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**“Deepe written in my heart”: Edmund Spenser’s Application of Grammar
School Commonplace Book Practice in *The Faerie Queene***

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Doctor of Philosophy in English

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June 2021

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH

“DEEPE WRITTEN IN MY HEART”: EDMUND SPENSER’S APPLICATION OF
GRAMMAR SCHOOL COMMONPLACE BOOK PRACTICE IN *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

Summary

This thesis analyses Edmund Spenser’s proverbial expressions in *The Faerie Queene* in the context of commonplace book practice in early modern grammar school education, which has not been discussed sufficiently in Spenserian studies. In Chapter 1, Books I and II of *The Faerie Queene* are discussed. Spenser’s characters tend to summarise other characters’ behaviours by commonplaces. For example, Prince Arthur’s words, “This daies ensample hath this lesson deare / Deepe written in my heart with yron pen, / That blisse may not abide in state of mortall men.” (I.viii.44.7-9) describe the process of commonplacing and let readers know how they should extract the commonplace from Arthur’s example. In Book II, Spenser shows that Guyon’s act of commonplacing is linked with his virtuous status. Chapter 2 examines Books III and IV. In Book III, Venus as a teacher of love can be contrasted to Busirane as a dreadful teacher who uses corporeal punishment. Also, the enigmatic phrases in the house of Busirane, “*Be bolde, be bolde*”, but “*Be not too bolde*” (III.xi.54) are extracted from *Metamorphoses*, which interrelates with the situations of Adonis and Britomart. In Book IV, the rhetorical use of commonplaces by evil characters and Florimel is discussed. Chapter 3 discusses Books V to VII. In Book V, Spenser’s commonplaces are used in legal and political contexts. In Books VI and VII, Spenser’s discourse returns to being didactic, and this atmosphere is created by Spenser’s use of clustered commonplaces. Finally, Chapter 4 explores quotations from *The Faerie Queene* in English printed commonplace books, which modify Spenser’s words to make them sound proverbial. This thesis contributes to showing how Spenser’s proverbial expressions were influenced by the humanist idea of commonplace book practice and how Spenser’s characters renovate the use of commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*.

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Editorial Conventions

This thesis follows the latest annotated edition of *The Faerie Queene* by A. C. Hamilton (Longman, 2nd ed., 2007) when discussing citations from *The Faerie Queene*. However, when the phrasal difference between the 1590 and 1596 editions is crucial to my argument, the original publications have been quoted. Since the original editions of *The Faerie Queene* (1595, 1596) lack stanza numbers, when these editions are quoted, the reference style of Hamilton's edition has been used instead of the page number. Spenser's minor works are cited from *A Variorum Edition* (1943-49).

The citations from John Bodenham's *Bel-vedère* and Robert Allott's *Englands Parnassus* are taken from the annotated editions by Erne and Singh (2020) and Charles Crawford (1913) for convenience, since these books adopted a practice of numbering each commonplace. At the end of a quotation, I have added the quotation number (QN) which the editors above counted for each sentence instead of referring to a page number. Likewise, when I have mentioned proverbs listed in Morris Palmer Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1950) and C. G. Smith's *Spenser's Proverb Lore* (1970), I have followed the quotation numbers instead of referring to page numbers.

Unless stated otherwise, quotations from scripture are taken from the Geneva Bible (1560). According to Naseeb Shaheen, Spenser was influenced by several versions of the Bible, but the Geneva Bible was one of the editions he most likely referred to in *The Faerie Queene* (33).

Spelling and punctuation in quotations follow the original texts such as the use of "u" / "v" and "i" / "j". However, the long s and other obsolete typographical variations such as "ȝ" are not reproduced. In addition, spacing and contraction have been regularised or expanded according to modern usage.

References and Abbreviations

Below is the list of works which are frequently referred to. Please see the bibliography for the full information of reference works.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Crane | Crane, Mary Thomas. <i>Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England</i> . 1993. |
| Crawford | Crawford, Charles, ed. <i>Englands Parnassus</i> . 1913. |
| EEBO | Early English Books Online, available at about.proquest.com/en/products-services/eebo/ . |
| EEBO-TCP | Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership, available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/ . |
| Erne and Singh | Erne, Lukas and Devani Singh, eds. <i>Bel-vedere or the Garden of the Muses</i> , 2020. |
| ESTC | English Short Title Catalogue, available at http://estc.bl.uk . |
| 1590 <i>FQ</i> | 1590 edition of Edmund Spenser's <i>The Faerie Queene</i> . |
| 1596 <i>FQ</i> | 1596 edition of Edmund Spenser's <i>The Faerie Queene</i> . |
| <i>Longman FQ</i> | Spenser, Edmund. <i>The Faerie Queene</i> . Edited by A. C. Hamilton, Rev. 2nd edition, 2007. |
| Moss | Moss, Ann. <i>Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structure of Renaissance Thought</i> . 1996. |
| <i>ODNB</i> | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online, available at www.oxforddnb.com . |
| <i>OED</i> | <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online, available at www.oxforddnb.com . |
| QN | quotation number. |

- SEnc* Hamilton, A. C., et al. *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*, 1990.
- Sherman Sherman, William H. *Renaissance Commonplace Books from the British Library, London*. Reels 1-15, microfilm with a booklet, 2003.
- Smith Smith, Charles G. *Spenser's Proverb Lore*. 1970.
- STC Pollard, A. W., and G. R. Redgrave, et al. eds. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland: And of English Books Printed Abroad: 1475-1640*. 1986-91.
- Tilley Tilley, Morris Palmer. *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. 1950.
- Variorum FQ* Spenser, Edmund. *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, general editors, Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford and Ray Heffner, 6 volumes, 1932-38.

Introduction

I have long been interested in Edmund Spenser's attractive discourse in *The Faerie Queene*, in which pleasurable and didactic atmospheres amazingly coexist. I noticed that one of the characteristics of Spenser's discourse is his use of proverbial expressions, which frequently work as cues introducing or concluding the moralistic moments. At the same time, I also found that Spenser uses proverbial expressions without a didactic intention, to enhance a rhetorical effect – one such expression is “as white as snow”, which is counted as Spenser's proverb by C. G. Smith (no. 841). In my study, I encountered early modern commonplace books, which for me seems to integrate the studies of proverbs, rhetoric, classical sources and readers' education. I realised that a study of commonplace book practice could explain Spenser's dynamic use of proverbial expressions in a socio-cultural context. From Spenser's grammar school experience, it is obvious that *The Faerie Queene* is under the influence of commonplace book practice. However, because he neither adds direct quotations of Latin excerpts nor quotation marks to identify English commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*, I will use the expression “Spenser's proverbial words” rather than “Spenser's commonplaces” in this thesis. When I mention that “Spenser uses commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*”, I mean that Spenser uses proverbial (or commonplace-like) expressions which can be derived from classic writings and well-known sayings, according to the dictionaries by M. P. Tilley and C. G. Smith. It is not the intention of this thesis to count out all proverbial expressions similar to commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*. Instead, my observation focuses on pointing out Spenser's application of early modern commonplace book practice in relation to the narrative discourse.

The word “commonplace” entered into use in the sixteenth century, but it was initially written as “common place” with two words, since “commonplace” was the translation of two-

word expressions in both Greek (*koinoi topos*) and Latin (*locus communis*). Spenser uses the term “common place” as two words in *Prosopopoia: Mother Hubberds Tale* (1591):

How saist thou (friend) haue I not well discourst

Vpon this Common place (though plaine, not wourst)?

Better a short tale, than a bad long shriuing. (ll. 541-43)

The Foxe asks a Priest how to gain a benefice, and the Priest teaches his “arte” (l. 451) or offers practical advice on how to earn maximum profit through benefices. The Priest ends his words by comparing his secularised advice with the commonplace “Better a short tale, than a bad long shriuing”. According to *Variorum FQ*, editors note that this phrase would have come from a proverb, “short pleasure, long lament” (362), which is also listed by Smith (no. 687) and Tilley (P419). However, in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, the Priest rearranges the commonplace by changing the phrase “short pleasure” to “a short tale” to play a joke about his secularised short preaching. As shown here, Spenser’s characters tend to summarise their talk with proverbial sentences, and Spenser recognises such proverbial sentences as “commonplaces” in *Mother Hubberds Tale*. Although Spenser does not mention the word “commonplace” in *The Faerie Queene*, his characters frequently insert commonplaces into the episodes. In this thesis, the word “commonplacing” will be used to indicate the act of extracting proverbial sentences in general, and I will use this wording for characters’ act of framing commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*.

Spenser’s proverbial expressions have not been discussed enough in the context of early modern commonplace book cultures, specifically in the relationship to commonplace book learning as a part of an early modern grammar school program. Spenser initially published *The Faerie Queene* for the moral education of young people if we follow the manifesto he wrote in his Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. In the Letter, Spenser’s didactic intention to “fashion a gentleman or noble person” seems to involve demonstrating a sophisticated use of

commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser's use of proverbial sentences was determined by his school experience, and one consequence of this connection can be understood through the examination of commonplace book practice in *The Faerie Queene*.

The study of early modern English proverbs once culminated in the middle of the twentieth century as shown by Morris Palmer Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (1950). As Tilley mentions, it is difficult to define the quality of proverbs, and therefore, he collected a wide range of proverbial expressions including maxims, *sententiae* and commonplaces besides expressions from examples of early modern people's "elastic conception" of proverbs (v).¹ Researchers since the 1990s have their interest aroused in the process of how early modern people collected and organised proverbial expressions rather than pursuing the definition of proverbs. In particular, commonplace book practice has been featured in the point that commonplace books were practical educational aids which "systematically stored a large amount of miscellaneous learning or information" for remembrance and practical application (Beal, "Notions in Garrison", 134). Commonplace book practice was widely taught in early modern grammar schools, and it became "the principal support system of humanist pedagogy" (Moss v).

Peter Beal first argued the importance of commonplace books as a popular and useful tool for humanist education over other memoranda such as "table books" in his article titled "Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book" (132, 134; 1993). While his argument is mainly on writings in the seventeenth century, he explains that commonplace books were "the primary intellectual tool for organizing knowledge and thought among the intelligentsia of the seventeenth and probably also the sixteenth centuries" (134). Mary Thomas

¹ Tilley explains in the foreword that "There is no agreement on what constitutes a proverb. In this collection of proverbs, proverbial phrases, and proverbial similes I have entered such material as the writers in the period from 1500 to 1700 included in their elastic conception of what was proverbial" (v).

Crane proved that the process of commonplace book making, “gathering and framing” was developed from the humanist theories in the sixteenth century in her *Framing Authority: Saying, Self, and Society in Sixteenth Century England* (1993). She argues that the idea of “gathering” textual fragments and “framing” (i.e. arranging) them in commonplace books was “a central part of humanist education in sixteenth century England involved the use of aphoristic fragments to constitute and control a middle-class subject able to move upward within the changing hierarchies of the early modern state” (4). Although Crane does not mention Spenser’s works in her main argument, she identifies Spenser as one of the poets who created narratives under the influence of the idea of gathering and framing in their works (138).

We cannot discuss early modern commonplace book culture without mentioning Ann Moss’s *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (1996). She overviews the rise and fall of commonplace books by examining theories and practices from the medieval period to the seventeenth century throughout Western Europe. Moss argues that commonplace book practice flourished in the sixteenth century by estimating that “the commonplace-book was becoming a paradigm for reading analysis, whether by distributing what was read under preassembled headings or by tracing through the passage strategies of argument and development determined by the dialectical and rhetorical ‘places’ which the student was learning to handle with material supplied by his notebook” (136). Moss emphasises that the transition from a manuscript culture to a print culture opens the flood-gates in the use of commonplace books in schools (200). Earle Havens adopts a wider perspective on commonplace book practice by examining its history from antiquity to the nineteenth century in his *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (2001). In particular, he points out that Seneca the Younger’s analogy of the bees which “cull” flowers and “arrange and assort” honey in their cells became the basic

idea of commonplace book learning via the medieval encyclopaedic tradition, *florilegia* (books of flowers) (14).

In Spenserian studies, the influence of the commonplace tradition in *The Faerie Queene* has not been explored sufficiently, although Spenser's frequent references to proverbial and Biblical phrases have been collected by C. G. Smith and Naseeb Shaheen besides Morris Palmer Tilley's influential dictionary of early modern proverbs. In *Spenser's Proverb Lore*, Smith argues that Spenser used the school collections of *sententiae* of Publilius Syrus compiled by Erasmus and the *Sententiae Pueriles* by Leonard Culman at grammar school, and Smith conjectures that Spenser may have owned a commonplace book to extract and collect commonplaces from his reading (3-4). Spenser's commonplace book is not extant, but the idea of the commonplace book method clearly affects his use of commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser's fragmental use of borrowed phrases has also been argued by Shaheen, who points out in his *Biblical References in 'The Faerie Queene'*, that Spenser's knowledge of Biblical references originates not from one specific Bible but from several editions. Spenser would have memorised Biblical phrases at morning and evening prayers, homilies, services and public sermons (32). Shaheen surmises that Spenser's educational experiences at Merchant Taylors' School and Cambridge University affected his process of collecting Biblical phrases. These studies suggest that Spenser "gathered" fragmented phrases and "framed" them in *The Faerie Queene*.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the close relationship between Spenser's use of proverbial expressions and commonplace book learning as a humanist program in grammar schools. From Chapter 1 to Chapter 3, I will examine books of *The Faerie Queene* by focusing on Spenser's use of proverbial expressions and the narrative discourse. The last chapter will explore how Spenser's proverbial expressions were "gathered" and "framed" as English commonplaces in printed commonplace books. Spenser's use of commonplaces plays an

essential part in developing his discourse, and the humanist idea of commonplace book learning affects Spenser's moral allegories in *The Faerie Queene*.

Chapter 1: Books I and II of *The Faerie Queene*

1.1. Book I: Spenser's Classical and Original Commonplaces

1.1.1. The Development of Commonplace Book Practice

According to Victoria E. Burke, a commonplace book is “a collection of humanist-inspired extracts from classical writers arranged under topic headings” (153). Hand-written memoranda are occasionally termed “commonplace books”, but in the context of humanist education, commonplace books indicate well-organised collections of quotations which early modern readers consulted while composing their speeches and writings. In antiquity, Aristotle formed a basic concept of commonplaces in his *Topica*, in which he defined commonplaces as “the forms of argumentations that one may encounter in a philosophical discussion or debate” (Havens 13). Cicero developed Aristotle's idea of commonplaces into a practical rhetorical device both for logical reasoning and for argument for public speech in his own *Topica* and *De oratore*. Cicero in particular recognised the quotations from authoritative figures called *sententiae* as a legitimate commonplace of argument, and these *sententiae* became the principal subject matter of early modern commonplace books (Havens 13-14). Quintilian then expanded Cicero's idea of commonplaces in his pedagogical manual for orators, *Institutio oratoria*, which was widely received by the early modern humanists. Quintilian's idea of commonplaces was characterised in “distinctly moral and ethical overtones”, and because a good memory was indispensable for recollecting commonplaces and constructing good speech, he defined commonplace books as a storage of “artificial memory” (Havens 14). In the Middle Ages, biblical references were collected in the form of *florilegia*. While people's interest in classical quotations decreased in the context of medieval moral philosophy, the idea of “gathering” and “framing” flowers (quotations) continued to be practised among intellectuals (Havens 19).

According to Havens, early modern humanists such as Rodolphus Agricola, Desiderius Erasmus and Melanchthon wrote treatises to provide pedagogical instructions for learning Latin which evoked the importance of commonplace books. Humanists encouraged Latin learners to keep filling their commonplace books as a memory aid, and their notetaking methods were widely followed in grammar schools in early modern Europe. Achieving proficiency in Latin was the priority in school education, and pupils collected excerpts from the works of the ancient authors such as Cicero, Catullus, Seneca, Livy, Ovid, Virgil and Sallust (Havens 25).

Early modern commonplace book theory was not established by a single humanist, but gradually established at the hands of humanists continually re-reading classical literatures (Schiffman 503). Petrarch recommended annotating and cross-referencing readings in order to create a stock of words, idioms and ideas for the use of compositions, and Leonardo Bruni first suggested keeping these references in notebooks (Schiffman 504). Rudolf Agricola later recommended classifying extracted citations under headings (*loci*) paired with their opposites for easy recall, such as “virtue and vice”, “love and hate” and “life and death” in his *De formando studii* (1508) (Schiffman 404). Desiderius Erasmus expanded and popularised Agricola’s notetaking method by adding subheadings in his *De ratione studii* and *De copia* (1512). While Agricola highlighted well-organised *sententiae* in philosophical education, Erasmus emphasised an aspect of commonplaces as the endless elaboration of rhetorical arguments and distinctive compositions which is renowned for the term *copia*, which means abundance and describes the nature of commonplace books as an endless developmental space for thinking and rhetorical arguments (Havens 28). In *De ratione studii*, Erasmus encouraged schoolteachers to collect classic excerpts as many as possible enough to make a “proverbial encyclopaedia” by using commonplace books, and he also recommends this habit to pupils to show their stylistic and rhetorical variations:

In this I shall not be content with the usual ten or twelve authors but will demand the proverbial ‘encyclopaedia’ so that even someone who is preparing to teach a very little is very widely read. . . . And in order to enhance the value of that exercise, he should have at the ready some commonplace book of systems and topics, so that wherever something noteworthy occurs he may write it down in the appropriate column.
(*Collected Works*, 672)

For Erasmus, commonplace book practice was an encyclopaedic system which preserves various rhetorical expressions in a systematic order. He explains how to assemble such copious materials in *De copia*. According to Erasmus, because *copia* has two aspects, he recommends readers to create a pair of headings which contain opposite meanings, and under these headings, he advises to make subheadings which relate to main topics. As an example, he explains how to organise paired headings of “faith” and “faithlessness”:

The next heading could be ‘Faith,’ which you might subdivide into faith in God, human faith, faithfulness to friends, of servants to masters, good faith towards enemies; and ‘Faithlessness’ could be likewise subdivided. Then could come ‘Beneficence,’ and, after you have listed its subdivisions, ‘Gratitude,’ which is not a subsection of beneficence, nor its opposite, but its consequence and so naturally associated with it.
(*Collected Works*, 636)

Under the heading of faith, subheadings could be developed depending on what type of faith it would be, such as “faith in God”, “human faith” and “faithfulness to friends”. Readers are required not only collecting excerpts but also distributing them in proper places. Commonplace books could expand limitlessly in this way and offer readers a great advantage in memorising classic phrases in your mind.

Philip Melancthon systematised Erasmian ideas by generalising the idea of *loci* in his textbook, *De rhetorica libri tres*. While Erasmus’s *loci* was only related to human reality,

Melanchton's idea of *loci* represented objective truths (Schiffman 505). Melanchton systematised Erasmian ideas by simplifying commonplace book practice with general thematic headings and well-ordered extracts from carefully selected texts (Havens 29). His manageable method was followed broadly in northern European grammar schools.

The influence of Erasmus and Melanchthon on commonplace book theory and practice was particularly significant. Erasmus's *De copia* was one of the most popular textbooks in grammar schools, and over a hundred editions were published in the sixteenth century (Schiffman 505). Melanchthon's *De rhetorica libri tres* went through only about eight editions, but a part of his discussion about the commonplace book method was published together with Erasmus's and Agricola's systems. After the mid-sixteenth century, the commonplace book method was widely practiced by grammar school students. Schoolmasters taught the commonplace book method not only in aid of Latin composition but also for systematising human knowledge.

In grammar schools in England, humanists imported commonplace book methods from the Continent rather than establishing a new theory. They anglicised commonplace book methods and contributed to popularising commonplace book practice in English treatises. Roger Ascham frequently inserted commonplaces in Latin when he discussed Latin learning in *Scholemaster* (1570), and he argued that Erasmus used commonplace book practice in his reading:

Erasmus, giuying him selfe to read ouer all Authors *Greke* and *Latin*, séemeth to haue prescribed to him selfe this order of readyng: that is, to note out by the way, thrée speciall pointes: All Adagies, all similitudes, and all wittie sayinges of most notable personages: (sig. 51v)

According to Ascham, when Erasmus read the writings in Greek and Latin, he collected adages, similitudes and witty sayings. Ascham clearly referred to the commonplace book practice by

using the expression of “note out”, and he suggested that Erasmus’s way of commonplacing was the proper way of reading the Classics. Sir Thomas Elyot developed his arguments by inserting commonplaces in *The Boke Named the Governor*. Unlike Ascham, who cited commonplaces in Latin, Elyot embedded commonplaces in English as a part of his arguments. For example, in the discussion about “the true discreption of aninite or frendship”, Elyot inserted the words by Aristotle and Tully (i.e. Marcus Tullius Cicero):

But nowe let vs enserche what frendship or amitie is. / Aristotle saieth that frendship is a vertue, or ioyneth with vertue; whiche is affirmed by Tulli, sayenge, that frendship cannot be without vertue, ne but in good men onely. (fol.141v)

Elyot smoothly cited two commonplaces for reasoning his idea, and readers would have known these quoted sentences by Aristotle and Tully,² since their writings were popular in grammar schools. In *The Boke Named the Governor*, Elyot argued that Aristotle was the “moost sharpest witted & excellent learned Philosopher” (fol.31v), and Tully had “preeminence and soueraintie ouer all oratours” (fol.36v). In terms of his reference to commonplace book practice, Elyot argues that tutors who teach pupils at the basic level need to memorise all writings in Greek and Latin perfectly so that they can attain “plentie of the tongs called Copie” and increase their memory sufficiently (fol.31r). Elyot discusses an ideal attitude of teachers by borrowing the word from Erasmus’s *De copia*, which influentially spread the idea of commonplace book practice in northern Europe, as mentioned by Elyot that “all men . . . haue radde that warke of Erasmus, that there was neuer boke written in latine that, in so lytle a portion, contayned of sentence, eloquence, and vertuous exhortation, a compedious abundaunce” (fol.42r). *The Boke Named the Governor* demonstrates how influentially the Erasmian idea was succeeded in humanist education in England.

² C. G. Smith listed a proverb, “true friendship (love) is based on virtue” (no. 311), and he referred to Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, “the perfect form of friendship is that between the good, and those who resemble each other in virtue” (qtd. in Smith 122: viii.3.6).

Commonplace book practice had been already popular by the time the third edition of *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* was published by Thomas Cooper in 1578. In the English preface to the readers, he explains that this thesaurus can be used as if it were a commonplace book:

Last of all, a studious yong man, with samll paines, by the helpe of this booke may gather to himselfe good furniture both of wordes and approoued phrases and fashions of speaking for any thing, that he shall eyther write or speake of, and so make vnto his vse, as it were a common place booke for such a purpose. (*Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae*; emphasis mine)

Cooper's explanation reflects a perception of commonplace book practice by early modern English readers. People were serious about making good quality commonplace books, since Cooper considers that a commonplace book is a good comparison with his voluminous thesaurus. Cooper's explanation shows us that early modern people used their commonplace books as dictionaries which comprehend vital information for their writings. In England, the popularity of publishing educational treatises and grammar books of Latin learning cultivated the ground for the English to apply the idea of commonplace book practice in their own publications written in English. For example, William Lily's Latin grammar was one of the major textbooks in grammar schools, and he advised pupils to write down Latin phrases in their notebooks (*Lily's Grammar* 205). Lily also mentions the importance of rearranging and memorising information by following Erasmian ideas; "Often repeat to yourself the things you have read / and turn them over in your mind" (205). Lily encouraged logical thinking among students through the practices of extracting and memorising. Richard Mulcaster also discusses his method of elementary education by using the idea of commonplacing in his *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*:

We are therefore to cull out some of the best, and fittest for our introductorie, and to send away the rest to their owne place, in the peculiar professions, and that not in *poets* & *histories* alone, but also in all other bookes whatsoever, which be at this day admitted into our schooles. (*Positions* f. 273; 1581, emphases mine)

Mulcaster explains that teachers “cull out” the best part of Latin writings and provide them to pupils at the elementary level. Also, the rest of the writings are sorted out in their own places. Mulcaster’s education was deeply influenced by commonplace book practice. Because he was the schoolmaster of the Merchant Taylors’ School, Edmund Spenser must have learned commonplace book practice in his school days.

Owing to his educational background, Edmund Spenser was immersed in early modern commonplace book culture and adapted the idea of commonplace book practice in his English works. Before his entrance into Cambridge University in 1569, Edmund Spenser went to the Merchant Taylors’ School, one of the most significant grammar schools in London, which was founded in 1560 and presided over by Mulcaster. According to William Baker, we do not have a clear idea of the curriculum in the Merchant Taylors’ School during its first twenty-five years (Mulcaster, *Positions*, lxii-lxiii; 1994). However, Sir James Whitelocke, one of Mulcaster’s pupils who became a judge of the Court of King’s Bench, mentions that he learned three languages in Merchant Taylors’ School:

I was brought up at school under mr. Mulcaster, in the famous school of the Marchanttaylors in London, whear I continued untill I was well instructed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongs. (Mulcaster, *Positions*, lxiv; 1994)

In a grammar school, students were required to master Latin, and after they gained a basic literacy in Latin, they also learned Greek and Hebrew. Considering that Whitelocke entered the Merchant Taylors’ in 1571 (Powell, *ODNB*), Spenser, who probably attended the school from 1561 (Hadfield, *ODNB*), must have had a similar school experience to the one of

Whitelocke, such as writing down the memorable phrases at least in these three languages into his commonplace books.

According to Mary Thomas Crane, the grammar school curriculum was methodised and made uniform by humanist efforts throughout early modern England, and the curricula of Eton (1530), Winchester (1530), St. Paul's at Canterbury (1541) and Ipswich (1529) share similar methods and goals (80). Crane summarises the general school curriculum in grammar schools; in the first three forms at school, students learned the basics of Latin grammar and the composition of simple sentences in Latin. Then, they read Latin texts by classical authors in the next three forms, and they learned dialectic and rhetoric in Latin as well as more high-level composition in their final two added forms (Crane 80). Especially in the first form, to memorise Latin grammar, students needed to memorise the rules and their examples, and "both precept and example were often couched sententiously as an aid to memorization" (80). This distinction between "precept" and "example" can be seen in Spenser's Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh as "much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule" (716). Spenser's preference for "ensample" over "rule" seems to be affected by the humanist pedagogy.

Crane also argues that the old and new pedagogies both co-existed around 1520 (80). The new humanist method was centred on the so-called Lily's Grammar, which "de-emphasized the memorization of rules (although this task was still required) and stressed instead the assimilation of sentences taken from classical authors, sentences that exemplified the rules which framed them", while the other pedagogy was a traditional method introduced by John Stanbridge and Robert Whittinton, which emphasised memorising rules and exemplifying them in practical sentences (Crane 80). William Lily's humanistic text emphasises the classical examples of each rule rather than the rule itself. Students were encouraged simply to gather rules from Latin speech to "avoid 'vulgar' Latinity of Stanbridge and Whittinton" (Crane 82). That is, for humanists, the traditional method which focuses on

rules rather than examples might induce the misuse of commonplaces, which Roger Ascham refers to as the ‘ill framing of the sentences’ in *The Schoolmaster* (13). John Colet, the founder of St. Paul’s School, also recommended collecting rules simply from the example of speech in *Rudimenta Grammatices* (1529): “For in ye begynnyng, men spake not laten bycause such rulers [*sic*] were made, but contrary wyse, bycause men spake such laten. Upon yt folowed yt rules were made” (Crane 230). Colet encouraged students to learn Latin phrases directly from the classical texts rather than to learn from a rulebook of Latin grammar artificially designed by contemporary pedagogues such as Stanbridge and Whittinton. The new school focused on “framing” proper sentences from their readings while the old school stressed rote learning. In this context, Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* seems to be inspired by the idea of the new school since the readers are encouraged to “gather” important sentences and moralistic meanings by “framing” the episodes in *The Faerie Queene*.

Although Spenser’s commonplace book is not extant, looking through handwritten commonplace books by early modern English readers provides evidence which enables us to work out how Spenser’s commonplace book might have appeared. The examples which I picked up below are private manuscript miscellanies which followed the humanist idea of commonplace book practice, that is, collections of quotations arranged under headings. The first example is Bernardo Bembo’s commonplace book which was written around 1500 (British Library Add Ms 4108). This commonplace book (324 fols., 287 x 190 mm) was written mainly in Latin, but occasionally in Italian because he was a Venetian magistrate (Sherman 25).³ This commonplace book is one of the neat and systematic commonplace books which I can find. This book has a beautiful alphabetical index at the beginning, and each excerpt under the alphabetical headings is listed with the title of the original source. It seems that the compiler

³ Sherman’s edition of the microfilm collections of Renaissance commonplace books from the British Library comes with a booklet, and when I mention his name in my discussion, I indicate a reference from the booklet instead of the microfilms.

quotes the excerpt from Cicero's writing under the heading of "AMBICIO", and he emphasises a particular sentence with two detailed finger marks (see fig. 2.) The compiler mainly collects the citations from classic readings, which he would have read at grammar school.

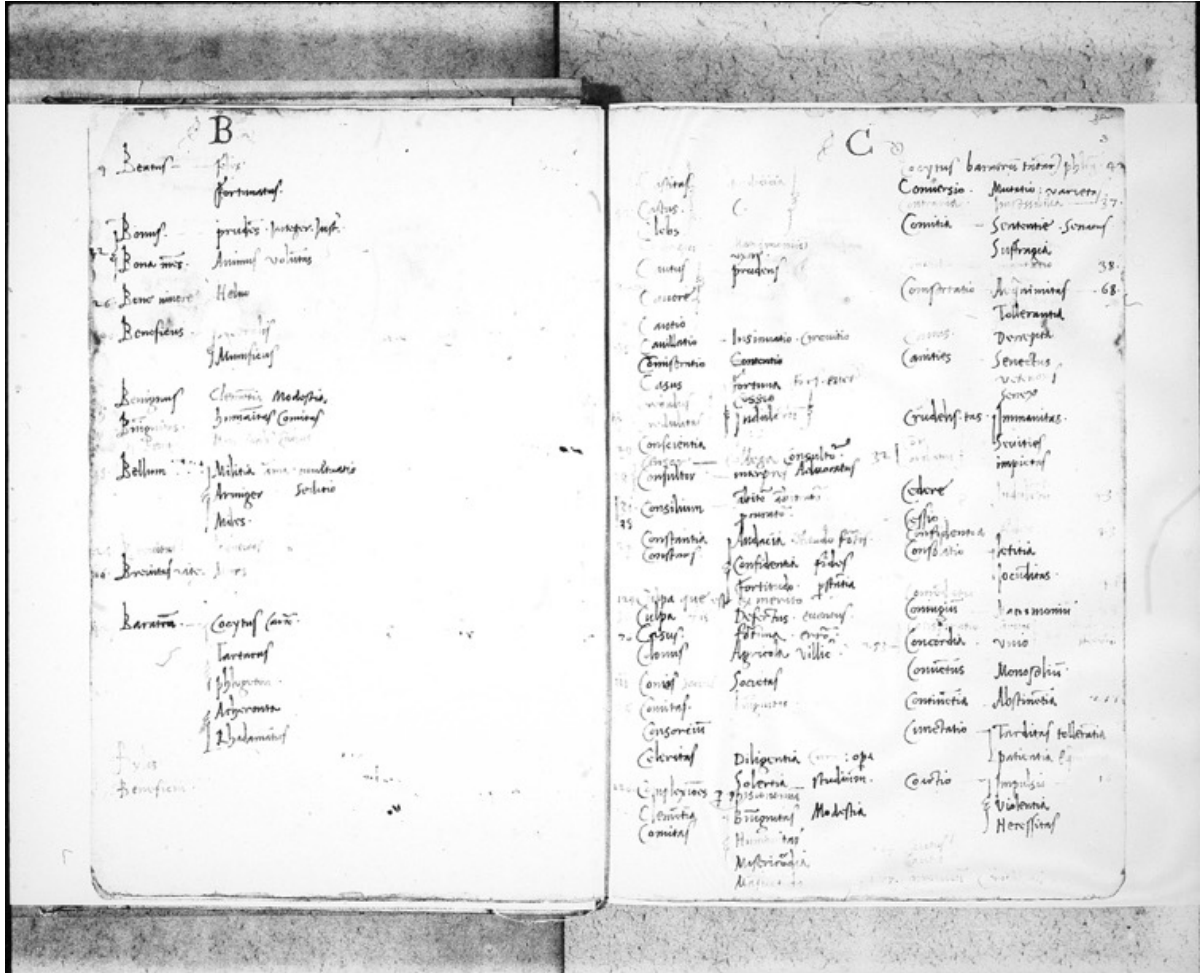


Fig.1. Alphabetical table from Bembo's commonplace book. Fols. 2v-3r (Sherman: reel 5)

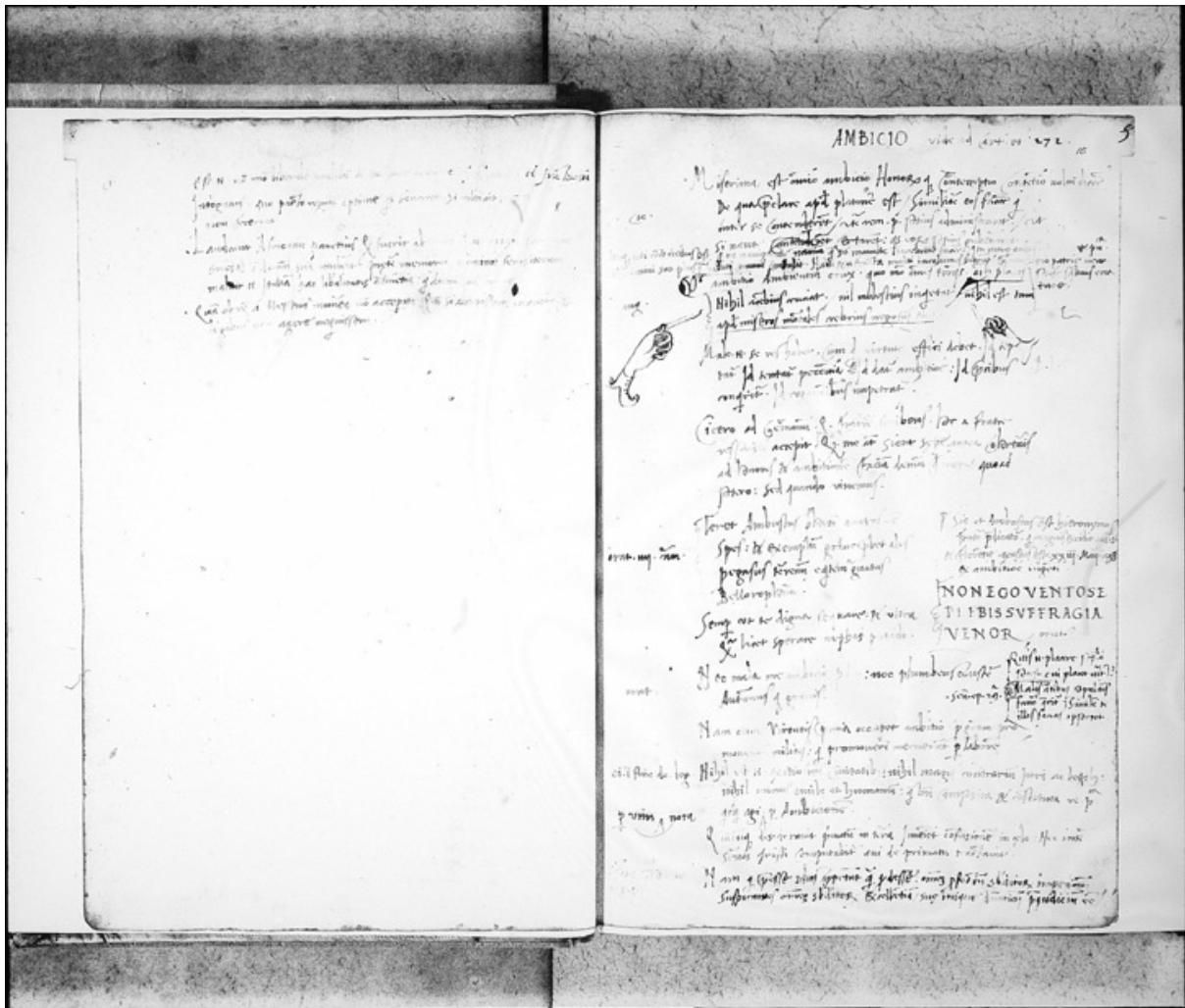


Fig.2. The heading under “AMBICIO” from Bembo’s commonplace book. Fols. 4v-5r (Sherman: reel 5)

The second example is Sir Julius Caesar’s commonplace book (c1570-1636: British Library, Add Ms 6038). This large commonplace book was composed of nearly 1200 pages (616 fols., 315 x 215 mm), which was expanded over a period of sixty years (Sherman 20). Sir Julius Caesar (1558-16360) was one of the highest-ranking figures in the court.⁴ His commonplace book is famous especially because he collected citations by using John Fox’s printed commonplace book with blank notes, *Pandecte Locorum Communium* (1572). John

⁴ Sir Julius Caesar served as MP, Commissioner of the Peace, Judge of the Admiralty, Master of the Chancery, and Master of Requests in the court of Elizabeth I. In the court of James I, he also served as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Privy Councillor, and Master of the Rolls (Sherman 20).

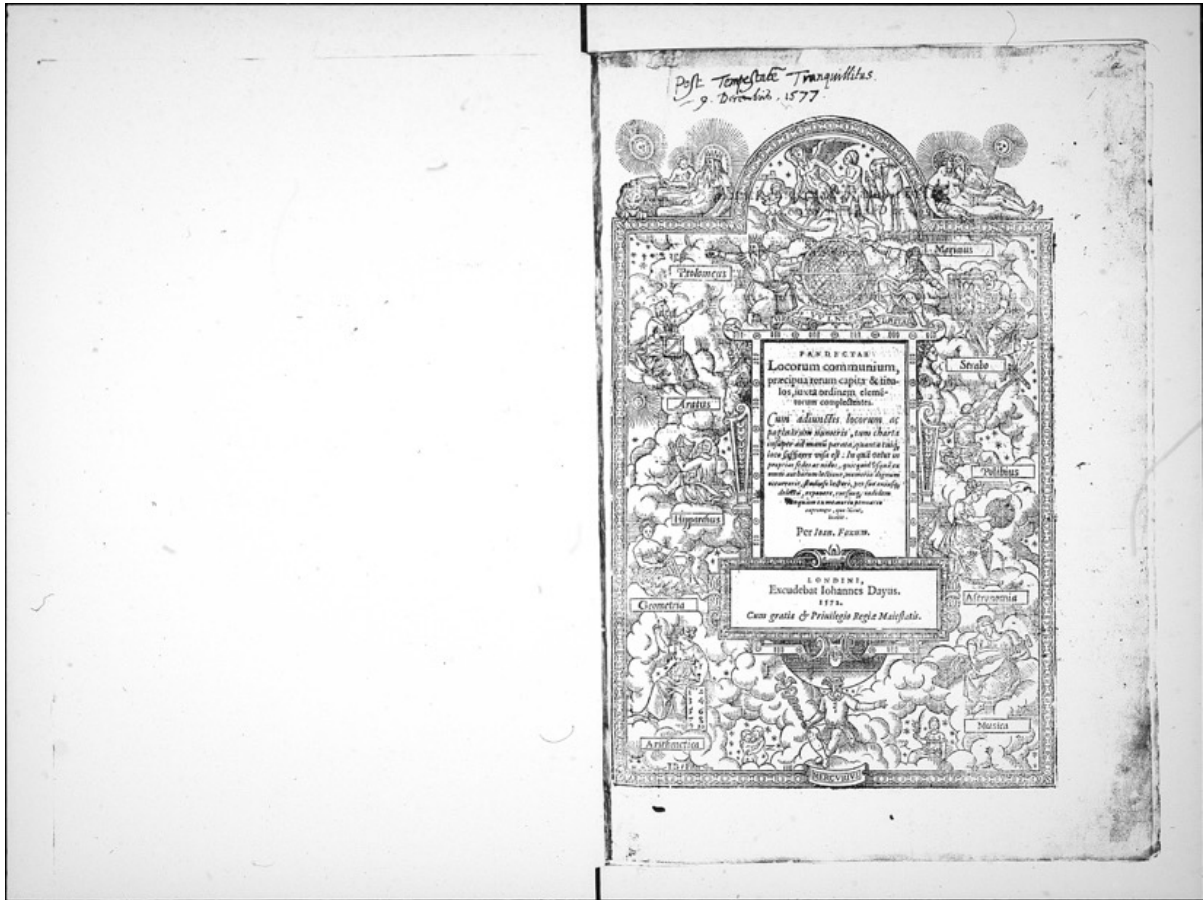


Fig. 3. Title page of *Pandecte Locorum Communium* from Sir Julius Caesar's commonplace book. (Sherman: reel 2)

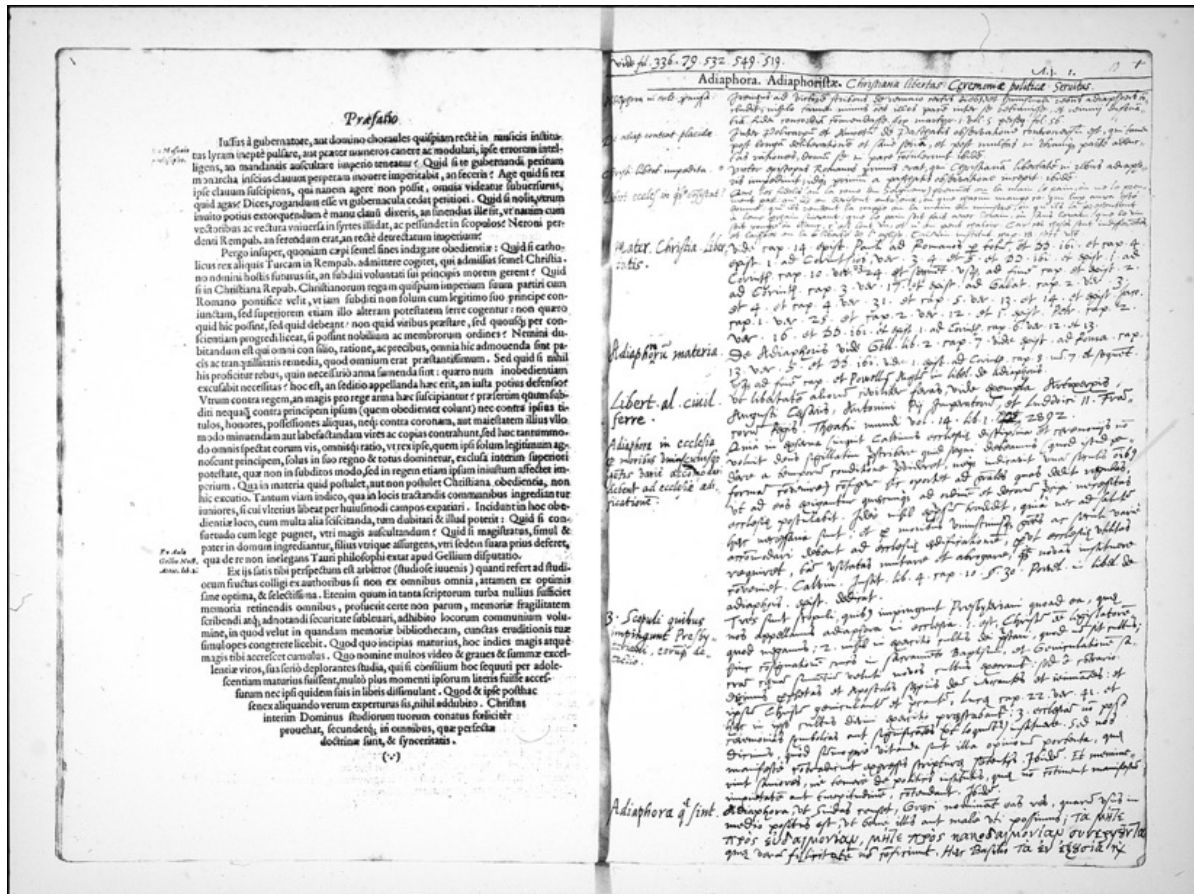


Fig. 4. John Fox's preface and the first page of the handwritten part by Sir Julius Caesar (Sherman: reel 2)

The third example is John Milton's commonplace book, which is preserved in the British Library (Add Ms 36354: 120 fols., 290 x 220mm). This commonplace book was written around 1643 to 1646, but because almost half of the pages remain blank, Milton would have planned to expand this commonplace book during a longer time span. The commonplaces are mainly taken from Latin and English sources, and there are subheadings under the major classifications (Sherman 23). That is, headings such as *De virtute*, *De Poetica* and *De fide servanda* are listed under the large topic of *Ethicus* (ethics) (2r-49v), headings such as *Matrimonium*, *De Divortio* and *De usura* are organised under the large topic of *Oeconomicus* (domestic economy) (50r-87v) and headings such as *Respublica*, *Rex*, *Tyrannus*, *Libertas*, *De*

bello civili and *De seditione* are listed under the large topic of *Politicus* (politics) (88r-119v).

There is also a brief index of headings at the back (120r) (Sherman 23).

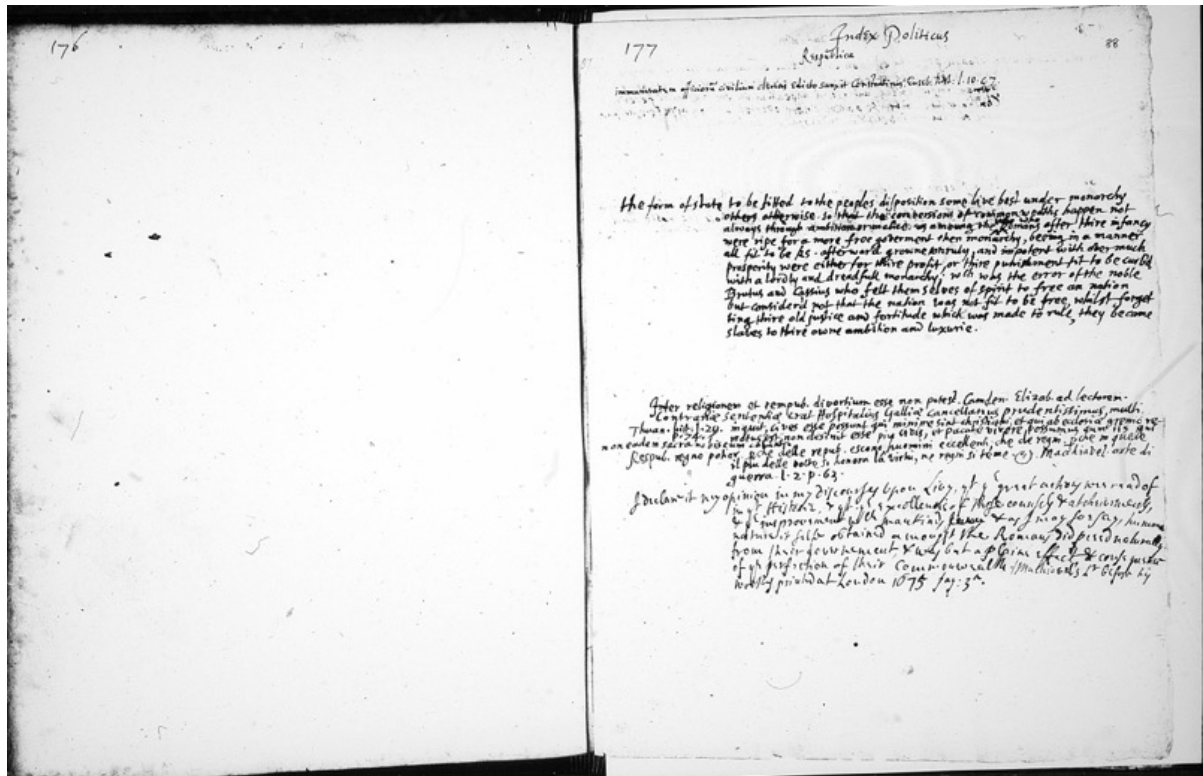
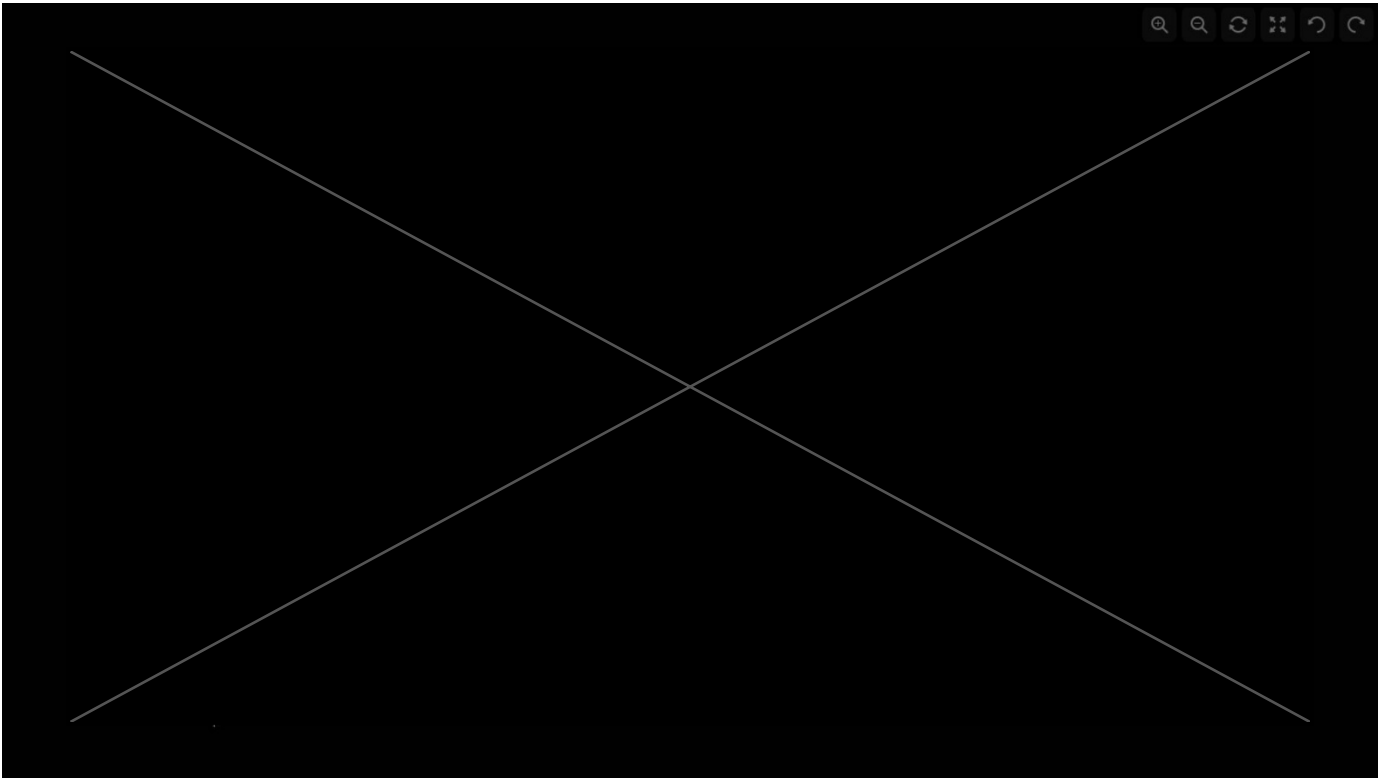


Fig. 5 Quotations under the heading of “Respublica”, which is listed in “Index Politicus” in John Milton’s commonplace book (Sherman f. 88r: reel 4)

Although women did not have an opportunity to receive school educations, intellectual women who were taught by their private tutors also created commonplace books. Sarah Cowper's commonplace book is preserved in the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Collection (D/EP F37) and is digitised in the collection of *Perdita Manuscripts*. Cowper's commonplace book was written in English around 1637-1710, and it was arranged under alphabetical headings. According to a note in the *Perdita Manuscripts*, this commonplace book was exchanged with her neighbour Martin Clifford, and this is one reason that she wrote commonplaces in beautiful hand. Commonplace books were not only a storage of intellectual legacy but were also circulated to share knowledge among readers.



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Fig. 7 Quotations under the heading of “precept”. Sarah Cowper numbered quotations and emphasised some sentences with pointing hands. She also wrote down “Plato” by the verso page of the fourth quotation. (Cowper 226-27)

The last example is Gabriel Harvey’s commonplace book (ff. 1r-52v: British Library, Add MS 32494).⁵ According to Jason Scott-Warren, Gabriel Harvey (1552/3-1631) was born at Saffron Walden, Essex, and received a primary education at Saffron Walden grammar school (*ODNB*). Harvey was elected as a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge on 3rd of November in 1570, and he cultivated a friendship with Edmund Spenser, who entered the same college as a sizer on 20th of May in 1569 (*ODNB*). They published their correspondence in two volumes (1579 and 1580), where they demonstrated their knowledge of classical, quantitative

⁵ Two commonplace books by Gabriel Harvey are extant. One is stored in the British Library (Add MS 32494), and the other one is preserved in the University of Illinois Rare Books & Manuscript Library (Pre-1650 MS0150). The second commonplace book is composed of five leaves (125 x 85 mm) and was written around 1584.

versification and vernacular poetry (*ODNB*).⁶ Since Harvey and Spenser would have shared similar interests, Harvey's commonplace book can be viewed as one of the credible materials for imagining Spenser's commonplace book.

Harvey's commonplace book in the British Library is composed of 52 octavo leaves (148 x 122 mm) and is very densely written together in Latin, Italian, English and Greek. This book contains extracts from classical and contemporary authors such as Cicero and Sir Hugh Platt. For example, under the heading of "Certayn frutes of discretion; owt off The Flowers of philosophy", he collected quotations from Seneca, such as "When owld frendes be long absent, then new freindes oftentimes stepp in there roome", "Speak frendly, yea though it be to thy Enemy" and "If thou wilt be greater, enuy not: for he that enuieth, is lesse" (f. 25v: transcribed from Harvey 103: see Fig. 8). Harvey describes commonplaces as "flowers", which reminds us of Seneca the Younger's analogy of bees collecting flowers and assorting honey in their hives. Harvey might have also been familiar with medieval *florilegia*, whose original meaning is "gathering flowers" in Latin.

⁶ The title of the first volume is *Three proper, and wittie, Familiar letters: lately passed betwene two Vniuersitie men: touching the Earthquake in April last, and our English reformed Versifying*. The second volume is entitled as *Two other, very commendable Letters, of the same mens writing: both touching the foresaid Artificiall Versifying, and certain other Particulars*. The second volume contains earlier epistles as well. The letters refer to *The Faerie Queene* in the first place and Spenser's lost works such as *My Slomber*, *Dreames* and *Dying Pellicane*.

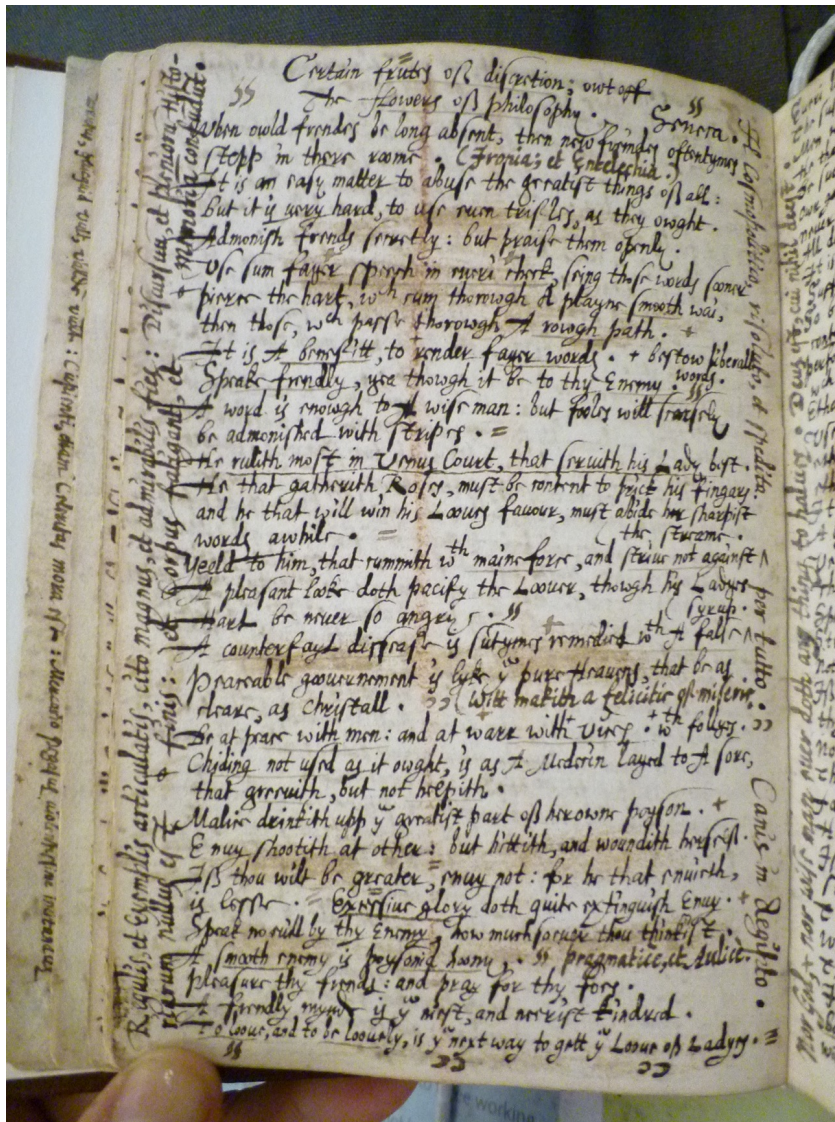


Fig. 8 Gabriel Harvey's commonplace book (f. 25v: British Library, Add MS 32494). The heading is seen on the top of this page ("Certayn frutes of discretion; owt off / The Flowers of philosophy"). The word "Seneca" can be seen under the right side of the heading.

One interesting feature of Gabriel Harvey's commonplace book is that he added marginalia on his own commonplace book. Marginalia are handwritten annotations on printed works by readers, and according to Virginia F. Stern, Harvey's marginalia are distinctive in a style of "abundance, variety, the artistry and the consistency" compared with other early modern marginalists such as Henri Estienne, Ben Jonson and John Milton (vii). One of the earliest marginalia by Harvey is the notes on Erasmus's *Parabolae* (1565), which Harvey

annotated from January in 1566, at age 16. *Parabola*e is an anthology of parables and quotations by Plutarch, Seneca, Aristotle, Pliny, and Theophrastus, and it was probably a textbook at Christ's College, Cambridge (Stern 137). Other marginalia he would have added in his school days are Quintilian's *Institutionum oratoriarum* in 1567 and Livy's *Romanae Historiae Principis* in 1568. Below is an example of Harvey's marginalia in Lodovico Guicciardini's *Detti et fatti piacevoli et gravi di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani*,⁷ and we can see a similar pattern in his annotating style to that in his commonplace book above, that is, dense with abundant notes which surround the main page.



Fig. 9 Gabriel Harvey's marginalia on Lodovico Guicciardini's work. (Harvey, *Annotations by Gabriel Harvey*; Folger Shakespeare Library, MS H.a.2. fols. 72v-73r; LUNA collection no. 70712)

⁷ The English translated version was published by Henry Bynnenman in 1573. The English title is: *The Garden of Pleasure: Contayning most pleasante tales, worthy deeds and witty sayings of noble princes & learned philosophers, moralised. No lesse delectable, than profitable. Done out of Italian into English, by Iames Sanforde, Gent. Wherein are also set forth diuers verses and sentences in Italian, with the Englishe to the Same, for the Benefit of Students in both tongs.*

Virginia Stern argues that Gabriel Harvey's marginalia tell us "what he thought and felt and dreamed of" (255), and Harvey's commonplace book also reveals what he had in his mind. Edmund Spenser might not have been an outstanding marginalist like Gabriel Harvey, but because of the point that they would have shared similar interests and reading lists, Harvey's commonplace book can be a fascinating complementary material when analysing Spenser's use of commonplaces.

This section provided an overview of the development of commonplace book practice and the examples of hand-written commonplace books inspired by the humanist idea of commonplace book learning. As Quintilian pointed out regarding the connection between commonplace books and readers' memory structures, every hand-written commonplace book varies by representing the compilers' reading experience and memories. These examples show that compiling commonplace books means organising the information of reading experience both in a notebook and in the reader's mind. Spenser's commonplace book would also be different from the examples above, but these examples let us imagine that classical sentences in *The Faerie Queene* would have been taken from his own commonplace book.

1.1.2. Spenser's Ensamples and the "Doctrine by Ensample"

Before introducing the discussion on Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, I first point out that Spenser's use of the word "ensample" in *The Faerie Queene* does not directly indicate his teaching discipline called the "doctrine by ensample". Spenser uses the word "ensample" to describe an example of characters' behaviours in *The Faerie Queene*, and in my discussion, the word "example" is mentioned in this sense. In general, Spenser uses the word "ensample" for both good and bad examples. For example, when the Red Cross Knight leaves Una and gets along with a new lady called Fidessa, Spenser criticises the knight by using the combination of

a commonplace and the word “ensample”: “there is no greater shame, / Then lightnesse and inconstancie in loue; / That doth this *Redcrosse* knights ensample plainly proue.” (I.iv.1.7-9; emphasis mine). Spenser extracts a proverbial sentence, “there is no greater shame, / Then lightnesse and inconstancie in loue” from the bad example of the Red Cross Knight. Also, in Book III, when Merlin discloses the history of Britomart’s bloodline, he introduces the Welsh king Rhodri the Great like this: “For *Rhodoricke*, whose surname shalbe Great, / Shall of him selfe a braue ensample shew / That Saxon kings his frendship shall intreat;” (III.iii.45.1-3). As shown in these citations, Spenser tends to use the word “ensample” to describe an example of characters’ behaviours, and he uses this word for both good and bad examples.

On the other hand, Spenser’s teaching discipline, the “doctrine by ensample” seems to perform in a different way. The “doctrine by ensample” is discussed in the Letter to Raleigh, which is placed at the end of the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*. Although there are several inconsistencies between the Letter and the narratives,⁸ beyond the framework of seeking for the compatibility between the Letter and the narratives, researchers consider that the Letter to Raleigh is worth being analysed as Spenser’s treatise of literary criticism and education theory.⁹

In the Letter, Spenser first proclaims his didactic intention to “fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline” (*Longman FQ* 714), and he argues that he chose “an historicall fiction” to make readers find enjoyment in reading of *The Faerie Queene*.

⁸ Especially, Spenser’s manifestation of representing Prince Arthur as a chief hero is misreading (Bennet 26), and his plan to publish twenty-four books according to Aristotle’s moral virtues from his *Ethics* and *Politics* did not come true (Horton 58).

⁹ Spenserian researchers evaluate Spenser’s literary criticism in the Letter to Raleigh. Josephine Waters Bennet estimates that Spenser’s references to Homer, Vergil, Ariosto and Tasso in the Letter are “all very proper and in accordance with the best literary criticism of his day” (24), while she also admits that the Letter “misrepresents the general theme and emphasis of the poem” (30). A. C. Hamilton argues from the formalist view that readers “should not expect the Letter to provide more than a pattern or schematic form which the poet will embody in the poem” (“Spenser’s Letter to Raleigh” 483), and he regards the Letter as “a critical basis for understanding Spenser’s allegory as well as Sidney’s *Apology* (*The Structure of Allegory in ‘The Faerie Queene’*, 44). Wayne Erickson would be the first researcher who performs the detailed analysis of Spenser’s literary politics in the Letter to Raleigh. Apart from discussing its relation to the narratives of *The Faerie Queene*, Erickson treats the Letter as “Spenser’s apology”, and he explains what Spenser’s words “allegorical device” and “historical fiction” in the Letter would have meant in the historical context of early modern literary criticism. While Erickson discusses the Letter like Spenser’s monograph about literary theory, Jane Grogan resituates the Letter in the pedagogical milieu and analyses Spenser’s didactic intention in the Letter as an exemplary theory.

According to Spenser, historical fictions were told by “Poets historicall” such as Homer, Virgil, Ariosto and Tasso, and Spenser applies this method of “Poets historicall” especially in the description of Prince Arthur (715). The “doctrine by ensample” is mentioned after this discussion, when he shows his concern about using the method of the “historicall fiction” in *The Faerie Queene*:

To some I know this Methode will seeme displeasaunt, which had rather haue good discipline deliuered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they vse, then thus clowdily enwrapped in Allegoricall deuises. But such, me seeme, should be satisfied with the vse of these dayes, seeing all things accounted by their showes, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightfull and pleasing to commune sence. For this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one in the exquisite depth of his iudgement, formed a Commune welth such as it should be, but the other in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a gouernement such as might best be: So much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule.

(*Longman FQ* 715-716; emphasis mine)

While Spenser mentions that some people prefer the discipline by precepts or sermons to the method of historical fictions “enwrapped in Allegoricall deuises”, he claims that his teaching method in *The Faerie Queene* satisfies the need of the day, and the “doctrine by ensample” is much more profitable and gracious than the one by rules. In this context, the “doctrine by ensample” is treated as a same genre of “mirror-for-princes”, in which princes learn virtues from the stories of historical kings and queens (Grogan 47). Because Spenser mentions that he portrays the “twelue morall vertues” in a description of Prince Arthur (*Longman FQ* 715), the “doctrine by ensample” seems to be a similar idea of “mirror-for-princes”. However, according to Jane Grogan, Spenser’s actual teaching method in *The Faerie Queene* is more than his explanation in the Letter. Grogan differentiates Spenser’s “doctrine by ensample” from the

traditional exemplary theory in humanist pedagogues especially in the point that Spenser gives the readers “semantic responsibility” to interpret the moralistic meaning from the exemplars (52). According to her, Spenser teaches readers by giving them the responsibility to pick up a virtuous meaning of the episode by themselves.

While Spenser uses the word “ensample” to describe characters’ behaviours, the “doctrine by ensample” works in a deeper level of Spenser’s allegories. Since this thesis examines how the humanist idea of commonplace book learning affects Spenser’s proverbial expressions in *The Faerie Queene*, I use the word “example” in combination with commonplaces instead of the “doctrine by ensample”.

1.1.3. The Episode of the Wandring Wood and Spenser’s “Counter-proverb”

Edmund Spenser proclaims in the Letter to Raleigh that his general purpose of publishing *The Faerie Queene* is to “fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline” (*Longman FQ* 714), meaning that providing moral education to readers was one of his initial motivations for publication. While it is still debatable how seriously Spenser projected his manifesto in the Letter onto the episodes, there is agreement among scholars that the Letter is most closely related to Book I,¹⁰ and this is where Spenser’s didactic intention appears most transparently. Because his educational discipline would have been established from his school experience, the influence of commonplace book practice would be most noticeable in the earliest book, Book I. In particular, Book I has the structure of a *bildungsroman*, and the main character the Red Cross Knight accumulates experience along with the reader. It is easy for readers to sympathise with the Red Cross Knight, who is at first

¹⁰ While Bennet argues from a historian’s perspective that only Book I can be related to the Letter by saying that “the letter not only misrepresents the general theme and emphasis of the poem but it also misrepresents the subject matter of two out of the first three books” (30), Hamilton allegorically interprets the meanings of the Letter by claiming that “his account of the poem’s structure is deliberately formalized” (482), and the first three books are all explained in the Letter.

too naïve to overcome temptations and makes many mistakes, but later becomes the patron of holiness by conquering the dragon with the support of his lady Una and Prince Arthur. Readers learn what constitutes good or bad behaviours from the examples of the Red Cross Knight's behaviours.

In Book I, commonplaces can be a signal to measure the depth of characters' awareness of a situation. This is exemplified especially in the episode of the Wandering Wood, where Spenser describes the clear contrast between Una and the Red Cross Knight, when they both use commonplaces to describe the situation. The episode of the Wandering Wood is renowned for Spenser's skilful description of cataloguing trees. The Red Cross Knight and Una do not at first recognise their dangerous situation when they enter the Wandering Wood only after they encounter Error's den can Una recognise their dangerous state. Donald Cheney points out that their psychological blindness to the danger affects the description of the "tree catalogue" as they walk into the Wandering Wood (25). At first, the Red Cross Knight and Una can easily count the name of the trees such as: "The sayling Pine, the Cedar proud and tall, / The vine-propp Elme, the Poplar neuer dry, / The builder Oake, sole king of forrests all, / The Aspine good for stauces, the Cypressse funerall" (I.i.8.6-9). However, while they enjoy naming the trees, they suddenly find that they have lost their way:

Led with delight, they thus beguile the way,
 Vntill the blustering storme is ouer blowne;
 When weening to returne, whence they did stray,
 They cannot finde that path, which first was showne,
 But wander too and fro in waies vnknowne,
 Furthest from end then, when they nearest weene,
 That makes them doubt, their wits be not their owne:
 So many pathes, so many turnings scene,

That which of them to take, in diuerse doubt they been. (I.i.10)

Spenser reveals their recognising process of the situation in one stanza smoothly. This stanza reflects these characters' psychological awareness and worry, but at the same time, Spenser also demonstrates that the knight and Una cannot perceive their situation ("their wits be not their owne"; l. 7) so that they cannot find a right way ("in diuerse doubt they been"; l. 9). Cheney argues that "Their inability to see the forest for the trees – more specifically, for the isolated virtues which they ascribe to each of the trees – is here a prelude to crisis" (27). The characters' incoherence is a sign of an incapability to perceive the situation, which drives the characters into a corner.

This idea can be compared with commonplace book practice; that is, Cheney's idea of listing trees can be compared with categorising commonplaces under headings. Because the commonplace book works as a device for memory storage and helps people's thinking, the structure of the commonplace book reflects how people perceive the world. As argued by Erasmus, commonplace book practice is a training to memorise borrowed sentences in one's mind. That is, a well-structured commonplace book supports well-structured thinking. Erasmus explains this as one of the advantages of making a commonplace book:

This has the double advantage of fixing what you have read more firmly in your mind, and getting you into the habit of using the riches supplied by your reading. Some people have much material stored up so to speak in their vaults, but when it comes to speaking or writing they are remarkably ill-supplied and impoverished. (*Collected Works*, 638)

According to Erasmus, if a student does not learn commonplace book practice, his way of inserting commonplaces is "remarkably ill-supplied and impoverished" in his speech or writing. The commonplace book is not just a device to memorise sentences, but it establishes people's way of thinking to make an effective speech. In the episode of the Wandering Wood, Spenser

differentiates between the Red Cross Knight and Una in terms of the use of commonplaces in their speech. In particular, Stanza 12 is filled with commonplaces inserted by both characters:

Be well aware, quoth then that Ladie milde,
 Least suddaine mischiefe 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 tryall made.
 Ah Ladie (sayd he) shame were to reuoke,
 The forward footing for an hidden shade:

Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade. (I.i.12)

According to C. G. Smith, Una warns the Red Cross Knight to be aware of this situation by using three commonplaces, to which the Red Cross Knight replies by using one commonplace, “Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade”. First, the second line of Una’s phrase, “suddaine mischiefe ye too rash prouoke” comes from the commonplace “rashness provokes mischief”, which is cited as “periculosa temeritas (rashness is dangerous)” and “nocet temeritas multum mortalibus (rashness does much hurt to men)” in Leonard Culman’s *Sententiae Pueriles* (Smith no. 639). Spenser emphasises suddenness (“suddaine mischiefe”) in the second line as compared with these Latin phrases. This suddenness is introduced by the sudden storm which made the Red Cross Knight and Una lose their way, and allusively, this suddenness may represent the sudden inflowing of commonplaces in this stanza.

The next sententious phrase of this stanza is in lines 3 to 4, “The danger hid, the place unknowne and wilde, / And perill without show”. Readers would recall the commonplace, “the mind always fears the unknown evil more” cited as “semper plus petuit animus ignotum malum (the mind always fears the unknown evil more)” in Publilius Syrus’s *Sententiae* (Smith no.

539). As compared to Syrus's sentence, Una's phrase emphasises the secret nature of danger and peril. In Spenser's interpretation, people tend to face danger or peril without recognising them. Readers are aware of hidden danger by Una's impressive commonplace, but at the same time, they also became aware of the "hidden" commonplaces in this stanza.

"Oft fire is without smoke" in the fourth line can be considered as the third commonplace in this stanza. This sentence is one of the most outstanding instances where Spenser deploys commonplace-like expressions for the didactic reason in *The Faerie Queene*. This sentence, "Oft fire is without smoke", comes from the famous commonplaces which have the totally opposite meaning, namely, "there is no fire without some smoke" (Tilley F282) and "no smoke without some fire" (S569). Spenser deliberately inverts the meaning of the commonplace to make readers realise that Una is not only the ideal commonplace user, but also, she shows an advanced usage of commonplaces by contextualising them. Spenser's inverted commonplace also has the effect of attracting the readers' attentions and to let them notice that Una's speech includes commonplaces, and so must be extracted and memorised.

Early modern readers who received grammar school education would detect Spenser's modification of the well-known commonplace. Several collections which students would have encountered store similar commonplaces; in Latin writings, Smith lists the quotations below (no. 263): "*Numquam ubi diu fuit ignis defecit vapor* (where there has been fire for long, there's never a lack of smoke)" (1934 Publilius Syrus p. 434), "*Declarat, ut fumus ignem* (as smoke is a certain indication of fire)" (Cicero, *De Partit. Orat.*, x, 34), "*Flamma fumo Praenuntiat fumus incendium* (Flame is nearest to smoke)" (Plautus, *Curculio*, 53), "*Praenuntiat fumus incendium* (smoke is the forerunner of fire)" (Seneca, *Epist.*, ciii, 2). "*Flamma fumo est proxima* (Fire is very near to smoke)" (Erasmus, *Adagia*, 189A), "*Non est fortassis ignis absque fumo* (Perhaps there is no fire, but there is some smoke)" (Erasmus *Colloquia Fam.*, 859A). Erasmus quotes

two citations, and his influence was enormous in sixteenth-century England. Spenser might have known this commonplace through Erasmus.

According to Tilley (F282 and S 569), John Heywood listed them in his dialogue of proverbs in 1546: “there is no fire without some smoke”, “make no fyre, raise no smoke” and “where fyre is, smoke will appeere” (120-21). Also, John Florio’s *His First Fruites* (1578) lists the similar phrase as “there is no smoke, without some fyre” along with its Italian version. *The Treasure of the French toung* (1595) lists the similar commonplace as “there is neuer a fire, but it must haue his smoake” with its French version (G.D.L.M.N. 91). The latter two collections show that this commonplace was wide-spread among European countries because they were compared with Italian and French versions of the commonplace. English humanists also mentioned this commonplace. John Lyly inserts two similar commonplaces: “there can no greate smoke aryse but there must be some fire, no great reporte without great suspition” in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (285), and “No fire made of wood but hath smoake” in *Euphues and His England* (100). George Pettie, the precursor of Lyly, also used a similar phrase in *A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure* (1576): “There is no smoke but where there is some fire” (I.37). Two other variations appeared in two dramas: “where fire is, a man may perceiue by the smoake” in *The Peddler’s Prophecy* (1595) and “But I would know whence this same rage should come, Whers smoke, theres fier” in Henry Porter’s *The Two Angry Woman of Abington* (1599). This examination shows that the original commonplace of Una’s inverted commonplace was quite well-known to early modern readers. Because this commonplace was so popular, it is easy for the readers to detect the difference between the original commonplace and Spenser’s modification.

Una’s inverted commonplace is named “Spenser’s counter-proverb” by Charles C. Doyle, who points out that “The sixteenth century in England was not only a great age for quoting and (presumably) believing proverbs; it was also an age which occasionally indulged

in the sceptical scrutiny of proverbial wisdom” (683). Although Doyle does not mention commonplace book practice, his view on the early modern popular culture of quoting proverbs correlates with my research interest. Spenser’s counter-proverb can be understood in the context of commonplace book culture, especially at the point when early modern readers modify excerpts when they transcribe them in their commonplace books. For example, Lady Anne Shouthwell’s commonplace book gives us a good instance of showing modification by composers. In her commonplace book, which was shared with her second husband Captain Henry Sibthorpe, Lady Anne changes the expressions of Sir Walter Raleigh’s poem titled “The Lie (The Farewell)”, when she transcribed Raleigh’s poetry (Southwell, *The Southwell-Sibthorpe* xi). According to Jean Klene, her parents’ house in Cornworthy was close to the lands owned by Sir Walter Raleigh, and Raleigh must have conferred with Anne’s father Thomas Harris in the Middle Temple Inn (xii-xiii). Raleigh’s “The Lie” was written in the Tower of London before his execution, and Lady Anne must have had a personal attachment to Raleigh when she copied this poem. For example, in the first stanza, she changed the last two lines from “Go, since I needs must die, / And give them all the lie.” (Raleigh 726) to “And yf they dare reply / boldlie giue them the lye” (Southwell, *The Southwell-Sibthorpe* 2). Anne deletes the word “die” and adds the adverb “boldlie”, as if she wanted to overwhelm the glorious atmosphere in this poem. Lady Anne’s transcription shows that early modern commonplace books were not just a storage of information, but also an experimental space where composers could add their interpretations on them.

According to Doyle, John Heywood is a typical person who added his own interpretations on proverbs in his works. In *Two Hundred Epigrammes* (1555), Heywood lists a commonplace, “Better one birde in hande, then ten in the wood” under the heading of “Of byrdes and byrders”, and just below this commonplace, Heywood adds his interpretation in a commonplace-like sentence: “Better for byrders, but for byrdes not so good” (sig. Avi.v). In

Heywood's interpretation, this initial commonplace regards only bird hunters, not birds themselves. Heywood renovates this commonplace by adding his original interpretation. Doyle also points out that Spenser's modification is intentional because Spenser uses the similar commonplace without inverting the meaning in Canto ix of Book I. When Prince Arthur tells the story of his pursuit of Gloriana to Una, he tries to hide his passionate love for Gloriana, but he cannot do so. Then Spenser describes the disheartened Arthur's appearance:

Thus as he spake, his visage wexed pale,
 And chaunge of hew great passion did bewray;
 Yett still he stroue to cloke his inward bale,
 And hide the smoke, that did his fire display,
 Till gentle *Vna* thus to him gan say;
 O happy Queene of Faries, that hast fownd
 Mongst many, one that with his prowess may
 Defend thine honour, and thy foes confownd:

True Loues are often sown, but seldom grow on grownd. (I.ix.16)

Prince Arthur tries to hide the signs of his passion (that is smoke allusively), but his fire of love reveals his true feeling. Spenser uses the allusion of smoke and fire in the third line to describe Arthur's feeling. Prince Arthur, who is a mirror of a virtuous person, can be described by the proper commonplace. Although Smith does not count this sentence in his list of proverbs, Doyle argues that this is proof of Spenser's deliberate inversion of Una's commonplace, "oft fire is without smoke". In a similar way that it was common to modify collected commonplaces in a commonplace book, Spenser treats Una as a skilful character who can invert the meaning of a famous commonplace.

The final line of Stanza 12, "Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade", is mentioned by the Red Cross Knight as a response to Una's counter-proverb. Because

Spenserian stanza is composed of eight pentameter lines and one hexameter line in line 9, the sentence in the last line tends to be outstanding as a conclusive line. The Red Cross Knight's words, "Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade" is placed in line 9, and therefore, his sentence sounds conclusive and commonplace-like. However, his sentence can be treated as an example of mis-collected commonplaces. The Red Cross Knight's "gathering" of the commonplace is correctly done. However, the Red Cross Knight fails to frame this commonplace in the proper context, because he firmly believes that Virtue gives him the correct way, although he has already lost his way in the middle of the Wandring Wood. The Red Cross Knight misunderstands his situation, and this result is shown in his mis-contextualising of the commonplace. Cheney argues that the entire first canto including this stanza represents the "irony upon a careless stockpiling of aphorisms which, for all their individual merits, tend when taken together to dissipate the hero's understanding of his position in a given episode" (25). The Red Cross Knight's misunderstanding of his situation is represented in his abusive use of the commonplace.

Furthermore, according to Andrew Zurcher, the Red Cross Knight's commonplace, "Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade" (I.i.12.9) represents the knight's bravery, but because his valour is based on his inexperience, his commonplace is expressed as his "headstrong rashness", which is not an exhortation, but a warning to readers (*Spenser's FQ* vi). Because readers know of the Red Cross Knight's immaturity, they are aware that the knight's recognition might be wrong. Another example of Una's commonplaces also helps readers find the proper reading:

Yea but (quothe she) the perill of this place

I better wot then you, though nowe too late,

To wish you backe returne with foule disgrace,

Yet wisdomes warnes, whilest foot is in the gate,

To stay the steppe, ere forced to retrate.

This is the wandring wood, this *Errours den*,

A monster vile, whom God and man does hate:

Therefore I read beware. (I.i.13.1-8)

Firstly, Una tells the Red Cross Knight that she knows the dangerous situation of this wood more than him, and then she advises the aphoristic warning to him by saying “Yet wisdom warns, whilst foot is in the gate, / To stay the steppe, ere forced to retrate”. In addition, she discloses the name of this place, “This is the wandring wood this *Errours den*”, before the Red Cross Knight encounters monstrous Error, although Spenser often discloses the representative natures of places and characters in the middle or last part of the episodes. For example, the Red Cross Knight’s nature as a patron saint of England (i.e. St. George) is finally disclosed in Canto x (I.x.61). Una warns both the Red Cross Knight and readers to beware again by her saying, “Therefore I read beware” in line 8. In this stanza, Spenser offers an example of a false use of a commonplace by the Red Cross Knight, and then, he gives the answer of a correct reading by using Una’s commonplace. As discussed above, Spenser repeatedly uses commonplaces in the first canto, especially in Stanza 12. In the episode of the Wandring Wood, Spenser shows two characters’ way of using commonplaces. Through this comparison, Spenser shows readers what the “error” is in the use of commonplaces. This is Spenser’s narrative strategy by using commonplaces, and he introduces the episode of the Wandring Wood as a guide to his method for readers.

1.1.4. Prince Arthur’s Commonplace Written in His Heart

While Spenser shows readers the abusive use of a commonplace through the example of the Red Cross Knight, he demonstrates the proper way of using commonplaces by the description of Prince Arthur. When Prince Arthur rescues the Red Cross Knight from the

Orgoglio's dungeon and sees the knight's suffering state, Arthur extracts a commonplace, "blisse may not abide in state of mortall men" from the Red Cross Knight's example. Arthur tells Una:

This daies ensample hath this lesson deare

Deep written in my heart with yron pen,

That blisse may not abide in state of mortall men. (I.viii.44. 7-9)

Prince Arthur treats the example of the Red Cross Knight as a "lesson", and he generalises this example with the commonplace, "blisse may not abide in state of mortall men". He also mentions that this commonplace is written in his heart with a pen. According to Ann Moss, students in grammar schools were encouraged to collect commonplaces from their readings under the proper headlines and to use them as resources for their compositions. The commonplace book was a 'principal support system of humanist pedagogy' and worked as 'a memory store' of quotations (Moss v-vi). This behaviour of Arthur – extracting a commonplace from an example and writing it down in his mind – can be treated as a practice of commonplacing in the early modern period. Arthur's way of memorising the Red Cross Knight's example is clearly influenced by commonplace book culture.

Furthermore, Arthur's behaviour can be compared with the instruction of making commonplace books in Erasmus' *De copia*. Although he does not mention the word "commonplace book", Erasmus recommends that readers gather materials to "have them ready in our pocket so to speak" (*Collected Works*, 635). He advises readers to make "a full list of subjects" which is divided into three types of headings: "vices and virtues", "commonplaces" and "examples". Although we generally use the word "commonplace book" for any collections of borrowed phrases, Erasmus divides headings into three subjects. The first subject should be arranged under the combinational headings of vices and virtues such as "Reverence" and "Irreverence" (636). The second subject, "commonplaces" are the subjects which are not

related to vices and virtues such as “remarkable longevity”, “vigorous old age”, “remarkable happiness” and “sudden change of fortune” (637). The last heading is remarkable because Arthur’s phrase, “blisse may not abide in state of mortall men” can be listed under the heading of “sudden change of fortune”. Arthur extracts this commonplace from the Red Cross Knight’s unexpected misfortune, and his behaviour can be considered as the process of “gathering” commonplaces and “framing” them under the proper heading.

Erasmus uses the phrase “ensample” as precepts compared with natural science. Under the headings of “ensample”, Erasmus recommends readers to gather phrases such as “As the lightning most often strikes the tops of hills, so the position of highest authority is exposed to the worst misfortunes” and “As lightning liquifies bronze but leaves wax untouched, even so a prince should show the utmost severity to the rebellious and disobedient, but display clemency to all others (638). According to Erasmus, once you finish preparing the headings, you can easily gather citations and distribute them into each heading:

So prepare for yourself a sufficient number of headings, and arrange them as you please, subdivide them into the appropriate sections, and under each section add your commonplaces and maxims; and then whatever you come across in any author, particularly if it is rather striking, you will be able to note down immediately in the proper place, be it an anecdote or a fable or an illustrative example or a strange incident or a maxim or a witty remark or a remark notable for some other quality or a proverb or a metaphor or a simile. (638)

As mentioned before, this practice of making commonplace books can be compared with the process of Arthur’s extracting phrases from works. In this episode, Prince Arthur is described as the saviour of the Red Cross Knight from Orgoglio’s dungeon, and at the same time, Arthur is also represented as an ideal figure who can appropriately gather the commonplace and

categorise it into the proper heading. Arthur's phrase is authorised by the context of commonplace book culture.

C. G. Smith analyses Arthur's commonplace, "blisse may not abide in state of mortall men", and shows that it comes from several commonplaces, which Spenser might have memorised in his grammar school days. Smith lists Arthur's commonplace under the item of "on earth joys do not last". According to Smith, Spenser would insert in particular the commonplaces by Publilius Syrus and Leonard Culman, which Spenser would have learned in grammar school:

Like other schoolboys, he had to study and even memorize proverbs. He probably memorized the school collection of *sententiae* of Publilius Syrus compiled by Erasmus and the *Sententiae Pueriles* compiled by Leonard Culman, and it is not at all unlikely that he was required to keep in his commonplace book a collection of proverbs drawn from his reading. (3-4)

Spenser's commonplace book is not extant, but Smith surmises that Spenser would have entered Syrus and Culman's commonplaces in his commonplace book and would have used them in his works. In terms of Arthur's commonplace, Smith lists Publilius Syrus' phrase: "O vita misero longa, felici brevis (O life, long for woe but brief for joy)!" (no. 427). Spenser apparently borrows commonplaces which he has learned before, but he does not use the same expression repeatedly. Instead, Spenser adopts different commonplaces with similar meanings depending on the context. This is another characteristic of Spenser's use of commonplaces. In terms of Arthur's commonplace (I.viii.44.9), Smith lists the four other citations from Spenser's works, which have similar meanings to Arthur's commonplace. Smith sums up these commonplaces under the item of "on earth joys do not last" (no. 427), but none of them are described with the same expressions as Arthur's commonplace; "What can long abide above this ground / In state of blis, or stedfast happinesse?" (*Ruines of Time*, 568-569), "Blisse may

not abide in state of mortall men” (*FQ*, I.viii.44.9), “Nothing on earth mote alwaies happy beene” (*Ibid*, III.i.10.7), “What on earth can alwayes happie stand?” (*Ibid*, V.iii.9.1), “Here on earth is no sure happinesse” (*Ibid*, VI.xi.1.7). Spenser adopts the expressions of commonplaces depending on the context. In other words, Spenser assigns importance to the context of the commonplaces. *The Faerie Queene* is under the influence of commonplacing culture, but still, we can see Spenser’s original use of commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*. Furthermore, Arthur’s commonplace, “blisse may not abide in state of mortall men”, was listed as “Spenser’s commonplace” in Robert Albott’s commonplace book published in 1600 (Crawford QN 114). Elizabethan readers actually received phrases of *The Faerie Queene* as new authorial commonplaces.

1.1.5. “Gathering and Framing” by Virtuous and Evil Characters

In *The Faerie Queene*, both evil and virtuous characters use commonplaces in their speech. However, Spenser distinguishes the use of commonplaces between them. A typical example in Book I is the comparison between Archimago and Una. Their ways of speaking are distinguished by two different practices of commonplacing. According to Mary Thomas Crane, “gathering” contributes to creating a virtual space of storing knowledges (*copiae*), and “framing” contributes to reinterpreting sententious knowledges or controlling the meanings of the selected phrases by structuring a logical framework in a commonplace book (13). The idea of “gathering” and “framing” commonplaces is a central aspect of a grammar school method designed to “fashion a gentleman” (Crane 53). Considering that Spenser also aims with *The Faerie Queene* “to fashion a gentleman”, it is no surprise to see the work influenced by notions of “gathering” and “framing”. It is not therefore unreasonable to consider the behaviour of characters in *The Faerie Queene* in light of commonplace book practice.

In Book I, “framing” seems to have superiority over “gathering”. That is, the superiority of “framing” is showed in Una’s use of commonplaces, and the inferiority of “gathering” is described in the description of Archimago. As mentioned before, Erasmus makes a distinction between just memorising phrases and rearranging them in a commonplace book (638). In a similar way, “gathering” is treated as just memorising phrases and “framing” is treated as rearranging them into these proper places in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*. In Canto i, after the Red Cross Knight has defeated Errour, the knight and Una are invited to a hermitage by Archimago, who disguises himself as a faithful-looking palmer. After the Red Cross Knight and Una enter the hermitage, Archimago makes them comfortable by using “stored” pleasing words:

Arriued there the litle house they fill,

Ne looke for entertainment, where none was:

Rest is their feast, and all thinges at their will;

The noblest mind the best contentment has.

With faire discourse the euning so they pas:

For that olde man of pleasing wordes had store,

And well could file his tongue as smooth as glas,

He told of Saintes and Popes, and euermore

He strowd and *Aue-Mary* after and before. (I.i.35; emphasis mine)

Archimago’s behaviour of “storing” pleasing words can be compared with the idea of “gathering” commonplaces, and Spenser describes Archimago as if he is a student who misuses memorised words in an inappropriate context, unlike Erasmian idea of good commonplacing with a good memory. The gap between “gathering” and “framing” is crucial because “gathering” means just collecting words without interpretation while “framing” means understanding the words in a proper context. Here, Archimago just collects commonplaces and uses them in an

inappropriate context. Spenser also depicts Archimago as a Catholic hermit in a negative way by showing readers his mis-framing behaviour. Donald Cheney points out that “the narrator’s tone and his insistence on Archimago’s Romish habits make the hypocrisy clear enough to the reader” (29). Spenser’s commonplace in line 4, “The noblest mind the best contentment has”, seems to be appropriate at first glance. However, readers become cautious when Archimago’s good verbal skills are excessively emphasised, compared with the smooth of glass which is related to the watery “stream”. In the final two lines, readers clearly realise the “error” of this description because Archimago’s “Romish habits” are narrated hypocritically enough to be detected by readers (Cheney 29). Archimago’s speech seems to be fluent and flamboyant, but his memorised “pleasing words” guide the main characters to the wrong way. This scene suggests the importance of “framing” words in appropriate contexts. Furthermore, in Book I, evil characters tend to imitate virtuous characters’ behaviour. Recognising the “parody” practiced by evil characters promotes the reader’s moral education. Patricia Parker argues that the concept of evil is treated as “a false look-alike of good” in Book I, and this makes “the quest of both Redcrosse and the reader an education in distinguishing between parody doubles” (610). The imitation by evil characters also includes rhetorical speech. The evil characters such as Archimago can make proverbial speeches because they are a “false look-alike of good”, and they have the ability to imitate persuasive speech. On the other hand, because Archimago is described as a gatherer not but a framer here, readers can recognise that he merely imitates the good characters’ rhetorical speech. The commonplace book method works to distinguish between evil and virtuous characters in *The Faerie Queene*.

While Archimago is treated as a “gatherer”, Una, who represents Truth, is described as a person who “frames” commonplaces. In Canto iii, Una and her lion enter the house of Abessa and Corceca, who are frightened by Una’s lion. When Una asks to stay at their house, Spenser describes Una using “framed words” to soothe and persuade Abessa and Corceca:

But now for feare her beads she did forgett.

Whose needelesse dread for to remoue away,

Faire *Una* framed words and count'naunce fitt:

Which hardly doen, at length she gan them pray,

That in their cotage small that night she rest her may. (I.iii.14.5-9; emphasis mine)

Here, Spenser shows that virtuous characters like Una can “frame” words to persuade Abessa and Corceca, and Una’s framed words can be considered as effective and persuasive speech composed of commonplaces. Unlike Archimago, Una is not described as a person who just memorises commonplaces. Spenser’s virtuous characters are distinguished from evil characters by adopting the idea of “gathering” and “framing”. This difference is typified by the comparison between Archimago and Una. Archimago’s “gathering” words are a deteriorated parody of Una’s framing words.

1.1.6. Orational Disputations by Despair and the Red Cross Knight

In a grammar school education, making a speech in Latin by citing commonplaces was a proof of mastery of Latin. In general, the grammar school curriculum is divided into six forms. The first four forms focus on writing in Latin. Pupils are taught to imitate phrases and rhetoric from Latin texts in the third form, and then they practice themed writing in the fourth form. From this level onwards, pupils are instructed to collect commonplaces from Latin texts into their commonplace books (White xlix-li). In the fifth and sixth forms, students are trained to speak in Latin. Their commonplace books are also used to cite persuasive phrases in their speech. According to White, speaking Latin was practiced by the style of Colloquy at the level of the fifth form. Pupils learned the Latin dialogues by Erasmus, Vives, Corderius and Castellion in their class (lv). In the sixth form, students learned oration in Latin as the final phase of their education, and the oration was introduced by the style of oratorial disputations

(lix). Pupils had disputations by using their memorised commonplaces. These dialogical disputations can be compared with the conversations that occur between two characters in *The Faerie Queene*. In Book I, the conversations between Prince Arthur and Una in Canto vii and between the Red Cross Knight and Despair in Canto ix are disputations filled with commonplaces. In Canto vii, when Una encounters Prince Arthur, he asks her the reason for her sorrow, but Una refuses to explain the reason. However, she is gradually persuaded by the proverbial conversation with him:

O but (quoth she) great griefe will not be tould,
 And can more easily be thought, then said.
 Right so (quoth he) but he, that neuer would,
 Could neuer: will to might giues greatest aid.
 But griefe (quoth she) does greater grow displaid,
 If then it find not helpe, and breeds despaire.
 Despaire breeds not (quoth he) where faith is staid.
 No faith so fast (quoth she) but flesh does paire.
 Flesh may empaire (quoth he) but reason can repaire.

His goodly reason, and well guided spech
 So deepe did settle in her gracious thought,
 That her perswaded to disclose the breach,
 Which loue and fortune in her heart had wrought,
 And said; Faire Sir, I hope good hap hath brought
 You to inquere the secrets of my griefe,
 Or that your wisdom will direct my thought,
 Or that your prowesse can me yield reliefe:

Then heare the story sad, which I shall tell you briefe. (I.vii.41-42)

The conversation between the two characters is carried on with commonplaces. According to Mary Ann Cincotta, Spenser uses “no fewer than ten variations of seven proverbial forms”; “nothing is pleasant to a troubled heart”, “to rip up old sores”, “counsel is a sovereign remedy”, “by telling our woes we lessen them”, “great griefs are silent”, “where there’s a will there’s a way” and “the revealing of grief is a renewing of sorrow” (26). Cincotta argues that these commonplaces represent the speaker’s authority to persuade the opponent. She also points out the importance of the context where commonplaces are used:

Much of the wit of this passage resides in the implicit recognition that the proverbs are of limited applicability, so that the speakers must select a set of expressions that can be constructed into a discourse fitting the circumstances. The context of the episode – the Red Crosse Knight’s plight, Una’s helplessness, Arthur’s evident benignity – provides the limited sphere which the proverbs require in order to function as grounds for action, for without such a context, their applicability to life and action would remain latent and incomplete, untested by experience. (27)

Cincotta argues that commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene* are not universal, and therefore, they are not concluded without the context. This means that the context of the episodes determines the credibility of commonplaces, and proverbial sentences in *The Faerie Queene* can be used in inappropriate contexts, such as in speeches by evil characters. Cincotta’s phrase, “the speakers must select a set of expressions” can be considered as the idea of “framing”, and the discussion between Prince Arthur and Una can be treated as an orational disputation in the sixth form; Arthur and Una carefully select the commonplaces and insert them in suitable places to persuade the opposing speaker. Although Una also “gathers” commonplaces and “frames” them in a proper context, Prince Arthur can be treated as a better framer of commonplaces because he ultimately persuades her by using effective commonplaces in

suitable situations. Spenser shows an ideal disputation by using commonplaces through the Colloquy between Prince Arthur and Una.

Considering that *The Faerie Queene* is an allegorical story, it is natural to think that virtuous characters behave well, and evil characters behave badly. In this sense, good characters' speech should be more rhetorical and powerful. A noticeable exception to this is in the episode of Despair, who overpowers the Red Cross Knight with his rhetorical speech. Spenser might have adopted the practice of orational disputations to dramatize the knight's psychological danger by Despair's persuasive speech. The influential power of Despair's rhetorical speech is mentioned in a biography of Spenser published in 1679. The writer describes the moment at Leicester House, when Sir Philip Sidney was so impressed by the extract from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* that he decided to pay 200 pounds to Spenser (Cummings 325). Noteworthy, the episode which pleased Sidney is actually the episode of Despair. While there is no other historical evidence to prove this anecdote, it still shows that Despair's speech was famous and was received as a skilful speech by early modern readers.

After the Red Cross Knight is rescued by Prince Arthur from Orgoglio's dungeon, the knight and Una head towards the cave of Despair. Although at first the knight has confidence in his ability to persuade Despair, he is accused of his sins by Despair and finally hopes to commit suicide because of his guilty conscience. Despair's speech is so powerful and persuasive that the Red Cross Knight "was much enmoued with his speach" (I.ix.48). The Red Cross Knight cannot persuade Despair by his speech while Despair's speech affects the knight deeply in their discussion. Despair's proficiency in speech depends on commonplaces because he repeatedly uses commonplaces effectively. In his speech, Despair inserts commonplaces most frequently in Stanza 42, as mentioned in the notes of *The Faerie Queene*:

Is not his [God's] deed, what euer thing is donne,

In heauen and earth? did not he all create,

To die againe? all ends that was begonne.

Their times in his eternall booke of fate

Are written sure, and haue their certein date.

Who then can striue with strong necessitie,

That holds the world in his still chaunging state,

Or shunne the death ordaynd by destinie?

When houre of death is come, let none aske whence, nor why.

(I.ix.42; parenthesis mine)

Before this stanza, the Red Cross Knight argues that “The terme of life is limited, / Ne may a man prolong, nor shorten it” (I.ix.41.2-3), and therefore, we should not decide the end of our lives by ourselves. As a response to the Red Cross Knight’s proverbial persuasion, Despair answers him by developing the knight’s commonplaces and concludes that “When houre of death is come, let none aske whence, nor why” in the last line of Stanza 42. Despair changes the Red Cross Knight’s view of the destined life of human beings in a negative way. C. G. Smith lists six commonplaces in Stanza 42; “all men must die” (lines 2-3; no. 179), “all things come to an end” (line 3; no. 12), “whatever has a beginning has an end” (line 3; no. 53), “fire that is closest kept burns most furiously” (line 5; no. 260), “the force of necessity is irresistible” (line 6; no. 570) and “death keeps no calendar” (line 9; no. 155). These commonplaces have negative meanings, and Despair repeatedly inserts commonplaces about death in one stanza. As a commonplace book stores many extracts under the heading of “death”, this stanza also collects many commonplaces related to death. Despair’s frequent use of commonplaces strengthens the persuasiveness of his speech, and his speech effectively leads the knight to destruction.

Despair’s speech is rhetorically powerful, but Judith H. Anderson clearly mentions Despair’s “misuse” of sentences:

Despair can use and misuse Scripture, together with all the other sententious resources available in the period for moral guidance. Despair's temptation, like Artegall's invocation of faith, is itself a pastiche of traditional echoes – classical and proverbial, as well as scriptural – and even today, their familiarity conveys something of their cultural power (177)

Anderson points out that Despair's speech is an imitation of traditional speeches, which means that his speech is not an ideal one in terms of a gentlemen's education. From the perspective of moral education, Despair does not insert commonplaces in a proper context and cannot be treated as a good framer of commonplaces.

It can be said that Despair's effective speech imitates an orational disputation badly. Northrop Frye mentions deteriorative parody by evil characters in his discussion on symbols, and it helps us to understand the characters' use of commonplaces. Frye calls Spenser's repetitive symbol in *The Faerie Queene* as "symbolic parody", and he argues that these symbols are repeated ambivalently and "may be virtuous or demonic according to its context" (158). Depending on the context, Spenser changes the meaning of symbols from good to bad and vice versa. In the same way, commonplaces are used by both virtuous and evil characters depending on the context. The authority of commonplaces is unstable because it depends on the context.

1.1.7. The House of Holiness as an Educational Place

The House of Holiness can be treated as an educative place to regenerate the Red Cross Knight as Saint George, as shown in the Argument of Canto x. The House of Holiness is the place where the Red Cross Knight is "taught repentaunce, and / The way to heuenly blesse" (*Longman FQ* 124). The Red Cross Knight falls by Despair's skilful speech in Canto ix, which allegorically alludes to the knight's spiritual death (I.viii.14.3.n.). Therefore, the Red Cross

Knight needs to regenerate himself spiritually in the House of Holiness and to attain saintly perfection in preparation to fight against a dragon. As a place for moral education, the House of Holiness plays a significant role in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*.

According to Robert L. Reid, the House of Holiness can be compared with the “spiritual house”, which is one of the common themes in medieval literature. The concept of the “spiritual house” comes from the Bible, “Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house” (I Pet. 2:5). A human body is metaphorically compared with a divine construction in this biblical phrase, and in medieval pilgrimage literature, the “spiritual house” is represented allegorically as an actual-substantial building. For example, Guillaume de Deguileville’s “House of Grace-Dieu” and Jean de Cartigny’s “School of Repentance” are typical examples of the “spiritual house” (Reid 374). Dorothy F. Atkinson also argues that the idea of the house of Holiness as the “spiritual house” closely follows the story of Cartigny’s *The Voyage of the wandering Knight*.¹¹ Carigny’s *The Wandering Knight* (originally entitled *Le Voyage du Chevalier*) is a Christianised medieval romance published in Antwerp in 1557, and the English translation was printed in 1581 (Arkinson 110). Like John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, the adventure of the Wandering Knight is an allegorical story of a Christian’s spiritual journey. In Book I, the influence of *The Wandering Knight* can be seen for example, when Spenser calls the Red Cross Knight a “wandring knight” on two occasions in Canto iii, when he leaves from his lady Una and wanders with a false lady Duessa (I.iii.10.2, I.iii.21.4).¹² In a similar way to the Wandering

¹¹ Below is an outline of *The Wandering Knight* (Atkinson 112); the Wandering Knight who is twenty-five years old decides to see the world with his company Folly. When they come to a fork of the road, they choose the wrong way by the guidance of a woman named Voluptuousness (the other way is introduced by women named Felicity, Wisdom and Vertue). Voluptuousness leads them to the Palace of Worldly Felicity, where they are entertained lavishly by Lucifer and his daughter. However, the palace suddenly disappears eleven days later and the knight falls into the hole of hell named the “beastly bog” under the Bridge of Desperation. He is rescued by God’s Grace, the mother of Vertue, and she carries him to the School of Repentance, where the knight is instructed in Christian living and perfected in his understanding. Then God’s Grace takes him to Good Understanding, a hermit, who shows the knight the Heavenly City. The Wandering Knight hopes to stay here, but the hermit only promises him that he can live here in the future if he takes back his lady Perseverance with him. The Wandering Knight accepts this, and he returns to the world and lives with Perseverance.

¹² We can identify the similarities with the episodes of Book I of *The Faerie Queene* by following Spenser’s word choice, but Atkinson points out four significant similarities of the story structures (126-27). The similar

Knight who receives an education at the School of Repentance, the Red Cross Knight is also educated in the House of Holiness, which is once called the “house of Penance”:

Then *Vna* her besought, to be so good,
 As in her vertuous rules to schoole her knight,
 Now after all his torment well withstood,
 In that sad house of *Penance*, where his spright
 Had past the paines of hell, and long enduring night. (I.x.32.5-9)

After the Red Cross Knight underwent an operation by the doctor, Patience, Una asks Charissa to “school” the Red Cross Knight, in a similar way as God’s Grace asks the Wandering Knight’s instruction at the School of Repentance. This overlap does not seem to be just a coincidence. Spenser seems to follow Cartigny’s *The Wandering Knight*, especially with regards to the “spiritual house”, and we can understand Spenser’s description of the House of Holiness within the context of medieval pilgrimage tradition of the “spiritual house”.

According to Robert L. Reid, the House of Holiness offers three hierarchical stages of instructions for the Red Cross Knight’s spiritual regeneration to “fashion a man in the image of God” (374); in the first stage, the knight learns purgation or mortification in Fidelia’s schoolhouse and Patience’s “house of Penance”, and in the second stage, he learns illumination or vivification in Charissa’s throne room and in the seven Bead-men’s hospital. In the final stage, the knight learns future rapturous union promised in the vision from the Mount of Contemplation. Three stages for spiritual regeneration frequently appeared in medieval pilgrimage literature such as Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, Chaucer’s *House of Fame*, and Langland’s *Piers Plowman*.

descriptions are: (1) the Castle of Worldly Felicity / the House of Pride and the Castle of Orgoglio, (2) The Wandering Knight’s fall to the “beastly bog” / the dungeon of Orgoglio and the Cave of Despair, (3) The education of the Wandering Knight at the School of Repentance / the House of Holiness and (4) the vision of the Heavenly City / the New Jerusalem. In particular, (3) and (4) are closely related to the episode of the House of Holiness.

Although Spenser seems to follow the tradition of the “spiritual house” from medieval literature, Caelia’s final instruction before the last stage can be compared with humanist education programmes. After the Red Cross Knight watched the procession of the seven Beadmen in the hospital, Caelia lets the Red Cross Knight have a rest to prepare for his further journey to the Mount of Contemplation. For a while, Caelia teaches her final instruction to the knight to make him perfect:

There she awhile him stayes, him selfe to rest,

That to the rest more hable he might bee:

During which time, in euery good behest

And godly worke of Almes and charitee

Shee him instructed with great industree;

Shortly therein so perfect he became,

That from the first vnto the last degree,

Him mortall life he learned had to frame

In holy righteousness, without rebuke or blame. (I.x.45; emphases mine)

Caelia’s aim of instructing the Red Cross Knight is to “frame” or control the moral life by himself in “holy righteousness”, and this description can be explained by the humanistic idea of “framing” rather than being compared with the medieval romance tradition. “Gathering” and “framing” are key concepts of the commonplace book method to organise people’s framework of thinking. Especially the task of “framing” is considered to be more important than that of “gathering”; this is because authoritative sentences gathered from pagan Classics can be dangerous in terms of the moral education unless they are interpreted in the framework of Christian morality. Therefore, controlling (“framing”) powerful words in the proper context is a central topic in humanist education (Crane 14). That is, Caelia’s instruction to “frame” the Red Cross Knight himself is an allusion to this commonplace book tradition. To attain saintly

perfection, the Red Cross Knight needs to “frame” himself through Caelia’s education, and this Caelia’s instruction is different from the medieval style “spiritual house” education in the earlier stages.

1.1.8. “broad waye that leadeth to destruction”: Spenser’s Commonplacing with Scripture

In the episode of the House of Holiness, one biblical verse is frequently mentioned in various forms: “broad waye that leadeth to destruction: and manie there be which go in thereat” (Mathew 7:13; sig. B.B.i.r). In reading the episode of the House of Holiness, readers gradually realise this recurrence. In this way, Spenser makes this scriptural verse a commonplace and prompts the readers to store this piece of scripture in their memory. For instance, this scripture is firstly embedded in the description of the House of Holiness. When the Red Cross Knight and Una arrive there, they find the door of the house is locked steadfastly and the way to the entrance is quite narrow:

Arriued there, the dore they find fast lockt;

For it was warely watched night and day,

For feare of many foes: but when they knockt,

The Porter opened vnto them streight way:

He was an aged syre, all hory gray,

With lookes full lowly cast, and gate full slow,

Wont on a staffe his feeble steps to stay,

Hight *Humilitá*. They passe in stouping low;

For streight and narrow was the way, which he did shew. (I.x.5; emphasis mine)

This scriptural description of the House of Holiness is emphasised again in Caelia’s utterance.

When they enter into the House of Holiness, Caelia welcomes them with the words below:

Straunge thing it is an errant knight to see

Here in this place, or any other wight,

That hether turnes his steps. So few there bee,

That chose the narrow path, or seeke the right:

All keepe the broad high way, and take delight

With many rather for to goe astray,

And be partakers of their euill plight,

Then with a few to walke the rightest way;

O foolish men, why hast ye to your owne decay? (I.x.10)

Like Prince Arthur's proverbial conversation with Una (I.vii.40-41), Caelia's speech is also proverbial. For example, in lines 3-7, "So few there bee, / That chose the narrow path, or seeke the right: / All keepe the broad high way, and take delight / With many rather for to goe astray, / And be partakers of their euill plight, / Then with a few to walke the rightest way" reminds readers of the scripture from Mathew (7:13).

Furthermore, this scripture is referred to again when the Red Cross Knight walks the path to heaven. After the Red Cross Knight has finished the first stage of this education, Charissa shows him the way to heaven. However, the Red Cross Knight is too weak to walk the steps, because his education in the first stage is not enough. So, another "godly Matrone" called Mercy guides him. As is typical in medieval pilgrimage literature such as Dante's *Divine Comedy*, a wise guide teaches the knight the proper way to heaven:

Wherein his weaker wandring steps to guyde,

And auncient matrone she to her does call,

Whose sober lookes her wisdom well descryde:

Her name was *Mercy*, well knowne ouer all,

To be both gracious, and eke leberall:

To whom the carefull charge of him she gaue,
 To leade aright, that he should neuer fall
 In all his waies through this wide worldes waue,
 That Mercy in the end his righteous soule might saue.

The godly Matrone by the hand him beares

Forth from her presence, by a narrow way,

Scattred with bushy thornes, and ragged breares,

Which still before him she remou'd away,

That nothing might his ready passage stay:

And euer when his feet encombred were,

Or gan to shrinke, or from the right to stray,

She held him fast, and firmly did vpbeare,

As cerefull Nourse her child from falling oft does reare. (I.x.34-35; emphasis mine)

In these stanzas, Spenser interprets the scripture of Mathew 7:13 and shows his interpretation through this description. In the same way as a Christian's life is narrow and thorny, but can be accessible through a virtuous leader's help, Mercy acts as a leader for the Red Cross Knight. She walks "a narrow way" and takes the Red Cross Knight's hand and removes bushy thorns for the knight. If the Red Cross Knight's steps become weaker, she supports him steadfastly like a "cerefull Nourse". Because of her guidance, the Red Cross Knight easily walks his way. As mentioned above, "framing" (interpreting) commonplaces is more difficult than "gathering" (collecting) them. Therefore, when Spenser repeatedly mentions the same scripture in different scenes, he seems to teach his readers to pick up the important lesson.

As a good contrast to the "narrow way" in the House of Holiness, Spenser also describes the "wide way" that leads people to spiritual destruction in several scenes. For example, the

Red Cross Knight's first adventure begins with his erroneous decision to go to the Wandering Wood, whose paths are widely open. In the beginning of Canto i, the Red Cross Knight has to find a shelter to avoid a sudden storm, and he enters into the seemingly inviting Wandering Wood:

Enforst to seeke some couert nigh at hand,
 A shadie groue not farr away they spide,
 That promist ayde the tempest to withstand:
 Whose loftie trees yclad with sommers pride,
 Did spred so broad, that heauens light did hide,
 Not perceable with power of any starr:
 And all within were pathes and alleies wide,
 With footing worne, and leading inward farr:
 Faire harbour that them seemes, so in they entred ar. (I.i.7)

Although the “shadie groue” seems to be a comfortable place in his eyes (l. 2), the woods lead him to the first battle against the monster Errour. That his decision was erroneous is not specifically mentioned, but because Spenser mentions that all the ways in the wood are “wide”, readers gradually notices that the “wide way” necessarily leads the knight to a dangerous situation, just like in the biblical scripture.

In Canto iv, “a broad high way” invites the Red Cross Knight to the House of Pride. After he chose the tempting lady named Duessa instead of his previous lady Una because of Archimago's scheming, the knight arrives at the House of Pride with Duessa. In contrast to the House of Holiness, “a broad high way” leads them to the House of Pride:

Who after that he had faire *Vna* lorne,
 Through light misdeeming of her loialtie,
 And false *Duessa* in her sted had borne,

Called *Fidess*’, and so supposd to be;
 Long with her traueild, till at last they see
 A goodly building, brauely garnished,
 The house of mightie Prince it seemd to be:
 And towards it a broad high way that led,

All bare through peoples feet, which thether traueiled. (I.iv.2; emphasis mine)

Many people enter into the House of Pride because the way to the House of Pride is very wide. Although Spenser does not mention the Red Cross Knight’s spiritually dangerous situation directly, readers recognise it because of this description. These recurrent descriptions of the “wide way” prepare for the proper interpretation of the scripture of Mathew 7:13.

In the final stage of the Red Cross Knight’s education in the House of Holiness, Caelia recommends him to go to the Mount of Contemplation. His final lesson is taught by a hermit named Contemplation. Although the hermit hesitates to stop his contemplation for the knight’s education at first, Contemplation decides to show him the way to heaven, which “never leads the traueiler astray”. Below is Contemplation’s utterance to show the path to heaven:

Yet since thou bidst, thy pleasure shalbe donne.
 Then come thou man of earth, and see the way,
 That neuer yet was seene of Faries sonne,
 That neuer leads the traueiler astray,
 But after labors long, and sad delay,
 Brings them to ioyous rest and endlesse blis.
 But first thou must a season fast and pray,
 Till from her bands the spright assoiled is,
 And haue her strength recur’d from fraile infirmitis. (I.x.52)

Contemplation clearly states that the way to heaven never makes people go astray and leads

them to “ioyous rest and endlesse blis”. However, because the Red Cross Knight’s education is not completed, the knight has to wait for his recovery, that is his spiritual regeneration. After plentiful rest, the Red Cross Knight reaches the top of the mountain with the guidance of Contemplation. There, Contemplation finally shows the path to heaven to the knight through the vision in the future:

Then seek this path, that I to thee presage,
Which after all to heauen shall thee send;
Then peaceably thy painefull pilgrimage
To yonder same *Hierusalem* due bend,
Where is for thee ordaind a blessed end:
For thou emongst those Saints, whom thou doest see,
Shalt be a Saint and thine owne nations frend
And Patrone: thou Saint *George* shalt called bee,
Saint George of mery England, the signe of victoree. (I.x.61)

Contemplation teaches the Red Cross Knight to follow the way to heaven, and he promises that he will become Saint George in the future, if he takes this way. In this stanza, readers finally understand that the “narrow way” leads people heaven, although walking this way is painstaking.

Thus, Mathew 7:13 recurs frequently in various descriptions in the House of Holiness. The descriptions of the “wide ways” such as that of the Wandering Wood in Canto i and that of the House of Pride in Canto iv are a good contrast to the description of the “narrow ways” in the House of Holiness. Through their reading of each episode in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, readers gradually understand the proper interpretation of Mathew 7:13. That is, the narrow entrance leads people to the celestial place while wide ways are always easy to enter and lead people to destruction.

1.1.9. “For truth is strong”: Duessa’s Pleading Letter

In Book I, the user of commonplaces is important because Spenser’s use of commonplaces depends on the context. In addition to the episode of Despair, the episode of Duessa’s pleading letter also supports this idea. In the last canto, Duessa also uses a commonplace in the appeal letter to the king of Eden to accuse that the Red Cross Knight was betrothed to her. In the Elizabethan period, girls were not allowed to go to grammar school. However, upper class women occasionally had their commonplace books, and some women had access to their husband’s commonplace books (Marotti, “Manuscript” 64-65). Duessa can be considered as a high-ranking woman who can manipulate commonplaces. However, ironically, Duessa’s commonplace, “truth is strong”, actually reveals Una’s righteousness because Una herself represents “truth”:

Therefore since mine he is, or free or bond,
 Or false or trew, or liuing or else dead,
 Withhold, O souerayne Prince, your hasty hond
 From knitting league with him, I you aread;
 Ne weene my right with strength adowne to tread,
 Through weakenesse of my widowhed, or woe:
For truth is strong, her rightfull cause to plead,
 And shall finde friends, if need requireth soe.
 So bids thee well to fare, Thy neither friend, nor foe, / *Fidessa*

(I.xii.28; emphasis mine)

Duessa (*Fidessa*) uses the commonplace “truth is strong” (Smith no. 792) effectively in her letter. However, because characters’ use of commonplace depends on the context, Duessa’s commonplace is treated as a provisional authority and does not overpower the Red Cross

Knight's counter-speech to deny Duessa's argument. This commonplace, "truth is strong" is a good example to show the provisional authority of commonplaces depending on the context because this commonplace is actually used by Britomart in a persuasive context. After Britomart defeats the six knights in front of Castle Joyeous, she says:

Ah (sayd she then) now may ye all see plaine,

That truth is strong, and trew loue most of might,

That for his trusty seruants doth so strongly fight. (III.i.29.7-9; emphasis mine)

Readers can recognise that Britomart's commonplace is persuasive from the six knights' reply: "Too well we see, (saide they) and proue too well / Our faulty weaknes, and your matchlesse might:" (III.i.30.1-2). Because Britomart is a good character, her commonplace "truth is strong" has a provisional authority to persuade other knights. Although Duessa uses the exact same commonplace, it is not effective because of the nature of its user. The authority of commonplaces depends on the context, and therefore, the user of commonplaces is crucial in *The Faerie Queene*.

The Faerie Queene was written under the influence of commonplace book culture, and Spenser inserts commonplaces in a relatively clear way in Book I. Prince Arthur extracts a commonplace "blisse may not abide in state of mortall men" from the example of the Red Cross Knight's depression in Orgoglio's dungeon. Arthur's behaviour of extracting a commonplace and writing it down in his mind with a pen would be an allusion of the commonplace book practice. Early modern readers occasionally added their own comments on commonplaces when they transcribed them in their commonplace books. Similarly, Una's invented commonplace, "Oft fire is without smoke" shows her skilful use of commonplaces in a proper context. Spenser makes a distinction between virtuous and evil characters in terms of the use of commonplaces. The best example is the comparison between Archimago's

“gathering” and Una’s “framing”. The evil characters in *The Faerie Queene* are frequently a “false look-alike of good”, and readers can recognise that Archimago’s gathering words are a parody of Una’s framing words. The proverbial conversation between two characters can be compared with the “the orational disputations” in the sixth form of the grammar school education. The discussions between Una and Prince Arthur and between the Red Cross Knight and Despair can be compared with the orational disputations in grammar school, although the distinction between virtuous and evil can be identifiable. Duessa seems to use commonplaces persuasively, but because Spenser regards the context as more important than commonplace itself, her last use of commonplaces does not persuade the king of Eden. The authority of commonplaces depends on the context in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser adjusts commonplaces to match their context, and this can be considered as Spenser’s “reframing” of commonplaces.

1.2. Book II: Commonplaces Reflected by the Virtuous Status

1.2.1. Sir Guyon as a Mature Learner

Book II tells the story of Sir Guyon, who represents temperance. Unlike the Red Cross Knight, Guyon has already been temperate from the beginning, and he takes his counsellor the Palmer in his adventure. Compared with other mature knights in the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene* such as Sir Calidore, Guyon still needs the Palmer’s help, and he easily goes wrong without the Palmer’s guidance. Through the episodes of Book II, readers learn what is a temperate behaviour by understanding how Guyon confronts problems.

Book II begins with the encounter between the Red Cross Knight and Guyon, and commonplaces play an important role in making a distinction between the two. In the beginning of Book II, the Red Cross Knight is called a “godly knight” (II.i.2.3) instead of being called a “clownishe younge man” as referred in a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh (*Longman FQ* 717),

because he is “now so wise and wary” enough to avoid Archimago’s tactics (II.i.4.6). Spenser sets Book II chronologically after Book I, and he shows the Red Cross Knight’s development after his journey. In Book II, the Red Cross Knight is called the “godly knight” who has completed his pursuit of holiness and is not deceived so easily anymore. Spenser shows to readers that the Red Cross Knight completed his journey to become the patron of holiness in Book II. To enhance this contrast, Spenser inserts commonplaces about the Red Cross Knight twice in the last lines of Stanzas 3 to 4. Both commonplaces tell the Red Cross Knight’s development in a different way: “hardly could bee hurt, who was already strong” (II.i.3.9) and “The fish that once was caught, new bait wil hardly byte” (II.i.4.9). These sentences are counted as Spenser’s proverbs by C. G. Smith (no. 137 and no. 266), and they generalise the Red Cross Knight’s maturity from his experience. Spenser makes these commonplaces more impressive by putting them in the last line. Because both of them are placed in the last line of Spenserian stanzas, they are composed with a hexameter and have a rhythmical break with a caesura, which impresses the Red Cross Knight’s development on readers. In his analysis of Spenserian stanza, William Empson argues that “Spenser concentrates the reader’s attention on to the movement of his stanza” and evaluates the alexandrine in the ninth line as the “final solemnity” which induces “the dreamy repetition of the great stanza perpetually pausing at its close” (33-34). In the Spenserian stanza, the first eight lines are composed of iambic pentameter, and the alexandrine in the last line concludes Spenser’s discourse by pausing the flow of pentameters. When commonplaces are placed in the last line, these sentences can have strong meanings by attracting readers’ attention. Spenser uses this effect to emphasise the Red Cross Knight’s maturity by the repetition of commonplaces in the last line of Spenserian stanzas.

While the Red Cross Knight is described as an immature and young knight who cannot use commonplaces properly at first, Guyon is always called “Sir” Guyon, which suggests his

mature skills and experiences. Spenser shows Guyon's virtuous and perfect character as a patron of temperance in the Proem:

O pardon and vouchsafe with patient eare

The braue aduentures of this faery knight

The good Sir *Guyon* graciously to heare

In whom great rule of Temp'raunce goodly doth appeare. (II.Proem.5.6-9)

Spenser tells readers that "good" Sir Guyon represents the great rule of temperance "goodly". Guyon has already been recognised as a champion of temperance, and readers expect expressions of his temperate nature in the following episodes. Also, Spenser uses the word "temperance" to describe the knight's appearance when he introduces Guyon in Canto i:

His carriage was full comely and vpright,

His countenance demure and temperate,

But yett so sterne and terrible in sight,

That cheard his friendes, and did his foes amate: (II.i.6.1-4; emphasis mine)

Spenser impresses readers by describing Guyon's maturity as a knight. However, unlike the description of Guyon in the Proem, Guyon is also deceived by Archimago in Canto i. The readers who have read Book I encounter a similar situation at the beginning of Book II. The first canto of Book II shows that Guyon, who understands the idea of temperance, still has the probability to make a mistake and needs an education. When Guyon hears Archimago's fake story that a lady called Amavia is raped by the Red Cross Knight, he goes mad and decides to defeat this evil knight:

He sayd not lenger talke, but with fierce yre

And zealous haste away is quickly gone,

To seeke that knight, where him that crafty Squyre

Supposd to be.

(II.i.13.1-4)

When Guyon tries to attack the Red Cross Knight, Guyon leaves the Palmer, who counsels Guyon to be temperate. Allusively, Guyon's abandonment of the Palmer indicates Guyon's loss of his temperate nature, because the Palmer is a significant counsellor of Guyon to keep him temperate. The Palmer as Guyon's vital guide is discussed by Maurice Evans: "Parted from the Palmer, Guyon lacks the intuitive recognition of good and evil which reason provides, and is liable to fall into error" (343). The Palmer behaves as if he is a schoolmaster at a grammar school, and Guyon is instructed by the Palmer as if he is a student. Through this episode, readers gradually realise that Guyon still needs a teacher who counsels him to be temperate, although Guyon represents temperance.

Guyon's use of commonplaces changes depending on the Palmer's existence. Without the Palmer, Guyon is lost for words with his anger and cannot use commonplaces well. However, Guyon can afford to manipulate commonplaces in his speech while he is with the Palmer. Spenser explains the importance of the Palmer's guidance for Guyon, and Spenser describes the Palmer as if he is a schoolmaster:

Then *Guyon* forward gan his voyage make,
 With his blacke Palmer, that him guided still.
Still he him guided ouer dale and hill,
And with his steedy staffe did point his way:
 His race with reason, and with words his will,
 From fowle intemperaunce he ofte did stay,

And suffred not in wrath his hasty steps to stray. (II.i.34.3-9; emphasis mine)

The Palmer "guides" Guyon with his "steedy staffe" to avoid "fowle intemperaunce" and wrath which Guyon often does. The Palmer's stick can be compared with the birch whip of a school master. Although the Palmer does not seem to be strict or rigorous as much as a schoolmaster, but still, he tries to instruct Guyon with the staff for Guyon's reformation. Although Spenser

explains that Guyon is a champion of temperance at the beginning of the Book, Guyon still needs the Palmer's help to be temperate. When he is with the Palmer, Guyon can use commonplaces properly.

1.2.2. Extracting Commonplaces from Episodes

After Guyon is reconciled with the Red Cross Knight, Guyon and the Palmer find Amavia, in the act of committing suicide beside her dead husband, Mordant. She tells the story about her and her husband, who had been seduced by Acrasia, a witch in the Bower of Bliss. Mordant had been killed with Acrasia's curse eventually, and because of this tragedy, Amavia has committed suicide. Guyon rejoices when Amavia regains her consciousness because of his treatment, and he asks her to tell her tragic story:

So well he did her deadly wounds repaire,
That at the last shee gan to breath out liuing aire.

Which he perceiuing greatly gan reioice,

And goodly counsell, that for wounded hart
Is meetest med'cine, tempred with sweete voice;
Ay me, deare Lady, which the ymage art
Of ruefull pittie, and impatient smart,
What direfull chaunce, armd with auenging fate,
Or cursed hand hath plaid this cruell part,
Thus fowle to hasten your vntimely date;

Speake, O dear Lady speake: help neuer comes too late. (II.i.43.8-II.i.44)

In Stanza 44, Spenser inserts two commonplaces (Smith no. 123 and no. 379). The first one, "goodly counsell, that for wounded hart / Is meetest med'cine" (ll.2-3) is a popular

commonplace for Elizabethan readers.¹³ The other one, “help neuer comes too late” in the last line does not have any other reference, but C. G. Smith treats this phrase as Spenser’s original proverb (no. 379). Besides Smith, Tilley also identifies this phrase as a proverb under the item of “help never comes too late” (H411). Tilley just lists two citations from *The Faerie Queene* and James Howell’s collection of proverbs published in 1659. Two researchers show that the phrase, “help neuer comes too late” can be treated as Spenser’s original commonplace because there is no reference before *The Faerie Queene*.

Moreover, Guyon makes a speech with a commonplace to persuade Amavia. Interestingly, he uses male pronouns for the commonplace although he talks with a female character Amavia:

The gentle knight her soone with carefull paine
 Vplifted light, and softly did vphold:
 Thrise he her reard, and thrise she sunck againe,
 Till he his armes about her sides gan fold,
 And to her said; Yet if the stony cold
 Haue not all seized on your frozen hart,
 Let one word fall that may your grieve vnfold,
 And tell the secrete of your mortall smart;
He oft finds present helpe, who does his grieve impart. (II.i.46; emphasis mine)

Guyon inserts a commonplace “He oft finds present helpe, who does his grief impart” in the last line (Smith no. 761). Spenser seems to emphasise this commonplace by using masculine pronouns such as “He” and “his” in the last line. According to Smith, this commonplace comes

¹³ Besides being listed in the works of Culman, Publilius Syrus and Seneca, C. G. Smith lists the sentences from Stephen Hawes’ *Pastime of Pleasure: An Allegorical Poem* (1509), George Pettie’s *Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure* (1566-7) and John Clarke’s *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina in Usum Scholarum Concinnata: Or, Proverbs, English, and Latine*. (1639).

from Latin; “*Poena allevatur tunc, ubi laxatur dolor*” (One suffers less, when one pours out his grief) by Publilius Syrus (Smith no. 761), and it was also popular among Elizabethan readers, which means that Guyon’s commonplace is identifiable for Renaissance readers.¹⁴ Spenser emphasises that Guyon is a good “framer” of commonplaces by using this familiar commonplace. Furthermore, this commonplace of Guyon, “He oft finds present helpe, who does his grieffe impart”, has already been mentioned twice in Book I. Spenser repeats similar commonplaces which are listed under the same item by Smith as “by telling our woes we often lessen them” (Smith no. 761). The first citation in Book I is “He oft finds med’cine, who his grieffe imparts” by the Red Cross Knight (I.ii.34.4). When the knight encounters Fradubio who has been metamorphosed into a tree by Duessa, the Red Cross Knight utters this commonplace to urge Fradubio to tell his story. The next one is “Found neuer help, who neuer his hurts impart” by Prince Arthur (I.vii.40-6-9). When he encourages Una to confess her grief for the captive Red Cross Knight, Prince Arthur inserts this commonplace. In particular, Arthur’s use of this commonplace makes Guyon’s utterance authoritative, because Una has been persuaded through her proverbial conversation with Prince Arthur. Readers who already know this episode would recognise this commonplace in Guyon’s speech, and so authorise Guyon’s words by association with Prince Arthur. As discussed in the episode of the House of Holiness, Spenser repeats the same commonplaces with different expressions. Spenser’s recurrent use of commonplaces encourages readers to learn moral lessons by collecting proverbial sentences.

Compared with the Red Cross Knight, Guyon is a “Sir” knight who can afford to recognise the idea of temperance and can make a speech using commonplaces. This tendency is emphasised again in Stanzas 57-59. Guyon and the Palmer extract commonplaces from the episode of Amavia, and they perform the discussion on what a temperate attitude should be by

¹⁴ Smith lists the expressions “a friend to reueale is a medicine to releuee: discouer thy grieffe” from Robert Greene’s *Never Too Late* and “many tymes th’impartinge of ones grieffe vnto an other Eyther quite taketh yt away, or makes seeme farre lesser” from *The Stonyhurst Pageants*.

using their stored commonplaces. Unlike the Red Cross Knight, Guyon, the champion of temperance, discusses his own virtue with the Palmer by using commonplaces, and their conversation helps readers to understand the idea of temperance. The discussion between Guyon and the Palmer is composed of three stanzas with several commonplaces. After Amavia dies, Guyon and the Palmer have a conversation about this tragedy:

Then turning to his Palmer said, Old syre

Behold the ymage of mortalitie,

And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre

When raging passion with fierce tyranny

Robs reason of her dew regaltie,

And makes it seruaunt to her basest part:

The strong it weakens with infirmitie,

And with bold furie armes the weakest hart;

The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through smart.

But temperaunce (said he) with golden squire

Betwixt them both can measure out a meane,

Nether to melt in pleasures whott desyre,

Nor frye in hartlesse grieve and dolefull tene.

Thrise happy man, who fares them both atweene.

But sith this wretched woman ouercome

Of anguish, rather then of crime hath bene,

Reserue her cause to her eternall doome,

And in the meane vouchsafe her honorable toombe.

Palmer, quoth he, death is an equall doome
 To good and bad, the common In of rest;
 But after death the ryall is to come,
 When best shall bee to them, that liued best:
 But both alike, when death hath both supprest,
 Religious reuerence doth buriall teene,
 Which who so wants, wants so much of his rest:
 For all so greet shame after death I weene,
 As selfe to dyen bad, vnburied bad to beene. (II.i.57-59)

In the first stanza, Guyon tells the Palmer, “Behold the ymage of mortalitie” (l. 2), and then he extracts commonplaces from the example of Amavia and Mordant. Guyon compares Amavia with “the image of moratalitie” (l. 2), and he laments that her reason was enslaved by “raging passion” (ll. 4-6). From line 7 to line 8, Guyon rephrases his impression on Amavia with another commonplace-like sentences: “The strong it weakens with infirmitie, / And with bold furie armes the weakest hart”. These sentences are more abstract and conceptual and help readers understand how to extract commonplaces from Amavia’s example. C. G. Smith also detects two commonplaces in this stanza; “passion blinds the eye of reason” (ll. 4-5; no. 596) and “anger is the whetstone of valor” (ll. 4-8; no.17). In the last line, “The strong through pleasure soonest falles, the weake through smart” is not counted as a proverbial sentence by Smith, but this sentence also sounds proverbial and has a potential to be extracted by readers since the last line is isolated from the pentameter sentences above by the hexameter rhyming as well as by the semicolon at the end of line 8. Guyon has already extracted commonplaces in lines 7 to 8, but he carefully rephrases these sentences with other sententious expression in the last line. Here, it shows that Guyon’s commonplacing is much better than that of the Red Cross Knight, who fails to extract a proper commonplace in the Wandering Wood (I.i.12).

In the second stanza, Spenser uses the commonplace-like expression, “keep the golden mean in all things” (Smith no. 523) in lines 1 to 2. In the first line, he adds “said he” by inserting the parenthesis. However, this “he” does not indicate Guyon, but the Palmer, because Guyon calls the “Palmer” at the beginning of the third stanza. As Hamilton argues that these stanzas are composed by “almost one voice” (*Longman FQ* II.i.58.n), readers perceive this conversation as one proverbial comment because Spenser changes the speaker ambiguously. In the second stanza, the Palmer defines temperance using a commonplace, and he suggests that Amavia could not follow the temperate way. The third stanza also includes the commonplace, “death is the grand leveler” in lines 1 to 2 (Smith no. 154). Throughout these stanzas, Spenser uses four commonplaces and presents the conversation in one voice, as if Guyon and the Palmer together define temperance. After Amavia dies, they decide to bury her, but at the same time, they extract commonplaces from Amavia’s example through the conversation above, and they show which attitude can be temperate to readers. Their commonplacing is a good instruction for readers to think about temperance in the beginning.

Canto ii begins with Guyon’s lamentation over the baby Ruddymane, whose parents have died in the previous canto. Guyon expresses his sorrow over him, but at the same time, Guyon extracts a commonplace from the example of this abandoned babe in the last two lines of the stanza below:

Ah lucklesse babe, borne vnder cruell starre,
 And in dead parents balefull ashes bred,
 Full little weenest thou, what sorrowes are
 Left thee for porcion of thy liuelyhed,
 Poore Orphane in the wide world scattered,
 As budding braunch rent from the natie tree,
 And throwen forth, till it be withered:

Such is the state of men: Thus enter we

Into this life with woe, and end with miseree. (II.ii.2)

This lamentation shows how Guyon extracts commonplaces from the tragic example of Ruddymane. Firstly, Guyon explains why Ruddymane is so “lucklesse” in the first five lines. Guyon says that because the babe was born under the cruel star, the babe has lost his parents. Also, Guyon laments for this orphan’s sorrowful future by comparing the babe with an abandoned branch from the tree with a simile. And then, he inserts the commonplace, “Such is the state of men: Thus enter we / Into this life with woe, and end with miseree”. This commonplace seems to have been well-known among Elizabethan readers because Smith gathers three proverbs which have similar meanings; “we begin life in woe, we end it in misery” (Smith no. 870), “man is born to misery” (no. 552) and “there is no mortal whom distress cannot reach” (no. 560). Tilley also lists this commonplace as one of popular proverbs (W889); “we weeping come into the world and weeping hence we go”. In this stanza, Guyon firstly expresses his personal mourning for the babe. Then, he generalises his lamentation by extracting the popular commonplace from the example of Ruddymane. Similar to the example of Amavia, Guyon’s extract of the commonplace from the episodes would be a good model for readers to show how to extract commonplaces from *The Faerie Queene*.

In Book II, extracting a commonplace from an episode is repeatedly featured. After Guyon orates his lamentation, he goes to Medina’s castle. When Guyon dines with Medina in the castle, she asks Guyon to tell the story of Ruddymane. The reason that she asks the “dolefull” story is because she wants to learn the “lesson” from the Ruddymane’s story, and she explains it by using a commonplace:

Tell on fayre Sir, said she, that dolefull tale,

From which sad ruth does seeme you to restraine,

That we may pittie such vnhappie bale,

And learne from pleasures poyson to abstaine:

Ill by ensample good doth often gayne. (II.ii.45.1-5)

Medina says that she wants to know Ruddymane's story because she wants to "learne" how to avoid pleasure's poison, and also because she wants to gain something good from the bad example.¹⁵ Then, she extracts the commonplace, "Ill by ensample good doth often gayne" in line 5. In the previous episode, Guyon extracts a commonplace from Ruddymane's example when he laments the babe. Likewise, Medina also tries to learn a lesson from this story. Her commonplace, "Ill by ensample good doth often gayne", summarises the characters' behaviour, and Spenser shows her commonplace in an identifiable way to readers. Although main characters sometimes make mistakes, readers still learn how to extract commonplaces from their use of commonplaces. Guyon is not a perfect knight, and he still needs to learn temperate behaviour. However, Guyon knows the concept of temperance and is able to extract commonplaces properly from examples. Spenser effectively inserts his stock of commonplaces in the characters' speech, and his readers are expected to extract commonplaces from *The Faerie Queene* and to stock them in their commonplace books. In the episodes of Book II, commonplaces take an important role in the readers' education.

1.2.3. Spenser's Original Interpretation of Commonplaces

In Canto iv, Guyon encounters Furor, who injures the young squire with his mother, Occasion. Occasion provokes Furor by her "outrageous talke" (II.iv.5), and therefore, she is treated as a vicious character. Occasion's appearance comes from the well-known proverb "take time (Occasion) by the forelock" (Smith no. 777):

Her lockes, that loathly were and hoarie gray,

¹⁵ In the citation above, Smith lists two proverbs, "abstain from idle pleasure" (no. 2) and "a wise man learns from another man's calamity" (no. 455). Tilley also lists two proverbs as "it is a virtue to abstain from pleasures" (V71) and "happy is he whom other men's harms make beware" (M612).

Grew all afore, and loosly hong vnrold,
 But all behind was bald, and worne away,
 That none thereof could euer taken hold,
 And eke her face ill fauourd, full of wrinckles old. (II.iv.4.5-9)

Spenser describes Occasion's appearance by using the commonplace, "take time (Occasion) by the forelock". Most of the readers would realise her appearance comes from this commonplace, although Spenser does not mention this commonplace directly. In addition to this, Guyon practices this commonplace, "take time (Occasion) by the forelock", when he defeats Occasion as Hamilton mentions in the note:

Therewith Sir *Guyon* left his first emprise,
 And turning to that woman, fast her hent
 By the hoare lockes, that hong before her eyes,
 And to the ground her threw: (II.iv.12.1-4)

Guyon grabs her forelock and throws her to the ground. As Hamilton mentions (*Longman FQ* 190), Guyon literally acts out the commonplace, "take time (Occasion) by the forelock". Again, Spenser succeeds in using this commonplace without mentioning it directly. Through this episode, readers are expected to extract this commonplace from the episode.

On the other hand, Spenser's Occasion has a different aspect from the commonplace. According to Hamilton, this well-known commonplace is inverted in Stanza 44 because Occasion "comes vnsought, and shonned followes eke" (II.iv.44.3) while traditional Occasion cannot be grasped after she passed (*Longman FQ* 188). Spenser's Occasion is the mother of Furor, and she obstinately follows the person who is captured by Furor. Spenser treats Occasion as a vicious character, and he greatly changes the description of Occasion from the commonplace. Because Spenser modified the commonplace too much along with the context, the original commonplace, "take time (Occasion) by the forelock", does not fit with the

description of Spenser's Occasion. In Book I, Spenser inverts the meaning of the commonplace in Una's speech, "Of fire is without some smoke". However, in this case, Spenser adapts the original commonplace to depict Occasion's appearance instead of inverting the meaning of the commonplace. Here, Spenser follows the well-known commonplace, but he adds his new interpretation on it. That is, Spenser's Occasion chases people without noticing ("comes vnsought, and shonned followes eke"). In a sense, Spenser's new interpretation invalidates the original meaning of the commonplace. While the original commonplace, "take time (Occasion) by the forelock" recommends you to catch opportunity, Spenser's Occasion should not be caught. Otherwise, her son Fury follows you.

After Guyon captures Furor and Occasion, he listens to the story of the Squire who had been captured by Furor. The Squire is called Phaon, and he had had a best friend called Philemon. However, when Phaon falls in love with the lady Claribell, Philemon deceives him by showing him the fake proof of Claribell's infidelity. He becomes mad with this and kills Claribell and Philemon. As he pursues Prene, who had conspired with Philemon, he is captured by Furor. While Phaon tells this tragedy, he inserts the proverbial phrase to describe his intimacy with Claribell:

It was my fortune, commune to that age,
 To loue, a Lady fayre of great degree,
 The which was borne of noble parentage,
 And set in highest seat of dignitee,
 Yet seemd no lesse to loue, then loued to bee:
 Long I her seru'd, and found her faithfull still,
 Ne euer thing could cause vs disagree:
 Loue that two harts makes one, makes eke one will:

Each stroue to please, and others pleasure to fulfill. (II.iv.19)

In the eighth line, Spenser uses the proverbial expression, “Loue that two harts makes one, makes eke one will”. According to Smith, this phrase comes from the commonplace “friends have but one soul” (no. 306). Tilly also lists this commonplace (F696) and lists the citations from several writers such as Erasmus, John Lyly, Thomas Kyd, Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare, but they use this commonplace in the context of friendship. Spenser decontextualised the popular commonplace and applied it in a love relationship. Interestingly, Spenser’s new interpretation of this commonplace was received by John Bodenham. He was born around the same period with Spenser, and he became a literary patron and grocer, after he graduated from the Merchant Taylors’ School. He published three printed commonplace books: *Belvedere*, *Politeuphuia* and *Wits Theater*. In *Belvedere*, Bodenham quotes Spenser’s phrase, “Loue that two harts makes one, makes eke one will” under the headline of “Love” (29). Bodenham extracted Spenser’s commonplace and treats it as a commonplace which is related to a love relationship, not friendship. Bodenham would have known the well-known commonplace “a friend is one’s second self”, but he does not identify Spenser’s phrase in the same category. Instead, he treats Spenser’s commonplace as an original commonplace.

1.2.4. Sir Guyon’s Corrupt Use of Commonplaces

In Book I, Prince Arthur is described as a virtuous person who can frame commonplaces. When Prince Arthur rescues the Red Cross Knight from Orgoglio’s dungeon and sees the knight’s suffering state, Arthur extracts a commonplace, “blisse may not abide in state of mortall men” from the Red Cross Knight’s example. Arthur tells Una (I.viii.44. 7-9). Prince Arthur treats the example of the Red Cross Knight as a “lesson”, and he generalises this example with the commonplace. In a similar way, Guyon has an ability to extract commonplaces. For example, Guyon fights against Pyrochles who insists to unbind Occasion and Furor, and at the moment when Guyon would kill Pyrochles, he stops his hand because

Pyrochles cries “Mercy, doe me not dye” (II.v.12.7). When Guyon spares Pyrochles’ life, he extracts a commonplace from Pyrochles’ example:

Eftsoones his cruel hand Sir *Guyon* stayd,
 Tempring the passion with aduizement slow,
 And maistring might on enemy dismayd:
 For th’equall die of warre he well did know;
 Then to him said, Liue and alleagaunce owe,
 To him, that giues thee life and liberty,
And henceforth by this daies ensample trow,
That hasty wroth, and heedlesse hazardry

Doe breede repentaunce late, and lasting infamy. (II.v.13; emphasis mine)

Guyon exhorts Pyrochles by extracting the commonplace “hasty wroth, and heedlesse hazardry / Doe breede repentaunce late, and lasting infamy” from his bad example. Guyon does not just insert commonplaces in his utterance, but he exhorts Pyrochles with the combination of the commonplace and the example. At this point, Guyon can be compared with Arthur, who successfully persuades Una with his words. Guyon and Arthur have the same approach in terms of framing commonplaces.

As a framer of commonplaces, Guyon frequently frames a bad character’s example as a good education for others. When Guyon enters the Garden of Proserpina after the discussion with Mammon, he finds Tantalus who is drenched in the river of *Coytus*. Tantalus soaks his body up to his chin, but he cannot drink the water. Also, he tries to grab the fruit by the river, but he cannot reach it. He is suffering with hunger and thirst in this situation. When Tantalus sees Guyon, he asks the knight to feed him. However, Guyon denies his request:

Nay nay, thou greedy *Tantalus* (quoth he)
 Abide the fortune of thy present fate,

And vnto all that liue in high degree,

Ensample be of mind more temperate,

To teach them how to vse their present state. (II.vii.60.1-5; emphasis mine)

Guyon analyses Tantalus' predicament, and he objectively analyses that Tantalus' predicament can be used for the "good" example to teach temperance. His pragmatic view towards the bad exemplary figure might be related to his self-awareness of temperance. He objectively recommends readers to pick up the commonplace from Tantalus' example.

In the second canto, Spenser describes that Guyon makes himself a "rare ensample", when Guyon defeats Sir Huddibras and Sansloy in the House of Medina:

So boldly he him beares, and rusheth forth

Betweene them both, by conduct of his blade.

Wondrous great prowesse and heroick worth

He shewd that day, and rare ensample made,

When two so mighty warriors he dismade: (II.ii.25.1-5; emphasis mine)

Guyon is a character who has temperance from the beginning, and this moralistically good character can serve as a good example. Such a character can properly extract commonplaces from the examples. One of the characteristics of Spenser's narratives is that he describes examples of both good and bad exemplars. In Book I, both good and bad characters can manipulate commonplaces, and Spenser describes examples of both good and bad characters in Book II as well. Nevertheless, the most significant difference between Book I and Book II is that Spenser shows Guyon as a good character who still needs to be trained by the Palmer, while the Red Cross Knight needs to be developed along with the readers. Unlike the Red Cross Knight, because Guyon knows his titular virtue temperance, he has an ability to extract commonplaces from other characters' examples.

In Book II, Guyon is generally depicted as a temperate knight, but in the episode of Mammon, Guyon experiences the crucial moment of moralistic danger by Mammon's temptation. At this moment, Guyon misuses commonplaces compared to the previous episodes. After Guyon parts from the Palmer, he keeps on his adventure by himself and meets Mammon, the god of money. Guyon's separation from the Palmer means that Guyon is vulnerable as an exemplar and is easily corrupted. Mammon proposes offering his treasures to Guyon if Guyon serves him. Guyon denies Mammon's proposition by using proverbial phrases. However, this time, Guyon cannot manipulate commonplaces well, because his proverbial phrases include personal pronouns such as "me", "my", "thou" and "thy". Guyon avoids generalising his sentences by using pronouns:

Me ill besites, that derdoing armes,
 And honours suit my vowed daies do spend,
 Vnto thy bounteous baytes, and pleasing charmes,
 With which weake men thou witchest, to attend:
 Regard of worldly mucke doth fowly blend,
 And low abase the high heroicke spright,
 That ioyes for crownes and kingdomes to contend;
 Faire shields, gay steedes, bright armes be my delight:

Those be the riches fit for an aduent'rous kinght. (II.vii.10; emphases mine)

The whole stanza seems to be proverbial. However, because Guyon uses pronouns in his speech, most of the sentences are not generalised. Smith lists just one sentence as commonplace in line 5 under the item of "muck of the world" (no. 562). Through this stanza, only this sentence does not include any pronouns (from lines 5-7). That is, Smith does not treat other sentences as commonplaces which include pronouns although they look like commonplaces. If the sentence

includes particular pronouns, it is unlikely to be counted as a commonplace. Mammon's response to Guyon's speech is also proverbial, but also contains many pronouns:

Vaine glorious Elfe (saide he) doest not thou weet,

That money can thy wantes at will supply?

Shields, steeds, and armes, and all things for thee meet

It can puruay in twinckling of an eye;

And crownes and kingdomes to thee multiply.

Doe not I kings create, and throw the crowne

Sometimes to him, that low in dust doth ly?

And him that raignd, into his rowme thrust downe,

And whom I lust, do heape with glory and renowne? (II.vii.12; emphases mine)

Mammon's speech is authoritative as well as conceptional, but because he uses many pronouns, his sentences avoid becoming commonplaces. We can see the similarity of the use of proverbial phrases between Guyon and Mammon from their conversation. Guyon's different use of commonplaces is the sign that Guyon is affected by Mammon. Because Guyon has left the Palmer, he is easily influenced by Mammon. In the first canto, Guyon changes pronouns from feminine to masculine to generalise the sentence. To Amavia, he says that "He oft finds present helpe, who does his griefe impart" (II.i.46.9). However, this time, Spenser's arbitral use of particular pronouns is obvious. These pronouns prevent the phrases from being commonplaces on account of the pronouns' specificity. Because Guyon leaves the Palmer, he cannot extract proper commonplaces in the proper context. This can be recognised by Guyon's frequent use of specific pronouns in his proverbial phrases. After he is affected by Mammon, Guyon's use of commonplaces becomes worse, as evidenced by his mixing of specific pronouns. Using personal pronouns suggests Guyon's corruption. Guyon's deteriorating use of commonplaces

represents his selfishness and uncontrolled temper, and he eventually destroys the Bower of Bliss with violence in the last canto.

Although Spenser adopts commonplaces depending on the episodes, Guyon's example shows that too frequent adjustment in the context ruins a commonplace itself. In Book II, Spenser may alert readers to the idea that too much adaptation of commonplaces is intemperate. In the Bower of Bliss, Guyon does not say anything until he destroys the bower. Guyon cannot extract commonplaces anymore from the examples of the Bower of Bliss, because he becomes intemperate in the cave of Mammon. Although Guyon is described as a good exemplar in the beginning, he loses his ability to extract commonplaces in the end. After Guyon destroys the Bower of Bliss without saying anything, he says, "Sad end of life intemperate, / And mournfull meed of ioyes delicious" (II.xii.85.6-7). Guyon comments on Grill by using this commonplace, but this comment actually reflects Guyon's own situation. That is, Guyon's personal use of commonplaces can be treated as his corruption, and this selfishness prevents Guyon from extracting commonplaces in the Bower of Bliss. Guyon's inappropriate use of commonplaces reflects the user's inappropriate way of thinking, and he consequently destroys the Bower of Bliss with his intemperance. Guyon's inability to extract commonplaces shows his intemperance which urges Guyon to destroy the Bower of Bliss.

Sir Guyon is described as a temperate knight from the beginning, but he still needs the Palmer's help to be temperate. In this sense, Guyon can be treated as a mature learner, and the Palmer is described as if he is a schoolmaster. In *The Faerie Queene*, readers need to extract commonplaces and moral lessons from episodes by themselves. Spenser's way of educating readers can be compared with the idea of "gathering and framing" because students also need to pick up commonplaces from their readings by themselves. In Book II, Guyon frequently extracts commonplaces from examples in a clear way, and readers easily recognise the

important commonplaces from Guyon's extract. However, after Guyon meets Mammon, his use of commonplace deteriorates, and he cannot frame commonplaces in the Bower of Bliss. Eventually, Guyon destroys the Bower of Bliss without any words. Guyon's inability to use commonplaces suggests his corruption as a temperate knight. Readers can realise Guyon's change from the perspective of commonplace book culture.

Chapter 2: Books III and IV of *The Faerie Queene*

2.1. Book III: Love and Torture in Commonplace Learning

2.1.1. Chastity, Love and the Tapestry in Castle Joyeous

In Book III, Spenser chooses chastity as the thematic virtue and tells the story about the female knight, Britomart. She falls in love with her future husband Artegall through the magical mirror, and she begins her adventure with her nurse Glauce to meet Artegall. Britomart takes along with Glauce, but Britomart is described as an independent knight and does not need the help of her assistance, unlike Sir Guyon. Although chastity was frequently thought of a woman's virtue, schoolboys made the item of chastity in their commonplace books and collected phrases related to chastity, as exemplified in printed commonplace books by Robert Allot and John Bodenham. Especially, in Bodenham's book, he collected Spenser's phrase from Book III, "Eternall thraldome rather should be wisht, / Than losse of chastitie, or chaunge of loue" (III.viii.42.1-2) under the item of chastity (37). Although Bodenham did not mention Spenser's name with this citation, Bodenham read Spenser's Book III and extracted its phrase as one of the important sentences in his commonplace book. For Elizabethan readers, chastity was one of the important virtues which was worth collected and memorised.

Along with chastity, love is also the central virtue in Book III. Spenser calls love "most sacred fyre", which generates "all noble deedes and neuer dying fame" (III.iii.1). Throughout the episodes, Spenser depicts both chaste and unchaste lovers including Britomart's main quest for pursuing her future husband Artegall. Allusively, it can be said that Book III is a pageant which offers various types of love stories. In Canto i, Britomart actually uses a commonplace about love. When she approaches Castle Joyeous, she sees the six fraternal knights, Gardante, Parlante, Iocante, Basciante, Bacchante and Noctante, who prevent traveling knights from entering into the castle by ordering that whoever loses against them, the knight must abandon his lady and serve their lady. Because Britomart finds that the Red Cross Knight is almost

defeated by them, she interrupts their fight and conquers them. After she defeats the six knights immediately, she makes a proverbial speech in a victorious mood:

Ah (sayd she then) now may ye all see plaine,

That truth is strong, and trew loue most of might,

That for his trusty seruants doth so strongly fight. (III.i.29.7-9)

According to Smith, Britomart uses two commonplaces here; “truth is mighty and will prevail” (no. 792) and “love conquers all things” (no. 481). According to Smith, these phrases come from Latin proverbs,¹⁶ and both of them were also popular during the Elizabethan period,¹⁷ Here, Spenser decontextualises these familiar commonplaces and uses them in the martial context; when Britomart mentions the first commonplace, “truth is strong”, the word “strong” can be treated as the physical strength in her context because she declares this commonplace after her martial victory over the six knights. The second commonplace, “love conquers all things” also inspires a martial image. In the last line, Britomart explains that the reason for her martial strength is because she is one of “trusty seruants” of true love (“trusty seruant” alludes to Britomart’s virtue chastity). Spenser connects love with martial sense, and he describes Britomart as a strong conqueror of fighting and love. In Book III, Spenser represents chastity in the figure of Britomart as a fighter of love by decontextualising commonplaces.

Spenser’s idea of chastity and love is exemplified by his allusive image of grammar school education in the episode of Castle Joyeous. The symbolic episode in Castle Joyeous is

¹⁶ The former commonplace is derived from; “*Nihil efficacius simplici veritate* (Nothing is more effectual than plain truth)” from Leonard Culman’s *Sententiae Pueriles* (14), “*O magna vis veritatis . . . facile se per se ipsa defendat* (How great is the power of truth . . . easily able to defend itself unaided!)” from Cicero’s *Pro Caelio* (xxvi. 63). The latter one comes from; “*Amor vincit omnia* (Love overcomes all things)” by Leonard Culman (*Sententiae Pueriles* 5) and “*Omnia vincit Amor* (Love conquers all)” from Vergil’s *Eclogues* (x.69).

¹⁷ In terms of the former commonplace, “Noble anthem of victory, ‘*Vicit verita*,’ (The truth hath the upper hand)” in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* (VIII. 39), “Trueth in the ende shall preuayle” in Ulpian Fulwell’s *Ars Adulandi* (1580, sig. E4), “If truth be truth, that is, great and mightie, why should it not preuayle?” from Gabriel Harvey’s *Pierces Supererogation* (II.162), and in terms of the latter one, “Love is maister wher he wile” in John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (I. 35), “Love is Lord in every place” (*Ibid.*, V. 4556) and “Loue is aboue king or keisar, Lorde or lawes” in Robert Greene’s *Mamillia* (II. 122). Also, both commonplaces are listed in Tilley’s dictionary as well (T579 and L527).

Spenser's description of Venus and Adonis, whose motif appears recurrently in the special places in Book III (i.e. Castle Joyeous, the Gardens of Adonis and the House of Busirane). In these places, Spenser reflected the idea of "schooling" and "parenting"; in the first canto, Spenser describes Venus as a sensual but motherly figure in the tapestry of Castle Joyeous. Spenser's Venus can be compared with a grammar school schoolmaster, who was expected to be a mother of pupils.¹⁸ Although Spenser does not mention Adonis in the House of Busirane, Spenser allusively weaves the story of Venus and Adonis by using the famous phrases derived from this myth, "*Be bolde*" but "*Be not too bold*" (III.xi.54), which early modern readers would have been familiar with from their grammar school experience. Finally, I will argue that Busirane's abuse of Amoret bears a resemblance to a schoolmaster's corporal punishment of pupils. These examinations will contribute to a new interpretation of Spenser's outstanding plot and discourse in Book III of *The Faerie Queene*.¹⁹

The myth of Venus and Adonis first appears in Book III of *The Faerie Queene* in the tapestry, which is exhibited in the central room of Castle Joyeous, where Spenser smoothly shifts his presentation from the sumptuous structure of the castle to the story of Venus and Adonis by using an ekphrastic description over five stanzas (III.i.34-38). Spenser adapts the story of Venus and Adonis from the tenth book of *Metamorphoses* (10.503-739), which was a popular reading in the fourth to sixth forms in grammar schools as well as Virgil's *Eclogues*, Cicero's letters and Erasmus's *Colloquies* and *Parabola* (Crane 87). Spenser almost certainly learned Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Latin in his school days. While we do not have a clear idea of the curriculum in the Merchant Taylors' School during its first twenty-five years, William

¹⁸ My argument is especially inspired by Enterline's third chapter, "The Art of Loving Mastery: Venus, Adonis, and the Erotics of Early Modern Pedagogy" (62-94). On early modern grammar school practices and their impact on humanist writings, see Crane 36-62.

¹⁹ The main part of my discussions on Castle Joyeous and the House of Busirane were contributed to a festschrift titled *The Green Fuse and the Green Garden: Festschrift in Honour of Hiroto Iwanaga*, which was published in March 2021 in Japan (ISBN987-4-7553-0423-1). The article title is: "Parenting Goddess: Spenser's Venus and Adonis in Book III of *The Faerie Queene*", pp. 242 - 255.

Baker suggests that pupils would have learned poetry by Ovid and Virgil in their senior form (Mulcaster, *Positions*, lxii-lxiii; 1994). Spenser would have learned Ovid's works in his senior form and likely would have extracted memorable phrases into his commonplace book.

There is a possibility that Spenser might have read the English translation of *Metamorphoses*, since Arthur Golding published several editions of English translations starting in 1567. While those translations were widely read throughout the early modern period, Michael Holaham argues that Spenser's references to Ovid's writings in *The Faerie Queene* are more likely to have come from several Latin versions rather than Golding's translation (520). James P. Bednarz also points out that "close scrutiny of Ovidian imitations in *The Faerie Queene* fails to show that Golding's translation had a significant influence on Spenser's poetry" (336). According to these views, Spenser was not strongly influenced by Arthur Golding's translation. In contrast to William Shakespeare, who made significant use of expressions similar to those in Golding's version (Rouse v), Spenser likely translated phrases from Latin to English for *The Faerie Queene*. Nevertheless, I will discuss exceptions to Spenser's use of Golding's translation later in my discussion.

We can see the influence of Ovid's Latin text in Spenser's expressions. For example, in Ovid's version, Venus is accidentally pricked by Cupid's arrow, and she falls in love with the beautiful boy Adonis. Spenser seems to imitate Ovid's description, "*capta viri forma*" ("smitten with the beauty of a mortal"; 10.529; Ovid 100-01),²⁰ saying, "her tender hart was with his beauteie smit" (III.i.34.9). Compared with Golding's translation,²¹ "The beauty of the lad / Inflaamd hir" (10.611; Rouse 213), Spenser chooses the word "smit" from the Latin "*capta* (smitten)". As Spenserian researchers point out, Spenser uses the Latin version of Ovid's

²⁰ All English translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are taken from the Loeb Classic Library (translated by Frank Justus Miller).

²¹ All citations of Arthur Golding's translation are taken from W. H. D. Rouse's *Shakespeare's Ovid*.

Metamorphoses here. This supports the view that Spenser memorised this phrase in grammar school and used it in *The Faerie Queene*.

While following the general narrative of *Metamorphoses* found in Latin texts, Spenser changes details of the story. One of the significant differences is the manner in which Venus takes Adonis into a shady grove. In Ovid's version, Venus directly invites Adonis to the shade to indulge herself: "*caelo praefertur Adonis. / hunc tenet, huic comes est aduetaque semper in umbra / indulgere sibi formamque augere colendo*" ("Adonis is preferred to heaven. She holds him fast, is his companion and, though her wont has always been to take her ease in the shade, and to enhance her beauty by fostering it"; 10.532-34; Ovid 102-03). On the other hand, in *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser's Venus seduces Adonis with her words and "allurements" before she escorts Adonis to the shade:

Then with what sleights and sweet allurements she

Entyst the Boy, as well that art she knew,

And wooed him her Paramoure to bee;

Now making girlonds of each flowre that grew,

To crowne his golden lockes with honour dew;

Now leading him into a secret shade

From his Beauperes, and from bright heauens vew,

Where him to sleepe she gently would perswade,

Or bathe him in a fountaine by some couert glade. (III.i.35)

Venus seduces Adonis with her "sleights and sweet allurements" as well as love's "art she knew", and she "wooed" Adonis to become her "Paramoure". As a dominant female figure, Spenser's Venus persistently instructs young Adonis by using her craft of seduction. At the same time, Spenser describes Venus as a mother figure who fosters Adonis in the shade. She takes care of Adonis by making garlands of flowers, leading him into a secret shade, bathing

him in a fountain, and overspreading her mantle while he sleeps. These descriptions show that Spenser's Venus is motherly as well as sensual. In terms of taking Adonis to a shade, Ovid also describes the scene. However, this scene is told after Venus gains Adonis's heart:

. . . Shee lov'd *Adonis* more
 Than heaven. To him shee clinged ay, and bare him comanye.
 And in the shadowe woont shee was too rest continually,
 And for too set her beawtye out most seemely too the eye
 By trimly decking of her self. (213)

Ovid's Venus focuses on how she is decking her beauty while Spenser's Venus devotes herself to taking care of Adonis for seduction. In *The Faerie Queene*, Venus's approaches are mother-like as well as sensual.

This Venus's "parental" teaching is discussed in the context of grammar school education by Lynn Enterline in her analysis of William Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. Enterline argues that Shakespeare's Venus can be compared with a schoolmaster in a grammar school by using the idea of "*praeceptor amoris*" ("love's teacher") from Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (63). She argues, "That Venus models herself on Ovid's erotic instructor is less surprising than it may first appear: the poem may well be following the grammar school's lead" (64). To support her assertion, Enterline cites the basic lesson about the cases of Latin nouns from William Lily's *A Short Introduction of Grammar*: "The accusatyue case foloweth the verbe, and aunswereth to this question, whom, or what, as *Amo magistrum*, I loue the mayster" (Lily 162). She continues, "'I love the master': Lily's inaugural lesson in the accusative case is one Venus would happily teach" (64). Schoolmasters made pupils repeat "I love the master" both in Latin and in English in grammar schools, and this can be treated as schoolmasters' art of love, as Venus teaches the art of love to Adonis. Enterline skilfully connects the Shakespearean Venus to Ovid's teacher of love by using William Lily's grammar school textbook.

Although Enterline does not specifically mention this, her idea can be adapted to Spenser's version of Venus in Book III; Spenser's Venus, too, can be a magister who teaches love to her *puer*, Adonis. In Stanza 35, Venus leads Adonis into a secret shade, and there, she gently "persuades" Adonis to sleep. In grammar schools, it was common to have colloquies between schoolmaster and students, and of course, "persuasion" is important to move the audience's affections in rhetoric. Adonis is persuaded by Venus's rhetorical words of love. While Adonis is sleeping, Venus spreads her "mantle, colour'd like the starry skyes" (III.i.36.2). Venus's mantle can be also compared with a schoolmaster's gown. As mentioned early, grammar school boys learned the nominative case of Latin with the example, "*Amo Magistrum, I love the master*" in Lily's grammar (Enterline 64). The intimate relationship between a schoolmaster and students can replace the love relationship between Venus and Adonis. Also, a schoolmaster's parental teaching is easily connected to Venus's art of love in Spenser's imagery here.

I specifically want to focus on the point that Spenser's Venus is described as a motherly figure who teaches and nurtures Adonis. Enterline argues that schoolmasters occasionally acted like nurses and mothers to demonstrate their authoritative role to pupils, as shown in Lily's *Grammar*: "it is declyned with one article, as *hic Magister*, a maister, or with twoo, as *hic et haec parents*, a father or mother" (Lily 161). While she introduces this idea to argue that Shakespeare's Venus is genderless and has a parental function, I want to show how Spenser's motherly Venus can be love's teacher by using the image of schoolmasters as pupils' mothers and nurses. Spenser would have been familiar with this idea; his schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster, uses a similar metaphor in his *Positions*. When he discusses the ideal university education for training excellent schoolmasters, he says, "this colledge for teachers, might prooue an excellent nurserie for good schoolmasters" (*Position* f. 258; 1581). Early modern

people seem to have shared the idea that schools were nursing places, and that schoolmasters were mothers or nurses for pupils.

In this context, Spenser's motherly Venus can be viewed as a schoolmaster who fosters Adonis. In Stanza 37, Venus repeatedly advises "heedelesse" Adonis not to chase brutal beasts while hunting:

She oft and oft aduiz'd him to refraine

From chase of greater beastes, whose brutish pryde

Mote breede him scath vnwares: (III.i.37.6-8)

Spenser's Venus "oft and oft" urges Adonis to stop hunting, while Ovid's Venus does not. Spenser uniquely adds the frequency of Venus's advice in this stanza. In grammar school education, remembrance and repetition were crucial skills to master Latin. In his *Positions*, Mulcaster explains the ideal time schedule on which to learn Latin effectively:

From seuen of the cloke, though ye rise sooner, (as the *lambe* and the *larke* be the prouerbiale leaders, when to rise and when to go to bead) till tenne before noone, and from two till almost fiue in the after noone, be the best and fittest houres, and enough for children wherin to learne. The morening houres will best serue for the memorie & conceiving: the after noone for repetitions, & stufte for memorie to worke on. (*Positions* f.233; 1581)

Mulcaster recommends teaching pupils from seven o'clock to five o'clock, excluding the lunch break from ten to two o'clock. He also argues that the morning is the best for memorising and writing, while the afternoon is appropriate for "repetitions, and stufte for memorie to worke on". In addition, he focuses on the importance of efficient memorizing. Pupils were trained to memorise Latin sentences in the morning, and they were then asked to repeat the sentences to test their memories, possibly by using their commonplace books. Spenser's description of Venus's advice would have been influenced by his experience in grammar school. From this

perspective, we can understand Venus's persistent advice to Adonis in a new light, as Venus repeatedly advises Adonis to maintain his memory in a similar way to that which was taught in a grammar school education.

Although Venus counsels Adonis eagerly, he ignores her. Adonis is killed by "a great wilde Bore" while hunting (III.i.38.2). In the tapestry, Spenser does not describe the scene where Adonis gets killed by a boar. Instead, Spenser shows the compressed image of dying Adonis and mourning Venus:

Lo, where beyond he lyeth languishing,
 Deadly engored of a great wilde Bore,
 And by his side the Goddesse groueling
 Makes for him endlesse mone, and euermore
 With her soft garment wipes away the gore,
 Which staynes his snowy skin with hatefull hew: (III.i.38.1-6)

Spenser focuses on the description of the broken-hearted Venus using four lines. She still cares for her beloved Adonis even though he ignored her lesson and is about to die. This picturesque image would evoke an important lesson for grammar school pupils. In Lily's *Grammar*, there is a section titled "GODLY LESSONS for Chyldren", which teaches the precept from the Bible both in English and in Latin: "Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest doo well, and lyue long vpon the earthe. / Honora patrem et matrem, ut bne tibi sit, et sis longeuus in terra" (Lily 189). Schoolmasters taught pupils to follow their parents' (or their schoolmasters') sayings in order to live longer. Children were trained to memorise this sentence repeatedly. Considering this context, Adonis's death in the tapestry can be read as a bad example of a boy who did not follow his parental schoolmaster's advice. In the first canto, Spenser does not mention the nature of Venus's advice to Adonis. However, her words are alluded to later, as a

warning to Britomart in the house of Busirane: “*Be bolde, be bolde*” but “*Be not too bold*” (III.xi.54), which I will discuss in the later section.

2.1.2. Female Readers and Examples

After the description of the tapestry of Venus and Adonis, Spenser tells the story of Malecasta, the unchaste mistress of Castle Joyeous. According to Hamilton’s note, her name originates *malus* (wicked, lewd) and *castus* (chaste) in Latin (*Longman FQ* III.i.57.n), and Spenser shows an unchaste example from Malecasta’s episode. Spenser especially warns female readers not to follow Malecasta’s example:

Faire Ladies, that to loue captiued arre,
 And chaste desires doe nourish in your mind,
 Let not her fault your sweete affections marre,
 Ne blott the bounty of all womankind;
 ‘Mongst thousands good one wanton Dame to find:
 Emongst the Roses grow some wicked weeds;
 For this was not to loue, but lust inclind;
 For loue does alwaies bring forth bounteous deeds,
 And in each gentle hart desire of honor breeds. (III.i.49)

Spenser advises “faire ladies” not to change their love into lust like Malecasta. Spenser addresses readers when he shows a moral lesson of its episode. In Book I, for example, when the Red Cross Knight is deceived by Archimago and choseth Duessa as his lady instead of Una, Spenser addresses readers under the name of “young knight” to note the Red Cross Knight’s bad example (I.iv.1). After he addresses “young knight”, Spenser warns readers to “beware of fraud” and to “beware of ficklenesse” by using the imperative forms, and then Spenser inserts commonplaces to strengthen the persuasiveness: “beware of fraud” (no.298) in line 3 and “do

not believe rashly” (no. 54) in lines 5 to 6. Spenser applies the similar structure in Malecasta’s example in Book III. After Spenser attracts readers’ attention, he uses the imperative forms; “chaste desires doe nourish in your mind” and “let not her fault your sweete affections marre”. Then, he explains the moral lesson by inserting commonplaces. According to C. G. Smith, two commonplaces are found here; “every garden has its weeds” (no. 317) in line 6 and “love is the source of all good deeds” (no. 490) in lines 8-9. In Book III, interestingly, Spenser does not insert commonplaces in the part of the imperative sentences as he does in Book I. This is one of the important shifts in Book III.

In the episode of Malecasta, although she does not succeed in having an affair with Britomart, she does persuade Britomart that Malecasta is in grief for Britomart. After Malecasta has a dinner with Britomart, Malecasta, who believes that Britomart is a male knight, appeals her grief of love clearly:

And all attonce discouered her desire

With sighes, and sobs, and plaints, and piteous grieffe,

The outward sparkes of her inburning fire;

Which spent in vaine, at last she told her briefe,

That but if she did lend her short reliefe,

And doe her comfort, she mote algates dye.

But the chaste damzell, that had neuer prife

Of such malengine and fine forgerye,

Did easely beleue her strong extremitie. (III.i.53; emphasis mine)

Malecasta’s “fine forgerye”, such as sighing, sobbing, complaining and grieving, actually works on Britomart. According to Enterline, grammar school boys were trained to perform the women’s role as a part of Latin practice:

In answer to a master's demand for him to perform eloquently, a boy might well impersonate the voices of ancient female, as well as male, characters. Indeed, several school archives tell us that learning to play the part of a Latin-speaking *puer* took some unexpected turns – and anticipated the epillion's swerve away from the obvious part of the boy." In 1565, an eleven-year old student at the Winchester School, William Badger, wrote a poem entitled "Sylvia loquitur," in which he speaks as the "trembling" and "terrified" Sylvia and calls his schoolmates an "unhappy throng of boy-girls," the sound of their "laments" accompanying hers as a "chorus" whose sound rises to touch the stars (85)

Spenser would have also practiced playing the part of female characters, imitating the expression of the character and having a trembling voice. In grammar schools, lamenting female characters were performed in school plays, and boys were required even to imitate women lamenting in practice. That is, Malecasta's mourning behaviours – sighing, sobbing, complaining and grieving – might come from the typical behaviours of lamenting female characters in recurrent practices in grammar schools. Malecasta's performances are still "malengine", but they work effectively to Britomart because they are rhetorically "fine forgerye". We can understand her lamenting as a performance on the stage in the context of the grammar school practice. Malecasta's insubstantial performance is rhetorical enough to move Britomart's mind.

Spenser does not only address male readers who experienced a grammar school education. In Book III, Spenser calls "faire ladies" five times including the previous citation of Malecasta's example (III.i.49, III.v.53, III.vi.1, III.ix.1 and III.xi.2).²² This means that Spenser

²² The expressions which Spenser addresses to female readers are: "Faire Ladies, that to loue captiued arre, / And chaste desires doe nourish in your mind, / Let not her fault your sweete affections marre, / Ne blott the bounty of all womankind (III.i.49.1-4); "Fayre ympes of beautie, whose bright shining beames / Adorne the world with like to heauenly light, / And to your willes both royalties and Reames / Subdew, through conquest of your wondrous might" (III.v.53.1-4); "Well may I weene, faire Ladies, all this while / Ye wonder, how this noble

obviously recognises women as readers. Especially, in Canto xi, Spenser addresses to female readers by using a commonplace which is extracted from Britomart's example:

And ye faire Ladies, that your kingdomes make

In th'harts of men, them gouerne wisely well,

And of faire *Britomart* ensample take,

That was as trew in loue, as Turtle to her make. (III.xi.2.6-9)

Spenser recommends female readers to take a lesson "as true as a turtle to her mate" (Smith no. 788) from the example of Britomart. In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser applies the idea of commonplace book learning for women's education. It is well known that Richard Mulcaster encouraged education for girls in his *Elementary*, and his student Spenser also counted female as a target of moral education in *The Faerie Queene*. Needless to say, Spenser dedicated *The Faerie Queen* to the queen Elizabeth, but Spenser seems to have other female readers in his mind, since Spenser address to "faire Ladies" in plural. Early modern female intellectuals were making commonplace books, and some of them would read *The Faerie Queene* and collected Spenser's words in their books. In fact, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* was listed in the commonplace book which shared by Lady Anne Southwell and her second husband John Sibthorpe. Under the title of "A List of my Bookes", Sibthorpe listed the folio edition of *The Faerie Queene* in number thirteen (see figs. 10 and 11). Their *Faerie Queene* was possibly the first folio edition which was published in 1609, since only the title was listed instead of Spenser's "Collected Works" (published in 1611 and 1617 and after). This commonplace book was written around 1587 to 1636 and composed of 74 leaves (330 x 220 mm). Several hands are seen in the commonplace book, which means that this commonplace was circulated among Southwell's salon. The list of their books was written by her husband Sibthorpe, but Sir Walter

Damozell / So great perfection did in her compile" (III.vi.1.1-3), "Redoubted knights, and honorable Dames, / To whom I leuell all my labours end" (III.ix.1.1-2) and the last example (III.xi.2.6-9) will be mentioned above.

Raleigh's "Lie" was transcribed with the hand of Southwell along with her signature at the bottom (fol. 2r; see fig. 12). Southwell transcribed contemporaneous poetries in this commonplace book. Although she does not make a copy of *The Faerie Queene*, it is possible that she read *The Faerie Queene*.

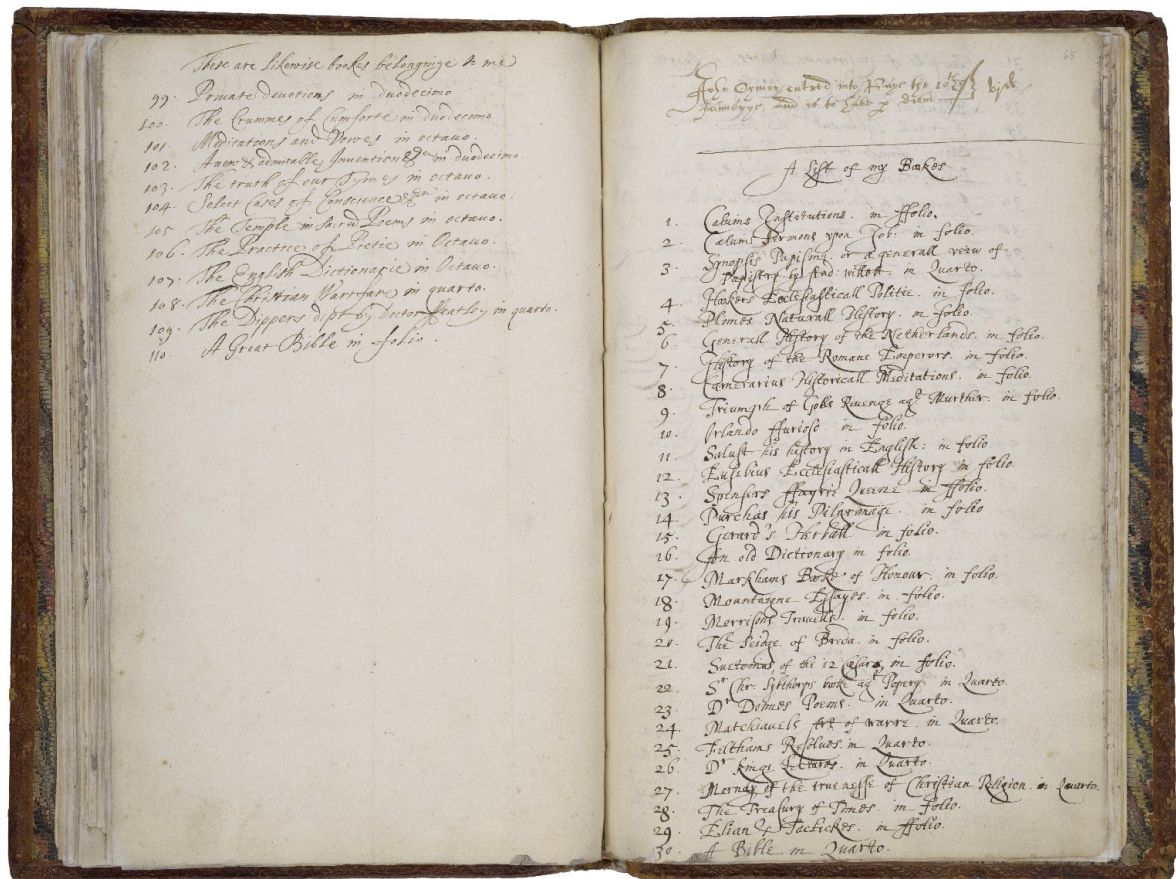


Fig. 10 The commonplace book shared by Lady Anne Southwell and John Sibthorpe (Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.198. fols. 64v-65r; LUNA collection no. 51074)

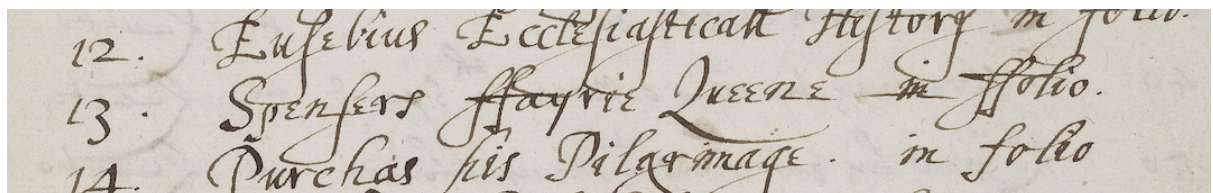


Fig. 11 The item "13. Spensers ffayrie Queene in folio." (trimmed from Fig. 10)

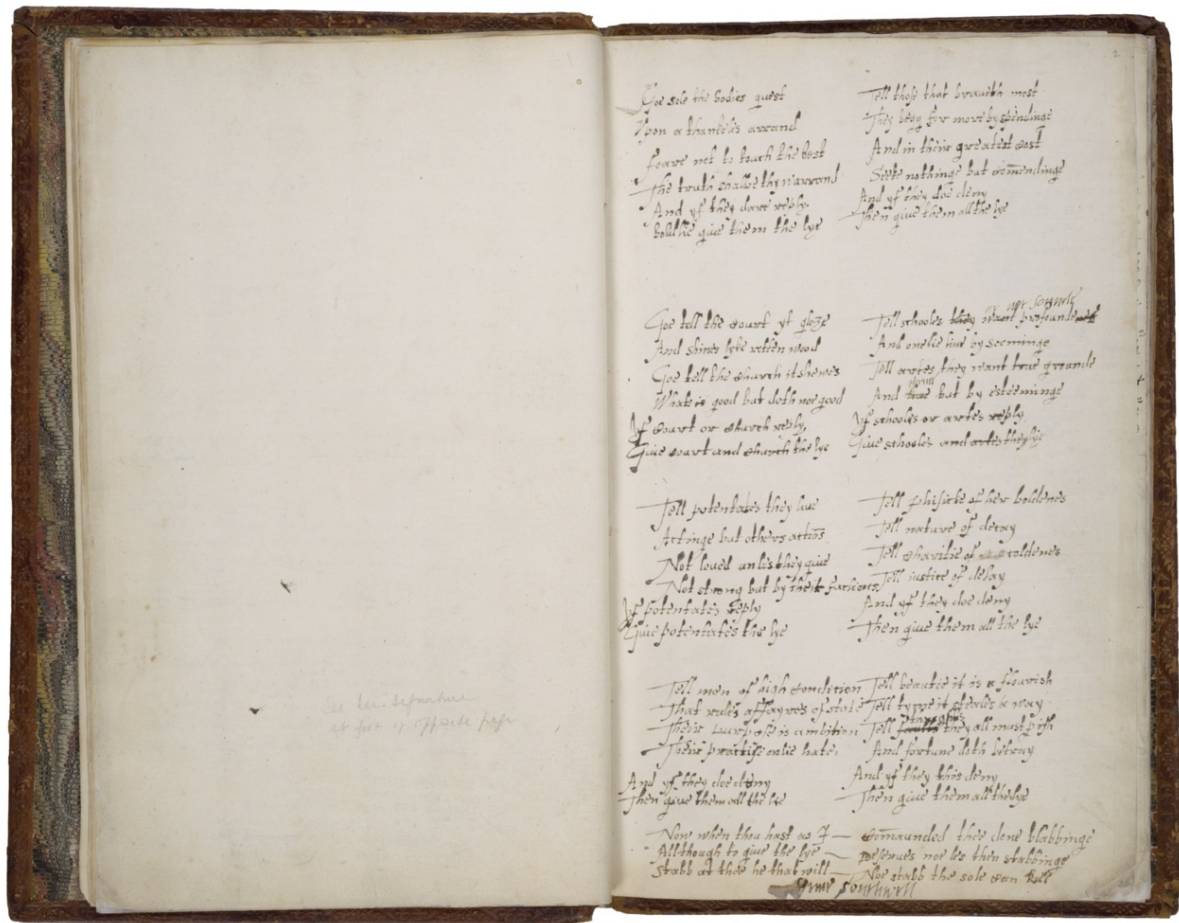


Fig. 12 The transcription of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lie" by Lady Anne Southwell's hand (Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.198. 1v-2r; LUNA collection no. 51005)

Spenser also mentions that female characters need lessons in Book III. In Canto vii, Florimel flies from the witch's monsters and enters a forest. Because she runs away for a long time, her palfrey cannot move forward anymore. When Florimel finds that she has to abandon her palfrey and needs to proceed on foot, Spenser says that Florimel needs to learn the lesson; "Need teacheth her this lesson hard and rare, / That fortune all in equall launce doth sway, / And mortall miseries doth make her play" (III.vii.4.1-5). In Book III, Spenser especially focuses on female readers and characters, and Spenser offers many moral lessons while using commonplaces.

In Book III, because the main character Britomart barely speaks, Spenser plays a role of “framing” the stories and teaches chastity and love to (female) readers instead of Britomart. For example, in Canto i, when Guyon is defeated by Britomart and tries to challenge her to a second fight, the Palmer stops the knight’s challenge because he notices that Britomart owns a mortal magic spear. From this situation, Spenser describes Guyon’s example by saying that “Nothing on earth mote alwaies happy beene. / Great hazard were it, and aduenture fond, / To loose long gotten honour with one euill hond.” (III.i.10.7-9), so that the readers can notice the warning, “nothing on earth mote alwaies happy beene”, from Guyon’s example. Although Guyon victoriously defeats the bower of Bliss in Book II, he is defeated by Britomart in Book III, which suggests that Britomart is depicted as a virtuous figure more than Guyon. While Guyon sometimes falls into danger by getting angry and losing his temper, Britomart is not seduced on any occasion. Spenser emphasises Britomart’s superiority over Guyon by using the commonplace in the beginning of Book III.

As discussed before, when Spenser addresses “Faire Ladies” and extracts the moral lessons from Malecasta’s example, Spenser uses his own words for the imperative sentences. The similar example is the episode of Malbecco in Canto x. Hellenore, who is Malbecco’s wife elopes with Paridell, and they burn Malbecco’s money in his house. Malbecco struggles with saving both Hellenore and his money, but because he finds that he cannot save both, he prioritises his money. Spenser describes Malbecco’s experience of struggle with his commonplace-like sentences:

Ay when to him she cryde, to her he turnd,

And left the fire; loue money ouercame:

But when he marked, how his money burnd,

He left his wife; money did loue disclame:

Both was he loth to loose his loued Dame,

And loth to leaue his liefest pelfe behinde,
 Yet sith he n'ote saue both , he sau'd that same,
 Which was the dearest to his dounghill minde,

The God of his desire, the ioy of misers blinde. (III.x.15; emphases mine)

When Malbecco tries to help Hellenore, Spenser makes his original epigram from this situation: “loue money ouercome”. At the same time, when Malbecco is worried about his money, Spenser also inserts another original epigram, “money did loue disclame”, which has the opposite meaning of the previous one. Like Una’s counter-proverb, “Oft fire is without smoke” (I.i.12.4), by using his original sentences, Spenser expresses Malbecco’s confused mind. Spenser imitates commonplaces to strengthen the dramatic moment of the episode of Malbecco. This example shows that Spenser does not have a consistent view in terms of the use of his proverbial expressions. In the previous chapter, I discussed that Spenser uses commonplaces depending on the context. Similarly, Spenser uses his original commonplace-like phrases depending on the context to dramatize the episodes.

According to Osgood’s concordance, Spenser uses the first-person pronoun “I” seven times in Book I and one time in Book II. However, after Book III, Spenser suddenly increases the use of first-person pronouns, that is; fifteen times in Book III, twenty times in Book IV, eight times in Book V, fourteen times Book VI and six times Book VII. This result suggests that Spenser’s narration becomes less proverbial after Book III, because his opinions are shown in private by inserting the first-person pronoun “I”. For example, when Spenser describes the appearance of Castle Joyeous, Spenser inserts a first-person pronoun:

For liuing wit, I weene, cannot display
 The roiall riches and exceeding cost,
 Of euery pillour and of euery post;
 Which all of purest bullion framed were,

And with great perles and pretious stones embost,

That the bright glister of their beames cleare

Did sparckle forth great light, and glorious did appeare. (III.i.32.3-9; emphasis mine)

Spenser does not describe the appearance from the third-person's perspective. Rather, he chooses the first-person's view by inserting "I", and it emphasises the personal view of Castle Joyeous. Spenser also uses the pronoun "I" when he addresses female readers in the introduction of the anecdote about the secret birth of Belpheobe:

WEll may I ween, faire Ladies, all this while

Ye wonder, how this noble Damzell

So great perfections did in her compile,

Sith that in saluage forests she did dwell,

So farre from court add royall Citadell,

The great schoolmaistresse of all courtesy: (III.vi.1.6; emphasis mine)

Spenser tells the readers about Belpheobe's wondrous perfection in this canto, but he inserts the phrase "well may I ween" when he addresses "faire Ladies". Here, Spenser strongly attracts readers' attention, but he does not use proverbial phrases straightforwardly to reveal the secret of Belpheobe's chastity. Spenser's narration sounds less proverbial when he inserts the pronoun "I". The next example is at the end of this canto, when Spenser reinserts "I", after he describes the episode of Chrysogone's miraculous birth of Belpheobe and Amoret and the episode of the Garden of Adonis:

But well I weene, ye first desire to learne,

What end vnto that fearefull Damozell,

Which fledd so fast from that same foster stearne,

Whom with his brethren *Timias* slew, befell: (III.vi.54.1-4; emphasis mine)

Spenser's use of the first-person pronoun makes his narration sound prosaic. Generally, commonplaces should not include personal pronouns such as "I", as shown in the example of Guyon's deteriorated use of commonplace in the episode of Mammon. Therefore, the more Spenser frequently uses first-person pronouns, the less Spenser's narration sounds proverbial. This tendency marks Spenser's independence of existing commonplaces.

On the other hand, Spenser also uses "they say" in Book III, and one example is shown in the long description of the arras tapestry in the House of Busirane in Canto xi. This time, Spenser's insertion of "they say" has the effect of making his narration sound more proverbial, since he relies on the third person's saying instead of his own. Spenser describes the mythical episodes designed in the tapestry through seventeen stanzas, and one of the distinctive descriptions among these stanzas is Stanza 33. Spenser inserts "they say" to generalise the romance of Alcmena and Jove:

Then shewd it, how the *Thebane Semelee*

Deceiud of gealous *Iuno*, did require

To see him in his souerayne maiestee,

Armd with his thunderbolts and lightning fire,

Whens dearely she with death bought her desire.

But faire *Alcmena* better match did make,

Ioying his loue in likenes more entire;

Three nights in one, they say, that for her sake

He then did put, her pleasures lenger to partake. (III.xi.33; emphasis mine)

Spenser uses "they say" to state the marvellous story that Jove extends one night for three days to have an affair with Alcmena. In this case, the phrase "they say" works as the framework of the anecdote which makes readers believe the unbelievable story. Spenser generalises Jove's miraculous story by inserting "they say". In Book III, Spenser's main target is female readers,

and he teaches chastity and love instead of Britomart. Spenser uses first-person pronouns when he wants to address female readers personally, and he uses third-person pronouns when he tries to make his narration sound more proverbial. This tendency would suggest that Spenser gradually reduces his reliance on commonplaces, and he becomes more creative in his description.

2.1.3. “*Be bold*” but “*Be not too bold*”

In her final adventure of Book III, the titular female knight Britomart heads to the house of Busirane to rescue Amoret, who was fostered by Venus in the Garden of Adonis. Spenser does not mention the story of Venus and Adonis directly in the house of Busirane, but he alludes to the myth in the famous moment with the cryptic words: “*Be bold*” but “*Be not too bold*” (III.xi.54). After passing by the golden altar of Cupid, Britomart finds the mysterious phrase, “*Bee bold*”, over the door:

Tho as she backward cast her busie eye,
 To search each secrete of that goodly sted,
 Ouer the dore thus written she did spye
Bee bold: she oft and oft it ouer-red,
 Yet could not find what sence it figured:
 But what so were therein, or writ or ment,
 She was no whit thereby discouraged,
 From prosecuting of her first intent,

But forward with bold steps into the next roome went. (III.xi.50)

In Canto i, Venus “oft and oft” gives her advice to Adonis (III.i.37.6), and in a similar way, Britomart “oft and oft” reads the phrase, “*Bee bold*” in this stanza. Britomart goes over the phrase repeatedly, but she cannot understand what it means. Her confusion over an extracted

phrase can be compared with commonplace book practice in grammar schools. Pupils were trained to extract memorable sentences from their Latin readings and to rearrange them in their commonplace books, which served as support for making speeches and composition in Latin. However, these extracted phrases deviated from their original contexts in a commonplace book, sometimes to the point of becoming a collection of incomprehensible words. The cryptic words “*Bee bold*” could reflect such an anxiety. Britomart moves to the next room, where she finds the incomprehensible words over the door again. This time, these words are written everywhere, and she also finds another set of words, “*Be not too bold*”, over the iron door:

And as she lookt about, she did behold,
 How ouer that same dore was likewise writ,
Be bolde, be bolde, and euery where *Be bold*,
 That much she muz’d, yet could not construe it
 By any ridling skill, or commune wit.
 At last she spyde at that rowmes vpper end,
 Another yron dore, on which was writ,
Be not too bold; whereto though she did bend
 Her earnest minde, yet wist not what it might intend. (III.xi.54)

Britomart thinks over the meanings of the mysterious words, “*Be bold*” and “*Be not too bold*”, but she is not able to understand, again demonstrating an anxiety about extracted and decontextualised words.

Although Britomart cannot understand their meanings, these phrases would have been famous among early modern readers, since they are derived from the myth of Venus and Adonis. In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, after Venus gains Adonis’s heart, she becomes worried about Adonis’s hunting. Venus encourages his hunting of small and safe animals, but she warns him of hunting bigger creatures:

te quoque, ut hos timeas, siquid prodesse monendo
 possit, Adoni, monet, ‘fortis’ que ‘fugacibus esto’
 inquit; ‘in audaces non est audacia tuta. (102)

She warns you, too, Adonis, to fear these beasts, if only it were of any avail to warn.
 ‘Be brave against timorous creatures,’ she says; ‘but against bold creatures boldness is
 not safe. (103)

Spenser does not follow Ovid’s expression exactly. In Latin, Ovid uses different words, *fortis* (“brave”) and *audax* (“bold”), in Venus’s warning. However, Spenser uses the same word “bold” repeatedly. This fact suggests that Spenser could have borrowed the phrase from Arthur Golding’s translation rather than Ovid’s Latin text. As mentioned earlier, researchers have maintained that Golding’s translation has almost no influence on Spenser’s works. However, in the case of Venus’s warning words, Spenser closely follows Golding’s expressions. Below is the corresponding part of Golding’s translation (10.626-31):

. . . And of theis same shee warned also thee
Adonis for too shoonne them, if thou wooldst have warned bee.
Bee bold on cowards (*Venus* sayd) for whoso dooth advaunce
 Himselfe against the bold, may hap too meete with sum mischaunce.
 Wherefore I pray thee my sweete boy forbear too bold too bee,
 For feare thy rashnesse hurt thy self and woork the wo of mee. (10.626-31; 213,
 emphases mine)

Venus permits Adonis to “be bold” in small hunting, but she forbids him to be too bold in a hunt of a boar. Golding does not translate the difference between *fortis* (“brave”) and *audax* (“bold”). Instead, he uses the word “bold” repeatedly. Spenser’s phrases, “*Be bold*” but “*Be not too bold*”, have the same words and with similar syntax as Golding’s translation. Generally

speaking, Spenser was not influenced by Golding's writings, but Venus's warning in Canto xi presents the possibility that Spenser had read Golding's English translation. The expressions of Venus's warning are especially important here, because these words let readers know of Britomart's dangerous situation in advance. If readers were familiar with the story of Venus and Adonis, they would realise that Britomart is in danger in the house of Busirane in the same way Adonis was. Readers who have grammar school education must realise this echo from the Latin text when they read the "be bold" episode of Britomart. Because Spenser repeatedly mentions the episode of Venus and Adonis in Book III, readers easily connect Ovid's story of Venus and Adonis with the episodes of Book III. Spenser tactically represents Venus's words as a warning to Britomart at her crucial moment in the house of Busirane.

While early modern readers would detect the classical resonance in the episode of the House of Busirane, why does Spenser let Britomart remain uncomprehending? One interpretation is that it is due to Britomart's chastity. According to Thomas P. Roche, Jr., the idea of chastity has the two sides of characteristics: abstinence (virginity) and marriage, whose balance had been adjusted in the Christian tradition from the medieval church to the Reformers. Roche argues, "This seesaw balance between abstinence and marriage has left chastity as a virtue largely undefined except by specifying limits" (*SEnc* 270). This means that the idea of chastity is definable by showing what chastity cannot accept as its own nature. If chastity is the virtue which is defined by the limitation, Britomart's incomprehensiveness should also be considered as a limitation caused by her chastity. Britomart's incomprehensiveness would represent her chaste status by specifying her limit. Another interpretation on Britomart's incomprehension is related to the commonplace, "boldness is blind" (Smith no. 73). Spenser might follow this commonplace in Britomart's behaviours. In the House of Busirane, Spenser emphasises Britomart's visual sensation in these stanzas by using the words "her busie eye", "spye" and "behold". Furthermore, after Britomart saw the phrases, "*Be bolde, be bolde,*" "*Be*

not too bold”, this room gets dark, and she cannot see anything in the darkness. These phrases and darkness suggest her psychological blindness. The commonplace, “boldness is blind” represents the state of “bold” Britomart. Again, although Britomart does not understand the meaning of the epigram, she behaves boldly, and this can be understood with another commonplace, “boldness is blind”. Commonplaces play a key role in Spenser’s episodes even they do not appear directly.

2.1.4. Busirane and Amoret

When Spenser’s Venus can be compared with the motherly image of a schoolmaster, Busirane, the master of the horrific house, represents the negative image of a schoolmaster, who abuses pupils with corporal punishment. Since it was common to use corporal punishment on pupils in early modern grammar schools, a grammar school can be a horrific place of corporal pain. Before she visits the house of Busirane, Britomart first finds Scudamour, who laments Amoret’s abduction by Busirane. Scudamour expresses his grief by questioning: “Why then is *Busirane* with wicked hand / Suffred, these seuen monethes day in secret den / My lady and my loue so cruelly to pen?” (III.xi.10.7-9). Scudamour laments over Amoret, who has suffered in a den for seven months. His words in the last line, “My lady and my loue so cruelly to pen”, mean that Amoret is cruelly imprisoned by Busirane, but as mentioned in the note by Hamilton (*Longman FQ* III.xi.10.n.), the verb “pen” can also mean “to write with a pen”. Amoret’s suffering, then, can be seen as a sort of torture using a pen, and in this sense, Busirane can be compared to a cruel schoolmaster who educates pupils by using corporal punishment. In early modern grammar schools, it was common to use corporal punishment on pupils. Richard Mulcaster was famous for claiming that corporal punishment was an effective way to educate children, as argued by Andrew Hadfield; “Mulcaster was also known as a severe taskmaster, intolerant of idle pupils and, like many other Tudor schoolteachers, he argued that

the rod was a key part of a teacher's equipment" (*Spenser: A Life* 31). In his *Positions*, Mulcaster argues that corporal punishment with a rod is an effective way to train children because it can frighten them with both awe and physical correction in Chapter 43.²³ Mulcaster argues that the rod is a common way to punish children because it can give them "correction" and "awe":

But he must cheifly touch what *punishment* he will vse, and how much, for euery kinde of fault, that shall seeme punishable by the *rod*. For the *rod* may no more be spared in schooles, then the *sworde* may in the *Princes* hand. By the *rod* I meane *correction*, and *awe*: (*Positions* f.277; 1581)

Mulcaster believes that corporal punishment is the effective way to train children because it can frighten pupils with both awe and physical correction. He even doubts whether education without corporal punishment can be effective: "what would that childe be without beating, which with it can hardly be reclaimed?" (f. 278). For him, using corporal punishment was part of a grammar school education. Because Spenser went to the Merchant Taylors' School during the time it was presided over by Mulcaster, Spenser undoubtedly received a strict education which involved corporal punishments. It would not be curious if Spenser had a negative impression on a grammar school as a horrific place of torture and pain. Learning Latin required the physical exercise of writing sentences with a pen, besides occasional physical punishments. The verb "pen" echoes these school-based senses, and Scudamour's words, "My lady and my loue so cruelly to pen" (III.xi.10.9), can be understood as a representation of school phobia.

This phobic reaction to schooling appears again in the relationship between Busirane and Amoret in the house of Busirane. Without understanding the meaning of Venus's warning,

²³ The title of Chapter 43 is: "How to cut of most inconueniences wherwith schooles and scholers, maisters and parentes be in our schooling now most troubled. Wherof there be two meanes, uniformitie in teaching and publishing of schoole orders. That uniformitie in teaching hath for companions dispatch in learning, and sparing of expenses. Of the abbridging of the number of bookes. Of courtesie and correction. Of schoole faultes. Of friendlinesse betwene parentes and maisters" (sig. L1r).

“*Be bold*” but “*Be not too bold*”, Britomart enters the next room, and there she finds Amoret, who is bound with iron bands to a brazen pillar by Busirane (III.xii.30). Beside Amoret, Busirane is writing “straunge characters” with Amoret’s blood:

And her before the vile Enchaunter sate,
 Figuring straunge characters of his art,
 With liuing blood he those charcters wrate,
 Dreadfully dropping from her dying hart,
 Seeming transmixed with a cruell dart,
 And all perforce to make her him to loue.
 Ah who can loue the worker of her smart?
 A thousand charmes he formerly did proue;

Yet thousand charmes could not her stedfast hart remoue. (III.xii.31)

Busirane’s spells are expressed as “straunge characters of his art” in line two, a description which can also be seen to express a phobia of grammar school pupils. As discussed in Lily’s *Grammar*, the early stage of Latin learning was taught in Latin and English. For a young pupil who did not understand Latin, his schoolmaster’s words would sound “strange”. Busirane’s behaviour – sitting and writing characters – can be compared with a schoolmaster who “pens” cryptic letters. In the same way that schoolmasters taught pupils to repeat the sentence, “*Amo magistrum*, I loue the mayster” (Lily 162), Busirane forces Amoret to love him with his magic words and corporal punishment.

In his *Positions*, Richard Mulcaster describes how he trains pupils to make them into “beloved” subjects, under the topic of “A wit for learning in a monarchie”. He initially explains what makes a good pupil:

That child therefore is like to proue in further yeares, the fittest subject for learning in a *monarchie*, which in his tender age sheweth himselfe obedient to scholeorders, and

either will not lightly offend, or if he do, will take his punishment gently: (*Positions* f.150; 1581)

In a grammar school education, training obedient children was important for fashioning useful gentlemen for the nation state. According to Mulcaster, obedient pupils mean children who follow school orders and take punishments docilely. He also argues that such obedient students “like to proue both honestly learned, and earnestly beloved” (f.152). Schoolmasters trained pupils to be obedient so that they would be “earnestly beloved”. This logic seems to be found in Busirane’s way of abusing Amoret. Spenser’s emotional comment, “Ah who can loue the worker of her smart?” (III.xii.31.7) sounds like a pupil’s complaint about his schoolmaster, who forced him to memorise “a thousand charmes” by using punishments (1.9). Spenser’s imagination of Busirane’s abuse seems to derive from his own school experience. Here, grammar school practice is expressed as if it is a traumatic experience. Furthermore, once Busirane sees Britomart, he overthrows his “wicked bookes” and tries to stab Britomart:

Soone as that virgin knight he saw in place,
 His wicked bookes in hast he ouerthrew,
 Not caring his long labours to deface,
 And fiercely running to that Lady trew,
 The which he thought, for villeinous despight,
 In her tormented bodie to embrew:
 But the stout Damzell to him leaping light,

His cursed hand withheld, and maistered his might. (III.xii.32; emphasis mine)

Schoolmaster-like Busirane behaves horribly here. He overthrows his books without caring about “his long labours to deface”. Spenser might criticise schoolmasters who take to corporal punishments more readily than studying. Then, Busirane rushes “fiercely” to stab Britomart’s “tormented bodie”. The expression of “her tormented bodie” can also be connected with the

image of corporal punishments, and Busirane's aggressive urge to torture Britomart can be treated as a criticism on schoolmasters.

Busirane is depicted as a vile master, but Britomart's might overpowers him. Despite receiving a slight injury to her chest, she defeats Busirane easily. In her victory, she forces him to restore Amoret by threatening him with death (III.xii.35). Busirane follows Britomart's words, and he breaks the spells by using his "cursed leaues":

And rising vp, gan streight to ouerlooke

Those cursed leaues, his charmes back to reuerse;

Full dreadfull thinges out of that balefull booke

He red, and measur'd many a sad verse,

That horroure gan the virgins hart to perse,

And her faire locks vp stared stiffe on end,

Hearing him those same bloody lynes reherse;

And all the while he red, she did extend

Her sword high ouer him, if ought he did offend. (III.xii.36; emphasis mine)

Busirane "red, and measur'd many a sad verse" and "bloody lynes" to break his spells. These expressions may allude to the severe practices of grammar schools. The phrases which Spenser would memorise in grammar school are easily connected with sadness and bloody pain because of corporal punishment. Busirane's "sad verse" and "bloody lynes" horrify Britomart even after her victory. While characters, verses and books relate to horror and pain in the house of Busirane, it turns out that the horrible scenes in the house of Busirane are actually his illusions. The house vanishes by Britomart's command. Spenser shows that Busirane's charms are not effective enough to change Amoret's mind, and the fantasies in the house of Busirane easily dissolve into the air. Spenser might suggest that a grammar school education which emphasises the use of corporal punishment does not truly gain the hearts of pupils. The House of Busirane

could represent Spenser's horrifying image of corporal punishment in grammar school education, and only the female knight Britomart can defeat Busirane. Britomart's sex and her exceptional ability allows her to destroy the House of Busirane.

The story of Venus and Adonis is a central theme in Book III of *The Faerie Queene*, and I have shown how the myth is contextualised by grammar school education, through images of "schooling" and "parenting" in the episodes of Castle Joyeous and the house of Busirane. In the tapestry of Castle Joyeous, Spenser's motherly Venus acts like early modern schoolmasters, who assumed a parental role and represented themselves as mothers or nurses. Venus "oft and oft" (III.i.37.6) advises Adonis not to hunt big beasts, a recurrent lesson that is comparable with the grammar school practice of repetitive memorisation. While Spenser's Ovidian expressions are mainly derived from Ovid's Latin text, the direct influence of Arthur Golding's translation is also seen in Venus's advice, "*Be bold*" but "*Be not too bold*", in the house of Busirane (III.xi.50, 54). This example shows that Spenser's reference to Ovid in *The Faerie Queene* comes from both Ovid's Latin and Golding's English. Britomart's noncomprehending of Venus's advice reflects the anxiety of grammar school pupils, who were repeatedly trained to memorise cryptic phrases extracted from Latin readings. While the intimate relationship between a schoolmaster and pupils is positively expressed in Canto i, Busirane's abusive relation to Amoret embodies the negative image of parental teaching by a schoolmaster, who taught pupils to be obedient and to love him through his controlling words and corporal punishments. The house of Busirane is understood as a horrific training place in this context. These episodes related to the story of Venus and Adonis represent the early modern idea of "schooling" and "parenting". We can enhance our understanding of Spenser's allegorical representations in this context.

2.2. Book IV: The Rhetorical Use of Commonplaces

2.2.1. Superficial Use of Commonplaces by Evil Characters

Book IV was first published in the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene*. Book IV designates Cambell and Triamond as the patrons of its thematic virtue, friendship. Although they are the main characters of Book IV, Spenser does not describe the adventure of Cambell and Triamond continuously. Instead, other characters from the previous books such as Britomart, Scudamour and Florimell show up and keep proceeding in their adventures. Compared with other books, Book IV conveys the impression of scattered episodes, where previous characters from Book III intrude into the story of Book IV. However, in the early modern sense, friendship was treated as a virtue and was closely related to love – a main theme of Book III – as argued by Sir Thomas Elyot:

But nowe let vs enserche what frendship or amitie is. / Aristotle saieth, that frendship is a vertue, or ioyneth with vertue, whiche is affirmed by Tulli, . . . nothing is of more greater estimation than loue, called in latine Amor, whereof Amicitia commeth, named in englisshe frendshippe or amitie (fols. 141v-142r)

Elyot explains that friendship (or amity) in English came from the Latin word *Amor*, and Spenser seems to represent this idea in Book IV, because episodes in which Cambell and Triamond do not appear are related to love relationships. For example, Britomart meets her promised husband Artegall in Canto vi, and Scadamour finds Amoret at the Temple of Venus in Canto x, and Florimell finally gains her beloved Marinell in the last canto.

Spenserian researchers such as Josephine Waters Bennet and Thomas P. Roche have found a structural continuation between Book III and IV,²⁴ and we can also see Spenser's continuous use of commonplaces in Book IV. Among the books of *The Faerie Queene*, Book

²⁴ In *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"*, Bennet mentions "Book IV is almost entirely a continuation of Book III" (164), and Roche argues in *The Kindly Flame* that "the relationship of Books III and IV is the hinge on which all these structural patterns depend" (201) and "the structure of Books III and IV is the reason why Spenser's allegory of love is so extremely profound" (211).

IV has the third greatest number of proverbs. According to C. G. Smith's list, there are 234 proverbs in Book I, 196 in Book II, 181 in Book III, 190 in Book IV, 145 in Book V, 155 in Book VI and 24 in Book VII (6). Spenser continuously uses commonplaces in each book, but generally speaking, the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* embraces more commonplaces, especially in Book I. It is difficult to count the exact number of commonplaces due to the inconclusive definition of commonplaces. Nevertheless, it can be said that Spenser keeps using commonplaces in Book IV to a similar degree as in the 1590 edition, while his use of commonplaces decreases in Books V to VII. Compared to the amounts of proverbs in Books V to VII, Spenser uses quite a few proverbs in Book IV. Spenser keeps using commonplaces as often as in the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* until Book IV. According to Andrew Hadfield, Spenser had been writing some episodes of Book IV while he was writing the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* (*Spenser: A Life* 326). Some parts of Book IV had already been written in the 1580s, and other parts such as the episode of Timias and Belpheobe (IV.vii-viii) were written after 1592, while Books V and VI are considered as later works. Although Book IV was published in 1596, this book has a strong connection with Book III, for example the Florimel-Timias episode and the adventures of Britomart and Amoret. This would be one reason for Spenser's frequent use of commonplaces in Book IV.

In the first episode of Book IV, Spenser shows the contrast between a true friendship (Britomart – a young knight) and a false friendship (Blandamour – Paridell). In the castle where they stay, Britomart fights against a “iolly knight” who insists that he is the right person to be Amoret's lover. Britomart defeats him, but she ensures a concord between the knight and her (IV.i.15). In contrast, the relationship between Blandamour and Paridell shows a false friendship. When Blandamour sees that Britomart takes beautiful Amoret as her company, he decides to attack her to gain Amoret. However, Britomart defeats Blandamour, and Spenser says that Blandmour makes “thensample of his follie” (IV.1.36.6). In Book I, when the Red

Cross Knight makes a mistake in choosing Duessa as his mistress instead of Una, Spenser writes that “this *Redcrosse* knights ensample” clearly proves the bad example of fraud and fickleness (I.iv.1). Similarly, Spenser also inserts a proverbial phrase, “beware with whom he dar’d to dallie” (IV.i.36.9) after he mentions “thensample of his follie”. Although Smith does not treat this phrase, “beware with whom he dar’d to dallie”, the similar commonplace, “he that dallies with his enemy dies by his own hand” is listed by Tilley (E138). Spenser might have known this commonplace and adopted it in his story. Spenser tends to extract a commonplace after a bad example of characters, and again, Spenser extracts a commonplace from Blandamour’s bad example here. Spenser’s judgement is decisive, and we can see how Spenser continues to treat evil characters as examples for readers’ education.

While Spenser uses commonplaces to judge the evil characters, they are also able to use commonplaces. Archimago in Book I is one of the examples, and in Book IV, Spenser inserts two commonplaces in Paridell’s speech. Blandamour asks Pridell to fight against Scudamour because they are “friends”. Pridell accepts Blandamour’s request by using commonplaces:

For thy he thus to *Paridel* bespake,

Faire Sir, of fiendship let me now you pray,

That as I late aduentured for your sake,

The hurts whereof me now from battell stay,

Ye will me now with like good turne repay,

And iustifie my cause on yonder knight.

Ah Sir (said *Paridel*) do not dismay

Your selfe for this, my selfe will for you fight,

As ye haue done for me: the left hand rubs the right. (IV.i.40)

Smith lists two commonplaces in this speech; the first one is “one good turn begets another”, which can be compared with lines 5 to 9 (no. 798). The other one is “the left hand rubs the right” for lines 8 to 9 (no.355). According to the Variorum edition, this commonplace comes from a saying of *Epicharmus* in *Axiochus*; “one hand rubbeth another: giue somewhat, and somewhat take” (127-128). According to Harold L. Weatherby, *Axiochus* is one of the dialogues which is recognised as a pseudo-Platonic work by Plato. It was popular during the early modern period, and many translations were published in Latin, French, Italian and English (*SEnc* 77). Researchers such as Frederick Morgan Padelford and Douglas Bush believe that the English version of *Axiochus* was translated by Edmund Spenser. Although Weatherby denies the possibility, he does concede that Spenser “could have adapted the passage for *The Faerie Queene* directly from the Latin” (*SEnc* 77). Current studies by Weatherby argue the English translation is actually by Anthony Munday instead of Spenser. Still, Weatherby’s judgement supports the idea that Spenser’s use of commonplaces is greatly influenced by grammar school practice. Spenser would have read this dialogue during his education, and he uses the commonplace, “the left hand rubs the right” in the first canto of Book IV. Both commonplaces in Stanza 40 represent the relation of give-and-take, and as shown in Hamilton’s note, this indicates “the absence of true friendship between Blandamour and Paridell” (*Longman FQ* 417). In this case, Spenser does not extract from an example. Instead, Paridell extracts commonplaces by himself.

Duessa and Ate, the lovers of Blandamour and Paridell, also have an ability to insert commonplaces into their speech. They deceive Scudamour, who defeated Paridell, by lying that Amoret has betrayed him:

Ah gentle knight, then false *Duessa* sayd,
 Why do ye striue for Ladies loue so sore,
 Whose chiefe desire is loue and friendly aid

Mongst gentle Knights to nourish euermore?

Ne be ye wroth Sir *Scudamour* therefore,

That she your loue list loue another knight,

Ne do your selfe dislike a whit the more;

For Loue is free, and led with selfe delight,

Ne will enforced be with maisterdome or might.

So false *Duessa*, but vile *Ate* thus;

Both foolish knights, I can but laugh at both,

That striue and storme with stirre outrageous,

For her that each of you alike doth loth,

And loues another, with whom now she goth

In louely wise, and sleepes, and sports, and playes;

Whilest both you here with many a cursed oth,

Sweare she is yours, and stirre vp bloudie frayes,

To win a willow bough, whilest other weares the bayes. (IV.i.46-47; emphases mine)

Both of them insert commonplaces at the end of the stanzas. The climactic hexameter in the last line also helps to make the phrases sound authentic. According to C. G. Smith, *Duessa* uses the commonplace, “love cannot be compelled” (no. 480), in the last two lines, and *Ate* uses the commonplace, “to win it and wear it” (no. 851) in the last line. *Duessa* and *Ate* use commonplaces tactically, and these commonplaces look persuasive enough to cause *Scudamour* grief. Nevertheless, because Spenser calls them “false *Duessa*” and “vile *Ate*”, readers know that their persuasive commonplaces are actually ill-used by evil characters. Furthermore, since the readers know that *Amoret* does not have an affair with *Britomart* from the previous episode, they can know that these commonplaces are used to enable *Duessa* and

Ate to lie. Commonplaces here work as a rhetorical device to seduce the main characters.

Blandamour also has an ability to use commonplaces:

Lo recreant (sayd he) the fruitlesse end

Of thy vaine boast, and spoile of loue misgotten,

Whereby the name of knight-hood thou dost shend,

And all true louers with dishonor blotten,

All things not rooted well, will soone be rotten. (IV.i.51.1-5; emphasis mine)

When he knows that Scudamour is totally deceived by the lie, Blandamour arrogantly says, “all things not rooted well, will soone be rotten” to Scudamour. Blandamour uses the commonplace to abuse Scudamour, and Smith lists this commonplace as “all rootless things soon die” (no. 666). Spenser does not use this commonplace to educate readers here. Instead, Spenser uses this as a part of Blandamour’s lie. Spenser describes these evil characters as people who use commonplaces in a superficial way. For the evil characters, a commonplace is a rhetorical tool to abuse the main characters. Considering the fact that the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene* was banned in Scotland by James VI (*Longman FQ* xviii), Spenser would have had a cautious view on the dangerous power of rhetoric, and he represents the bad example of abusing commonplaces by the description of Blandamour.

Spenser expresses his cautious view on abusing words more clearly in Canto iv. At the beginning of this canto, Paridell, Blandamour and the Squire of Dames encounter Cambell and Triamond. Although the Squire of Dames proposes that they should let Cambell and Triamond pass without blaming, Blandamour cannot help saying “disgracing” words to them:

Yet nigh approaching, he them fowle bespake,

Disgracing them, him selfe thereby to grace,

As was his wont, so weening way to make

To Ladies loue, where so he came in place,

And with lewd termes their louers to deface.
 Whose sharpe prouokement them incenst so sore,
 That both were bent t'auenge his vsage base,
 And gan their shields addresse them selues afore:

For euill deedes may better then bad words be bore. (IV.iv.4; emphasis mine)

Blandamour's insults towards their lovers sharply provoke Cambell and Triamond. Spenser judges Blandamour critically by saying, "euill deedes may better then bad words be bore" (Smith no. 879) in the last line of Stanza 4. Blandamour's words provoke a needless fight. In other words, Spenser emphasises the negative power of words here. In Book IV, Spenser is especially cautious about abusing words more than evil deeds. Because Blandamour uses commonplaces to abuse other people, Spenser shows his cautious view on ill-used commonplaces through these episodes.

While it can be said that Spenser is still under the influence of his grammar school education, Spenser shows his critical attitude towards rote learning. In Canto ix, Prince Arthur and the squire Placidus enter the castle of Paeana to save Æmylia's lover. Then, in the castle, Arthur sees that Paeana is singing songs which she learned "by rote":

There he did find in her delitious boure
 The faire Pimna playing on a Rote,
 Complayning of her cruell Paramoure,
 And singing all her sorrow to the note,
As she had learned readily by rote.
 That with the sweetnesse of her rare delight.
 The Prince halfe rapt, began on her to dote:
 Till better him bethinking of the right.

He her vnwares attacht, and captiue held by might. (IV.ix.6; emphasis mine)

Prince Arthur and Placidus come to capture Paeana, the daughter of a giant, but the songs which she remembered by rote make Arthur “halfe rapt” (l. 7), and he grows to be fond of her. As for the word “rapt”, *OED* lists this phrase in the definition 6; “Transported with joy, intense delight”. Paeana’s songs are described as strongly seductive words to move people’s minds. Again, Spenser focuses on the negative power of rhetorical words. Because Paeana memorises these songs by rote, Spenser suggests that she just borrows effective words without understanding. Also, because rote learning was practised in grammar schools, Spenser allusively criticises rote learning in grammar school. For Spenser, rote learning does not help the pupil to understand the meaning of words, and this could be dangerous if the memorised words are used in an effective way. As a good contrast, Prince Arthur succeeds in changing Paeana’s mind, but he uses his good behaviour and speeches instead of using memorised words by rote:

But her the Prince through his well wonted grace,
 To better termes of myldnesse did entreat,
 From that fowle rudenesse, which did her deface;
 And that same bitter corsiue, which did eat
 Her tender heart, and made refraine from meat,
 He with good thewes and speaches well applyde,
 Did mollifie, and calm her ragin heat. (IV.ix.14.1-7)

Paeana’s songs can move Arthur’s mind but cannot change his decision to capture her. Arthur’s speech is powerful enough to inspire Paeana’s emotion. This episode suggests that words memorised without understanding still work effectively, but at the same time, it also suggests that rote learning has its limitations. In the first canto, Spenser describes ill-used commonplaces by evil characters, and in Canto ix, he downplays rote learning. These episodes show Spenser’s

critical view of the superficial use of commonplaces and rote learning, which can be easily used to abuse others.

2.2.2. Spenser's Use of "I"

In the analysis of Book III, I discussed how Spenser's frequent use of the pronoun "I" and his addressment of readers makes his discourse less proverbial. This tendency is kept in Book IV as well. At the beginning of Canto iv, Spenser argues of the fragility of friendship, and when he shows the examples of true and false friendships, Spenser inserts the "I" pronouns and address readers:

It often fals, (as here it earst befell)
 That mortall foes doe turne to faithfiill frends,
 And friends profest are chaungd to foemen fell:
 The cause of both, of both their minds depends.
 And th'end of both likewise of both their ends.
 For enmitie, that of no ill proceeds.
 But of occasion, with th'occasion ends;
 And friendship, which a faint affection breeds
 Without regard of good, dyes like ill grounded seeds.

That well (me seemes) appeares, by that of late
 Twixt *Cambell* and Sir *Triamond* befell,
 As els by this, that now a new debate
 Stird vp twixt *Scudamour* and *Paridell*,
 The which by course befals me here to tell:
 Who hauing those two other Knights espide

Marching afore, as ye remember well.

Sent forth their Squire to haue them both descride.

And eke those masked Ladies riding them beside. (IV.iv.1-2; emphases mine)

In the first stanza, Spenser's words are proverbial. Smith actually lists two commonplaces in Stanza 1; "a false friend is a dangerous enemy" in line 3 (no.303) and "false friendship cannot last" in lines 8 to 9 (no.309). On the other hand, in Stanza 2, Spenser talks more privately by using pronouns such as "me" and "ye". Smith does not count any commonplaces in Stanza 2. This means that Spenser defines the virtue without relying on commonplaces, and in this way, the relationship between Spenser and readers becomes more mutual by emphasising that these lessons are derived from Spenser's personal values.

Spenser increases his use of "I" in Books III and IV, but at the same time, he keeps inserts commonplaces as well. When he uses proverbial phrases based on commonplaces, Spenser occasionally inserts "is said" to emphasise that the sentence is borrowed. For example, in Canto ix, the knights who cannot gain snowy Florimell in the tournament fight against each other because of her. To describe their intensive fights, Spenser inserts the commonplace, "But sooth is said, . . . faint friends when they fall out, most cruell fomen bee":

Thereforth they much more furiously gan fare,

As if but then the battell had begonne,

Ne helmets bright, ne hawberks strong did spare,

That through the clifts the vermeil bloud out sponne,

And all adowne their riuen sides did ronne.

Such mortall malice, wonder was to see

In friends profest, and so great outrage donne:

But sooth is said, and tride in each degree,

Faint friends when they fall out, most cruell fomen bee. (IV.ix.27; emphasis mine)

Smith counts the last line as commonplace; “a false friend is a dangerous enemy” (no. 303), but the most noteworthy point here is that Spenser inserts “sooth is said” to introduce this commonplace. By inserting the phrase, “is said”, Spenser strengthens the persuasiveness of his use of the commonplace. The beginning of Canto viii is another example of Spenser borrowing the authority of commonplaces. After Spenser tells the episode of Timias, who falls into disgrace with Belpheobe, Spenser inserts the commonplace, “the displeasure of the mighty is then death it selfe more dread and desperate”:

WEll said the wiseman, now prou’d true by this,

Which to this gentle Squire did happen late,

That the displeasure of the mighty is

Then death it selfe more dread and desperate. (IV.viii.1.1-4; emphasis mine)

In the beginning, Spenser uses the phrase, “well said the wiseman” to introduce this commonplace. According to Hamilton’s note, this “wiseman” is Solomon, who says the words, “the wrath of a King is as messengers of death” (Prov. 16.14) (*Longman FQ* 466). These words of Solomon are counted as a commonplace by Smith (no. 884). Spenser borrows the authority of the excerpt to make his words persuasive. Spenser’s method, borrowing another authority, is a central idea of commonplace book practice, even as he increases the use of “I”.

Another characteristic of Spenser’s use of “I” in Book IV is that Spenser frequently makes an announcement at the end of the cantos by proclaiming that he needs rest. Surprisingly, Spenser inserts his “excuse” to finish the cantos for nine times out of twelve in Book IV. Spenser even finishes the entire story of Book IV by saying that “to another place I leaue to be perfected” (IV.xii.35.9). Below are all the citations which Spenser ends with his excuse; “The which length I will not here pursew, / But rather well rescue it for a Canto new” (IV.ii.54.8-9), “Where I with sound of trompe will also rest a whye” (IV.iv.48.9), “But here my wearie teeme nigh ouer spent / Shall breath it selfe awhile, after so long a went” (IV.v.46.8-9), “therefore I

here will stay / Vntill another tyde, that I it finish may” (IV.vi.47.8-9), “Which for it is too long here to abide, / I will deferre the end vntill another tide” (IV.vii.47.8-9), “And all those daungers vnto them declar’d, / Which sith they cannot in this Canto well / Comprised be, I will them in another tell” (IV.ix.41.7-9), “So ended he his tale, where I this Canto end.” (IV.x.58.9), “Which, for my Muse her selfe now tyred has, / Vnto an other Canto I will ouerpas” (IV.xi.53.8-9) and “Which to another place I leaue to be perfected” (IV.xii.35.9). Because Spenser uses the “I” pronoun, readers remember Spenser’s existence every time. In Book IV, Spenser keeps following the idea of commonplace book practice by borrowing the authority of commonplaces. At the same time, Spenser emphasises his existence by inserting the pronoun “I” frequently and by ending the cantos with his excuses for the break. This change can mean that Spenser explores other ways besides inserting commonplaces to make his discourse more persuasive, and one way is inserting the first-person pronoun “I”, to develop an intimate relationship with the readers.

2.2.3. Scudamour as a Commonplace Practitioner

Canto x describes how Scudamour takes Amoret as plunder from the Temple of Venus. This episode is told from Scudamour’s perspective, which means that it can be treated as a “reframed” story by Scudamour. His “reframed” story begins with borrowing another person’s commonplace:

True he it said, what euer man it sayd,

That loue with gall and hony doth abound.

But if the one be with the other wayd.

For euery dram of hony therein found,

A pound of gall doth ouer it redound.

That I too true by triall haue approued:

For since the day that first with deadly wound

My heart was launcht, and learned to haue loued,

I neuer ioyed howre, but still with care was moued. (IV.x.1; emphasis mine)

In this opening, Scudamour does not specify the source of the person who mentions this commonplace, “loue with gall and hony doth abound”. Instead, it is important for him to show the fact that he borrows the sentence which is broadly accepted by adding “True he it said, what euer man it sayd” (l. 1). In commonplace book culture, it is not unusual to cite quotations without mentioning the sources. John Bodenham’s printed commonplace book is one of the examples which does not mention source references. In his preface to the reader, Bodenham proclaims that he does not need any defence of this compilation because all the sentences he cited have already been “approoued” (sig. A3r). Bodenham borrows other writers’ authorities to approve the worth of this commonplace book. Likewise, Scudamour begins his story by mentioning a commonly approved sentence which strengthens the credibility of his storytelling. Furthermore, Scudamour’s commonplace, “loue with gall and hony doth abound” is listed in Bodenham’s *Bel-vedère* under the item of “Love” (QN 598). While Spenser treats the commonplace, “loue with gall and hony doth abound” as other person’s words, Bodenham received this commonplace as Spenser’s own commonplace. Bodenham’s commonplace book shows how early modern readers read phrases from *The Faerie Queene* as commonplaces. In addition to this, Scudamour’s phrase in line 8, “My heart was launcht, and learned to haue loued” can be understood in the context of grammar school education. Scudamour “learned” the lesson, “euery dram of hony therein found, / A pound of gall doth ouer it redound” (lines 4-5). He extracts another lesson by using a well-known commonplace. Robert Allott actually cites these phrases (from lines 1 to 5) in his printed commonplace book (QN 1024). Interestingly, Allott lists this quotation under the item of “life”. While Spenser inserts these phrases in the context of Scadamour’s love relationship, Allott’s interpretation categorises this

in lessons of “life”. Also, although Spenser mentions that the first lesson is “said” by somebody else in line one, Allott cites these phrases as Spenser’s own. From this example, we know that Allott also treats all sentences from *The Faerie Queene* as Spenser’s own commonplaces even when Spenser mentions that he borrowed the phrase from somebody’s writings.

In the first stanza of Canto x, Scudamour shows the commonplace which had already been well-known, “loue with gall and hony doth abound” (l. 2). However, he does not use this commonplace as a persuasive phrase for readers. Instead, Scudamour interprets this commonplace and explain the proportion of honey and gall by saying; “But if the one be with the other wayd, / For euery dram of hony therein found, / A pound of gall doth ouer it redound” (ll. 3-5). Scudamour “frames” the well-known commonplace and creates the original commonplace from it. In Stanza 2, he calls these phrases “common sence” (l. 4), and he negates that this “common sence” is not applicable for lovers:

And yet such grace is giuen them from aboue,
 That all the cares and euill which they meet,
 May nought at all their settled mindes remoue,
 But seeme gainst common sence to them most sweet;
 As bosting in their martydome vnmeet. (IV.x.2.1-5)

He says that lovers are exceptional because they can perceive any “martydome” as “most sweet”. In the first stanza, Scudamour interprets the commonplace by adding the extra description on the proportion of honey and gall. Then, in the second stanza, he interprets this commonplace again by saying that this commonplace is not universal for lovers. Here, Spenser uses the opening as an experimental space for interpreting commonplaces. Unlike the beginning of Book IV, Spenser does not insert commonplaces as a persuasive source for readers. Instead, Spenser shows several original interpretations to readers. It is obvious that his

interpretation is a kind of educational performance to readers, because Scudamour directly addresses the readers in Stanza 3:

Then hearke ye gentle knights and Ladies free,
My hard mishaps, that ye may learne to shonne;
For though sweet loue to conquer glorious bee,

Yet is the paine thereof much greater then the fee. (IV.x.3.5-9)

Scudamour still uses the imageries of honey, but this time, he mentions “pain” instead of gall. He first compares “sweet loue” with “glorious bee” and says that love can conquer bees. However, in the next line, he says that the pain is still much greater than the fee of “sweet loue”. In the second stanza, he declares that the commonplace, “loue with gall and hony doth abound” is not true for lovers. Then, in Stanza 3, he returns to the comparison of honey and gall (pain). His words, “yet is the paine thereof much greater then the fee” actually supports his first interpretation, “euery dram of hony therein found, / A pound of gall doth ouer it redound” (IV.x.1.4-5). Spenser’s exploration of the commonplace eventually turns back to his first interpretation. The beginning of Canto x shows an example of Spenser’s complicated attitude towards commonplaces. While Spenser still relies on the authority of commonplaces, he tries to create his own commonplaces through experimental interpretation. Unlike Paean’s memorised words in rote learning, Spenser analyses the meaning of the commonplace and interprets it according to his own value. Spenser teaches readers by showing a process of understanding and interpreting commonplaces.

2.2.4. Female Lamentation as Persuasive Speech in Book IV

Spenser describes several love relationships in Book IV, such as the couples of Britomart-Artegall, Amoret-Scudamour, Belpheobe-Timius and Florimell-Marinell. In these romance episodes, Spenser depicts Britomart, Timius and Florimell as lamenting characters

who are suffering because of their harsh lovers. While both Britomart and Timius are not able to change their lovers' minds, only Florimell's complaint is capable of persuading her lover Marinell (*Longman FQ* IV.xii.6-11.n.). In Canto xii, Florimell moves Marinell's heart with her persuasive lamentation, and Marinell strongly regrets denying her. According to Lynne Enterline, grammar schoolboys practiced playing the role of lamenting women in Latin. She argues, "schoolboys learned how to invent emotional characters (*"passiva"*) by memorizing and imitating a series of exemplary speeches from women mourning some terrible loss" (92). Florimell's lamentation can be understood in this context. Spenser would have learned how to make a persuasive lamentation in grammar school. Considering this point, it is not unnatural to think that his description of Florimell is influenced by grammar school education.

In Canto xii, after Marinell attends the marriage of the Medway and the Thames with his mother Cymodoce, he hears Florimell's "lamentable voice" unexpectedly, which comes from Proteus' sea dungeon. She has been imprisoned by Proteus because she had denied to love him:

Vender the hanging of an hideous clieffe,
 He heard the lamentable voice of one,
 That piteously complaind her carefull grieffe,
 Which neuer she before disclosd to none,
 But to her selfe her sorrow did bemone.
 So feelingly her case she did complaine,
 That ruth it moued in the rocky stone,
 And made it seeme to feele her grieuous paine,
 And oft to grone with billowes beating from the maine. (IV.xii.5)

Spenser uses a whole stanza to emphasise Florimell's secret lamentation, which "piteously complaind her carefull grieffe". Spenser also describes how her lamentation is effective in the

last three lines. Florimell's complaint arouses Marinell's pity so that he sympathises with her "grievous paine". The parallel with sea waves in the last line is dynamic; her groaning voice is accompanied with "billowes beating from the maine", which suggests that her chronic moans are emotionally aggressive. Spenser treats her lamentation as an influential oration which moves the audience's emotions. Florimell's lamentation is inserted in Stanzas 6 to 11. At the beginning of her lamentation, Spenser does not insert his common phrase with a direct quotation such as "(quoth she)" here. He directly begins Florimell's moaning with using a pronoun "I":

Though vaine I see my sorrowes to vnfold,
 And count my cares, when none is nigh to heare,
 Yet hoping griefe may lessen being told,
 I will them tell though vnto no man neare:
 For heauen that vnto all lends equall eare,
 Is farre from hearing of my heauy plight;
 And lowest hell, to which I lie most neare,
 Cares not what euils hap to wretched wight;
 And greedy seas doe in the spoile of life delight. (IV.xii.6)

The shift from Spenser's narration to Florimell's moaning is seamless, and the boundary between Spenser's narration and Florimell's voice is ambiguous here as if Spenser's narration is synchronised with her. C. G. Smith counts two commonplaces. Line 3 can be compared with the commonplace, "by telling our woes we often lessen them" (no. 761), and line 5 is related to the commonplace, "to lend an ear" (no. 200). According to Smith, the first commonplace (no. 761) appears from Book I. In Canto vii, when Prince Arthur tries to encourage lamenting Una, he says, "found neuer help, who neuer would his hurts impart" (I.vii.40.9). Smith lists this phrase under the same item with Florimell's lamentation. While the shift from Spenser's

narration to Florimell is quite natural, Una's lamentation with Arthur includes many interruptions by adding "quothe (s)he". This is the difference between Florimell and Una. After Una hears of the sad news of the Red Cross Knight's defeat by Orgoglio, she encounters Prince Arthur and expresses her lamentation to the prince:

O but (quothe she) great griefe will not be tould,
 And can more easily be thought, then said.
 Right so (quothe he) but he, that neuer would,
 Could neuer: will to might giues greatest aid.
 But griefe (quothe she) does greater grow displaid,
 If then it find not helpe, and breeds despaire.
 Despaire breeds not (quothe he) where faith is staid.
 No faith so fast (quothe she) but flesh does paire.

Flesh may empaire (quothe he) but reason can repaire. (I.vii.41)

Although Una says, "great griefe will not be tould" in the first line, she continues the conversation with Prince Arthur by using proverbial phrases. Here, Spenser frequently inserts the introduction phrases, "(quothe s/he)" unlike Canto xii of Book IV. Despite the fact that Una refuses to confess her cause of moaning, Arthur's persuasive speech in their conversation gives her a chance to lament; "His goodly reason, and well guided speech / So deepe did settle in her gracious thought, / That her perswaded to disclose the breach" (I.vii.42.1-3). Their dialectic conversation with commonplaces makes Una eloquent, and this can be compared with a grammar school practice of dialectic disputations as discussed in Chapter 1. Considering this context, the conversation between Una and Arthur is educational. Arthur's proverbial words changes Una's mind to confess her grief.

On the other hand, Florimell's lamentation in Book IV is a soliloquy. Marinell does listen to her moaning, but he does not interrupt Florimell's words. Rather, the ambiguous

boundary between Spenser's narration and Florimell's voice works as if this is single person's own speech. Especially in Stanza 8, Florimell uses the third-person pronoun "her" to indicate herself:

And when my weary ghost with grieve outworne,
 By timely death shall winne her wished rest,
 Let then this plaint vnto his eares be borne,
 That blame it is to him, that armes profest,
 To let her die, whom he might haue redrest.
 There did she pause, inforced to giue place,
 Vnto the passion, that her heart opprest,
 And after she had wept and wail'd a space,

She gan afresh thus to renew her wretched case. (IV.xii.8; emphases mine)

Florimell does not use a pronoun "I" in this stanza except for "my weary ghost" in the first line. Instead, she uses "her" to call herself in lines 2 and 5: "her wished rest" and "armes profest, / To let her die". Line 6 returns to Spenser's narration, but the shift is quite smooth because Spenser also uses "she" to indicate Florimell. Florimell's use of "her" assists this natural change. In the last canto of Book IV, Spenser does not use a didactic conversation for a lamenting woman. Florimell does not expect her audience's response, her lamentation is described as a monologue. In the context of grammar school education, persuasive speech was treated as a high-level skill. According to Beatrice White, students learned oration in the last form out of the six forms (lvi). Considering the fact that students would have finished compiling before they learned theme writing in the fourth form (li), the dialectic conversation using commonplaces between Una and Prince Arthur would be a more basic practice than making an oration. While Una as a lamenting woman is persuaded by Arthur through the dialectic conversation, Florimell's lamentation has a power to persuade Marinell. In

Florimell's monologue, Marinell is listening to her oration as a silent audience. According to Hamilton's note, Florimell's complaint is "a rare instance of one that is effective" (*Longman FQ* III.xii.6-11.n.). Florimel's oration persuasively works to move Marinell's heart. After he listens to her lamentation, he feels pity and guilt for her:

All which complaint when *Marinell* had heard,
 And vnderstood the cause of all her care
 To come of him, for vsing her so hard,
 His stubborne heart, that neuer felt misfare
 Was toucht with soft remorse and pittie rare;
 That euen for grieffe of minde he oft did grone,
 And inly wish, that in his powre it weare
 Her to redresse: but since he meanes found none
 He could no more but her great misery bemone.

Thus whilst his stony heart with tender ruth
 Was toucht, and mighty courage mollifide,
 Dame *Venus* sonne that tameth stubborne youth
 With iron bit, and maketh him abide,
 Till like a victor on his backe he ride,
 Into his mouth his maystring bridle threw,
 That made him stoupe, till he did him bestride:
 Then gan he make him tread his steps anew,
 And learne to loue, by learning louers paines to rew. (IV.xii.12-13)

Florimell's speech greatly affects Marinell; not only does it make him feel guilty, but also it makes him fall in love with her. Florimell's lamentation succeeds in making him "learne to

loue". As we have already seen, lamenting Una is persuaded by Prince Arthur, but here, Spenser changes the gender role between persuasive men and lamenting women. In Book IV, lamenting Florimell effectively persuades Marinell and teaches him to love. Lynn Enterline cites a sentence from a young scholar's commonplace book. He recorded, "good oratory involves an intimate emotional connection, or better yet, transfer of feeling, between speaker and audience" under the item of "Rhetorick" (121). According to this person, good oratory transfers the speaker's emotion to the audience. This early modern criterion of good oratory can be adapted to Florimel's lamentation. It is so effective that Florimell's "great misery" induces Marinell's "grief". Spenser shows Florimell's lamentation as an ideal model of early modern oratory, which transfers the orator's emotion to the audience and creates the strong psychological bond between them.

Book IV shows Spenser's complicated attitude towards commonplaces. Spenser keeps using commonplaces in the same way as the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*. Nevertheless, after the change of the ending of Book III in the second edition of the poem, Spenser seems to become more cautious about using the power of rhetoric. Spenser describes rhetorical but superficial use of commonplaces in evil characters' speech. For example, evil characters such as Paridell and Blandamour abuse other characters by using commonplaces. Also, Paeana's song memorised by rote can be a criticism of a simple commonplace book practice without thinking, although her song is effective enough to move Arthur's mind. Spenser starts to show his personal opinion by addressing readers and using the first-person pronouns in his discourse. This tendency started since Book III, but in Book IV, Spenser more frequently finishes the cantos by proclaiming his break of telling stories. While he is critical of superficial words, Spenser also shows an exploration of commonplaces in Canto x. Spenser does not use the commonplace, "loue with gall and hony doth abound" directly. Instead, Spenser interprets it in

his own way and shows the process of understanding the commonplace to readers. In the final canto, Spenser describes a lamenting female figure as a persuasive orator. It is possible that a figure of lamenting woman was role-played by Spenser in a school play, and it might have inspired the description of lamenting Florimell in the last canto. Her words move Marinell's mind effectively, and her figure can be treated as an ideal model of an early modern orator. Although the figure of an orator does not seem to be related to a female character at first glance, we can see the close connection between lamenting women and persuasive speech in the context of a grammar school education.

Chapter 3: Books V to VII of *The Faerie Queene*

3.1. Book V: Commonplaces in Legal and Political Contexts

3.1.1. Artegall's Education of Justice

The titular knight of Book V is Artegall, who represents justice. His adventure reflects Spenser's experience especially in the political context, and it is relatively easy to detect Spenser's political tension in the episodes. Some early modern readers even regarded Book V as a political pamphlet. For example, Book V is notorious for being banned by James VI in Scotland, because he regarded Duessa as his mother Mary Stuart at Duessa's persecution scene in Cantos ix to x.²⁵ Also, during the Civil Wars, a Royalist journalist extracted the episode of the Giant with the Scales in Canto ii and published it as a Royalist pamphlet entitled *The Faerie Leveller* in 1648. These examples show how Spenser's words in Book V agitated politically-orientated readers, and Spenser's use of commonplaces contributed to strengthening the rhetoric in Book V.

For Book V, I will show how Spenser's commonplaces are contextualised in legal and political domains. Firstly, I will examine how Artegall's education by Astraea can be compared with an early modern school education. Secondly, I will discuss how Spenser applies commonplaces to legal problems and how the conflicts are solved with commonplaces by using the episodes of Cantos i and iv. Thirdly, I will argue how the episode of the Giant with the Scales in Canto ii was framed as a politicised commonplace in the Royalist propaganda called *The Faerie Leveller*. Through these episodes, I will show that Spenser still continues to use commonplaces as a crucial part of his discourse.

²⁵ Robert Bowes reported the proscription of *The Faerie Queene* in the letter to William Cecil: "The K[ing] hath conceaued great offence against Edward Spencer publishing in prynte in the second book p[ar]t of the Fairy Queene and ixth chapter some dishonorable effects (as the k. demeth thereof) against himself and his mother deceased" (Wells 45).

Book V begins with Spenser's lamentation over the fallen world; he calls the current world a stone age compared with the golden ancient world, and he laments that everything has gone wrong and been inverted. Spenser's admiration for the classical world increases here, and he declares that he follows the "antique vse" in Book V:

Let none then blame me, if in discipline
 Of vertue and of ciuill vses lore,
 I doe not forme them to the common line
 Of present dayes, which are corrupted sore,
 But to the antique vse, which was of yore,
 When good was onely for it selfe desyred,
 And all men sought their owne, and none no more;
 When Iustice was not for most meed outhyred,
 But simple Truth did rayne, and was of all admyred. (V.Proem.3)

Spenser first asks readers' forgiveness that he is not following the "common line" when he forms "discipline of vertue and of ciuill vses lore". Instead, he uses the "antique vse" to describe them. Spenser's declaration can be understood as his preference to Latin wisdom or commonplaces, since the words "discipline" and "lore" can mean an instruction or a lesson.

Through Book V, Spenser uses commonplaces to summarise the idea of justice; "the principle of justice is the principle of equality" (V.iv.19.1; Smith no. 431), "might makes right" (V.iv.1.9; no. 532) and "judge justly" (V.iv.1.2, V.vii.42.7 and V.ix.35.4; Smith no. 428). Besides these commonplaces, I find another commonplace which C. G. Smith does not count as an example. In Stanzas 9 to 10 of the Proem, Spenser reflects the commonplace, "in justice all virtue is found in sum" (Smith no.430) to explain the nature of justice as the supreme virtue:

Iustice sate high ador'd with solemne feasts,
 And to all people did diuide her dred beheasts.

Most sacred vertue she of all the rest,

Resembling God in his imperiall might:

Whose soueraine powre is herein most exprest,

That both to good and bad he dealeth right,

And all his workes with Iustice hath bedight. (V.Proem.9.8-10.5; emphasis mine)

Spenser praises the goddess Justice as the most sacred virtue of all the rest. According to Smith, the proverb “in justice all virtue is found in sum” derives from Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*; “We have the proverb: In justice all virtue is found in sum” (no. 430). Aristotle’s idea of justice over other virtues seems to have been familiar for Erasmus, since he also uses the similar phrase in *Adagia*; “Justitia in se virtutem complectitur omnem (Justice comprises in itself all virtue)” (Smith no. 430).²⁶ Spenser seems to follow the humanist idea of justice and to reflect this commonplace in the beginning of Book V.

Spenser portrays Artegall as a student of justice, and Artegall’s education seems to be described in the context of grammar school education. In Canto i, Spenser shows how the titular knight Artegall learned justice from Astraea. He first shows readers that justice is the virtue which one can gain by receiving education:

For *Artegall* in iustice was vpbrought

Euen from the cradle of his infancie,

And all the depth of rightfull doome was taught

By faire *Astraea*, with great industrie,

Whilest here on earth she liued mortallie.

²⁶ Morris Palmer Tilley also lists a similar English proverb, “Justice comprises all other (is the most commendable of all) virtue” (J105); “Iustice is the heade of all other vertues” in *The Institution of a Gentleman* (1555) and “Iustice hath Praise aboue all Vertues” in John Wodroephe’s *The Spered Houres of a Souldier* (1623). In John Withals’ Latin-English dictionary, the similar phrase is also listed; “Excellentissima virtus justitia. Justice is a vertue most commendable”.

For till the world from his perfection fell

Into all filth and foule inquitie,

Astraea here mongst earthly men did dwell,

And in the rules of iustice them instructed well. (V.i.5; emphasis mine)

Spenser explains that Artegall has been under the instruction of Astraea from the time when he was an infant. This reference can refer to the importance of education in one's childhood. Astraea teaches "all the depth of rightfull doome" to Artegall (l. 3). In this stanza, Spenser describes Astraea as Artegall's teacher, who teaches justice as a virtue. More importantly, she teaches other people besides Artegall, which means that she can be compared with a schoolteacher, who taught many pupils at the same time (ll. 8-9). As mentioned in the last two lines, Astraea stays in a human world and "instructed" people in "the rules of iustice". Spenser describes her as a teacher in school rather than a private teacher.

In the next stanza, Spenser describes how Artegall was chosen as an ideal learner of justice by Astraea. While she is walking, Astraea finds the young Artegall playing with other children. Astraea sees that young Artegall has a natural aptitude for learning justice, and therefore, she takes him into a cave, where he learns "all the discipline of iustice" for several years (V.i.6). This description suggests that children need to go to a school away from their home. This part can also be compared to grammar school education. In Stanza 7, Spenser shows what Astraea teaches Artegall:

There she him taught to weigh both right and wrong

In equall ballance 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 powre oppressing others of their kind. (V.i.7)

Astraea teaches Artegall how to judge good and bad things in equal balance. The phrase in line four, “the line of conscience” reminds us of memorised phrases in commonplace book practice, since conscience is expressed as if it were the sentence in one’s mind. Learning virtues and fashioning one’s noble personality was a part of a humanist education. Therefore, Astraea’s advice to follow the “line of conscience” would reflect Spenser’s idea of school education. Astraea also trains Artegall by giving him a chance to practice. Artegall practices how to judge equally by using wild animals. Her teaching continues until Artegall masters justice:

Thus she him trayned, and thus she him taught,

In all the skill of deeming wrong and right,

Vntill the ripenesse of mans yeares he raught; (V.i.8.1-3)

Astraea’s teaching can be compared with a grammar school education especially when we encounter the word “ripenesse” (1.3). “Ripeness” was one of the key words in humanist education as mentioned by Richard Mulcaster. In his *Positions*, Mulcaster argues that once children master their learning, their “ripenesse” should be measured in public, in the chapter on “the naturall abilities in their children”:

when they are thought sufficiently well learned, and to meddle with the state, then their ripenesse is to be measured, by vse to themselves, and seruice to their countrey, in peace, as best and most naturall, in warre, as worse, and most vnnaturall, and yet the ordinarie ende of a disordered peace. (*Positions* f.26; 1581, emphasis mine)

According to Mulcaster, pupils who had finished their school education were expected to demonstrate their “ripenesse” by serving their country whether at peace or at war. Schoolmasters educated children to make them into a practical force for the country. In a

similar way, Astraea teaches Artegall until he becomes a ripened mature man. Once he finishes his education, he is expected to show his “ripenesse” in public. Therefore, Artegall is chosen for the adventure of rescuing Eirena by the Faery Queen, so that he can show his “ripenesse”, justice.

In the context of humanist education, the word “ripeness” was used with another keyword “fruit”, and these words were closely connected in commonplace book practice. Mary Thomas Crane argues, “English theorists are particularly obsessed by the idea that liberal education must bear “fruit” that is of practical value to the state” (68). According to her, English humanists especially preferred the practical strategy in school education to gain an absolute profit as a “fruit”. Crane continues her argument by introducing Thomas Elyot’s theory:

Elyot argues for the continuation of study after age thirteen because “if the elegant speking of latin be nat added to other doctrine, litle frute may come of the tonge: sense latin is but a naturall speche, and the frute of speche is wyse sentence, whiche is gathered and made of sondry lernynges” (47v). The student is to gether seeds in the course of his reading so that he can bear fruit himself, in the form of the expression of his own “wise sentence”. (68)

According to Crane, Thomas Elyot claims that school education should continue after the age of thirteen to enhance pupils’ fluency of Latin. In particular, Crane focuses on Elyot’s expression, “the frute of speche is wyse sentence, whiche is gathered and made of sondry lernynges”, and she points out that these words indicate commonplace book practice. In their grammar school education, pupils collected useful sentences as “seeds” from their reading, and the “seeds” sprouted inside their minds and made pupils bear “fruits”. Considering this context, Astraea’s teaching allusively tells us of the educational process of bearing a fruit; she plants a seed of justice to Artegall, and Artegall bears his fruit of justice as a result of her education. Artegall’s education reflects the humanist idea of education.

3.1.2. Conflicts Settled with Commonplaces

While Artegall and his iron groom Talus solve problems with their physical power through Book V, there are two exceptions in which Artegall settles the conflicts with only verbal negotiations and proclaims the sentences. In Canto i, Artegall is able to spot the true lover of the lady by judging the dispute between the Squire and Sir Sanglier. In Canto iv, Artegall solves the conflict between the brothers Bracidas and Amidas, who wrangle over their lands and fortune. In these episodes, Artegall is represented as a judge, and his justice is shown in the legal context by using commonplaces. In this section, I will argue that Spenser's commonplaces function as verdicts in these episodes.

In Canto i, after Artegall has finished his education in justice, he encounters the first adventure in Book V. Artegall and Talus find a headless lady and a lamenting Squire whose mistress was robbed by the knight Sir Sanglier because she is fairer than his own. Sir Sanglier beheaded his lady who tried to follow them, and the Squire and the dead lady are found by Artegall and Talus. The Squire laments sorely over this disaster by using a commonplace:

Ah woe is me, and well away (quoth hee)

Bursting forth teares, like springs out of a banke,

That euer I this dismall day did see:

Full farre was I from thinking such a pranke;

Yet litle losse it were, and mickle thanke,

If I should graunt that I haue doen the same,

That I mote drinke the cup, whereof she dranke: (V.i.15.1-7; emphasis mine)

Being desperate, he regrets he did not die with the dead lady, and he uses the commonplace, "to drink of the same cup" (Smith no. 141). According to A. C. Hamilton, this line is "a stock saying" originating from Matthew 20.22-23 (*Longman FQ* 513). Tilley's proverb dictionary

also lists Spenser's line as an example ("to drink of the same cup"; C908). The Squire dramatically compares his situation with Jesus before the crucifixion, and this biblical reference seems to have been popular as a commonplace among early modern humanists. According to Tilley, Erasmus first uses the same expression in Latin, "*Eodem bibere poculo*" in *Adagia*, and John Lyly uses the similar phrase in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*; "Nowe shalt not hou laugh Philautus to scorne, seeing you haue both druncke of one cup".²⁷ Spenser's Squire uses the popular commonplace rhetorically to expresses his great grief in his speech.

Artegall and Talus listen to the Squire and know the reason for this miserable consequence, and then, Talus pursues the vicious knight Sir Sanglier and succeeds in catching him. Because Sir Sanglier insists that he did not kill the headless lady and the Squire's lady is his own, Artégall suggests that he can become the judge to settle this conflict. Both the Squire and Sir Sanglier agree to Artégall's suggestion, and therefore, Artégall decides to judge them:

Sith then (sayd he) ye both the dead deny,
 And both the liuing Lady claime your right,
 Let both the dead and liuing equally
 Deuided be betwixt you here in sight,
 And each of either take his share aright.
 But looke who does dissent from this my read,
 He for a twelue moneths day shall in despight
 Beare for his penaunce that same Ladieshead;

To witnesse to the world, that she by him is dead. (V.i.26)

Artegall hands down the decision that the living lady should be cut in half to share her between the Squire and Sir Sanglier because both insist that the lady is his belonging. Spenser borrows

²⁷ Similar expressions are also found in John Fletcher's *The Wild Goose Chase*; "The rest will drink too (Believe me, Sir) of the same Cup" and in Ben Jonson's *The Magnetic Lady*; "There's your error now! Yo' ha' drunke o' the same water". (Tilley C908)

the story of King Solomon, who judges two women fighting over a living child and a dead child (I Kings 3.16-28). The Bible concludes this episode by saying that “they sawe that the wisdome of God was in him, to do justice” (sig. P.ii.r). By borrowing Solomon’s episode, Spenser shows Artegall’s divine wisdom in his first judgement. While Sir Sanglier agrees with Artegall’s decision, the Squire gives up his possession of the lady so that she can stay alive with the knight. Spenser praises the Squire’s noble behaviour by using a commonplace; “True loue despiseth shame, when life is cald in dread” (V.i.27.9; Smith no. 478). According to Smith, Spenser’s phrase can be compared with the sentence in Seneca’s *Epistles*; “*Non potest amor cum timore misceri* (Love and fear cannot be mingled)” and the similar expression by Publilius Syrus; “*Amor misceri cum timore non potest* (Love and fear cannot mix)”. While Spenser borrows King Solomon’s story, he inserts the classical commonplace to summarise the Squire’s behaviour here.

From the reactions of Sir Sanglier and the Squire, Artegall reveals that the Squire should be with the living lady, and Artegall also orders Sir Sanglier to carry his dead lady’s head with him. Sir Sanglier refuses to do so, but Talus forces him to carry the dead lady’s head in front of his chest. In this episode, Artegall hands down the sentence, and Talus carries out a punishment:

But *Sangliere* disdained much his doome,
 And sternly gan repine at his beheast;
 Ne would for ought obay, as did become,
 To beare that Ladies head before his breast.
 Vntill that *Talus* had his pride represt,
 And forced him, maulgre, it vp to reare.
 Who when he saw it bootelesse to resist,
 He tooke it vp, and thence with him did beare,

As rated Spaniell takes his burden vp for feare. (V.i.29)

Although Spenser borrows the Biblical story, he describes how Talus executes Artegall's sentence in detail, which is not mentioned in the Bible. Spenser's description focuses on the rigid persecution and the consequence of Artegall's judgement. This episode shows that Artegall's divine justice is represented in the legalised context.

According to Earle Havens, law and commonplaces are closely related. Since England's common law approves the unwritten custom and application, it requires lawyers to consult massive commentaries and reports of adjudged cases. Commonplace books were used by early modern lawyers as a memory aid to help them retrieve the massive amounts of information they needed to store; "By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was generally observed, even by the chief justices of the land, that commonplace books were indispensable to the student of the common law" (38). Although Spenser did not go to the Inns of Court, he worked as an administrator in Ireland, where he must have come across legal problems.

According to A. C. Hamilton, Spenser reflects his experience in Ireland in Book V, such as the description of Grantorto, who is similar to the Irish gallowglass (*Longman FQ* V.xii.14.n.). In a similar way, Spenser's legal experience in Ireland is also reflected in the episode of Canto iv. In the beginning of Canto iv, Spenser discusses justice and power:

Who so vpon him selfe will take the skill

True Iustice vnto people to diuide,

Had neede haue mightie hands, for to fulfill

That, which he doth with righteous doome decide,

And for to maister wrong and puissant pride.

For vaine it is to deeme of things aright,

And makes wrong doers iustice to deride,

Vnlesse it be perform'd with dreadlesse might.

For powre is the right hand of Iustice truly hight. (V.iv.1)

Spenser uses two commonplaces in this stanza. According to C. G. Smith, “True Iustice vnto people to diuide” in line two can be compared with the proverb “judge justly” (no. 428), and “For powre is the right hand of Iustice truly hight” in the last line is comparable to the proverb “might makes right” (no. 532). Spenser combines these two commonplaces and argues that true justice divides people equally with its mighty hand. While Spenser praises the divinity of justice in Canto i, he admires justice as the supreme power in Canto iv. This “supreme power” of justice can be connected to the physical arms easily. However, exceptionally, neither Artegall nor Tallus use physical might in the episode of Bracidas and Amidas. In this context, Spenser’s admiration of the “dreadlesse might” of justice can be interpreted as a metaphorical meaning of the supremacy of justice.

After this discussion on justice, the episode of Bracidas and Amidas is introduced. When Artegall and Talus were walking on the sea shore, they encountered the brothers fighting against each other. They had inherited the same size of islands from their father Milesio. However, Bracidas’s island became smaller by waves while Amidas’s island expanded. Because of this, Bracidas’ betrothed mistress, Philtera, changed her partner to Amidas, and Amidas’s previous mistress, Lucy, threw herself into the sea and drifted to Bracidas’s island with Philtera’s dower. Bracidas and Amidas swapped their partners, and they fight over the ownership of Philtera’s dower which Lucy owns.

Artegall judges that the dowry should be Bracidas’s property by following two commonplaces; one is “what the sea vnto you sent, your own should seeme” (V.iv.17.9, V.iv.18.9), and the other one is “equall right in equall things doth stand” (V.iv.19.1). The first one seems to be Spenser’s original sentence, but Artegall repeats this phrase twice in his judgement. This phrase is supported by the following commonplace, “equall right in equall

things doth stand” (V.iv.19.1), which C. G. Smith approves as a proverb (no. 431). According to Joel B. Altman, this commonplace is understood as an “equitable maxim” which “frequently invoked by sixteenth-century justices when extending a statute or common law rule” (414). If they follow natural law, Amidas and Philtera have a right to own both land and the dowry. However, Artegall judges the brothers “equally” by using the idea of equity. In this context, Spenser’s discussion of “justice with mighty power” at the beginning of the episode can be understood as his admiration of equity, since Artegall prioritises the equality of the brothers rather than the natural law. Here, Artegall uses the idea of equity as a supreme power.

According to Andrew Zurcher, equity was the prerogative of the Chancellor in the Elizabethan era, and the Chancellor used equity when the common law was inflexible to judge people equally:

the common law’s inflexibility was rooted in its impersonal nature; judges merely applied established maxims, precedents, and statutes in a process strictly controlled by custom and usage, thereby absolving themselves of personal responsibility for decisions. Equity, on the other hand, was perceived as distinct, the domain of a single man, the Chancellor. (*Spenser’s Legal Language* 138)

Because English common law was not flexible, the Chancellor had a right to adapt inherited knowledge to judge people equally. Like the Chancellor, Artegall uses the commonplace, “the principle of justice is the principle of equality” (Smith no. 431) to judge Bracidas and Amidas. Artegall’s behaviour – applying “established maxims” for judgement – can be treated as an act of equity. In this episode, commonplaces act as the supreme power of equity. Spenser’s admiration of justice with might is represented in Artegall, who uses commonplaces as sentences of equity. Spenser uses the commonplace in this important moment and contextualises a commonplace under the legal idea.

3.1.3. The Giant with the Scales and *The Faerie Leveller* (1648)

Continuing along the coast, Artegall and Talus see huge crowds surrounding the Giant with the Scales. The Giant agitates the common people by claiming that he can measure all things in the world with his scales and can equalise them in perfect counterpoise. Artegall sees that the Giant misguides the crowds, and he counter-attacks against the Giant's speech by inserting commonplaces. Artegall argues that all creations in the world were made by the Makers in perfect balance, and nothing needs to be removed or added:

Such heauenly iustice doth among them raine,
 That euery one doe know their certaine bound,
 In which they doe these many yeares remaine,
 And mongst them al no change hath yet beene found.
 But if thou now shouldst weigh them new in pound,
 We are not sure they would so long remaine:
 All change is perillous, and all chunce againe,
 Therefore leaue off to weigh them all againe,
 Till we may be assur'd they shall their course retaine. (V.ii.36)

Artegall claims that heavenly justice reigns the world, and therefore, there is no point in changing the proportional distributions. According to Smith, Spenser uses two commonplaces in line 7; "all innovation is perilous" (no. 419) and "all change is unsound" (no. 93). Artegall's conservative view towards the human world would represent his main role as an ideal judge, who believes in the divine power of justice. On the other hand, Spenser's perspective towards the world would be different from Artegall's idea, since Spenser explains justice does not exist in this world after Astraea has evaded the fallen world in the Proem. Spenser seems to think that this world is unbalanced, and this would be the reason why Artegall uses the ambivalent expressions in this stanza; "But if thou now shouldst weigh them new in pound, / We are not

sure they would so long remaine” (ll. 5-6). Artegall’s argument is idealised, and it does not necessary represent Spenser’s idea of justice.

Interestingly, the Giant with the Scales might have a similar idea to Spenser. The Giant replies to Artegall to explain how badly this world goes wrong:

Thou foolishe Elfe (said then the Gyant wroth)

Seest not, how badly all things present bee,

And each estate quite out of order goth?

The sea it selfe doest thou not plainely see

Encroch vppon the land there vnder thee;

And th’earth it selfe how daily its increast,

By all that dying to it turned be?

Were it not good that wrong were then surceast,

And from the most, that some were giuen to the least? (V.ii.37)

The Giant uses examples of encroaching sea waves and increasing lands to show that everything is changing. The Giant’s argument seems to be similar to Spenser’s idea of mutability. For example, Spenser keeps the similar commonplace, “on earth joys do not last” (Smith no. 427) through the books of *The Faerie Queene* (I.viii.44.9, III.i.10.7, V.iii.9.1, VI.xi.1.7). The Giant’s idea would reflect Spenser’s pessimistic idea towards the fallen world, and Spenser does not lose this perspective until Book VII, the Mutabilitie Cantos.

Unlike the episode of Amidas and Bracidas, Artegall uses his physical power since Artegall fails to persuade the Giant. Talus throws the Giant off the cliff because he finds that the Giant “lewdly minded” him (V.ii.49.6). Although Artegall cannot hand down a sentence to the Giant, Talus still carries out the punishment. This sounds unreasonable for modern readers, but at the beginning of Canto iv, Spenser uses the commonplace, “might makes right” (Smith

no. 532); “For powre is the right hand of Iustice truly height” (V.iv.1.9). The episode of the Giant with the Scales seems to represent this commonplace in the physical way.

According to *OED*, the word “commonplace” has been used as a verb from the seventeenth century. Richard Bernard, a clergyman of Church of England used this word as a verb in his handbook for ministers, *The Faithfull Shepheard* (1609). In order to instruct how to extract commonplaces from texts, he gave readers the advice:

But yet it is not conuenient to take euery where occasion to Common place vpon anie word, but vpon such as the text may well affoord, when the people neede to be enformed thereof as yet ignorant, being an vncatechised Congregation (52; emphasis mine).

Bernard argues that it is better to select words which people would recognise as commonplaces. He uses the word “commonplace” as a means of extracting words. Extracting sentences and rearranging them in a different context is a basic idea of commonplace book practice, and in the perspective of hermeneutics, Bernard expanded the idea of what “commonplace” could indicate. Bernard’s grammatical change of the word “commonplace” suggests that the commonplace book method had been widely spread among the people in the seventeenth century enough so that one could understand that the word “commonplace” indicates the method itself.

This popularity seems to have accelerated people’s flexible use of the commonplace book practice in the seventeenth century. Samuel Sheppard’s *The Faerie Leveller* can be understood in this context as one of the most extreme commonplacing of Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*. *The Faerie Leveller* is a Royalist pamphlet which was anonymously published in 1648, the year preceding Charles I’s execution. The Royalist journalist Samuel Sheppard is considered to be the most likely composer of *The Faerie Leveller*, since he advertised *The*

Faerie Leveller in his weekly newsbook, *Mercurius Elencticus* (King 302, Nicosia 286).²⁸ At the end of issue 35 (19th-26th of July, 1648), he introduces *The Faerie Leveller* to the readers:

Courteous Reader you are desired to peruse A Book new extant, written by a learned hand, Intituled, NOW or NEVER.

The *Fairy Leueller*, or *King Charles his Leveller* described and decyphered in *Queen Eliz.* dayes by *Edmond Spenser*, Her *Poet Laureat*, in his umparalleled poem entitled the *Faery Queen*. A lively representation of our times: is newly Printed, with *Annotations* worth your perusall. (276)

Sheppard interprets Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* as "a lively representation" of the seventeenth century. He has decontextualised *The Faerie Queene* from the Elizabethan era and adapted it into the Caroline era during the civil wars. Sheppard's description of Edmund Spenser as a poet laureate is not true, but considering that Spenser was a popular poet among seventeenth-century readers as an icon of Elizabethan nostalgia, Sheppard's exaggeration of Spenser's status would have been understood by readers.²⁹ He also mentions "annotations", but *The Faerie Leveller* is composed of a direct quotation from the second canto of Book V (Stanzas 29 to 54)³⁰ and a preface titled "A necessary Preface opening the Allegory". Instead of adding annotations, Sheppard just borrowed Spenser's episode of the Giant with the Scales and framed it in the context of Civil Wars to attack Oliver Cromwell and the Levellers.

This preface is influenced by commonplace book practice in terms of his use of expressions. Sheppard first compares Spenser's extracted words with "a resplendent Jewell":

²⁸ John N. King first suggests that Samuel Sheppard is "the most likely editor of *The Faerie Leveller*, and Marissa Nicosia supports his idea and constructs her argument as "Samuel Sheppard's *Faerie Leveller*".

²⁹ David Norbrook argues that Spenserian poets admired Sidney and Spenser as "the great figures of Elizabethan literature" with "a political colouring" (177). While they attacked James I's sovereignty which denied the Elizabethan ideals of Protestant chivalry (177), Spenserians welcomed the initial warlike regime by Charles I (206).

³⁰ *The Faerie Leveller* uses a different typography from *The Faerie Queene*. Nicosia argues that the word "Balance" was deliberately capitalised in *The Faerie Leveller* to enhance the meaning of Egalitarianism (304).

Reader, thou art here presented with a resplendent Jewell, taken out of a full Cabinet;
 but it not every ones purchase: besides, not of so speciall marke or regard there, in so
 great an heape, as here being culled out by it selfe, and set forth for present use: (3;
 emphases mine)

Sheppard uses the idea of commonplacing; He compares *The Faerie Queene* to “a full Cabinet” and calls his extracted quotation from Book V “a resplendent Jewell” which is taken out from the cabinet. According to Crane, early modern humanists frequently used the words “jewels” or “flowers” to represent gathered fragments or sayings (39, 62). Sheppard’s word choice clearly follows this tradition. Also, he explains he “culled out” *The Faerie Queene* for the present use because it is a huge amount to read and has not a “speciall marke or regard”. Sheppard suggests that his extract is more useful or better than the entire books of *The Faerie Queene*. For Sheppard, it is necessary to “cull out” *The Faerie Queene* and to select the important part for the “present use” (3). Although Sheppard directly quotes a long quotation (twenty-six Spenserian stanzas) in *The Faerie Leveller*, he differentiates his extract from *The Faerie Queene* and treats *The Faerie Leveller* as a Spenserian commonplace which was interrupted and framed in Sheppard’s context. Sheppard seems to have stretched the idea of the commonplace book practice by treating the episode of a Giant with the Scales as a single unit of commonplaces.

Sheppard also claims that he does not know the author of *The Faerie Leveller*. Borrowing a predecessors’ authority is one of the ways in which early modern writers inserted quotations from their readings. Sheppard uses several metaphors to show why the extracts from *The Faerie Queene* are so valuable to read:

slight it not, because it is not the publishers owne invention: who does esteeme the
 Spyders webbe any whit the better, for that it is spunne out of her owne Intralls? or like

hony the worse, for that the industrious Bee gathers it from Flowers abroad? here is
meat out of the Eater, sweet hony to be found in the carkasse of a slaine Lyon; (3)

The Spiders' metaphor seems to argue that publishing borrowed words from famous authors is better than unknown writers' original works, in a similar way that no one appreciates a spider's web though it comes out of the spider's body. As for the metaphor of the honey, he seems to indicate that everyone appreciates honey because it is extracted from flowers by bees. In this context, Sheppard compares the extract from *The Faerie Queene* with the precious honey from a slain lion which comes from the story of the Bible (Judges 14:1-19). Besides the biblical anecdote, "honey and bees" are the traditional metaphor of the commonplace book practice. In his *Epistles*, Seneca the Younger uses this metaphor to discuss how to gather ideas:

We should follow, men say, the example of the bees, who flit about and cull the flowers
that are suitable for producing honey, and then arrange and assort in their cells all that
they have brought in; (277)

Seneca compares the commonplace book method with bees culling suitable flowers for producing honey and arranging honey properly in their hives. Sheppard seems to be influenced by the basic idea of commonplace book practice and uses the metaphor as persuasive material to explain *The Faerie Leveller*.

In the preface, Sheppard also explains the allegorical meaning of the characters. According to the author's interpretation, Artegall represents king Charles I, and Talus represents the King's forces, and the Giant with the Scales indicates Oliver Cromwell. Sheppard tries to show that the allegorical episode of the Giant with the Scales is a single commonplace which teaches readers the victory of Charles I. After his radical interpretation in the preface, Sheppard printed out the direct quotation from Book V (V.ii.29-54). From the perspective of commonplace book culture, Sheppard "culls out" Book V of *The Faerie Queene* and shows it as a lesson of commonplaces to readers in the frame of the political pamphlet.

Sheppard's radical interpretation of Book V could be effective for seventeenth century readers, since *The Faerie Queene* was widely known among them. *The Faerie Leveller* is deeply influenced by commonplace book culture, and Sheppard borrows the authority of commonplacing.

Book V of *The Faerie Queene* begins with Artegall's education by Astraea, who teaches Artegall how to judge good and bad things in equal balance. Spenser describes his education by using the humanistic terms, "ripeness" and "fruits", which can be understood with the idea of a humanistic education. In his adventure, Artegall behaves as a judge. In the episode of the Squire and Sir Sanglier, Artegall is compared to King Solomon, and his judgement using commonplaces can be understood in the legal context. In the episode of Bracidas and Amidas, Spenser follows the early modern legal ideas, and Artegall uses commonplaces to deliver a sentence. Spenser's discussion of justice with might in the beginning of Canto iv can be understood as his admiration of equity. The episode of the Giant with the Scales is an example where Artigall performs justice with his physical might because he cannot persuade the Giant with his words. The Giant's perspective towards the fallen world seems to be echoed to Spenser's mutable perspective. In *The Faerie Leveller*, the editor Samuel Sheppard applied the idea of commonplace book practice and "framed" the episode of the Giant with the Scales in the Royalist context. While he directly quoted Spenser's episode, it was important for Sheppard to exhibit it as a commonplace which was shared among the Royalists as a pamphlet. Spenser's legal and political knowledge is merged into commonplaces in Book V, and *The Faerie Leveller* shows us one example of how Book V was culled and interpreted as Spenser's commonplaces in the seventeenth century.

3.2. Books VI and VII: Spenser's Didactic Discourse and Clustered Commonplaces

3.2.1. Book VI as a Courtesy Book

Book VI is Spenser's final completed book of *The Faerie Queene*. The patron knight Sir Calidore represents courtesy through chivalric adventures while chasing the Blatant Beast by the Faery Queen's order. In Book VI, Spenser's way of using commonplaces become flamboyant, and his discourse merges with commonplaces more naturally. Although Spenser did not include the letter to Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser's didactic intention still remains under the influence of commonplace book learning. In Book VI, Spenser's use of commonplaces becomes more decisive and conclusive, and he compresses multiple commonplaces in one stanza so that his discourse sounds more proverbial. This change of Spenser's discourse makes Book VI sound like a courtesy book.

Spenser's didactic atmosphere in his discourse comes back in Book VI, by showing that Sir Calidore makes a "paragon" of courtesy in his "goodly manners" and "ciuill conuersation":

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

 But mongst them all was none more courteous Knight,

Then *Calidore*, beloued ouer all,
 In whom it seemes, that gentlenesse of spright
 And manners mylde were planted natural;
 To which he adding comely guize withall,
 And gracious speech, did steale mens hearts away. (VI.i.1-2.6; emphases mine)

In the beginning of Book VI, Spenser introduces courtesy and how courteous Sir Calidore is. Spenser explains that courtesy is the virtue represented in “goodly manners” and “ciuill conuersation”, and knights and ladies in the court made “a matchlesse paragon” of courtesy through their deeds and words. Also, among courteous knights, Calidore has particularly mild manners and gracious speech, both of which enchant people. Spenser seems to have an idea that a courteous person should have good manners and heart-felt conversation skills, in which the person can become a paragon of courtesy. Spenser’s definition of courtesy shown above can be compared with the “doctrine by ensample” because Spenser tries to teach readers courtesy by the combination of examples and words.

The combination of “deeds and words” is the key idea of thinking of Spenser’s courtesy. In Canto ii, he also uses this combination of the words to praise Calidore’s courteous character:

That well in courteous *Calidore* appears,
 Whose euery act and deed, that he did say,
 Was like enchantment, that through both the eyes,
 And both the eares did steale the hart away. (VI.ii.3.1-4, emphases mine)

Spenser describes Sir Calidore as an ideal gentle knight whose courteous “act and deed” are like enchantments. Also, because Sir Calidore masters manners and etiquettes in court, his words has an ability to “steale the hart away”. Likewise, in Canto iii, Spenser again mentions Sir Calidore’s “gentle words and goodly wit” which allays Sir Calepine’s displeasure (VI.iii.22.1-2). Sir Calidore’s courteousness is frequently measured with his deeds and words,

and this measure can be compared with courtesy books as a conduct manual. While most of the thematic virtues in *The Faerie Queene* have classical origins such as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* or *Politics*, courtesy, the main virtue of Book VI, originated in the Medieval Ages. Courtesy was a Christian social code of behaviour including etiquette, affability and humanity, and in this sense, Book VI can be related to Book I, the legend of holiness. In Tudor England, the Italian courtesy books such as Baldassore Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (*Il cortegiano*; 1528) spread the humanist idea of courtesy (Borris 194). *Book of the Courtier* was one of the most influential courtesy books in Tudor England, and it was translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561 (reprinted in 1577, 1585, 1593, 1603) and into Latin by Bartholomew Clerke in 1571 (reprinted 1577, 1585, 1593, 1603) (Javitch 197). From the perspective of grammar school education, it is interesting that the English translation came out first before the Latin version. Latin was the universal language in early modern Europe and was the essential language for grammar school pupils training to serve the court. On the other hand, English was the secular language and was underestimated, so that Richard Mulcaster needed to defend the importance of English education in his *Elementarie* (1582). The popularity of the English translation of *The Book of the Courtier* suggests that this book was widely read by pupils who found it easier to understand the book in English than in Latin. An interesting example is the English translation of *The Book of the Courtier* printed in 1588. This version cited the Italian version as well as the French translation in every page (see Fig. 13). Readers would use this book for language learning, comparing the meaning of each sentence in three languages. We do not know if Spenser read this edition, but he did learn French and Italian in his school days, as discussed by Andrew Hadfield; "Spenser clearly knew French before he left school and may well have used his knowledge of that language to help him learn Italian, translating texts as a means of acquiring the language" (*Spenser: A Life* 59).

Spenser could have certainly read Castiglione's courtesy book in Italian along with using an Italian primer.

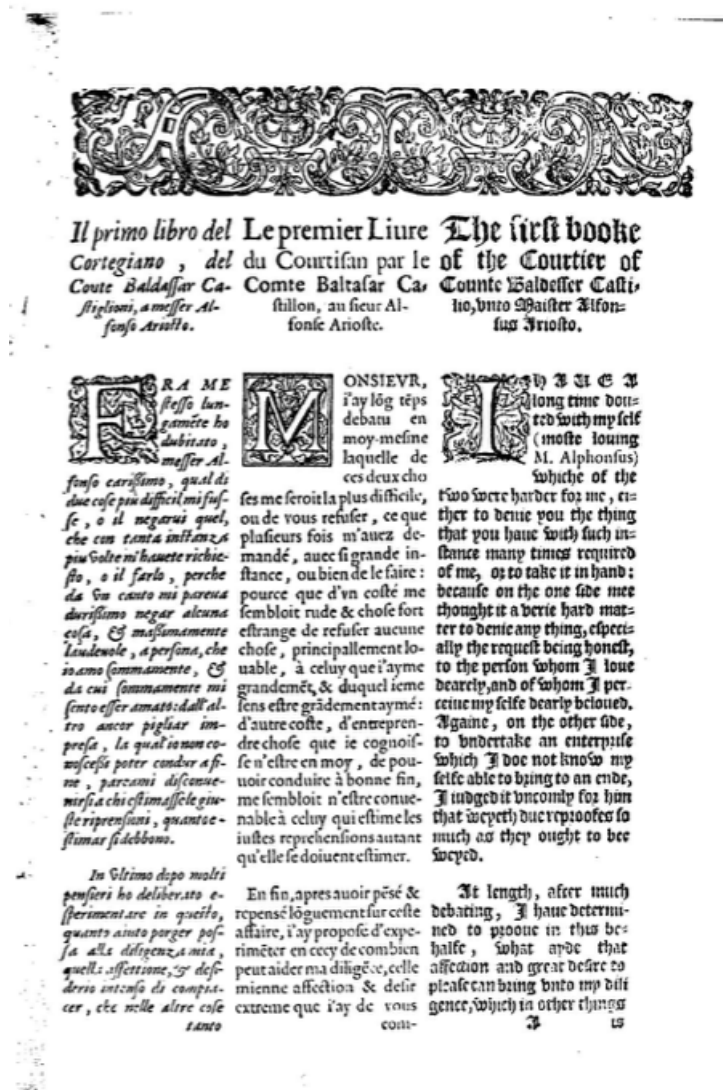


Fig. 13 Castiglione's *The Courtier* of Count Baldessar Casilio Deuided into Foure Bookes published in 1588 (EEBO, sig. A1r; STC no. 4781)

In the mid-sixteenth century, English humanists published treatises under the strong influence of *The Book of the Courtier*, such as Thomas Elyot's *The Book Named the Governour* (1531) and *Institution of a Gentleman* (1555). According to Daniel Javitch, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* can also be counted as a courtesy book, since "to the extent that it aims to

improve the morals and social manners of its readers, the poem does share some of the didactic motives of Renaissance conduct books” (197).

The second similarity between them can be seen in the use of commonplaces; early modern courtesy books were also under the influence of commonplace book culture, just as Book VI was. In Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier*, the characters frequently insert commonplaces. For example, Sir Frederick explains that an old man’s good manners are different from a young man’s manners, and therefore, the young should not imitate the old men’s way. He says:

The verye same respecte and iudgemente shall yonge menne haue, not in keeppyng the facion of olde menne (for what is meete for the one, were not in all pointes so fitte for the other, and it is a commune saying, to much gravitytee in yonge menne is an yll signe) but in correctyng the natural vices in them.

(*The Book of the Courtier*, sig.N.ii.;1561, emphasis mine)

Sir Frederick inserts “a commune saying” to make his argument persuasive (“to much gravitytee in yonge menne is an yll signe”). Courteous men were expected to memorise commonplaces and to insert them in their conversation. Also in another case, when Anniball Palliotto teaches grammar to his children, he advises that inserting verses or “common sayinge” makes a new meaning in one’s own sentences:

It is also a merrye deuise to mingle together a verse or mo, takyng it in an other meaninge then the Author doeth, or some other common sayinge. Sometime in the verye same meanyng, but altringe a woorde, as a Gentleman said that had a foule and scoulinge wife:

(*The Book of the Courtier*, sig.T.iiii.;1561, emphasis mine)

In *The Book of the Courtier*, commonplaces were frequently inserted to show courtiers’ wit, and they treated commonplaces as a powerful rhetoric device.

Spenser's use of commonplaces in Book VI is also understood in this context, since Sir Calidore also speaks with proverbial phrases to show his courtesy. In Canto i, when Sir Calidore visits the castle of Briana and Crudor, he asks them to stop their bad custom of shaving the passengers' hairs or beards:

Bloud is no blemish; for it is no blame
 To punish those, that doe deserue the same;
 But they that breake bands of ciuilitie,
 And wicked customes make, those doe defame
 Both noble armes and gentle curtesie.

No greater shame to man then inhumanitie. (VI.i.26.4-9)

Sir Calidore combines noticeable commonplaces to persuade Briana. According to C. G. Smith, three commonplaces are detected here; "Bloud is no blemish" in line 4 (no. 67), "it is no blame / To punish those, that doe deserue the same" in lines 4 to 5 (no. 887) and "No greater shame to man then inhumanitie" (no. 417) in the last line. Calidore seems to demonstrate his ability of using commonplaces as a courteous knight.

Spenser repeatedly connects examples with commonplaces in Book I, and he becomes to use the similar discourse in Book VI as well. One example is in the beginning of Canto iii:

True is, that whilome that good Poet sayd,
The gentle minde by gentle deeds is knowne.
 For a man by nothing is so well bewrayd,
 As by his manners, in which plaine is showne
 Of what degree and what race he is growne.
 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.

But euermore contrary hath bene tryde,

That gentle bloud will gentle manners breed;

As well may be in *Calidore* descryde,

By late ensample of that courteous deed,

Done to that wounded Knight in his great need,

Whom on his backe he bore, till he him brought

Vnto the Castle where they had decreed. (VI.iii.1-2.7; emphases mine)

Spenser first introduces the proverbial words by a “good poet”, “The gentle minde by gentle deeds is knowne” in the first stanza, and then, he rephrases this commonplace by inserting another one, “gentle bloud will gentle manners breed” in the second stanza. Furthermore, Spenser explains Calidore’s “late ensample of that courteous deed” was well-described in the previous canto. Here, Spenser would show what is the proper commonplace which readers can extract from Calidore’s example in the previous canto.

The next example in Canto v is simpler than this; Spenser first introduces a proverbial explanation in the first stanza, and then, he shows that these proverbial phrases are for the example of the Wild Man in the second stanza:

O what an easie thing is to descry

The gentle bloud, how euer it be wrapt

In sad misfortunes foule deformity,

And wretched sorrowes, which haue often hapt?

For howsoeuer it may grow mis-shapt,

Like this wyld man, being vndisciplynd,

That to all vertue it may seeme vnapt,

Yet will it shew some sparkes of gentle mynd,
And at the last breake forth in his owne proper kynd.

That plainely may in this wyld man be red,

Who though he were still in this desert wood,
Mongst saluage beasts, both rudely borne and bred,
Ne euer saw faire guize, ne learned good,
Yet shewd some token of his gentle blood,
By gentle vsage of that wretched Dame. (VI.v.1-2.6; emphasis mine)

In the first stanza, Spenser introduces the commonplace, “the gentle blood can be found in ‘vndisciplynd’ person”, and he discloses that this commonplace is represented in the example of the Wild Man in the second stanza. Here as well, Spenser first mentions proverbial expressions to summarise the previous canto, and then, he shows this commonplace in the example of a particular character.

The previous two examples were meant for good characters. However, Spenser also places the didactic stanza before introducing the bad example of Turpine at the beginning of Canto ii:

Like as the gentle hart it selfe bewrayes,
In doing gentle deedes with franke delight,
Euen so the baser mind it selfe displayes,
In cancred malice and reuengefull spight.
For to maligne, t’enuie, t’vse shifting slight,
Be arguments of a vile donghill mind,
Which what it dare not doe by open might,
To worke by wicked treason wayes doth find,

Be such discourteous deeds descouering his base kind.

That well appeares in this discourteous knight,

The coward *Turpine*, whereof now I treat; (VI.vii.1-2.2, emphasis mine)

As we can see, in the first stanza, Spenser summarises the episode of the previous canto and states the commonplace, a baser mind displays in cankered malice and revengeful sprite. In the beginning, Spenser first inserts the commonplace, “the gentle hart it selfe bewrayes / In doing” (ll. 1-2; Smith no. 318), and he develops the interpretation of this commonplace: “Euen so the baser mind it selfe diplayes, / In cancred malice and reuengefull spight” (ll. 3-4). Spenser introduces the well-known commonplace, and he shows his interpretation of this commonplace. Then, in the second stanza, Spenser explains that this commonplace is applied to the discourteous example of Turpine. Compared with Book I, Spenser’s moral lesson becomes complicated by inserting his own interpretation of the commonplace before introducing the character’s example.

Through the entire books of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser prepares commonplaces for both good and bad examples, and in Canto viii of Book VI, Spenser seems to focus on women’s education, as shown in Canto iii:

Ye gentle Ladies, in whose soueraine powre
 Loue hath the glory of his kingdome left,
 And th’hearts of men, as your eternall dowre,
 In eron chaines, of liberty bereft,
 Deliuered hath into your hands by gift;
 Be well aware, how ye the same doe vse,
 That if men you of cruelty accuse,
 He from you take that chiefedome, which ye doe abuse.

And as ye soft and tender are by kynde,
 Adorn'd with goodly gifts of beauties grace,
 So be ye soft and tender eeke in mynde;
 But cruelty and hardnesse from you chace,
 That all your other praises will deface,
 And from you turne the loue of men to hate.

Ensamble take of *Mirabellaes* case,

Who from the high degree of happy state,

Fell into wretched woes, which she represented late. (VI.viii.1-2; emphasis mine)

In the beginning of Canto viii, Spenser calls female readers and warns them not to become too cruel to their suitors in the romantic context. Then, he explains this commonplace is represented in the “ensamble” of *Mirabella*, who was punished by Cupid. Spenser does not lose his passion for readers’ education, which he proclaimed in the Letter to Raleigh. Spenser expects that female readers would read *The Faerie Queene*, and he addresses them in Book VI.

Spenser also represents an example of a good female character in Canto xi. Similar to other instances, the first stanza is composed with Spenser’s proverbial phrases, and then, Spenser explains that the first stanza is the example of Pastorella:

The ioyes of loue, if they should euer last,
 Whithout affliction or disquietnesse,
 That worldly chaunces doe amongst them cast,
 Would be on earth too great a blessednesse,
 Likier to heauen, then mortall wretchednesse.
 Therefore the winged God, to let men weet,
 That here on earth is no sure happinesse,

A thousand sowres hath tempred with one sweet,
 To make it seeme more deare and dainty, as is meet.

Like as is now befallne to this faire Mayd,

Faire Pastorell, of whom is now my song,

Who being now in dreadfull darknesse layd,

Amongst those theeues, which her in bondage strong

Detaynd, yet Fortune not with all this wrong

Contented, greater mischiefe on her threw,

And sorrowes heapt on her in greater throng; (VI.xi.1-2.7; emphasis mine)

He describes commonplaces on love in the first stanza. According to C. G. Smith “here on earth is no sure happinesse” (no.427) in line 7 and “A thousand sowres hath tempred with one sweet, / To make it seeme more deare and dainty” (no. 745) in lines 8 and 9 are proverbs. He explains that happiness does not last long in romance in the first stanza, and then, he introduces the example of Pastorella, who was abducted by thieves and was taken to a dark cave in the second stanza. Spenser’s narration here can be compared with Prince Arthur’s commonplacing words, “This daies ensample hath this lesson deare / Deepe written in my heart with yron pen, / That blisse may not abide in state of mortall men” (I.viii.44.7-9). In Book I, Arthur introduced the commonplace “blisse may not abide in state of mortall men” after he rescues the Red Cross Knight, and Arthur’s commonplace works as a concluding lesson of the example of the Red Cross Knight. However, Spenser introduces the proverbial stanza in the middle of Pastorella’s episode, and this proverbial stanza functions as an introduction of Pastorella’s example in Canto xi. While Spenser tends to use commonplaces to conclude each episode in Book I, his use of commonplaces becomes more complicated and holds various rhetorical functions in Book VI.

3.2.2. Spenser's Clustered Commonplaces

According to C. G. Smith's index (313-321), Book VI is the only book in which Spenser uses six commonplaces in one stanza. Below is the list of the stanzas which embrace more than four commonplaces in one stanza:

Four commonplaces: I.iv.29, I.viii.44, II.vi.23, II.vii.25, III.x.3, VI.i.41, VI.vi.7

Five commonplaces: I.i.12, I.ix.42

Six commonplaces: VI.vi.14, VI.ix.30

Spenser uses multiple commonplaces in one stanza especially in Books I and VI. One of the reasons would be because he treats the chivalric virtue, courtesy, in Book VI. As mentioned before, Spenser's didactic intention of fashioning a gentleman is related to courtesy which teaches noble behaviours for knights and ladies. For instance, in Canto i of Book VI, Sir Calidore fights against Crudor, who charges either knights' beards or ladies' hairs as a toll of going through the way. When Sir Calidore is about to defeat Crudor, his mistress Briana begs Calidore for mercy. Sir Calidore stops his hand and says the courteous words by using commonplaces:

For nothing is more blamefull to a knight,
 That court'sie doth as well as armes professe,
 How euer strong and fortunate in fight,
 Then the reproch of pride and cruelnesse.
 In vaine he seeketh others to suppressse,
 Who hath not learnd him selfe first to subdew:
 All flesh is frayle, and full of ficklenesse,
 Subiect to fortunes chance, still chaunging new;

What haps to day to me, to morrow may to you. (VI.i.41)

Sir Calidore mentions several sayings which are easy to spot such as “All flesh is frayle, and full of ficklenesse” and “What haps to day to me, to morrow may to you”. C. G. Smith counts four proverbs in this stanza; “he cannot master others who masters not himself” (ll. 5-6, no. 520), “all flesh is frail” (l. 7, no. 267), “fortune is fickle” (ll. 7-8, no. 286) and “What can happen to any can happen to all” (l. 9, no. 359). Sir Calidore repeatedly inserts several commonplaces to emphasise the uncertainty of the world. Calidore’s didactic but negative perspective towards the world seems to connect to the atmosphere in the *Mutabilitie Cantos*. At the same time, his way of serialising commonplaces reminds readers of the atmosphere of Book I. For instance, Una’s warning to the Red Cross Knight in the *Wandering Wood* is also composed with a pack of short commonplaces, which are easy to spot as extracted phrases:

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 tryall made. (I.i.12.1-6)

Una’s commonplaces are compact and epigrammatic such as “Oft fire is without smoke, / And perill without doubts”, and they are easy to identify as borrowed phrases. C. G. Smith counts three proverbs in this citation; “rashness provokes mischief” (ll. 1-2, no. 639), “the mind always fears the unknown evil more” (ll. 3-4, no. 539) and “there is no fire without smoke” (l. 4, no. 263). As discussed in Chapter 1, Spenser changes the meaning of the commonplace “Oft fire is without smoke” (l. 4), and Una’s counter-proverb would be a trigger to let readers notice the presence of commonplaces in this stanza. Her repetitive use of commonplaces shows her intelligence and deep knowledge of memorised sayings. Spenser uses commonplaces as a way of letting readers notice characters’ intellectual capability of memorising extracted knowledge.

In the case of Sir Calidore, his courteous words filled with commonplaces bring a reconciliation between Calidore and Crudor in Book VI.

Clustered commonplaces in the Hermit's words in particular demonstrate his intelligence. In Canto vi of Book VI, the Hermit medicates Serena and Prince Arthur's Squire after they have been injured by the Blatant Beast. During his medication, the Hermit gives them his wise advice filled with commonplaces:

The best (sayd he) that I can you aduize,
Is to auoide the occasion of the ill:
For when the cause, whence euill doth arize,
Remoued is, th'effect surceaseth still.
Abstaine from pleasure, and restraine your will,
Subdue desire, and bridle loose delight,
Vse scanted diet, and forbear your fill,
Shun secresie, and talke in open sight:

So shall you soone repaire your present euill plight. (VI.vi.14)

The Hermit gives Serena and the Squire medical instructions to cure their psychological injuries, and his counsel is composed of commonplaces. According to Smith, there are six proverbs in this stanza; “to do no evil, avoid the occasion of evil” (ll.1-2, no. 221), “the cause taken away, the effect vanishes” (ll. 3-4, no. 89), “abstain from idle pleasure” (l. 5, no. 2), “rule your feeling (desires) lest your feelings (desires) rule you” (l. 6, no. 257), “bridle your delights” (l. 6, no. 77) and “to feed (eat) one's fill” (l.7, no.256). The repetition of commonplaces strengthens the persuasiveness of the Hermit's words. Spenser uses exceedingly compressed commonplaces in the Hermit's counsel, and this stanza works like a commonplace book which collects commonplaces related to healing broken hearts.

In *The Faerie Queene*, aged characters tend to use mutable commonplaces, and the typical example is old Meliboe's clustered commonplaces in Book VI. In Canto ix, Sir Calidore pursues the Blatant Beast, and he reaches the open field where shepherds live. Sir Calidore falls in love with Pastorella at a glance, and her guardian Meliboe invites Calidore to his house. In this place, they begin a long proverbial conversation from Stanzas 19 to 33. Significantly, in Stanza 30, C. G. Smith counts six commonplaces in old Meliboe's reply:

It is the mynd, that maketh good or ill,
 That maketh wretch or happie, rich or poore:
 For some, that hath abundance at his will,
 Hath not enough, but wants in greatest store;
 And other, that hath litle, askes no more,
 But in that litle is both rich and wise.
 For wisdom is most riches; fooles therefore
 They are, which fortunes doe by vowes deuize,
 Sith each vnto himselfe his life may fortunize. (VI.ix.30)

According to Smith, this stanza embraces the six commonplaces below; "good and evil are chiefly in the mind" (l. 1, no.536), "the more a man has, the more he desires" (ll. 3-4, no. 559), "the greatest wealth is contentment with a little" (ll. 5-6, no. 831), "wisdom is wealth" (l. 7, no. 857), "he is a fool who plans for a fortune by vows" (ll. 7-8, no. 275) and "a man is the architect of his own fortune" (l. 9, no.24). Meliboe argues that our minds have an ability to make things good or bad, wretched or happy, rich or poor. Meliboe's division of two opposite ideas can be compared with headings and subheadings recommended by Erasmus. Here, Meliboe's projects two opposite ideas by using clustered commonplaces, and his oxymoronic commonplaces emphasise old Meliboe's humble intelligence and the mutable atmosphere as well as Spenser's complicated attitude towards commonplaces. Meliboe's words, "It is the mynd, that maketh

good or ill”, seem to summarise Spenser’s idea of moral education in *The Faerie Queene*. In Grogan’s interpretation of the “doctrine by ensample”, she argues that Spenser gives the readers “semantic responsibility” to interpret the moralistic meaning from the exemplars (52). We can find the similar idea in Meliboe’s words, since he relies on a human heart to decide what is good or bad. Meliboe is described as a simple old Shepard, but he stores abundant expressions in his mind. Spenser shows the richness of having wisdom by Meliboe’s rhetorical words, in which humble and intelligent commonplaces are clustered. Spenser treats commonplaces preciously even in the last completed book of *The Faerie Queene*. Also, while the Letter to Raleigh was removed in the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, Meliboe’s words could allude to Spenser’s didactic idea of believing readers’ spontaneous moral judgements in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser’s didactic discourse in Book VI can be compared with his style in Book I in this way.

3.2.3. Book VII, or Mutabilitie Cantos

Spenser’s proverbial discourse remains in Book VII as well. In a similar way to Book VI, Spenser keeps using several commonplaces in one stanza so that it emphasises the moralistic atmosphere in the Mutabilitie Cantos. Mutabilitie Cantos (or *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*) is composed of a piece of three cantos (from Cantos vi to viii) and first appeared in the 1609 folio edition after Spenser’s death. While Mutabilitie Cantos are short fragments, twenty-four proverbial phrases are counted by C. G. Smith, and twelve biblical references are pointed out by Naseeb Shaheen, which means that Spenser constantly uses commonplaces in Mutabilitie Cantos as well. Spenser’s discourse maintains the similar style to Book VI in terms of his use of commonplaces. For instance, in the beginning of Canto vi, Spenser explains how the main character Mutability has showed “sad examples” by ruling the human world:

So likewise did this *Titanesse* aspire,

Rule and dominion to her selfe to gaine;
 That as a Goddesse, men might her admire,
 And heauenly honours yield, as to them twaine.
 And first, on earth she sought it to obtaine;
 Where she such prooffe and sad examples shewed
 Of her great power, to many ones great paine,
 That not men onely (whom she soone subdued)

But eke all other creatures, her bad dooings rewed. (VII.vi.4; emphases mine)

Spenser firstly describes what Mutability has done on the earth, and then, he summarises that this is the “sad examples” that “not men onely . . . / But eke all other creatures, her bad dooings rewed”. Although C. G. Smith does not count the last two lines as a proverbial phrase, Spenser’s way of showing examples and commonplaces is similar to Book VI.

Spenser also applies the similar style in Stanza 29, where Jove replies to Mutability’s request for restoring her right in heaven:

Till hauing pauz’d, awhile, *Ioue* thus bespake;
 Will neuer mortall thoughts ceasse to aspire,
 In this bold sort, to Heauen claime to make,
 And touch celestiall seates with earthly mire?
 I would haue thought, that bold *Procrustes* hire,
 Or *Typhons* fall, or proud *Ixions* paine,
 Or great *Prometheus*, tasting of our ire,
 Would haue suffiz’d, the rest for to restraine;

And warn’d all men by their example to refraine: (VII.vi.29; emphasis mine)

In this stanza, Jove lists the names of gods who had “bold” thoughts, such as Procrustes, Typhons, Ixions and Prometheus. Then, he says that “their example” “warn’d all men” “to

refraine". Here, Spenser does not mention actual lessons of "their example", but he still makes an example from these gods' behaviours.

While Jove includes Mutability as one of the bad examples, Spenser himself accepts Mutability's great power in the end of this book:

When I bethinke me on that speech whyleare,

Of *Mutability*, and well it way:

Me seemes, that though she all vnworthy were

Of the Heav'ns Rule; yet very sooth to say,

In all things else she beares the greatest sway. (VII.viii.1.1-5; emphases mine)

Spenser thinks that Mutability does not have a right to rule heaven, but he values her power which affects all creatures in the human world. Instead of teaching readers lessons of this episode, Spenser expresses his private opinion on Mutability by using the expressions of "I bethinke" and "Me seemes" here. In Book VII, Spenser keeps using commonplaces by summarising characters' behaviours into "examples". Spenser's use of commonplaces works effectively even when Spenser reveals his personal opinion to the readers.

Spenser's use of commonplaces is consistently recognisable and rhetorically effective through entire books of *The Faerie Queene*. In Books VI, his discourse using the combination of commonplaces and examples returns to being didactic, which can be compared with early modern courtesy books. Spenser's didactic discourse in Book VI is similar to his style in Book I. However, compared with Book I, Spenser's discourse using clustered commonplaces is rhetorically sophisticated, and Meliboe's proverbial words could allude to Spenser's complicated attitude towards commonplaces. In Book VII, Spenser summarises examples of characters with commonplaces, and he uses commonplace to reveal his personal view to the readers. Spenser keeps using commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene*, but his application of

commonplaces affords the variety of Spenser's discourse. Spenser's use of commonplaces does not diminish till the end of *The Faerie Queene*.

Chapter 4: The Reception of Spenser's Commonplaces

4.1. John Bodenham's *Bel-vedère or the Garden of the Muses* (1600)

This chapter will explore the connection between Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and early modern English printed commonplace books, which were published in 1600: *Bel-vedère or the Garden of the Muses* and *Englands Parnassus*. I will examine how extracts from *The Faerie Queene* were "commonplaced" and received as shared knowledge in *Bel-vedère*. *Bel-vedère* is an early modern printed commonplace book that transcribed citations of contemporary English writers such as Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Samuel Daniel, Thomas Lodge and William Shakespeare, and these extracts were reorganised under topical headings. Among the extracted poems and dramas in *Bel-vedère*, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596) is counted as the most frequently listed title in the first annotated edition of *Bel-vedère* by Lukas Erne and Devani Singh (Bodenham lxviii; 2020).³¹

Since the commonplace book method was introduced in early modern grammar schools to memorise Latin phrases, commonplace books had been vital mnemonic devices for early modern readers. While most printed commonplace books were published in Latin, *Bel-vedère* was published in English to share the knowledge of English writings. Interestingly, excerpts in *Bel-vedère* were changed into one or two lines of decasyllabic verses, and through the process of transcription, the compiler sometimes changes the meaning of phrases. *Bel-vedère* was not just a collection of early modern English writings but an experimental space to recreate English writings in new contexts.

In sixteenth-century England, most commonplace books were published in Latin and collected Latin phrases, but some English compilers published commonplace books which

³¹ Books I to VI of *The Faerie Queene* were listed in *Bel-vedère*. Book VII, the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* in the 1609 folio edition had not been published yet when *Bel-vedère* came out in 1600. Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* is the most frequently cited title among poetry and prose in *Bel-vedère*. The only exception is the quotations from another printed commonplace book called *Wit's Commonwealth* (1597) by Nicholas Ling, from which *Bel-vedère* cites 810 excerpts (Bodenham lxviii; 2020).

accumulated their English translations of Latin phrases. According to Erne and Singh, these translated versions of printed commonplace books became the prototype of English printed commonplace books including *Bel-vedere* (Bodenham xiii; 2020). For example, Edmond Elviden's *The Closet of Counsellis conteining the aduice of diuers wyse philosophers, toughinge sundry morall matters, in poesies, preceptes, prouerbes, and parrables, translated, and collected out of diuers aucthors, into Englishe verse* (1569) collected English translations of Greek and Latin sentences under topical headings. This commonplace book cites the names of authors such as Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Cicero and Ovid alongside the English translations, but the compiler does not record the original sentences. Under the heading of friendship, for instance, this commonplace book cites Seneca the Younger's phrase in English:

¶ Of Frenshippe.

Of all things, earthlie globe containes

the newest is the beste

Seneca

Except of frendes, the whiche accept

the neweste for the leaste. (sig. B.ii.v)

As seen here, Elviden collects only English sentences along with the name of the original authors, and therefore, readers cannot access the original source from *The Closet of Counsellis*. The sentence above could originate from the phrase in Seneca's *Epistulae morales*. On the discussion of philosophy and friendship, Seneca argues the danger of making new friends rapidly, and he says, "Quod interest inter metentem agricolam et serentem, hoc inter eum, qui amicum paravit et qui parat. (There is the same difference between winning a new friend and having already won him, as there is between the farmer who sows and the farmer who reaps)" (46-47). Instead of translating the phrase directly, the compiler changed it into a proverbial English sentence in translation. In commonplace book culture, it was common to amend the expressions of extracted phrases when compilers transcribe the phrases into their commonplace

books (Beal, “Notions in Garrison”, 133). *The Closet of Counsellis* is not a manuscript commonplace book, but it clearly shares the same feature of private manuscripts. A commonplace book is not a compilation of prominent writers’ quotations, but it rather represents a compiler’s remembered information through the reading experience. Furthermore, by being published, the information in the commonplace book became open and shared by other readers.

The compiler Elviden himself mentions that he published *The Closet of Counsellis* for readers’ memorial aid. He says, “I muste acknowledge my worke barbarous, rude & vnpollished, yet I dare presume to say that it is necessary” because “thou mightest be the soner moued to peruse them, as also the more effectually & redely to print them in thy thought” (sigs. A. iv.-B. i.). While he admits that his translation is “barbarous”, Elviden confidently argues that his translation is essential for readers’ efficient memorising because it helps readers to “peruse” the sentences more quickly and to “print” them in readers’ minds more successfully. He is self-aware enough to explain that his translation would be valuable because readers are able to skip the process of translation and directly move to the mnemonical process. *The Closet of Counsellis* was published as a memory aid, and it worked as a place of sharing a personal reading experience to readers. Translated works such as *The Closet of Counsellis* cultivated the ground of the printed commonplace books for national writers in early modern England.

Bel-vedère or The Garden of the Muses was published by Hugh Astley in 1600, and it was dedicated to John Bodenham by A. M., who is believed to be Anthony Munday. According to Erne and Singh, the main compiler of *Bel-vedère* is John Bodenham, and Anthony Munday offered “editorial help” (Bodenham xxv; 2020).³² John Bodenham was a literary patron and the

³² Erne and Singh argues, “What seems clear is that Bodenham initiated and designed the basic structure of *Bel-vedère*, and that he was its main compiler, who was its main compiler, who spent ‘whole years’ on it before Munday provided editorial help with a view to its publication” (Bodenham xxv; 2020). A. F. Marotti (2004) argues that John Bodenham was the patron, and the actual compiler was Anthony Munday (A. M.). On the other hand, Bergeron (2007) does not mention *Bel-vedère* in the biography of Anthony Munday.

stationer in London, who initiated five printed prose and poetical commonplace books, that is: *Politeuphuia: Wit's Commonwealth* (1597), *Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury* (1598), *Wit's Theatre of the Little World* (1599), *Bel-vedere* and *England's Helicon* (1600). Bodenham received a grammar school education in the Merchant Taylors' School, where Edmund Spenser also had his education.

Mulcaster would have introduced commonplace book practice in the Merchant Taylors' School. In his *Positions*, Mulcaster explains why Horace's works are ideal for Latin reading and deserve to be memorised. He argues:

Moreover, some verie excellent places most eloquently, and forcibly penned for the polishing of good manners, and inducement vnto vertue may be pickt out of some of them, and none more than *Horace*. We may therefore either vse them with that choice: or help the point ourselves if we think it good, and can pen a verse that may deserve remembrance.

(*Positions* f.273; 1581, emphasis mine)

In his discussion on oratory, Mulcaster argues that Horace's topics were rhetorically and virtuously most sophisticated, and therefore, he encourages pupils to "pen (write down)" good verses which deserve to be memorised. Although Mulcaster does not mention where pupils would cull out phrases, students in the Merchant Taylors' School would own their commonplace books to write down important sentences.

Spenser's commonplace book is not extant, but researchers such as Tilley, Smith and Shaheen have discovered that Spenser's expressions in *The Faerie Queene* are full of classical and Biblical references. Therefore, the readers of *The Faerie Queene* could easily cull Spenser's words as useful proverbial phrases in their commonplace books. After his death, Edmund Spenser had gained a significant reputation, and his followers published elegies and adaptations for Spenser, which contributed towards his popularity (Hadfield, *Spenser: A Life*

394). The publication of *Bel-vedère* can also be aligned in this context. Among printed commonplace books which collected English writings, *Bel-vedère* and *Englands Parnassus* collected excerpts from Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* as the most frequently listed title. As early modern readers of *The Faerie Queene*, the compilers collected 189 citations in *Bel-vedère* and 298 citations in *Englands Parnassus*. *Bel-vedère* and *Englands Parnassus* also contributed to canonizing Spenser's works in the seventeenth century.

One of the significant differences between *Bel-vedère* and *Englands Parnassus* is the credibility of the authorship. In *Englands Parnassus*, the compiler Robert Allott always mentions the names of the English writers. Like Elviden's *The Closet of Counsellis*, *Engalnds Parnassus* offers the source of the discourse on the citations. On the other hand, in *Bel-vedère*, Bodenham dropped the writers' names, which means that it is difficult for readers to access the original sources of the extracts.³³ In the preface of *Bel-vedère*, Bodenham explains that authors in *Bel-vedère* were "especially approoved", and therefore, he did not need to defend the labour of this commonplace book:

IT shall be needlesse (gentle Reader) to make any Apologie for the defence of this labour, because the same being collected from so many singular mens works; and the worth of them all having been so especially approoued, and past with no meane applause the censure of all in generall; doth both disburden me of that paines, and sets the better approbation on this excellent booke. (sig. A3r)

Bodenham borrows the authority of English writers to defend the credibility of his commonplace book. While *Englands Parnassus* establishes its authority by mentioning the names of the authors, *Bel-vedère* defends itself by proclaiming that all citations are publicly approved.

³³ There had been no modern print edition of *Bel-vedère* before the annotated edition by Lukas Erne and Devani Singh (2020). We can now access to the sources of the excerpts in *Bel-vedère* (926 out of 4,482 phrases are still untraced), and my research considerably developed because of their respectable efforts.

Bel-vedere is composed of a collection of excerpts which are rearranged under the topical headings, from “Of God” to “Of Death”. The excerpts are divided in three sections. The first section is the main collection of commonplaces related to the headings. The second section collects “similies”, which are composed of two-line sentences in the style of “As (Like) . . . , / So . . .”, and the last section is the collection of “examples”, which gathers the descriptions of historical or mythological characters. Both “similes (similitudes)” and “examples” are early modern rhetorical tropes, and they are explained especially carefully in Thomas Wilson’s *The Art of Rhetoric* (1553) (Bodenham xxi; 2020). Almost all excerpts from *The Faerie Queene* are collected in the first section, but only one example is found in the section of “simile”, under the heading of “life”; “As falls the tree, so prostrate still it lyes: / So speedeth life, in liuing as it dyes” (QN 4400).³⁴ According to Erne and Singh, this phrase was extracted from Book I, ‘O man haue mind of that last bitter throw; / For as the tree does fall, so lyes it euer low’ (I.x.41.8-9). Bodenham extracts the phrase in which Spenser also uses the style of “simile” and collects it in the section of “simile”. As we can see, Bodenham does not copy Spenser’s expressions in *The Faerie Queene*. Rather, he summarises Spenser’s words and changes the expression in his own way.

John Bodenham’s attitude towards English writings affects how he culled the extracts. For example, in many cases, *Bel-vedere* generalises Spenser’s words by deleting the phrases such as “they say” (QN 1473), “is said” (QN 1869), “I wote” (QN 4351), “quoth he” (QN 4444 and 2454) and “said she” (QN 1755). The removals of these phrases make the expressions of *The Faerie Queene* more commonplace-like. In the beginning of Book I, for example, the

³⁴ Below is the comparison between the expressions of *The Faerie Queene* and *Bel-vedere* which I mentioned above: “Vntroubled night giues counsell euer best.” (QN 1473) / “Vntroubled night they say giues counsel best.” (I.i.33.3); “Better a new friend, than an auncient foe.” (QN 1869) / “Better new friend then an old foe is said” (I.ii.27.4); “The longer life, the greater is our guilt.” (QN 4351) / “The lenger life, I wote the greater sin,” (I.ix.43.1); “To good and bad, death is an equall doome.” (QN 4444) / “Palmer (quoth he) death is an euill doome / To good and bad” (II.i.59.1-2); “Intemperance thrallles men to couetise.” (QN 2454) / “Indeede (quoth he) through fowle intemperaunce, / Frayle men are oft captiu’d to couetise.” (II.vii.15.1-2) and “Life is not lost that brings eternall fame.” (QN 1755) / “Life is not lost, (said she) for which is bought / Endlesse renown” (III.xi.19.8-9).

company of the Red Cross Knight decides to stay at the hermitage, and Una says, “Vntroubled night they say giues counsell best” (I.i.33.3). Spenser clearly shows readers that this phrase is formed of borrowed words by adding the phrase “they say”, and according to C. G. Smith, this phrase actually comes from a classical commonplace, “night is the mother of counsel” (no. 574), which had been mentioned in Menander’s *Arbitrants* and Erasmus’ *Adagia* (Smith 205). In the story of Book I, the interval of the phrase “they say” becomes a marker of warning readers, because readers know that this phrase does not belong to Una. The following stanzas reveal that the hermit is a vice character Archimago and lures them to separate. However, in *Bel-vedère*, Una’s words are listed as “Vntroubled night giues counsell euer best” under the heading of “counsel” (QN 1473). Bodenham purposely removed the phrase “they say” from Una’s words and added the word “euer” to balance the metre. His amendment makes Una’s words sound more proverbial, but at the same time, it also cuts off the context of the story in Una’s words. *Bel-vedère* prioritises the universal meanings of excerpts over the credibility of writers’ words.

The same thing happens when Spenser’s original proverbial words are extracted. In the second canto of Book I, the Red Cross Knight abandons Una in the hermitage because of Archimago’s vile ploy, and he meets a new woman called Fidessa, whose current knight was killed by the Red Cross Knight. When he sees that the woman is beautiful, he decides to flirt with her and says, “Better new friend then an old foe is said” (I.ii.27.4). C. G. Smith counts this phrase as Spenser’s original proverb (no. 304), and Tilley also recognises that Spenser is the first who mentioned this proverb (F686). In the story’s context, it is likely that the Red Cross Knight makes up the pithy phrase which is convenient for him, and he adds “is said” in the end so that the phrase can sound authoritative. Nevertheless, Spenser might have twisted the existing commonplace to create the Red Cross Knight’s words. As mentioned earlier, *The Closet of Counsell*s collects Seneca’s commonplace in English translation; “Of all things,

earthlie globe containes / the newest is the beste / Except of frendes, the whiche accept / the neweste for the leaste”, under the heading of “friendship” (Elviden sig. B.iii.). The Red Cross Knight’s proverbial words can be considered as a twisted version of this commonplace especially in the point that a “new” friendship is prioritised over an “old” hostility. If early modern English readers had memorised the phrase from Seneca’s *Epistulae morales* in their school education, they would notice that the Red Cross Knight’s pithy words would be wrong because he would purposely invert the meaning of the existing commonplace to flirt with a new woman. Because the Red Cross Knight adds the phrase “is said” here, readers can easily detect the knight’s words are borrowed. In this scene, Spenser tactically reflects the early modern commonplace book culture in the Red Cross Knight’s words.

On the other hand, in *Bel-vedère*, Bodenham removes the phrase “is said” and cites it as an independent commonplace: “Better a new friend, than an auncient foe” under the heading of “friendship” (QN 1869). Because *Bel-vedère* does not list the names of writers, the Red Cross Knight’s inverted phrase is listed as an authoritative commonplace. As mentioned in the preface, *Bel-vedère* relies on the authority of “approved” excerpts. Therefore, Spenser’s words in *The Faerie Queene* are decontextualised in *Bel-vedère* and are shaped in the shared knowledge. This means that vile characters’ pithy words in *The Faerie Queene* are also treated as authoritative commonplaces. For instance, under the heading of “hate”, *Bel-vedère* collects the phrase from Book I, “Who hates himselfe to loue another man, / Sencelesse should be esteemed of all men.” (QN 687). However, in *The Faerie Queene*, this phrase comes from an insulting speech by the evil knight called Sansloy: “Most sencelesse man be, that himselfe doth hate, / To loue another.” (I.vi.47.5-6). Bodenham lists this phrase as if it is an authentic commonplace which is worth memorising, by adding his original words, “(Sencelesse) should be esteemed of all men”. From this example, we know that both good and bad characters’ lines can become commonplaces in the reading of *Bel-vedère*.

Bodenham seems to perceive that any of Spenser's words in *The Faerie Queene* deserve to be extracted, since he even authorises and "commonplaces" the words of Despair in Book I. Towards the angry Red Cross Knight who sees dead bodies by Despair, the old Despair says:

What franticke fit (quoth he) hath thus distraught

Thee, foolish man, so rash a doome to giue?

What iustice euer other iudgement taught,

But he should dy, who merites not to liue? (I.ix.38.1-4)

In *The Faerie Queene*, Despair calls the Red Cross Knight a "foolish man" and he cruelly mentions that the person who does not have merits to live should die. In *Bel-vedère*, the phrase, "But he should dy, who merites not to liue?" in line 4 was extracted as a commonplace; "He ought to die, that not deserues to liue." under the heading of "death" (QN 4409). The question mark in the end was removed in *Bel-vedère*, and the excerpt sounds crueller and more decisive compared with Spenser's words.

Bodenham also changes the meaning of Spenser's words along with his own values. For example, under the heading of "life", he lists the phrase, "Mans life may less'ned, not enlarged be." (QN 4355; emphasis mine). This phrase was extracted from the episode of Book IV, where Agape visits the house of three fatal sisters to request extending her sons' lives. In this story, Agape mentions that a man's life cannot be lessened nor extended; "the terme of each mans life . . . nought may lessened nor enlarged bee," (IV.ii.53.1-2). However, Bodenham changes the expression of the phrase, and his excerpt means that a man's life can be lesser in *Bel-vedère*. Bodenham reflects his own view and changes Spenser's expression in the process of transcription. Bodenham's amendment would not be acceptable from the perspective of authorship, but in this way, he reshapes Spenser's words more memorably for him. Because commonplace books were developed in the manuscript culture, the process of transcribing readings was merely personal in the beginning. Again, *Bel-vedère* is not just a collection of

English writings. In this commonplace book, Bodenham created a “place” of recreating English phrases outside the context of the original writings. Through this process in *Bel-vedère*, Spenser’s words in *The Faerie Queene* were shared as universal knowledge among early modern readers.

The compiler Bodenham seems to have found the enjoyment of reading through the process of commonplacing. In the preface, he explains why the subtitle of *Bel-vedère* is ‘the Garden of the Muses’:

It shall be sufficient for me then to tell thee, that here thou art brought into the Muses Garden, (a place that may besee me the presence of the greatest Prince in the world.) Imagine then thy height of happinesse, in being admitted to so celestiall a Paradise. . . . The walkes, alleys, and passages in this Garden, are almost infinite; euery where a turning, on all sides such windings in and out: yet all extending both to pleasure and profit, as very rare or seldome shalt thou see the like. (sig. A3r-sig. A3v).

While Elviden called his printed commonplace book “the closet of counsels”, Bodenham called *Bel-vedère* “the garden of the Muses”, where readers can enjoy walking through the infinite garden of English verses inspired by Muses. Bodenham himself enjoyed reading English writings and making his own commonplace book with respect, and now he finds the enjoyment in sharing his private commonplace book in public. By being published, *Bel-vedère* became the public place to share the compiler’s personal reading experience in the shape of proverbial phrases, to early modern people’s memories.

The English printed commonplace book *Bel-vedère or the Garden of the Muses* offers us an example of how early modern people read writings and culminated them as a shared knowledge in the commonplace book culture. By tracing the connection between Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* and *Bel-vedère*, this section showed how Spenser’s words in *The*

Faerie Queene were acknowledged and shared as the common legacy among early modern readers. In *Bel-vedère*, Spenser's words were interpreted in the compiler's perspective and were reshaped to the universal sayings. Bodenham removed the intervening phrases in *The Faerie Queene* such as "they say", "is said" and "I wote" in his commonplace book, and it makes Spenser's words sound proverbial. Bodenham also decontextualised Spenser's words from the context of the episodes in *The Faerie Queene*, and even vile characters' lines are "commonplaced" and authenticated in *Bel-vedère*. From this, we know that Bodenham could read all Spenser's words in *The Faerie Queene* as commonplaces which were deserving of being memorised. Furthermore, Bodenham even changed the meaning of Spenser's words, but this is a part of process of transcription in the commonplace culture. Bodenham published *Bel-vedère* to share his enjoyable reading experience in public, and this publication contributed to reshaping Spenser's words as commonplaces. *Bel-vedère* shares the private process of proverb making with us.

4.2. Robert Allott's *Englands Parnassus* (1600)

Englands Parnassus: Or The choycest Flowers of our Moderne Poets, with their Poeticall comparisons (1600) is another printed commonplace book which was published in the same year of *Bel-vedère*, and this book also lists Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* as the most frequently extracted title. *Englands Parnassus* is practically designed for writing and collects excerpts along with original authors' names, and *Englands Parnassus* has been recognised by modern readers more than *Bel-vedère*.³⁵ This section will focus on the practicality of *Englands Parnassus* as a rhetorical book, which is the different feature from *Bel-vedère*.

³⁵ Charles Crawford edited the annotated version of *Englands Parnassus* in 1913, and he identified almost all original sources of excerpts.

The compiler is shown as “R. A.” in *Englands Parnassus*, but this person was found to be Robert Allott by Charles Crawford. Robert Allott also composed another printed commonplace book titled *Wits Theater*, which collected prose and was published in 1599. While *Wits Theater* was patronised by John Bodenham, *Englands Parnassus* was dedicated to Sir Thomas Monson (1563/4-1641), a courtier in Lincolnshire. We know that the compiler was Robert Allott, but it does not necessarily mean that we know much about him. According to Arthur F. Marotti, there are “two possible candidates” for Robert Allott; either a gentleman from Lincolnshire or one from Yorkshire. Both had a university education, in Oxford or in Cambridge respectively, and they must have learned commonplace book practice during the course of their education.

Unlike *Bel-vedère*, *Englands Parnassus* does not have a preface to the readers. Instead of defending the value of this commonplace book, Robert Allott contributed a sonnet entitled “To the Reader”:

I Hang no Iuie out to sell my Wine,
 The *Nectar* of good witts will sell it selfe;
 I feare not, what detraction can define,
 I saile secure from *Enuies* storme or shelve.
 I set my picture out to each mans vewe,
 Limd with these colours, and so cunning arts,
 That like the *Phoenix* will their age renewe,
 And conquer *Enuie* by their good desarts.
 If any Cobler carpe aboue his shoo,
 I rather pittie, then repine his action,
 For ignorance stil maketh much adoo,
 And wisdom loues that, which offends detraction.

Go fearles forth my booke, hate cannot harm thee,

Apollo bred thee, & the *Muses* arm thee.

R. A. (sig. A5r)

Allott refers to this commonplace book as “my Wine” and states that this “*Nectar* of good witts” is ready to be sold to readers. He appears to have published his commonplace book with confidence, and even he seems to evaluate it as his own work by saying “Go fearles forth my booke, hate cannot harm thee” in the second last line. *Bel-vedère* relied on the credibility of original sources to defend its publication, but Robert Allott defends *Englands Parnassus* by defining it as a literary work. In other words, *Englands Parnassus* relies on its own credibility as a literary intellectual work. Allott must have chosen the style of sonnet to display his rhetorical skills to readers.

The structure of *Englands Parnassus* also shows that the compiler’s interest centres on the rhetorical usage. Allott divides his collection of excerpts into six sections. The first section is dedicated to the main collection, of which headings are arranged in alphabetical order from “angel” to “youth” (QN 1-1839). The rest of the sections are practical collections for rhetoric: “The diuision of the day naturall” (QN 1840-1911), “Poeticall Descriptions” (QN 1912-2011), “Discriptions of Beautie & personage” (QN 2012-2059), “Poeticall comparisons” (QN 2060-2245) and “Proper Epithites and Adiuncts to diuers things” (QN 2246-2349). Excerpts in each section are cited along with the authors’ names so that readers can easily access the original sources. Because excerpts are divided in terms of rhetorical purpose, the same headings can exist in different sections. For example, the heading “beautie” can be seen in the first section (QN 61-108), but this heading also exists in the “Poetical Descriptions” (QN 2060-2069) and in the “Poeticall comparisons” (QN 2210-2211). Allott rearranges the excerpts which are related to beauty and distributes them into the different sections depending on their usage. Also, it can be said that *Englands Parnassus* is more encyclopaedical than *Bel-vedère*. While Allott

distributes the headings in alphabetical order, *Bel-vedère*, on the other hand, presents the headings in religious order from “God” to “Death”. In addition to this, *Englands Parnassus* attaches the content of the first section, which is titled “A Table of all the speciall matters contained in this Booke”. *Englands Parnassus* seems to be well-organised and was carefully prepared for the publication by the composer. According to Ann Moss, printed commonplace book began to “merge” with encyclopaedias (vii). We can see some encyclopaedic idea in the systematic frame of *Englands Parnassus*.

Englands Parnassus seems to have been published with the composer’s careful attention. Nevertheless, the credibility of authorship in the early modern period was not particularly correct. As shown by Charles Crawford, 130 excerpts are wrongly assigned in *Englands Parnassus* (542). Among these errors, Spenser’s excerpts are found under the names of other poets below: Samuel Daniel (QN 1984), Robert Greene (QN 1890, 1960 and 1976), William Shakespeare (QN 587, 982 and 984), Sir Philip Sidney (QN 1768) and Earl of Surrey (QN 333). Nine excerpts attributed to Spenser are found misplaced. In an opposite way, fourteen quotations are mistakenly claimed as Spenser’s works, which should belong to Lodowick Bryskett (QN 341 and 1952), George Chapman (QN 1536, 1715 and 2098), Michael Drayton (QN 690, 691, 692, 1535 and 1636), Edward Fairfax (QN 1003), Sir John Harington (QN 2178), the Countess of Pembroke (QN 689) and William Shakespeare (QN1560). As argued by Crawford, the authors’ names were not added until Allott rearranged quotations into the current order (449). This means that Allott would have collected excerpts without references in his private commonplace book in a similar way to the style of *Bel-vedère*, and then, Allott added the authors’ information for the publication of *Englands Parnassus* by recollecting the names from his memory. It seems that *Englands Parnassus* was rearranged and published particularly for readers’ convenience.

Englands Parnassus collects 298 excerpts from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. One of the most significant differences between *Bel-vedère* and *Englands Parnassus* is the editions of *The Faerie Queene* which the compilers used for the extract. Both printed commonplace books treat the quotations from *The Faerie Queene*, but their process of commonplacing *The Faerie Queene* is different. We can understand it by comparing the wording which Spenser modified between the 1590 and the 1596 editions, and I found a particular extract from which we can see the difference in *Bel-vedère* and *Englands Parnassus*. In the 1590 edition of Book II, there is the Palmer's line, "death is an equall doome":

Palmer, qd. he, death is an equall doome

To good and bad, the commen In of rest;
 But after death the rryall is to come,
 When best shall bee to them, that liued best:
 But both alike, when death hath supprest,
 Religious reuerence doth buriall teene,
 Which who so wants, wants so much of his rest:

(1590 *FQ*; II.i.59.1-7; emphasis mine)

In the 1596 edition, Spenser changed several expressions from the 1590 edition, but particularly, he changed the word "equall" into "euill" in the first line:

Palmer (quoth he) death is an euill doome

To good and bad, the common Inne of rest;
 But after death the tryall is to come,
 When best shall be to them, that liued best:
 But both alike, when death hath both supprest,
 Religious reuerence doth buriall teene,
 Which who so wants, wants so much of his rest:

(1596 *FQ*; II.i.59.1-7; emphasis mine)

This modification by Spenser directly affected the extract of *Bel-vedère* and *Englands Parnassus*. In *Bel-vedère*, John Bodenham extracted it as “To good and bad, death is an equall doome.” (QN 4444). He combined the first two lines and created the proverbial sentence, and from the word “equall”, it is clear that Bodenham had read the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* and extracted it in *Bel-vedère*. On the other hand, *Englands Parnassus* follows the word “euill” in the extract under the heading of death:

- - - - Death is an euill doome.

To good and bad, the common Inne of rest,

But after death the triall is to come

When best shall be to them that liued best,

But both alike when death hath both supprest. (QN 304; II.1-5)

Because Allott uses “euill”, it is obvious that he extracted the expression from the 1596 edition here, and this is not the only example that Allott uses the 1596 edition. In Canto vii of Book II, Spenser changes the word “yron” in 1590 into “golden” in 1596 (II.vii.40.7) in the description of the Cave of Mammon, and Allott followed the latter expression by extracting like this: “But hee himselfe was all of golden mould” (QN 1920; emphasis mine). Allott seems to keep using the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene* to extract Spenser’s words, while Bodenham would have been reading both 1590 and 1596 editions of *The Faerie Queene* and had accumulated them into *Bel-vedère*. *Englands Parnassus* and *Bel-vedère* show that early modern people were keen to read the publications written in English, and they were willing to extract commonplaces from them even just after publication.

In the main collection of *Englands Parnassus* (QN 1-QN 1839), 188 excerpts from *The Faerie Queene* are listed. In a similar way to *Bel-vedère*, *Englands Parnassus* universalises Spenser’s words to make them sound proverbial in the process of commonplacing. For example,

Una confesses her grief to Prince Arthur in Canto vii of Book I: “O but (quoth she) great griefe will not be tould, / And can more easily be thought, then said” (I.vii.41.1-2). Robert Allott extracted this sentence as follows:

- - - Great griefe can not be told,

And can more easily be thought then found. *Ed. Sp.* (QN671)

Allott omitted the first and the last phrases such as “O but (quoth she)” and “then said” in *Englands Parnassus*, and it clearly helps to make Una’s phrase sound proverbial. Obscuring speakers of the sentences is one of the techniques to universalise excerpts, and Allott repeatedly uses this way of commonplacing (such as QN 304, 519, 521).³⁶ One quotation from Book II is a similar case, but the composer rearranges the sentence a little bit more. Below is the original sentence in *The Faerie Queene*:

Mad man (said then the Palmer) that does seeke

Occasion to wrath, and cause of strife; (*Longman FQ* II.iv.44.1-2)

In *Englands Parnassus*, Allott extracted this as follows:

- - - He is a mad man that doth seeke

Occasion to wrath and cause of strife (QN 1798)

Like the previous examples, Allott first removes the phrase in the parenthesis, “(said then the Palmer)”. However, Spenser’s phrase does not compose a sentence as it is, so Allott adds “He is” in the beginning. The composer’s addition makes a proper sentence, but at the same time, it also helps to generalise Spenser’s words. In the process of commonplacing, Allott sometimes rearranges Spenser’s words to emphasises their proverbial nature.

Allott sometimes eliminated question marks in *The Faerie Queene* (QN 449 and 452).

For example, *Englands Parnassus* extracted the sentence from Book III, “sith fates can make /

³⁶ The composer of *Englands Parnassus* sometimes retains the interruptive phrases. For example, QN 1435 keeps the phrase “they say”, and QN 567 also includes “is said” in the list.

Way for themselves, their purpose to partake?” (III.iii.25.4-5; 1596) by deleting the question mark in the end of the sentence (QN 449). This could be the issue of typography by the printer, but omitting question marks helps excerpts sound decisive and authentic. For the similar effect, the composer also excludes “for” before the sentences (QN 648, 1178, 1510). For instance, the proverbial sentence from Book IV of *The Faerie Queene*, “For euill deedes may better then bad words be bore” (IV.iv.11.9) was extracted without “for” in *Englands Parnassus*: “Ill deedes may better the bad words be bore” (QN 648). By reducing words is one way of commonplacing Spenser’s words in *Englands Parnassus*.

On the other hand, Allott adds extra words to make sense of extracted words. For example, there is a phrase, “Her younger Sister, that Speranza hight” (I.x.14.1) in *The Faerie Queene*, but Allott extracts this phrase into “Faiths yonger sister that Speranza hight” (QN 745). He changes “Her” into “Faiths” to clarify the subject. Also, Allott emphasises Spenser’s words by adding extra words such as “Most true it is that true loue hath no power / To looken back, his eyes be fixt before” (QN 982; emphasis mine), which comes from the sentence from Book I, “Of past: true is, that true loue hath no powre / To looken backe; his eies be fixt before.” (I.iii.30.7.7-8). Allott added “Most” in the beginning to emphasises the truth of Spenser’s words. It is interesting that the composer emphasised the “trueness” of Spenser’s words. Allott seems to use “most” when the sentence is especially true. Through the process of commonplacing, Spenser’s words were interpreted and reshaped, and these quotations reflect the composer’s perspective directly.

Another example that Allott emphasises Spenser’s words by adding extra words is from Book IV. In Spenser’s words, it is: “For Loue is free, and led with selfe delight, / Ne will enforced be with mainsterdome or might.” (IV.i.46.8-9), but Allot extracts it like this: “True loue is free, and led with selfe delight, / Ne will inforced be with masterdome or might” (QN 984). Allott used “True loue” instead of just “Loue” in the beginning of the sentence and

emphasises its “trueness”. Allott seems to show his agreement with Spenser’s words by adding emphatic words, and this way of editing helps universalising Spenser’s words. Excerpts in *Englands Parnassus* were practically chosen for writings, but Allott seems to differentiate the especially important excerpts by adding exaggerating words.

Allott also emphasises the trueness of Spenser’s words by changing the tense from past to present. For example, in the second canto of Book I, there is a phrase, “The eie of reason was with rage yblent.” (I.ii.5.7; emphasis mine), but Allott uses the present tense when he transcribed this phrase in *Englands Parnassus*: “The eye of reason is with raging ybent” (QN 1417; emphasis mine). By changing the tense from past to present, Allott makes Spenser’s phrase sound more universal. Another example from Book IV also shows that the composer deliberately changed the tense from past to present:

Hate was the elder, Loue the younger brother;

Yet was the younger stronger in his state

Then th’elder, and him maystred still in all debate. (*Longman FQ* IV.x.32.7-9)

Hate is the elder, loue the yonger brother,

Yet is the yonger stronger in his state

Then th’elder, and him mastereth still in all debate.

(*Englands Parnassus* QN 699; emphases mine)

This time, Allott changes the tense three times in the same quotation, and it is clear that he purposely transcribed this sentence in the present tense. As proverbs are told in the present form, Spenser’s words were also transformed and universalised by changing the tense. In *Englands Parnassus*, the composer changed *The Faerie Queene* into commonplaces by using the techniques of commonplacing such as deleting the interruptive phrases, adding a subject of the sentence and changing the tense.

From here, I will show the outstanding examples by following the episodes of *The Faerie Queene*. In the beginning of Book I, there is one sentence which is so-called “Una’s counter-proverb”, as discussed in Chapter 1. Spenser changes the meaning of the existing proverb, “there is no fire without some smoke” (Tilley F282) to “Oft fire is without smoke” (I.i.12.4). Una’s sophisticated wit appears in this converted saying, and *Englands Parnassus* extracts this phrase under the heading of “danger”:

The danger hid, the place vnknowne and wilde,
 Breedes dreadfull doubts: Oft fire is without smoke,
 And perill without show: (Longman *FQ* I.i.12.3-5)

The Daunger hid, the place vnknowne and wilde,
 Breeds dreadfull doubts: oft fire is without smoake,
 And perill without shewe.

Ed. Spencer. (Englands Parnassus QN 270)

Minor changes such as capitalisation and variant spelling can be seen in *Englands Parnassus*, but Allott followed Spenser’s expression here. Although Spenser uses the twisted version of the well-known proverb, Allott treats this phrase as Spenser’s commonplace. Una mentions these words just before the Red Cross Knight encounters the monster Errour, and Una’s words work as a warning to readers as well as the Red Cross Knight. Allott understands Spenser’s intention of inserting Una’s words and extracts them as a commonplace of “danger”.

Allott sometimes adds an explanation of his extracts when the extracts do not seem to be related to the headings. For example, under the heading of error, Allott quotes Spenser’s simile about the Nile river from the first canto of Book I:

As when old father *Nilus* gins to swell
 With timely pride aboue th’Egyptian vale,

His fatty waues doe fertile shine out well,
 And ouer-flow each plaine, and lowly dale,
 But when his later ebbe gins to auaile,
 Huge heapes of mud he leaues, wherein there breed
 Ten thousand kinde of creatures, partly male,
 And partly female, of his fruitfull seede,
 Such vgly monstrous shapes elsewhere may no man reed

Ed. Spen. compard to Errors vomit. (QN 2111)

In the previous stanza, Spenser describes the monster Errour who vomits poisons, frogs and booklets, and he compares this with the flood of the Nile. In *Englands Parnassus*, because readers cannot follow this context, Allott adds the explanation “*compard to Errors vomit.*” in the end, to clarify why this extract is collected under the heading of “Errour”. It is interesting that this citation does not cover the part which contains the word “error”. Allot only cites the quotation which compares “Errour” with the Nile. This is the only example for the heading “Errour”, and therefore, it is likely that Allott created this heading just for collecting Spenser’s simile. He only cited Spenser’s simile – the most rhetorical description – by skipping the description of Error’s vomiting. Allott focuses on the rhetorical aspect of extracts, and he collected the description of the Nile just because this is the simile of the monster Errour.

Englands Parnassus also collects Britomart’s words from Book III, when she encounters the six knights in front of the castle. *Englands Parnassus* cites five lines:

All losse is lesse, and lesse the infamy,
 Then losse of loue to him that loues but one,
 Ne may loue be compeld by maisterie,
 For as soone as maisterie comes sweete loue anon:
 Taketh his nimble wings, and soone is gone.

Ed. Spenser.

(QN 1038)

Allott placed this citation under the topic of “life” although Britomart’s words are filled with love. Allott interprets lost love as a universal theme of human life. On the other hand, *Bel-vedère* collects this expression under the heading of “love” instead of “life”. The compiler divides this phrase into two parts and lists as “Loue may not be compeld by masterie.” (QN 558) and “All losse is lesse, yea lesse is infamie, / Than losse of loue to him that loues but one.” (QN 563). In *Bel-vedère*, these words are treated more literally than in *Englands Parnassus* which collects them under the heading of “life”. In other words, the compiler of *Bel-vedère* interprets these words in the context of a romantic relationship, departing from the story context. These citations originate from the same stanza of *The Faerie Queene*, but the meanings of Spenser’s words change depending on the compilers’ interpretations.

In the episode of Duessa’s trial in Canto x of Book V, there is Spenser’s original and proverbial sentence, “it is greater prayse to saue, then spill, / And better to reforme, then to cut off the ill”, just after Mercilla ordered to execute Duessa. This contradictive phrase is also extracted in both printed commonplace books, and this means that Spenser’s words here are quite proverbial enough to be extracted by two early modern readers. *Englands Parnassus* collects this phrase under the heading of “Mercie” (QN 1165). Allott interprets this phrase along with the story of Duessa’s trial, since only readers know that this phrase appears when the storyteller explains about “mercy”. On the other hand, the compiler of *Bel-vedère* does not categorise this phrase under the heading of “mercy”. Instead, he chooses the two headings for this phrase: “Of Honor & dishonor” for the first line (QN 1394) and “Of euill Deeds, &c.” for the second line (QN 3529). Unlike *Englands Parnassus*, the compiler of *Bel-vedère* seems to understand this phrase outside the context of the episode because these two headings closely related to the content of this phrase.

Robert Allott also made the headings related to the titular virtues of *The Faerie Queene*. For example, under the heading of “Courtesie”, Robert Allott collects two citations from Book VI (Proem 4 and 5). Collecting the quotations related to the titular virtues seems to be another characteristics of *Englands Parnassus*, since in *Bel-vedère*, the compiler does not even create the heading of “courtesy”. The compiler of *Bel-vedère* does not follow Spenser’s didactic intention of moral virtues so obviously. John Bodenham extracted the same phrase in Proem 5, but he put the sentence under the heading of “Vertue” (QN 296). Below is the comparison of *Englands Parnassus* and *Bel-vedère*:

Courtesie.

--- In the triall of true Courtesie,
 Its now so farre from that which once it was,
 That it indeed is nought but forgerie,
 Fashion’d to please the eyes of them that passe,
 Which see not perfect things but in a glasse,
 Yet is that glasse so gay, it cannot blinde
 The wisest sight, to thinke that gold is brasse.
 But vertues seate is deepe within the minde,
 And not in outward shew, but inward thoughts defin’d.

Idem. (Englands Parnassus QN 251)

Of Vertue.

*Faire vertues seat is deepe within the mind,
 And not by shewes, but inward thoughts defin’d.* (*Bel-vedère* QN 296)

While *Englands Parnassus* cites the entire stanza of Proem 5 under the heading of “Courtesie”, *Bel-vedère* cites the last two lines under the heading of “Vertue”. Because *Bel-vedère* is

composed of one or two lines of decasyllabic verse, it would probably be difficult to summarise the explanation of “courtesy” in lines 1 to 7. Instead, the compiler chooses the short passage in the last two lines and extracts them as a commonplace of “vertue”. *Bel-vedere* prioritises the commonplace-looking style so that readers can easily identify them as authoritative phrases without knowing the writers’ names. On the other hand, *Englands Parnassus* mentions the names of authors, and it is possible to list the longer citations. Robert Allott seems to prioritise the context of the story and his reading experience in *Englands Parnassus*.

Englands Parnassus and *Bel-vedere* have different approaches to extracting the phrases from *The Faerie Queene*. *Englands Parnassus* reveals authors’ names and has several sections designed for rhetorical purposes. The compiler uses several techniques to universalise Spenser’s words, such as deleting interruptive phrases, adding extra information and changing the tense from past to present. Furthermore, it can be said that *Englands Parnassus* reflects reading experience more straightforwardly compared with *Bel-vedere* because Allott follows the context of episodes in *The Faerie Queene*. Because *Englands Parnassus* collects assigned quotations, it would have been easy for early modern readers to compare *Englands Parnassus* and the original sources. *Englands Parnassus* shows how to extract sections of *The Faerie Queene* for readers, and Spenser’s words were reshaped for being shared as commonplaces. English printed commonplace books offered a place to redefine Spenser’s words in *The Faerie Queene* as commonplaces. Both *Englands Parnassus* and *Bel-vedere* contributed to sharing *The Faerie Queene* as a common knowledge among early modern readers in their unique ways.

Conclusion

C. S. Lewis evaluates Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* by saying that "the things we read about in it are not like life, but the experience of reading it is like living" in *The Allegory of Love* (358). It seems for me that the "like living" experience through the reading of *The Faerie Queene* comes from Spenser's allegorical imageries and dreamy structures of narratives woven with Spenserian stanzas, and all such aspects are closely related to Spenser's discourse by using proverbial expressions. Examining Spenser's use of commonplaces in *The Faerie Queene* is one approach to decipher the attractive reading experience of *The Faerie Queene*.

Edmund Spenser's proverbial expressions in *The Faerie Queene* are influenced by the humanist idea of commonplace book learning, which was practiced especially as a part of grammar school education. Spenser's use of commonplaces is characterised by the combination of characters' example and commonplaces, which is particularly shown in Prince Arthur's words; "This daies ensample hath this lesson deare / Deep written in my heart with yron pen, / That blisse may not abide in state of mortall men." (I.viii.44.7-9). His word choice is reflected by the idea of gathering and framing in commonplace book learning. Guyon in Book II is described as an ideal user of commonplaces, but his immature status after meeting Mammon is expressed in his corrupt use of commonplaces. In Book III, Venus as a teacher of love can be contrasted to Busirane as a dreadful teacher who uses corporeal punishment. Also, the enigmatic phrases in the house of Busirane, "*Be bolde, be bolde*", but "*Be not too bolde*" (III.xi.54) are extracted from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.628-30), whose phrases would have been noticed by early modern readers. In Book IV, while evil characters use commonplaces in a rhetorical and superficial way, Florimel's rhetorical lamentation with commonplaces moves Marinell's heart. In Book V, Spenser's judicial knowledge is reflected especially in the episode

of the brothers Bracidas and Amidas, when Artegall judges them with commonplaces. Also, the political aspect in the episode of the Giant with the Scales was featured and interpreted as a commonplace by Samuel Sheppard. In Book VI, Spenser's discourse returns to being didactic, which can be compared with early modern courtesy books. Spenser's didactic discourse can be compared with Book I, and Meliboe's words using clustered commonplaces could allude to Spenser's attitude towards moral education. Spenser keeps using commonplaces in Book VII as well, and his discourse using clustered commonplaces becomes complicated and emphasises the mutable atmosphere. *Englands Parnassus* and *Bel-vedere* show how quotations from *The Faerie Queene* were circulated among early modern readers and how readers universalised Spenser's words as commonplaces.

Spenser's proverbial expressions in *The Faerie Queene* are clearly influenced by commonplace book practice, but Spenser adapts this idea in his own way in his narratives. Characters in *The Faerie Queene* tend to "gather" and "frame" commonplaces from their examples, and their use of commonplaces skilfully enhances the rhetorical effect in their speech, such as Una's counter-proverb in Book I and Blandamour's lie composed of commonplaces in Book IV. Spenser's use of commonplaces supports creating his unique discourse, and it is also a clue to show his didactic intention to readers. In Erasmian idea, commonplace books were recognised as an artificial memory which keeps recording and updating the information endlessly. This is not so far from the Internet technology of our age, which serves much the same function. In this sense, the analysis of early modern commonplace book culture embraces modern intellectual curiosity, and we can freshly review Spenser's abundant, varied, expressive application of commonplace book practice in *The Faerie Queene*.

Appendix 1: Quotation Numbers of *The Faerie Queene* in *Bel-vedère*

189 extracts of *The Faerie Queene* are counted in the annotated version of *Bel-vedère* by Lukas Erne and Devani Singh (2000). Below is the list of the extracts which I rearranged in order of the books. Each number in parentheses indicates the quotation number in *Bel-vedère*.

Book I

I.i.12.3-4 (2849); I.i.12.9 (319); I.i.13.4-5 (981); I.i.33.3 (1473); I.i.35.4 (3056); I.ii.17.6-7 (3840); I.ii.27.4 (1869); I.ii.30.2-3 (2681); I.ii.34.5 (2680); I.iii.6.4 (838); I.iv.35.1 (2556); I.iv.49.4 (2814); I.iv.49.5 (2913); I.v.25.4 (3005); I.vi.47.5 (3954); I.vi.47.5-6 (687); I.vii.23.6 (2683); I.vii.27.6 (552); I.vii.40.7 (2912); I.vii.40.8 (1469); I.vii.40.9 (3952); I.vii.41.1-2 (2656); I.viii.40.3 (3149); I.viii.43.6 (3522); I.viii.44.4 (3899); I.viii.44.5-6 (2815); I.ix.9.8-9 (2684); I.ix.16.9 (553); I.ix.38.3-4 (4409); I.ix.39.6 (2272); I.ix.40.6 (3951); I.ix.41.6-7 (4354); I.ix.42 (4408); I.ix.43.1 (4351); I.ix.43.6 (4352); I.ix.47.9 (4407); I.ix.53.2 (3842); I.ix.53.3 (3057); I.x.6.1 (3446); I.x.41.8-9 (4400); I.x.60.9 (1689); I.x.62.9 (554); I.x.67.9 (94); I.xi.28.5 (4416); I.xii.28.7-8 (235). [45 extracts]

Book II

II.i.36.8-9 (4026); II.i.44.2-3 (1475); II.i.57.9 (3900); II.i.59.1-2 (4444); II.ii.29.8-9 (3775); II.ii.30.6 (1690); II.ii.30.8-9 (3847); II.ii.31.1-2 (1879); II.ii.45.5 (3525); II.iii.16.5 (3843); II.iii.40.5 (2011); II.iii.40.9 (1407); II.iii.10.8 (333); II.iv.6.44.6 (2685); II.iv.17.4 (2914); II.iv.19.8 (555); II.iv.44.4-5 (2557); II.v.3.2 (3845); II.v.13.8-9 (2555); II.v.18.3-4 (1046); II.vi.1.1-2 (3953); II.vi.17.6 (2453); II.vi.36.5-6 (3319); II.vi.46.2 (557); II.vii.15.1-2 (2454); II.vii.39.3-5 (2456); II.vii.50.9 (560); II.viii.13.7 (1754); II.viii.14.7 (2013); II.viii.16.7-8 (2558); II.viii.26.5 (1389); II.viii.56.1-3 (2441). [32 extracts]

Book III

III.i.25.7 (558); III.i.25.5-6 (563); III.i.29.8 (236); III.i.37.9 (3006); III.i.48.9 (842); III.i.49.6 (843); III.i.49.8-9 (1393); III.i.50.5 (690); III.ii.10.4-5 (3844); III.ii.15.3-7 (470); III.ii.15.5-6 (3320); III.ii.41.9 (559); III.ii.51.7-8 (549); III.iii.17.6-7 (1086); III.iii.52.3-4 (1471); III.iii.53.3 (4004); III.iv.5-6 (4418); III.iv.26.3-4 (556); III.iv.27.1-2 (3008); III.iv.38.7 (4417); III.iv.38.8 (4419); III.iv.38.8-9 (1861); III.iv.59.1-2 (2359); III.iv.59.9 (4420); III.v.1.8-9 (623); III.v.2.3 (561); III.v.27.1-2 (106); III.v.43.3 (4138); III.v.45.8 (4421); III.vi.38.8-9 (824); III.vi.40.9 (4170); III.vii.26.9 (2817); III.viii.1.9 (4013); III.viii.42.1-2 (752);

III.viii.50.5 (237); III.ix.2.1-4 (3536); III.ix.2.4 (892); III.ix.6.7-9 (2060); III.ix.7.1 (2844); III.ix.7.4-7 (2063); III.ix.8.4-5 (4139); III.ix.14.8-9 (4356); III.ix.31.5-8 (629); III.ix.40.3-4 (1321); III.x.2.5 (3770); III.x.3.3 (2818); III.x.11.9 (2061); III.xi.14.5-6 (331); III.xi.16.1-2 (2674); III.xi.19.8-9 (1755). [50 extracts]

Book IV

IV.Proem.2.1 (564); IV.i.34.7-9 (978); IV.i.46.8 (600); IV.ii.11.5 (2346); IV.ii.29.6-8 (1864); IV.ii.29.9 (327); IV.ii.52.1-2 (4355); IV.iv.11.9 (1874); IV.v.25.9 (601); IV.vi.29.9 (2581); IV.vi.32.7 (562); IV.vi.37.9 (460); IV.vi.40.9 (1075); IV.vii.ii.7-8 (4423); IV.viii.22.7 (1875); IV.viii.27.3-4 (4005); IV.ix.27.9 (1881); IV.x.1.2 (598); IV.x.8-9 (618); IV.x.14.8-9 (4172); IV.xi.17.8-9 (456); IV.xii.21.9 (3526); IV.xii.28.6 (4424); IV.xii.30.8-9 (3531). [24 extracts]

Book V

V.i.27.9 (4357); V.ii.41.3-4 (3706); V.ii.45.9 (238); V.ii.46.9 (1530); V.iii.1.3-4 (2899); V.iii.15.5 (3846); V.v.38.1-3 (3861); V.v.39.5-6 (477); V.v.49.9 (3537); V.vi.1.8-9 (2066); V.viii.1.1-3 (845); V.viii.7.9 (3538); V.ix.1.1-3 (3771); V.x.2.8 (1394); V.x.2.9 (3529); V.x.22.9 (3528); V.x.26.8-9 (2229); V.xi.17.3-5 (239); V.xi.17.9 (329); V.xi.55.7-8 (1756); V.xi.55.9 (1392); V.xi.56.9 (3394); V.xi.58.6-7 (1396); V.xi.63.8 (1757); V.xii.1.8 (436); V.xii.27.7 (330). [26 extracts]

Book VI

VI.Proem.5.8-9 (296); VI.i.41.5-6 (3859); VI.i.41.7 (3860); VI.i.41.9 (3023); VI.i.42.3 (1541); VI.ii.6-7 (4463); VI.iii.1.2 (3055); VI.iii.40.8-9 (3832); VI.iv.28.1-3 (3022); VI.iv.28.8-9 (2698); VI.iv.34.7 (3521); VI.iv.34.7 (1506). [12 extracts]

189 extracts in total

Appendix 2: Quotation Numbers of *The Faerie Queene* in *Englands Parnassus*

298 extracts of *The Faerie Queene* are counted in the annotated version of *Englands Parnassus* by Charles Crawford (1913). Below is the list of the extracts which I rearranged in order of the books. Each number in a parenthesis indicates the quotation number in *Englands Parnassus*.

Book I

I.i.1.6 (2274); I.i.6.5-8 (1958); I.i.7.2-8 (2230); I.i.8.6-9.9 (2246); I.i.12.3-5 (270); I.i.13.4-5 (1700); I.i.14.4-15.9 (403); I.i.19.3 (419); I.i.21 (2111); I.i.23 (2187); I.i.32.6-9 (1434); I.i.33.3 (1435); I.i.35.4 (207); I.i.39 (1980); I.i.40.1-6 (1981); I.ii.1 (1844); I.ii.5.7 (1417); I.ii.6.7-6 (1848); I.ii.7.1-5 (1856); I.ii.10.8-9 (1073); I.ii.16 (2133); I.ii.17.6-7 (223); I.ii.27 (567); I.ii.29 (1878); I.ii.34.4-6 (664); I.iii.1.1-4 (98); I.iii.4.6-9 (2050); I.iii.6.4-5 (71); I.iii.16.1-3 (1905); I.iii.30.3-4 (1021); I.iii.30.7.7-8 (982); I.iii.31-32.1 (2191); I.iv.1.7-8 (1052); I.iv.4 (2212); I.iv.11-12.1 (1371); I.iv.18 (797); I.iv.21 (593); I.iv.24 (900); I.iv.27 (50); I.iv.30 (387); I.iv.33 (1791); I.iv.35.1-8 (1793); I.v.1.1-4 (1227); I.v.2.1-5 (1872); I.v.18.19.1 (2090); I.v.25.4-6 (338); I.v.31 (718); I.v.33.1-6 (720); I.vi.1.1-8 (2137); I.vi.3.8-9 (1051); I.vi.7 (627); I.vi.18.1-3 (2269); I.vi.26.3-5 (2256); I.vi.35 (1935); I.vi.37.9 (1261); I.vii.1 (371); I.vii.1.1-7 (189); I.vii.40.9 (665); I.vii.41.1-2 (671); I.viii.1.1-4 (271); I.viii.11.5-9 (2189); I.viii.21.8-9 (622); I.viii.22.5-9 (2145); I.viii.23.1.8 (2146); I.viii.30-31 (802); I.viii.41 (2009); I.viii.44.2-3 (674); I.viii.44.5-6 (479); I.viii.44.7-9 (114); I.ix.6.6-9 (614); I.ix.9.6-9 (1053); I.ix.33-34.6 (345); I.ix.35-36 (346); I.ix.41.2-5 (936); I.ix.42 (288); I.ix.43.1-2 (937); I.ix.53.6-8 (844); I.x.1 (633); I.x.5.5-9 (767); I.x.12.7-13.8 (410); I.x.14 (745); I.x.30 (2026); I.x.30-31 (132); I.x.41 (297); I.x.53-54 (2226); I.xi.30 (2242); I.xi.31.1-4 (1880); I.xi.34.3-9 (2186); I.xi.51.1-4 (1855). [88 extracts]

Book II

II.i.58.1-5 (1576); II.i.59 (304); II.ii.22 (2188); II.ii.24 (2136); II.ii.26.5-9 (996); II.ii.29.8-9 (1655); II.ii.30.6-9 (1683); II.ii.31.1-7 (1284); II.ii.46.1-3 (1840); II.iii.1.1-4 (1858); II.iii.22-31 (2013); II.iii.41.1-6 (722); II.iii.41 (1289); II.iv.1 (726); II.iv.10.6-11 (572); II.iv.17.2-5 (546); II.iv.34.2-8 (32); II.iv.44.1-7 (1798); II.v.1 (1577); II.v.10-11.1 (2110); II.v.13.8-9 (1796); II.v.15.6-9 (1656); II.v.24.7-9 (1561); II.v.29 (2224); II.v.30 (2236); II.v.31 (2220); II.vi.1.1-8 (1578); II.vi.12.1-6 (2229); II.vi.35.7-9 (1686); II.vii.1 (2196); II.vii.3-5 (1451);

II.vii.10.5-7 (55); II.vii.12 (1452); II.vii.16 (1803); II.vii.22 (2267); II.vii.24.8-25 (1453); II.vii.40.4-41.2 (1920); II.vii.52.3-9 (2252); II.viii.1 (617); II.viii.14.7-8 (303); II.viii.26.3-5 (217); II.viii.26.7-8 (1753); II.viii.29.1-6 (625); II.viii.42 (2112); II.viii.48 (2185); II.ix.1.1-8 (1580); II.ix.8 (519); II.ix.21-22 (2215); II.ix.44.8-46 (2216); II.ix.55.9 (1180); II.x.35 (9); II.x.47 (25); II.xi.1 (1410); II.xi.2 (1411); II.xi.8-9 (1478); II.xi.10 (1483); II.xi.11 (1485); II.xi.12 (1487); II.xi.13 (1490); II.xi.30 (942); II.xi.32-33.2 (2156); II.xii.23.6-24 (2260); II.xii.36.4-9 (2263); II.xii.65.1-6 (2060); II.xii.75 (1059); II.xii.77-78 (2034). [66 extracts]

Book III

III.i.13 (1674); III.i.25.5-9 (1038); III.i.43 (2061); III.i.49.8-9 (983); III.i.57.6-9 (1841); III.iii.25.4-5 (449); III.iii.25.6-9 (454); III.iv.13 (2088); III.iv.17 (2175); III.iv.27.1-6 (343); III.iv.27 (453); III.iv.38.5-9 (307); III.iv.51.6-9 (1889); III.v.1 (1016); III.vi.40.8-9 (1598); III.vi.43-44 (2227); III.vi.45.3-6 (2268); III.vi.50.6-8 (1288); III.vii.1.1-6 (2101); III.vii.34-35.1 (2157); III.vii.39 (2117); III.viii.30.1-4 (1983); III.ix.6.7-9 (1766); III.ix.7 (1767); III.x.2.5 (226); III.x.46 (1893); III.xi.1 (780); III.xi.14.6-9 (1637); III.xi.19.8-9 (945); III.xii.11.1-8 (263); III.xii.12 (461); III.xii.13 (746); III.xii.16.2-9 (658); III.xii.24 (2272); III.xii.25.3-9 (2273). [37 examples]

Book IV

IV.Proem.2 (1017); IV.i.19.1-4 (362); IV.i.20 (361); IV.i.27 (364); IV.i.42.1-7 (2147); IV.i.46.8-9 (984); IV.ii.1 (367); IV.ii.15.8-16.9 (2202); IV.ii.29.6-9 (551); IV.ii.47.6-9 (337); IV.ii.48.5-9 (333); IV.ii.51.8-9 (450); IV.iii.16 (2122); IV.iii.43 (2316); IV.iv.1.6-9 (552); IV.iv.4.9 (648); IV.iv.11.9 (1178); IV.iv.47-48.2 (2172); IV.v.1 (81); IV.v.3-4 and 6.1 (2337); IV.v.15 (2092); IV.v.35 (128); IV.vii.11.7-9 (309); IV.viii.25 (1509); IV.viii.26.8-9 (1510); IV.viii.39 (2123); IV.ix.1 (980); IV.ix.2.1-5 (549); IV.ix.2.6-9 (1534); IV.ix.27.9 (566); IV.x.1.1-5 (1024); IV.x.8.8 (119); IV.x.12.3-9 (2004); IV.x.13 (312); IV.x.14.5-9 (315); IV.x.17.8-9 (754); IV.x.24 (2271); IV.x.32.7-9 (699); IV.x.34 (173); IV.x.35 (175); IV.x.51.6-9 (1465); IV.xi.11 (1982); IV.xi.20 (2233); IV.xi.20 (2258); IV.xi.21.1-6 (2234); IV.xi.21.1-6 (2259); IV.xi.21.7-9 (2243); IV.xi.21.7-9 (2275). [49 examples]

Book V

V.i.2 (846); V.i.5.6-9 (843); V.i.11 (839); V.ii.15.1-8 (2124); V.ii.50.1-6 (2176); V.iii.19 (2093); V.iii.25 (2209); V.iv.1 (847); V.iv.27.8-9 (452); V.v.15 (2181); V.v.25 (1768); V.v.38.1-5 (215); V.vi.27.1-4 (1845); V.vii.2-3.4 (842); V.viii.1 (70); V.viii.40-41.2 (2125);

V.viii.43 (2126); V.viii.47 (2127); V.ix.35 (2130); V.x.1 (1154); V.x.2.8-9 (1165); V.x.22 (219); V.xi.1.1-6 (849); V.xi.29.1-6 (2201); V.xii.13.1-7 (2210); V.xii.18.5-19.1 (2195); V.xii.27.7 (397); V.xii.30.5-31.9 (388); V.xii.36 (1508). [30 examples]

Book VI

VI.Proem.4 (250); VI.Proem.5 (251); VI.i.1.1-6 (249); VI.i.41.7-9 (518); VI.iii.1.2-5 (583); VI.iii.5 (753); VI.iv.1.1-6 (2193); VI.iv.28.8-9 (1179); VI.v.1 (588); VI.vi.1 (1518); VI.vi.10 (2326); VI.vi.35.9 (489); VI.vi.40(49); VI.vii.1.1-4 (587); VI.vii.18.5 (218); VI.vii.29.7-9 (82); VI.viii.42 (2035); VI.ix.29 (521); VI.ix.30.1-6 (1168); VI.ix.40.9 (1054); VI.x.6.1-9.5 (2228); VI.x.13.1-14.1 (2062); VI.x.15.1-6 (2298); VI.x.22 (2299); VI.x.24 (2300); VI.xi.1 (1023); VI.xii.1 (2206); VI.xii.35 (2171). [28 examples]

298 extracts in total

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