / He had not trayned bene in cheualree. / Which well that valiant courser did discerne; / For he despysd to tread in dew degree, / But chaufd and fom'd, with courage fierce and sterne, / And to be easd of that base burden still did erne;
- (**Braggadocchio no gentleman**) 2.4.1.7-9 Chiefly skill to ride, seemes a science / Proper to gentle blood; some others faine / To menage steeds, as did this vaunter; but in vaine;
- (**Guyon walks**) 2.4.2.1-3 But he the rightfull owner of that steed, / Who well could menage and subdew his pride, / The whiles on foot was forced for to yeed;
- (**the dust of Pyrochles's charge**) 2.5.3.5 Both horse and man nigh able for to choke;
- (**Guyon kills Pyrochles's horse**) 2.5.4.4-6 Glauncing fell / On his horse necke before the quilted sell / And from the head the body sundred quight;
- (**Cymochles**) 2.5.38.8 So proudly pricketh on his courser strong;
- (**Guyon seen from afar**) 2.6.41.3-4 He ran on foot, as if in lucklesse warre / His forlorne steed from him the victour wan;
- (**Guyon refutes Mammon**) 2.7.10.8 Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight;
- (**Mammon defends money to Guyon**) 2.7.11.3-4 Sheilds, steeds, and armes, and all things for thee meet / It can puruay in twinckling of an eye;
- (**Guyon describes the fall of the antique world**) 2.7.16.5-7 Like Angels life was then mens happy cace; / But later ages pride, like corn-fed steed, / Abusd her plenty;
- (**Palmer defends Guyon from plundering**) 2.8.16.6-7 But leaue these relicks of his liuing might, / To decke his herce, and trap his tomb-blacke steed;
- (**Pyrochles's opinion of Guyon**) 2.8.16.8-9 What herce or steede (said he) should he haue dight, / But be entombed in the rauon or the kight;
- (**Arthur's steed**) 2.8.17.9 When under him he saw his Lybian steed to prounce;
- (**Pyrochles's blow makes Arthur reel**) 2.8.31.2 That horse and man it made to reele aside;
- (**Arthur &c. reach Alma's castle**) 2.9.10.7 And from their sweaty Coursers did auale;

(Arthur's steed against Maleger's host) 2.11.19.6-9 And vnder neath him his courageous steed, / The fierce Spumador trode them downe like docks, / The fierce Spumador borne of heauenly seed: / Such as Laomedon of Phœbus race did breed;

(Arthur pursues Maleger) 2.11.25.8 So fast as his good Courser could him beare;

(Arthur) 2.11.48.2 Comming to his Squire, that kept his steed;

(Timias assists Arthur) 2.11.48.8 With stedfast hand vpon his horse did stay;

(Alma's court assists Arthur) 2.11.49.1-2 Many Groomes and Squiers readie were, / To take him from his steed full tenderly;

(Guyon rides against Britomart) 3.1.5.4-6 Sharpely gan to spurne / His fomy steed, whose fierie feete did burne / The verdant grasse, as he thereon did tread;

(Palmer excuses Arthur) 3.1.11.5-6 And laid the blame, not to his carriage, / But to his starting steed, that swaru'd asyde;

(Florimell) 3.1.15.6-8 Her garments all were wrought of beaten gold, / And all her steed with tinsell trappings shone, / Which fled so fast, that nothing mote him hold;

(Britomart questions Redcrosse about Artegall) 3.2.16.6. What shape, what shield, what armes, what steed, what sted;

(Britomart and Glauce) 3.3.61.6 Tho to their ready Steeds they clombe full light;

(Timias) 3.4.48.2 Then gan he freshly pricke his fomy steed;

(Arthur unwillingly rises) 3.4.61.5-6 He vp arose, as halfe in great disdaine, / And clombe vnto his steed;

(forester) 3.5.14.1-3 The villen sped himselfe so well, / Whether through swiftnesse of his speedy beast, / Or knowledge of those woods;

(Timias wounded) 3.5.26.3 From his steed he fell in deadly swowne;

(Belphoebe sends her followers to collect Timias's horse) 3.5.38.6-8 Eftsoones his warlike courser, which was strayed / Farre in the woods, whiles that he lay in swownd, / She made those Damzels search;

(Florimell) 3.7.25.7-8 Lightly she leaped, as a wight forlore, / From her dull horse;

(Satyrane) 3.7.31.1-3 There well perceiu'd he, that it was the horse, / Whereon faire Florimell was wont to ride, / That of that feend was rent without remorse;

(Argante) 3.7.37.3-4 Fast flying on a Courser dapled gray, / From a bold knight;

(Squire of Dames prisoner) 3.7.37.7 Lying athwart her horse in great distresse;

(Argante) 3.7.41.1 Her Steed did stagger with that puissaunt strooke;

(Satyrane captured by Argante) 3.7.43.4 Laying thwart her horse;

(false Florimell) 3.8.13.4 On Tromparts steed her mounted without stay;

(Braggadocchio encounters) 3.8.15.3 An armed knight, vpon a courser strong;

(Braggadocchio to Ferraugh) 3.8.17.4-5 But if thee list to see thy Courser ronne, / Or proue thy selfe, this sad encounter shonne;

(Ferraugh) 3.8.17.9 To turne his steede about;

(Braggadocchio proposes the lists) 3.8.18.3-4 Turne we our steedes, that both in equall tilt / May meet againe;

(Braggadocchio and Ferraugh) 3.8.18.5-6 They both a furlongs moutenance / Retyrd their steeds;

(Ferraugh captures false Florimell) 3.8.19.4 Vpon his Courser set the louely lode;

(old fisherman knows no manners) 3.8.26.3 Hard is to teach an old horse amble trew;

(sunset) 3.8.51.5 And lose the teme out of his weary waine;

(bad marriage) 3.9.6.1-2 Malbecco he, and Hellenore she hight, / Vnfitly yokt together in one teeme;

(Paridell) 3.9.15.1 Hastily remounting to his steed;

(Paridell and Squire) 3.9.16.4 They rudely droue to ground both man and horse;

(Britomart collects Scudamour's horse) 3.11.20.6 And his forwardred steed vnto him got;

(narrator) 3.12.47.3-6 [1590] But now my teme begins to faint and fayle, / All woxen weary of their iournall toyle: / Therefore I will their sweatie yokes assoyle / At this same furrowes end, till a new day;

(Blandamour) 4.1.37.4 They reared him on horsebacke;

(Paridel) 4.1.41.1 With that he put his spurres vnto his steed;

(Paridel and Scudamour) 4.1.41.7-8 So furiously they met, that either bare / The other downe vnder their horses feete;

(Blandamour) 4.2.6.7 Fiercely forth prickt his steed as in disdaine;

(Paridel and Blandamour) 4.2.15.1-9 Their firie Steedes with so vntamed forse / Did beare them both to fell auenges end, / That both their speares with pitillesse remorse, / Through shield and mayle, and haberieon did wend, / And in their flesh a griesly passage rend, / That with the furie of their owne affret, / Each other horse and man to ground did send; / Where lying still a while, both did forget / The perilous present stownd, in which their liues were set;

(Triamond, Priamond, Diamond) 4.2.42.4-6 On horsebacke vsed Triamond to fight, / And Priamond on foote had more delight, / But horse and foote knew Diamond to wield;

(Cambina's lions kill crowd) 4.3.41.3-5 Her angrie teame breaking their bonds of peace, / Great heapes of them, like sheepe in narrow fold, / For hast did ouer-runne;

(grand mêlée) 4.4.19.1-9 Which when the noble Ferramont espide, / He prickd forth in ayd of Satyrane; / And him against Sir Blandamour did ride / With all the strength and stifnesse that he can. / But the more strong and stiffely that

he ran, / So much more sorely to the ground he fell, / That on an heape were tumbled horse and man. / Vnto whose rescue forth rode Paridell; / But him likewise with that same speare he eke did quell;  
**(Triamond fights Ferramont) 4.4.20.8** That horse and man to ground he quite did beare;  
**(Satyrane) 4.4.23.3** His steed he ready found;  
**(Satyrane and Cambell) 4.4.30.2-9** It chaunst Sir Satyrane his steed at last, / Whether through foundring or through sodein feare / To stumble, that his rider nigh he cast; / Which vauntage Cambell did pursue so fast, / That ere him selfe he had recouered well, / So sore he sowst him on the compast creast, / That forced him to leaue his loftie sell, / And rudely tumbling downe vnder his horse feete fell;  
**(Cambell dismounts) 4.4.31.1** Lightly Cambello leapt downe from his steed;  
**(knightless horses) 4.4.38.6** There might ye see loose steeds at randon ronne;  
**(Artegal's disguised horse) 4.4.39.5-6** All his steed / With oaken leaues attrapt;  
**(Artegal struck by Britomart) 4.4.44.4-5** He downe did slide / Ouer his horses taile aboute a stryde;  
**(Scudamour) 4.5.46.1** Vnto his lofty steede he clombe anone;  
**(narrator) 4.5.46.8-9** But here my wearie teeme nigh ouer spent / Shall breath it selfe awhile, after so long a went;  
**(Scudamour sees Artegal) 4.6.5-6** An armed Knight vnder a forrest side, / Sitting in shade beside his grazing steede;  
**(Britomart defeats Scudamour) 4.6.10.7** That to the ground she smote both horse and man;  
**(Artegal's stroke strikes Britomart's horse) 4.6.13.6** On her horses hinder parts it fell;  
**(Artegal's passions) 4.6.33.8-9** Whereby the passion grew more fierce and faine, / Like to a stubborne steede whom strong hand would restraine;  
**(Artegal, Britomart, Scudamour, Glauce) 4.6.39.3** They tooke their steeds, and forward thence did pas;  
**(Æmylia and Amoret with Arthur) 4.8.22.8** And on his warlike beast them both did beare;  
**(contrasting morality of past and present) 4.8.29.7-9** And hard to finde, that heat of youthfull spright / For ought will from his greedie pleasure spare, / More hard for hungry steed t' abstaine from pleasant lare;  
**(Æmylia and Amoret with Arthur) 4.8.34.8-9** How all the way the Prince on footpace traced, / The Ladies both on horse, together fast embraced;  
**(Arthur) 4.8.37.7** Whose steadie hand was faine his steede to guyde;  
**(squire fleeing from Corflambo) 4.8.38.2-3** A Squire came gallopping, as he would flie, / Bearing a litle Dwarfe before his steed;  
**(Arthur) 4.8.41.1-2** The Prince tooke downe those Ladies twaine / From loftie steede, and mounting in their stead;  
**(Scudamour threatened) 4.10.9.6-9** Streight forth issewd a Knight all arm'd to prooffe, / And brauely mounted to his most mishap: / Who staying nought to question from aloofe, / Ran fierce at me, that fire glaunst from his horses hoofe;  
**(Scudamour dismounts) 4.10.15.3** But from my lofty steede dismounting low;  
**(exchange of ladies) 5.1.17.7-9** But hauing from his courser her downe throwne, / From me reft mine away by lawlesse might, / And on his steed her set, to beare her out of sight;  
**(victims of Pollente's trap door) 5.2.7.8** Through which the rider downe doth fall through ouersight;  
**(Pollente in river) 5.2.13.8-9** And eke the courser, whereuppon he rad. / Could swim like to a fish, whiles he his backe bestrad;  
**(Artegal forces Pollente from) 5.2.16.1-2** So Artegal at length him forst forsake / His horses backe, for dread of being drown'd;  
**(joust) 5.3.6.6** And many knights vnhorst, and many wounded;  
**(Guyon reclaims from Braggadocchio) 5.3.29.5** His owne good steed, which he had stolne, to clame;  
**(strife over Guyon's horse) 5.3.30.1-2** Thereof great hurly burly moued was / Throughout the hall, for that same warlike horse;  
**(Artegal attempts to adjudicate between Guyon and Braggadocchio) 5.3.30.8-9** And gan inquire, how was that steed bereaued, / Whether by might extort, or else by slight deceaued;  
**(Guyon's horse) 5.3.31.5** His horse purloyned was by subtill traine;  
**(mark identifying Guyon's horse) 5.3.32.8-9** Within his mouth a blacke spot doth appeare, / Shapt like a horses shoe, who list to seeke it there;  
**(attempt to identify Guyon's horse results in injuries) 5.3.33.1-9** Whereof to make due tryall, one did take / The horse in hand, within his mouth to looke: / But with his heeles so sorely his strake, / That all his ribs he quite in peeces broke, / That neuer word from that day forth he spoke. / Another that would seeme to haue more wit, / Him by the bright embrodered hedstall tooke: / But by the shoulder him so sore he bit, / That he him maymed quite, and all his shoulder split;  
**(Guyon's horse only cooperates with Guyon) 5.3.34.1-2** Ne he his mouth would open vnto wight, / Vntill that Guyon selfe vnto him spake;  
**(Artegal assigns the horse to Guyon) 5.3.35.1-2** Thereby Sir Artegal did plaine areed, / That vnto him the horse belong'd;  
**(Artegal speaks to Guyon and Braggadocchio) 5.3.35.3-5** Lo there Sir Guyon, take to you the steed, / As he with golden saddle is arayd; / And let that losell, plainely now displayd, / Hence fare on foot, till he an horse haue gayned;  
**(Britomart mounts) 5.6.17.9** And mounting to her steede, bad Talus guide her on;  
**(Britomart mounts) 5.6.36.2** But tooke her steede, and thereon mounting light;  
**(Britomart's horse) 5.6.39.2** But putting spurres vnto her fiery beast;

(**Artegall jousting**) 5.8.9.7-8 Yet neither has forgon / His horses backe;

(**Souldan's chariot**) 5.8.28.6-9 Drawne of cruell steedes, which he had fed / With flesh of men, whom through fell tyranny / He slaughtred had, and ere they were halfe ded, / Their bodies to his beasts for prouender did spred;

(**Souldan compared**) 5.8.31.1-4 Like to the Thracian Tyrant, who they say / Vnto his horses gaue his guests for meat, / Till he himselfe was made their greedie pray, / And torne in peeces by Alcides great;

(**Souldan hopes to destroy Arthur**) 5.8.31.8 Or vnder his fierce horses feet haue borne;

(**Arthur handles Souldan's charge**) 5.8.32.1-9 But the bold child that perill well espying, / If he too rashly to his charet drew, / Gaue way vnto his horses speedie flying, / And their resistlesse rigour did eschew. / Yet as he passed by, the Pagan threw / A shiuering dart with so impetuous force, / That had he not it shun'd with heedfull vew, / It had himselfe transfixed, or his horse, / Or made them both one masse withouten more remorse;

(**Souldan's determination**) 5.8.33.9 So long as in his steedes the flaming breath did last;

(**Souldan's horses pursue Arthur**) 5.8.36.4-9 And eke his steedes like to an hungry hound, / That hunting after game hath carrion found, / So cruelly did him pursew and chace, / That his good steed, all were he much renound / For noble courage, and for hardie race, / Durst not endure their sight, but fled from place to place;

(**Arthur reveals shield to Souldan's horses**) 5.8.37.8-9 And comming full before his horses vew, / As they vpon him prest, it plaine to them did shew;

(**frightening of Souldan's horses**) 5.8.40.1-5.8.41.1-2 As when the firie-mouthed steeds, which drew / The Sunnes bright wayne to Phaetons decay, / Soone as they did the monstrous Scorpion vew, / With vgly craples crawling in their way, / The dreadfull sight did them so sore affray, / That their well known courses they forwent, / And leading th'auer-burning lampe astray, / This lower world nigh all to ashes Brent, / And left their scorched path yet in the firmament. / Such was the furie of these head-strong steeds, / Soone as the infants sunlike shield they saw;

(**Chariot of the sun**) 5.9.35.1-2 As the bright sunne, what time his fierie teme / Towards the westerne brim begins to draw;

(**Arthur prepares to depart**) 5.10.16.8 When he was readie to his steede to mount;

(**Arthur dismounts**) 5.10.22.2 And low dismounting from his loftie steede;

(**Arthur's horse wounded by Gerioneo**) 5.11.8.9-5.11.9.2 And lighting on his horses head, him quite did mall. / Downe streight to ground fell his astonisht steed, / And eke to th'earth his burden with him bare;

(**Burbon dismounts**) 5.11.61.1 But Burbon streight dismounting from his steed;

(**Burbon bears lady away**) 5.11.64.7-8 Her vp did reare / Vpon his steede, whiles she no whit gainesayd;

(**Talus defeats troupe**) 5.12.7.7-9 But he them ouerthrew both man and horse, / That they lay scattred ouer all the land, / As thicke as doth the seede after the sowers hand;

(**Calidore and Crudor thrown**) 6.1.33.8 But rudely rowld to ground both man and horse;

(**Calidore and Crudor fight**) 6.1.35.9 To proue if better foote then horsebacke would ensew;

(**Tristram fights**) 6.2.3.7-9 A tall young man from thence not farre away, / Fighting on foot, as well he him descryde, / Against an armed knight, that did on horsebacke ryde;

(**Tristram describes adventure**) 6.2.10.1-3 The knight, as ye did see, on horsebacke was, / And this his Ladie, (that him ill became,) / On her faire feet by his horse side did pas;

(**Priscilla tells her tale**) 6.2.22.2-4 He flat refused / To take me vp (as this young man did see) / Vpon his steed, for no iust cause accused;

(**Tristram assists Priscilla**) 6.2.39.7-8 He tooke that Ladie, and her vp did rayse / Vpon the steed of her owne late dead knight;

(**Calepine assists Serena**) 6.3.28.5 And setting on his steede, her did sustaine;

(**Calepine seeks passage over ford**) 6.3.31.5 To take him vp behinde vpon his steed;

(**Turpine taunts Calepine**) 6.3.32.1-5 But as thou hast thy steed forlorne with shame, / So fare on foote till thou another gayne, / And let thy Lady likewise doe the same, / Or beare her on thy backe with pleasing payne, / And proue thy manhood on the billowes vayne;

(**Turpine flees**) 6.3.37.2 Turned his steede about another way;

(**Calepine assists Serena**) 6.3.46.2-3 Vpstaying still her selfe vpon her steede, / Being vnhabie else alone to ride;

(**Salvage Man fights Turpine**) 6.4.6.1-5 With that the wyld man more enraged grew, / Like to a Tygre that hath mist his pray, / And with mad mood againe vpon him flew, / Regarding neither speare, that mote him slay, / Nor his fierce steed, that mote him much dismay;

(**Salvage Man fights Turpine**) 6.4.7.5 That from his steed him nigh he drew againe;

(**Salvage Man pursues Turpine**) 6.4.8.1-6 But after him the wyld man ran apace, / And him pursewed with importune speed, / (For he was swift as any Bucke in chace) / And had he not in his extreamest need, / Bene helped through the swiftnesse of his steed, / He had him ouertaken in his flight;

(**Calepine left alone**) 6.4.39.3 Withouten armes or steede to ride vpon;

(**Matilde offers Calepine aid**) 6.4.39.7-8 And offred him, his courtesie to requite, / Both horse and armes;

(**Serena mounts Calepine's horse**) 6.5.7.5 His steede now strong through rest so long a space;

(**Serena's equipage disordered**) 6.5.10.2-3 It chaunst some furniture about her steed / To be disordred by some accident;

(**Timias hears Arthur's approach**) 6.5.21.5-7 When as vnwares he in the forrest heard / A trampling steede, that with his neighing fast / Did warne his rider be vpon his gard;



(**Hermit attends to all guests**) 6.5.38.1-2 He thence them led into his Hermitage, / Letting their steedes to graze vpon the greene;  
 (**Salvage man attends Arthur's horse**) 6.6.19.8 The whiles the saluage man did take his steede;  
 (**Arthur unhorses hired foe**) 6.7.11.2-3 From his horses backe / About a launces length him forth did beare;  
 (**Arthur dismounts to deal coup de grâce**) 6.7.11.6 He left his steed;  
 (**Fool follows Mirabella**) 6.7.39.8-9 Whipping her horse, did with his smarting toole / Oft whip her dainty selfe;  
 (**Disdain**) 6.7.44.1-4 This was Disdaine, who led that Ladies horse / Through thick and thin, through mountains and through plains, / Compelling her, wher she would not, by force / Haling her palfrey by the hempen raines;  
 (**Arthur comes to Enias's aid**) 6.8.12.6-7 When the Prince beheld, there standing by, / He left his lofty steede to aide him neare;  
 (**narrator**) 6.9.1.1-2 Now turne againe my teme thou iolly swayne, / Backe to the furrow which I lately left;  
 (**Mutability meets Cynthia**) 7.6.9.1-4 Her sitting on an luory throne shee found, / Drawne of two steeds, th'one black, the other white, / Environd with tenne thousand starres around, / That duly her attended day and night;  
 see ass, beast, courser, jade

## Hound

(**the dog star**) 1.3.31.6 And scorching flames of fierce Orions hound;  
 (**enemies of Smell**) 2.11.11.1-9 Likewise that same third Fort, that is the Smell / Of that third troupe was cruelly assayd: / Whose hideous shapes were like to feends of hell, / Some like to hounds, some like to Apes, dismayd, / Some like to Puttockes, all in plumes arayd: / All shap't according their conditions, / For by those vgly formes weren pourtrayd, / Foolish delights and fond abusions, / Which do that sence besiege with light illusions;  
 (**Artegall's arms**) 3.2.25.1-2 His crest was couered with a couchant Hound, / And all his armour seem'd of antique mould;  
 (**Artegall attacks Britomart**) 4.6.12.2-5 And snatching forth his direfull deadly blade, / Did leape to her, as doth an eger hound / Thrust to an Hynd within some couert glade, / Whom without perill he cannot inuade;  
 (**pursuer of Samient not daunted by Artegall**) 5.8.7.1-3 But he like hound full greedy of his pray, / Being impatient of impediment, / Continu'd still his course;  
 (**Souldan's horses pursue Arthur**) 5.8.36.4-9 And eke his steedes like to an hungry hound, / That hunting after game hath carrion found, / So cruelly did him pursew and chace, / That his good steed, all were he much renound / For noble courage, and for hardie race, / Durst not endure their sight, but fled from place to place;  
 (**Souldan**) 5.8.42.5 The pagan hound;  
 (**Salvage Man comes to Serena**) 6.4.11.1-9 But the wyld man, contrarie to her feare, / Came to her creeping like a fawning hound, / And by rude tokens made to her appeare / His deepe compassion of her dolefull stound, / Kissing his hands, and crouching to the ground; / For other language had he none nor speach, / But a soft murmure, and confused sound / Of senselesse words, which nature did him teach, / T'expresse his passions, which his reason did empeach;  
 (**Timias fights overwhelming odds**) 6.5.19.1-9 Like a wyld Bull, that being at a bay, / Is bayted of a mastiffe, and a hound, / And a curre-dog; that doe him sharpe assay / On euery side, and beat about him round; / But most that curre barking with bitter sownd, / And creeping still behinde, doth him incomber, / That in his chauffe he digs the trampled ground, / And threats his horns, and bellowes like the thonder, / So did that Squire his foes disperse, and driue asonder;  
 (**Timias prepares to plunder armor**) 6.5.25.7 Thinking to take them from that hylding hound;  
 (**Arlo chosen by Cynthia**) 7.6.39.1-2 But mongst them all, as fittest for her game, / Either for chace of beasts with hound or boawe;  
 (**Actaeon**) 7.6.45.6 Was of his hounds devour'd in Hunters hew;  
 (**nymphs argue for punishment of Faunus**) 7.6.50.8-9 Him in Deares skin to clad; and in that plight, / To hunt him with their hounds;  
 (**Faunus in flight**) 7.6.52.2-5 With a Deeres-skin they couered, and then chast / With all their hounds that after him did speed; / But he more speedy, from them fled more fast / Then any Deere: so sore him dread aghast;  
 see dog, spaniel

## Hydra

(**Hercules kills Lernean hydra**) 1.7.17.1-5 Such one it was, as that renowned Snake / Which great Alcides in Stremona slew, / Long fostred in the filth of Lerna lake / Whose many heads out budding ever new, / Did breed him endlesse labour to subdew;  
 (**sea monsters**) 2.12.23.1-9 Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects, / Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see, / Or shame, that euer should so fowle defects / From her most cunning hand escaped bee; / All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee: / Spring-headed Hydraes, and sea-shouldring Whales, / Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee, / Bright Scolopendraes, arm'd with siluer scales, / Mighty Monoceros, with immeasured tayles;  
 (**Blatant Beast pinned**) 6.12.31.8-6.12.32.6 He grind, hee bit, he scratcht, he venim threw, / And fared like a feend, right horrible in hew. / Or like the hell-borne Hydra, which they faine / That great Alcides whilome ouerthrew, / After that he had labourd long in vaine, / To crop his thousand heads, the which still new / Forth budded, and in greater number grew. / Such was the fury of this hellish Beast;

**Hyena**

(**witch summons**) 3.7.22.1-9 Eftsoones out of her hidden caue she cald / An hideous beast, of horrible aspect, / That could the stoutest courage haue appald; / Monstrous mishapt, and all his backe was spect / With thousand spots of colours queint elect, / Thereto so swift, that it all beasts did pas: / Like neuer yet did liuing eye detect; / But likest it to an Hyena was, / That feeds on womens flesh, as others feede on gras;  
 (**Satyraue**) 3.8.44.4 Finding not th'Hyena to be slaine;

**Jade**

(**Timias attacks Impotence and Impatience**) 2.11.31.2 Snatcht first the one, and then the other Iade;  
 (**Forester chases Florimell**) 3.1.17.2-7 Lo where a griesly Foster forth did rush, / Breathing out beastly lust her to defile: / His tyreling iade he fiercely forth did push, / Through thicke and thin, both ouer banke and bush / In hope her to attaine by hooke or crooke, / That from his gorie sides the bloud did gush;  
 (**Mirabella**) 6.6.16.7-8 With a faire Mayden clad in mourning weed, / Vpon a mangy iade vnmeetely set;  
 (**Disdain leads Mirabella's horse**) 6.7.40.6-7 But most the former villaine, which did lead / Her tyreling iade, was bent her to abuse;

see ass, horse

**Jay**

(**angel's wings**) 2.8.5.8 Decked with diverse plumes, like painted Iayes;  
 see bird

**Kestrel**

(**Braggadocchio**) 2.3.4.3-5 Ne thought of honour euer did assay / His baser brest, but in his kestrell kind / A pleasing vaine of glory he did find;

see bird

**Kid**

(**Melibæe praises pastoral life**) 6.9.23.1-9 Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;  
 (**April**) 7.7.33.1-4 Fresh Aprill full of lustyhed, / And wanton as a Kid whose home new buds: / Vpon a Bull he rode, the same which led / Europa floting through th'Argolick fluds;

**Kine**

see cattle

**Kite**

(**Pyrochles's opinion of Guyon**) 2.8.16.8-9 What herce or steede (said he) should he haue dight, / But be entombed in the rauon or the kight;  
 (**Radigund fights Artegal**) 5.5.15.1-9 Like as a Puttocke hauing spyde in sight / A gentle Faulcon on an hill, / Whose other wind, now made vnmeete for flight, / Was lately broken by some fortune ill; / The foolish Kyte, led with licentious will, / Doth beat vpon the gentle bird in vaine, / With many idel stoups her troubling still: / Euen so did Radigund with bootlesse paine / Annoy this noble Knight, and sorely him constraine;  
 (**Salvage man attacks Scorn**) 6.8.28.4-9 He flew vpon him, like a greedy kight / Vnto some carrion offered to his sight, / And downe him plucking, with his nayles and teeth / Gan him to hale, and teare, and scratch, and bite; / And from him taking his owne whip, therewith / So sore him scourgeth, that the bloud downe followeth;

see bird

**Lamb**

(**Una**) 1.1.4.9 And by her in a line a milke white lambe she lad;  
 (**Una lamb-like**) 1.1.5.1-2 So pure an innocent, as that same lambe, / She was in life and euery vertuous lore;  
 (**follows when Una abducted by Sansloy**) 1.3.44.6-9 Her seruile beast yet would not leaue her so, / But followes her farre off, ne ought he feares, / To be partaker of her wandring woe, / More mild in beastly kind, then that her beastly foe;  
 (**Una saved from Sansloy, but in satyrs' hands**) 1.6.10.3-9 As when a greedie Wolfe through hunger fell / A seely Lambe farre from the flocke does take, / Of whom he meanes his bloudie feast to make, / A Lyon spyes fast running towards him, / The innocent pray in hast he does forsake, / Which quit from death yet quakes in euery lim / With change of feare, to see the Lyon looke so grim;  
 (**Christ**) 1.10.57.6-7 That vnspotted lam, / That for the sinnes of all the world was kilt;

**(Satyrane uses Florimell's girdle to bind monster)** 3.7.36.1-9 The golden ribband, which that virgin wore / About her sc slender wast, he tooke in hand, / And with it bound the beast, that lowd did rore / For great despight of that vnwonted band, / Yet dared not his victour to withstand, / But trembled like a lambe, fled from the pray, / And all the way him followd on the strand, / As he had long bene learned to obey; / Yet neuer learned he such seruice, till that day;  
**(mark of golden past)** 4.8.31.1 The Lyon there did with the Lambe consort;  
**(Melibœe praises pastoral life)** 6.9.21.7-9 My lambes doe euery yeare increase their score, / And my flockes father daily doth amende it. / What haue I, but to praise th'Almighty, that doth send it;  
**(Melibœe praises pastoral life)** 6.9.23.1-9 Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe / Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away; / Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe, / Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay; / Another while I baytes and nets display, / The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle: / And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay / My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle, / And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle;  
 see sheep

### Lark

**(sprite returns from Morpheus)** 1.1.44.7 Remounted up as light as chearefull Larke;  
**(greeted dawn)** 1.11.51.9 With merry note her loud salutes the mounting larke;  
**(Phædria)** 2.6.3.3 Sometimes she sung, as loud as larke in aire;  
**(dared or charmed)** 7.6.37.4-5 and there him tooke / Like darred Larke;  
**(Calidore caught in Cupid's hands)** 6.9.11.9 Caught like the bird, which gazing still on others stands;  
 see bird

### Leech (as healer)

**(Recrosse taken to House of Pride)** 1.5.17.1-3 Home is he brought, and laid in sumptuous bed: / Where many skilfull leaches him abide, / To salue his hurts, that yet still freshly bled;  
**(Aesculapius heals Sansjoy)** 1.5.44.1-2 And then the learned leach / His cunning hand gan to his wounds to lay;  
**(Sansjoy stays)** 1.5.44.5-6 Let stay / Aueugles sonne there in the leaches cure;  
**(Patience comes to Redcrosse)** 1.10.23.7-9 To fetch a Leach, the which had great insight / In that disease of grieved conscience, / And well could cure the same; His name was Patience;  
**(Merlin advises Glauce)** 3.3.17.5-6 More need of leach-craft hath your Damozell, / Then of my skill;  
**(Glauce responds)** 3.3.18.1-4 If any leaches skill, / Or other learned meanes could haue redrest / This my deare daughters deepe engrafted ill, / Certes I should be loth thee to molest;  
**(Tryphon)** 3.4.43.9 For Tryphon of sea gods the soueraine leach is hight;  
**(jealous torment)** 4.6.1.5-7 What medicine can any Leaches art / Yeeld such a sore, that doth her griuance hide, / And will to none her maladie impart;  
**(Tryphon cures Marinell)** 4.11.7.1-3 So well that Leach did hearke to her request, / And did so well employ his carefull paine, / That in short space his hurts he had redrest;  
**(Apollo)** 4.12.25.4 Apollo King of Leaches;  
**(poison of Blatant Beast)** 6.6.1.1-9 No wound, which warlike hand of enemy / Inflicts with dint of sword, so sore doth light, / As doth the poysnous sting, which infamy / Infixeth in the name of noble wight: / For by no art, nor any leaches might / It euer can recured be againe; / Ne all the skill, which that immortall spright / Of Podalyrius did in it retaine, / Can remedy such hurts; such hurts are hellish paine;  
**(Hermit)** 6.6.3.1 For he right well in Leaches craft was seene;  
**(Calidore)** 6.10.31.1-9 But that enuenim'd sting, the which of yore, / His poysnous point deepe fixed in his hart / Had left, now gan afresh to rancle sore, / And to renewe the rigour of his smart: / Which to recure, no skill of Leaches art / Mote him auaille, but to returne againe / To his wounds worker, that with louely dart / Dinting his brest, had bred his restlesse paine, / Like as the wounded Whale to shore flies from the maine;

### Leopard

**(Satyrane might cow leopard if continues in wild power)** 1.6.25.8-9 And make the Libbard sterne / Leave roaring, when he for revenge did earne;  
**(pastimes of Belpheobe)** 2.3.28.8 Or when the flying Libbard she did chace;  
**(Belpheobe hunts)** 4.7.23.7 Was hunting then the Libbards and the Beares;  
**(Sommer hunts)** 7.7.29.8 Had hunted late the Libbard or the Bore;  
 see pardal

### Limehound (hunting dog)

**(Talus's ability to pursue)** 5.2.25.3 But Talus, that could like a limehound winde her;  
 see dog

### Lion

**(Redcross)** 1.1.17.2 As Lyon fierce upon the flying pray;

- (Una and Lion) 1.3.Arg.1-2** Forsaken Truth long seekes her loue, / And makes the Lyon mylde;
- (Una tames Lion) 1.3.5.1-1.3.6.3** It fortun'd out of the thickest wood / A ramping Lyon rushed suddainly, / Hunting full greedie after saluage blood; / Soone as the royall virgin he did spy, / With gaping mouth at her ran greedily, / To haue attonce deuour'd her tender corse: / But to the pray when as he drew more ny, / His bloudie rage asswaged with remorse, / And with the sight amaz'd, forgat his furious forse. / In stead thereof he kist her wearie feet, / And lickt her lilly hands with fawning tong, / As he her wronged innocence did weet;
- (lord of beasts) 1.3.7.1** The Lyon Lord of everie beast in field;
- (Una speaks of Redcrosse) 1.3.7.6-9** But he my Lyon, and my noble Lord, / How does he find in cruell hart to hate / Her that him lou'd, and euer most adord, / As the God of my life? why hath he me abhord;
- (Lion calmed) 1.3.8.4-5** The kingly beast vpon her gazing stood; / With pittie calmd, downe fell his angry mood;
- (Lion accompanies Una) 1.3.9.1-9** The Lyon would not leaue her desolate, / But with her went along, as a strong gard / Of her chaste person, and a faithfull mate / Of her sad troubles and misfortunes hard: / Still when she slept, he kept both watch and ward, / And when she wakt, he waited diligent, / With humble seruice to her will prepar'd: / From her faire eyes he tooke commaundement, / And euer by her lookes conceiued her intent;
- (Abessa flees) 1.3.11.5-9** Till seeing by her side the Lyon stand, / With suddaine feare her pitcher downe she threw, / And fled away: for neuer in that land / Face of faire Ladie she before did vew, / And that dread Lyons looke her cast in deadly hew;
- (Lion tears open Corceca's door) 1.3.13.1-2** Her vnruely Page / With his rude clawes the wicket open rent;
- (Lion defends Una) 1.3.15.2-4** When euery creature shrowded is in sleepe; / Sad Vna downe her laies in wearie plight, / And at her feet the Lyon watch doth keepe;
- (Lion kills Kirkrapine) 1.3.19.3-9** The Lyon frayed them, him in to let: / He would no longer stay him to aduize, / But open breakes the dore in furious wize, / And entring is; when that disdainfull beast / Encountring fierce, him suddaine doth surprize, / And seizing cruell clawes on trembling brest, / Vnder his Lordly foot him proudly hath suppress;
- (Lion and Una) 1.3.21.2** Vp Vna rose, vp rose the Lyon eke;
- (Lion) 1.3.26.2** And that wilde Champion wayting her besyde;
- (Archimago questions Una) 1.3.32.8** In which he askt her, what the Lyon ment;
- (Sansloy contrasted with and kills Lion) 1.3.41.1-1.3.42.9** But her fierce seruant full of kingly awe / And high disdain, whenas his soueraine Dame / So rudely handled by her foe he sawe, / With gaping iawes full greedy at him came, / And ramping on his shield, did weene the same / Haue reft away with his sharpe rending clawes: / But he was stout, and lust did now inflame / His corage more, that from his griping pawes / He hath his shield redeem'd, and fourth his swerd he drawes. / O then too weake and feeble was the forse / Of saluage beast, his puissance to withstand: / For he was strong, and of so mightie corse, / As euer wielded speare in warlike hand, / And feates of armes did wisely vnderstand. / Eftsoones he perced through his chaufed chest / With thrilling point of deadly yron brand, / And launcht his Lordly hart; with death opprest / He roar'd aloud, whiles life forsooke his stubborne brest;
- (mount of Wrath) 1.4.33.2** Upon a Lion, loth for to be led;
- (Una rescued from Sansloy) 1.6.7.3-4** A wondrous way it for this Lady wrought, / From Lyons clawes to pluck the griped pray;
- (Una saved from Sansloy, but in satyrs' hands) 1.6.10.3-9** As when a greedie Wolfe through hunger fell / A seely Lambe farre from the flocke does take, / Of whom he meanes his bloudie feast to make, / A Lyon spyes fast running towards him, / The innocent pray in hast he does forsake, / Which quit from death yet quakes in euery lim / With change of feare, to see the Lyon looke so grim;
- (Satyrane can defeat) 1.6.24.4** Upon the Lyon and the rugged Beare;
- (Satyrane coveys lion) 1.6.25.7** The Lyon stoupe to him in lowly wize;
- (Satyrane carries captured whelps) 1.6.27.8** The Lyon whelpes she saw how he did beare;
- (Redcrosse takes the cure) 1.10.28.1-3** In which his torment often was so great, / That like a Lyon he would cry and rore, / And rend his flesh, and his owne synewes eat;
- (dragon wounded) 1.11.37.1-4** The cruell wound enraged him so sore, / That loud he yelded for exceeding paine; / As hundred ramping Lyons seem'd to rore, / Whom rauinous hunger did thereto constraîne;
- (Guyon mourns) 2.1.42.6-7** As Lyon grudging in his great disdain, / Mournes inwardly, and makes to himselfe mone;
- (Guyon fights Pyrochles) 2.5.10.1-9** Like as a Lyon, whose imperiall powre / A prowde rebellious Vnicorne defies, / T'auoide the rash assault and wrathfull stowre / Of his fiers foe, him to a tree applies, / And when him running in full course he spies, / He slips aside; the whiles that furious beast / His precious horne, sought of his enimies, / Strikes in the stocke, ne thence can be releast, / But to the mighty victour yields a bounteous feast;
- (Palmer gives Arthur Guyon's sword) 2.8.40.7-9** Then like a Lion, which hath long time saught / His robbed whelpes, and at last them fond / Emongst the shepheard swaynes, then weseth wood and yond;
- (Arthur and Guyon drive off Maleger's host) 2.9.14.6-9** Those Champions broke on them, that forst them fly, / Like scattered Sheepe, whenas the Shepherds swaine / A Lyon and a Tigre doth espye, / With greedy pace forth rushing from the forest nye;
- (idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber) 2.9.50.8-9** Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions, Egles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;
- (Britomart's shield) 3.1.4.9** That bore a Lion passant in a golden field;

- (common encounters) 3.1.14.8-9 Yet tract of living creatures none they found, / Save Beares, Lions, and Bulls, which romed them around;
- (Conan) 3.3.30.1-5 Like as a Lyon, that in drowsie caue / Hath long time slept, himsele so shall he shake, / And comming forth, shall spred his banner braue / Ouer the troubled South, that it shall make / The warlike Mertians for feare to quake;
- (sleeps in cave) 3.3.30.1-2 Like as a Lyon, this drowsie cave / Hath long time slept;
- (William of Normandy) 3.3.47.2-5 There shall a Lyon from the sea-bord wood / Of Neustria come roring, with a crew / Of hungry whelpes, his battailous bold brood, / Whose claws were newly dipt in cruddy blood;
- (Apollo in tapestry) 3.11.39.7-8 Now like a Lyon, hunting after spoile, / Now like a Stag, now like a faulcon flit;
- (Cupid rides) 3.12.22.2 Came riding on a Lion ravenous;
- (Cambina's chariot) 4.3.39.1-5 And drawne it was (that wonder is to tell) / Of two grim lyons, taken from the wood, / In which their powre all others did excell; / Now made forget their former cruell mood, / T'obey their riders hest, as seemed good;
- (Cambina's lions kill crowd) 4.3.41.3-5 Her angrie teame breaking their bonds of peace, / Great heapes of them, like sheepe in narrow fold, / For hast did ouer-runne;
- (Cambell captured) 4.4.32.5-9 Like as a Lion that by chaunce doth fall / Into the hunters toile, doth rage and rore, / In royall heart disdainng to be thrall. / But all in vaine: for what might one do more? / They haue him taken captiue, though it grieue him sore;
- (Artegall fights) 4.4.41.5 Far'd like a lyon in his bloodie game;
- (mark of golden past) 4.8.31.1 The Lyon there did with the Lambe consort;
- (invocation of Venus) 4.10.46.1-6 Then doe the saluage beasts begin to play / Their pleasant friskes, and loath their wonted food; / The Lyons rore, the Tygres loudly bray, / The raging Bulls rebellow through the wood, / And breaking forth, dare tempt the deepest flood, / To come where thou doest draw them with desire;
- (Leo in zodiac series) 5 Pr 6.1-4 And eke the Bull hath with his bow-bent home / So hardly butted those two twinnes of loue, / That they haue crusht the Crab, and quite him borne / Into the great Nemaean lions groue;
- (Talus) 5.1.20.4-5 For he was swift as swallow in her flight, / And strong as Lyon in his Lordly might;
- (Marinell fights) 5.3.8.5 And through the thickest like a Lyon flew;
- (Hercules wears) 5.5.24.7 His Lyons skin chaunged to a pall of gold;
- (Britomart's dream in Temple of Isis) 5.7.15.1-5.7.16.7 With that the Crocodile, which sleeping lay / Vnder the Idols feete in fearelesse bowre, / Seem'd to awake in horrible dismay, / As being troubled with that stormy stowre; / And gaping greedy wide, did streight deuoure / Both flames and tempest: with which growen great, / And swolne with pride of his owne peerlesse powre, / He gan to threaten her likewise to eat; / But that the Goddess with her rod him backe did beat. / Tho turning all his pride to humblesse meeke, / Him selfe before her feete he lowly threw, / And gan for grace and loue of her to seeke: Which she accepting, he so neare her drew, / That of his game she soone enwombed grew, / And forth did bring a Lion of great might; / That shortly did all other beasts subdew;
- (offspring of Britomart and Artegall) 5.7.23.7-8 And afterwards a sonne to him shalt beare, / That Lion-like shall shew his powre extream;
- (Britomart fights Radigund) 5.7.30.1-9 As when a Tygre and Lionesse / Are met at spoyling of some hungry pray, / Both challenge it with equall greedinesse: / But first the Tygre claws thereon did lay; / And therefore loth to loose her right away, / Doth in defence thereof full stoutly stond: / To which the Lion strongly doth gainsay, / That she to hunt the beast first tooke in hond; / And therefore ought it haue, where euer she it fond;
- (Hercules) 5.8.2.5 For his loves sake his Lions skin undight;
- (Arthur wounded by Souldan) 5.8.38.5-9 That made him raue, like to a Lyon wood, / Which being wounded of the huntsmans hand / Can not come neare him in the couert wood, / Where he with boughes hath built his shady stand, / And fenst himsele about with many a flaming brand;
- (Mercilla's coat of arms) 5.9.27.9 And all embost with Lyons and with Flour-delice;
- (sits at feet of Mercilla) 5.9.33.3-9 Whylest vnderneath her feete, there as she sate, / An huge great Lyon lay, that mote appall / An hardie courage, like captiued thrall, / With a strong yron chaine and coller bound, / That once he could not moue, nor quich at all; / Yet did he murmure with rebellions sound, / And softly royne, when saluage cholere gan redound;
- (Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.23.1-5.11.24.9 An huge great Beast it was, when it in length / Was stretched forth, that nigh fild all the place, / And seem'd to be of infinite great strength; / Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race, / Borne of the brooding of Echidna base, / Or other like infernall furies kinde: / For of a Mayd she had the outward face, / To hide the horrour, which did lurke behinde, / The better to beguile, whom she so fond did finde. / Thereto the body of a dog she had, / Full of fell rauin and fierce greedinesse; / A Lions claws, with powre and rigour clad, / To rend and teare, what so she can oppresse; / A Dragons taile, whose sting without redresse / Full deadly wounds, where so it is empight; / And Eagles wings, for scope and speedinesse, / That nothing may escape her reaching might, / Whereto she euer list to make her hardy flight;
- (Arthur injures Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.27.9 Her Lions claws he from her feete away did wipe;
- (Burbon fights mob) 5.11.45.3 And like a Lion wood amongst them fares;
- (Tristram) 6.2.6.6-9 And in his left he held a sharpe borespeare, / With which he went to launch the saluage hart / Of many a Lyon, and of many a Beare / That first vnto his hand in chase did happen neare;

**(Salvage mad defeats groom) 6.6.22.1-6** Which when the Saluage comming now in place, / Beheld, eftsoones he all enraged grew, / And running streight vpon that villaine base, / Like a fell Lion at him fiercely flew, / And with his teeth and nailes, in present vew, / Him rudely rent, and all to peeces tore;

**(Arthur attacks Turpine) 6.7.25.5** Like a fell Lyon leaped to him light;

**(Calidore fights the brigands) 6.11.49.1-4** Like as a Lion mongst an heard of dere, / Disperseth them to catch his choysest pray; / So did he fly amongst them here and there, / And all that nere him came, did hew and slay;

**(Nature appears to some to have face of) 7.7.6.4** For that her face did like a Lion shew;

**(July rides Leo) 7.7.36.3** Upon a Lyon raging yet with ire;

see lioness

### Lioness

**(Satyrane pursued by) 1.6.27.5-9** When after him a Lyonesse did runne, / That roaring all with rage, did lowd require / Her children deare, whom he away had wonne: / The Lyon whelpes she saw how he did beare, / And lull in rugged armes, withouten childish feare;

**(Radigund fights Terpin) 5.4.39.6** Like a fell Lionesse at him she flew;

**(Britomart fights Radigund) 5.7.30.1-9** As when a Tygre and Lionesse / Are met at spoyling of some hungry pray, / Both challenge it with equall greedinesse: / But first the Tygre clawes thereon did lay; / And therefore loth to loose her right away, / Doth in defence thereof full stoutly stond: / To which the Lion strongly doth gainsay, / That she to hunt the beast first tooke in hond; / And therefore ought it haue, where euer she it fond;

**(pun on Tristram's native land?) 6.2.30.4** The which the fertile Lionesse is hight;

see lion

### Lynx

**(enemies of Sight) 2.11.8.1-9** The first troupe was a monstrous rabblement / Of fowle misshapen wights, of which some were / Headed like Owles, with beκες vncomely bent, / Others like Dogs, others like Gryphons dreare, / And some had wings, and some had clawes to teare, / And euery one of them had Lynces eyes, / And euery one did bow and arrowes beare: / All those were lawlesse lustes, corrupt enuies, / And couetous aspectes, all cruell enimies;

### Mastiff

**(Arthur fights Cymochles and Pyrochles) 2.8.42.1-9** As saluage Bull, whom two fierce mastiues bayt, / When rancour doth with rage him once engore, / Forgets with warie ward them to awayt, / But with his dreadfull hornes them driues afore, / Or flings aloft, or treads downe in the flore, / Breathing out wrath, and bellowing disdaine, / That all the forrest quakes to heare him rore: / So rag'd Prince Arthur twixt his foemen twaine, / That neither could his mightie puissance sustaine;

**(Blandamour and Paridell) 4.2.17.8** Like two mad mastiffes each on other flew;

**(Britomart goes unheard) 4.9.31.5-9** As when an eager mastiffe once doth proue / The tast of bloud of some engored beast, / No words may rate, nor rigour him remoue / From greedy hold of that his blouddy feast: / So litle did they hearken to her sweet behest;

**(Gerioneo) 5.11.12.1-5** With that all mad and furious he grew, / Like a fell mastiffe through enraging heat, / And curst, and band, and blasphemies forth threw, / Against his Gods, and fire to them did threat, / And hell vnto him selfe with horroure great;

**(Timias fights three foes) 6.5.19.1-9** Like a wylde Bull, that being at a bay, / Is bayted of a mastiffe, and a hound, / And a curre-dog; that doe him sharpe assay / On euery side, and beat about him round; / But most that curre barking with bitter sownd, / And creeping still behinde, doth him incomber, / That in his chauffe he digs the trampled ground, / And threats his horns, and bellows like the thonder, / So did that Squire his foes disperse, and driue asonder;

**(Timias fights Disdain) 6.7.44.1-9** Like as a Mastiffe hauing at a bay / A saluage Bull, whose cruell hornes doe threat / Desperate daunger, if he them assay, / Traceth his ground, and round about doth beat, / To spy where he may some aduantage get; / The whiles the beast doth rage and loudly rore: / So did the Squire, the whiles the Carle did fret, / And fume in his disdainefull mynd the more, / And oftentimes by Turmagant and Mahound swore;

### Medusa

**(shield of Minerva) 3.9.22.8-9** And her Gorgonian shield gins to vuntye / From her left arme, to rest in glorious victorye;

**(deeds of Neptune) 3.11.42.7-9** And like a winged horse he tooke his flight, / To snaky-locke Medusa to repayre, / On whom he got faire Pegasus, that flitteth in the ayre;

### Mermaid (siren)

**(Idle Lake) 2.12.17.9** Where many Mermayds haunt, making false melodies;

**(Guyon encounters) 2.12.30.1-2.12.31.9** And now they nigh approached to the sted, / Where as those Mermayds dwelt: it was a still / And calmy bay, on th'one side sheltered / With the brode shadow of an hoarie hill, / On th'other side an high rocke toured still, / That twixt them both a pleasaunt port they made, / And did like an halfe Theatre fulfill: / There

those five sisters had continuall trade, / And usd to bath themselues in that deceitfull shade. / They were faire Ladies,  
till they fondly striu'd / With th'Heliconian maides for maistry; / Of whom they ouer-comen, were depriu'd / Of their  
proud beautie, and th'one moyity / Transform'd to fish, for their bold surquedry, / But th'vpper halfe their hew retained  
still, / And their sweet skill in wonted melody; / Which euer after they abusd to ill, / T'allure weake trauellers, whom  
gotten they did kill;

(song) 2.12.32.2 Their pleasaunt tunes they sweetly thus applide;

(sea responds to song) 2.12.33.1-2 With that the rolling sea resounding soft, / In his big base them fitly answered;

### **Mew (sea gull)**

(Rock of Reproach) 2.12.8.3-7 To which nor fish nor fowle did once approch, / But yelling Meawes, with Seagulles  
hoarse and bace, / And Cormoyrants, with birds of rauenous race, / Which still sate waiting on that wastfull clift, / For  
spoyle of wretches;

### **Minotaur**

(dangers of wilderness told to Malbecco) 3.10.40.3-7 That yonder in that wastefull wilderness / Huge monsters  
haunt, and many dangers dwell; / Dragons, and Minotaurs, and feendes of hell, / and many wilde woodmen, which  
robbe and rend / All travellers;

### **Mole**

(attributes of river Mole) 4.11.32.8-9 And Mole, that like a nousling Mole doth make / His way still vnder ground, till  
Thamis he ouertake;

### **Monoceros (narwhal?)**

(sea monsters) 2.12.23.1-9 Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects, / Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see, / Or  
shame, that euer should so fowle defects / From her most cunning hand escaped bee; / All dreadfull pourtraicts of  
deformitee: / Spring-headed Hydraes, and sea-shouldring Whales, / Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee, /  
Bright Scolopendraes, arm'd with siluer scales, / Mighty Monoceros, with immeasured tayles;

### **Monster**

(Una warns) 1.1.13.6-7 This is the wandring wood, this Errours den, / A monster vile, whom God and man does hate;

(Error in den) 1.1.14.6-9 By which he saw the vgly monster plaine, / Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide, / But  
th'other halfe did womans shape retaine, / Most lothsom, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdaine;

(Error's maw seemingly engendering beasts) 1.1.21.1-9 As when old father Nilus gins to swell / With timely pride  
about the Aegyptian vale, / His fattie waues do fertile slime outwell, / And ouerflow each plaine and lowly dale: / But  
when his later spring gins to auale, / Huge heapes of mudd he leaues, wherein there breed / Ten thousand kindes of  
creatures, partly male / And partly female of his fruitfull seed; / Such vgly monstrous shapes elsewhere may no man reed;

(Error's offspring) 1.1.22.6-9 Her fruitfull cursed spawne of serpents small, / Deformed monsters, fowle, and blacke  
as inke, / Which swarming all about his legs did crall, / And him encombred sore, but could not hurt at all;

(Duessa seen by Fradubio) 1.2.41.1-7 Her neather partes misshapen, monstrous, / Were hidd in water, that I could  
not see, / But they did seeme more foule and hideous, / Then womans shape man would beleeeue to bee. / Thens forth  
from her most beastly companie / I gan refraine, in minde to slip away, / Soone as appeard safe oportunitie;

(Gluttony) 1.4.22.9 In shape and life more like a monster, then a man;

(fate of Hippolytus) 1.5.38.3-4 From surging gulf two monsters straight were brought, / With dread whereof his  
chasing steedes aghast;

(Sansloy driven away by fauns and satyrs) 1.6.8.6-9 Whom when the raging Sarazin espide, / A rude, misshapen,  
monstrous rablement, / Whose like he neuer saw, he durst not bide, / But got his ready steed, and fast away gan ride;

(Orgoglio's birth) 1.7.9.8-9 Brought forth this monstrous masse of earthly slime, / Puft vp with emptie wind, and fild  
with sinfull crime;

(Duessa's beast) 1.7.16.8 A monstrous beast ybred in filthy fen;

(Duessa's beast worse than hydra) 1.7.17.7 But this same Monster much more ugly was;

(Arthur's shield) 1.7.34.2 But when as monsters huge he would dismay;

(many have tried) 1.7.45.1-2 Full many knights aduenturous and stout / Haue enterprizd that Monster to subdew;

(Orgoglio's club) 1.8.18.9 What mortall wight could euer beare so monstrous blow;

(Orgoglio defeated) 1.8.24.8-9 Of that monstrous mas / Was nothing left;

(Duessa) 1.8.48.3-9 But at her rompe she growing had behind / A foxes taile, with dong all fowly dight; / And eke her  
feete most monstrous were in sight; / For one of them was like an Eagles claw, / With griping talaunts armd to greedy  
fight, / The other like a Beares vneuen paw: / More vgly shape yet neuer liuing creature saw;

(description of dragon) 1.11.8.1-9 By this the dreadfull Beast drew nigh to hand, / Halfe flying, and halfe footing in  
his hast, / That with his largenesse measured much land, / And made wide shadow vnder his huge wast; / As mountaine  
doth the valley ouercast. / Approching nigh, he reared high afore / His body monstrous, horrible, and vast, / Which to  
increase his wondrous greatnesse more, / Was swolne with wrath, and poyson, and with bloody gore;

- (dragon wounded) 1.11.20.9** That with the vncouth smart the Monster lowdly cryde;
- (dragon) 1.11.31.5** That infernall Monster;
- (reward for killing dragon) 1.12.3-5** Who so kild that monster most deforme, / And him in hardy battaile ouercame, / Should haue mine onely daughter to his Dame;
- (Redcrosse's oath) 1.12.41.6-8** He nought forgot, how he whilome had sworne, / In case he could that monstrous beast destroy, / Vnto his Farie Queene backe to returne;
- (monster as marvel) 2.3.18.9** And wondred in his mind, what mote that monster make;
- (Palmer describes Furor) 2.4.10.2-3** Not so, O Guyon, neuer thinke that so / That Monster can be maistred or destroyd;
- (Palmer describes Phedon) 2.4.35.3-5** Griefe is a flood, and loue a monster fell; / The fire of sparkes, the weede of little seede, / The flood of drops, the Monster filth did breede;
- (Acrasia turns men into) 2.5.27.6-7** Whom then she does transforme to monstrous hewes / And horribly misshapes with ugly sightes;
- (follows Guyon in Mammon's realm) 2.7.26.7-9** An vgly feend, more fowle then dismall day, / The which with monstrous stalke behind him stept, / And euer as he went, dew watch vpon him kept;
- (human body among God's works) 2.9.1.5-8** But none then it, more fowle and indecent, / Distempred through misrule and passions bace: / It growes a Monster, and incontinent / Doth loose his dignitie and natiue grace;
- (origins of Albion's giants) 2.10.8.3-9** That monstrous error, which doth some assot, / That Dioclesians fiftie daughters shene / Into this land by chauce haue driuen bene, / Where companing with feends and filthy Sprights, / Through vaine illusion of their lust vnclene, / They brought forth Giants and such dreadfull wights, / As farre exceeded men in their immeasurd mightes;
- (sea monsters) 2.12.22.8-9** Eftsoones they saw an hideous hoast arrayd, / Of huge Sea monsters, such as liuing sence dismayd;
- (sea monsters) 2.12.25.1-9** All these, and thousand thousands many more, / And more deformed Monsters thousand fold, / With dreadfull noise, and hollow rombling rore, / Came rushing in the fomy waues enrold, / Which seem'd to fly for feare, them to behold: / Ne wonder, if these did the knight appall; / For all that here on earth we dreadfull hold, / Be but as bugs to fearen babes withall, / Compared to the creatures in the seas entrall;
- (Palmer dispels sea monsters conjured by Acrasia) 2.12.26.2-9** For these same Monsters are not these in deed, / But are into these fearefull shapes disguiz'd / By that same wicked witch, to worke vs dreded, / And draw from on this journey to proceede. / Tho lifting vp his vertuous staffe on hye, / He smote the sea, which calmed was with speed, / And all that dreadfull Armie fast gan flye / Into great Tethys bosome, where they hidden lye;
- (Palmer subdues) 2.12.39.1-2.12.40.9** Ere long they heard an hideous bellowing / Of many beasts, that roard outrageously, / As if that hungers point, or Venus sting / Had them enraged with fell surquedry; / Yet nought they feard, but past on hardily, / Vntill they came in vew of those wild beasts: / Who all attonce, gaping full greedily, / And rearing fiercely their vpstarting crests, / Ran towards, to deuoure those vnexpected guests. / But soone as they approcht with deadly threat, / The Palmer ouer them his staffe vpheld, / His mighty staffe, that could all charmes defeat: / Eftsoones their stubborne courages were queld, / And high aduanced crests down meekely feld, / In stead of fraying, they them selues did feare, / And trembled, as them passing they beheld: / Such wondrous powre did in that staffe appeare, / All monsters to subdew to him, that did it beare;
- (Acrasia turns men into) 2.12.84.5-2.12.85.6** Charm'd those wild-beasts, that rag'd with furie / Which now awaking, fierce at them gan fly, / As in their mistresse reskew, whom they lad; / But them the Palmer soone did pacify. / They Guyon askt, what meant those beastes, which there did ly. / Said he, These seeming beasts are men indeed, / Whom this Enchauntresse hath transformed thus, / Whylome her louers, which her lusts did feed, / Now turned into figures hideous, / According to their mides like monstuous. / Sad end (quoth he) of life intemperate;
- (Glauce questions Britomart) 3.2.40.2** Or why make ye such Monster of your mind;
- (Glauce argues for rightness of right love) 3.2.41.5-8** Yet playd Pasiphaë a more monstrous part, / That lou'd a Bull, and leard a beast to bee; / Such shamefull lusts who loaths not, which depart / From course of nature and of modestie;
- (watching departure of Marinell rescue mission) 3.4.32.8-9** All the griesly Monsters of the See / Stood gaping at their gate, and wondred them to see;
- (witch summons) 3.7.22.1-9** Eftsoones out of her hidden caue she cald / An hideous beast, of horrible aspect, / That could the stoutest courage haue appald; / Monstrous mishapt, and all his backe was spect / With thousand spots of colours queint elect, / Thereto so swift, that it all beasts did pas: / Like neuer yet did liuing eye detect; / But likest it to an Hyena was, / That feeds on womens flesh, as others feede on gras;
- (witch's monster pursues Florimell) 3.7.23.6** The Monster swift as word;
- (Florimell flees monster) 3.7.26.3-5** Nor halfe so fast to saue her maidenhed, / Fled fearefull Daphne on th'Ægæan strond, / As Florimell fled from that Monster yond;
- (monster pursues Florimell) 3.7.28.1** The Monster ready on the pray to sease;
- (monster eats Florimell's horse) 3.7.28.8-9** He set vpon her Palfrey tired lame, / And slew him cruelly, ere any reskew came;
- (Satyrane) 3.7.30.1-9** It was to weete the good Sir Satyrane, / That raungd abroad to seeke aduentures wilde, / As was his wont in forrest, and in plaine; / He was all armd in rugged steele vnfiled, / As in the smoky forge it was compilde, /



And in his Scutchin bore a Satyres hed: / He comming present, where the Monster vilde / Vpon that milke-white Palfreyes carkas fed, / Vnto his reskew ran, and greedily him sped;  
**(Palladine alone can defeat Argante) 3.7.52.8-9** Ne any may that Monster match in fight, / But she, or such as she, that is so chaste a wight;  
**(Florimell) 3.8.21.1-3** For being fled into the fishers bote, / For refuge from the Monsters crueltie, / Long so she on the mightie maine did flote;  
**(Satyrane tells tale) 3.8.49.1-2** When as a monstrous beast / The Palfrey, whereon she did trauell, slew;  
**(dangers told to Malbecco) 3.10.40.3-7** That yonder in that wastefull wilderness / Huge monsters haunt, and many dangers dwell; / Dragons, and Minotaures, and feendes of hell, / And many wilde woodmen, which robbe and rend / All trauellers;  
**(Britomart wonders what she's gotten into) 3.11.22.7** What monstrous enmity prouoke we heare;  
**(forms of love) 3.11.51.7-9** A thousand monstrous formes therein were made, / Such as false loue doth oft vpon him weare, / For loue in thousand monstrous formes doth oft appeare;  
**(Ate) 4.1.26.7-9** For she at first was borne of hellish brood, / And by infernall furies nourished, / That by her monstrous shape might easily be red;  
**(Care) 4.5.37.1** He like a monstrous Gyant seem'd in sight;  
**(Belpheobe views savage man's body) 4.7.32.6-7** She there long gazing stood, / And oft admir'd his monstrous shape;  
**(defending Proteus's lair) 4.11.3.8-9** Besides ten thousand monsters foule abhor'd / Did waite about it, gaping griesly all begor'd;  
**(Florimell fled from) 5.3.27.5-7** While she was flying, like a weary weft, / From that foule monster, which did her compell / To perils great;  
**(Hercules subdues with club) 5.5.24.5-6** His huge club, which had subdew'd of old / So many monsters, which the world annoyed;  
**(Gerioneo's chapel) 5.10.29.3-9** Vnder that cursed Idols altar stone, / An hideous monster doth in darknesse lie, / Whose dreadfull shape was neuer seene of none / That liues on earth; but vnto those alone / The which vnto him sacrificed bee. / Those he deuoures, they say, both flesh and bone: / What else they haue, is all the Tyrants fee; / So that no whit of them remayning one may see;  
**(Gerioneo's chapel) 5.11.20.1-9** And vnderneath this Idoll there doth lie / An hideous monster, that doth it defend, / And feedes on all the carkasses, that die / In sacrifice vnto that cursed feend: / Whose vgly shape none euer saw, nor kend, / That euer scap'd: for of a man they say / It has the voice, that speaches forth doth send, / Euen blasphemous words, which she doth bray / Out of her poysnous entrails, fraught with dire decay;  
**(Arthur defies Gerioneo's monster) 5.11.21.1-9** Which when the Prince heard tell, his heart gan earne / For great desire, that Monster to assay, / And prayd the place of her abode to learne. / Which being shew'd, he gan him selfe streight way / Thereto addresse, and his bright shield display. / So to the Church he came, where it was told, / The Monster vnderneath the Altar lay; / There he that Idoll saw of massy gold / Most richly made, but there no Monster did behold;  
**(Gerioneo's monster similar to sphinx) 5.11.25.1-9** Much like in foulnesse and deformity / Vnto that Monster, whom the Theban Knight, / The father of that fatall progeny, / Made kill her selfe for very hearts despight, / That he had red her Riddle, which no wight / Could euer loose, but suffred deadly doole. / So also did this Monster vse like slight / To many a one, which came vnto her schoole, / Whom she did put to death, deceiued like a foole;  
**(Gerioneo's monster defeated by Arthur) 5.11.33.6** The present of his paines, that Monsters spoyle;  
**(Grantorto) 5.12.15.9** That whether man or monster one could scarce discern;  
**(Envy feeds on own self) 5.12.31.9** Meat fit for such a monsters monstrous dyeat;  
**(Blatant Beast) 5.12.37.7-8** A monster, which the Blatant beast men call, / A dreadfull feend of gods and men ydrad;  
**(Artegall questions, Calidore describes) 6.1.7.6-6.1.8.9** What is that Blattant Beast? (then he replide) / It is a Monster bred of hellishe race, / (Then answerd he) which often hath annoyd / Good Knights and Ladies true, and many else destroyd. / Of Cerberus whilome he was begot, / And fell Chimæra in her darkesome den, / Through fowle commixture of his filthy blot; / Where he was fostred long in Stygian fen, / Till he to perfect ripenesse grew, and then / Into this wicked world he forth was sent, / To be the plague and scourge of wretched men: / Whom with vile tongue and venomous intent / He sore doth wound, and bite, and cruelly torment;  
**(Calidore pursues Blatant Beast) 6.3.26.5** But follow'd fast the Monster in his flight;  
**(Timias sees Blatant Beast) 6.5.16.2** Seeing the vgly Monster passing by;  
**(Timias faints) 6.5.31.6-8** And eke this Squire, who likewise wounded was / Of that same Monster late, for lacke of heed, / Now gan to faint;  
**(Blatant Beast's mother) 6.6.10.1-6.6.11.6** Echidna is a Monster direfull dred, / Whom Gods doe hate, and heauens abhor to see; / So hideous is her shape, so huge her hed, / That euen the hellish fiends affrighted bee / At sight thereof, and from her presence flee: / Yet did her face and former parts professe / A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee; / But all her hinder parts did plaine expresse / A monstrous Dragon, full of fearefull vglinesse. / To her the Gods, for her so dreadfull face, / In fearefull darkenesse, furthest from the skie, / And from the earth, appointed haue her place, / Mongst rocks and caues, where she enrold doth lie / In hideous horrou and obscurity, / Wasting the strength of her immortal age;

**(Blatant Beast) 6.6.12.2-4** This hellish Dog, that hight the Blatant Beast; / A wicked Monster, that his tongue doth whet / Gainst all, both good and bad, both most and least;  
**(Calidore pursues Blatant Beast) 6.9.3.1-2** So sharply he the Monster did pursew, / That day nor night he suffred him to rest;  
**(Calidore attacks tiger) 6.10.36.3** With which so sternely he the monster strooke;  
**(Calidore leaves love with Claribell) 6.12.13.4** Whylest he that monster sought;  
**(Calidore triumphant) 6.12.38.1-2** Thus was this Monster by the maystring might / Of doughty Calidore, supprest and tamed;

see beast, fiend

### **Morse (walrus)**

**(sea monsters) 2.12.24.1-9** The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name / Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew, / The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game / The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew, / The horrible Seasatyre, that doth shew / His fearefull face in time of greatest storme, / Huge Ziffius, whom Mariners eschew / No lesse, then rockes, (as trauellers informe,) / And greedy Rosmarines with visages deforme;

see rosmarine, walrus

### **Nature (Dame)**

**(Tree of Life) 1.11.47.1-9** In all the world like was not to be found, / Saue in that soile, where all good things did grow, / And freely sprong out of the fruitfull ground, / As incorrupted Nature did them sow, / Till that dread Dragon all did ouerthrow. / Another like faire tree eke grew thereby, / Whereof who so did eat, eftsoones did know / Both good and ill: O mornefull memory: / That tree through one mans fault hath doen vs all to dy;

**(waters) 2.2.6.1-3** Of those some were so from their sourse indewd / By great Dame Nature, from whose fruitfull pap / Their welheads spring;

**(Phaedria's island) 2.6.12.3-4** As if it had by Natures cunning hand / Bene choisely picked out from all the rest;  
**(sea monsters) 2.12.23.1-9** Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects, / Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see, / Or shame, that euer should so fowle defects / From her most cunning hand escaped bee; / All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee: / Spring-headed Hydraes, and sea-shouldring Whales, / Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee, / Bright Scolopendraes, arm'd with siluer scales, / Mighty Monoceros, with immeasured tayles;

**(Nature vs Art) 2.12.50.4-8** Mantled with greene, and goodly beautified / With all the ornaments of Floraes pride, / Wherewith her mother Art, as halfe in scorne / Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride / Did decke her;

**(Canacee and her learning) 4.2.35.1-9** Cambelloes sister was fayre Canacee, / That was the learnedst Ladie in her dayes, / Well seene in euerie science that mote bee, / And euery secret worke of natures wayes, / In wittie riddles, and in wise soothsayes, / In power of herbes, and tunes of beasts and burds; / And, that augmented all her other prayse, / She modest was in all her deedes and words, / And wondrous chaste of life, yet lou'd of Knights and Lords;

**(gifts of graciousness) 6.2.2.1** Thereto great helpe dame Nature selfe doth lend;

**(Mutability canto) 7.7.Arg.** Pealing, from Ioue, to Natur's Bar, / bold Alteration pleades / Large Evidence: but Nature soone / her righteous Doome areads;

**(Nature has face of) 7.7.6.4** For that her face did like a Lion shew;

**(all life comes to Arlo Hill) 7.7.4.1-9** And thither also came all other creatures, / What-euer life or motion doe retaine, / According to their sundry kinds of features; / That Arlo scarsly could them all containe; / So full they filled euery hill and Plaine: / And had not Natures Sergeant (that is Order) / Them well disposed by his busie paine, / And raunged farre abroad in euery border, / They would haue caused much confusion and disorder;

**(Nature) 7.7.5.1** Then forth issewed (great goddesse) great dame Nature;

**(Nature) 7.7.5.5-7** Yet certes by her face and physnomy, / Whether she man or woman inly were, / That could not any creature well descry;

**(Nature appears to some) 7.7.6.4** For that her face did like a Lion shew;

**(even Chaucer in Parliament of Fowls did not dare describe Nature's clothes) 7.7.9.5** In his Foules parley durst not with it mel;

**(Nature) 7.7.13.1-2** This great Grandmother of all creatures bred / Great Nature, euer young yet full of eld;

**(Mutability appeals to Nature) 7.7.14.4-6** Who Right to all dost deale indifferently, / Damning all Wrong and tortious Iniurie, / Which any of thy creatures doe to other;

**(Nature agrees to call the seasons) 7.7.27.8** Nature did yeeld thereto;

**(court adjourned) 7.7.59.9** And Natur's selfe did vanish, whither no man wist;

**(Nature, Mutability, order: narrator's final word) 7.8.2.1-9** Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd, / Of that same time when no more Change shall be, / But stedfast rest of all things firmly stayd / Vpon the pillours of Eternity, / That is contrayr to Mutalibitie: / For, all that moueth, doth in Change delight: / But thence-forth all shall rest eternally / With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight: / O! that great Sabbaoth God, grant me that Sabaoths sight;

### **Neat**

see cattle

**Ostrich**

(enemies of Taste) 2.11.12.1-9 And that fourth band, which cruell battry bent, / Against the fourth Bulwarke, that is the Tast, / Was as the rest, a grysie rablement, / Some mouth'd like greedy Oystriges, some fast / Like loathly Toades, some fashioned in the wast / Like swine; for so deformd is luxury, / Surfeat, misdiet, and vnthriftie wast, / Vaine feasts, and idle superfluity: / All those this sences Fort assayle incessantly;

**Otter**

(Gormond) 3.3.33.7-9 Like a swift Otter, fell through emptinesse, / Shall ouerswim the sea with many one / Of his Norueyses, to assist the Britons fone;

**Ouroboros**

(idol entwined by?) 4.10.40.8-9 And both her feete and legs together twyned / Were with a snake, whose head and tail were fast combined;

**Owl**

(animals uneasy in presence of Night) 1.5.30.1-9 And all the while she stood vpon the ground, / The wakefull dogs did neuer cease to bay, / As giuing warning of th'vnwonted sound, / With which her yron wheeles did them affray, / And her darke griesly looke them much dismay; / The messenger of death, the ghastly Owle / With drearie shriekes did also her bewray; / And hungry Wolues continually did howle, / At her abhorred face, so filthy and so fowle;

(Despair's den) 1.9.33.6-9 On top whereof aye dwelt the ghastly Owle, / Shrieking his balefull note, which euer draue / Farre from that haunt all other chearefull fowle; / And all about it wandring ghostes did waile and howle;

(over Mammon's realm) 2.7.23.1-9 And ouer them sad Horror with grim hew, / Did alwayes sore, beating his yron wings; / And after him Owles and Night-rauens flew, / The hatefull messengers of heauy things, / Of death and dolour telling sad tidings; / Whiles sad Celeno, sitting on a clift, / A song of bale and bitter sorrow sings, / That hart of flint a sunder could haue rift: / Which hauing ended, after him she flyeth swift;

(idle fantasies of Phantastes's chamber) 2.9.50.8-9 Infernall Hags, Centaurs, feendes, Hippodames, / Apes, Lions, Ægles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames;

(enemies of Sight) 2.11.8.1-9 The first troupe was a monstrous rablement / Of fowle misshapen wights, of which some were / Headed like Owles, with beckes vncomely bent, / Others like Dogs, others like Gryphons dreare, / And some had wings, and some had clawes to teare, / And euery one of them had Lynces eyes, / And euery one did bow and arrowes beare: / All those were lawlesse lustes, corrupt enuiues, / And couetous aspectes, all cruell enimies;

(birds of ill-omen harry Guyon and Palmer) 2.12.36.1-9 Euen all the nation of vnfortunate / And fatall birds about them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate, / The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere, / The hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull dreere, / The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy, / The ruefull Strich, still waiting on the bere, / The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy, / The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny;

(Scudamour's uneasy sleep at Care's workshop) 4.5.41.6-9 And all the night the dogs did barke and howle / About the house, at sent of stranger guest: / And now the crowing Cocke, and now the Owle / Lowde shriking him afflicted to the very sowle;

**Ox**

(Nebuchadnezzar) 1.5.47.1-5 There was that great proud king of Babylon, / That would compell all nations to adore, / And him as onely God to call vpon, / Till through celestiall doome throwne out of dore, / Into an Oxe he was transform'd of yore;

(Marinell falls) 3.4.17.1-9 Like as the sacred Oxe, that carelesse stands, / With gilden hornes, and flowry girlonds crownd, / Proud of his dying honor and deare bands, / Whiles th'altars fume with frankincense arownd, / All suddenly with mortall stroke astownd, / Doth groueling fall, and with his streaming gore / Distaines the pillours, and the holy grownd, / And the faire flowres, that decked him afore; / So fell proud Marinell vpon the pretious shore;

**Palfrey**

(Una's mood reflected in riding) 1.1.4.7 And heauie sat vpon her palfrey slow;

(Duessa) 1.2.13.7-9 Her wanton palfrey all was ouerspred / With tinsell trappings, wouen like a waue, / Whose bridle rung with golden bells and bosses braue;

(Una remounts) 1.3.8.8 And to her snowy Palfrey got againe;

(Sansloy attacks Una) 1.3.40.9 Her from her Palfrey pluckt, her visage to behold;

(Florimell) 3.1.15.2 Upon a milk-white Palfrey all alone;

(Florimell) 3.5.5.6-7 And on a Palfrey rides more white then snow, / Yet she her selfe is whiter manifold;

(Florimell) 3.7.2.7-9 Her white Palfrey hauing conquered / The maistring raines out of her weary wrest, / Perforce her carried, where euer he thought best;

(Florimell prepares) 3.7.18.6-8 Her wearie Palfrey closely, as she might, / Now well recouered after long repast, / In his proud furnitures she freshly dight;

(Florimell in flight) 3.7.24.5-6 And her flit Palfrey did so well apply / His nimble feet to her conceiued feare;

(**monster eats Florimell's horse**) 3.7.28.8-9 He set vpon her Palfrey tired lame, / And slew him cruelly, ere any reskew came;  
 (**Satyrane**) 3.7.30.1-9 It was to weete the good Sir Satyrane, / That raungd abroad to seeke aduentures wilde, / As was his wont in forrest, and in plaine; / He was all armd in rugged steele vnfilde, / As in the smoky forge it was compilde, / And in his Scutchin bore a Satyres hed: / He comming present, where the Monster vilde/ Vpon that milke-white Palfreyes carkas fed, / Vnto his reskew ran, and greedily him sped;  
 (**Satyrane tells tale**) 3.8.49.1-2 When as a monstrous beast / The Palfrey, whereon she did trauell, slew;  
 (**Talus encounters**) 5.8.4.2 A Damzell, flying on a palfrey fast;  
 (**Blandina offers Calepine assistance**) 6.3.32.8 And would on her owne Palfrey him haue eased;  
 (**Disdain**) 6.7.44.1-4 This was Disdaine, who led that Ladies horse / Through thick and thin, through mountains and through plains, / Compelling her, wher she would not, by force / Haling her palfrey by the hempen raines;  
 (**Serena dismounts**) 6.8.32.6 She from her palfrey lighted on the plaine;  
 (**Day and Night**) 7.7.44.3 Th'one on a Palfrey blacke, the other white;  
 see horse

### **Panther**

(**Satyrane shows power**) 1.6.26.1-9 And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equall teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborne harts to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;

### **Pardal (female leopard)**

(**Satyrane shows power**) 1.6.26.1-9 And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equall teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborne harts to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;  
 see leopard

### **Partridge**

(**Florimel**) 3.8.33.3-9 Like as a fearefull Partridge, that is fled / From the sharpe Hauke, which her attached neare, / And fals to ground, to seeke for succour theare, / Whereas the hungry Spaniels she does spy, / With greedy iawes her readie for to teare; / In such distresse and sad perplexity / Was Florimell, when Proteus she did see thereby;

### **Pasiphaë**

(**loves bull**) 3.2.41.5 Yet playd Pasiphaë a more monstrous part;

### **Pavone (peacock)**

see peacock

### **Peacock**

(**Juno's coach**) 1.4.17.8-9 Drawne of faire Pecoocks, that excell in pride, / And full of Argus eyes their tailes dispredden wide;  
 (**Braggadocchio attacks**) 2.3.6.2-4 To whom auaunting in great brauery, / As Peacocke, that his painted plumes doth prancke, / He smote his courser in the trembling flancke;  
 (**statue of Cupid**) 3.11.47.7-8 More sundry colours, then the proud Pauone / Beares in his boasted fan;

### **Pegasus**

(**Trevisan in fear of Despair**) 1.9.21.7-9 Als flew his steed, as he his bands had brast, / And with his winged heeles did tread the wind, / As he had been a fole of Pegasus his kind;  
 (**deeds of Neptune**) 3.11.42.7-9 And like a winged horse he tooke his flight, / To snaky-locke Medusa to repayre, / On whom he got faire Pegasus, that flitteth in the ayre;

### **Phocas (seals)**

(**Proteus's chariot drawn by**) 3.8.30.8 Which with a teeme of scaly Phocas bound;  
 see seals

### **Pike**

(**the river Witham under an older name**) 4.11.39.7 And Lidus that his pikes doth most commend;  
 see fish

### **Puttock (European kite)**

**(enemies of Smell) 2.11.11.1-9** Likewise that same third Fort, that is the Smell / Of that third troupe was cruelly assayd: / Whose hideous shapes were like to feends of hell, / Some like to hounds, some like to Apes, dismayd, / Some like to Puttockes, all in plumes arayd: / All shap't according their conditions, / For by those vgly formes weren pourtrayd, / Foolish delights and fond abusions, / Which do that sence besiege with light illusions;

**(Radigund fights Artegal) 5.5.15.1-9** Like as a Puttocke hauing spyde in sight / A gentle Faulcon on an hill, / Whose other wind, now made vnmeete for flight, / Was lately broken by some fortune ill; / The foolish Kyte, led with licentious will, / Doth beat vpon the gentle bird in vaine, / With many idel stoups her troubling still: / Euen so did Radigund with bootlesse paine / Annoy this noble Knight, and sorely him constraine;

**(Envy's hands) 5.12.30.2-9** With long nayles ouer raught, / Like puttocks clawes: with th'one of which she scracht / Her cursed head, although it itched naught; / The other held a snake with venime fraught, / On which she fed, and gnawed hungrily, / As if that long she had not eaten ought; / That round about her iawes one might descry / The bloudie gore and poyson dropping lothsomely;

see kite, hawk

## Ram

**(Redcrosse and Sansfoy) 1.2.16.1-9** As when two rams stird with ambitious pride, / Fight for the rule of the rich fleeced flocke, / Their horned fronts so fierce on either side / Do meete, that with the terrour of the shocke / Astonied both, stand sencelesse as a blocke, / Forgetfull of the hanging victory: / So stood these twaine, vn moued as a rocke, / Both staring fierce, and holding idely / The broken reliques of their former cruelty;

**(Jupiter in tapestry) 3.11.30.5-6** Now like a Ram, faire Helle to peruart, / Now like a Bull, Europa to withdraw; **(constellation Aries) 5 Pr 5.6** For that same golden fleecy Ram, which bore / Phrixus and Helle from their stepdames feares;

**(March rides Aries) 7.7.32.3-4** And strongly armed, rode vpon a Ram, / The same which ouer Hellespontus swam; see sheep

## Raven

**(ouer Mammon's realm) 2.7.23.1-9** And ouer them sad Horrour with grim hew, / Did alwayes sore, beating his yron wings; / And after him Owles and Night-rauens flew, / The hatefull messengers of heauy things, / Of death and dolour telling sad tidings; / Whiles sad Celeno, sitting on a clift, / A song of bale and bitter sorrow sings, / That hart of flint a sunder could haue rift: / Which hauing ended, after him she flyeth swift;

**(Pyrochles's opinion of Guyon) 2.8.16.8-9** What herce or steede (said he) should he haue dight, / But be entombd in the rauens or the kight;

**(birds of ill-omen harry Guyon and Palmer) 2.12.36.1-9** Euen all the nation of vnfortunate / And fatall birds about them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate, / The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere, / The hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull dreere, / The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy, / The ruefull Strich, still waiting on the bere, / The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy, / The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny;

**(of Danes or Germanic tribes more generally) 3.3.46.5-6** There shall a Raven far from rising Sunne / With his wide winges vpon them fiercely fly;

## Roebuck

**(Satyrane's prey) 1.6.24.3-9** His trembling hand he would him force to put / Vpon the Lyon and the rugged Beare, / And from the she Beares teats her whelps to teare; / And eke wyld roring Bulls he would him make / To tame, and ryde their backes not made to beare; / And the Robuckes in flight to ouertake, / That euery beast for feare of him did fly and quake;

**(tale of fountain's origins) 2.2.7.4-9** The hartlesse Hind and Robucke to dismay, / Dan Faunus chaunst to meet her by the way, / And kindling fire at her faire burning eye, / Inflamed was to follow beauties pray, / And chaced her, that fast from him did fly; / As Hind from her, so she fled from her enemy;

**(ancient inland Albion) 2.10.7.1-9** But farre in land a saluage nation dwelt, / Of hideous Giants, and halfe beastly men, / That neuer tasted grace, nor goodnesse felt, / But like wild beasts lurking in loathsome den, / And flying fast as Roebucke through the fen, / All naked without shame, or care of cold, / By hunting and by spoiling liued then; / Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold, / That sonnes of men amazd their sternnesse to behold;

**(Ollyphant's flight) 3.11.5.8-9** For he was long, and swift as any Roe, / And now made better speed, t'escape his feared foe;

**(Amoret's flight) 4.7.22.1-2** Nor hedge, nor ditch, nor hill, nor dale she staies, / But ouerleapes them all, like Robucke light;

see buck, deer, hart, hind

## Rosmarine (walrus)

**(sea monsters) 2.12.24.1-9** The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name / Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew, / The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game / The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew, / The horrible Sea-satyre, that doth shew / His fearefull face in time of greatest storme, / Huge Ziffius, whom Mariners eschew / No lesse,

then rockes, (as trauellers informe,) / And greedy Rosmarines with visages deforme;  
see morse, walrus

### **Ruffin (ruff or perch)**

(gift of the river Yar) 4.11.33.6-9 Yar, soft washing Norwiche wall, / And with him brought a present ioyfully / Of his owne fish vnto their festiuall, / Whose like none else could shew, the which they Ruffins call;

### **Salmon**

(the river Barow) 4.11.43.5-6 The goodly Barow, which doth hoord / Great heapes of Salmones in his deepe bosome;  
(Suir) 7.6.54.9 The faire Shure, in which are thousand Salmones bred;  
see fish

### **Sanglier(e) (Fr "wild bore")**

(in tourney) 4.4.40.3-4 The stout Sir Sangliere, / Who well was knowen to be a valiant Knight;  
(introduction) 5.1.20.7 Sir Sanglier, (so cleeped was that Knight)  
5.1.27.1 Well pleased with that doome was Sangliere;  
5.1.29.1 But Sangliere disdained much his doome

### **Satyr**

see faun

### **Satyrane**

see faun

### **Scolopendra (insect-like sea monster)**

(sea monsters) 2.12.23.1-9 Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects, / Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see, / Or shame, that euer should so fowle defects / From her most cunning hand escaped bee; / All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee: / Spring-headed Hydraes, and sea-shouldring Whales, / Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee, / Bright Scolopendraes, arm'd with siluer scales, / Mighty Monoceros, with immeasured tayles;  
see sea monster

### **Scorpion**

(Orion flees from Scorpio) 2.2.46.2 Orion, flying fast from hissing snake;  
(frightening of Souldan's horses) 5.8.40.1-5.8.41.1-2 As when the frie-mouthed steeds, which drew / The Sunnes bright wayne to Phaetons decay, / Soone as they did the monstrous Scorpion vew, / With vgly craples crawling in their way, / The dreadfull sight did them so sore affray, / That their well knowen courses they forwent, / And leading th'euer-burning lampe astray, / This lower world nigh all to ashes Brent, / And left their scorched path yet in the firmament. / Such was the furie of these head-strong steeds, / Soone as the infants sunlike shield they saw;  
(October rides Scorpio) 7.7.39.6 Upon a dreadfull Scorpion he did ride;

### **Sea gull (mew)**

(Rock of Reproach) 2.12.8.3-7 To which nor fish nor fowle did once approach, / But yelling Meawes, with Seagulles hoarse and bace, / And Cormoyrants, with birds of rauenous race, / Which still sate waiting on that wastfull clift, / For spoyle of wretches;

### **Sea horse (hippodame?)**

(Neptune in tapestry) 3.11.41.1-2 His sea-horses did seeme to snort amayne, / And from their nosethrilles blow the brynie streame;

### **Seal**

(for Pollente in battle with Artegal) 2.15.1-9 As when a Dolphin and a Sele are met, / In the wide champian of the Oceane plaine: / With cruell chaufe their courages they whet, / The maysterdome of each by force to gaine, / And dreadfull battaile twixt them do darraine: / They snuf, they snort, they bounce, they rage, they rore, / That all the sea disturbed with their traine, / Doth frie with fome above the surges hore. / Such was betwixt these two the troublesome uprore;

see phocas

### **Sea-satyr**

(sea monsters) 2.12.24.1-9 The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name / Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew, / The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game / The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursue, / The horrible Sea-satyre, that doth shew / His fearefull face in time of greatest storme, / Huge Ziffius, whom Mariners eschew / No lesse, then rockes, (as trauellers informe,) / And greedy Rosmarines with visages deforme;

**Serpent/snake**

**(Error partly like)** 1.1.14.6-9 By which he saw the vgly monster plaine, / Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide, / But th'other halfe did womans shape retaine, / Most lothsom, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdaine;

**(Error's offspring)** 1.1.22.6-9 Her fruitfull cursed spawn of serpents small, / Deformed monsters, fowle, and blacke as inke, / Which swarming all about his legs did crall, / And him encombred sore, but could not hurt at all;

**(Archimago hates Una)** 1.2.9.8 For her he hated as the hissing snake;

**(in bosom of Envie)** 1.4.31.3-5 And in his bosome secretly there lay / An hatefull Snake, the which his taile uptyes / In many folds, and mortall sting implyes;

**(Hercules kills Lernean hydra)** 1.7.17.1-3 Such one it was, as that renowned Snake / Which great Alcides in Stremona slew, / Long fostred in the filth of Lerna lake;

**(Despair compared)** 1.9.28.8-9 So, creeping close, as Snake in hidden weedes, / Inquireth of out states, and of our knightly deedes;

**(Fidelia's cup)** 1.10.13.4 In which a Serpent did himselfe enfold;

**(Orion flees from Scorpio)** 2.2.46.2 Orion, flying fast from hissing snake;

**(Phedon's serpentine jealousy)** 2.4.28.8-9 Me liefer were ten thousand deathes priefe, / Then wound of gealous worme, and shame of such repriefe;

**(enemies of Hearing)** 2.11.10.1-9 The second Bulwarke was the Hearing sence, / Gainst which the second troupe dessignment makes; / Deformed creatures, in straunge difference, / Some hauing heads like Harts, some like to Snakes, / Some like wild Bores late rouzd out of the brakes; / Slaunderous reproches, and fowle infamies, / Leasings, backbyttings, and vaine-glorious crakes, / Bad counsels, prayses, and false flatteries. / All those against that fort did bend their batteries;

**(Maleger)** 2.11.22.1-5 As pale and wan as ashes was his looke, / His bodie leane and meagre as a rake, / And skin all withered like a dried rooke, / Thereto as cold and drery as a Snake, / That seem'd to tremble evermore, and quake;

**(Britomart's heart eased)** 3.2.15.5-6 For pleasing words are like to Magick art / That doth the charmed Snake in slomber lay;

**(Malbecco's jealous self-loathing)** 3.10.55.7-9 And he himselfe himselfe loath'd so forlorne, / So shamefully forlorne of womankind; / That as a Snake, still lurked in his wounded mind;

**(jealousy)** 3.11.1.1 O hatefull hellish Snake;

**(gold in tapestries)** 3.11.28.8-9 Like a discoloured Snake, whose hidden snares / Through the greene gras his long bright burnisht backe declares;

**(Jupiter assumes shape)** 3.11.35.4 And like a Serpent to the Thracian mayd;

**(deeds of Neptune)** 3.11.42.7-8 And like a winged horse he tooke his flight, / To snaky-locke Medusa to repayre;

**(Cambell fresh)** 4.3.23.7-9 Like as a Snake, whom wearie winters teene / Hath worme to nought, now feeling sommers might, / Casts off his ragged skin and freshly doth him dight;

**(Cambina bears caduceus)** 4.3.42.1-7 In her right hand a rod of peace shee bore, / About the which two Serpents weren wound, / Entrayled mutually in louely lore, / And by the tailes together firmly bound, / And both were with one oliue garland crownd, / Like to the rod which Maias sonne doth wield, / Wherewith the hellish fiends he doth confound;

**(Corflambo)** 4.8.39.1-9 For from his fearefull eyes two fierie beames, / More sharpe then points of needles did proceede, / Shooting forth farre away two flaming streames, / Full of sad powre, that poysonous bale did breede / To all, that on him lookt without good heed, / And secretly his enemies did slay: / Like as the Basiliske of serpents seede, / From powrefull eyes close venom doth conuay / Into the lookers hart, and killeth farre away;

**(idol/ouroboros?)** 4.10.40.8-9 And both her feete and legs together twyned / Were with a snake, whose head and tail were fast combined;

**(Malengin/Guyle attempts to turn into, but Talus stops)** 5.9.19.1-3 But when as he would to a snake againe / Have turn'd himselfe, he with his yron flayle / Gan driue at him

**(Envy's hands)** 5.12.30.2-9 With long nayles ouer raught, / Like puttocks clawes: with th'one of which she scracht / Her cursed head, although it itched naught; / The other held a snake with venime fraught, / On which she fed, and gnawed hungrily, / As if that long she had not eaten ought; / That round about her iawes one might descry / The bloudie gore and poyson dropping lothsomely;

**(Envy throws snake)** 5.12.39.3-6 Devouring, even that halfe-gnawen snake, / And at him throwes it most despightfully. / The cursed Serpent, though she hungrily / Earst chawd thereon;

**(tongues and voice of Blatant Beast)** 6.12.27.1-6.12.28.9 And therein were a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry kindes, and sundry quality, / Some were of dogs, that barked day and night, / And some of cats, that wrawling still did cry, / And some of Beares, that groynd continually, / And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren, / And snar at all, that euer passed by: / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor when. / And them amongst were mingled here and there, / The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings, / That spat out poyson and gore bloody gere / At all, that came within his rauenings, / And spake licentious words, and hatefull things / Of good and bad alike, of low and hie; / Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings, / But either blotted them with infamie, / Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury;

**(Mercury's caduceus)** 7.6.18.1-3 And there-with-all, he on her shoulder laid / His snaky-wreathed Mace, whose awfull power / Doth make both Gods and hellish fiends affraid;

see adder, asp, Blatant Beast, Error, Ouroboros, scorpion, worm

## Sheep

**(Arthur and Guyon drive off Maleger's host) 2.9.14.6-9** Those Champions broke on them, that forst them fly, / Like scattered Sheepe, whenas the Shepheards swaine / A Lyon and a Tigre doth espye, / With greedy pace forth rushing from the forest nye;

**(Cambina's lions kill crowd) 4.3.41.3-5** Her angrie teame breaking their bonds of peace, / Great heapes of them, like sheepe in narrow fold, / For hast did ouer-runne;

**(Talus drives off armed host) 5.4.44.7-9** But like a sort of sheepe dispersed farre / For dread of their deuouringemie, / Through all the fields and valties did before him flie;

**(Salvage man defeats Turpine's followers) 6.6.38.5-6** He likewise right sorely did constraine, / Like scatted sheepe;

**(Salvage nation finds Serena) 6.8.36.8-9** Whereas this Lady, like a sheepe astray, / Now drowned in the depth of sleepe all fearelesse lay;

**(Melibœe bids Pastorella to her flock) 6.9.15.1-9** She at his bidding meekely did arise, / And streight vnto her litle flocke did fare: / Then all the rest about her rose likewise, / And each his sundrie sheepe with seuerall care / Gathered together, and them homeward bare: / Whylest euerie one with helping hands did striue / Amongst themselues, and did their labours share, / To helpe faire Pastorella, home to driue / Her fleecie flocke; but Coridon most helpe did giue;

**(in youth, Melibœe scorned) 6.9.24.3** To follow sheepe, and shepheards base attire;

**(Melibœe returns to) 6.9.25.7** Tho backe returning to my sheepe againe;

**(Calidore rusticates) 6.9.37.1-9** So being clad, vnto the fields he went / With the faire Pastorella euery day, / And kept her sheepe with diligent attent, / Watching to driue the rauenous Wolfe away, / The whylest at pleasure she mote sport and play; / And euery euening helping them to fold: / And otherwhiles for need, he did assay / In his strong hand their rugged teats to hold, / And out of them to presse the milke: loue so much could;

**(Calidore spots in distance) 6.11.36.7** Some flockes of sheepe and shepheards to espy;

**(Calidore and Coridon) 6.11.37.1-9** There did they find, that which they did not feare, / The selfe same flockes, the which those theeues had reft / From Melibœe and from themselues whyleare, / And certaine of the theeues there by them left, / The which for want of heards themselues then kept. / Right well knew Coridon his owne late sheepe, / And seeing them, for tender pittie wept: / But when he saw the theeues, which did them keepe, / His hart gan fayle, albe he saw them all asleepe;

**(Calidore and Coridon fool the brigands) 6.11.40.1-7** Whereof right glad they seem'd, and offer made / To hyre them well, if they their flockes would keepe: / For they themselues were euill groomes, they sayd, / Vnwont with heards to watch, or pasture sheepe, / But to forray the land, or scoure the deepe. / Thereto they soone agreed, and earnest tooke, / To keepe their flockes for litle hyre and chepe;

## Shellfish

**(Marinell's mother gives Tryphon) 4.11.6.8-9** And for his paines a whistle him behight / That of a fishes shell was wrought with rare delight;

## Snail

**(enemies of Touch) 2.11.13.1-9** But the fift troupe most horrible of hew, / And fierce of force, was dreadfull to report: / For some like Snailes, some did like spyders shew, / And some like vgly Vrchins thicke and short: / Cruelly they assayed that fift Fort, / Armed with darts of sensuall delight, / With stings of carnall lust, and strong effort / Of feeling pleasures, with which day and night / Against that same fift bulwarke they continued fight;

## Snake

see serpent

## Spaniel

**(Florimel) 3.8.33.3-9** Like as a fearefull Partridge, that is fled / From the sharpe Hauke, which her attached neare, / And fals to ground, to seeke for succour there, / Whereas the hungry Spaniels she does spy, / With greedy iawes her readie for to teare; / In such distresse and sad perplexity / Was Florimell, when Proteus she did see thereby;

**(Sanglier obliged to carry head) 5.1.29.8-9** He tooke it vp, and thence with him did beare, / As rated Spaniell takes his burden vp for feare;

**(Talus guards Britomart) 5.6.26.7-9** Lying without her dore in great disease; / Like to a Spaniell wayting carefully / Least any should betray his Lady treacherously;

see dog

## Sparrow

**(Coridon's gifts scorned) 6.9.40.1-9** And oft, when Coridon vnto her brought / Or litle sparrowes, stolen from their nest, / Or wanton squirrels, in the woods farre sought, / Or other daintie thing for her address, / He would commend his guilt, and make the best. / Yet she no whit his presents did regard, / Ne him could find to fancie in her brest: / This newcome shepheard had his market mard. / Old loue is litle worth when new is more prefard;



**Spider**

**(Archimago metaphorically) 2.1.8.4** He gan to weaue a web of wicked guile;

**(enemies of Touch) 2.11.13.1-9** But the fift troupe most horrible of hew, / And fierce of force, was dreadfull to report:  
/ For some like Snailes, some did like spyders shew, / And some like vgly Vrchins thicke and short: / Cruelly they  
assayled that fift Fort, / Armed with darts of sensuall delight, / With stings of carnall lust, and strong effort / Of feeling  
pleasures, with which day and night / Against that same fift bulwarke they continued fight;

**(dismay of mother of Priamond &c. over her sons' length of life) 4.2.50.7-9** That when she saw, it did her much  
amate, / To see their thrids so thin, as spiders frame, / And eke so short, that seemd their ends out shortly came;

see Arachne

**Squirrel**

**(Artegall and Burbon pursue mob) 5.11.59.3** And all about the fields like Squirrels hunt;

**(Coridon's gifts scorned) 6.9.40.1-9** And oft, when Coridon vnto her brought / Or litle sparowes, stolen from their  
nest, / Or wanton squirrels, in the woods farre sought, / Or other daintie thing for her address, / He would commend his  
guift, and make the best. / Yet she no whit his presents did regard, / Ne him could find to fancie in her brest: / This  
newcome shepheard had his market mard. / Old loue is litle worth when new is more prefard;

**Stag**

**(Impotence and Impatience) 2.11.23.5** And both as swift on foot, as chased Stags;

**(Apollo in tapestry) 3.11.39.7-8** Now like a Lyon, hunting after spoile, / Now like a Stag, now like a faulcon flit;

**(Scudamour) 4.1.49.7-9** As when in chace / The Parthian strikes a stag with shiuering dart, / The beast astonisht stands  
in midst of his smart;

see buck, deer, hart, hind, roebuck

**Stallion**

**(genetics of gentleness) 6.3.1.6-9** For seldome seene, a trotting Stalion get / An ambling Colt, that is his proper owne: /  
So seldome seene, that one in basenesse set / Doth noble courage shew, with curteous manners met;

see colt, horse

**Steed**

see horse

**Steer**

**(Calidore mobbed) 6.1.24.3-5** But he them all from him full lightly swept, / As doth a Steare, in heat of sommers day,  
/ With his long taile the bryzes brush away;

**(Enias overwhelmed by Disdain and Scorn) 6.8.12.1-5** As when a sturdy ploughman with his hynde / By strength  
haue ouerthrowne a stubborne steare, / They downe him hold, and fast with cords do bynde, / Till they him force the  
buxome yoke to beare: / So did these two this Knight oft tug and teare;

**(the gods face Mutability) 7.6.28.6-9** Stood all astonied, like a sort of Steeres; / Mongst whom, some beast of strange  
and forraine race, / Vnwares is chaunc't, far straying from his peeres: / So did their ghastly gaze bewray their hidden  
feares;

see bull

**Stritch (lich-owl)**

**(birds of ill-omen harry Guyon and Palmer) 2.12.36.1-9** Euen all the nation of vnfortunate / And fatall birds about  
them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate, / The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere, / The  
hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull dreere, / The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy, / The ruefull Strich, still waiting on  
the bere, / The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy, / The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny;

**Swallow**

**(Talus) 5.1.20.4-5** For he was swift as swallow in her flight, / And strong as Lyon in his Lordly might;

**Swan**

**(Jupiter in tapestry) 3.11.32.1-9** Then was he turnd into a snowy Swan, / To win faire Leda to his louely trade: / O  
wondrous skill, and sweet wit of the man, / That her in daffadillies sleeping made, / From scorching heat her daintie  
limbes to shade: / Whiles the proud Bird ruffing his fethers wyde, / And brushing his faire brest, did her inuade; / She  
slept, yet twixt her eyelids closely spyde, / How towards her he rusht, and smiled at his pryde;

**Swine**

**(mount of Gluttony) 1.4.21.1-2** And by his side rode loathsome Gluttony, / Deformed creature, on a filthie swyne;

(enemies of Taste) 2.11.12.6-7 some fashioned in the wast / Like swine; for so deformed is luxury  
 (Satyrane and Paridell shelter from weather) 3.9.11.8-9 To fly for succour to a little shed, / The which beside the gate for swine was ordered;

see hog

## Team

see horse

## Thrush

(Calepine's morning constitutional) 6.4.17.3 To take the ayre, and heare the thrushes song;

see bird

## Tiger

(Satyrane shows power) 1.6.26.1-9 And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equal teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborn harts to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;

(Huddibras and Sansloy turn on Guyon) 2.2.22.5-9 As when a Beare and Tygre being met / In cruell fight on lybicke Ocean wide, / Espye a traueiler with feet surbet, / Whom they in equall pray hope to deuide, / They stint their strife, and him assaile on euery side;

(Pyrochles fights Guyon) 2.5.8.9-2.5.9.2 But rudely rag'd, and like a cruell Tygre far'd. / He hewd, and lasht, and foyn'd, and thundred blowes, / And euery way did seeke into his life;

(Arthur and Guyon drive off Maleger's host) 2.9.14.6-9 Those Champions broke on them, that forst them fly, / Like scattered Sheepe, whenas the Shepheards swaine / A Lyon and a Tigre doth espye, / With greedy pace forth rushing from the forest nye;

(Maleger rides) 2.11.20.4 Vpon a Tygre swift and fierce he rode;

(Maleger rides) 2.11.24.3 His Beast he felly prickt on either syde;

(Maleger avoids Arthur) 2.11.25.5-6 Turning quicke aside / His light-foot beast, fled fast away for feare;

(Maleger avoids Arthur, but still attacks) 2.11.26.1-9 For as the winged wind his Tigre fled, / That vew of eye could scarce him ouertake, / Ne scarce his feet on ground were seene to tred; / Through hills and dales he speedie way did make, / Ne hedge ne ditch his readie passage brake, / And in his flight the villein turn'd his face, / (As wonts the Tartar by the Caspian lake, / When as the Russian him in fight does chace) / Vnto his Tygres taile, and shot at him apace;

(Maleger dismounts) 2.11.33.6-7 Now had the Carle / Alighted from his Tigre;

(Diamond fights Cambel) 4.3.16.1-9 As when two Tygers prickt with hungers rage, / Haue by good fortune found some beasts fresh spoyle, / On which they weene their famine to asswage, / And gaine a feastfull guerdon of their toyle, / Both falling out doe stirre vp strifefull broyle, / And cruell battell twixt themselues doe make, / Whiles neither lets the other touch the soyle, / But either sdeignes with other to partake: / So cruelly these Knights stroue for that Ladies sake;

(Amoret) 4.7.2.6-8 In deserts wide, / With Beares and Tygers taking heaue part, / Withouten comfort, and withouten guide;

(savage man) 4.7.7.7-9 Of what wombe ybore, / Of beasts, or of the earth, I haue not red: / But certes was with milke of Wolues and Tygres fed;

(song of turtledove) 4.8.4.9 That could have perst the hearts of Tigres and of Beares;

(invocation of Venus) 4.10.46.1-6 Then doe the saluage beasts begin to play / Their pleasant friskes, and loath their wonted food; / The Lyons rore, the Tygres loudly bray, / The raging Buls rebellow through the wood, / And breaking forth, dare tempt the deepest flood, / To come where thou doest draw them with desire;

(though warlike, Radigund not born of) 5.5.40.5-6 Was not borne / Of Beares and Tygres, nor so salvage mynded;

(Britomart fights Radigund) 5.7.30.1-9 As when a Tygre and Lionesse / Are met at spoyling of some hungry pray, / Both challenge it with equall greedinesse: / But first the Tygre clawes thereon did lay; / And therefore loth to loose her right away, / Doth in defence thereof full stoutly stond: / To which the Lion strongly doth gainsay, / That she to hunt the beast first tooke in hond; / And therefore ought it haue, where euer she it fond;

(Adicia transformed) 5.8.49.6-9 There they doe say, that she transformed was / Into a Tygre, and that Tygres scath / In crueltie and outrage she did pas, / To proue her surname true, that she imposed has;

(injustice and savagery marks of servants of Adicia) 5.9.1.1-9 What Tygre, or what other saluage wight / Is so exceeding furious and fell, / As wrong, when it hath arm'd it selfe with might? / Not fit mongst men, that doe with reason mell, / But mongst wyld beasts and saluage woods to dwell; / Where still the stronger doth the weake deuoure, / And they that most in boldnesse doe excell, / Are dredded most, and feared for their powre: / Fit for Adicia, there to build her wicked bowre;

(Salvage Man fights Turpine) 6.4.6.1-5 With that the wyld man more enraged grew, / Like to a Tygre that hath mist his pray, / And with mad mood againe vpon him flew, / Regarding neither speare, that mote him slay, / Nor his fierce steed, that mote him much dismay;

(attacks Pastorella) 6.10.34.4-7 A Tigre forth out of the wood did rise, / That with fell clawes full of fierce gourmandize, / And greedy mouth, wide gaping like hell gate, / Did runne at Pastorell her to surprize;

(**Calidore aids Pastorella**) 6.10.35.7-8 When he the beast saw ready now to rend / His loues deare spoile;  
 (**Calidore attacks tiger**) 6.10.36.3 With which so sternely he the monster strooke;  
 (**tongues and voice of Blatant Beast**) 6.12.27.1-6.12.28.9 And therein were a thousand tongs empight, / Of sundry  
 kindes, and sundry quality, / Some were of dogs, that barked day and night, / And some of cats, that wrawling still did  
 cry, / And some of Beares, that groynd continually, / And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren, / And snar at all, that  
 euer passed by: / But most of them were tongues of mortall men, / Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor  
 when. / And them amongst were mingled here and there, / The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings, / That spat  
 out poyson and gore bloody gere / At all, that came within his rauening, / And spake licentious words, and hatefull  
 things / Of good and bad alike, of low and hie; / Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings, / But either blotted them with  
 infamie, / Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury;  
 see beast

## Toad

(**Error's maw**) 1.1.20.1-9 Therewith she spewd out of her filthy maw / A floud of poyson horrible and blacke, / Full of  
 great lumpes of flesh and gobbets raw, / Which stunck so vildly, that it forst him slacke / His grasping hold, and from  
 her turme him backe: / Her vomit full of bookes and papers was, / With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke, /  
 And creeping sought way in the weedy gras: / Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has;  
 (**Envie chews**) 1.4.30.2-3 And still did chew / Betweene his cankred teeth a venomous tode;  
 (**enemies of Taste**) 2.11.12.1-9 And that fourth band, which cruell battry bent, / Against the fourth Bulwarke, that is  
 the Tast, / Was as the rest, a grysie rablement, / Some mouth'd like greedy Oystrikes, some fast / Like loathly Toades,  
 some fashioned in the wast / Like swine; for so deformd is luxury, / Surfeat, misdiet, and vnthrifite wast, / Vaine feasts,  
 and idle superfluity: / All those this sences Fort assayle incessantly;  
 (**Malbecco's diet**) 3.10.59.1-9 Ne euer is he wont on ought to feed, / But toades and frogs, his pasture poysonous, /  
 Which in his cold complexion do breed / A filthy bloud, or humour rancorous, / Matter of doubt and dread suspitious, /  
 That doth with curelesse care consume the hart, / Corrupts the stomacke with gall vitious, / Croscuts the liuer with  
 internall smart, / And doth transfixe the soule with deathes eternall dart;  
 see frog

## Turtledove

(**exemplar**) 3.11.2.8-9 Of faire Britomart ensample take, / That was as trew in loue, as Turtle to her make;  
 (**Timias's sorrow**) 4.8.3.2-4.8.4.9 His doole he made, there chaunst a turtle Doue / To come, where he his dolours did  
 deuise, / That likewise late had lost her dearest loue, / Which losse her made like passion also proue. / Who seeing his  
 sad plight, her tender heart / With deare compassion deeply did emmoue, / That she gan mone his vnderseed smart, /  
 And with her dolefull accent beare with him a part. / Shee sitting by him as on ground he lay, / Her mournfull notes  
 full piteously did frame, / And thereof made a lamentable lay, / So sensibly compyld, that in the same / Him seemed oft  
 he heard his owne right name. / With that he forth would poure so plenteous teares, / And beat his breast vnworthy of  
 such blame, / And knocke his head, and rend his rugged heares, / That could haue perst the hearts of Tigres and of  
 Beares;  
 (**sings for Timias**) 4.8.5.1 Thus long this gentle bird to him did use;  
 (**Timias adorns turtledove**) 4.8.7.1-9 The same he tooke, and with a riband new, / In which his Ladies colours were,  
 did bind / About the turtles necke, that with the vew / Did greatly solace his engriued mind. / All vnawares the bird,  
 when she did find / Her selfe so deckt, her nimble wings displaid, / And flew away, as lightly as the wind: / Which  
 sodaine accident him much dismaid, / And looking after long, did marke which way she straid;  
 (**travels to Belphoebe**) 4.8.8.7-9 But that sweet bird departing, flew forth right / Through the wide region of the  
 wastfull aire, / Vntill she came where wonned his Belphebe faire;  
 (**avoids Belphoebe's hand**) 4.8.10.7 But the swift bird obayd not her behest;  
 (**stays near Belphoebe**) 4.8.11.1-2 And euer when she nigh approcht, the Doue / Would flit a litle forward, and then  
 stay;  
 (**Calepine's loyalty**) 6.8.33.6-7 Yet neuer Turtle truer to his make, / Then he was tride vnto his Lady bright;  
 see bird, dove

## Unicorn

(**Guyon fights Pyrochles**) 2.5.10.1-9 Like as a Lyon, whose imperiall powre / A prouwd rebellious Vnicorne defies, /  
 T'auoide the rash assault and wrathfull stowre / Of his fiers foe, him to a tree applies, / And when him running in full  
 course he spies, / He slips aside; the whiles that furious beast / His precious home, sought of his enimies, / Strikes in  
 the stocke, ne thence can be releast, / But to the mighty victour yields a bounteous feast;

## Urchin (hedgehog)

(**enemies of Touch**) 2.11.13.1-9 But the fift troupe most horrible of hew, / And fierce of force, was dreadfull to report:  
 / For some like Snailles, some did like spyders shew, / And some like vgly Vrchins thicke and short: / Cruelly they  
 assayled that fift Fort, / Armed with darts of sensuall delight, / With stings of carnall lust, and strong effort / Of feeling

pleasures, with which day and night / Against that same fift bulwarke they continued fight;  
see hedgehog

### Vulture

**(Cambell and Diamond fight) 4.3.19.1-9** As when a Vulture greedie of his pray, / Through hunger long, that hart to him doth lend, / Strikes at an Heron with all his bodies sway, / That from his force seemes nought may it defend; / The warie fowle that spies him toward bend / His dreadfull souse, auoydes it shunning light, / And maketh him his wing in vaine to spend; / That with the weight of his owne weeldlesse might, / He falleth nigh to ground, and scarce recouereth flight;

### Wasp

**(Displeasure and Pleasure) 3.12.18.7-8** An angry Waspe th'one in a viall had, / Th'other in hers an hony-lady Bee;  
see bee

### Wasserman (merman)

**(sea monsters) 2.12.24.1-9** The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name / Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew, / The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game / The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew, / The horrible Seasatyre, that doth shew / His fearefull face in time of greatest storme, / Huge Ziffius, whom Mariners eschew / No lesse, then rockes, (as traouellers informe,) / And greedy Rosmarines with visages deforme;

### Whale

**(sea monsters) 2.12.23.1-9** Most vgly shapes, and horrible aspects, / Such as Dame Nature selfe mote feare to see, / Or shame, that euer should so fowle defects / From her most cunning hand escaped bee; / All dreadfull pourtraicts of deformitee: / Spring-headed Hydreaes, and sea-shouldring Whales, / Great whirlpooles, which all fishes make to flee, / Bright Scolopendraes, arm'd with siluer scales, / Mighty Monoceros, with immeasured tayles;

**(Florimell's face) 3.1.15.5** Through feare as white as whales bone;

**(Calidore) 6.10.31.1-9** But that enuenim'd sting, the which of yore, / His poysnous point deepe fixed in his hart / Had left, now gan afresh to rancle sore, / And to renew the rigour of his smart: / Which to recure, no skill of Leaches art / Mote him auaille, but to returne againe / To his wounds worker, that with louely dart / Dinting his brest, had bred his restlesse paine, / Like as the wounded Whale to shore flies from the maine;

### Whistler (curlew/plover)

**(birds of ill-omen harry Guyon and Palmer) 2.12.36.1-9** Euen all the nation of vnfortunate / And fatall birds about them flocked were, / Such as by nature men abhorre and hate, / The ill-faste Owle, deaths dreadfull messengere, / The hoars Night-rauen, trump of dolefull dreere, / The lether-winged Bat, dayes enemy, / The ruefull Strich, still waiting on the bere, / The Whistler shrill, that who so heares, doth dy, / The hellish Harpies, prophets of sad destiny;

see bird

### Wolf

**(mount of Envie) 1.4.30.1-2** And next to him malicious Enuie rode, / Vpon a rauenuous wolfe;

**(animals uneasy in presence of Night) 1.5.30.1-9** And all the while she stood vpon the ground, / The wakefull dogs did neuer cease to bay, / As giuing warning of th'vnwonted sound, / With which her yron wheelles did them affray, / And her darke griesly looke them much dismay; / The messenger of death, the ghastly Owle / With drearie shriekes did also her bewray; / And hungry Wolues continually did howle, / At her abhorred face, so filthy and so fowle;

**(Una saved from Sansloy, but in satyrs' hands) 1.6.10.3-9** As when a greedie Wolfe through hunger fell / A seely Lambe farre from the flocke does take, / Of whom he meanes his bloudie feast to make, / A Lyon spyes fast running towards him, / The innocent pray in hast he does forsake, / Which quit from death yet quakes in euery lim / With chaunge of feare, to see the Lyon looke so grim;

**(Satyrane shows power) 1.6.26.1-9** And for to make his powre approued more, / Wyld beasts in yron yokes he would compell; / The spotted Panther, and the tusked Bore, / The Pardale swift, and the Tigre cruell; / The Antelope, and Wolfe both fierce and fell; / And them constraine in equall teme to draw. / Such ioy he had, their stubborne harts to quell, / And sturdie courage tame with dreadfull aw, / That his beheast they feared, as a tyrans law;

**(Triamond and Cambell) 4.4.35.6-9** As when two greedy Wolues doe breake by force / Into an heard, farre from the husband farme, / They spoile and rauine without all remorse, / So did these two through all the field their foes enforce;

**(savage man) 4.7.7.7-9** Of what wombe ybore, / Of beasts, or of the earth, I haue not red: / But certes was with milke of Wolues and Tygres fed;

**(Envy and Detraction cry out upon seeing Artegall) 5.12.38.5-6** As it had bene two shepheards cures, had scryde / A rauenuous Wolfe amongst the scattered flockes;

**(Calidore rusticates) 6.9.37.1-9** So being clad, vnto the fields he went / With the faire Pastorella euery day, / And kept her sheepe with diligent attent, / Watching to driue the rauenuous Wolfe away, / The whylest at pleasure she mote sport

and play; / And euery euening helping them to fold: / And otherwhiles for need, he did assay / In his strong hand their rugged teats to hold, / And out of them to presse the milke: loue so much could;  
**(Cynthia's curse) 7.6.55.4-9** That Wolues, where she was wont to space, / Should harbour'd be, and all those Woods deface, / And Thieues should rob and spoile that Coast around. / Since which, those Woods, and all that goodly Chase, / Doth to this day with Wolues and Thieues abound: / Which too-too true that lands in-dwellers since haue found;

### **Worm**

**(Phedon's serpentine jealousy) 2.4.28.8-9** Me liefer were ten thousand deathes priefe, / Then wound of gealous worme, and shame of such repriefe;

**(Anamnestes's chamber) 2.9.57.6-9** His chamber all was hangd about with rolles, / And old records from auncient times deriu'd, / Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolles, / That were all worme-eaten, and full of canker holes;

see serpent/snake

### **Ziffius (sword fish)**

**(sea monsters) 2.12.24.1-9** The dreadfull Fish, that hath deseru'd the name / Of Death, and like him lookes in dreadfull hew, / The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game / The flying ships with swiftnesse to pursew, / The horrible Seasatyre, that doth shew / His fearefull face in time of greatest storme, / Huge Ziffius, whom Mariners eschew / No lesse, then rockes, (as trauellers informe,) / And greedy Rosmarines with visages deforme;